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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS



Dear Reader,

This year we have had some major changes in *Sojourners*, from the internal processes to the external layout. This includes: our new logo, which is meant to encompass the connection we have with UBC's Sociology Students' Association; the updated and much more contemporary cover design; as well as the training we provide for our editorial team. But most importantly, our criteria for paper publications has undergone a transformation. We decided to focus more on papers with more original, innovative, and creative ideas that can inspire further research.

In this publication of *Sojourners*, we will guide you through the sociological happenings of our own UBC campus. Cheung investigates the student protests against the recent and controversial tuition increase through face-to-face interviews and an online survey. Kong explores the relation between ethnic student associations, such as Chinese Varsity Club (CVC) and the Hong Kong Student Association (HKSA), and their role in the processes of identity formation and migration. Outside of UBC, Tougas conducts an ethnography on a grassroots organization and the myriad ways power can be communicated, and Hooshmand examines the variability in the organizational structures and resources between the Islamic movement and these Iranian intellectuals. Media is also used as a means of sociological research, as seen on Gustavo's research on Latin American telenovela and Amini's investigation on graffiti. You will find these unique insights and many more in this compilation of *Sojourners*!

Finally, a great thank you is extended to all those who made *Sojourners* possible! We would like to highlight Neil Guppy, who has been the loyal Academic Advisor to *Sojourners* for all 7 years of its publication. A special thank you to Rima Wilkes and Anne Martin-Matthews, who hosted our first Academic Publishing Workshop this year. Thank you to Vesna Pajović, who greatly assisted in the graphic formatting of our journal. We are much obliged to all the Associate Editors from both volumes 6 & 7, who dedicated so much time, energy and commitment to the success of this journal. And finally, a warm acknowledgement to the readers and subscribers to *Sojourners*. We hope you all enjoy this edition!

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Food Fit for Royalty: Corporate Cohesion, Power, and the Decline of Canadian Food Sovereignty

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UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Neoliberal hegemony, and the undermining of democratic and social institutions that has accompanied it, is growing more powerful in Canadian society (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Giroux, 2008). This essay focuses on how neoliberal policies have taken a toll on our food systems. Darrin Qualmin (2011) has argued that the concentration of corporate power that comes with such neoliberal hegemony has significantly damaged Canadian food sovereignty, or the ability of Canadians to control and be knowledgeable about their food systems and what they eat. Food sovereignty also recognizes that food, rather than simply acting as vehicles for vitamins, can be a source of power for citizens for building community and social capital, particularly important for the impoverished and marginalized (Brownlee & Kueneman, 2012; Engler-Stringer, 2011).

However, as I argue below, the Canadian government is moving away from a framework of food sovereignty through policy actions. We are more often satisfied today to see “Now with Vitamin C!” on the packaging of our food than to know where it came from and its environmental impacts. To use George Ritzer’s (2007) eerily appropriate terminology, our food has become disenchanted—a means to an end. This frame of mind among Canadian consumers has led to both record profits for food and agribusiness, as well a notable absence of any cohesive food policy that unites production and consumption in order to educate Canadians about the origin and impact of their food. This is due primarily to Canadian capital, acting as a unified voice through what Mizuchi (1992) called mediating mechanisms, encouraging government to pursue profit-friendly policy at the expense of Canadians’ knowledge and command over food systems. I conclude, through an analysis of the

Canadian agribusiness environment and a content analysis of Canadian legislation, that corporate solidarity in Canada actively works to reduce Canadian food sovereignty by lobbying the Canadian state. Furthermore, this study provides a strong framework and justification for continued investigation in an area that requires more attention in the literature.

THE STATE AND CORPORATE POWER

While there are several schools of thought as to what influences states to produce their policies, Canadian sociological literature has focused primarily on how elites and capital significantly influence government policy. Pluralism, the "official ideology" of capitalism, in which competing interest groups lobby for various policies, has received severe criticism from many Canadian political sociologists (Knutilla & Kubik, 2000). Ralph Miliband (1969) and Wallace Clement (1975), and more recently Bill Carroll (2010), have shown empirical evidence for cross-sectoral and transnational ties, which gives Canadian capital a special leveraging position over other centres of interest.

Consequently, the Canadian state has become a target for effective co-optation with respect to policy-making. The state, as opposed to a governmental "sounding board" for competing interest groups, is split into governmental, administrative, coercive, and ideological subsystems. Elites are placed at the helm of these subsystems, and wield significant influence over them, while maintaining close ties to the corporate world. The fact that the state's power can be co-opted, but still retains its legitimacy with respect to its citizens, means that these elites effectively wield power over the population through the state, as well as its citizens (Barrow, 1993).

Historically, Canadian state theorists have leaned towards the idea of a "ruling class" existing in Canada. The linkages among the state elite and corporate elite, argue scholars such as Leo Panitch (1977) and Wallace Clement (1975, 1977, 1997), facilitate a relationship among government and business that allows fluid communication and common interests. Panitch, examining the significant linkages among Canadian corporate elite and the state, argues that the independence of the Canadian state would not exist even if such linkages were absent (1977, p. 13). Nonetheless, these linkages do imply that there exists a "confraternity of power of such dimensions as to permit the clear employment of the term 'ruling class' in [Canada]" (ibid). Recognizing that there exists such a "general affinity" between the state and capital, Canadian literature, moving towards a "power structures" approach, marks the shift in debate from "whether business has disproportionate influence on state policies...to the question of how state policies come to reflect some business interests" (Useem, 1984, p. 199, emphasis mine).

Capitalists do not govern; rather, they rule. This requires a singular and powerful voice when confronting the state. The organization of capital into a single voice

rather than multiple competing blocks is captured in the idea of “business unity” (Domhoff, 1998, p. 33). Domhoff argued for the existence of a “corporate community [defined as] all those profit-seeking organizations connected into a common network” that facilitates business unity (ibid). This “network” allows communication and synchronicity of action. This is true whether or not we believe in something like “business confidence,” that the elite helm run the subsystems of the state, or in the relative autonomy of the state. Nonetheless, the power structures debate as to whether or not the unity of capital still retains some of its structural/instrumental roots.

The cause of the similarity of behaviour among capital, of which there are two sources in power structures literature, is the new object of study. One of these, the “structural equivalence” approach, echoes the sentiments of structural Marxism. Corporations act in their own narrow interests; however, objective criteria such as “business confidence”—which could include policy like lower taxes or higher corporate welfare—will more or less coordinate their lobbying. Legislation that results from such lobbying is not the result of capital’s class-consciousness; rather, it is a structural, objective relationship.

The second source is cohesion. Advocates of this second source of capital’s unity do not deny that there are structural equivalencies among different corporations. Rather, capitalists do what they do best—capitalize on their structural equivalencies. Gregg Olsen, for example, refers to these equivalencies as “intrinsic unity” (that is, coordinated objective interests through “business confidence” and structural positioning)—but also notes that capitalists have increased their unity through “the proliferation of dense networks of interlocking corporate directorships within and across the manufacturing, financial, and service sectors of the economy” (2011, p. 178). Such “interlocking directorships,” where a member of one board of directors will sit on other boards, is an example of what Mizruchi (1992) calls a “mediating mechanism”—a mechanism of communication among capital that both prevents and fixes possible contradictory action of firms and corporations (Mizruchi & Bey, 2005). Brownlee (2005) argues that there are multiple mediating mechanisms operating in Canada, including heavy ownership concentration, policy networks, and personal links between the Canadian state and economic elite.

Interlocking directorates are important to study because they constitute “concrete expressions of social and economic networks, indicating common commitments and shared relationships” (Clement, 1975, p. 155). Interlocks can be direct, where an employee of one company will sit on the board of another, creating a “primary tie.” Secondary interlocks, on the other hand, occur when one individual sits on two boards without being employed by either. The latter types of interlocks are considered more important due to the fact that they “weave together entire networks of companies in a more general way” (Brownlee, 2005, p. 57). An empirical investigation by Burris (2005) shows that interlocks do help “mediate” conflicts among capital by facilitating agreement on theoretical issues (cohesion), leading to

similar behaviour (unity).

This particular school of power structures theory is called the "class hegemony" perspective (Carroll and Sapinski, 2011, p. 183). A class hegemonist, Michael Useem (1982), has succinctly captured the tangible value of interlocking directors in an interview with a board member:

Constantly one gets alerted to problems that the company whose board you may be attending has in a particular area. As to the possible application, it's useful to get some information of use to one's own company...often I will be sitting at a board meeting, and I'll think, 'That's something that relates to where we stood,' and I'll put a scribble on a piece of paper, three lines, and I'll put it in my briefcase—'check so and so when I get back.' (p. 210)

The counter to the "class hegemony" perspective, the "interorganizational" perspective argues that interlocking directorates serve narrow, instrumental purposes rather than to facilitate cohesion among capital. Beginning with the "Berle and Means" thesis in 1932, it has been argued by many scholars that boards of directors have become increasingly unaccountable to fragmented shareholders (Mizruchi & Bey, 2005, p. 313; Carroll & Sapinski, 2011). An interlock between two companies may help facilitate cheaper resource trading for both parties, for example, but has nothing to do with a common "business hivemind" (*ibid*).

Canadian literature on power structures shows that we operate more in a class-hegemonic model than an interorganizational model. The work of Michael Ornstein (1984, 2003) has argued that the interorganizational approach is not applicable to the Canadian context. The Canadian network of capital is considerably denser than the United States or the UK, indicating we do not have multiple, competing financial centres, but rather capitalists who are able to mobilize themselves and speak with a single voice. Tony Clarke (1997) has argued this mobilization has resulted in a "corporate coup," with Keynesian economic policy becoming a thing of the past (p. 106). Instead, we have seen the prolific rise of free market ideals, with Canadian citizenship becoming increasingly redefined as individualized and swept away from its previous social moorings (Jenson & Phillips, 2001; Snider, 2000). Jamie Brownlee (2005) synthesizes several studies of interlocking directorates, arguing that there exists an "inner circle" among Canadian capital that strengthens its cohesion and unity. This inner circle facilitated a "corporate offensive" dating back to the 1970s, when the media, universities, and state were all attacked as being too liberal and inflated (Brownlee, 2005).

In addition to interlocking directorates, another important mediating mechanism in Canada includes policy formation networks, which include policy discussion groups and advocacy think tanks. The Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE), for example, serves as a hub for developing the "single voice" with which capital approaches the state (Brownlee, 2005; Domhoff, 1998). Policy discussion

groups like the CCCE do not merely react to state policy, but plan ahead—for example, organizing powerful capital strikes against anti-loophole legislation for corporate tax breaks in the 1980s (Brownlee, 2005). Advocacy think tanks, the other major component of policy formation networks, are significant because the “deepest and [most] critical thinking” occurs within think tanks (Domhoff, 1998, p. 134).

Think tanks in Canada such as C.D. Howe Institute, Fraser Institute, and the Conference Board of Canada churn out policy recommendations. Carroll and Shaw argue that these three think tanks are a “toolkit of neoliberalism” for the corporate community in Canada, and that the boards of such think tanks, like policy organizations, are heavily interlocked with the corporate community (2001, p. 204). In both 1976 and 1996, directors with multiple interlocks typically had at least one policy directorship. Not surprisingly, given the connectedness of these think tanks to the corporate community, they act as a mouthpiece for the latter’s interests, pushing discourse increasingly to the right and played a large historical role in shifting the Canadian framework from an entitled and employed citizenry to an association of employees lucky to have a job (Snider, 2000).

The following discussion is concerned with how corporate power and neoliberal hegemony have impeded development of Canadian policy revolving around food sovereignty. In other words, how concentrated corporate power and its ability to consolidate and influence government policy for its own interest has compromised the ability of Canadians to access healthy and local food. In addition, the voice of the corporate elite has worked to lower the federal government’s capacity to generate policy geared towards connecting production and consumption. This shift away from a food sovereignty framework purposely negates an important aspect of food: its ability to empower people. I first empirically show that agriculture and food industries are represented in the cohesive business voice before moving into a more detailed discussion of how the significant reduction in food sovereignty propagated by corporate power is detrimental for Canadians.

METHODOLOGY

The goal of this investigation is to uncover the influence originating from the corporate community on Canadian government food policy, and inferring their power, due to cohesion, from this influence. Meckling notes that, although influence is intrinsically linked to power, “power refers to the capabilities to affect potential change, while influence refers to the actual effect of an actor on political outcomes” (2011, p. 16).

Two interconnected parts of the study accomplish this goal. The first is the deduction that the corporations at each junction of the corporate food chain are linked into the corporate network and to each other, facilitating communication and cohesion. To measure this, I attempted to find all available data on interlocking directorates by industry, including agricultural and food sectors. Key words such as

"industrial interlocks" and "agriculture" were searched on a number of university and academic search engines and databases. Two articles were found that reported interlocks by industry—one by Ornstein (1976) and one by Green and O'Hagan (2006). As these were the only two studies that were found to break interlocks down by specific industry, rather than by general sector, more research is needed to illuminate these aspects of the Canadian corporate scene.

In addition to these reports, the interlocks of the three prominent Canadian right wing think tanks—the C.D. Howe Institute, Fraser Institute, and Conference Board of Canada—into the corporate food chain are analyzed (Carroll & Shaw, 2001). The same was done for the Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE). Although the Conference Board of Canada is not technically a think tank, it serves the same political functions as the other two (Brownlee 2005). The most updated board of directors at the time of writing was found on each think tank's website and each name was searched in the Financial Post FP Informant's Directory of Directors. Any name found currently belonging to a firm engaged in agricultural equipment, agricultural products, or food processing/retail was listed. For the CCCE, the "current members" webpage was scanned, and all relevant firms as listed above were listed.

The second part of the study is a content analysis of the three think tanks' policy recommendations, compared thematically with Canadian legislation (the Growing Forward Framework) around agricultural production. For the think tank recommendations, relevant keywords were searched on each of the think tank websites, as well as the Canadian Public Policy Collection database on the Canadian Electronic Library. Articles were selected on the basis of direct relevance to agricultural and nutritional policy in Canada since 2005 (three years prior to the first Growing Forward Framework)—that is, they must have provided some policy recommendations on the state of affairs in agricultural production or food consumption in Canada.

On this basis, a total of nine policy recommendations were collected from the three institutes—four from the C.D. Howe Institute, three from the Fraser Institute, and two from the Conference Board of Canada. Due to limited time, a small, purposive sample was used. This is justified by the fact that I am attempting to look at the voice across all three think tanks as a neoliberal "policy bloc", or "toolkit of neoliberalism" (Carroll and Shaw 2001). In other words, the stance and themes of any one think tank is less important than the commonalities among all three.

With respect to legislation, the Growing Forward Framework was selected for analysis. This is because it puts into action, through policy, the underlying philosophy of both federal and provincial governments more generally. Although the Growing Forward Framework expired on April 1, 2013, shortly after the time of writing, the Ministerial Statement for Growing Forward 2, its successor until the year 2020, is also analyzed in juxtaposition. This statement also exposes the rationales and philosophy behind agricultural production. Between legislation and think tank policy

recommendations, I coded for "latent content," because latent content is "better designed for tapping the underlying meaning of communications, but its advantage comes at a cost of reliability and specificity" (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2010, p. 301). That being said, I knowingly sacrificed reliability for validity in this study. In the coding, I drew inspiration from Jared Wesley's (2011) analysis of provincial campaign literature. In effect, I aimed to "reduce the total content of [recommendations and legislation] to a set of categories," which could then be compared to each other (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 420).

ANALYSIS OF THE CORPORATE SCENE

The Corporate Offensive and Cohesion among the Canadian Food Industry Interlocking Directorates

Disappointingly little research has been conducted with respect to interlocks by industry in Canada. To some extent, perhaps, this is because "Corporations do not want nosy sociologists investigating their business practices" (Snider, 2000, p. 186). Social network studies done in the United States and New Zealand have both shown that agriculture and food industries in those countries are well connected to the corporate community, and in New Zealand, to each other, giving them a "positional advantage" with respect to the consolidation of power over the food chain (Schwartz & Lyson, 2007; Wood, 2011). Thus, the following discussion should be used as a framework for future research in a Canadian context alongside such studies, specifically original social network analysis of interlocks by industry. Two studies since the beginning of the corporate offensive point to connected agriculture and food industries within the Canadian corporate community: one by Michael Ornstein (1976), and one by Green and O'Hagan (2006).

In his social network analysis of the 1972 Canadian top 250 corporations, Ornstein (1976) found several signs pointing to an agri-food industry that was in the process of political mobilization. The boards of companies in the sectors of "agriculture, food processing, and light industry," have distinct features that suggest this is the case. It was found that these firms had smaller than average boards, as they are companies that deal with a diversified set of clients rather than just other corporations (Ornstein, 1976, p. 414). While this means, on average, less possible interlocks, Ornstein also notes that these companies compensate for smaller boards by having a larger amount of outside directors sit on them. This was true for agriculture and food processing; of an average-sized board of 11, a mean of 4 were outside directors (p. 421).

Green and O'Hagan (2006), using data from 2000, conduct an interlock analysis of major Canadian industries. As multiple directorships among domestic firms are no longer the norm, instead making room for outside directors who can create a wider, transnational web, the interlocks calculated should be, and are, less than Ornstein's (1976) study (Carroll, 2010; Carroll & Klassen, 2010). The mean interlocks

for each food-related industry, including agricultural products and services (2.24), food retailers and corporations (1.93), and industrial food producers (2.10), are lower than the mean interlock count for all sectors (2.98). At face value, this enables us to infer that nearly thirty years after Ornstein's (1976) study, agribusinesses were still interlocked with the corporate community, as were consumer products and health services.

These industries were selected from the data after looking at the specific firms for each industry, provided kindly by Milford Green. These are all slightly below the mean for all industries, indicating that they are less connected to the corporate community at large relative to other industries, especially financial services (4.50). However, this is not surprising, as these corporations once again deal with a variety of clients and not simply with other corporations much like banks or financial firms (Ornstein, 1976).

What we can infer from these two studies in juxtaposition is that, to some extent, there was a mobilization of resources among agribusinesses and food/health companies then that began as part and parcel of the corporate offensive and remains connected to the Canadian corporate community, even with the restructuring of corporate governance that followed. The drawback of using secondary data such as this is that, past thirty years ago, we have no available opportunity to look at the communication among agriculture and food industries specifically, rather than being tied into the corporate community at large. More research is needed in this area in order to further discuss and establish the coordination both within and between agribusinesses and the food industry with respect to the farm squeeze discussed above that benefits corporate interests. However, given that Canadian literature of corporate behaviour favours a class hegemonic model rather than interorganizational, and given the data presented by Green and O'Hagan (2006), it is not unreasonable to conclude that today's Canadian food industry has some communication with the corporate community at large.

Policy Directorships

All major business-oriented Canadian think tanks have representation from the food industry on their boards at the time of writing. The C.D. Howe Institute (4 food industry members out of 27 total members), for instance, has representation from the Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan. The Fraser Institute (5/40) and the Conference Board of Canada (5/22) also have representation from several companies within grocery (e.g. Northwest Co.) and farm equipment manufacturing (e.g. Omni-Lite industries). Although the fractions of total board size seem relatively small, we must keep in mind these boards function to link all corporate sectors together to facilitate communication. The corporate food chain thus has representation in such communicatory mechanisms. Further, all think tanks boards have representation on the CCCE.

Furthermore, a review of the boards of major corporations within the food industry chain reveals their links to the Canadian Council of Chief Executives. Corporations at every step of the way, from PotashCorp (fertilizer), Dow Chemical (pesticides) and Finning Hall (industrial equipment) to Maple Leaf Foods and Saputo (food processors) to Loblaw Companies Limited and Northwest Company (food grocers), and nutrition groups like GlaxoSmithKline, are represented by their CEOs at the table. The CCCE acts as another forum for communication among these large factions of capital, and is linked into think tanks, further consolidating cohesion, unity, and power.

As such, think tanks and the CCCE will not produce recommendations that go against the interests of these corporations and their respective elites. The policy recommendations that the CCCE and its connected think tanks produce, in turn, heavily inform government. I conclude from available data that the food industry (1) mobilized, to some extent, its political resources (interlocking) during the corporate offensive; (2) that it is connected to the corporate community today; and (3) that it is interlocked to such policy formation networks. The extent to which cohesion has occurred and is occurring, ultimately, requires further investigation. In the content analysis that is to follow, it will be argued that, following a class hegemonic view of these interlocks, government policy favours similar goals and themes of these think tank discussions with respect to agriculture and food.

THINK TANK RECOMMENDATIONS AND LEGISLATION: CONCURRING THEMES

The purpose of this content analysis, as aforementioned, is to determine how much federal legislation reflects neoliberal think tank policy recommendations. I will discuss each theme set in turn, which deal with agricultural trade, farmers, and consumers of produce, respectively. As will be shown in the analysis below, themes of legislation correspond to many of the themes found in think tank commentary, subscribing heavily to a framework moving Canadians away from food sovereignty. The theme sets identified in think tank publications and legislation are discourses around trade, producers, and consumers. These are addressed in turn below.

Theme Set 1 (Trade)

Think tank recommendations from the C.D. Howe Institute, Fraser Institute, and Conference Board of Canada all urge the government to “act now” with liberalizing agricultural trade. The urgency in the voices of the authors here are most explicit. Getting rid of production quotas (which are meant to maintain a specific price level for farmers; see Parkin et. al 2007) and other market distorting measures should be government’s top priority, and it should have done so yesterday. “Distorting the market” will be punished by several moral consequences. For example, according to the Conference Board,

Demand for food continues to rise, but this is happening while the gap between demand and supply is dwindling and there is limited potential to increase production [in emerging markets]... the result is that prices for agricultural products are expected to remain high compared with their historical norms. (Burt et. al, 2012, p. 18)

Here, market distortions are causing food to cost too much for a demanding world population. Canada has a moral obligation to “put agriculture and its remaining sensitive sectors on the table” (Burt et. al, 2012, p. 47) with respect to international trade partnerships. Canada also has a moral obligation to the financial institutions that support the agricultural sector. As a report from the C.D. Howe Institute notes,

As for timing, the distortions created by supply management are worsening as the system entrenches...to the extent that farmers are borrowing against the value of quotas, the cartel is generating political risk for financial institutions, and creating a further vested interest in maintenance of a damaging system. Delaying action, to be blunt, does not help. (2010, p. 6)

By placing emphasis on the negative effects of market distortions, the subterranean qualities of such work discard the sentiments of those like Qualmin (2007, 2011) who advocate that small farms require a certain level of economic protection to remain viable. Production quotas enable small farms to temporarily survive an economic game in which they cannot possibly compete—a point expanded on below. To get rid of these would only leave behind mass industrial farms (despite them being a simple “band-aid” fix), taking control of food even further out of the hands of Canadians (ibid).

If the Right is telling government to hurry up and liberalize agricultural trade, the government is hearing them loud and clear. The Growing Forward Framework situates the Canadian government first and foremost as a facilitator of competitiveness:

Our common vision is for a profitable and innovative agriculture, agri-food and agri-based products industry that seizes opportunities in responding to market demands and contributes to the health and well-being of Canadians.

(Growing Forward Framework Agreement, 2012)

Federal and provincial governments alike have committed in the framework to creating a “business climate that facilitates innovation [and] an entrepreneurial culture” (ibid). New market opportunities are the ultimate goal—this is reflected in the AAFC’s publication *Innovation Express*, which regularly showcases technological advancements committed to ever higher crop yields and higher efficiency. The commitment to trade liberalization—and fast liberalization—is even stronger in *Growing Forward 2*. Here, all governments claimed that a key goal of *Growing Forward 2* will be “continued work with trading partners to reduce barriers to trade and distorting support, including the development of international trading agreements” (2011, p. 6). The National Farmers’ Union has expressed concern with this goal—they claim that in-

creased exports will begin shutting out small-scale farms (2012, p. 1). As a result, the capacity for food sovereignty in Canada will continue to be reduced.

Theme Set 2 (Producers)

Canadian right wing think tanks portray farmers as villains, “needlessly” making consumers pay more and have less choice out of greed. Michael Hart is an exemplar of this particular vilifying of farmers:

Maintaining the status quo for these two farm sectors is unfair to consumers, who are condemned to higher prices and limited choices; unfair to other farmers, whose chances at better access to foreign markets are sacrificed in order to protect dairy and poultry farmers; unfair to food processors, whose access to quality inputs is limited to what local suppliers will produce at regulated prices. (2005, p. 2)

Here, farmers are pitted against consumers and other farmers. Robson and Busby (2010) also exemplify this discourse, claiming that small-scale farmers get “implicit incomes” from production quotas when such quotas are valued above market price. Therefore, consumers must pay more for food. In short, if Qualmin is arguing that “family farmers are making too little because powerful corporations are taking too much,” these authors are arguing that “consumers are paying too much because farmers are too greedy” (2011, p. 31).

According to other reports (Burt et. al, 2012; Katz, 2009), farms should be solely responsible for risk management. As small-scale farms cannot keep up with industrial ones in such a competitive agricultural environment, farms should be privatized as needed. In other words, the current market distortions “[inhibit] the process of creative destruction” (Burt et. al 2012, p. 46), at the cost of consumers and farmers who play by the “market rules”—that is, the rules whereby only large-scale farms survive. For these authors, the survival of smaller farms is less important. By separating these, food sovereignty is not a priority.

The Growing Forward Framework shows general agreement with the notion that the top priority are consumers, but that farms, insofar as they are sources of profit, must be handled with care—as if made from porcelain. The goal of the framework is to both simultaneously stabilize the incomes of farmers while increasing profitability. As stated in the “Policy Direction” section of the framework, one goal for the sector is “[g]reater ability for producers to stabilize their enterprise income through a wide range of financial tools” (5.3) and “greater stability of producers’ incomes” (5.3.2) (Growing Forward Framework Agreement, 2012). That being said, the language contextualizes such stability within an overarching goal of profitability, as indicated in the following goal of the legislation:

putting in place measures that will facilitate adaptation to changing market circumstances and that will help producers improve profitability, in a manner that addresses the unique needs of the sector. (Growing Forward Framework

Agreement, 2012)

Furthermore, key outcomes of policy argue for “increased investment within the agriculture, agri-food, and agri-based products sector,” “development of under-utilized agricultural resources,” and “streamlined, harmonized regulation that facilitates growth and innovation” (5.1.2). No resource can go untapped; expansion is necessary to support wider international trade. One might think of a racehorse as a metaphor. A stud must be healthy to win; should it break a leg, we all know the unfortunate result. *Growing Forward 2* takes this one step further. One concession to the push rightwards by think tanks between the two frameworks is the more recent goal to “enable the industry to attract new entrepreneurs, investments and business models, including facilitating farm transfers” (2011, p. 6). “Farm transfers” indicate that the government intends to explicitly participate in some of the “natural” market processes—clearing out of small-scale and unviable farms to make way for corporate agribusiness.

Theme Set 3 (Consumers)

All think tanks perceive of consumers as responsible for food choices. The food industry, consequently, is absolved of accountability for many health-related issues. For example, a Conference Board report states that Consumers’ dietary options ultimately depend on what the food industry produces and sells. Yet, much of what the industry produces and sells depends on consumer demand—and the reality is that consumers demand both healthy and unhealthy options (2012, p. ii).

The role of government should be to educate consumers in order to make more informed decisions. Health education should be based on psychological research, and nutrition labels should be the main method by which “consumers manage dietary risks”—reinforcing the notion that “the consumer” is an isolated agent making atomistic transactions based on quantitative assumptions (2012, p. 32). There is no room in this discourse around food to talk about food as a vehicle for empowerment or social capital, instead focusing on food as vessels for nutrients (Engler-Stringer, 2011).

Corporate discourse is intensified when moving to other recommendations. The Fraser Institute for example, released a report arguing that advertising should be the primary facilitator of public knowledge regarding diet (Brosens, 2009, p. 11). In saying that advertisers should be the primary vehicle through which individuals learn about what they eat, the “functional gaze” on the body is encouraged. Such a functional gaze, seeing the body as a machine to be fine-tuned, encourages citizens to purchase “health foods” put forth by giant corporations such as Nestle (*ibid.*). The ecological and social costs under such nutritionist discussions are ignored and will continue to multiply.

Moreover, a report by the C.D. Howe Institute regarding nutrition in low-in-

come areas argues that “[p]arents may use unrestricted cash transfers as they would any other additional income—some might be spent providing for children, but some might be spent on other goods and services that do not necessarily benefit the child” (2009, p. 6). Parents of low socioeconomic status thus cannot be trusted with cash; rather, they need to be controlled and dependent on the state for proper nutrition. This disrespectful claim is the complete opposite of food sovereignty—that food can be used as a tool for empowerment. To isolate the individual from their context and induce reliance on the state will not help an individual deal or manage poverty.

It is through building ties with others and community that one can do so (Hansen, 2011). This has deleterious consequences for Canadians, as I argue below. By reducing the possibility for policy that unites production and consumption, the possibility for empowerment of both individuals and communities—especially those in poverty—is also reduced. I first examine the touted benefits of trade liberalization with respect to production and consumption, which will then be problematized further below.

The Benefits of Food Trade Liberalization

Food has been traded for millennia, primarily due to one, immutable geographical fact: “political borders do not coincide with the land required to support each given national population” (Hawkes & Murphy, 2010, p. 16). While interventionist policies have come and gone, with the new era of “globalization” in the 1980s, tariffs and other protectionist policies have fallen to the wayside of most countries, being replaced with international agreements such as NAFTA (ibid). Such agreements are pivotal, as Madeline Pullman and Zhaohui Wu (2012) suggest, because as the global population continues to expand, countries with the capacity and technology to create hardier and more plentiful crops will require geopolitical and economic stability to distribute goods elsewhere.

In addition, for those in (primarily) developed countries like Canada, consumers have considerably more choice in what and how to eat, for lower cost. More options with respect to how to acquire important vitamins and minerals are available for such populations (Thompson, 2012). As I explain further below, the industrial philosophy of agriculture believes it unethical to produce food at anything than the lowest possible price for consumers. Proponents of this view see efficient market mechanisms as providing a service to citizens, especially to those who have difficulty affording well-balanced meals.

Indeed, arguments such as these can be glossed over by food activists who fall into what Born and Purcell (2009) call the “local trap”, romanticizing local-food scales. As the authors note, “[n]o matter what its scale, the outcomes produced by a food system are contextual; they depend on the actors and agendas that are empowered by the particular social relations in a given food system” (p. 117). The instinct to battle large, liberalized food chains with the rhetoric of “the local” is,

while not inherently misguided, perhaps somewhat naïve. Moving all food production and consumption systems to small-scale does not necessarily guarantee socially just measures of distribution or production. Constructing a binary between “small” and “big” is counterproductive—rather, we should be studying food consumption and production together.

As Inglis and Gimlin note, “macro must be brought together with micro, structure with agency...and so on” (2012, p. 9). While the objective of the following discussion of food sovereignty is not to romanticize the local, it is to problematize the very way we discuss food systems: as consumption and production being two disconnected spheres. A discussion around food sovereignty provides discursive space in which these two processes can be brought together, and how everyday Canadians might be empowered by social relations. While the local scale may not automatically be the solution for the current woes of trade liberalization, as I describe below, a food-sovereignty framework may point out some problems with liberal trade, and some new answers. I will now explore this framework in more detail.

Production and the Decline of Food Sovereignty

Qualmin (2001; 2007; 2011) is one of few Canadian authors that explicitly links corporate power with the decline of food sovereignty and the capacity for policy stemming from its principles. Corporate power, due to its unity from structural equivalencies and cohesion, pushed the Canadian state to start the Canadian farm crisis. The farm crisis began in the 1970s alongside the corporate offensive, with small-scale family farms consistently losing revenue. Bronson shows that this was around the same time government shifted its attitude towards farmers as one of care to one of economics, when the Federal Task Force on Agriculture “offered only a few brief phrases of encouragement to those driven off the farms” (1972, p. 125).

Misfortune of individual farmers was the primary cause behind farm shutdowns, rather than bad economics. With the rise of neoliberalism, agriculture came to be treated just like any other sector; that “society is best served when farmers, ranchers, and other animal producers make their products available at the lowest possible cost” (Thompson, 2012, p. 221). This is the aforementioned industrial philosophy of agriculture, whereas the belief that food and community are intricately linked is the agrarian philosophy of agriculture (*ibid*). Food sovereignty is closer to this latter school of thought, which is not captured nor considered in current policy arrangements.

The “farm squeeze” that Qualmin (2007) describes is bankrupting small-scale farms, allowing agribusinesses to more easily scoop them up. We might think of farms as being in the middle of corporations on both the production and consumption end. Production companies like Dow Chemical, Cargill, and John Deere drive up prices for equipment that farmers need.

At the same time, farmers are required to purchase more of this equipment

and seed in order to make up for the lost revenue that comes with free trade agreements such as NAFTA, in addition to the reduced return they see from food processing and retail companies including Maple Leaf, Nestle, Safeway Canada, and so on (Qualmin, 2001). Fertilizer prices, for example, rose by 75% while the cost of production remained constant in 2000. Only about 10% of the consumer dollar actually reaches farms after it has run the corporate stream (Perfecto et. al, 2009, p. 73).

Further, Canadians actively support this farm squeeze by artificially keeping small farms operating through taxpayer support, "propping" farms up in the financial sandwich between profit-hungry retailers and processors. Despite the fact that such programs are meant to support small-scale farmers, they implicitly take for granted the corporate food regime currently in place; they hence merely serve to slow down, rather than stop, the financial demise of non-corporate farms. Inevitably, such farms are taken over by agribusinesses, now facilitated by the government. As a result of this arrangement, there was a 10% decrease in operating family farms from 2006 to 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011; Qualmin, 2011). This makes it increasingly difficult to create policy where producers and consumers might be joined in a nexus of food-sovereign initiatives such as farmer's markets.

Consumption and the Decline of Food Sovereignty

It can be reasonably argued, as Rod MacRae does, that "corporate agribusiness has intentionally acted, in collusion with government, to ensure that Canada has no coherent food policy" (1999, p. 182). This means that production and consumption are governed by entirely separate policies, with no "linking up" between them, effectively shutting out principles of food sovereignty from the Canadian food chain (Rideout et. al, 2007). The detachment between production and consumption ushers in our current ideology around food; that which the sociologist Gyorgy Scrinis calls nutritionism. Nutritionism can be defined as an obsession with individual nutrients within food, as opposed to the qualitative dimensions of food, to the point that "focus on nutrients has come to dominate, to undermine, and to replace other ways of engaging with food and of contextualizing the relationship between food and the body" (Scrinis, 2008, p. 39). Nutritionism, he further notes, "enable[s] the smooth integration of individuals and populations into the structures and requirements of the dominant agrifood system" (p. 47).

Nutritionism performs a number of tasks that enable this integration. For example, nutritional tinkering encourages individuals to simply buy differently, rather than question where the food comes from. Probiotic yogurt, for example, is marketed as containing good microorganisms to benefit our intestines. In fact, the history of vitamins themselves is bound up with that of advertising—soon after scientist Leslie Harris isolated them, they were immediately drawn away from science and placed in commercials claiming various health benefits (Kamminga, 2000). Burch and Lawrence (2010) note that various corporations, like Nestle, have constructed a public

philosophy of “healthy” by pouring billions of dollars into biotechnological research and advertising, using artificial nutraceuticals and additives. This involves marketing several products as “functional foods”; that by purchasing various types of products, we can have our bodies “functioning normally” once again. Of course, what is “normal” is heavily influenced by companies like Nestle (*ibid.*).

Food sovereignty, in contrast to nutritionism, advocates for policy officials educated “about food systems in order to facilitate the promotion of healthy and sustainable food choices”—getting at policy’s need to explore the connection between production and consumption (Burch & Lawrence, 2010, p. 138). When low socioeconomic individuals have difficulty purchasing food, they must resort to purchasing cheap, mass-produced food that is usually unhealthy (Ritzer, 2007). The dominant industrial view of food would argue, using narrow energy-intake poverty lines that more food needs to become less expensive (for example, see Averett & Ravaillion, 2012).

The food sovereignty approach would argue food must be looked at holistically in order to empower those individuals. Current methods of agriculture, including increased pesticide use and mass-scale harvesting, at the expense of smaller farms more capable of joining up with consumers, are spreading throughout Canada. In separating out consumption and production, the tangling of food, community, and health are not a priority. Agricultural policy is clearly made to fit into a ready-made army of consumers who must take it upon themselves as individuals to make healthy choices. Nutritionism and industrial agriculture thus complement each other quite well and continue to stabilize the atomized relationship Canadians maintain to their food.

CONCLUSION

As I have shown above, food as a tool of empowerment, rather than a simple source of nutrition, is an unwelcomed concept in the state-corporate interaction. Canadians are continuing to lose control of their own food systems as small-scale, family operated farms continue to be shut down and transferred to corporate control by the Canadian government. This is due to a unified voice from the Canadian business class, within which the food industry is represented. As the data I have used are insufficient to warrant a firm answer, more research into this area is necessary; a social network analysis of the Canadian agri-food industry would be greatly beneficial here.

What might be done? A better question might be: what is needed to reverse this trend? We might start with Ed Finn’s recent statement: “No matter which social, economic, environmental, or political problem you happen to be mostly concerned about, its origin—and aggravation—can be traced to some aspect of corporate rule” (2013, p. 5). As I have shown, food is a part of this arena. It would seem that a solution must, at least for the time being, consist of some resistance. Hansen (2011)

notes that some participants in community gardens see the connections they make in and of themselves as forms of resistance. Learning how to take back control of food, for many, breaks the isolation that comes with the regime of nutritionism and increasing neoliberal emphasis on the individual as the bearers of life's hardships.

This individualizing discourse has been especially rampant in Canada (see Jenson & Phillips, 2001). Ultimately, more Canadians need to be educated about a food sovereignty approach. This is due to the fact that ideas about food sovereignty force us to rethink our relationships with food, agriculture, and the environment. But, perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of food sovereignty is that it forces us to rethink our relationships with one another. (Wittman et. al, 2010, p. 1)

If we can rethink our relationships with food, perhaps the path down which we follow new systems can help us rethink what it means to work, to be Canadian, or to live in a community. Hopefully, it is within this framework of food sovereignty that we are able to find some shelter from what seems like an otherwise unpromising future in the policy world.

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APPENDIX A: Connections of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives to the Canadian Corporate Food chain

CCCE REPRESENTATIVE	CORPORATION REPRESENTED
Jack Broodo	Dow Chemical Canada ULC
William J. Doyle	Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan
Edward S. Kennedy	Northwest Co.
Paul J. Lirette	GlaxoSmithKline, Inc.
Michael H. McCain	Maple Leaf Foods
Len Penner	Cargill, Inc.
Michael J. Oxley	E.I. Dupont Canada Co.
Lino A. Saputo	Saputo, Inc.
John C. Risley	Clearwater Fine Food
Galen G Weston	Loblaw, Inc.



We Demand a Happy Ending For Pedro and Guillermo: Love, Society and The Queer Politics of The Latin American Telenovela

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This paper discusses the social effect that the Argentine telenovela *Farsantes* (2013-2014) generated in transnational audiences since its release in June 2013.¹ For the first time in the history of Latin American telenovelas, *Farsantes* brought to the forefront a gay love story to the screen in prime time: Two lawyers, Guillermo Grazi-ani (Julio Chávez) and Pedro Beggio (Benjamín Vicuña) fall in love with each other. However, their love story triggers a series of violent events, which ends up with Pedro's death at the hands of his ex-wife. The audiences responded to Pedro's death with wide discontent in social media. Thousands of viewers signed a petition to the TV producers demanding a happy ending for the gay couple. Moreover, a group of viewers hung large signs with the picture of the two men kissing each other in front of the doors of Pol-ka TV studio in Buenos Aires city. The sign read "*No todas las historias de amor terminan mal. Pedro y Guillermo hasta el final*" -not all love stories have a tragic end, we demand a happy ending for Pedro and Guillermo- (La iniciativa de los fans de *Farsantes* para que Vicuña no se vaya, 2013)

Through this confluence between fiction and society *Farsantes* destabilizes discourses on homosexuality rooted in modernity, which defined it as a peripheral sexuality that goes against nature. As Michel Foucault (1981) puts it:

To imagine a sexual act that doesn't conform to law or nature is not what disturbs people. But that individuals are beginning to love one another-there's the problem. The institution is caught in a contradiction; affective intensities traverse it which at one and the same time keep it going and shake it up.[...] Institutional codes cannot validate these relations with multiple intensities, variable colors, imperceptible movements and changing forms. These relations short-circuit it and introduce love where there's supposed to be only

¹The author dedicates this article to Julio Chávez and Benjamín Vicuña.

law, rule, or habit ("Friendship as a Way of Life").

Indeed, *Farsantes* emerges as a love story that blurs the binaries homo-heterosexuality while challenging the laws of institutions of social control such as the bourgeois family. Those binaries were historically reinforced by discourses designed by the scientific and legal frames of the Enlightenment. Moreover, in the 19th century, nation-states considered the sexuality of their citizens as a biopolitical question and defined homosexuality as a deviant act thus making heterosexuality a norm (Foucault, 1978, p.101). In the late 20th century, new forms to understand gender relations and sexuality gave space to sexual minorities to find legitimate venues of expression.² In other words, the emergence of identity politics allowed the bodies of men who love other men to be seen as normalized entities. In this historical resignification of bodies, homosexuality seemed to have disappeared as an epistemological problem for Western states. Indeed, *Farsantes* was released at a moment in which the Argentine state took a strong stance toward human rights. In 2010, Argentina legalized same-sex marriage.

This study aims to explore the social effect of fiction in perceptions on same-sex love. I outline the ways in which Hispanic audiences responded to the love story between two men portrayed in *Farsantes* and how homosexual love was redefined. I argue that *Farsantes* legitimized the queer self by defying the idea of deviance while portraying gay love as genuine. *Farsantes* has proved with its success that TV series can participate in cultural politics and legitimize queer identities (Chambers, 2009, p. 19). My argument is structured as follows. First I discuss how key scenes in the show dialogue with queer theory to demonstrate how love, as Foucault argues, destabilizes coded institutionalized categories such as gender or identity. Second I analyze the audiences' responses to the Pedro's and Guillermo's romance to show how fiction and society converge to challenge moral prejudices. Finally I explore why there is a need to queer television.

PEDRO AND GUILLERMO: THE OTHER THROUGH THE LENS OF QUEER THEORY

In episode 1, Guillermo invites Pedro to become a partner in his law firm. They soon start a close relationship. They phone call each other late at night to discuss work-related issues and then they meet at the office. Both Pedro and Guillermo specialize in criminal law. But Camila Moravia (Julieta Cardinali), Pedro's girlfriend, finds Guillermo's work suspicious. In episode 3, she tells him that his law firm is a safe haven for criminals. Pedro arrives at Guillermo's early in the morning next day to apologize for Camila's behaviour and also to receive a payment from him. The conversation turns personal when Pedro expresses his insecurities about marrying Camila:

²This article is the result of extensive discussions about the intersection of nation, gender and sexuality in the history of Latin America in seminars led by historian William E. French at the University of British Columbia in the fall of 2013.

- Guillermo: do you love her?
- Pedro: yes...
- Guillermo: love is an act of faith...
- Pedro: love is an act of faith...
- Guillermo: well...
- Pedro: well?
- Guillermo: (laughing) I gave you your money...I received your apologies...
There is nothing else to do.
- Pedro- Ah... yes... (Aguirre, Segade, Barone, & Suar, 2013-2104)³

The scene is quite erotic. When Pedro is leaving the room, he looks at Guillermo lovingly. They hug strongly and then Pedro leaves. Guillermo closes the door and leans on it while remaining breathless. For Pedro and Guillermo, love and desire are suppressed by social regulation. As Judith Butler (1990, p. 136) puts it “ words, acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality”. Pedro and Guillermo perform a heterosexual identity that is in complete opposition to their desire for each other. Butler (1990, p. 25) argues that “gender proves to be performative-that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be.” In this sense, in their eagerness to perform a subjectivity that goes in the opposite side of their sexual desire, the lawyers subscribe to a hetero-normative behaviour.

Farsantes aesthetics was thought to reach wide audiences. The show turns away from traditional portrayals of homoeroticism: nudity is never shown. In episode 4, Guillermo calls Pedro at night and tells him he is going to the studio to sign some papers. Once in the office, Guillermo signs the paperwork and hands them to Pedro. Pedro looks down and Guillermo seizes the instant to look at him with love. Pedro raises his gaze, he gets closer to Guillermo to kiss him but instead he asks, “Did you change your cologne”? (Aguirre et al., 2013-2014). This (re) presentation of homoeroticism de-visualizes images of homosexual desire. Theirs is not, as Michel Foucault (1978, p. 43) puts it, “written immodestly on [their] faces.” Desire is implicit, modest and secret.

The first melodramatic turn delivered to the audiences occurs during the day of Pedro’s wedding in episode 17. Guillermo drives Pedro to the ceremony where colleagues, friends and family of the bride and the groom attend. Then Guillermo leaves the place in desperate sorrow. The scene shows him running and about to burst in tears along the riverside. His friend Alberto Marini (Facundo Arana) runs after him to offer his support. Guillermo breaks into tears in Alberto’s arms while loudly crying, “se casó” (he got married). The scene shows a man genuinely suffering for love and a friend offering solidarity and compassion. No moral judgment on the part of Alberto is shown; sexual orientation is left out of the question. Prejudice and op-

³ All translations of the *Farsantes*’s script from Spanish into English are provided by the author.

pressive rules of strict gendered social norms conditions Guillermo to declare Pedro his love (Aguirre et al., 2013-2014).

The point of no return in the story emerges when in episode 37 Pedro arrives at Guillermo's house in the middle of a storm at five in the morning to tell him he cannot stop thinking about him:

-Pedro: [...] is it normal to think so much about someone? [...]

-Guillermo: we, normal? [...] What do you mean by normal?...

-Pedro: what can we do about this? I need to give one step forward...

-Guillermo: but why? Am I forcing you? So?

-Pedro: so I think about you all the time. [...] It is madness!

-Guillermo: no, no, no. [...] Because I feel the same (Aguirre et al., 2013-2014).

Pedro feels confusion and desperation. His body cannot perform. In other words, as queer theorist Paul Fry argues, sexuality "is something that belongs in a dimension that exceeds and is less accessible than those more coded concepts that we think of as gender or as identity in general." For Pedro, homosexual desire is experienced as a force that challenges his performed identity as Camila's heterosexual partner.

In episode 38, Pedro and Guillermo kiss each other. Pedro feels ill and Guillermo takes care of him. In the kiss scene, Pedro sleeps while Guillermo lies besides him. When Pedro wakes up, he slowly approaches Guillermo and kisses him on the lips. Guillermo's eyes look tenderly at Pedro's while caressing his cheeks with his hand. The music background plays Brazilian composer Caetano Veloso's song *Sin*:

I don't know if this is forbidden, if I won't be forgiven, if into the abyss I will fall.

I only know that this is love. I don't know if this love is a sin. I don't know if this love is a crime against the honourable laws of God and man. I only know that it stuns my life like a hurricane.

Indeed, for Pedro and Guillermo, their love becomes a sin, a crime against reason and the laws of normative sexuality (Foucault, 1978, p. 101). The lawyers' relationship is written as something forbidden by societal norms. The story shows what are the borders that need crossing for gay men who live parallel lives, and whose sexuality appears as a condemnation. *Farsantes* shows that we live in a world in which heterosexuality is presumed and determined by discourses that shape institutions of social control. Queer television, therefore, becomes a political venue that contributes to destabilize values that are presupposed and inscribed in cultural practices in which heterosexuality, as Chambers (2003, p. 23) notes, is "implicitly or explicitly presupposed as natural."

THE QUEER POLITICS BEHIND THE FICTION: PEDRO'S DEATH AND THE AUDIENCE'S RESPONSES

In episode 74, Camila kills Pedro. Blinded by jealousy, she triggers two shots at his heart. The audiences responded with anger and the show lost its reputation

among the fans. Moreover, Pedro's death became a source of social commentary in social media.

The confluence between society and fiction posits an epistemological problem. How to measure the effect of fiction in the social sphere has always been problematic because it places the quantitative element of the evidence at stake. In other words, How can it be proved that *Farsantes* generated a transformative framework for changing attitudes toward homosexuality in Argentina because viewers support a *different* love story? Are the fans' comments representative of those changing attitudes? Perhaps these questions will haunt us and ultimately will never be answered fully. However, I analyze what the story has awakened in people's lives through the audiences' active participation in Internet forums dedicated to *Farsantes*. I assess people's comments according to their perceptions on Pedro's death. The comments I examine were published from June to November 2013 in Facebook and in the website of the show.

People have claimed about Guillermo and Pedro the following: "This story has penetrated my bones" (Maria). "It seems incredible. I know it is only a TV show, but it feels as part of our lives" (Gloria). "I know it is only a show but I learned a lot with it" (Marta) (Club De Fans De Guille Y Pedro-Farsantes's Facebook page, accessed November 15, 2013). "The kiss between Pedro and Guillermo was so cute" (Emanuel). "Homosexuality is treated with so much respect that it is just wonderful. It trespasses the screen and it transmits so much" (Carlos). "I am so touched and emotional by the way they look at each other. The looks say so much" (Vanessa). "I am living something similar to Pedro's and Guillermo's love story. Love transforms you. It feels like you are ill. I feel like I have no air when I am not with the person I love. It is true: a lot of people get hurt. That is why it is better always to tell the truth because lots of people suffer without deserving it." (José). "I would like to fall in love and be loved like Guillermo loves Pedro" (Tiziana). "We need to overcome taboos because when it is about love there are no differences" (Paula). "*Farsantes* treats homosexuality, something that still generates rejection in great part of society, with respect and love" (Carmen) (<http://www.eltrecetv.com.ar/farsantes>).

Viewers repudiated the death of Pedro and confessed to being emotionally devastated: "The scriptwriters killed one of the most loved characters of Argentine fiction and they did it without any kind of consideration or responsibility. We know that today there are many people who are grieving [Pedro] [...] because he freed the souls of many people. We do not know if Argentina will be more tolerant and less discriminatory. We do not know if gay people will be more accepted by the masses, as they deserve it. What we do know is that the story between Guillermo and Pedro was a love story because it will always live in our hearts" (Soledad) (Club De Fans De Guille Y Pedro-Farsantes's Facebook page, accessed November 15, 2013) "We have our place where Guille and Pedro live and are happy, away from pain and human misery" (Sandra) (<http://www.eltrecetv.com.ar/farsantes>).

The viewers' responses to the death of Pedro posit the ultimate problem for institutions of social regulation: the meaning of love. What is love? The audiences responded systematically to this question by repeating Guillermo's definition of love in episode 55: "I believe that love is something that resists to everything. It is an act of faith. It is an act of profound freedom" (Aguirre et al., 2013-2014). The audiences understood love as an act of freedom and of will, as a force that destabilizes language, symbols and oppressive imaginaries on sexuality. For the audiences, there is no explanation for true love within the realm of language. For the audiences, love emerges as a subversive category that struggles against prejudices and exclusionary discourses.



Figure 1. Fans hang poster across Polka TV studios. Club De Fans De Guille Y Pedro. (N.D) In Facebook [fan page]



Figure 2. Street sign at Polka TV Studios. Club De Fans De Guille Y Pedro. (N.D) In Facebook [fan page]

CONCLUSIONS

It is doubtless that scriptwriters Carolina Aguirre and Mario Segade were able to write a story that de-textualized discourses on gay love. As I have argued, post-modernity challenged dominant values constructed during the 18th and 19th century as part of the biopolitical program of the Enlightenment. Studies of gender and sexuality in the last 30 years originated spaces for a different reception to TV

shows covering themes considered taboo in Latin American countries, such as homosexuality. But there is something else in Farsantes's story. I chose Farsantes not because it is a show inscribed in the genre of queer television. As Chambers (2009, p. 22) argues, many shows with gay themes can be depoliticized and be less queer than others. I chose *Farsantes* because it posits the question of love and its power to go against the institutionalized knowledge on sexuality and coded categories such as gender and identity. *Farsantes* legitimized the queer self by defying the idea of deviance while portraying love between men as genuine and universal.

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Communicating Power: Negotiating Collaboration and Hierarchy in a Grassroots Community Organization

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ABSTRACT

This article narrates a small snapshot of an ethnographic field study at a grassroots community organization, in which the author took field notes while volunteering. The bulk of my research rests on the myriad ways power was communicated during an event held for volunteers at this organization. When groups identify themselves as 'grassroots,' this tends to emphasize a more democratic and collaborative organization that favours a 'bottom-up' structure in contrast to the 'top-down' structure with hierarchical power systems familiar to corporate business models. Nevertheless, this grassroots organization exhibited covert and overt power structures reminiscent of a corporate hierarchy. The GCG established and reinforced these power relations through textual means (e.g. job titles, organizational charts, email hosting, transcription, access to data, invitations, digital fluency, usernames, passwords, recording attendance), physical means (e.g. the manipulation of others' bodies with objects and space, body positioning, gaze, posture, access to a meeting place), and vocal means (e.g. social introductions, secret keeping, pronoun use, the giving of approval, information sharing, veto). Meanwhile, some volunteers challenged this hierarchy through tone of voice, repetition of speech, vocal interruption, vote participation, the voicing of disapproval, rejection of rules, and insistence on collaboration. Because these uneven power relations manifest themselves in a 'grassroots' community group, I demonstrate how researchers cannot take at face value the assumed egalitarian structures of professed 'bottom-up' organizations.

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INTRODUCTION

This article analyzes a small snapshot of an ethnographic field study at a community organization that defines itself as 'grassroots.' To maintain confidentiality, I renamed this organization the 'Grassroots Community Group' or GCG. My research and volunteer work were specifically involved with the GCG's 'newcomer' branch, which is designed to aid immigrants settle in the community. The portion of my research narrated here mainly consists of an event informally called a 'volunteer blog pre-launch,' which was held for volunteers at the GCG. Since my arrival at the GCG, the volunteer coordinator, Julia¹, had spoken to me about creating blog for GCG volunteers to use. In private meetings, she told me her intentions for this blog and I offered feedback on logistical issues, such as how to incorporate mailing lists. After I created a blog with a functional user interface, Julia decided to hold a meeting for select volunteers, where we would demonstrate and discuss the blog as a work-in-progress.

During this meeting, I witnessed a challenge to the hierarchy of power already established at the GCG; in fact, this challenge made that hierarchy—and my own position in it—more visible than it had previously appeared to me. What is so notable about this particular negotiation of power is that it occurs in a supposedly 'grassroots,' community-led organization. Because this type of model tends to emphasize its 'bottom-up' structure in contrast to the 'top-down' structure favoured by corporations, it is important to recognize the business-like hierarchical systems that exist within the GCG. My own power negotiations and my position in the hierarchy are not ignored in my analysis, which is critical to understanding my standpoint (i.e., the social location from which I conducted my fieldwork). And just as reflexivity is critical to ethnographer because it exposes how one's research is influenced by one's standpoint, so researchers should likewise question the egalitarian structures professed by supposedly 'grassroots' organizations.

METHODS

My ethnographic fieldwork took place over four months in the summer of 2013, during which I engaged in community service learning; that is, I acted as both researcher and volunteer at the Grassroots Community Group. During my placement at the GCG, I took short notes either directly as they occurred or, if I was directly engaged in hands-on volunteer work, during breaks. In both cases, I later elaborated with a detailed account immediately after leaving the GCG. My ethnographic methods were strongly guided by Dorothy Smith (2005), Allaine

¹ Names have been changed or omitted to maintain confidentiality.

Cerwonka and Liisa Malkii (2007), Donna Haraway (1988), and Ana Vivaldi and Tom Kemple (2013). These sources, particularly Vivaldi and Kemple (2013), also informed my theoretical framework before, during, and after conducting the fieldwork; moreover, my analysis of power (i.e. the real or imagined ability to influence or control others) was greatly influenced by Foucault (1984), Gupta and Ferguson (1992) and additional non-scholarly sources, such as my mother.

Since this article focuses on how hierarchical power structures are maintained and challenged, I have refrained from using direct citations within my essay in an effort to challenge the hierarchy that portrays the authority of students' and laypeople's ideas as inferior to those of tenured and salaried academics. While I doubt that I could have arrived at certain ideas without the help of professional academics, I have purposely chosen to express my ideas in my own words, without appealing to the superior credentials of academics to back up my claims. Instead, I have included a bibliography of individuals that captures—to the best of my ability—the sources from which I have drawn inspiration to analyze my observations within this essay. It should be noted that this bibliography is incomplete, since the ideas presented here have been inspired by too many sources to acknowledge, some of which I may not even be aware.

The following section of this essay consists of an ethnographic narrative in the main body and a critical analysis in the footnotes. I hope that this textual separation will allow readers to better appreciate the connections and disconnections between my observations and my analysis. And while this format may be new to some, I have chosen it so that readers can easily follow the narrative without being forcibly encumbered by analytical interjections. In particular, readers may first read the narrative all at once, in order to get a good sense of the scene, before returning to the accompanying analysis. I hope that lay readers in particular will be able to benefit from such a structure.

NARRATIVE

As Cherise (the volunteer facilitator²) and I set up the laptop and projector in the middle of the room, the volunteers started to arrive and take 'their' spots on

²Job titles are one of the most explicit appearances of what I call the 'official hierarchy' (i.e. the hierarchy sanctioned by the Grassroots Community Group) that greatly resembles the organizational structure of a corporation. Titling, itself ubiquitous in corporations, is a method of associating people with certain words according to their power within the organization. Within the GCG's organizational structure, the title 'volunteer' is subordinate to 'facilitator', which is subordinate to 'coordinator', which is subordinate to 'director', which is subordinate to 'executive director'. Although there are many unpaid positions at the GCG, the title 'volunteer' applies only to a specific group of people with very little power. For instance, in my observation, board members were never called volunteers, despite the fact that their work was unpaid. Additionally, staff distinguished me from the other volunteers by referring to me as a student, not a volunteer. Individuals who are actually given the title 'volunteer' generally occupy the lowest rungs of the organization's hierarchy. The only working individuals (as opposed to members or guests) that a volunteer may have power over is another volunteer, which results in an additional sub-hierarchy within the volunteer group. In this article, I have refrained from capitalizing job titles in order to challenge the reification and normalization of certain individuals' power over others.

the row of chairs behind me.³ I chatted with one woman who admitted she knew very little about what this whole meeting was about, except that it had to do with some blog. She only came because Julia, the Grassroots Community Group's volunteer coordinator, had requested her presence through a short, vague email (see Appendix A).⁴

After most of the seats were filled, Cherise asked me if it was okay to start.⁵ When I agreed, she took 'her' place at the front of the room and faced the volunteers.⁶ The room quieted and Cherise introduced herself before explaining that Julia would be arriving late (no explanation given)⁷. She then asked that we go around the room, introduce ourselves, and explain what we would like to get out of the blog and out of this meeting. She looked to me to start the introductions, so I declared that I had been volunteering here for over a month, and Julia had recently approached me to help make a blog for the volunteers at the GCG. I said that I was hoping to hear their opinions on it so that I could make some improvements.

As we went around the room, I found that most of the other volunteers, like the woman I had chatted with earlier, seemed to have almost no idea why they were here. One volunteer arrived a bit late, but she drew little attention, and the

³The manipulation of the body as a means to assert power is paramount. When Cherise and I set up a row of chairs at the back of the room, we communicated to the volunteers that they were supposed to come, take a seat where we wanted them, and receive instruction. The volunteers knew that this was exactly what they were meant to do, and conformed to those social norms without any verbal direction. The presence of a row of empty chairs at the back of the room was enough to manipulate the volunteers' bodies into going to a certain space and sitting in a way that facilitated their ability to receive instruction. Because these norms are pervasive in our society, it is likely that many had learned this behaviour simply by participating in everyday life.

⁴ The creation of this email demonstrates the existence of the official hierarchy in three ways. First, Julia's ability to send this email relied on certain privileges, usually reserved for staff, such as a personalized email address officially hosted by the GCG, and access to the list of volunteers' email addresses. Personalized, officially-hosted email addresses are devices that are also commonly used in businesses. Second, Julia's ability to request the presence of eight volunteers on such little information, and to be obeyed, speaks to the power she has over them. Third, while the blog itself is targeted at all of the GCG's volunteers, Julia assumed the privilege of hand-picking the eight "most active" volunteers that she would invite to the "pre-launch" meeting. As she had told me earlier, she changed the name of the meeting from 'blog launch' to 'blog pre-launch' in order to give these eight volunteers the impression that they were 'in on it' before it was publicized. This privileging of certain volunteers over others demonstrates the uneven power relations between those who are chosen, those who are ignored, and those who are doing the choosing.

⁵ By privileging my spoken readiness over the others', Cherise communicated my superior position among the present volunteers. However, my 'superiority' in the blog project had been negotiated long before the 'pre-launch' meeting began. From the moment Julia told me about the project, I occupied a privileged position as both knower of a secret and as one-half of the collaboration (for many weeks, Julia and I were the only ones involved).

⁶ Here, again, the body is manipulated to create uneven power relations. This time, Cherise has positioned herself at the front of the room directly in the volunteers' line of sight, but standing above them so that they must look up to see her face. Equally important is that she is looking back (down) at the volunteers. With this gaze and posture alone, Cherise has the power to silence a previously chatty room, to speak and to be listened to until she purposely transfers that power over to someone else.

⁷ The absence of Julia's body reflects her privileged status. Even though she demanded attendance at a certain place and time, she was exempt from this demand herself. Moreover, due to the imbalance of power, Julia felt no need to explain why she was late and none of the volunteers asked. Upon her arrival, the volunteers did not comment on Julia's tardiness, as might occur in a reversed scenario; instead, Cherise immediately filled her in on what had happened, so that Julia's knowledge was not impeded by her absence during the start of the meeting.

conversation continued seamlessly. Then, by the time everyone had gone around, Julia entered the room as if on cue; everyone's gaze shifted to face her, and everyone's voices fell silent.⁸ She spoke about the existence and purposes of blogs on the internet, about her idea to create a blog for the GCG's volunteers, and about the goal of this meeting: to explore the blog-in-progress and to brainstorm ideas about how 'they' (i.e. the volunteers) would like to use it.⁹

Julia then opened the floor to the volunteers to share their ideas. Cherise took 'her' position by the flipchart at the front of the room, and, marker in hand, awaited the voicing of opinion.¹⁰ Although there was much discussion for each idea, Cherise transcribed a brief summary of those discussions into the following bullet points:

- share natural talents
- share experiences
- connect people together from different places

The brainstorming was interrupted by a volunteer who was concerned about how to actually use the blog that had already been created. Julia agreed and asked me to provide a full run-through of the blog and its capacities.¹¹ I first

⁸ This attention contrasts not only with the volunteer who arrived late, but also with the attention that Cherise drew when she stood at the front of the room. In this case, the volunteers' silence and gaze shift resulted less from body posturing (as in Cherise's case) and more from the existing relationships that were now made visible by Julia's presence. While Cherise had only been a staff member for about a week, Julia had been working at the GCG for several years. Furthermore, Julia personally knew every volunteer she invited, so she did not need to introduce herself like Cherise did. It was the totality of the volunteers' existing relationship with Julia, including the email invitation she had sent, that informed them of her position of authority. She was the reason they were here to begin with.

⁹ While everyone's uses of personal pronouns varied, I have paid particular attention to the instances where people have used them to establish or challenge power. In this instance, Julia uses the pronoun "you" instead of "we" to detach herself from, and invite volunteers into, the blog-creation process. In some ways, this can be seen as a challenge to the official hierarchy because the volunteers are gaining power and the volunteer coordinator is losing power. However, from a different perspective, it can also be seen as a reinforcement of the official hierarchy. This perspective points to the fact that the volunteer coordinator is *choosing* to relinquish power and *gifting* it to the volunteers, who must dutifully *accept* it. This exchange keeps Julia in the active role of 'provider' and the volunteers in the passive role of 'receiver'.

¹⁰ The privilege of having one's opinions acknowledged on paper is not nearly as great as the privilege of deciding whose opinions are transcribed into text. Not only does the transcriber have the power to alter or ignore ideas, but she always has the option of insert her own ideas into text as she pleases. That being said, at least a few volunteers knew how to express themselves in a way that would help to persuade Cherise to acknowledge their opinion. This included speaking loudly and clearly, condensing one's thoughts into a brief statement, and repeating an idea until it was written down. These techniques challenged the typical power relations of transcriber over speaker, since now the speakers were exerting influence over the transcriber and what was to be transcribed.

¹¹ Interruption is a privilege and often an assertion of power. In this case, a volunteer pointed out the usefulness of learning how the blog functioned before voicing opinions on how it ought to change. In doing so, he was implying that the current conversation should stop and only resume once they had been shown how the existing blog worked. And, since it was Julia who had decided on the order of the conversation, his remarks challenged her authority, and, by extension, the official hierarchy itself. However, when Julia gave him her approval, she secured the final word. It was Julia, not the subversive volunteer, who ultimately decided which direction the meeting would take. If another volunteer had agreed with his suggestion, it would have been supportive; however, because Julia was recognized as the highest authority in the room, her approval served to re-establish the

showed the blog as it would look to the public, and explained that anyone from the public could view the blog's contents, translate it into different languages, subscribe to it, ask the moderator a question, or submit something to appear on the blog—but it won't appear on the blog unless approved by a moderator. I proceeded to show the volunteers how to log on as a moderator, how to approve submissions, and how to submit their own content.¹² Then, when I approached the flipchart and wrote down the moderator username and password¹³ for the volunteers to record, Julia interrupted. Apparently, this was not what she had in mind.

After confirming to her that I did, in fact, just write down the moderator's username and password on the flipchart for everyone to see, she went on to assert that the blog could not function this way. There could only be one moderator, because if everyone is a moderator, then 'we' risk having inappropriate content appear on the blog. Some volunteers challenged the fairness of having one volunteer approve the content of another volunteer.¹⁴ Julia defended her claim by asserting that staff understand the GCG's rules of internet ethics better than the volunteers. So, she warned, as long as 'our' name and 'our' logo is up on the blog, 'we' are responsible for any inappropriate content.¹⁵

official hierarchy that placed her in charge of the meeting.

¹² While explaining how to use the blog, I confirmed my superior position in the hierarchy of volunteers through several methods. First, I demanded the volunteers' attention by positioning my body as Cherise had done earlier—standing at the front of the room, looking down at the volunteers sitting in the back. Second, I spoke as a fluent expert of the digital world, providing facts and know-how to the volunteers, who were to be the receptacles of such knowledge. My expertise speaks to a prevalent feature of corporations: the creation of a division of labour that encourages specialized expertise among different individuals to maximize efficiency. Third, I withheld certain information (such as how to edit the design of the blog), thus reserving those privileges for myself. In the early stages of the blog creation, I discovered that my digital fluency in navigating the internet and in coding languages (see Appendix B) both strengthened and weakened my power in my collaboration with Cherise. On one hand, my digital fluency reversed Julia's power over me because all of her design requests had to pass through me, thus impeding her ability to implement ideas. On the other hand, my digital fluency, in combination with my inferiority to Julia in the official hierarchy, required that I handle all of Julia's whims and fantasies and delegated the nitty-gritty work entirely to me.

¹³ Usernames and passwords are texts that endow their knowers with extreme power and privilege relative to non-knowers. However, because this phenomenon relies on the secrecy of those texts, the more they are shared, the less powerful and privileged their knowers become. Thus, the act of uttering a username and password both establishes the utterer (in this case, me) with a high status in the hierarchy (since one is so privileged to know those texts) and, simultaneously, flattens the hierarchy out (since now the ratio between knowers and non-knowers is less steep).

¹⁴ In essence, the volunteers were challenging the creation of a new hierarchy between them, and there were other implications of Julia's statement as well. For instance, she seemed to be implying that multiple moderators would necessarily act less responsibly than just one moderator. I wondered if she had acquired this logic through the structure of her working environment. The GCG's organizational chart (see Appendix C) usually places one individual in charge of multiple, so that everyone is directly responsible to one 'boss' or 'supervisor'. This kind of structure favours a business-like hierarchical administrative system (one boss and several workers) over a horizontal collaborative system (multiple worker-bosses).

¹⁵ In this context, Julia uses the possessive and personal pronouns 'our' and 'we' to associate herself with staff and the GCG, at the exclusion of the volunteers. By doing this, she accomplishes two things. One, she further underlines the knowledge gap between staff (who know the GCG's internet ethics) and volunteers (who don't). This division between knower and non-knower reinforces the official hierarchy already set in place. Two, she justifies her earlier insistence on having only one moderator, since it is ultimate 'we' (i.e. Julia, staff and the GCG) who will be held responsible.

Unwilling to concede to the single-moderator system, one volunteer recommended that we establish a set of rules so that the moderators would have a standard by which to judge the appropriateness of content for the blog. This time, I stood at the flipchart with marker in hand to record the suggested rules. The first volunteer to speak suggested “no rules!” and related a story of a swimming pool she visited where the only written rule was “have fun!”¹⁶ Julia insisted the blog must have rules, otherwise it will be chaos.

Other suggestions for rules were given, including “no pornography”, “respect each other’s opinions”, and “be honest with each other”. At one point, a volunteer asked if it would be okay to post material in ‘other’ languages (that is, languages other than English). Some volunteers voiced affirmations—enough so that I wrote “Any language is welcome!” on the list of rules—but Julia was apprehensive. She stated that ‘we’ don’t want to exclude anyone, and ‘we’ want people to practice ‘their’ English.¹⁷

Some time later, one volunteer suggested that personal photos would be a good way to connect volunteers on the blog, given that one of the suggested purposes of the blog was to connect people. Julia warned, however, that if ‘we’ wanted to put up any personal photos, ‘we’ would need to obtain consent from everyone in each of the photos. Some volunteers sighed and groaned; another asked, “Really? Why?” Because, Julia explained, those are the rules of the GCG.¹⁸

As the volunteers became increasingly aware of the necessary bureaucratic practices that accompanied the blog, I sensed that they were enormously frustrated that the community organization was dictating how they could use it. Perhaps this was especially frustrating given that they had been invited here to offer opinions on how the blog should be used. In an effort to relieve this tension, I reminded everyone

¹⁶ Offering this suggestion was a risky way for the volunteer to negotiate power relations. On the one hand, any advocacy for having no rules implied that everyone else should stay silent, since suggesting any additional rules would necessarily challenge hers. If heeded, her position would prove to be a very powerful one, even superior to the other volunteers. On the other hand, if other volunteers did speak up to suggest more rules, they would be exercising power over her as they ignored the implications of her suggestion. Thus, her position would become inferior to those of the other volunteers. In the end, Julia was the one to exercise power as she asserted that there must be rules, otherwise it will be chaos. This, again, reminded me of the logic of hierarchical administrative systems.

¹⁷ The purposes of Julia’s personal pronouns here are twofold. In the first half of the statement, the ‘we’ is meant to align herself with the volunteers by assuming that they have the same desires. In doing so, she has made herself the spokesperson for all of the volunteers in expressing what their desires are. In the second half of the statement, Julia differentiates ‘us’ as fluent speakers of English from ‘them’ as people who need to improve ‘their’ English. While the knower versus non-knower relationship is often hierarchical (as previously discussed), the asymmetry here is further emphasized by this specific context. In Canadian society, fluency in English is considered to be of utmost importance in the realm of education and careership, and thus in the elevation of socioeconomic status. Thus, one can distance oneself from the ‘poor’ and ‘uneducated’ lower-class by drawing a boundary between oneself and people who do not speak English fluently. This politicization of language also informs Julia’s notion that to speak in non-English languages is to be exclusive, while to speak in English is to be inclusive.

¹⁸ In this exchange, Julia, perhaps anticipating the negative reaction to obtaining consent, used the personal pronoun ‘we’ as a means of associating herself with the volunteers and distancing herself from the GCG. This was a strategic move, as it allowed her to use the organization as a target for the volunteers’ groans and complaints, leaving herself unharmed.

that one of 'our' alternative options was to disassociate the blog from the GCG.¹⁹ One volunteer suggested we open up the blog to all volunteers in the neighbourhood; another suggested we connect the volunteers from all GCGs in the city; and still another suggested we extend our reach to the volunteers of all organizations in the city. Julia interrupted, stating that 'you' don't want to go too broad, because then it won't work. She insisted that 'you' need limits on who can participate, and 'you' need rules for what kind of content 'you' allow, and 'you' need to have a mission statement. Otherwise it will be chaos.²⁰

Some volunteers took Julia's advice, and perhaps others were considering the potential downsides of disassociating the blog from the GCG. Eventually, one volunteer expressed that there were two choices before them: either they keep the blog as-is during a 'trial period' to see how they like it, or they disassociate the blog from the GCG and leave it 'open-ended'. To be honest I did not completely understand those two options;²¹ but nonetheless, it was put to a vote, and all eight volunteers selected the 'trial period' option.²² As time constraints approached, some volunteers asked if we could meet again, and we decided on the same place²³ and

¹⁹ While my primary intentions here were to empower the volunteers, this endeavour cannot be separated from my own expressions of power. I voiced that statement assuming that if disassociation was agreed upon, then I, as the 'blog person', was the one who was going to make it happen. I differentiated myself from them as the one with digital fluency, a skill which I recognized as powerful and privileged. At the same time, I used the possessive pronoun 'our' to tie my fate together with theirs. If they wanted to disassociate the blog from the GCG, then I wanted to be included in that project, even if Julia and Cherise were not.

²⁰ Julia, perhaps sensing her own exclusion from the blog, switched from using 'we' in her speech to using 'you'. However, despite her exclusion—or perhaps because of it—she continued to assert the needs and wants of the volunteers. She also justified those needs and wants by stating the consequences—failure and chaos—that would inevitably follow should those needs and wants go unmet. It occurred to me that Julia was not trying to retain as much influence as possible for the sake of power; she was genuinely convinced in her opinions and was trying to prevent the blog from failing. But those opinions reflected the same logic behind hierarchical administrative systems that I have already discussed. This logic asserts that a more horizontal collaborative project cannot succeed. And perhaps this logic is correct, so long as success is defined by how often the blog publishes new content, and how many 'likes' those posts accumulate, and how many times they are tweeted. According to this logic, a viral marketing campaign is the epitome of success. However, it seemed to me that the volunteers were less interested in this kind of success, and more interested in the blog's ability to allow them to express themselves, to keep distant friends in contact, and to forge new friendships (as evidenced by their discussions about what the blog's purpose should be).

²¹ Here my position of power goes through some shifts. At first, my lack of understanding weakened my power as the volunteers understood something I did not. Then, by not asking for clarification, I gave the impression that I did understand, thus restoring my position of power. However, because I facilitated the vote without fully understanding it, my power was threatened again as I fell under the gaze of a knowing audience who had the power to expose my ignorance. I felt compelled to feign knowledge so that my ignorance would not be exposed, but in doing so, I conformed to the expectations of the volunteers, who unwittingly determined my behaviour.

²² At first, I considered this vote to be the most horizontal-collaborative-democratic decision in the entire blog-creation process. And perhaps it was, but upon reflection, it wasn't actually that democratic. There were eight people voting on behalf of the hundreds of GCG volunteers who knew nothing about the blog or the decision they were being excluded from. This hierarchy existed before the meeting even began. Still, holding a vote for people near the lowest rung of the organization is far from common in corporate structures.

²³ I realized later that should the volunteers decide to disassociate the blog from the GCG, we might no longer have access to the building for our meetings. I considered the awkwardness of that negotiation with dread. Maybe it would be insulting for us to continue meeting in this building; and yet, it is the only space we all have in common.

same time for the week after next. Julia asked the volunteers to write down their names and emails on a sheet of paper before they left.²⁴

Days later, I was volunteering for a special event at the GCG when I asked Julia for the list of volunteers who came to the 'blog pre-launch' meeting. I explained that I wanted to send them a reminder of the next meeting. She told me that Cherise had the list, so I would have to contact her, but in the meantime she gave me the notes from the flipchart. Before I left, she told me that she thought it would be best if I removed the GCG's title and logo from the blog.²⁵

CONCLUSION

My ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the Grassroots Community Group revealed that, despite claiming to be 'grassroots' in their official self-description, this organization perpetuated a corporation-like hierarchical organization structure and additional imbalances of power. A formally sanctioned system of hierarchy was implemented and utilized to organize and control those involved in the GCG, whether they were staff, volunteers or members. As demonstrated in my analysis, these systems were communicated and maintained through diverse textual, physical, and vocal means. As I observed and interacted with this communication and maintenance of power, those practices uncovered additional hierarchies not formally recognized by the GCG. Thus, my research and analysis reveals that even grassroots organizations, which may imply a horizontal or 'bottom-up' structure, indeed mimic hierarchies of power that exist more conspicuously in for-profit businesses. Hence, it is important for social scientists to recognize how power is communicated and practiced in any given organization, even when they profess a 'bottom-up' structure. Further research may indicate the origins of such hierarchies in grassroots organizations (e.g. staff with previous training in business structures, requirements to obtain funding, desire to maximize efficiency) and how they are interpreted and accounted for in the organization's rhetoric.

²⁴ Similar to usernames and passwords, email addresses are texts closely associated with privacy and privilege. Despite the fact that Julia already had these individuals' email addresses on file, she asked for them again—possibly as a way to record attendance. The ability to request the attendees' email addresses, and to be obeyed, is a kind of power that only a few privileged individuals could have exercised in that context. Julia was one of them; perhaps Cherise and myself were the only others. Creating passwords and maintaining their secrecy is a familiar practice in corporations.

²⁵ Julia's willingness to give me the volunteer list and the flipchart notes gave me the impression that she was distancing herself from the blog project, and this was further confirmed by her instruction to remove the GCG's title and logo. Also, I believe that, by giving this instruction, Julia was disregarding the vote that had occurred during the meeting. To do that requires an enormous amount of power—power which has been systematically awarded to Julia through the official hierarchy of the GCG's organization. On the other hand, it could be that, like me, Julia was confused by the vote and wasn't sure what it implied. She might have interpreted the vote as evidence that the volunteers did not want the blog to be associated with the GCG. In this case, Julia is not disregarding the vote with her enormous power; rather, she is conforming to the volunteer's desires (as she perceived them). If this scenario is accurate, then the volunteers successfully reversed power relations as they directed Julia's behaviour and took her project into their own hands.

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APPENDIX A: The email invitation to the blog pre-launch (edited for confidentiality):

from: Julia Lopez <JLopez@gcg.org>
to: Julia Lopez <JLopez@gcg.org>
date: 11 June 2013 12:21
subject: GCG volunteers Blog pre- launch
mailed-by: gcg.org

Hi : I am hoping you can join us Friday at 2pm for the pre-launching of our GCG volunteer blog.

You are being invited because you are one of our most active volunteer and will appreciate your feedback as we plan for the full launching of the blog with your help and suggestions.

Please let me know if you can join us:

June 14, Friday at 2pm here at GCG -computer room.

Warm regards,
julia

APPENDIX B: An excerpt from some HTML and CSS codes that I wrote for the blog (edited for confidentiality):

```
<html>
<head>
<style type="text/css">
.left_wrap {
  float:left;
  min-height: 100%;
  width:67%;
  position:relative;
  left:33%;}
.right_wrap{
  float:left;
  width:33%;
  position:fixed;
  right:0%;
  z-index:-1;}
.left_col {
width: 630px;
float: right;
min-height: 100%;
border-style:none dashed none none;
```




Composting Program Participation and Availability Across Canada

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ABSTRACT

Composting is often presented as an accessible way for people to become engaged in a sustainable lifestyle. However, it is up to municipalities to provide composting programs to citizens or for citizens to become educated to take up these programs on their own – usually through school or community awareness programs. To date, no information could be found on the status of these programs in Canada. To address this concern the author uses Statistic Canada’s Household and Environment Survey from 2011 to attain quantitative information on the accessibility and participation of these programs. Using this data the author analyzes demographic information on those who, or who are more likely to, participate in composting programs. Results showed high variance among provinces in regards to accessibility and participation in programs with certain provinces having almost no apparent access to programs. Results also showed that education, presence of children, and income have an impact on participation and access to composting programs. The article concludes with a discussion on reasons for the high variance among provinces and the demographic information of those who do and do not use these programs. The author hopes that the article will be a stepping stone to further research into composting program accessibility for citizens of Canada and provide drive for more programs to be created or for those programs that are already in place to receive more awareness.

Keywords: composting, Canada, sustainability, Statistics Canada, waste management

INTRODUCTION

Composting is an easy and accessible way for citizens to participate in 'green practices' – at least in theory. Programs need to be in place for citizens to be able to compost properly and efficiently, whether these are compost bin pick-up projects or specific depots for collection of compostable waste, they need to be available if they are to be utilized by the population. As waste management is run at a municipal level it can be difficult to ascertain exactly how many households and citizens have access to composting or if it is being run successfully and efficiently. With this in mind, this study aims to fill a knowledge gap of the current state of composting program availability and usage in Canada. It is important to have a base of knowledge to work with, to understand if there is a problem or area of concern, especially in regards to availability for citizens. Using the "Households and the Environment Survey" provided by Statistics Canada, specifically their data on composting practices of Canadian households, the goal is to determine whether or not the majority of Canadian households have access to municipal composting and utilize them to their full potential. The demographics of these households are also of interest, to see if there is a lack of participation in specific clusters of households based on certain characteristics. This will help to understand if policy makers and municipalities should be targeting certain populations through education and awareness campaigns. Overall, the goal is to have a better understanding of the current situation in Canada in regards to municipal composting availability and participation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Countries around the world have made several commitments to the protection and sustainability of the environment such as the Montreal Protocol of 1987 and Kyoto Protocol of 2002 – though Canada has since formally pulled out of the latter. These countries however have still found themselves struggling with maintaining their waste management, this has been suggested through research into laws of European Union legislation to be in part due to inconsistencies in definition of waste, making it difficult to trade and recycle this material (Arvanitoyannis, Tserkezou, & Choreftaki, 2006). However, their legislation is continually evolving to put more focus to the composting of biodegradable waste in place of simply becoming general waste (Arvanitoyannis et al., 2006). Canada has been keeping up in this regard, though it is managed at the provincial level, facilities continue to grow and legislation continues to be put in place to keep biodegradable waste out of landfills (Gorrie, 2012). However, the question in Canada is emerging of who is truly

responsible for waste management, the citizens or the government, and then to what degree of environmentalism should this responsible party be required to function at (Lorenzen, 2014)?

A study conducted on the residential assessment and perception towards the uses of compostable materials and the subsequent products of compost in the Las Vegas Valley, Nevada region showed that due to their specific location in North America landfills are the most cost-effective way of handling waste (Borden, Devitt, Morris, Robinson, & Lopez, 2004). However, there has been increased interest by the community to have their waste be composted instead of sent to landfills (Borden et al., 2004). Of relevance to this research was that interest in the application of the composted waste was higher in populations with advanced degrees and in income brackets above \$100,000 USD (Borden et al., 2004). While these categories are very abstract and related to only one area of the Nevada state, these results can shape the expectations that income and education will affect the results when looking at the Canadian population.

The previously discussed study has one important point to this current research: that education is an important factor in encouraging populations to participate in composting programs; but also that the legislation and policy must be in place to allow these services to be available for citizens. At a Canadian national level, these results are still similar. A study conducted in Canada found that public participation is high when education programs are in place and provide essential information on compost and composting programs (Otten, 2001). Also, when these programs are in place, there seems to be growing demand for more compost products that can be sold for profit at either an individual or municipal level – another reason municipalities may be interested in investing in composting programs (Otten, 2001). A study titled “Ethical Consumption” looked into the greater or lower likelihood of certain groups of citizens participating in what could be perceived as ethical or responsible consumption (Turcotte, 2010). The results showed, through a logistic regression, that those with higher incomes were more likely to participate in ethical consumption compared to those with lower incomes and that those with higher levels of education were much more likely to participate as well (Turcotte, 2010). It also noted that there was variance among the provinces of Canada and between households that included children or not (Turcotte, 2010). These findings can be used to not only shape the expectations of this study regarding how certain variables may impact these results, but also to help shape the analytical strategy of this study, it is important to note however that this study focuses on households as the unit of analysis and therefore cannot benefit from all the same variables as a study that focuses on individuals.

It is important to discuss how to encourage environmentally beneficial behaviours in citizens, such as composting, through various avenues. It has been previously researched that cost-benefit analyses are conducted by individuals regard-

ing environmentally beneficial behaviours and that establishing the behaviours as normative is key to promoting participation (Steg, Bolderdijk, Keizer, & Perlaviciute, 2014). It is not only creating these behaviours as normative that is important, but the idea that having an identity that contributes and encourages these practices are key in participation (Gatersleben, 2014). This encourages the idea that education is an important factor in participation of composting programs, as citizens should be educated not only to develop a normative idea regarding composting, but that composting is more beneficial than the costs in an effort to create green or sustainable citizens. To further this idea, Tate (2014) furthers the notion that promoting environmental information encourages these behaviours in individuals. This gives credence to the notion that we should be promoting awareness of composting practices and programs to increase accessibility. Of importance is the idea of an individual's environmental values and how that impacts their behaviours. One study looked into how the quality of life and personal values of individuals affected their environmental concern, with their results showing how socio-demographic variables such as income affected the environmental values of these individuals in regards to the environment (Poortinga, Steg, & Vlek 2004). In addition to this, studies looking across Canada have found that values regarding the environment are affected by education and knowledge about the issues (Zhou, 2013). However, studies have also shown that despite the values that Canadians have, we do not always carry out the same level of behaviours to support these values (Kennedy, 2009). Results from studies such as this can help shape the expectations of this research in how these household variables will affect participation in an activity such as composting.

As discussed before, policy must be present and is an important factor that dictates if programs for composting will be available for households. In this case, the cost of these services across Canada should be considered – especially as we have already mentioned that there is profit to be made in composting. A cross-Canada analysis was conducted of the costs associated with waste management services. While the study focused on recycling services it was noted that whether or not the service included a composting program and if this seemed to affect the overall cost of these programs (McDavid & Mueller, 2008). It was actually observed that if recycling programs also included a sub-program and services for compost collection that their net cost per tonne of waste would be lower than if they only handled recyclables (McDavid & Mueller, 2008). It was also seen in the study that there was significant difference between the provinces and whether public or private companies were used in regards to cost – for example, Quebec had increased costs in private and public run programs compared to other regions of Canada where costs were lower in either public, private or both compared to Quebec (McDavid & Mueller, 2008). It was however noted that as participation rates increase for composting and recycling programs that the cost to the govern-

ment decreases (McDavid, & Mueller 2008). Studies have also found differences between eco-literacy between provinces, which might allude to the idea that we require different strategies to reach specific groups of citizens (Laroche & Toffoli, 1996). This may be an encouraging fact for more municipalities to educate their populations when providing these programs.

Aside from the cost benefits of composting, the practice also has several other benefits both to municipalities and citizens. Composting is known to reduce the amount of waste sent to landfills, thereby reducing the amount of harmful effects and increasing the overall life of the landfill (Otten, 2001). With the reduced amount of waste going to landfills, combined with an effective recycling program, municipalities can reduce the costs and maintenance requirements as well as producing a product that has positive applications as fertilizer (Otten, 2001). With the prominence of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) the question has arisen of the safety to dispose of these organisms. A study has arisen that states composting may provide a safe and sustainable way to dispose of these GMOs alongside many of the other benefits already listed above (Singh, Billingsley, & Ward, 2006). As seen from this discussion, composting has many benefits to citizens and municipalities if properly implemented and accepted by the population.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study is based on data from the Statistics Canada "Households and the Environment Survey" (HES) conducted in 2009 and 2011. The survey has multiple questions based on household composting practices and program availability. The survey collected 14,862 responses from households across Canada, excluding the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, households located on Indian reserves, Crown lands, and households consisting entirely of full-time members of the Canadian Armed Forces. Certain remote regions of Canada were also excluded. The survey questions focus on two types of composting: kitchen waste (including food scraps, coffee grinds, eggshells, etc.) and/or yard waste (including leaves, plants, or grass clippings). Our analysis will be focusing on compost waste coming from the kitchen. The survey also includes various forms of demographic information; of interest to this analysis is household income, province of residence, presence of children, and highest education level achieved by any member of the household.

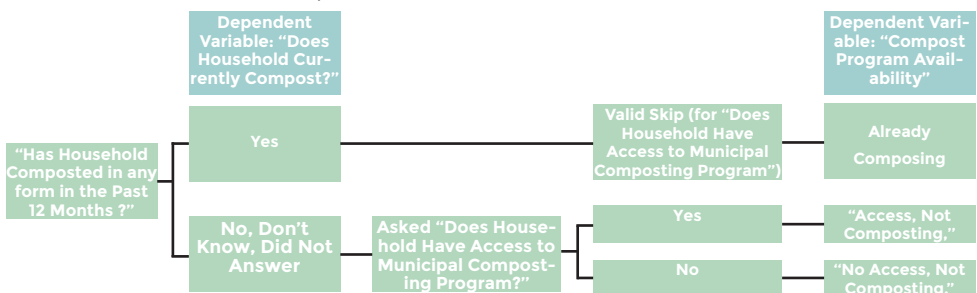
The survey design is based off of that of the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) population and takes a sub-sample from the CCHS' sample. The CCHS itself is stated to represent approximately 98% of the Canadian population over the age of 12. The survey was sent out to 20,000 households and received a response rate of at least 70% for almost all provinces. Data was then weighted to be representative to the majority of households in Canada – aside from those listed above that were not included in the sample, including northern provinces/territories – approximately 13.5 million households. Statistics Canada provides a weight file to

allow the sample of 14,862 households to be representative to the total population of households in Canada in 2011. However, when running analyses through SPSS with a population this size all results come back with significance values of 0.000. This is likely due to the incredibly high amount of calculated responses after applying the original weight. However, SPSS is merely assuming this significance based on size and disregards other factors involved in calculating significance. To account for this, a new weight file was created that makes the sample of 14,862 households representative to the total population without changing the actual number of households included in these analyses. This weight file was created with the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Original Weight Value} \times \text{Sample Size}}{\text{Population Size}} = \frac{\text{WEIGHT} \times 14,862}{13,599,121}$$

This allows for the results to be representative of the total population of Canadian households while not allowing all the results to be significant merely based on the size of the population. It is important to note that the results are representative of the total population of households in Canada regardless of the sample size involved in these analyses.

Specific variables of interest to us are "Province of Residence" (recoded to "Region of Residence" which combines the Prairie Provinces and Maritime Provinces into one category), "Highest level of education ever completed by any member of the households", "Household income – 2006", and "Presence of persons aged 0 to 17 in the household". The variable of income was coded by Statistics Canada to include three categories: \$40,000 and below, above \$40,000 but below \$80,000, and \$80,000 or more. It should also be noted that the income variable uses data from 2006 instead of 2011, meaning that while analyses involving income are still significant and important it should be noted that income data is out of date compared to the rest of the data collected for this survey. The variable of education was coded as High School Diploma or Less, Some Post-Secondary or a College diploma/certification, and University. For the dependent variables two questions that were designated as important to the analysis were used: "Has Household Composted Kitchen Waste in the Past 12 Months" and "Household has access to municipal composting program" which could be answered Yes, No, Don't Know, marked as Not Stated, or marked as a Valid Skip. How these two questions were utilized and re-coded is explained here:



For the logistic regression analysis the variable "Has Household Composted Kitchen Waste in Past 12 Months" was recoded into "Does Household Currently Compost?" The variable "Does Household Have Access to Municipal Composting Program?" was recoded into "Composting Program Availability" where the "Valid Skip" – applied only to those who answered "Yes" if the household composted in the past 12 months - was recoded to "Already composting in some form." The answers of "No" and "Yes" were recoded to "No access and not composting" and "Access to program but not composting" respectively. The figure above illustrates this recoding process and the results. These actions were taken to better use the variables available to identify the current program availability and use of respondents as well as applications in a logistic regression analysis.

Region of residence is expected to affect whether or not a household composts and whether they have access to a composting program. This is anticipated as policy and programs vary from municipality to municipality, province to province. As discussed in the literature review, education is estimated to have an impact on whether or not a household composts with expectations that higher levels of education will positively impact whether or not a household composts. Income is included in this analysis with the thought that those with higher incomes may live in neighbourhoods or buildings that are able to offer composting programs to their residents. Presence of children is included with the hypothesis that households that have at least one member between the ages of 0 and 17 are more likely to compost, with parents more likely to want to pass on "green" practices to their children. It was also expected that households with the presence of children would be families, more likely to eat at home, thus generating more kitchen waste.

This study's analysis will consist of univariate frequency analysis of the dependent variables "Composting Program Availability" and "Does Household Currently Compost?" to get a better understanding of how many households have access to composting programs or are already composting currently. From there, the focus will move to several bivariate analyses involving the independent variables of household income, education, presence of persons aged 0 – 17, and region of residence. The purpose is to see how these variables individually affect the dependents of "Composting Program Availability" for households and "Does Household Currently Compost?" This analysis will finish with a logistic regression analysis of the impact of all the independent variables on the dependent variable "Does Household Currently Compost?" so that it will be clearer which clusters of Canadians within the variables are more likely to be composting currently. The idea is to acquire information on which groups are in need of more targeted information or education on composting and which regions of Canada may need to be looked into more in regards to program availability.

RESULTS

The results of the univariate analysis showed that 43.8% (N = 5,816) of households currently compost in some form and 56.2% (N = 7,470) are currently not composting. Of the proportion of households that were not already composting, 11.5% (N = 1,526) had access but chose not to compost and 44.7% (N = 5,944) did not have access to a program at all. When comparing this to the results found in the 2009 Households and the Environment survey it is seen that there is an increase of those who are already composting, though that increase is only 0.8%. Due to this small increase, the comparison between the results of 2011 and 2009 stops here and the focus moves to only 2011 for the remainder of the analysis.

Moving on to the multiple binary analyses, starting with the effects of income on whether or not the household composts and then on whether the household has access to a composting program. First, for how the income affects whether or not the household composts it was found that those who make over \$80,000 are just as likely to compost as they are not to (50.0% for both). For those households that make less than \$40,000 a year, they are much more likely to not compost (67.1%, N = 1,918) than they are to participate (32.9%, N = 940). These results were significant with a value of $p < 0.001$ and the relationship was moderate with a Gamma value of 0.227 – this informs us that as income increases, so does the likelihood of composting. For this analysis involving the “Composting Program Availability” and “Household Income” the results showed that those in higher income brackets were more likely to already be composting compared to their lower income counterparts (50.0% for \$80,000 and over compared to 42.2% and 32.9% for \$40,000 to less than \$80,000 and less than \$40,000 respectively). Lower income households were also more likely to not have access to any programs compared to their middle and higher income counterparts (56.5% compared to 46.1% and 37.9% respectively). These results were also found to be significant with a value of $p < 0.001$ and a weak-moderate relationship was found with Gamma at value 0.156 – this again shows us that income has a positive relationship where higher income households are more likely to have access to a composting program.

Chart 1a: Composting Practices in 2011

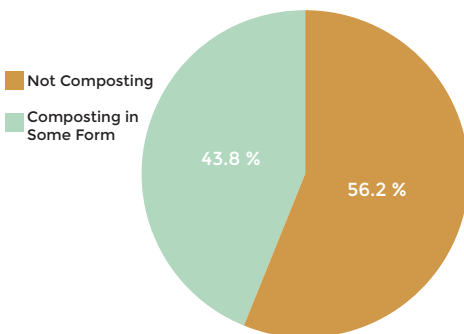
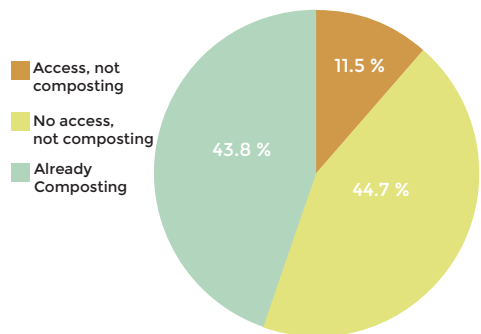


Chart 1b: Program Availability in 2011



The next bivariate results were between the “Presence of Children” and “Does Household Currently Compost?” These results showed that while the results were significant according to a Goodman and Kruskal-tau test, it was likely due to sample size, as there was no discernable difference in percentage totals. However, when analyzing Presence of Children and Composting Program Availability it was seen that there are differences between those already composting: 49.9% for those with one or more persons aged 0 – 17 in the household (N = 1,881) and 41.4% for those with none (N = 3,934). It was also noted that those with no children between the ages 0 – 17 in the household were more likely not to have access to a program (46.8%, N = 4,448). These results were found to have a weak, positive relationship at 0.053, but one that was significant at $p < 0.001$. Meaning that if the number of children in the household rises above one, the likelihood of the household having access to a program rises.

Chart 2: Composting Program Availability by Presence of Children

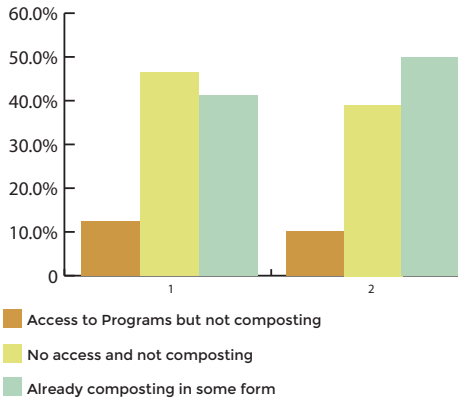
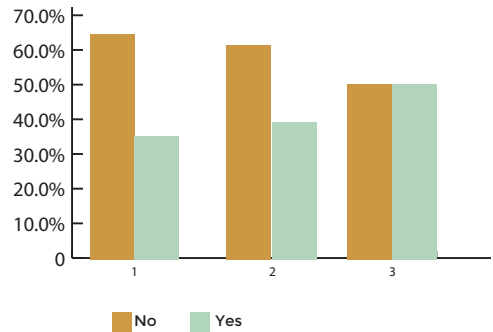


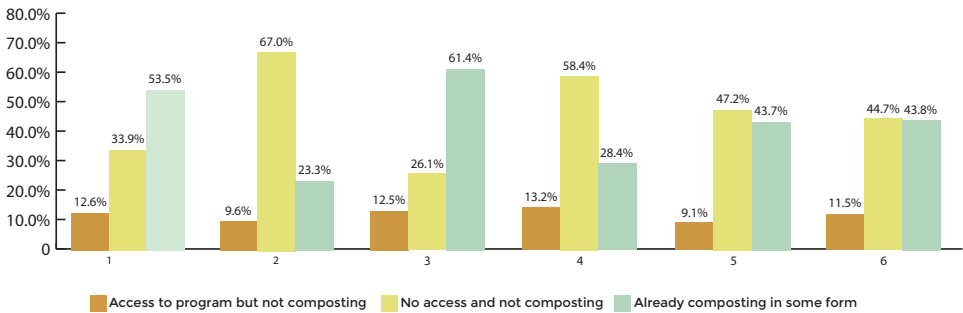
Chart 3: Household Composting Practices based on Education



The next bivariate results surrounded the effects of education on whether or not a household composts as well as the program availability. When looking at how education affects compost program availability it is clear that there is an upward positive trend with those households with at least one member with a University education making up 50.0% of households already composting compared to 34.9% of households with members that have a High School Diploma or less. It is found also that those with higher education are less likely to be living in an area with no access to a program (39.8% for University compared to 51.9% for High School diploma or less). These results are significant with a value of $p < 0.001$ in a Gamma test and form a moderate relationship. When looking at how education affects whether or not a household composts there is evidence seen that as households have members with higher education, the likelihood of that household composting rises – denoting a positive relationship. This can be seen in the graph above (Chart 3). These results were also found to be significant at a value of $p < 0.001$ and a moderate, positive relationship of 0.224 using Gamma.

Finally, the last bivariate analysis looked at the impact of region of residence on the two dependent variables. Results showed very high and significant (values of $p < 0.001$ with Gamma) variance among the provinces looking at both dependent variables for program availability and composting practices. Most notable was Quebec with 76.7% of households not currently composting. When looking at program availability 67.0% of Quebecers do not currently have access to a composting program. This is in contrast to other provinces such as Ontario where 61.4% of households are currently composting. The Prairie regions also appear to have high proportions of households not currently composting (71.6%). British Columbia and the Maritime provinces are slightly better off with 43.7% and 53.5% respectively for proportion of households that are currently composting.

Chart 4: Composting Accessibility by Region of Residence



To build upon this analysis, a logistic regression analysis was performed based on all households to look at the combined impact of the various independent variables on the dependent of whether the household was currently composting. This variable was coded so that 0 = No and 1 = Yes, results shown in the table below are organized with odds ratios so it can easily be understood. Odds ratios above 1.000 indicate that group is more likely to be composting while values that fall below 1.000 indicate that group is less likely to be composting. Reference groups have been marked accordingly and have the value of 1.000. British Columbia was chosen as it held the most similar result to Canada as a nation while the other groups were chosen to show either upward or downward trends based on education and income. When looking at the affect that presence of children has on whether or not a household is currently composting it can be seen that the likelihood increases by 0.223 when one or more children are present in the household.

Table 2: Logistic Regression of factors associated with compost participation

	Odds Ratios
Presence of Children	
No†	1.000

Yes	1.223*
Region of Residence	
British Columbia†	1.000
Quebec	0.416*
Ontario	1.946*
Prairie Provinces	0.499*
Maritime Provinces	1.802*
Household Income	
\$40,000 or Less†	1.000
\$40,000 to \$80,000	1.357*
\$80,000 or more	1.671*
Highest Level of Education	
High School or less†	1.000
Some Post-Secondary, Certificate, or Diploma	1.033
University	1.337*

† Reference Group

* = results are significant with values < 0.001

Source: Author's Calculations

When looking at region of residence the results show similar outcomes to the bivariate analysis in that Quebec and the Prairie Provinces are less likely to be composting, by more than half. This is compared to Ontario which is 0.946 above the 1.000, making it the most likely province to be composting compared to British Columbia. The Maritime Provinces also have a high odds ratio in comparison to the reference group. It can also be seen that income and education both have a positive relationship on likelihood of the household composting. As income increases so does the odds ratio in both categories. The odds ratio increases much more dramatically in the income category as seen with income of \$80,000 or more having a value of 1.671 compared to the University education having a value of 1.337 showing that income appears to have a stronger effect when taking all other variables into consideration. It should also be noted that there is no significant difference between the groups of High School or less and Some Post-Secondary education.

DISCUSSION

The follow sections will be a discussion of the results previously presented, for ease of the reader discussion topics have been separated based on statistics of note and importance.

Quebec's Apparent Lack of Programs

In this analysis looking at the number of households currently composting and program accessibility, Quebec stood out as the province with the least amount of accessibility and least number of participants. This is in contrast to many other provinces who have at least 35% of households composting (as high as 61.4% in Ontario) compared to Quebec's 23.3%. As discussed in the literature review, cost could be associated with this stark contrast between the rest of Canada and Quebec. Though the Prairie Provinces also has similar results as Quebec, but this was somewhat expected due to the remoteness of many of the communities in these provinces. Also noted from our literature review is this notion that Quebec residents score lower on eco-literacy tests, further research could be done in this area to understand why this is and how this impacts participation in activities like composting, if at all. It is apparent though that Quebec needs to re-look at the policy surrounding their compost programs. If these programs are in fact in place it would be recommended that these municipalities look at educational campaigns to increase awareness and participation. If these programs are not in place, based on the benefits of composting as previously discussed, it is strongly suggested that Quebec revisit their environmental and waste management policies. This would optimistically be in an effort to not only benefit their citizens through education of green practices such as composting, but to also benefit the environment.

High Variance Between Provinces

Ontario stands out as the province with the highest participation and accessibility with only 26.1% of households reporting that they do not have access to a program. Most of the other provinces, while having positive proportions when looking at participation, also have startling proportions of households without access to programs. However, this may just be in comparison to other provinces. Accessibility to programs should of course be looked at as a serious problem, though it is not something that is easily fixed overnight. Since waste management is done at the municipal level it is not feasible to put in place national 'coverage' or policy, however, this should not stop the fact that awareness campaigns can be put in place and community action can be taken to encourage more municipal programs to be added. Another note that since these surveys are self-reported, it may be possible that actual percentages of programs available is higher, but due to awareness and education it is perceived to be lower. This however is a problem that must be overcome by these municipalities and officials in these regions through campaigns promoting composting practices. Overall in Canada however it was seen that that there are near even proportions at 44.7% without coverage and 43.8% already composting which is encouraging for environmental advocates of programs such as this. Further research into both Canada overall and Quebec would likely be useful if data was analyzed from the different municipal policies across the country which may

give some reason as to the high amount of variance in the country. Also, considering the high amount of variance based on our understanding that waste management is controlled at a municipal level, while it may be difficult to create nation-wide programs, it is not too extreme to be considering nation-wide policies and standards around waste management practices as other nations have done. Specifically, to create the idea of composting as a normative practice in households through some standardized policies.

Education and Income

The relationship between education and income is clear from the results; there is a positive relationship between both these variables and the accessibility of programs as well as the actual participation of households. It is likely that as members of the household gain more education in regards to sustainable living or a greater understanding of global issues that we see this knowledge brought into the household. In regards to income, it may be that higher income families are able to afford housing in neighbourhoods, buildings, or municipalities that are more likely to provide composting programs. These two variables are well-known to be related – as education goes up so does the income of an individual or household. It would be interesting in further research to look at the kinds of composting that these households are participating in, whether it is on their own through backyard bins and piles or through private and public pick-up. Specifically if higher educated homes are more likely to compost on their own, without programs and from the other perspective if it is higher income households that have access to their own municipal pick-up programs. This insight would also allow us to create and target programs and awareness campaigns to specific populations in a more dynamic way. The results also point out a lack of either access or awareness for those households with lower formal education and lower income. With this in mind, there is a clear need for either targeted awareness programs to these populations or policy changes that make composting practices easier and more accessible. Outside of simply creating more awareness of programs and practices, providing accessibility to waste management services is the responsibility of the municipality. With this in mind, it is clear that there is some bias in the creation and management of these programs towards higher educated and higher income neighbourhoods and households. Work should be done to create equal access to composting programs, specifically to those that are lower income and of lower education. This of course should be combined with an educational and awareness approach towards sustainable living and green practices.

Children in the Household

The presence of children appears to have an effect on whether or not a household composts and also their accessibility. This could be attributed to the fact that households with one or more children likely indicates a family unit. It could be

expected that families are more likely to live in suburban neighbourhoods, an area that is more likely to have a composting program or space to dispose of compostable materials. From the other perspective, those without children in the household may be more likely to live in apartment-style dwellings in cities where composting program availability is expected to be lower. It is also more likely that families, or homes with children in them, will prepare more meals in the home. This would attribute to more kitchen waste being created and be a motivation for this particular household to participate in composting programs if provided to them. Further research could be carried out to examine the dwelling type of each household and how that impacts their accessibility and participation, especially when also looking at the presence of children. These results also suggest the possibility that children may be bringing this knowledge into the household through their own education. Further research would need to be down looking into the specific ages of these children, where they gained this knowledge of composting practices, and if that was the primary reason for beginning to compost in their household. Research such as this could provide a strong foundation towards policy implementation surrounding early childhood education and the importance of teaching children about sustainable and green practices for the purposes of creating 'green citizens' at early stages. It is expected that the earlier these children are introduced to practices such as this, the more normalized they would become, and that this would have effects on future generations. While much deeper research into education and children is necessary, this research implies there is a connection between presence of children and environmental behaviours such as composting.

CONCLUSION

To conclude this study it should be pointed out that Canada, as a whole, is not doing as much as it could to be on the forefront of composting programs. There is a clear problem in creating access to these programs or providing education for households to compost on their own. More detailed information that could build upon this study would be more exact demographics of those who do not have access compared to those who do. This would be greatly beneficial to a wider understanding of who engages in environmentally beneficial behaviours such as composting – especially within the regions of Canada. It would also be interesting to have access to greater information that the "Households and the Environment" survey did not provide, such as more accurate and current income data. It would also be interesting to know if these respondents did in fact have access to a municipal composting program, but were not aware. This however would require a much more extensive and focused research and would likely not be able to have a nation-wide scale as this study did. Research such as this would help us understand if the problem does not lie in the municipalities waste management services, but in their efforts of creating awareness and engagement with their programs. Overall, Canada has

much work to do if it aims to provide what can be seen as a very fundamentally beneficial practice to its citizens. An activity that promotes more sustainable living to its citizens, gives profit to municipalities, and reduces the demand and need for landfill based waste management solutions. The goal of a project such as this is to create data and results that will facilitate action and awareness in regards to the current state of waste management here in Canada, as well as point out areas of further research and critique some aspects of our current policy setup. All who wish to have access or participate in these kinds of sustainable and environmentally beneficial programs should be able to do so and at present waste management is the responsibility of the municipalities that these residents belong to. The evidence of this report demonstrates that municipalities in some regions are failing to address the problem of accessibility, or in other cases, awareness of composting programs available to households in their region. Going forward, policy in these municipalities should then be altered and improved to be able to provide these programs to their residents, making them more accessible or creating educational awareness programs that encourage environmentally beneficial behaviours such as composting.

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Migration Strategies and Ethnic Identities: A Study of Chinese Student Associations at the University of British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

While ethnic student associations have received some examination in education literature (Negy and Lunt, 2008; Mitchell and Dell, 2003), the topic remains relatively unexplored in the field of migration studies. My research examines the relation between ethnic student associations and the processes of identity formation and migration. Through an analysis of online content associated with five Chinese student associations (including Facebook pages, websites etc.) at the University of British Columbia, this study suggests that these student associations serve as rough illustrations of broader division within the Chinese population in Canada. In line with other studies that examine the role of support networks and migration (Lee, 2009; Ley 2008), our findings suggest that ethnic student associations provide migrant students with a multitude of services and benefits that facilitate the process of migration; including academic support, and acculturating migrants to 'Canadian culture' to name a few among others. As importantly, these ethnic student associations serve as places where identities are consolidated and new ones are negotiated. Given the significant post-secondary participation by the children of many immigrant groups, it is suggested that the concentrated space of the university can help illustrate patterns of migration and identity formation that would not be visible elsewhere.

INTRODUCTION

For people migrating to new cultural locales, issues of identity are both complex and of critical importance. New ways of behaving are typically necessary and adjustments to the social expectations of others are often required. Typically both formal and informal organizations help migrants with issues of settlement and integration while simultaneously keeping connections to pre-migration origins (Castles and Miller, 1998; Lee, 2009). This study reflects on these dynamics and questions through looking empirically at the case of Chinese ethnic student associations at the University of British Columbia. Through looking at these ethnic student associations, I demonstrate: 1) The important function provided by these associations to migrant students which represent various 'migration' strategies; 2) How these associations and their histories represent larger trends in migration and in doing so; 3) How these associations offer us visualization of how the Chinese identity in Canada is being consolidated, negotiated and transformed. I argue that the concentrated spaces of the university can help illustrate patterns of migration and identity formation that might not be visible elsewhere.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A Migration Framework - Understanding Chinese Migration to Canada

Migration scholars generally agree that migration can be explained using a model of push (influences in the place of origin) and pull factors (influences in the place of destination) that can be further divided into micro-individual, meso-familial and macro-structural factors that ultimately determines who moves and the potential outcome of such a move (Castles and Miller, 1998). Migration is also a continual process and as such this model will be helpful in thinking about Chinese migration to Canada, helping establish the context for understanding ethnic student associations and the relevance of such an endeavor.

While wage slavery and head taxes mark the traumatic history of the Chinese in Canada that dates back to 18th century (Li, 2008), the vast majority of ethnic Chinese in Canada today, are relatively recent arrivals (Yu, 2009); individuals and families that obtained entry following the elimination of overtly race-based immigration policies and the implementation of the point system (beginning in 1967, and then fully in the Immigration Act of 1976; Wood, 1978). As this change in policy reflected a broader neo-liberal trend aimed at promoting national economic prosperity (Kathyrne, 2004), the immigrants who were accepted in this system and actively recruited by the Canadian government were predominantly those with high levels of human (skills) and economic (wealth) capital (Wang and Lo, 2004). These are fami-

lies that would likely have been considered 'middle' or 'upper' class in their place of origins (Wang and Lo, 2004). Thus, the Canadian demand for this capital represents one political and economic macro-structural 'pull factor' (among many others such as: the declining rate of birth in Canada and potential labour market 'shortages') that made Chinese migration a possibility.

To understand why these individuals and families would want to leave their home and migrate to Canada, a consideration of macro 'push factors' is also essential. A clarification on the term 'Chinese' is necessary before we begin to look at some of these factors. Wang and Lo suggest that the Chinese diaspora in Canada have "markedly different political tendencies, social values, and economic behaviour" due to being from various regions of origin: with Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan accounting for 84.8% of the ethnic Chinese in Canada (Wang and Lo, 2004). (Note: While we use the term Chinese generally in this essay, relevant distinctions will be made when pertinent). Following the immigration act of 1976 Chinese immigration was dominated by flows from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Over time these have drastically declined while immigration from Mainland China has increased substantially (Wang and Lo, 2004). While the context and condition of migration varies significantly between these groups, political instability was a driving force for migration from all regions. For example, the 1997 Handover was a main catalyst for Hong Kong emigration in the 80s and 90s and in Taiwan, fear of potential military conflict with China had a similar effect. (Wang and Lo, 2004). These represent just a few example of the macro-structural 'push factors', that spurred migration to Canada.

Individual and family (micro and meso) factors are also significant influences on Chinese immigration to Canada. As research has shown the benefits (better living environment, a western education; Kwak, 2008) both actual and imagined, associated with living and attaining citizenship in a 'western' nation was a major impetus for Chinese emigration/immigration (Appadurai, 1999). Furthermore, as individuals and families moved their desire to be reunited with family and friends, meant that often networks of people moved together. This trend of family reunion thus brought even more immigrants to Canada, a trend captured by the substantial proportion of the family class immigrants (Wang and Lo, 2004).

The migration model that we have constructed above serves to explain the substantial increase in Chinese immigration in the recent decades. Already the largest visible minority group in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011), the Chinese remain one of the largest incoming ethnic groups accounting for 10.8% of total immigrant population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). In line with the trend that Wang and Lo began to note in 2000, Chinese immigration from Taiwan and Hong Kong has continued to decline, while China has become the main region of origin for Chinese immigrants, a trend reflected in the 2011 Canadian census. Despite their relatively high level of human and economic capital, the Chinese (along with many other racialized groups) have struggled to achieve econom-

ic parity with local Canadians (Abada, 2008), a consequence arising from immigrant de-skilling and institutionalized racism (Kwak, 2008). Due to these barriers of market participation, some families have resorted to 'astronaut strategies' and return migration as a way of ensuring economic sufficiency, in the process splintering the family unit. Thus, contrary to common perceptions and contemporary stereotypes of the Chinese as a group of hyper affluent immigrants, income statistics suggest the contrary. Despite these economic barriers, the children of Chinese immigrants, along with those of various other immigrant groups, have found strong representation in post secondary education. For these individuals, post secondary participation has drastic implications on both economic and social performance. To illustrate their experiences, we turn to an examination of Canadian universities.

A Migration Framework - Understanding Chinese Migration to Canada

Perhaps the most visible demonstration of the immigrant success at post secondary institutions in Canada is the case of UBC. During the period of 2008-2011 UBC had over 60% of incoming students (PAIR, 2012) identifying with a non-white ethnic group, with 37% of those identifying as Chinese (PAIR, 2012). Given the context of this study, we should want to know why immigrants, and for our purposes, Chinese immigrants, find such a strong representation in post secondary education.

As UBC does not provide statistics of total enrollment by ethnicity and for the purpose of rough illustration, a degree of extrapolation is both helpful and necessary here. Statistics from the year 2011 identify a total enrollment of 48,444 at UBC (PAIR, 2012). Taking into account the 37% enrollment of the 3 previous years, we can speculate at a rough approximation of 18,000 students out of 48, 444 that likely identify as Chinese. Of this population, 1,832 are international students (Hong Kong; 146, Taiwan; 135, and China; 1551; UBCVISA). While this only accounts for roughly 10 % of our estimated Chinese population at UBC, Chinese international students have grown by over 450% in the past decade, outpacing growth in international student enrollment (405%) and overwhelmingly so when compared to domestic increases (18%) (PAIR, 2012). To illustrate why this immense growth has occurred at UBC an examination of broader economic and political changes is necessary.

In the most immediate sense, the growth of international students at UBC is the result of universities active recruitment of them, or as is stated in a recent report by Stephen Toope, president of UBC, "Canada must brand itself as a partner of choice in higher education and research, and recruit Asian students and researchers to come here to study (Toope, 2012. My emphasis)". Given the enormous economic benefits (6.1 billion Canadian dollars) of international education for the Canadian economy that is cited by Toope, the recruitment of international students (especially from emerging 'Asian' markets like China and India with substantial

capital and a high demand for education), is perhaps understandable. However, omitted in this report is a broader problem that has realized itself at the university, namely, the increasing tension between a neo-liberal economy and the welfare state (Whiteley, 2008). Caught in a conundrum between increasingly limited governmental funding arising from policies of 'fiscal responsibility', and the political volatility of tuition increases, international students have become a significant source of income, a way of mitigating the political and fiscal issues of university funding. While international students are subject to increasingly expensive tuition rates, their access to universities like UBC provide them with a highly valued 'western education', and perhaps more importantly for our context, a pathway of obtaining increasingly restrictive Canadian citizenship. Citizenship, that is willingly obliged by the Canadian government which views, "International students...[as] a source of easily integrated immigrants...[who will be] well prepared for the Canadian labour market (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011)". Given this seemingly 'all-win' scenario, the rise of international students, of which the Chinese are a substantial subsection (27% at UBC in 2011; PAIR, 2012) we partly see why the ethnic Chinese find such strong representation at universities like UBC.

Having taken into consideration international students (1,832), we are left with an estimate of 16,168 (33.4% of total enrollment) domestic students who identify as ethnic Chinese at UBC. Worth noting is this percentage vastly eclipses that of Chinese population in both metropolitan Vancouver (18.2% ; Statistics Canada, 2006) and Canada (4.5%; Statistics Canada, 2006). In line with other findings (Abada, 2008), this disparity between the statistics suggests that university attainment among the children of immigrants on average surpasses that of children of non-immigrants. This is especially the case with the children of Chinese immigrants, of whom 69.5% have obtained university degrees, compared to the 27.5% of those with Canadian-born parents (Abada, 2008). As this disparity has become increasingly apparent in recent years, the issue has become rather contentious. While racist discourses of 'excess' (perhaps most explicitly expressed in the 2010 Macleans article titled "Too Asian") are disturbing, the discourse of the Chinese as hardworking, smart model minority is confounding, in both cases uncritical and unsubstantiated. These then are stirring reminders of the context of our discussion, that it is precisely because of the significant ethnic (including Chinese) representation at post secondary institutes, that the issues of race and ethnicity must be examined here. In addition to the high socio-economic status that was noted earlier, the ethnic student associations that we will examine will further illustrate structural explanations for the success of the children of Chinese immigrants at universities.

Having noted, 1) the high rate of university participation among the children of immigrants (especially Chinese); 2) the university's role in facilitating immigration for international students; and 3) their increasingly ethnic and multicultural composition, perhaps we begin to see why the university is a useful place to visual-

ize and examine the processes of migration and ethnic identity. The ethnic student associations in which we will soon explore represent the most detailed and clearest expressions of these processes at the university; however, before we begin it is necessary to first elaborate on the concepts of ethnic identity and migration strategies.

Ethnic Identities and Migration Strategies

Ethnic identity is a tricky issue of subjectivity, as it is both how an individual is seen by others and how an individual sees him- or herself (Bacon, 1999). It is also an important one, as how one perceives one's self often determines how one navigates their surroundings (Herbert, 2001). Up to this point, our discussion has been on a rather macro level; as such, we have been forced to take a rather primordialist approach to ethnic identity, one that mistakenly perceives ethnic identity simply as ancestral place of origin. However, as our findings will show, the lived experience of ethnic identity is far more nuanced and directly related to the process of migration. In a review of ethnic identity literature, Herbert notes that ethnic identity is often understood from two different frames: a 'modernist' constructivist perspective that emphasises a "stable identity" arising from group association, group boundaries, the perceived social position of group, and individual meaning attached to identity (Herbert, 2001); and a 'postmodern' perspective that perceives identity as "dynamic and multiple, [an]on-going process" that emphasises a 'strategic' navigation of time and space by the individual (Herbert, 2001). Given our focus on migration, we should add to this framework more concrete factors that may influence identity: one's generational orientation (Bacon, 1999); region/culture of origin; the political positioning of the region (in our case Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong; Tsang, 2003); linguistics (DeVortez and Guo, 2007; Mandarin and Cantonese); situational or site-specific considerations; and subjective experience (Isajiw, 2001). As we will see in our findings, variations of these factors will reflect varying identities, as such this framework helps us understand the ethnic student associations that we will explore.

Deriving from Herbert's concept of 'strategic' identity, I use the term 'migration strategies' to describe the various ways in which individuals navigate their environment as a migrant (Levitt, 2007). The term 'migration strategies' is useful for two main reasons: first, it emphasises the role of agency, which given the population we are examining (relatively mobile, educated and affluent individuals) and the nature of involvement in ethnic student associations (one must choose to participate), is fitting; second, it serves as a broad encompassing term that does not limit our discussion to specific literatures, or aspects of immigration/migration. However, we should add the important qualifier, that what 'migration strategies' are available to an individual can often be beyond one's control (i.e. language constraints, culture of origin etc.).

Under the category of "migration strategies," the following concepts are

included: acculturation, as the process in which "migrants adopt the culture of the community into which they have migrated...while maintaining their culture of origin" (Berry, 1980); transnationalism, as the process of developing "multi-stranded social relations between societies of origin and settlement... [including] economic, political, cultural and religious" (Levitt, 2007); and assimilation, "whereby immigrant populations shed 'their cultural distinctiveness' to integrate into the mainstream" (Levitt, 2007).

Lastly, given our focus on ethnic student associations: groups of people, overarching our discussion, is the concept of social networks which refers to social structures or relationships between two or more people that engage in mutual support and reciprocal exchanges of resources and information (Lee, 2009). As migration studies have noted, support networks are of critical importance to migrants. To illustrate these processes we now turn to the examination of the ethnic student associations at UBC.

METHODOLOGY

Online internet sources in the form of websites and Facebook pages associated with each student association form the basis of this analysis. The importance of the internet for migrants has in recent years becoming increasingly clear in network studies (Wellman, 2009; Ye, 2006), where findings suggest that they play an important role in developing transnational ties and providing information. Furthermore, these internet sources contain a wealth of information of each student association, the events they hold, and the individuals involved that would otherwise require human participant research. Analysis of online content was conducted in January 2013.

Using the online directory of all UBC student associations, the five Chinese student associations that were selected were identified via a search of the terms 'Chinese', 'China', 'Hong Kong' and 'Taiwan'. Web pages and Facebook sites were then located via Google search and Facebook search. Using information from the web pages and Facebook pages, five Chinese student associations were selected using the following criteria: large student involvement; for being non-specialized social clubs (not catering to specific interest i.e. Chinese debating); and as overall representation of the Chinese population in Canada.

Data were collected from web pages via systematically clicking through all available links on each website, in the process taking note of site layout and graphics, event postings, descriptions provided by each association, executive member lists, and associated photos and videos. A similar process was conducted for the Facebook page of each student association examining photos and wall posts. Facebook groups of each student association also contain a list of members. Membership in Facebook group is generalized to participation in each student association. Due to the large number of members, names were extracted using HTML

link pulling software. All data is available in the public domain.

Additional data on these ethnic student associations were drawn from on-line archival searches of the *Ubyyssey*, UBC's school paper. Specifically, I looked for articles that were related to, and discussed ethnic Chinese student associations. Sifting through this massive database of papers that goes back to the 1920s was made possible by *Ubyyssey*'s usage of optical character recognition, enabling a simple search to identify keywords within each paper. The search of the database was done using the names of each student association as keywords.

FINDINGS

Who participates in which student associations?

It is important to first address the variations between these student associations. In other words, are they different from each other, and if so, how? The ambiguous names of these associations, *Chinese Student Association (CSA)*, *Chinese Student and Scholars Association (CSSA)*, *Chinese Varsity Club (CVC)* are initially perplexing. And while *the Hong Kong Student Association (HKSA)* and the *Taiwanese Association (TA)* clearly indicate in their names their ethnic identity in the form of 'group boundaries' based upon 'culture of origin/political positioning', evidence is required to ensure that is actually the case. To see whether or not these associations are different and how they may be so, I suggest we start by looking at the names of the individuals who participate in each association.

Names are a good entry into identifying larger migration and ethnic patterns because they often give us important information about the origins of a person. In the Chinese linguistic context, differences in anglicization of Chinese names (first and last) offers a relatively sound way of identifying what an individual's place of origin is. To get an idea of how such an analysis is done, refer to table 1.1 in the index. My analysis of these associations was separated into two segments: one, an analysis of the executive team of each club; and two, the general membership of each club. An examination of the names of executive members of each association reveal within association homogeneity, and between association heterogeneity, suggesting that the leadership team of each association are mainly from a similar linguistic background. However, general membership (as represented by Facebook group membership) in each student association is different than executive participation, with general membership being on average more heterogeneous (table 1.2) though with significant variation in the degree of heterogeneity across associations.

These findings enable us to make some generalizations of each association. For HKSA and CSA, we see that executive members are largely of Cantonese background. In terms of membership, however, both associations have vastly different rates of including those of mandarin speaking origins: with CSA having near parity (a ratio of 1.23:1) of individuals from Mandarin and Cantonese backgrounds;

and HKSA being far more homogenous, with members being predominantly (75-80%) of Cantonese backgrounds. With CSSA and TA, we see that the executive members are of predominantly from a Mandarin background, a trend that is reflected in their memberships, indicating that TA and CSSA are relatively homogenous with low rates of participation from Cantonese speakers. While we have no access to the CVC executive list, their membership, similar to the CSA, is relatively heterogeneous in terms of including individuals of Mandarin and Cantonese backgrounds (a ratio 1.69:1).

While participation likely depends on the self-selection of individuals (individuals wanting to join), group acceptance is likely key to long term participation. Even though all student associations at UBC are prohibited from exclusionary practices, to what degree these ethnic associations are actually inclusive, given the nature of our study is an uncertainty. However, an examination of the various websites reveals numerous elements that serve as 'group boundaries', with the potential to be exclusionary, or at least selective in who participates, whether intended or not. For example, the TA describes themselves as "[An Association] devoted to serving Taiwanese students" (Taiwanese Student Association). The CSSA website is fully Chinese with a simplified script making it inaccessible for those who lack the linguistic proficiency (Chinese Student Scholars Association). The prominent usage of the Taiwanese flag and Hong Kong symbols by their respective clubs (1.3), serve as symbols rich with "meanings that are attached to identity" and political orientation. The same can be said of the banana imagery of the CVC which not only serves as an imagery of distinction in this context, but is rife with racial and cultural connotations (1.4). As these elements are present on their websites, it is almost certain that they are also present in the day to day social activities of these associations serving as 'group boundaries' regulating who participates and who does not. To further illustrate how the various ethnic student associations represent different identities and migration strategies let us a turn to a more focused analysis of each.

Ethnic Student Associations as Social Networks of Support:

Before we begin our focused analysis of each, it is worth noting that all the student associations examined mainly describe themselves as social clubs; groups that provide students at university the opportunity to meet people and make new friends. To facilitate these processes, these student associations organize a range of social events ranging from sports to clubbing. In addition to being recreational, they provide its members with opportunities to develop relations with one another, mutually providing support, resources and information. The impact of these relations should not be understated as research has repeatedly documented the importance of relations in general, and specifically ones developed at university which have significant impact on life trajectories (Wolfe, 1997). Unfortunately, given the *informal* properties of these interactions, and our research methods, we can merely specu-

late on what their impact may be.

What we can identify with a higher degree of certainty are more formal forms of support (i.e., events) provided by these ethnic student associations as they are well documented on websites and Facebook. As we shall further examine in the next section, each ethnic student association offers varying types and ranges of support. What events are planned, and what support is offered is likely dependent upon the individuals who are involved. Thus by examining these events and support we can see the varying identities and processes of migration that each ethnic student association reflect. Worth noting is that all the Chinese students association examined provide some form of academic support event, often even partnering with tutoring and preparatory programs. Given the strong educational performance of Chinese student that we noted earlier, it remains to be seen what the impact of these types of events are for Chinese immigrants and the strong representation of this group in post-secondary education.

A further note on clarification is necessary here. The following four sections which discusses the five Chinese ethnic student association at UBC is arranged in a way to highlight what is the most pertinent for our discussion and is not intended to be comparative cases or even holistic studies of each club. My interest is utilizing certain aspects of each of these different clubs, their unique histories and contemporary conditions, as manifest in their online presence, to demonstrate how we can utilize these clubs to conceptualize and think through Chinese migration in Vancouver.

The CSSA and TA: New Immigrant Support (Acculturation and Recreation)

As the TA and CSSA are respectively predominantly composed of Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese students. The events and support provided by these two ethnic student associations are in line with the broader migration conditions of the two groups they represent. The first illustration of this can be found on the TA and CSSA websites, which provide a wealth of information that websites of the other student associations do not, including: newsletters, guides for new students, and most intriguingly, forums. When compared to each other, we can see that the CSSA website is frequently updated and maintained, while the TA website is in a bit of disrepair with a few dead links. A similar trend can be found in the forums of these student associations. The CSSA forum is divided into various sections, almost all of which have postings within the past month. While the TA forum is organized in a similar manner, dates of 'last post ' in almost all categories date back to 2009 and 2010 suggesting that the use of these forums have been gradually declining (most categories have more than 500 topics suggesting they heavily used at some time). The decline of the TA website, and the wide usage of the CSSA one, could be related to other factors (such as a shift to the usage of social media, having/not having individuals with web development skills). They are also related to the different migration conditions of

these two groups.

As was noted in the literature review, migration (including international students) from mainland China has substantially increased in recent decades, a partial explanation for why the CSSA website is heavily used and updated. With the children of immigrants and international students from China finding increasing representation at UBC, the number of CSSA members has likely increased. Being in a new environment (both university and Canada), these individuals likely require more support and relationships than those who are already more established. In these circumstances, ethnic student associations like the CSSA provide its members with a social space that fosters mutual support and information sharing that helps individuals navigate the process migration. The heavy usage of the CSSA website and forum represent a form of these exchanges on the internet.

The case of the TA website is a bit more ambiguous. While it is certainly possible that they just simply switched to Facebook, reviewing their group page reveals significantly less information and support than what was found on their forums. Noting the declining rate of Taiwanese immigration, and their relatively smaller population (both: as proportion to broader category of Chinese, and relative to Mainland Chinese and those from Hong Kong), it is quite possible the usage of this forum reflects the transition of the Taiwanese population in Vancouver. With higher rates of usage in past years reflecting a period when the Taiwanese population at UBC was composed of more new immigrants with weaker support networks and current rates indicative of a more established population of Taiwanese students at UBC who already have strong support networks.

Turning now to a discussion of the events hosted by TA and CSSA, it is worth noting that all the student associations in this study (TSA, CSSA, HKSA, CSA and CVC), have some form of ski and snowboard trip every year (index 1.5). While the reasons for hosting these trips are likely diffuse among each association, the name of the TA ski trip titled '涼心發現', give us insight into one of the purposes of these trips. The last two characters '發現' translates as 'discovery', aptly suggesting that these event serve as opportunities for individuals, especially those new to Canada, 'to discover' and learn about 'Canadian culture'. By providing the opportunity and a safety net of peers, these events enable ethnic students and/or new migrants to participate in activities that they may otherwise be uncomfortable or unable to engage in by themselves. While this may not be the experience of all ethnic individuals/migrants, barriers to recreational and cultural participation by racialized individuals is well documented in the literature (Mitchell, 1992). For individuals who do face these barriers, these events serve as opportunities to acculturate to 'Canadian culture' that may otherwise be impossible. In addition to ski/board trips, the TA and CSSA have also hosted kayaking tours and summer camping trips in the past. While skiing and camping may seem insignificant, they are part of a broader process of acculturation and cultural capital accumulation that enables broader social participation and access

to resources in 'mainstream' society that would otherwise be unavailable (Lee, 2009).

In addition to hosting events that promote acculturation, student associations also foster the maintenance of their respective "culture of origin" (Berry, 1980). Setting aside the case of CVC (which will be discussed later), all the student association examined participate in some form of distinctly ethnic 'cultural maintenance' via celebrations of Chinese festivals (index 1.7), production of indie Cantonese dramas (1.8), playing Taiwanese Mah-jong (1.9) and many other activities. Thus, through their events, ethnic student associations serve as social spaces of acculturation and 'cultural maintenance'; integrating immigrant students with 'mainstream' society while keeping them connected with their ethnic group, providing them with the benefits of both, thereby facilitating aiding them in process of migration.

The HKSA: Fostering Transnationalism

While HKSA is similar to TA and CSSA in its high degree of heterogeneity, it is also the most explicit expression of transnationalism of all the student association examined. This transnational orientation is immediately apparent upon entry to their site which plays Canto-English pop to the backdrop of the Hong Kong skyline. In addition to being part of the "HKSA Global Alliance", an "international network of universities that collaborates and host events in various cities including Vancouver and Hong Kong", HKSA fosters economic transnationalism by networking its members in Vancouver with companies and government organizations in Hong Kong. In addition, cultural transnationalism is fostered by keeping its members up to date on Hong Kong culture and news through its Facebook page and culture blog, 'HKINC' (2.0). The transnationalism that HKSA exhibits represents the broader trend of transnational participation as migration strategy among ethnic Chinese in Canada.

CSA: Pan-Chinese identity in a multicultural context?

The ethnic student associations that have been examined up to this point have been highly homogenous in composition, with clear identities helping us illustrate the various divisions within the Chinese ethnicity based on region of origins. However, these divisions are not absolute boundaries; rather, evidence of joint clubbing events, and repeating names between group memberships suggest that interactions between these groups do occur. To illustrate how these interactions occur, we turn to an analysis of CSA.

While there is certainly evidence of heavy Cantonese members representation at CSA (as indicated by the executive team and the greater occurrence of Cantonese events), this is likely the historical result of Chinese immigration to Canada. First, given the Hong Kong dominance of the incoming Chinese flow prior to 2000, it should not be too surprising that Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong became the first group to take on the title of 'Chinese' (Chinese Students Association).

The situation becomes even clearer when we examine the various dates in which each club was established: with CSA being established in 1956; TA in 1990; CSSA in the early 2000s; and HKSA in 2008. The first three dates can be roughly mapped onto the changing trends in Chinese immigration, which becomes manifest at the ethnic student associations at UBC: the first round of Cantonese speaking immigrants join and form CSA; Taiwanese immigrants seeing that CSA is largely composed of Cantonese origins forms TA; following the same logic Chinese from Mainland form CSSA (Go, 1992). The forming of HKSA in 2008, while unexplained by immigration trends, is possibly an indicator that the CSA has deviated from a strictly Cantonese/Hong Kong identity (or why form the HKSA?) to one that includes the various groups of ethnic Chinese. The fact that this hypothesis finds support in our analysis of membership names suggests that this may indeed be the case. If this is the case there are some implications: first, contrary to Wang and Lo, it means that there are significant cross group interactions between Chinese groups; second, the fact these individuals are interacting suggests changes in linguistic proficiency (either greater comfort with English, or multi-linguistic proficiency); third, the Chinese ethnic identity is being reshaped and renegotiated in Canada from one being based on region of origin to a more broadly encompassing one.

In line with the theories of ethnic identity, this section has illustrated that these ethnic student associations and the individuals involved in them construct their identities relative to one another. Furthermore, the case of CSA illustrates that while identity construction is directly related to the various histories of migration, it also constantly changing, in our case strategically re-negotiated by individuals through the acquisition of linguistics.

CVC and 'The Banana': Racial Unconsciousness and/or Agency?

Whether or not the CVC would actually classify their student association as an ethnic one is unclear. Online evidence suggests they may not, as there are only two counts of the word 'Chinese' on their entire web page. In contrast the acronyms CVC and the symbol of the banana are prevalent on their web page. To unpack the meaning and social processes occurring at CVC we must begin with a historical analysis.

According to the *Ubysey*, the CVC is one of the oldest clubs at UBC founded in the 1910 "as a protest to discriminatory regulations...that segregated coloured individuals from the use of any campus facilities or to join any student organizations... because it was an ethnic club it was not recognized by the AMS until 1948" (Go, 1992). Interestingly enough, this history gets a watered down version at CVC website, who suggest CVC "Began with a modest group of lonely Chinese students getting together to play as a varsity team" (CVC, 2013). As a review of the *Ubysey* archive suggests, the CVC has changed much over the years (Go, 1992). While it remains seen as a club for "westernized Chinese", it appears that the CVC has undergone a

sort of transformation in the past few years (Haves, 2010). Choy at the *Ubyyssey* suggests this is the result of CVC's release of a controversial video "in which the CVC is pitted against the 'Typical Honger Club' in the manner of PC vs. Mac Commercials... the 'typical Honger Club' is presented as speaking with a thick accent, struggling to pronounce words... [Implicit] is that CVC, by comparison, is more diverse, in one word, better...Needless to say it was not well received" (Choy, 2009). We see here that the identity of CVC is constructed in relation to other Chinese student associations in this scenario in an antagonistic manner of distinction. While we do not know the rationale behind this video, this pursuit of distinction illustrates the pressures of a white-Anglo mainstream and its underlying demand on immigrants to assimilate, to reject race and ethnicity, a social context that is fully expressed by CVC's racially unconscious image of a banana. As stated by a joint letter written to the *Ubyyssey* by various Chinese student associations in 1992, "[we denounce] the term banana... [because] we despise this racist term used to describe an individual who is yellow on the outside and white inside."

While there is no denying the underlying racial connotations of the banana imagery, it is also possible that individuals who embrace this concept perceive it differently, as one member of the CVC suggested, "A banana is yellow on the outside. So that symbolizes sticking to our origin, our past. But inside it's a blank canvas where you can paint anything for your university experience" (Tan, 2012). In this scenario, the banana appears to be an assertion of agency over one's ethnic identity, of resisting the label of 'Chinese' that is imposed upon the self by society. Furthermore, what if someone of ethnic Chinese descent has just grown up in a very 'culturally white' environment, in which case can such self-identification be considered racist? Regardless of how individuals perceive the issue of the banana, it and the case of CVC, illustrate the challenges of belonging to a racialized group in a society of hegemonic whiteness, and the challenges of identity and integration that arises as a result of migration.

CONCLUSION & FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has, through an analysis of Chinese student associations at UBC, tried to make sense of the chaotic space of university by focusing on processes of ethnic identity and migration (Tsang, 2003). In the process of making sense of the various Chinese student associations at UBC, I have briefly illustrated the history of Chinese migration and the ways in which the university serves as a 'gateway' for international students. In line with the findings of Wang and Lo (2004), this study finds that the category of 'Chinese' is not effective if we want to understand the experiences of the individuals that are often routinely lumped into this category. However, contrary to their heavy emphasis on the divisions between different groups of 'Chinese', the findings of this study suggest these divisions are relatively fluid, with significant between group interactions and that signs of new Chinese identities are

being formed. Following other studies on the relation between social networks and migration, this study has illustrated that ethnic student associations play an important role for the migrant students involved in them. Different associations provide different types of support. In groups with more new migrants, these associations serve as spaces for migrants to develop relations, opportunities of informal support and sharing. At the same time, they also provide more formal support through events, acculturating new migrants to 'Canadian' culture while 'preserving' their own. Furthermore, we have found that all ethnic student associations provide their members with some form of academic assistance. Given the substantial participation of Chinese in post secondary education, each student association examined represent various groups and variations of the 'Chinese identity' (often based on linguistic, cultural, and generational difference) as such they serve as rough representations of the broader divisions with the Chinese population in Canada, allowing us to visualize in a concentrated space the ways in which they navigate migration and identity formation.

This study can benefit greatly from more conventional forms of participant research, to confirm our online findings and to examine the impact of participation in these associations on individuals. Also constrained by what ethnic student associations existed, this study was unable to take into account the smaller divisions within the Chinese diaspora (i.e Chinese from Vietnam; Wang and Lo, 2004). Further research on ethnic student associations is recommended. On a policy level, given the immense benefits of these student associations we must ask: How can we ensure other migrant groups and students with smaller populations are able to maximize on the benefits of support networks such as ethnic student associations? How do ethnic student association vary across universities? Across regions? With different ethnic groups? What determines whether or not students participate in ethnic student associations? Can these student associations serve as political spaces for change (they certainly have in the past; Hui, 1992)? If so, how? Has there been a decline in political activism amongst ethnic student associations, if so, why?

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1.1 Name of Club Executives of Each Team.

CSSA	TA	HKSA	CSA	CVC
Dong Yuan Yuan	Chai Marzie	Chan Conrad	Cheung Amy	No Data
He Cheng Zhi	Chen Amy	Chan Maxine	Cheung William	
Meng Li Li	Chen Franky	Ho Tiffany	Cho Johnson	
Qiu Jing Ming	Chen Nancy	Lam Jocelyn	Gu Zoe	
Wang Yuan Xun	Cheng Jason	Lam Verena	Guo Mark	
Wu Yang	Chiang Maggie	Lau Jeffrey	Ku Stephanie	
Xing Tian Jiao	Chiu Debby	Li Crystal	Leung Rickie	
Yuan Li	Hsu Charlie	Li Fiona	Leung Stephanie	
Yu Yvonne	Hsueh Jerry	Li Vivian	Li Perline	
	Huang Alex	Lo Ginny	Lui Stephanie	
	Lee Debbie	Ng Julie	Wu Jenny	
	Lin Diana	Sin Daniel	Yu Sandy	
	Lin Melody	Wong Cliff		
	Liu Chammez	Wong Dennis		
	Liu Joseph	Yang Eugenia		

	Wang Helen	Yiu Aspen		
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Note that the usage of English first name varies between groups but within group trends are consistently uniform. Aside from one individual, “Yvonne Yu” almost all CSSA executives used their Chinese names distinguishing it from the other associations which utilizes anglicized names. With TA, HKSA, CSA an analysis of last names will illustrate a similar pattern. Here it is important to note that while the Chinese script varies between simplified and traditional written texts, the words are the same, what varies is the translation of the dialect. Take for example the popular Chinese last name “陳/陈” (traditional/simplified) that is common throughout China, when translated from the mandarin dialect is pronounced and written as Chén, and when translated from the Cantonese dialect, as Chan. In the TA executive team there are three Chen, zero Chan, on the HKSA team there are two Chan and Zero Chen, this is in line with the language orientation of each association’s respective origins (Cantonese is used predominant in Hong Kong and Mandarin in Taiwan), more importantly it indicates that the executives of each club tends to come from similar backgrounds. Similarly note Li/Lee, Lam/Lin (with Cantonese translation being Li and Mandarin being Lee). Also note variations between last names ending in EUNG (CSA) and last names ending in ANG (TA).

1.2 Facebook Count of Chan/Chen (陳/陈), Wong/Wang (王), Li/Lee (李), and Lam/Lin (林) .

Student Association (Total number of Facebook members)		CSA (996)	CVC (1,743)	HKSA (892)	TA (1,193)	CSA(862)
Cantonese (C); Mandarin (M)						
Chan Chen		31; 28	53; 41	55; 13	11; 85	5; 54
Wong Wang		26; 16	67; 31	12; 5	11; 35	3; 71
Lam Lin		6; 7	26; 14	20; 7	3; 40	2; 4
Total		63; 51	146; 86	87; 25	25; 170	10; 109
Ratio		1.23:1	1.69:1	3.48:1	1:6.8	1:10.9
Percentage of Club Accounted for		12%	13%	12%	16%	14%

This statistical analysis is not intended to be perfectly representative but rather to illustrate the broad patterns between the groups.

1.3 - Group Boundaries



1.4 - Trip of Acculturation?

A screenshot of a Facebook event page. The event is titled "[UBCTA] @ 涼心發現 Joint Ski Trip" and is a public event for UBCTA. The event dates are December 20, 2010, at 9:00am until December 22, 2010, at 9:00pm. The location is Big White 大白山. The event description reads: "UBCTA 超級喜歡好玩的 Ski Trip 又來囉!! 今年的 Ski Trip 的旅遊地點是 BC 的滑雪勝地 大白山 (Big White), 很興奮的邀請到了 [SF [UBC NTG] 和 [UBC RC] 一起合作!! 心動的你, 快點報名吧!!!". The page shows 29 people going, 50 people maybe, and 379 people invited. A comment from Roberta Chang says "Not going dudes, Jay's concert is on the 23rd. Nothing is going to get in my way >);". A reply from Amy PinYu Chen says "hahaha OK!!! FINE!!! lol".



The Need for LGBTQ-Inclusive Bullying Policy and Curriculum Mandated in BC Schools

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ABSTRACT

Both subtle heteronormative social norms and overt homophobic bullying exist in Canadian secondary schools (Chamberland et al. 2009; Haskell & Burtch, 2010; Taylor & Peter, 2011; Toomey & Russell, 2013; Saewyc et al., 2007). Although the Ministry of Education of British Columbia does have a mandatory general anti-bullying policy and has created the non-mandatory course of Social Justice 12 that includes LGBTQ issues, it is not mandatory for schools to have a comprehensive anti-bullying policy that explicitly mentions sexual orientation and/or gender identity (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). Nor are LGBTQ issues included in mandatory courses in the high school curriculum (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). This paper will be focusing on those aforementioned points. First, I provide background on the current context of British Columbia, including legal challenges that have shaped the B.C. education system and policies that presently exist. I describe the arguments held by groups opposing LGBTQ-inclusive bullying policies and curriculum, which I will later refute. These arguments are focused on parents' rights over their children's moral education, freedom of religion, and the unnecessary nature of policies singling out a subgroup of students (Murphy, 2011; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2012; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2013). Lastly, I discuss research demonstrating the negative impacts of heteronormativity and homophobia for all students and the positive impacts of LGBTQ-inclusive bullying policies and curriculum as arguments in favour of enacting such measures (Bellini, 2012; Schneider & Dimito, 2008; Short, 2008; Short, 2010). I argue that the negative health and academic effects of homophobic bullying and heteronormative school environments warrant that the B.C. Ministry of Education should mandate anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum in schools, regardless of concerns based on religious freedoms.

INTRODUCTION

Secondary schools in Canada are characterized by subtle heteronormative social norms alongside overt homophobic bullying (Chamberland et al., 2009; Haskell & Burtch, 2010; Taylor & Peter, 2011; Toomey & Russell, 2013; Saewyc et al., 2007). Homophobic bullying is defined as repeated aggressive behaviour based on perceived sexual orientation, characterized by an imbalance of power that intentionally causes injury or discomfort through physical harassment, verbal harassment, social exclusion, or psychological victimization (UNESCO, 2013). Unlike this overt display of aggression, heteronormativity consists of social norms perpetuated by everyday practices that privilege heterosexuality as the presumed norm, which marginalizes non-heterosexual orientations and non-binary gender identities as abnormal (Jackson, 2006; Quinlivan & Town, 1993). I am conceptualizing homophobia as a subset of heteronormativity, such that anti-homophobia interventions can challenge heteronormative social norms, as will be illustrated later in the paper.

Although the Ministry of Education of British Columbia does have a mandatory general anti-bullying policy and has created the non-mandatory course of Social Justice 12 that includes LGBTQ issues, it is currently not compulsory for schools to have a comprehensive anti-bullying policy that explicitly mentions sexual orientation and/or gender identity, nor are LGBTQ issues included in required courses in the high school curriculum (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). About a third of school districts in British Columbia have enacted a comprehensive anti-homophobia bullying policy, but two-thirds of the province remains without such a policy (Bernard, 2013).

For the purposes of this paper, I will be referring to youth who do not identify as solely heterosexually-attracted or cisgender as LGBTQ youth, an umbrella term that encompasses lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer-identified youth (Kosciw, Diaz, & Greytak, 2008). Also, I will be operating under the definition of sex as the biological characteristics that are socially agreed upon as classifying one as male or female, while gender will be defined as the performance of socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women (West & Zimmerman, 1987). In this paper, I choose solely to focus on secondary schools, thus further research is needed to put forth arguments for mandatory LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum and policies for elementary schools. I also choose to only focus on the interventions of mandatory anti-homophobic bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum, rather than that of gay-

straight alliances (GSA) and other school clubs that could raise LGBTQ issues, because it would be unreasonable to compel all students to join a GSA or related club and the students who join such clubs would already be aware of LGBTQ issues. I argue that to combat overt homophobic actions it is necessary to challenge heteronormativity in schools by making LGBTQ-inclusive policies and curriculum mandatory.

Firstly, I will describe the prevalence of homophobia and heteronormativity in secondary schools, after which I will provide background on the current context of British Columbia, legal challenges that have shaped the B.C. education system, and the current policies that exist. After providing this background information, I will describe, and later refute, the arguments held by groups opposing LGBTQ-inclusive bullying policies and curriculum. These arguments are focused on parents' rights over their children's moral education, freedom of religion, and the unnecessary nature of policies singling out a subgroup of students (Murphy, 2011; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2012; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2013). Lastly, I will discuss research demonstrating the negative impacts of homophobia for students and the positive impacts of LGBTQ-inclusive bullying policies and curriculum as arguments in favour of enacting such measures (Bellini, 2012; Schneider & Dimito, 2008; Short, 2008; Short, 2010). Despite the concerns regarding religious freedoms, I argue that the negative health and academic effects of homophobic bullying and heteronormative school environments warrant that the B.C. Ministry of Education should mandate anti-homophobic bullying policies, that specifically prohibit bullying on the basis of perception of sexual orientation and gender identity, and mandate LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum, with compulsory courses that challenge heteronormative school cultures by illustrating the fluidity of sexuality and gender identity, in schools.

BACKGROUND

School Climate

Research in Canadian schools finds that LGBTQ youth experience higher levels of homophobic bullying, in terms of both physical and verbal harassment, and homophobic comments (Chamberland et al., 2009; Taylor & Peter, 2011; Toomey & Russell, 2013). Particularly, a study employing surveys and focus groups with both LGBTQ and heterosexual students in Quebec revealed that students were victims to homophobic bullying regardless of their sexual orientation, although LGBTQ students were more likely to face physical violence (Chamberland, et al., 2009). Additionally, Taylor and Peter (2011) found in a Canada-wide survey of high schools that although LGBTQ students were much more likely to experience physical and verbal harassment as well as to feel unsafe at school, heterosexual students also reported being verbally and physically harassed based on others' perceptions that

they were non-heterosexual. These findings demonstrate the harms of heteronormative school cultures for all students, as the embodiments and everyday practices of all students, regardless of which sexual orientation or gender identity they identify with, are policed in a heterosexual matrix, as will be discussed later.

In addition to such explicit forms of homophobic bullying, heteronormativity also prevails in Canadian secondary schools, with silence on LGBTQ issues in the curriculum and lack of teacher intervention in homophobic remarks (Chamberland et al., 2009; Haskell & Burtch, 2010; Saewyc et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011). Chamberland et al (2009) demonstrate that LGBTQ youth are sensitive to detecting whether their school is silent on LGBTQ issues. Therefore, LGBTQ students may be more likely to notice heteronormativity in schools and apply such norms as evidence of lack of acceptance towards their identities. Moreover, research indicates that the subtle prevalence of heteronormativity contributes to the more extreme, explicit forms of homophobic bullying LGBTQ youth experience (Haskell & Burtch, 2010). These forms of heteronormative school cultures, where there is silence on the organic fluidity and variance of sexuality and gender identity, can enact a form of symbolic violence, which is the routine embodiment of power of power resulting in invisible and implicit imposition of dominant norms (Bourdieu, 1991). The symbolic violence enacted by heteronormative school cultures subtly reinforces the privileging of heterosexuality and disciplines individuals to behave in accordance with the expected norm of heterosexuality (Bourdieu, 1991; Haskell & Burtch, 2010).

Jackson (2006) describes how heteronormative normalization regulates both sexuality and gender occurs through everyday interaction, with intersections and linkages between gender and sexuality. Thus, the expected norm of heterosexuality, and its accompanying symbolic violence, not only imposes heteronormative bounds on sexuality but also on gender identity and performance. This expected norm is embedded in the heterosexual matrix where gender is made intelligible through the compulsory practice of a "stable sex" expressed through a "stable gender" (Butler, 1990). This heteronormative symbolic violence, in turn, may cause LGBTQ youth to internalize stigma and engage in self-hatred (Haskell & Burtch, 2010; Burtch, 2007) and also cause non-LGBTQ youth to face overt homophobic bullying based on perceptions that they are not conforming to heteronormative social norms (Chamberland et al., 2009; Taylor & Peter, 2011).

The British Columbian Context

In terms of the wider legal context, the 1995 *Egan and Nesbit v Canada* case ruled that although sexual orientation was not explicitly included in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982) as a characteristic that is protected from discrimination, sexual orientation could be read as such a characteristic. Additionally, the *B.C. Human Rights Code* (1996) explicitly states that one has the

right to be protected from discrimination based on sexual orientation. Furthermore, there have been some influential legal cases that have shaped anti-homophobia education and policies in British Columbia. In the 2005 *School District No. 44 [North Vancouver] v Jubran* case, the Supreme Court of B.C. ruled that school boards need to respond effectively to harassment and bullying based on actual and perceived sexual orientation in a case where the student, who did not identify as LGBTQ, was subject to homophobic taunts and bullying. This landmark decision indicated that schools needed to protect students' rights to dignity and full participation in their education and communicate clear expectations regarding homophobic bullying.

Additionally, in the 2005 *Corren and Corren v BC* case, Peter and Murray Corren argued that silence in schools in regards to LGBTQ issues creates an environment of intolerance towards LGBTQ youth. Before this case even went to trial, an agreement was reached which mandated a review of the curriculum for inclusiveness and entailed the creation of an elective course focused on social justice and human rights issues, including sexual orientation. Although the B.C. Provincial Government recently introduced its ERASE (Expect Respect and A Safe Education) Bullying Strategy, it has not mandated that schools create a specific anti-homophobia bullying policy (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). Rather, the B.C. Provincial Government has created guidelines and documents to allow schools to make policy and curricular decisions in line with legislation, including the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *B.C. Human Rights Code*, and the *School Act* of British Columbia (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012).

These pieces of legislation and documents mention sexual orientation as one of the grounds for discrimination that needs to be prohibited and one of the forms of diversities that need to be honoured, but they do not outline guidelines specifically for anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008). In fact, only one third of school districts in B.C. have adopted anti-homophobia bullying policies (Bernard, 2013). Thus, although the Provincial Government has taken a stance on bullying, it has not gone so far as to mandate schools to create specific anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive, compulsory curriculum (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). Therefore, the Provincial Government's ERASE Bullying Strategy ignores the need to recognize and challenge heteronormative school cultures in order to combat bullying.

Opposition to Mandatory Policy and Curriculum

The major line of opposition to schools adopting an anti-homophobia bullying policy and including LGBTQ issues in the curriculum is framed as infringing on parents' rights and freedom of religion, in regards to the moral education of their children (The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2012; Murphy, 2011). Freedom of religion is one of the fundamental freedoms guaranteed under the *Charter*

of *Rights and Freedoms* (1982), which is subject to reasonable infringement that is justified in a free, democratic society. As will be argued later in this paper, the alleged infringement of these parents' rights over moral education by mandatory LGBTQ-inclusive courses and policies can likely be justified in terms of rights of equality for all students, being that LGBTQ youth and those perceived as LGBTQ youth face academic and health inequities due to silence on heteronormativity. Certain parents' groups argue that the inclusion of LGBTQ issues in curriculum and policy infringes on their rights to freedom of religion, as homosexuality conflicts with their religious beliefs and scriptures (The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2012; Collins, 2006). These groups argue that, along the lines of the B.C. Ministry of Education's emphasis on honouring diversity (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008), diversity in religious beliefs should be accommodated and tolerated in schools (Collins, 2006; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada Centre for Faith and Public Life, 2012; Murphy, 2011).

These groups view the inclusion of LGBTQ issues in curriculum as forcing views contradictory to their religion onto their children, thereby infringing on parents' rights to shape their children's moral education, as stated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2012; Collins, 2006). In 2002, the *Chamberlain v Surrey School District* case found that the Surrey School Board did not have the authority to ban books featuring LGBTQ themes. Arguments of opposition to LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum maintain that issues of homosexuality are contentious issues that parents need to explain to their children at home privately, rather than schools doing so publicly (Collins, 2006). The argument is centered on the premise that parents, not the state, have a right over determining what their children learn and believe in regards to matters that may contradict their religious beliefs and morals (Collins, 2006; Murphy, 2011).

Although a specific anti-homophobia bullying policy was adopted in the Surrey school district with relative ease in 2011, the Burnaby school district faced opposition from members of Parent's Voice, a group of parents who formed a civic party, based on the previously discussed arguments of freedom of religion and parents' rights (Bernard, 2013; DiMera, 2011; Moreau, 2011). Particularly concerning for these groups was the limitation of scope of the policy that allows parents to opt-out their children from class content as a result of the Corren case, which these groups argued to be counter to their rights over their children's education (Murphy, 2011). Murphy (2011) of the Catholic Civil Rights League points to Principle 7 in the United Nation's *Declaration of the Rights of the Child*, which states that parents have the primary responsibility over children's education and guidance, as evidence for of the inability to opt-out of LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum being an infringement of human rights.

Another line of opposition to enacting LGBTQ-specific bullying policies and

curriculum focuses on questioning whether such measures are necessary (The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2013). A publication by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (2013) argues that all students should be equally protected from bullying behaviours, rather than singling out LGBTQ students. One of the reasons outlined in this publication against the singling out of homophobic bullying is that focusing on anti-homophobia bullying policies could possibly minimize the regard given to other forms of bullying. The publication also maintains that since LGBTQ students only make up a small percentage of the larger high school student population, it is inefficient to create a policy specifically for them as opposed to creating policies that will aid the majority of students. Those who oppose LGBTQ-inclusive measures along this line of reasoning interpret research findings that both heterosexual and LGBTQ students are victims of homophobic bullying as reasons to why there should not be a specific bullying policy for LGBTQ students, arguing that such a policy only focuses on LGBTQ students, not on heterosexual students (The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2013).

I note that this is a contradictory argument, perhaps based on misunderstanding, because the LGBTQ-specific bullying policy would target bullying based on sexual orientation, which could be based not only on the student's identity, but also on perceptions of their sexual orientation. The opposition's argument seems to assume that this policy would only encapsulate LGBTQ-identified students, rather than such a policy actually focusing on LGBTQ-related bullying, which is experienced by students regardless of their actual sexual orientation. Also, a national survey found that both heterosexual and LGBTQ students found homophobic remarks upsetting (Taylor & Peter, 2011). This finding can be viewed as indicating that solidarity for LGBTQ students already exists in high schools and further measures are not needed. However, I argue that the fact that all students, regardless of their actual identified sexual orientation and gender identity, face homophobic bullying and find homophobic bullying upsetting indicates the need to for mandatory LGBTQ-inclusive content in curriculum in order to challenge the heteronormative social norms that facilitate such homophobic bullying, along with bullying policies that explicitly prohibit homophobic bullying.

The Need for Mandatory Policy and Curriculum

To recognize that a mandatory anti-homophobia bullying policy and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum are necessary in B.C.'s high schools and that this need surpasses the need of parents' freedom of religion to control their children's moral education, it is important to note that many LGBTQ youth experience a multitude of academic (Kosciw, Diaz, & Greytak, 2008; Saewyc et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011), mental health (Dragowski et al., 2011; Toomey et al., 2011), and risk behaviour inequities compared to heterosexual youth, linked to homophobic bullying and internalization of homophobic stigma (Goodenow, Szalacha, & Westheimer,

2006; Kosciw, Diaz, & Greytak, 2008; Russell et al, 2011; Saewyc et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011; Travers, Newtown, & Munro, 2011). In addition, it is especially concerning that homophobic bullying in high school is linked to mental health and HIV risks later in young adulthood (Russell et al., 2011; Toomey et al., 2010). Research finds that when level of bullying experienced is controlled for, disparities in emotional distress between LGBTQ youth and heterosexual youth (Almeida et al., 2009) and suicidality for gay male youth who do not conform to the heteronormative gender performance made compulsory in the heterosexual matrix (Friedman et al., 2006) are eliminated.

Feelings of being unsafe at school and experiencing homophobic bullying impede students' academic participation, as these factors lead to poor academic performance and skipping school (Bochenek & Widney, 2001; Kosciw et al., 2008). The aforementioned research, along with the finding that a more supportive social environment is associated with fewer suicide attempts among LGBTQ youth (Hatzenbuehler, 2011), all point to the need for interventions to target the homophobic bullying that plays a role in creating health and academic inequities between LGBTQ and heterosexual youth that may have long-lasting effects (Russell et al., 2011; Toomey et al., 2010). As mentioned earlier, the need for interventions addressing heteronormativity and homophobia is also supported by the findings that all students, regardless of whether they identify as LGBTQ or not, face homophobic bullying based on perceptions of non-heterosexuality (Chamberland et al., 2009) and all students, both LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ, find homophobic bullying upsetting (Taylor & Peter, 2011). These findings are not surprising because heteronormativity and homophobia are categories within and throughout one another, with heterosexual individuals and non-heterosexual individuals being expected to act in a heteronormative way. Therefore, an anti-homophobia bullying policy would have direct effects for both LGBTQ and heterosexual students.

Adopting a comprehensive anti-homophobia bullying policy can be beneficial in reducing these inequities, as it has been linked to less physical and verbal harassment based on sexual orientation, less absenteeism due to safety concerns among LGBTQ youth, and less suicide attempts among LGBTQ youth (Kosciw et al., 2008; Goodenow et al., 2006; Taylor & Peter, 2011). Anti-homophobia bullying policies have been related not only to less risky substance abuse among LGBTQ youth, but also among heterosexual youth, demonstrating that such policies can have positive effects for the overall student population (Konishi, Saewyc, Homma, & Poon, 2013). This point is in contradiction to the opposition's assertion that such policies would only aid a minority of students (The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2013).

Compared to schools with a generic bullying policy, staff in school districts that have an anti-homophobia bullying policy felt more supported, comfortable, and protected in addressing LGBTQ-related harassment (Schneider & Dimito,

2008). Likely, this finding may have emerged from staff being uncertain how to deal with LGBTQ-related harassment in the absence of such a policy. Therefore, moving further from the generic, provincial bullying policy to a mandated, province-wide anti-homophobia bullying policy would be helpful in aiding teachers in addressing this form of bullying, by introducing more certainty among teachers and consistency across schools. Thus, having a standardized, mandated policy across school districts would achieve more uniform effects in reducing the negative effects of homophobia and heteronormativity in schools across British Columbia.

In addition to policy, LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum has also been linked to positive academic effects and reduced victimization (Kosciw et al., 2013). Similar to lack of standardization in anti-homophobia policies, there is inconsistency in the way social justice curriculums are taught, pointing to the need for a clearly specified mandate of how LGBTQ issues are to be incorporated into the curriculum (Bellini, 2012). Moreover, the social justice curriculum in B.C. consists merely of an optional Grade 12 course, thus students must select the course and this likely has little impact on challenging the silence on heteronormativity in the wider school culture. The importance of adopting both anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum simultaneously is outlined by Short (2008), who argues that LGBTQ students will never truly be safe until the entire student population is exposed to LGBTQ issues in curriculum alongside anti-homophobia bullying policies. As such, Short (2008) argues that these two measures work in concert to foster transformative change in school cultures.

Education that normalizes variance of sexual orientation and gender identity, with mandatory courses that include content bringing to light issues relevant to non-heteronormative sexualities and gender identities, can serve to challenge the silence on LGBTQ issues in the formal curriculum (Haskell & Burtch, 2010). Such normalization could have implications for reducing the informal heteronormative social norms that pervade B.C. high schools and make LGBTQ youth feel deviant (Haskell & Burtch, 2010). Frohard-Dourlent (2012) describes working within the heteronormative boundaries of schools to deliver anti-homophobia education workshops in order to have sufficient legitimacy to be allowed into schools in the first place. Thus, such workshops could be seen as band-aid solutions with possibilities for moments that disrupt heteronormativity, but where heteronormativity is affirmed to gain legitimacy (Frohard-Dourlent, 2012). As such, Frohard-Dourlent (2012) argues that recognition of these anti-homophobia workshops as band-aid solutions allows us to see the need to “challenge heteronormativity at a structural, systemic level (by working at the level of curriculum and teacher education, for example)” (p. 15). I argue that this research indicates that a broader, more systemic change in the education system, going beyond the band-aid solution of one-off workshops towards the more structural solutions of curriculum and policy, is needed to truly disrupt heteronormativity. This heteronormative symbolic violence may

cause LGBTQ youth to internalize stigma (Haskell & Burtch, 2010; Burtch, 2007) and also cause non-LGBTQ youth, along with LGBTQ youth, to face overt homophobic bullying based on perceptions that they are not conforming to heteronormative social norms (Chamberland et al., 2009; Taylor & Peter, 2011). I argue later that the symbolic violence and imposition of heteronormative gender and sexuality-related norms enacted by silence on the fluidity of sexuality and gender identity can be challenged by making anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum mandatory in B.C. schools.

The previously mentioned research demonstrates both the negative health and academic effects of homophobic bullying and heteronormativity that put LGBTQ youth at a disadvantage compared to their heterosexual peers. This signals the need to address these barriers to full participation and dignity in schools. The B.C. Provincial Government's policy framework for schools, based on the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *B.C. Human Rights Code*, and the *School Act* of British Columbia, indicates that all students have a right to full participation in school and to be protected against discrimination (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012).

Thus, proactive action needs to be taken on reducing the prevalence of homophobia, as it is a form of discrimination that creates disparities between LGBTQ and heterosexual youth (Dragowski et al., 2011; Fedewa & Ahn, 2011; Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw et al., 2008; Russell et al., 2011; Saewyc et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011; Toomey et al., 2010; Travers et al., 2011; UNESCO, 2013). Such proactive action includes standardized and mandatory anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum, as this reduces inconsistencies between school districts and ensures all LGBTQ youth in B.C. receive their rights to get an education in an environment free of discrimination (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; Bellini, 2012; Short 2008; Short, 2010). The rulings from the *Jubran* case and *Corren* case indicate that schools have a legal responsibility to clearly communicate codes of conduct in regards to homophobic bullying and that there needs to be a transformation of the curriculum to include LGBTQ issues.

Therefore, while accepting the opposition's stance that parents have rights to determine their children's moral education and freedom of religion in line with the United Nation's *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, I argue that the rights of equal participation in education and health equity override these parental and religious rights. This is because including LGBTQ issues in the curriculum and bullying policies is not merely an issue of morals or religion, but rather an issue of reducing health and academic inequities among students who have legal rights to equality in a just, equal, and democratic society (Dragowski et al., 2011; Fedewa & Ahn, 2011; Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw et al., 2008; Russell et al., 2011; Saewyc, et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011; Toomey et al., 2010; Travers et al., 2011). Therefore, this infringement of

parents' rights over moral education is reasonable as it will facilitate the rights of a marginalized subgroup of students who are being denied full participation and well-being in their education, as guaranteed by the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *B.C. Human Rights Code*, and the *School Act* of British Columbia (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). Additionally, being that anti-homophobia bullying policies have positive effects for all youth regardless of their sexual orientation and heterosexual students also experience homophobic bullying, the benefits of inclusive curriculum and policies extend beyond the subgroup of LGBTQ students (Chamberland et al., 2009; Konishi, Saewyc, Homma, & Poon, 2013; Taylor & Peter, 2011).

Importantly, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the 2002 *Chamberlain v Surrey School District* case that parents' religious views are merely a consideration in public school's administrative decisions, but not to the extent that they exclude particular social groups, such as the LGBTQ community. This case ruled that tolerance can only be taught to students if they are exposed to different views, regardless of whether this causes infringes on parents' religious beliefs. Keeping in mind the research mentioned earlier of the negative academic and health impacts of homophobic bullying, I argue that, in line with court's reasoning in the *Chamberlain* case, tolerance that diminishes the harassment, health and academic inequities, faced by students that are perceived to be non-heterosexual, can only be achieved by combatting the silence on heteronormativity in schools. The symbolic violence and imposition of heteronormative gender and sexuality-related norms enacted by this silence can be challenged by making anti-homophobia bullying policies and LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum mandatory in B.C. schools.

CONCLUSION

Although the B.C. Ministry of Education does have a general anti-bullying policy and has created an elective course that could encompass LGBTQ issues, it is currently not mandatory for schools to have an anti-bullying policy that explicitly mentions sexual orientation, nor are LGBTQ issues included in mandatory courses (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; B.C. Ministry of Education, 2012). As a result, only about a third of school districts in British Columbia have enacted a comprehensive anti-homophobia bullying policy (Bernard, 2013). Opposition to mandating such policy and curriculum is characterized by concerns about parents' rights over their children's moral education, issues of freedom of religion conflicting with LGBTQ issues, and questions of whether it is necessary to have a policy singling out a particular subgroup of students (Murphy, 2011; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2012; The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 2013). In contrast, proponents of LGBTQ-inclusive anti-bullying policy and curriculum argue that the prevalence and negative effects of explicit homophobia and implicit heteronormativity point to the need for measures to protect LGBTQ youths' rights to security and ability to

fully participate in school (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008; Bellini, 2012; Schneider & Dimito, 2008; Short, 2008; Short, 2010).

In line with this position, I argue that in order to meet LGBTQ students' rights to full participation in education, rights to protection from discrimination, and to address health inequities, policy and curriculum designed specifically to address the barriers and needs of these marginalized youth are necessary and justifiable infringements to parental rights over moral education (B.C. Ministry of Education, 2008). Qualitative sociological methodology can play an important role to inform such policy and curriculum by uncovering the lived experiences LGBTQ youth, through, for instance, in-depth qualitative interviews. Making LGBTQ-inclusive policy and curriculum compulsory can contribute to combating the heteronormative silence that implicitly stigmatizes non-heterosexual sexual orientations and non-cis-gender identities, leading to homophobic bullying and upsetting remarks faced by all students regardless of their sexual or gender identities (Chamberland et al., 2009; Taylor and Peter, 2011), and creates inequities for youth in B.C. schools.

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The Bodies of the Unseen: The Imagined Identities of Indigenous Women

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to explore the concept of the male gaze and its association with Indigenous female bodies. The male gaze is originally based off of Laura Mulvey's research developed within feminist film studies, which will be further explored throughout the paper (1975). By using multiple media sources, like images and political cartoons, this paper will argue that the male gaze is used by those in power in order to justify the racialization and subordination of Indigenous women to the Canadian state. Components of the political cartoon will be examined in regards to who is being looked at, who is doing the looking, and what is being perceived. In this case, the person who is doing the looking will be interpreted as a White male, and his ideas of what constitutes an Indigenous person are illustrated in a thought-bubble. One of the figures drawn in the cartoon is the Walt Disney character of Pocahontas (1995). In juxtaposition to this Indian Princess is the squaw. These characterizations of Indigenous women will be drawn on in order to explain just how powerful the male gaze is when used as a tool by those in power to justify racialization.

IMAGINED INDIANS

Indigenous people, for the past five centuries, have been “largely imagined” (Valaskakis, 2005, p. 127). Their identities – such as their physical appearance or their cultural traditions – have been largely observed by non-Indigenous groups and then contorted in such a way to make these Indigenous identities more digestible for the non-Indigenous audience. In regards

to the Canadian state, the Indian Act declared that "Indian" women did not have the right to be recognized "Indian" and thus, stripped a woman of her Indian status if she married a non-Indian (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 143). This institutional stripping of an Indigenous person's identity prevailed up until only 30 years ago to 1985. The very fact that the Canadian government had the power to define just what it meant to be "Indian" demonstrates how non-Indigenous groups not only have the ability to reimagine the identities of Indigenous people, but to also legislatively alter what it means to be Indian. Legislation therefore becomes a method of legitimizing non-Indigenous perceptions of Indigenous identities and undermining actual Indigenous people and their perspectives.

The media has also played a significant role in shaping and selling Indigenous identities and thus, influencing ideas and beliefs about Indigenous people. For instance, Valaskaskis (2005) argues that Indigenous women were Canada's first "pin-up girls" featured in products in order to promote tourism and settlement in Canada in the 1800's (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 136). A prominent image of Indigenous women featured was that of the Indian Princess, who posed among Canadian scenery as a marketing strategy to make both the Canadian land and its Indigenous inhabitants appear to be "alluring" and "available" (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 136). This perception of Indigenous women as being sexually "available" still continues to exist within the media today - such as with Pocahontas - which has then resulted in a large discrepancy between imagined Indigenous identity and actual Indigenous identity. This discrepancy will be further analyzed later in the paper.

Blue Corn Comics – a media organization focused on increasing the awareness of Native American cultures – has illustrated the tension between imagined and actual Indigenous identities in a political cartoon (Schmidt, 2007). To the left of the political cartoon is a confused-looking girl with her eyes widened and her mouth making an "O" shape. To the right is a White male saying to the female, "Really? You don't look like an Indian..." The rest of the illustration is composed of the boy's ideas of what an Indigenous person ought to look like, which includes the Walt Disney character, Pocahontas. Despite the fact that Blue Corn Comics is an American-based organization, this political cartoon is relevant to the Canadian context because it can be juxtaposed to the Idle No More campaign in which Chief Theresa Spence's body was under constant scrutiny and criticism from the Canadian government. At the time, Chief Spence was going through a hunger strike and refused to eat until the Harper government agreed to organizing a meeting between Indigenous leaders (including Chief Spence), Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and the Governor General (Rabble, 2012). However, multiple media sources poked fun at Chief Spence's body, such as the Ed-

monton Journal, by publishing a political cartoon with an Indigenous male chief saying "It's time to think outside the box, Theresa" while Chief Spence lay in a coffin (Mayes 2012). Interestingly enough, both political cartoons involve a male figure looking at and imposing their perceptions onto the body of an Indigenous female. This not only undermines the power of Indigenous female bodies, but it also showcases the tension between imagined and real Indigenous identities. This ability to objectify the female body in order to impose one's perceptions onto it demonstrates the power of the male gaze. This paper will analyze the male gaze in regards to these political cartoons, its association with the Canadian state, and finally, how the male gaze is used as a tool to ultimately objectify Indigenous female bodies for the convenience of those in power, such as the colonizing group.



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THE MALE GAZE

The male gaze is a feminist film theory which was originally termed by Laura Mulvey in her work *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* (1975). The foundation of her argument about the male gaze stemmed from the ideas of Freud and Lacan. In association with Freud, Mulvey focused on how sexual desire is linked with an individual's ability to objectify people through one's gaze in order to control them (Mulvey, 1975, p. 3). Freud termed this often sexualized "pleasure of looking" as scopophilia (Coorlawala, 2002, p. 19). Furthermore, Freud links extreme scopophilia to "perversion" and obsessive voyeurism when an individual is only able to be sexually satisfied through watching and controlling an "objectified other" (Mulvey, 1975, p. 3). In this way, voyeurism - that is, the act of obtaining sexual gratification by secretly look at something (also known as a "Peeping Tom") - can be a powerful tool for objectification because voyeurism creates a power dynamic in which the gazer is the "dominant" director who has the ability to impose their imagination onto the passive actor (Coorlawala, 2002, p. 19). Therefore, the gaze does not directly reflect reality; instead, the gaze becomes something the voyeur creates.

The reason why Mulvey terms this phenomenon the "male" gaze is because both perceptions and expectations are "disproportionately affected by male needs, beliefs, and desires" (Devereaux, 1990, p. 337). Arguably, the main force driving these "male needs" within the gaze is male sexual anxiety (Schultz, 1995, p. 368). This sexual anxiety is arguably based on the biological differences between men and women, which make women a "mystery" to men (Schultz, 1995, p. 368). Thus, in terms of the male gaze, sexual anxiety is defined as a result of women's potential power over men due to this "mysteriousness" from biological differences (Schultz, 1995, p. 368). According to Mulvey, the male gaze then, is an attempt for men to reassert their power over female bodies with two strategies: through voyeurism, in which the female whose body is being watched becomes "demystified" and is then judged by the viewer; and through transformation, in which the female body becomes an object of "pleasure" (Schultz, 1995, p. 368-369). The male gaze then, is also arguably a tool of patriarchy. Patriarchy can be defined as a hierarchical social system that functions in such a way to uphold men and their needs while subordinating and oppressing women according to male desires (Friedman, Meterlerkamp, & Posel, 1987, p. 8). Therefore, in feminist patriarchal standards, the male gaze is an oppressive tool in which the women being looked at have their own agency taken away only to be replaced with male judgement and thus, male control where men are the active lookers and women are the passive objects to be looked at (Schultz, 1995, p. 369). These male-dominated expectations can be demonstrated throughout multiple forms of media: from movies to paintings to advertisements, in which the female character is often "styled accordingly" for the convenience of men's fantasies (Schultz, 1995, p. 369).

As a result, the concept is termed "the male gaze" because the expecta-

tions and desires are deemed male when it “directs itself at, and takes pleasure in, women, where women function as erotic objects” (Devereaux, 1990, p. 337). However, these expectations affect both males and females because both groups “have learned to see the world through male eyes” (Devereaux, 1990, p. 337). This masculine point of view then, is a function of patriarchy which affects the perceptions of both men and women. Therefore, in society, patriarchy not only operates according to “male defined values,” but with the male gaze, both genders learn to perceive women through men’s eyes (Friedman et. al., 1987, p. 8). This can be exemplified by the fact that throughout their lives, women internalize and thus, judge themselves based on “standards of what is pleasing to men” (Devereaux, 1990, p. 337). Because of the need to please potential spectators according to male preferences, women may spend “enormous amounts of time and energy and money” to meet these idealized standards (Devereaux, 1990, p. 337). Essentially, the gaze is male because it coerces women into adapting herself in accordance to the male viewpoint (Devereaux, 1990, p. 338).

THE ACT OF SEEING

In Blue Corn Comics’ political cartoon, it is a *male* figure looking at the female (2005). This difference in sex is significant because the political cartoon can then be interpreted as a symbol of the male gaze in association with colonialism and racism. For instance, the White male figure is projecting his beliefs of what a female Indigenous body is supposed to look like when he says “Really? You don’t look like an Indian...” (my emphasis). This very act of seeing and then imposing his beliefs onto the female figure in the political cartoon exemplifies the male gaze and how it objectifies the female body in an attempt to satisfy the expectations of the male characters’ biased beliefs.

The thought bubble coming from the male character’s head contains many stereotypical beliefs about Indigenous peoples as portrayed by the media, such as the figure of Pocahontas from the Disney movie *Pocahontas*. These imagined Indigenous characters symbolize the overarching power of racism in that the White colonial group is able to not only colonize and dominate the Indigenous group, but also shape and recreate just what an Indigenous person ought to be like. The depiction of Pocahontas’ character in the Disney film plays a large role in embodying the “imagined Indian” which was constructed and used to “accommodate colonial experience, western expansion, and national formations” (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 131). The “Pocahontas Perplex” then, was developed from this imagined Indian princess who saves the life of an Englishman, brings peace and union between the colonizers and her Indigenous community, and then assimilates to the colonizer’s way of life by marrying the Englishman and becoming Christian (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 131). Note how the beneficiary of all of Pocahontas’ actions is the colonizer, which is embodied as a Caucasian male figure. As a result, the

Indian princess gives more to the marital union than the Englishman, which is exemplified by her changing her religious beliefs in order to accommodate to his.

This accommodation is a demonstration of the colonizer's imagined domination and power over Pocahontas, who behaves passively and acts as if this is the ideal lifestyle for her. The danger behind the concept of the Indian princess occurs when she is taken to literally symbolize and embody Indigenous women – particularly those who are young and perceived as attractive according to the standards of Caucasian men, which can be demonstrated in Miss Universe Canada 2011 Chelsae Duroche. Despite the fact that Duroche is not Indigenous, she “plays Indian” by fashioning a “costume shop headdress” and a dress featuring traditional Indigenous artwork (Native Appropriations, 2011). Thus, Duroche simultaneously embodies the imagined Indian by wearing an Indigenous-inspired costume all the while modelling attractive Caucasian features, especially in regards to her light-coloured skin. Moreover, the models for original paintings of Indigenous women in the 1800's were also not Indigenous at all; they were also White models “playing Indian” (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 138). Having White females model themselves as Indigenous not only undermines the bodies of actual Indigenous females, but it replaces Indigenous features with more “desirable” Caucasian features. Thus, a disconnect between imagined Indigenous identities and actual Indigenous identities is created in which the idealized Indian princess can only exist through Caucasian bodies.

The story of Pocahontas then, continues today in part because of the pervasiveness of the media. Additionally, this tale prevails and attracts because it is a powerful tool for the colonizers in which the Indian Princess holds out the potential promise of a “sexual union between a white male representative of the dominant culture and an exotic, or ethnic, woman” (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134). This fantasy behind the Pocahontas complex can arguably act as a means of justification for the colonizers to engage in interracial relationships where it is believed that the Indigenous female is not only obedient, but actually *desires* to be dominated by the colonizer and is therefore, assimilated into the colonizer's group. Overall, Pocahontas is perceived as being beautiful and virtuous because she only “belongs” to one man (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134). This goes back to the male gaze in which the focus is for women to be made desirable for men, and in this way, the power of the Indian princess lies not only in her predominantly White physical features, but also in her loyalty to men.

THE “SQUAW” AND THE CANADIAN STATE

In juxtaposition to this Indian princess is the squaw, who is also known as the “anti-Pocahontas” because she personifies opposing characteristics (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134). The squaw is defined as being ugly, immoral, and a sexual convenience for all men who encounter her (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134). The Indian princess

and the Squaw were imagined Indigenous identities shaped in relation to White males in North America (Valaskakis, 2005, p. 134). In Canada, these Indigenous stereotypes were perpetrated and exacerbated by the Canadian state, especially in times of political upheaval. For instance, during the moral reforms of 1880, the main goal of the reformers was “racial purity” which would ultimately rid Canada of “improvident, filthy, and morally depraved [savages]” (Carter, 1997, p. 191). Thus, in order to keep Canada “White,” - and therefore, “pure” - the Canadian state propagated ideas of Aboriginal “immorality” by encouraging ideas that Indigenous people – especially women – were “unable to control...[their] sexual desires” (Carter, 1997, p. 191). The Canadian state was then able to justify certain policies centred on racial segregation being the main concern, not safety (Carter, 1997, p. 191). Because Indigenous women were mainly targeted in this political campaign, the label of the “squaw” became something negative; a squaw was then associated with sexually promiscuity and dirtiness (Valaskakis, 2005, p. 134). This idea of the squaw demonstrates how the Canadian government exercised their power to change how citizens perceived Indigenous women.



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Today, the Canadian government still continues to undermine Indigenous women and their bodies, such as when Prime Minister Stephen Harper taunted Atiwapsikat Chief Theresa Spence for her hunger strike instead of expressing concern for her welfare (Rabble, 2012). Chief Spence's hunger strike began in November 2012 to support the Idle No More campaign (Rabble, 2012). This campaign began

in Saskatchewan, Canada as a result of the Harper government undermining Indigenous authority (Rabble, 2012). Idle No More soon spread throughout the rest of Canada, with Chief Spence refusing to end her hunger strike until the Canadian government agreed to arrange a meeting between Indigenous leaders, Stephen Harper, and the Governor General (Rabble, 2012). Chief Spence received a lot of backlash from the media, such as in the *Edmonton Journal's* political cartoon of her depicted in a coffin (attached above) (*Edmonton Journal*, 2012). Additionally, there was also a lot of commentary about Chief Spence's body, such as in the *National Post* where Kay states that "if Chief Spence actually intends to starve herself to death, she is going about it the wrong way" (*National Post*, 2013, para. 9). Here, Kay is referring to the fact that Chief Spence's body does not look "gaunt and sickly" despite the fact that she had been fasting for three weeks at that point (*National Post*, 2013, para. 4). Moreover, Kay not only criticizes Chief Spence's fasting practices by pointing out that Spence is still consuming fish broth which is "highly nutritious" and "healthier than the Chief's regular regime" but also Spence's body, by assuming that Spence's regular diet "includes a lot of carbohydrates" (*National Post*, 2013, para. 10). Kay then ends the article with an emphasis on the Chief's body and how the Chief "may actually end up doing her body a favour" with her hunger strike (*National Post*, 2013, para. 12). Both the political cartoon from the *Edmonton Journal* (2012) and the article from the *National Post* (2013) showcase how Chief Spence's role as a powerful political leader becomes undermined and instead, it is her body that becomes spotlighted, scrutinized, and criticized.

Thus, the Idle No More campaign exemplifies how the male gaze can be adapted in such a way to benefit those in power - in this case, the Harper government - demonstrating just how much the male gaze is associated with power dynamics in accordance to who is in control and who is being affected. Here, instead of acknowledging Chief Spence's political stance in the Idle No More movement, her body becomes targeted. If this situation were to be posited within the framework of the male gaze, it can be argued that Chief Spence's body becomes the main issue of focus because by focusing on Chief Spence's body, it gives people power over her - whereas before they may have had none - because these people are then able to objectify, judge, and condemn Chief Spence. Thus, the male gaze works as a tool of oppression because it then enables "male communal expression of anger and violence that female...power provoke[s]" (Bowers, 1990, p. 226). This affects all perpetrators, regardless of whether they are male or female, because even females learn to internalize and describe the world from a "male" viewpoint (Devereaux, 1990, p. 340). This is showcased in the fact that Kay is a female who wrote the *National Post* article (2013). Therefore, by undermining Chief Spence's authority and power, the Canadian state, with the help of the media, arguably transform Chief Spence into a "squaw" figure who does *not* accommodate to those in power and as a result, becomes mistreated by "male" figures

(Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134).

The main commonality that both the Indian princess and the squaw share is that neither one of them allow non-Indigenous groups to identify Indigenous peoples – especially Indigenous females – “as equals, as owners of this land, as Native North Americans with homes, families, jobs, and indigenous governments” (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 149). Instead, Indigenous women become objects of the male gaze used to either: sexually gratify men, such as with Miss Universe Canada 2011, Duroche, and her portrayal of Indigenous culture; and/or to justify the actions of the colonizers, such as the case with Chief Spence's hunger strike whereby spotlighting her body as being the issue of target, the Canadian state could avoid further involvement within the Idle No More campaign. With the power of the male gaze over Indigenous female bodies, Indigenous women are categorized as either being a Pocahontas or an anti-Pocahontas and are thus, stripped of the agency of creating their own identity outside of these two groups. The issues resulting from this overgeneralization is exemplified in the Blue Corn Comics political cartoon where we see an Indigenous female figure who does not look like the stereotypical Indian princess or the squaw. When the boy in the cartoon says “You don't look like an Indian...” he is perpetrating the male gaze in addition to his predisposed beliefs of what an Indigenous woman *should* look like instead of what an Indigenous woman *actually* looks like. This is an indication of how these two categories for Indigenous women are so narrow and restricting that *no one* can fit those standards. By fitting Indigenous female bodies into these stereotypes, this form of racism will continue to disadvantage Indigenous females and strip them of their identity while promoting the beliefs and actions of the colonizers.

EXOTIC OR OBJECTIFIED?

The imagined identities of Indigenous women can be found in the Indian princess and in the squaw. Both embody racist generalizations of what it means to be an Indigenous woman: from being beautiful and sexually loyal, such as with the Pocahontas figure; to being promiscuous and therefore, “dirty” as the anti-Pocahontas (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134). The stereotypes embedded in the head of the male figure from Blue Corn Comics come from a perspective that lacks knowledge of actual Indigenous identities and instead, makes “[u]nfortunate generalizations and exoticized constructions of otherness [to] justify or mystify that which is not understood” (Coorwala, 2002, p. 25). The male gaze then becomes a colonizing tool that not only objectifies the female body, but also transforms the Indigenous female body into an exotic figure to be “discovered” or “tamed.”

The political cartoon can be made even more powerful if the male is interpreted as a White individual with his character symbolizing the European colonizers who made such assumptions about Indigenous peoples in order to justify actions based on the racialization of Indigenous bodies. For instance, up until 1985, the

Indian Act had declared that any Native woman would lose her status as an Indian if she married a non-Indian (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 143). This piece of legislation transformed the Indigenous female body into something that could be changed in regards to her relationship with a male figure. The female body then, became an object that was altered in accordance to the men whom the female associated herself with. If she married a status Indian, she remained Indian under the law; however, if she married a non-Indian, she lost a huge part of her identity. Thus, the Indian Act not only had the power to strip the identity of Indigenous females away, but the standards of what made a woman "Indian" was decided by government officials, most of whom are privileged White males. As a result, the male gaze in this context not only takes power away from Indigenous females, but it takes that power and grants it to the colonizing group.

The male gaze can also be exemplified today in regards to Canada's Idle No More campaign in which Chief Spence's body becomes the centre of focus instead of her rallying for Indigenous rights. The male gaze works as a tool to both objectify and then scrutinize Chief Spence's body, with the main focus to find inadequacies in order to strip this dominating female figure of her power. Again, by doing this, power is shifted from the Indigenous female to patriarchal institutions which serve to undermine female authority and assert male viewpoints. Thus, the male gaze not only undermines the knowledge and power of Indigenous women, but it also functions as a tool to restrict the diversity of Indigenous female figures into two opposing figures: the Indian princess and the squaw.

CONCLUSION

Although the male gaze may be a feminist term born out of film studies, its concepts can still be applied to colonial settler populations and their perceptions of the bodies of Indigenous females. The act of seeing not only involves imposing one's biased perceptions onto another, but involved within this action of looking and having something to gaze upon can be violent when it strips someone of power (Mulvey, 1975, p. 3). The male gaze then, can be used as a tool of oppression that both objectifies and exploits the bodies of Indigenous women. In the case of the Indian princess, she is made to be sexually attractive and loyal to White men; whereas the squaw is perceived as being dirty and promiscuous (Valaskaskis, 2005, p. 134). These two portrayals of Indigenous identities are problematic in that although they are imaginary figures, the Indian princess and the squaw are powerful influences on shaping how actual Indigenous women are both viewed and treated. For Miss Universe Canada, Duroche, the imagined identity of the Indian princess becomes so real that she is able to wear a costume to "embody" what it means to be Indigenous. As a result, although Duroche is not Indigenous at all, the figure of the Indian princess contorts beliefs of what an Indigenous woman is in such a way that a White female is able to "play Indian." In the case of Chief

Spence, she is labelled a “squaw” simply because she does not fit the standards of the Indian princess. Therefore, Chief Spence’s actual political power in regards to the Idle No More campaign is undermined and instead, her body becomes the issue of focus. Thus, the male gaze can be used as a powerful tool to not only shape identities of female figures, but to also replace actual Indigenous identities with imaginary ones.

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Undergraduate Understanding of Anthropogenic Climate Change: How Faculty Influences Students' Willingness to Act

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Understanding how a students' willingness to act against anthropogenic climate change (ACC) as influenced by their field of study could help universities produce leaders willing to combat ACC. Previous studies seem to neglect the mediating role that attitude and knowledge of ACC play in the relationship between students' faculty and willingness to act. Addressing this gap in the literature, I argue that there is a relationship between a student's faculty and their willingness to act against ACC (H1) and that the relationship between a student's faculty and their willingness to act against ACC is mediated by a student's attitude and their knowledge of ACC (H2). I carried out an exploratory quota survey that recorded and measured undergraduate students' faculty, attitude, knowledge and willingness to act against ACC at the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver. The survey data were analyzed using ANOVAs and a mediation model that tested the role played by attitude and knowledge in the relationship between faculty and willingness to act. Significant differences between students' from different faculties was found for willingness to act against ACC. Additionally, the mediation analysis shows that students' attitude plays a mediating role in the relationship between willingness to act and faculty but knowledge does not. Although the results are tentative, this study highlights the need for further projects that examine how students' field of study impacts their willingness to act against anthropogenic climate change.

INTRODUCTION

Anthropogenic, or human induced, climate change (ACC) is estimated to cause the death of 302 000 people, negatively impact¹ 238 million

¹Negative impacts include people affected by (1) weather-related disasters attributed to climate change (e.g.

people and cause 125 billion US dollars in economic loss per annum (Annan, Desai, Egeland, Huq, Merkl, Pachauri, Rockstrom, Sachs, Stocking, Topfer, Wahlstrom, & Fust, 2009, p. 90, 92). This is projected to rise to nearly 500 000 deaths, 310 million people impacted and a cost of 340 billion US dollars by the year 2030 (p. 90, 92). Despite socio-economic and environmental costs of ACC, a lack of political will has resulted in a failure to substantively address the major cause of ACC – the combustion of fossil fuels and the resulting greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) (Allen, Barros, Broome, Cramer, Christ, Church & Van Ypersele, 2014). Limiting the negative impacts of ACC requires a societal shift from dilatoriness to willingness to reduce fossil fuel consumption and the associated GHG emissions. Institutions of higher education can play an important role as an agent of change in guiding societal transformations that address sustainability challenges such as ACC (Stephens, Hernandez, Roman, Graham, & Scholz, 2008, p. 332). Specifically, universities can shape attitudes (Guimond, 1999; Weidman, 1979) and convey knowledge to students, which can influence their willingness to act against ACC (Kuhlemeier, Van Den Bergh & Lagerweij, 1999). However, the field of study taught at universities varies depending on faculty (e.g. Applied Sciences versus Arts versus Sciences) which shapes the type of knowledge conveyed or the attitude internalized by students. Therefore, this paper investigates how undergraduate students' faculty influences their willingness to act. Additionally, the paper examines the role that attitude and knowledge towards/of ACC plays in mediating the relationship between a students' faculty and their willingness to act against ACC. Overall, this paper aims to contribute to the understanding of how higher education prepares undergraduate students, potential future technical and political leaders, to willingly address the defining social and environmental challenge of their generation: anthropogenic climate change.

Many studies have attempted to explore what makes citizens more or less willing to act against ACC or engage in environmentally responsible behaviour (ERB)² (Fortner, Lee, Corney, Romanello, Bonnell, Luthy, Figuerido & Ntsiko, 2000; Kuhlemeier et al., 1999; O'Conner, Bord & Fisher, 1999). However, there is no consensus as to why citizens are more or less willing to act against ACC or choose to engage in ERB (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). Few studies focus on specific population groups (Spellman, Field & Sinclair, 2003) in which elucidating the mechanism behind willingness to act may be less complicated. Examining the differences in willingness to act in a specific

droughts) that require emergency aid and (2) gradual environmental degradation related to climate change (e.g. sea level) that are temporarily or permanently harmed because of impacts such as poverty, conflict, or hunger. For more information about how these estimates were determined see Annan et al. (2009).

² This paper investigates willingness to act as an independent variable, instead of ERB, as many actions relating to ACC are currently not an option for citizens (e.g. vote 'yes' on a ballot issue to reduce greenhouse gas emissions).

population, such as university undergraduate students, allows one to assess how 'field of study' (e.g. Science, Arts, Applied Sciences) could impact a students' willingness to act against ACC. Previous research exploring willingness to act do not typically examine how the variable changes with education type (Fortner et al., 2000; Kuhlemeier et al., 1999; O'Conner, Bord, & Fisher, 1999). However, Fusco, Snider, and Luo (2012) investigated how education type influences environmentally responsible behaviour (ERB). The study shows that student major is a significant predictor of whether students engaged in ERB or not. Specifically, students majoring in environmental studies (EVS) reported significantly higher levels of ERB than non-EVS majors. These findings suggest that field of study is important in ERB and may be extended to willingness to act against climate change at an education level of faculty rather than major.

Cech (2013) explored how interest in public welfare (e.g. impacts of ACC) changed over time in students from the faculty of applied sciences. Applied Science students from four different universities showed a decline in interest in public welfare over the course of their degree. Cech (2013) suggests that this is a result of the cultural disengagement of Applied Science programs towards issues such as the impact of technology on society. This supports the argument that students from the faculty of Applied Science may be less willing to act against ACC compared to other faculties. This is assuming that other faculties do not see the same decrease of interest in public affairs. The findings of Fusco, Snider, and Luo (2012) and Cech (2013) support the hypothesis that a students' faculty is related to their willingness to act against ACC. Fusco, Snider, and Luo, (2012) attribute the differences between student major (independent variable) reports of ERB (dependent variable) to the mediating role that a students' perception of ACC (mediating variable) plays. Conceptually, a similar dynamic may exist between a student's faculty (independent variable), their attitude/knowledge towards/of ACC (mediating variable), and their willingness to act against ACC (dependent variable). However, previous studies have not explored the possible mediating influence of knowledge and/or attitude in this relationship. This is despite research indicating positive relationships between knowledge/attitude and willingness to act against ACC (Kuhlemeier et al., 1999).

Many government and environmental organizations seek to increase the public's willingness to act against ACC by increasing their knowledge of ACC. Knowledge about ACC is seen by many government and environmental organizations as guiding the public towards increasing their willingness to act against ACC (Bostrom, Morgan, Fischhoff, & Read, 1994; Spellman, Kenfield & Sinclair, 2010). This stems from the concept of an 'information deficit' which identifies a general lack of public knowledge as a deterrent

to constructive support for climate change policy initiatives (Bulkeley, 2000, p. 313). A similar deficit may exist among university students not in faculties specifically focussing on ACC, although public basic knowledge regarding ACC has grown (Reynolds, Bostrom, Read, & Morgan, 2010, p. 1520). This type of cursory knowledge does not appear to have garnered political will to support significant climate change action and may not be sufficient to influence a students' willingness to act. Sterman and Sweeny (2007, p.213) argue that although many people know details about ACC even highly educated MIT graduate students fail to understand some of the basic concepts necessary to substantively address the issue of climate change.³ These misconceptions regarding climate change mechanisms could lead the general public as well as university students to misinterpret the necessity to act. Research by Kuhlemeier et al. (1999) supports a positive relationship between knowledge and willingness to act, although the relationship was weak and did not account for differences in field of study. However, the study does examine the relationship between attitude towards ACC and willingness to act, finding a strong positive relationship between the two variables. Further supporting the hypothesis that knowledge is not the primary variable that influences willingness to act against ACC are the polls that demonstrate that many North Americans are moderately knowledgeable about climate change but are unwilling to act (Leiserowitz, 2006). Bostrom et al. (1994, p. 968) proposed that mental models, or a set of attitudes, could explain how people view the issue of climate change. Universities' ability to shape attitudes (Guimond, 1999; Weidman, 1979) could play a role in whether students' attitude towards ACC was concerned or dismissive. For example, the research by Cech (2013) suggests that Applied Science students concerned attitudes towards ACC erode through the course of their degree which could be entirely different in other faculties. This decline in concerned attitudes towards ACC is attributed to an emphasis on technical skills over cultural understanding of ethical and social issues. However, generally, there is a paucity of information regarding the potential mediating role played by attitude and knowledge between a students' faculty and their willingness to address ACC.

Overall, this paper will explore how students' willingness to act against climate change is impacted by the 'field of study' they receive. Students' knowledge and/or attitude towards ACC may play mediating role between faculty and willingness to act against ACC. Exploring the relationship between a students' faculty and their attitude, knowledge and willingness to

³ For example, MIT graduate students seemed to believe that green house gas emissions (GHGs) could be stabilized even if GHG emissions into the atmosphere exceed the amount of GHG being removed (this is similar to a bath tub staying the same level even though the rate of flow into the tub exceeds the rate of drainage out of it) (Sterman and Sweeny, 2007, p.213)

act against ACC this project will show which faculties do not produce students willing to act against ACC. To summarize, I propose the following hypotheses:

H1: There is a relationship between a student's faculty and their willingness to act against ACC

H2: The relationship between a student's faculty and their willingness to act against ACC is mediated by a student's (2.1) attitude towards ACC and (2.2) knowledge of ACC

METHODOLOGY

Procedures and Participants

A study of undergraduate student knowledge, attitude and willingness to act against ACC was carried out at the University of British Columbia (UBC). A non-probability quota sampling technique was applied as a result of budgetary constraints. The sample was obtained by selecting at least 25 students from the UBC faculties of Applied Sciences, Sciences and Arts. The 28 question survey was conducted via fluid surveys, an online survey tool, over a three day period (March 26-28, 2014). A social networking site, Facebook, was used to distribute a link to the survey on Applied Sciences, Sciences and Arts UBC group pages. Additionally, the authors' own Facebook contacts, from UBC, were sent a link to the survey through Facebook private messaging service. 75 responses were obtained online. However, this did not fulfill the quota of 25 students from the faculty of Arts, therefore 13 more responses were elicited by distributing hardcopies of the survey in a faculty of Arts class on April 1st, 2014 (Third year Sociology class). The in-class response rate was over 90%. All 88 respondents completed the demographics section and their major characteristics are recorded in Table 1. The majority of the respondents were female, in their third year and were on average 21 years old. The similarity between the number of respondents from the faculties of Science (35.2%), Arts (31.8%), and Applied Sciences (33) reflected the data collection method of quota sampling.

Table 1
Demographics (n = 88)

Characteristic	Summary Statistics
Gender	60.2% female; 39.8% male;
Year level	median - 3rd year
Age	mean - 21; SD - 1.88

Faculty*	35.2% Science; 31.8% Arts; 33% Applied Sciences
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* Faculty - for the purpose of this study the five "other" responses, four in commerce, and one in Kinesiology were recoded into Arts and Sciences respectively as these faculties were the most similar of the three core faculties measured in this survey.

Measures

This section outlines the dependent, independent and control variables used in this study. Table 2 shows descriptives for the dependent and independent variables divided by faculty. These descriptives include the means, standard deviations, and ranges for each variable by faculty (and total).

Dependent variables

Climate change knowledge. Knowledge of concepts necessary to understand climate change is assessed by adapting scales developed by Spellman, Kenfield and Sinclair (2010, Items 2-9), and Reynolds, Bostrom, Read and Morgan (2010, Item 1). Response categories included (1) "true", (2) "false", and (3) "don't know". The "don't know" category is incorporated to reduce random guessing. The scale includes the following nine items (correct answer in parenthesis): (1) "Weather means average climate" (False), (2) "Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere contributes to the global greenhouse effect" (True), (3) "Clearing of tropical rainforests is likely to intensify the global greenhouse effect" (True), (4) "A more intense greenhouse effect would probably lead to global warming" (True), (5) "Recent observations strongly suggest that violent volcanic eruptions have no effect on global climate" (False), (6) "Scientists predict that the burning of fossil fuels, especially coal, will enhance the greenhouse effect" (True), (7) "If global warming occurs, it will probably have little, if any, impact on crop and timber production in North America" (False), (8) "When climate changes, it changes in the same way (warmer/drier, for example) everywhere on the planet" (False), and (9) "Without clouds and water vapor in the atmosphere, the planet's surface would be considerably cooler" (True). Item 1 was included to ensure that subjects knew the difference between climate and weather as both Bostrom et al. (1994) and Reynolds et al. (2010) report that many North Americans do not understand what 'climate' in the phrase 'climate change' means.

The scale is summed with each correct response given a value of "+1", incorrect and "don't know" responses were given a value of "0". Correct answers for each item ranged from 34% (K9) to 94% (K8).

Attitude towards climate change. Attitude is measured using a metric designed by Dijkstra and Goedhart (2012). The scale included the following 6 items: (1) "People

should care more about climate change", (2) "Climate change should be given top priority", (3) "It is annoying to see people do nothing for the climate change problems", (4) "People worry too much about climate change", (5) "The seriousness of climate change has been exaggerated", and (6) "Climate change is a threat to the world". Response categories included a 5-point Likert scale of (1) "strongly disagree", (2) "disagree", (3) "neutral", (4) "agree", and (5) "strongly agree".

Question (4) and (5) were reverse coded. The scale was calculated by finding the mean of the 6 items to create an 'Attitude Index' ($\alpha = 0.86$).

Faculty. Participants are asked "Which faculty are you from?" Response categories include (1) "Science", (2) "Arts", (3) " Applied Science (engineering)", and (4) "Other".

Independent variables

Willingness to act against climate change. Willingness to act against climate change is assessed by adapting Fortner et al.'s (2010) measure to better reflect potential actions of undergraduate students. Subjects were asked "How willing are you to" for the following 9 statements: (1) "Use public transportation more than you do now", (2) "Install low-energy light bulbs in your house", (3) "Support an increase in gasoline prices", (4) "Support lawsuits against emitters of greenhouse gases", (5) "Vote 'yes' on a ballot issue to reduce greenhouse gas emissions", (6) " Eat more food grown locally ", (7) " Attend demonstrations supporting environmental causes ", (8) "Support environmental education in schools", and (9) "Use less air conditioning in the summer and less heat in the winter". Response categories included a 5-point Likert scale of (1) "very unwilling", (2) "unwilling", (3) "neutral", (4) "willing", and (5) "very willing". The 9 items were summed to construct a 'Willingness Index' ($\alpha = 0.82$).

Control variables

Gender. The subjects were asked "What gender are you?" The response categories include (1) "male" and (2) "female".

Age. The subjects were asked "How old are you?" The subjects were given a space to enter their age.

Year level. Subjects were asked "What year are you in?" The response categories are (1) "First year", (2) "Second year", (3) "Third year", (4) "Fourth year", (5) "Fifth year and above" and (6) "Recently graduated".

Data Analysis

IBM SPSS Statistics 20 was used to process and analyse the data. Initially,

data was cleaned, recoded into larger variables, and reverse coded where necessary. Missing data was corrected for and larger variables were recalculated. For the purpose of regression analysis the nominal variable, faculty, was recoded into three binaries of applied Sciences and non-Applied Sciences, Sciences and non-Sciences, and Arts and non-Arts students. The faculty of Arts was left out of the analysis as a dummy variable. Hypotheses testing was carried out through the use of ANOVAs for H1, and a step-wise regression analysis for H2. Mediation was evaluated by assessing whether the three criterion for mediation, described by Judd and Kenny (1981) and summarized by MacKinnon, Krull and Lockwood (2000), were met. These three criteria are (a) a significant relationship between the independent variable (IV) and the dependent variable (DV), (b) a significant relationship between the IV and the mediating variable (MV), and (c) that the MV is a significant predictor of the DV when both the MV and the IV are accounted for in the same equation.

Results

The first hypothesis is that **(1) there is a relationship between a students’ faculty and their willingness to act against climate change.** The nominal independent variable, faculty, is related to the interval dependent variable, willingness to act. A one-way ANOVA shows that between faculties there is a difference in willingness to act at a significance level of 0.01 (F= 8.0, df = 2) (Table 2). Additionally, Table 2 shows significant differences between the three faculties (Sciences, Arts, and Applied Sciences) for knowledge and attitude.

Table 2
Dependent and independent variable descriptives by faculty (n = 88)

	Sciences (31) Mean (SD)	Arts (28) Mean (SD)	Applied Sci. (29) Mean (SD)	One-way ANOVA F-value (Sig.)
Willingness to act	0.85 (0.90)	0.77 (0.11)	0.73 (0.15)	8.03 (.001**)
Knowledge	0.79 (0.20)	0.65 (0.19)	0.73 (0.20)	3.87 (.025*)
Attitude	0.89 (0.09)	0.76 (0.14)	0.74 (0.20)	8.82 (.000**)

Note - All variables assumed normally distributed with kurtosis and skewness either between 1 & -1 or within +/-0.2

* p-value < 0.05, ** p-value < 0.01

The second hypothesis was that **(2) the relationship between a student’s faculty (independent variable) and their willingness to act against ACC (dependent variable) is mediated by a student’s attitude and knowledge of ACC (mediat-**

ing variables). Judd and Kenny's (1981) three criteria for mediation were applied to test H2. Criteria (a) is met as there is a significant relationship between willingness to act (DV) and faculty (IV) (see H1). Criteria (b) is met as there is a significant relationship between faculty (IV) and both attitude ($p < 0.01$) and knowledge ($p < 0.05$) (MVs) (Table 2).

Criteria (c) is evaluated through a step-wise regression analysis model (Table 3). The regression analysis applied shows how independent variables can reduce the error in prediction of the dependent variable, when accounting for the other independent and control variables of this survey. The first model supports criteria (a) that the dependent variable, willingness to act, is significantly related to the independent variable, faculty (Sciences and Applied Sciences), with a beta coefficient for Sciences of 0.30 ($p < 0.05$) and Applied Sciences of -0.15 (not significant). This means that compared to Arts students, Science students are more willing to act, whereas there is no difference in willingness to act between Arts and Applied Science students. The second model controls for variables such as gender and year level. However, including these controls does not change the significance level of the relationship between Sciences (faculty) and willingness to act with a significant beta coefficient of 0.29 ($p < 0.05$). Including these control variables increased explained variance, or R squared value, by 0.005. The final model (model 3) included the mediating variables of knowledge and attitude. Knowledge has a beta coefficient of 0.03 and does not have a significant relationship with willingness to act. Therefore, knowledge as a mediating variable does not meet criteria (c). Attitude has a significant beta coefficient of 0.72 ($p < 0.01$) thereby meeting criteria (c). Including attitude and knowledge reduced the beta coefficient of Science (faculty) to 0.00 (Table 3) and also made it not significant. Overall, model 3 explained 56% of the variance compared to model 1 and 2 which explained 12% and 14% respectively. All three models had significant F-values for the relationship between the IVs and the DV ($p < 0.01$). The mediation analysis demonstrates that the reason Science students are more willing to act is because they have, for whatever reason, developed attitudes supportive of action. Whether those attitudes developed during their university studies or preceded their entry into Science is unknown.

Table 3

Beta coefficients for step-wise regression analysis on the relationship between willingness to act and possible independent, control and mediating variables (n = 88)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Independent Variables</i>			

Sciences (faculty)	.30* (2.57)	.29* (2.50)	.00 (.04)
Applied Sciences (faculty)	-.15 (- 1.29)	-.12 (- 0.96)	-.06 (- .70)
<i>Control Variables</i>			
Gender	-	.06 (.59)	.12 (1.57)
Year Level	-	.05 (.47)	.08 (1.01)
<i>Mediating variables</i>			
Knowledge	-	-	.03 (.435)
Attitude	-	-	.72** (9.00)
<i>Model Summary</i>			
R squared	.16	.16	.59
Adjusted R squared	.14	.12	.56
F statistic	8.031 87 df	4.059 87 df	19.655 87 df
p-value	<0.001	<0.005	<0.001

Notes: (1) t-values in parentheses (2) Faculty of Arts left out as a dummy variable

* p-value < 0.05, ** p-value < 0.01

DISCUSSION

Conclusions

(1) The results show a relationship between what faculty a student is in and their willingness to act against climate change. The reported R squared value was 0.16 (Table 3) indicating that knowing what faculty a student was from could reduce the error in predicting their willingness to act by a factor of 0.159, which means the relationship is relatively weak. There is a lack of literature around how different forms of education impacts willingness to act against climate change measurements. However, this survey indicates that field of study may play a role in how willing a UBC undergraduate, a potential future leader, would be to combat climate change.

(2) The results suggest that attitude mediates the relationship between faculty and willingness to act, but knowledge does not. The stronger and significant relationship found between attitude and willingness to act compared to knowledge and willingness to act is supported by previous literature (Kuhlemeier, 1999). This may explain why the results show mediation between faculty and willingness to act for attitude but not knowledge. This is supported by the relatively high Beta coeffi-

cient of attitude, 0.72 ($p < 0.01$), compared to all the other low Beta values for the independent and control variables. The Beta coefficients show that the control variables of gender and year level is not significantly related to willingness to act. This is despite previous literature documenting gender as a variable of interest when exploring issues such as climate change knowledge, impact and discourse (McCright, 2010; Denton, 2010; Arora-Jonsson, 2011). The exploratory nature of this project may explain this difference on gender, or perhaps gender is less important when investigating the relationship between faculty and willingness to act than previous literature would suggest. When all independent and control variables (attitude, knowledge, faculty, gender and age) were accounted for an R2 value of 0.59, suggested that they were together a strong indicator for the dependent variable; given that using these variables one could reduce the error in prediction of willingness to act by 0.59 (See Table 3, Model 3). However, attitude remains the dominant contributor explaining this relationship. Attitude's mediating role between willingness to act and faculty suggests that either different faculties attract students with different attitudes towards ACC or different faculties shape students attitudes differently. The latter seems to be supported by research by Cech (2013) where Applied Sciences students' attitude towards socio-economic issues declined over time with their interest in related topics such as technology's impact on society. Overall, these conclusions provide an exploratory view of how students' field of study can play a role in willingness to act against climate change and how this relationship could be mediated by attitude.

LIMITATIONS

The gathering of the data limits the conclusions that can be drawn from the results as the study made use of non-probability quota sampling. This may have biased the results although the extent of such bias, if there is any, is unknown. One particular bias may be that Science students were likely to come from Environmental Science, a group more motivated to complete the survey. This would not be an accurate reflection of students in the faculty of Sciences. Therefore, the results of the survey may not provide an accurate representation of the study population. Another issue with the survey design is that the study was limited to one university and therefore the findings may not reflect other university student populations. Apart from survey design, the study is limited as the data was self-reported and therefore may not reflect actual student attitude, and/or willingness to act against climate change. In addition, for the internet survey a response rate was not calculated.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The main findings of this project suggest that the field of study (different faculties) play a role in a students' willingness to act against anthropogenic cli-

mate change. However, as a result of the exploratory nature of the project design and data collection, all findings are tentative. The literature review also showed that there is a dearth of academic literature regarding undergraduate students and their relationships with attitude and knowledge with willingness to act against climate change. This needs to change and more statistically powerful studies (sample size and representativeness) should be completed to explore these relationships fully. Specifically, the mediating role played by attitude in the relationship between student's faculty and their willingness to act should be further explored. A longitudinal study such as (Cech, 2013) would offer more meaningful results as one could differentiate between faculties attracting students with certain attitudes or faculties actually changing student attitudes. Overall, it is essential that more studies are completed on university students about anthropogenic climate change so as to inform educators on where change has to happen if universities are going to produce political and technical leaders that are willing to act against anthropogenic climate change.

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APPENDIX

Correlation table between independent and dependent variables

Table 4, shows the correlations between all interval and ratio, independent and dependent variables used in this analysis. The Pearson correlation shows the strength of the relationship between the two variables and whether or not the correlation is significant. Attitude (0.75) had a higher Pearson correlation with the independent

variable, willingness to act, compared to knowledge (0.22). Both dependent variables are significantly correlated with the independent variable, willingness to act.

Table 4
 Pearson correlation table between dependent and independent variables
 (n = 88)

	Willingness	Knowledge	Attitude
Willingness to act	1	-	-
Knowledge	.22*	1	-
Attitude	.75**	.23	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

Scatterplots

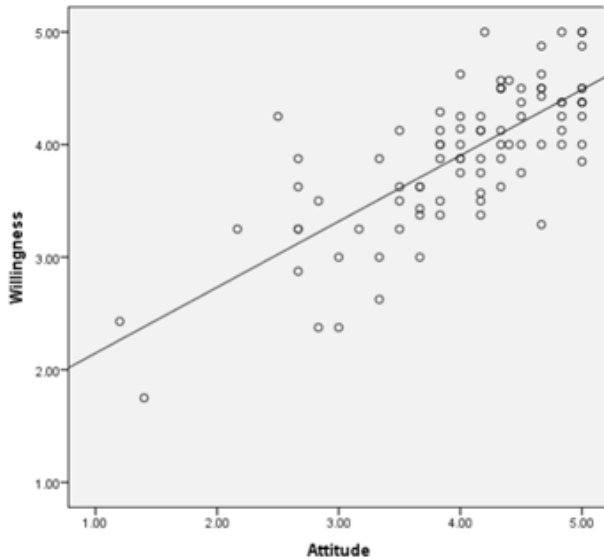


Figure 1: Shows a strong positive relationship between attitude and willingness to act.

The R2 value is 0.56 and significant at a level of 0.01.

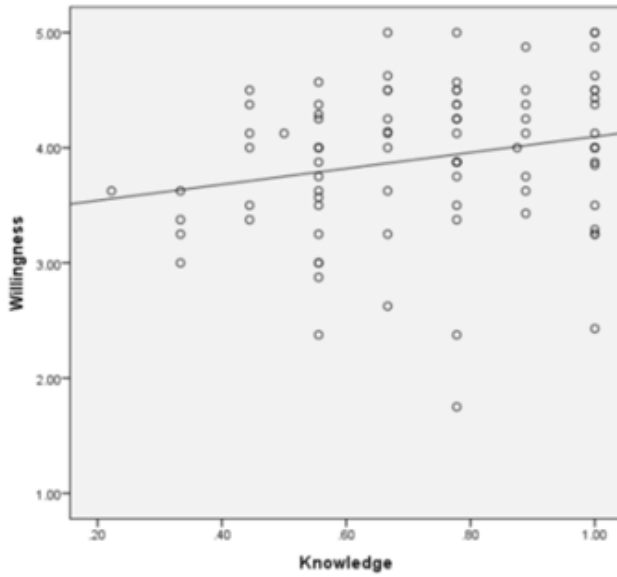


Figure 2: Shows a weak positive relationship between knowledge and willingness to act.

The R2 value is 0.049 and significant at a level of 0.05.



The Iranian Revolution: Religious Unity or Ideological Division Among Members of the Intellectual Class

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From 1977 to 1979, Iran underwent a revolution that many scholars at the time referred to as surprising, unpredictable, unsteady, and temporary (Elwell-Sutton, 1979¹; Moaddel, 1992; Rasler, 1996; Skocpol, 1982). Despite these scholars' perceptions of instability, the Islamic leaders of Iran have maintained their rule over the last thirty years. The unpredictability and yet success of the Iranian revolution and the Islamic movement has led many analysts to suggest a wide array of possible causes for the defeat of the Pahlavi regime and the formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Nonetheless, the literature on the Iranian revolution primarily focuses on the Islamic movement with little reference to the Iranian intellectuals and leftist guerrilla groups who also significantly affected the course of the revolution (Bayat, 2005; Moaddel, 1992; Skocpol, 1982). In fact, some commentators claim that religion was the basis of collective identity which united the Iranian people, or that the Iranian people's distaste for the Pahlavi regime caused them to collaborate with religious leaders, inevitably contributing to the success of the Islamic movement above all other parties (Elwell-Sutton 1979; Skocpol 1982; Vedat Gurbuz, n.d.²).

While religion played an important role in mobilising some groups, this paper's findings contradict arguments claiming religious and political unity

¹ While some of the literature reviewed in this paper appears outdated, the bulk of the writing on the Iranian Revolution occurred from 1979 to 1995. In fact, if this revolution has been mentioned in recent research, it has generally been discussed in order to illuminate our understanding of the Islamic movement. Thus, prior accounts which provide a more diverse analysis of the social groups involved have been significantly more useful for the current project.

² While this article did not provide a date of publication, it references other works written as late as 1998. Thus this analysis reflects the views of some of the current literature on the Iranian Revolution.

within the Iranian nation. In fact, interviews conducted with members of the Iranian intellectual class reveal that they were in fact surprised by the involvement and power of the Islamic movement. Thus, rather than suggesting collaboration as the cause of this group's defeat, this paper will examine the variability in the organisational structures and resources between the Islamic movement and these Iranian intellectuals, demonstrating crucial differences that lead to the establishment of an Islamic Republic.

The following paper is divided into four main sections. The literature review outlines the ways in which shifts in the economic and political structures of the Iranian nation made collective action a possibility. The focus of this discussion will be on relative deprivation and resource mobilisation theories of social movements. This section will also examine the differences in the involvement of the Iranian intellectual class and the Islamic movement, focusing on the resources and strengths of the latter group. Following the literature review, the methods used to conduct the current research will be presented. In the findings portion of this paper, three emergent themes arising from qualitative interviews with three members of the Iranian intellectual class are revealed and analysed. These themes include restrained activities, structural issues, and underestimation of the Islamic movement. Lastly, a comparison between the findings of this paper and existing literature will provide insight into the dynamics of the Iranian revolution that left the intellectual class defeated by their opposition.

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Relative Deprivation Theory and Resource Mobilisation Perspectives

In instances where the Iranian nation has been said to unite under religious ideology, scholars have claimed that increased grievances caused by economic inflation and rapid modernisation motivated Iranians to turn to traditional religious ideology as a form of resistance (Skocpol, 1982; Vedat Gurbuz, n.d). Through such perspectives, grievances became the basis of a religious collective identity which allowed individuals to cast aside other ideological differences and unite against the Pahlavi regime. These perspectives fall in line with the relative deprivation theories which state that as conditions improve, people's expectations rise at disproportionate rate, causing them to become dissatisfied with the level of improvement in their quality of life. However, relative deprivation theory has been criticised by other approaches as presenting a simplistic and incomplete account of factors leading to collective action (Staggenborg, 2012). In fact, resource mobilisation theories state that without access to necessary resources, the extent of grievances would not matter and actors could not mobilise (Staggenborg, 2012). With regard to the Iranian revolution, the lack of participation of the peasant classes in revolutionary events lends support to these critiques (Skocpol, 1982). Even though eco-

conomic inflation left this group more impoverished than other groups, their dependence on the state and their landlords for employment and privileges meant that "Iranian peasants lacked the capacity to revolt autonomously" (Skocpol, 1982, p. 270).

In his analysis of the structural causes of the Iranian revolution, Ervan Abrahamian (1980) acknowledges that economic inflation caused grievances, but further claims that such inflation affected the availability of resources necessary for collective action. He explains that the growth of industry and the accessibility of education changed the demographic of the Iranian population, increasing the size of the modern middle class and the urban proletariat class – the two groups he identifies as the main oppositional forces of the Pahlavi regime. Therefore, economic inflation not only increased tension but also increased the human resources available for movement mobilisation, creating an environment conducive to revolutionary action. Thus, much the same way that relative deprivation theory has been criticised for a simplistic and incomplete representation of social movements, scholars who emphasise grievances as the cause of the Iranian Revolution fail to capture the complexity of the dynamics leading to these revolutionary years. What is surprising in such analyses is that they present this casting aside of ideological differences as a conflict-free process, describing a simplistic image of the process by which the Islamic movements succeeds in overpowering its opponents (Abrahamian, 1980).

Resource Accessibility and Participation of Social Groups

Although most of the Iranian population was active in the revolution, these individuals did not all identify with the Islamic movement, as some literature suggests; but rather, different groups mobilised at different times and to different extents (Ashraf & Banuazizi, 1985). Describing five distinct stages of the revolution, Ahmed Ashraf and Ali Banuazizi (1985) state that the initial demonstration of the revolution mainly consisted of members of the intellectual class, whereas the involvement of the *ulama* (religious leaders), and the *bazaaris* (merchants and shopkeepers) — both social groups that were largely in support of the Islamic movement — developed later. This gradual transition in the involvement and mobilisation of different social classes over the course of the revolution has been affected by differences in accessibility of resources between these groups.

In his work on the Iranian revolution, Charles Kurzman (1994) identifies the "mosque network" as a critical resource for the Islamic movement, stating that these traditional religious institutions and buildings became meeting places where Islamic leaders could exchange information with potential supporters, raise funds in the form of religious taxes, and acquire human resources by spreading Shi'i Islamic ideology. Nonetheless, Kurzman characterises resource acquisition as a dynamic process, challenging resource mobilisation theorists' static conceptualisation of resources.

Instead, he describes the process by which revolutionary Shi'is, a group which at the outset of the revolution occupied a minority position in the Islamic population of Iran, used a multiplicity of tactics to convert support from more powerful non-revolutionary Shi'is and, as such, gained access to the rich resources of the mosque network. While Kurzman (1994) still presents the mosque network as a critical asset for the Islamic revolution, he demonstrates that this network had to be converted to an accessible resource and was not initially available. Relating Kurzman's analysis on resources attainment with Ashraf and Banuazizis' (1985) observations that Islamic groups were more involved in the later stages of the revolution, we can see a positive correlation between this group's involvement and their access to resource. Thus, the dominant role that the Islamic movement played in the later stages of the revolution was less a product of the collaboration of all members of the Iranian population and more a product of the increase in resources.

In addition to the mosque network, much literature also identifies the bazaar as an institution which provided indispensable resources to the Islamic movement, allowing this group to become a dominant revolutionary force (Abrahamian, 1980; Kurzman, 1994, Mowlana, 1979; Skocpol, 1982; Wiktorowicz, 2004). Although acknowledging that *bazaaris* joined the revolution "through a spectrum of political organization," Wiktorowicz (2004), utilising resource mobilisation theory, states that the informality of this organisation made it a key asset to the Islamic movement (p. 186). In fact, he explains that in authoritarian settings, formal organisations, such as the mosque network, become direct targets for the state, and for that reason informal networks may provide a more successful method of mobilising constituents. Yet, not only did the bazaar's informal organisation make it an important resource but credited with "controlling. . . two-thirds of the countries retail trade", the bazaar—with its "social, financial, political, ideological, and historical links [to] the religious establishment"—connected Iranians across class and regional barriers (Abrahamian, 1980, p. 24; Skocpol, 1982; Wiktorowicz, 2004). Described as "the center of urban life," the bazaar—which until 1975 was largely ignored by the state—was a focal point of communication between business entrepreneurs and their employees, farmers, poor urban Iranian shoppers (who bought the goods produced), university students (who were the children of the *bazaaris*), new rural migrants looking for employment, and Mullahs who settled commercial disputes by administering Islamic law (Skocpol, 1982, p. 271). This institution allowed Islamic ideology and movement initiative to spread beyond the religious sphere and penetrate the social and political spheres of public life (Mowlana, 1979; Wiktorowicz, 2004).

In contrast to the Islamic movement's ability to recruit constituents from a wide population base, the intellectual class did not have access to organisations and resources that allowed them to appeal to the greater Iranian population. Regarded as the initial mobilising group, the intellectual class, which mostly consisted of university students, depended on small organisations such as The Iranian Writers

Guild, met at cultural centres for events such as pro-revolutionary poetry readings, and staged demonstrations at university campuses (Ashraf & Banuazizi, 1985). Even though such networks provided this group with some mobilising capacity, these resources and institutions did not transcend geographical and class boundaries to appeal to a larger population—unlike the mosque network and the bazaar. Thus, a variation in the range of resources and the structures of the institutions which the Islamic movement and the intellectual classes could access seem to have been a driving force in the outcome of the Iranian Revolution.

Much of the literature on the Iranian revolution focuses on the success of the Islamic movement, studying the strategies and resources of this group and presenting the factors which contributed to its success. To provide a more complete understanding of the dynamics which occurred, the following discussion will maintain a focus on the involvement of the Iranian intellectual class.

METHODOLOGY

The findings reported here are drawn from three qualitative interviews with Iranian women who participated in the Iranian revolution as members of the intellectual class and lived in Iran during that time. Two interviews were conducted in person in Vancouver and one was done through Skype with a participant who currently lives in Toronto. The interviews were open-ended and semi-structured and lasted between thirty five minutes to one hour. All interviews were conducted in English. Interview questions addressed the nature of the women's participation in the events of the revolution, the goals and strategies they employed during their involvement, and their present perspective on the outcome of the revolution. Interviewees were promised anonymity and confidentiality; therefore pseudonyms will be used to present the data.

All interviewees are currently between the ages of 60 to 65 years old, and at the time of the revolution were 25 to 30 years of age. Two of the interviewees, Sheila and Sarah, were enrolled in university at the time of the revolution, while one interviewee, Natalie, was a professor. This variation in their positions at that time affected the level and method of their involvement.

Utilising qualitative interviews allowed me to study the events of this revolution from the ground-up, gaining insight on the perceptions of a social group which have been less discussed in the existing literature. As I conducted these interviews, many common themes emerged. An analysis of these common themes supports a resource mobilisation perspective on the events which occurred during the Iranian revolution.

FINDINGS

In analysing these three interviews, three significant themes emerged that led to a richer understanding of factors which contributed to the intellectual class's

defeat at the time of the Iranian revolution. These themes include the interviewees' impressions of restraints on their activities, structural issues that affected their participation, and underestimation of the Islamic movement.

Restraint on Activities

In the first instance, I found that these participants' occupational status and familial roles affected the methods and tactics they utilised most. As single students with relatively less responsibility in the academic setting and their personal lives, Sheila and Sarah spoke of countless demonstrations that they participated in. In contrast, Natalia explained that as a professor and mother, her participation in the demonstrations was hindered (only having participated in four demonstrations) for fear of losing her job and her concerns for personal safety. Rather, she stated, her contribution to the movement came from promoting democratic ideology to small groups of familiar students and getting them involved. She explains that "the SAVAK (Iran's secret police) were everywhere at the university. . . I had to be careful to only talk to people I trusted. But, really many who wanted to couldn't do more." This fear of the secret police restrained Natalie's ability to speak and demonstrate freely in a movement she believed in. In an already restrictive political environment, the social position each interviewee occupied—relative to other members of the population—influenced how they perceived and responded to state resistance in terms of their involvement.

In fact, as our interview progressed, Natalie's comments further revealed that for the intellectual class—a group mostly comprised of university students at the typical age where one would start families—state resistance greatly reduced the numbers of movement constituents. She explains, "Oh, so many of the members of our group [the intellectual class] become less active. . . it wasn't a good time. . . many couples were starting families so no one wanted to risk getting hurt." While in an authoritarian political setting like Iran, mobilisation poses risks to constituents of any oppositional movement, the intellectual class may have been increasingly deterred by government threats due to their relative demographic position within society.

Combined with their concerns about government retaliation, the interviewees also made calculated decisions about when they participated in demonstrations so as to minimise the risk to their safety. In my interview with Sarah, she comments,

I was really involved at first but as the environment got more tense . . . um . . . as arrests and violence increased. . . by the police. . . then I stopped. . . You know, I waited for when the Shah fled and in the meantime it isn't like everyone stopped. . . right? So, um . . . well, we were still making some progress.

Sarah's rationalisation of her limited effort at times of high risk exposes challenges to the strength of the intellectual classes' collective action campaigns. In fact, according to rational choice theory, when a movement's goals benefit all members of

society equally, regardless of their participation, it becomes difficult to get individuals actively involved (Staggenborg, 2012). Sarah's situation reflects the free rider problem encountered by social movements (Staggenborg, 2012). By weighing out the benefits and costs of her participation, Sarah concludes that she can attain the same benefits even if she does not participate in certain 'risky' demonstrations. In so far as Sarah's behavior is reflective of the actions of other members of the intellectual class, it demonstrates the ways that state surveillance successfully restricted the mobilisation of this movement's constituents.

Structural Isolation of the University

Another common theme which arose from the interviews was the significantly limited scope of the movement initiated by the intellectual class during the Iranian revolution. In fact, when asked how they shared information about movement initiatives with the greater population, interviewees had difficulty recalling this process. Rather, they seemed more focused on how information was shared between their already developed networks of constituents. As Sheila notes, ". . . well. . . I knew about protests from other students. . . um, I don't think we spoke about things outside of the university. . . eh, you know, um, it. . . mainly between ourselves." Sheila's statement not only highlights the limited effort by intellectual class members to recruit more diverse constituents but also points to the restrictive structure of this group's organisational networks.

According to resource mobilisation perspectives, social movement organisations play a central role in mobilising resources for movements. However, Sheila's comments describe the ways in which the insular setting of a university limits a group's ability to act as an effective social movement organization. While the university environment allowed ideology to be promoted among students, the ability of the intellectual class to appeal to a larger population base was restricted.

Underestimation of the Islamic Movement by the Intellectual Class

What stood out significantly in all three interviews was that interviewees stated that they were shocked and surprised by the involvement and strength of the Islamic movement. In fact, the interviewees all commented that the Islamic movement entered the political game in later stages and very suddenly. As Sarah expresses,

They [the Islamic movement] hadn't even been part of anything. . . really. . . not till the Shah fled. . . then suddenly in this one big protest they appeared. . . Before [in prior demonstrations] the crowd would yell "out with the Shah" but this was different. Suddenly people were saying things like. . . um, things about Islam and Khomeini. . . huh, we were. . . really. . . really outnumbered. . . it felt unfair, we started the whole thing and they took over.

Sarah's comments indicate how the Shah's departure created a shift in the framing

of public campaigns. While protest frames that targeted the Shah created a feeling of unity between Iranian demonstrators, the shift of focus to ideological and religious frames brought into awareness a division that had previously been invisible.

Much like Sarah's frustration with the involvement of the Islamic movement, Sheila also described her experience at this same demonstration: "I almost felt defeated right then". In fact, as the prospects for possible collaboration were discussed, interviewees rejected the idea and stated that once they were aware of the Islamic movement's presence, they felt silenced. Therefore, while the Iranian people did unite in their distaste for the Shah, each social groups' ideological views were not abandoned for the purpose of such unity. In fact, religious collaboration had not even been a consideration for the interviewees who were unaware of the presence and power of the Islamic movement.

CONCLUSION

Scholars have analysed the Iranian revolution through countless perspectives, providing a comprehensive overview of the events that occurred during the years 1977 to 1979. Nonetheless, analyses of the Islamic movement dominate the literature about this event (Bayat, 2005; Moaddel, 1992; Skocpol, 1982). By providing insight into the experiences and activities of the nationalist movement of the Iranian intellectual class, this paper challenges perceptions that religious unity characterized all members of the Iranian population (Elwell-Sutton 1979; Skocpol 1982; Vedat Gurbuz, n.d). In fact, while interviewees speak of some unity among the Iranian population, they describe this collective frame of mind as resulting from a desire to overthrow the Shah, while denouncing claims of both ideological abandonment and religious collaboration.

In sum, interviews with activists involved with the Iranian intellectual class, presented in this paper, reveal that collaboration with religious groups was not a factor in their movement's demise. Rather, through a resource mobilisation perspective, a comparison between the institutions and activities of the Islamic movement and that of the Iranian intellectual class demonstrates significant differences which account for variations in the movements success. In fact, in contrast to the abundant resources and vast networks of the Islamic movement, the nationalist movement of the Iranian intellectual class lacked effective social movement organization. Furthermore, the demographic characteristic of the constituents of this group may have caused this movement to be more vulnerable to retaliations by the state.

This research extends knowledge in the academic field of social movement theory by analysing the activities of a defeated and less discussed group. Nonetheless, the limited number of interviews conducted constraints the ability of this study to be generalised to the wider population future research is required to ensure their validity.

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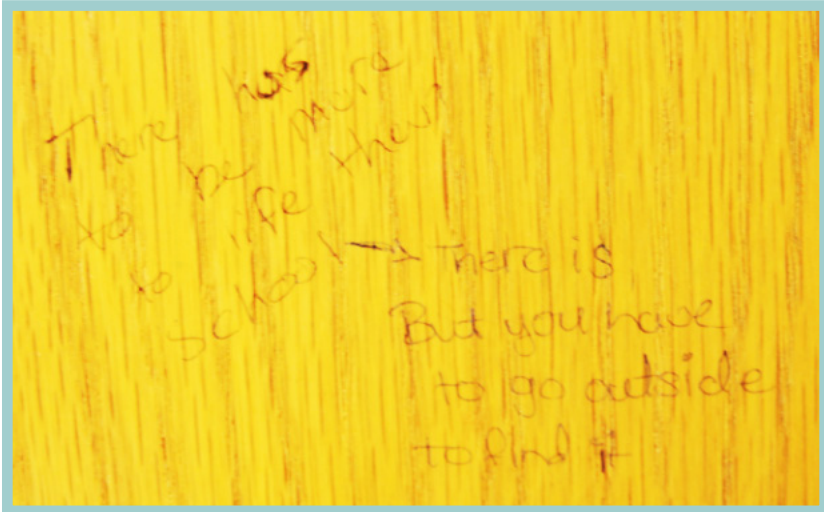
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“There Has to be More to Life Than School”: A Study of Everyday Resistance Within the Higher Education Apparatus

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“Since ideological resistance can grow best when it is shielded from direct surveillance, we are led to examine the social sites where this resistance can germinate.” (Scott 1990: xii)

Power, in its various forms from sovereign to disciplinary, has been under scrutiny in political philosophy and social sciences for centuries at least since Plato. However, resistance, in its multiplicity of manifestations, has been comparatively understudied. When examined in its organized and revolutionary forms, resistance is often turned into a proportionate force commensurate with the power it opposes.

Hence, a significant part of the spectrum of resistance, what James C. Scott calls "infrapolitics", defined as "a wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance that dare not speak in their own names" (1990, p. 19), is rendered irrelevant to the study of oppositional techniques. Nonetheless, there has been a revival of interest towards the significance of the "hidden transcripts" of resistance, defined as the "discourse that takes place "offstage", beyond direct observation of power holders" (p. 4). This reexamination is partially due to our growing understanding of the nature of disciplinary power as heterogeneous and intersectional.

In this essay, I seek to understand the 'everyday resistance' within the ideological apparatus of higher education through an analysis of the hidden transcripts in the form of scribbles left by students on the study cubicles at Scott Library at York University. I first argue that higher education has all the ideological characteristics of an apparatus. Then, after defining what everyday resistance means, I interpret the various forms of boredom manifested in the content of the scribbles as everyday resistance.

Foucault defines apparatus as "a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic proposition" (Foucault, 1980, p. 194 cited in Magan, 2011, p. 195). An apparatus must constantly reassert itself and projects its various heterogeneous and often opposing "faces" (e.g. inclusive/exclusive, caring/unrelenting) onto itself, its subjects, and the outside world. It must reassure itself (i.e. various institutions which take part in it) and others (those who stand within as well as outside its ideological reach) of its distinctive and healthy presence. Any apparatus, as an ideological system operates not merely at the level of discourse but also at the material (so far as it involves objects and economies), corporeal (so far as it engages and uses its subjects' bodies), and even surreal (so far as it penetrates into the subconscious in the form of governmentality) levels.

Higher education functions due to the heterogeneous yet concerted efforts of different institutions, each with its own particular regulatory techniques, administrative mechanisms, and discursive methods. Besides the intricate operations of various public and private universities and colleges, higher education is structured by a matrix of institutions occupied with matters related to funding, tuition assistance, application services, education quality assessment, career programs, faculty and student unions and associations, etc.¹ Higher education provides an overarching discourse which ideologically and functionally synchronizes the massive heterogeneity and overwhelming multiplicity of these semi-autonomous institutions. Like all

¹ In the context of higher education in Ontario, some of these institutions are Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP), ServiceOntario, Government of Ontario, Government of Canada, Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO), Ontario Universities' Application Centre (OUAC), Ontario College Application Service (OCAS), Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA), Confederation of Ontario University Staff Associations & Unions (COUSA), Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance (OUSA), College Student Alliance (CSA), Canadian Alliance of Student Associations (CASA), and Canadian Federation of Students (CFS).

institutions, universities define and regulate what they see to be proper behavior within their institutional framework by dictating a student code of conduct.² Moreover, to preserve and promote itself as a welcoming and safe place to pursue higher education, universities spend significant amount of money in public relations,³ and reserve considerable portion of their budget for increasing security and surveillance.⁴ Universities increasingly invest in creating an image of inclusivity and safety since a growing portion of their funding comes from student tuition.⁵ Capitalizing on the image of safe space seems to go hand in hand with the growth of disciplinary power.

Given the disciplinary power character of higher education, where is resistance found and what forms does it take? Foucault is often quoted saying, "where there is power, there is resistance". However, I think what makes his view on resistance interesting lies in the passages following this sentence: "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (1978, p. 95). He argues that the negation of the externality of resistance does not entail that it occurs inside the sphere of power. Hence, we must understand power and resistance as *strictly relational*. Just as there is a plurality of heterogeneous and intersectional powers within an apparatus, "there is a plurality of resistance, each of them special case" (p. 96). In other words, forms of resistance depend on the forms of power they oppose. However, "by definition, they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations" (p.96). This spatiotemporal and structural entanglement of power-resistance creates a dialectical relation between these opposing yet coevolving entities.

Disciplinary power within an apparatus operates on the everyday level, not only through external mechanisms but, more effectively, through performatively forged governmentality (Foucault, 2000, p. 201-22). Therefore, the dialectical element that disciplinary power gives rise to has the form of everyday resistance. Various manifestations of everyday resistance are heterogeneous, intersectional, and contingent practices historically entangled with everyday powers. The most important feature of everyday resistance is that it is "quiet, dispersed, and disguised or otherwise seemingly invisible" (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013, p. 4). Examples of this type of resistance are "foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstanding, disloyalty, slander, avoidance or theft" (p. 4). These behaviours are

² York University has a "Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities" with an intricate mechanism for filing complaints, overview process, "University Tribunal hearing", and "Appealing the Tribunal's Decision".

³ According to the newspaper "From the Line" (March 21, 2015), York University has spent 6.2 million dollars on public relations between 2009 and 2013.

⁴ York University spent 8.9 million dollars on security in 2010 and 10 million dollars in the following year on security measures (The Globe and Mail, August 24th, 2011). Expansion of security and surveillance system includes introduction of Emergency Messaging System (EMS) and Emergency LCD Screens across Keele campus in 2009.

⁵ According to the Fact Sheet published by the Canadian Federation of Students (January 2013), today, less than 50% of the operating funding of universities in Ontario comes from the provincial government (down from 71% in 1993). This, coupled with the staggering rate of tuition fee increase of 3 to 5 percent annually, entail that larger portion of the university budget comes from student tuitions (Canadian Federation of Students report 2014, p. 3).

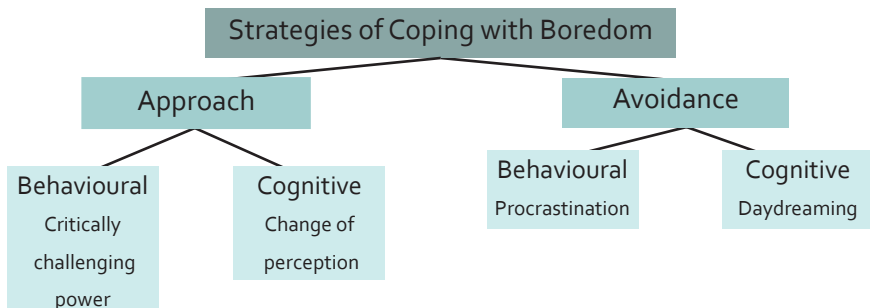
often not labeled acts of resistance by the agents. It is important to note that an act of resistance does not remain oppositional in all frames of analysis and contexts. It may resist one kind of power while simultaneously promoting others through adapting stereotypes, racism, sexism, and ableism. I believe one aspect of everyday resistance, not considered by Vinthagen and Johansson in their article cited above, is that sometimes everyday resistance may seek to nullify other instances of resistance and therefore legitimate the uncomfortable conformity that power requires of it. As I will show in my survey of the scribbles, this reactionary form of everyday resistance was quite common among the scribbles.

The scribbles written on the study cubicles are usually seen as signs of procrastination, defined as temporary distraction from what one is intended or socially expected to do, which in a social setting of a library is generally assumed to be the act of studying. I used the term "boredom" to characterize this form of distraction. Given that the urge to write the scribbles might be triggered by the feeling of boredom, we must first understand the various aspects of boredom and its relation to the social setting. In his book, *Boredom: A Lively History* (2011), Peter Toohey argues that there are essentially two different kinds of boredom, namely, "simple" and "existential". He defines the former as the "result of predictable circumstances that are very hard to escape" (2011, p. 4) and the latter as "powerful and unrelieved sense of emptiness, isolation, and disgust in which the individual feels a persistent lack of interest in difficulty with concentrating on his current circumstance" (p. 141). Contrary to many constructionist scholars (Spacks, 1995; Anderson, 2004; Goodstein, 2005; Musharbash, 2007) who have argued that boredom was invented after the Enlightenment in the 18th century (p. 146) as a byproduct of the emergence of concepts such individualism, time-efficiency, and standardizing (p. 150), he argues that simple boredom is a fundamental psychological emotion providing us with adaptive abilities to cope with repetitive and predictable situation without resorting to anger or outrage. In addition, he argues that existential boredom is an overloaded term that philosophers have given to a bundle of moods and feelings such as anxiety, depression, and melancholia, whose origins are all intellectual and are not commonly felt by ordinary people on daily basis. Even though it is useful to distinguish between simple and existential boredom on the basis of the adaptive quality of the former and languish quality of the latter, there are significant philosophical arguments and psychological experiments (Ratcliffe, 2008) that question the assumption that existential boredom is not experienced by ordinary people. In any case, the boundary between these two forms of boredom is quite blurry within the intellectual setting of the apparatus of higher education. As I will show in my analysis of the scribbles, many of the notes are best categorized as stemming from existential feelings of meaninglessness and purposelessness.

Regardless of whether boredom is an inherent psychological adaptive mechanism or a product of an intellectual vocabulary which bundle other moods

and responses, we know that what triggers it and the discourse that is used to describe it tell us something about the social and cultural context within which it emerges.⁶ Research into boredom among students show that structural predictability and rigidity of a social setting, which does not nurture meaningful interaction between agents is more likely to foster boredom (in both simple and existential forms) among its subjects (Nett, Goetz, & Daniels, 2010). What makes boredom a form of resistance is the temporary or permanent refusal to engage with the rhetoric of the disciplinary apparatus, seeing its various discursive settings as predictable, meaningless, and at times, ridiculous. It nullifies the attempts of the disciplinary apparatus to reassert its lively presence and to create self-governing and obedient subjects whose engagement is not out of fear and despondency but joy and exuberance.

Scribbles left by students in the study cubicles at the Scott Library at York University are used to illustrate everyday forms of resistance to the apparatus of higher education. More than 200 different notes left on 65 cubicles were documented. A selection of the scribbles manifesting signs of direct challenge against the apparatus is used for analysis (See appendix A). In the article, "What to do when feeling bored? Students' strategies for coping with boredom" (2010), the authors offer theoretical framework of strategies of coping with boredom by students which I have summarized in the graph below:



They define Behavioral Approach as "taking action to changing the situation" (p. 628), and Cognitive Approach as "thinking differently to change the perception of the situation" (p. 628), Behavioral Avoidance as "taking action not associated with the situation" (p. 628), and cognitive avoidance as "thinking of someone else not associated with the situation" (p. 628). Due to the private nature of cognitive coping, detecting the manifestations of those in the scribbles is not possible. However, instances of behavioral approach and avoidance were eminent among the scribbles. Sexual references, engagement with the taboo, and the vulgar, most

⁶ Toohey also agrees that saying simple boredom is an inherent psychological adaptive mechanism does not guarantee its presence in all societies and contexts (2011, p. 156). He uses an interesting term to describe his position about boredom: "boredom may be regularly rediscovered, rather than invented. This notion of rediscovery may offer a more nuanced course between the two hostile extremes of constructivism and essentialism" (p. 156).

of which do not directly challenge the apparatus critically (which is in fact one of the properties everyday resistance as there are often infrapolitical) are among the most popular ways of breaking from boredom. This phenomenon fits the description of everyday resistances as they might adapt some positions of power while promoting others. One of the most interesting aspects of the scribbles is the communicative space they create for other students to have conversations. Most of the notes are followed by comments from other students, some of which ask the writers to “shut up” or to “keep studying”. This creates an individuated form of community whose autonomous “members” are radically dispersed over time and space (so far as each study cubicle is occupied by one person at a time). Members of this community enter into that communicative space in order to cope with their boredom. Their behaviour is a resistive mechanism to disengage from what they conceive of as a predictable, rigid, or meaningless structure of the disciplinary apparatus of higher education.

However, as I mentioned before, not all instances of everyday resistance turn out to be oppositional; some attack those who critically challenge or vulgarize the apparatus by upholding the legitimacy of the institutions and its values. The reason I classify this reactionary form under everyday resistance is because it shares causal similarity with the oppositional forms in its rupture from an absorbed engagement with the apparatus due to boredom. Like the oppositional form, it also temporarily disengages from the apparatus and violates the rules of the institution (so far as writing on study cubicles is considered a misdemeanor). By nullifying oppositional forms of resistance, the reactionary form of resistance legitimates the conformity that the apparatus requires. The table below shows some of the selected scribbles to demonstrate how the theoretical framework discussed above fits these hidden transcripts.⁷

Scribble*	Type of Boredom	Coping Strategy
- I have lost my way... - you will find it, Courage, my friend. - Help ... Help urself find it. Easy!	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance
everyone is playing the new pokemon & I'm just sitting here studying [underlined].	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance
They [underlined] force us to; study what they [underlined] think is; important; knowledge that you discover on; your own is more valuable & more meaningful.	Existential	Behavioral Approach
So Sleepy; York Keeps fucking me over; 3 finals in 2 days	Simple	Behavioral Approach

⁷ For the complete table, the reader should refer to the appendix A.

<p>- If you are not willing to focus well on you; studies, then you shouldn't be paying for school; Sultan Kharl</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - True - Guess you should; quit since you took; the time to write this. Clearly not focused!!! - SHUT UP!! 	Simple	Reactionary
Endure; and in enduring; grow; stronger	Existential	Reactionary

* To transpose the scribbles which are written organically and fluidly into text, I used two formatting methods. I use indented bullet points to show that the response to a specific comment. This implies that if a comment to a scribble is itself commented on, I use another indented bullet point for it. Also, I used semicolon to indicate that in the original scribble, what comes after the semicolon is written in a new line underneath. Spelling and grammatical mistakes are in the original scribbles.

The examination of scribbles, understood as hidden transcripts, provides a method to study a form of everyday resistance to the ideological and disciplinary aspects of the apparatus of higher education.⁸ Everyday resistance is infrapolitical and does not necessarily aim to fundamentally change the structure of power through the concerted effort of a collective revolt. It does not necessarily target specific oppressions or even always oppose power (as in the case of reactionary scribbles). Rather, it might articulate resentments towards the deep ideological legitimacy and rationale of the apparatus itself. Often, such articulations require particular existential vocabulary. One of the ways one can tap into the disguised space of everyday resistance without perturbation is through the study of hidden transcripts. Standing in a critical opposition to the apparatus requires a degree of alienation from the ideological narrative of the apparatus. This necessary estrangement is realized through the feeling of boredom. A feeling that shifts to its more piercing and pressing form, existential boredom, when the legitimizing logic of the apparatus appears as fallacious. However, as we have seen in the theoretical scheme presented in this paper, there are different mechanisms that students utilize to cope with their boredom, namely, Behavioral Approach, and Behavioral Avoidance, which in the context of hidden transcripts are always communicative. The most revealing form of alienation is found in existential boredom which is coped with through behavioral approach. For example, the statement, “They [underlined] force us to; study what they [underlined] think is; important; knowledge that you discover on; your own is more valuable & more meaningful”, shows a form of alienation that sets “they”, referring to various agents within the apparatus of higher education, against “us”, the students. It announces the type knowledge

⁸ Of course, in the absence of a complementary study to characterize the student population who leaves these scribbles, the question of the extent to which such oppositions can be attributed to the student population as a whole remains inconclusive.

provided to the students as selective and less important than what can be discovered independent of the university. There are also instances of internal policing by the students who enter into this communicative space to uphold and protect the ideological image of the apparatus. This is what is called reactionary coping strategy which is seen in both simple and existential forms. In the 40 different scribbles shown in appendix A, the reactionary responses comprise 20% of responses. Moreover, a significant portion of scribbles (45%) are classified as behavioral avoidance (both simple and existential forms). Hence, avoiding the uncomfortable feeling of estrangement by displacing the source of boredom and disengagement remains a common strategy of coping among those who enter the communicative space of hidden transcripts. They cry out their boredom only to once again forget it and go back to the disciplinary routine, as the statements such as "The best never rest", "Keep Studying!", "Working hard [underlined]? OR [underlined several times] Hardly-working [underlined]?", and "you can; DO IT", demonstrate.

There are a number of other studies, such as the prevalence of sexism and racism, that can be conducted on the scribbles. However, what is evident from the study of these hidden transcripts is not only that "there has to be more to life than school", as one of the scribbles cries out, but also that there is more life in the quiet corners of the school than is immediately apparent.

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APPENDIX A

Complete List of Categorized Scribbles

Scribble	Type of Boredom	Coping Strategy
- I have lost my way... - you will find it, Courage, my friend. - Help ... Help urself find it. Easy!	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance
everyone is playing the new pokemon & I'm just sitting here studying [<u>underlined</u>].	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance
They [<u>underlined</u>] force us to; study what they [<u>underlined</u>] think is; important; knowledge that you discover on; your own is more valuable & more meaningful.	Existential	Behavioral Approach
So Sleepy; York Keeps fucking me over; 3 finals in 2 days	Simple	Behavioral Approach
- Love/Life (PLZ COMMENT) - Most Confused and Contradicted Words - Good-Smile/Bad-Cry - Bad Impression/Good Impression	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance
- Keep Studying! - Thanks! - NO	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance
- The best never rest - Your retarded	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance
Think deeply (life is an artwork without an eraser) SLAN	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance
- Hi, Im bored; what's up? :) - your ass	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance
- I KNOW YOU ARE NOT STUDYING (Big Brother); is WATCHING You - On the bed - HoT!	Simple	Reactionary
I KNOW YOU'RE NOT STUDYING!	Simple	Reactionary
everyone is playing the new pokemon & I'm just sitting here studying [<u>underlined</u>].	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance

SOJOURNERS: UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

<p>ORGANIC CHEMISTRY SHOULD BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS; 2013</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [?] This is york. Shit is easy. Go to uofT Engineering and then speak - [pointing at the word "uofT"] Pretentious Asshole - Agree! - Idiosyncratic [arrow point at the word "Pretentious"] believe of an asshole [arrow point at the word "Asshole"] - Fuck you! What are you doing at york then? IF you are not [?]; Feel Free to leave [?] 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Reactionary (This is an interesting case of conformism since the institution is vigorously protected against a potential intruder, that is, a student who defends UofT)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you really want to be here? - No - Hell to the NO! 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Behavioral Approach (in a mild sense)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Does anyone else like killing themselves but are too scared to actually do it? - NO - Do it - Yes; but that doesn't mean you shouldn't do it, don't let fear stop you 	<p>Existential</p>	<p>Behavioral Avoidance</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nicole... I'm gonna fail it - me too! 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Behavioral Avoidance</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working hard [underlined]? OR [underlined several times] Hardly-working [underlined]? - Both! NOT TRUE 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Behavioral Avoidance</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fuck; York in the ass - Fuck [arrow pointing at "fuck"] - Nigro [arrow point at it from the word "Fuck"] 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Behavioural Approach</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keep your head [crossed out and replaced by] ass up; & back straight - Keep your head focused 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Behavioral Avoidance</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fucked my life :(- Tell me about it eh! :(<p>Existential</p>	<p>Behavioral Avoidance</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Failure; is; inevitable [crossed out completely] - Success [written by another person over the word "Failure"] 	<p>Existential</p>	<p>Behavioral Avoidance</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 8 years and still in University - You much; love york so much; you don't wanna leave!! 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Behavioural Approach</p>
<p>Some things take time ... and that's okay; Remember that!</p>	<p>Existential</p>	<p>Reactionary</p>

- how do you; fake a smile; when you've; been exposed; to so many; harsh realities; of life? When you need a hand; you know I'll be there to lend it; what's the point of having time;; If I ain't there to help you spend it - LAME - bet the person who; wrote this cringes; each time (crossed out)) he/ she; reads this LOL!	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance
- I'll do what I wanna; do. you're not the; boss of me - Stop; reading; shit and; study!	Simple	Behavioral Approach (the comment is reactionary)
- There has; to be more; to life than; school - There is; But you have; to go outside; to find it	Existential	Behavioral Approach
- I really hate school - Same here	Simple	Behavioral Approach
University is So hard; for me I hate it!! :(Simple	Behavioral Approach
DON'T QUIT	Simple	Reactionary
you can; DO IT	Simple	Behavioral Avoidance
Reading this subbie (?); is more amusing when; trying to study	Simple	Behavioral Approach
- LIFE IS PAIN - Life is beautiful!; Don't you think so? - That doesn't mean; you cant still brave it. - Suffering	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance
QUESTION THE HERD; QUESTION YOURSELF; -QUESTION-	Existential	Behavioral Approach
Endure; and in enduring; grow; stronger	Existential	Reactionary
- Environmental studies - is shit; no; carrier - meh psych is worse	Simple	Behavioral Approach
- THIS IS A GREAT PLACE TO FUCK! PUSSY! - or to; study; you horny; bastard •	Simple	Behavioral Approach (Comment is reactionary)
Studying; sucks	Simple	Behavioral Approach
I'm emotionally constipated. Haven't given a shit in days.	Existential	Behavioral Avoidance

<p>- ISLAM [Crossed out and replaced by] Christianity/ Judaism is THE ANSWER TO YOUR PROBLEM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I don't have a problem - Allah Akbar - EVERYONE STFU; I'M TRYING TO WORK HERE - BURN IN HELL FUCKAS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How Christian of you - TAKE youR BULLSHIT RELIGIOUS AGENDA OUT OF A SECULAR INSTI TUTION! GO TO CHURCH INSTEAD. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (agreeing) - THIS [arrow pointing at the pas sage] - DAMN straight! - A-Fucking-NeN! - Jesus is the truth! Read the Book of John! [Crossed out] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Love you [heart] - Everyone is entitled to an education. Do not discriminate based on their religion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exactly - Religious debates are played out 	<p>Existential</p>	<p>This conversation is a col-lection of behavioral avoidance, behavioral approach, and reactionary responses</p>
<p>- If you are not willing to focus well on you; studies, then you shouldn't be paying for school; Sultan Kharl</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - True - Guess you should; quit since you took; the time to write this. Clearly not focused!!! - SHUT UP!! 	<p>Simple</p>	<p>Reactionary</p>

APPENDIX B

Remaining List of Uncategorized Scribbles

- Fuck everything beside your mom
 - HATERS BE BUTT HERE
- I TRUST ME
 - Who's me?
 - Is he Chinese?
- Lies
 - I'm so gonna out live you
- This right here is why im not rot!
 - (school sux!)
 - do it right and your future won't suck
- soccer now = Relax later
 - Cool story brah!
- TALL GIRLS
 - Are lame as fuck
 - Do not judge
 - They are not but the person who wrote
 - You are too :)
- this is and u
 - Acts 2:38 "Repent..."
 - FUN [Crossed out words] IS THE ANSWER TRUST ME
 - MONEY IS NOTHING OUT PAPER + INK HOW YOU EARN IT IS WHAT GIVES IT VALUE
 - If she knew how much I loved [crossed out] her
 - Alive! [with an arrow pointing at the word "loved"]
 - Wanted to Fuck
 - Clearly wanted to Fuck
 - Do you still love her?
 - yes!
 - SORRY BRO, SHE'S MINE!
 - You're mine
 - @shawnsfr3sh FOLLOW
 - THANK YOU BASED GOD! [written in a heart]
 - Follow me on Twitter @akkalair
 - Fuck Love :(
 - aww... people love you :)
- all you need is love [heart]
- Yo DAWE [?] I heard u like writing on desk, so I wrote something on the desk about writing on desks.
- I need a boyfriend
 - OK; I'm Down
 - I need a gf
 - word
 - I agree pussy [underlined]
- THE REAL PAUL McCARTNEY DIED IN THE 1960'S. THE ONE WE SEE TODAY IS AN IMPOSTER! LOOK IT UP, ITS TRUE.
 - I, this Jesse McCartney's Dad?
- MY BALLS SMELL GOOD
 - Legend
 - Why people write on walls
 - Call (416)7029865
 - So desperate!
 - She might be desperate but I called her and she gave me head #winning
 - Wheres your class at?
 - 1/ Do [crossed out and replaced by] Are you girls really interested in having a guy as friend with benefit? (Girls, I would appreciate ur opinion)
 - Yes!
 - No
 - 2/ for those girls whose answer is yes, why do you make it so hard for us guy to know that? You only want a specified guy to fuck you?
 - yes LOL
 - 20 years old; never had a bf, (no im not ugly)
 - You choose to be single for 20 yrs
 - So what?
 - Fuck hard to stay healthy girl!
 - Need help?
 - Yes; 647 818 8670
 - I cant get over him :(
 - Does anyone's stomach growl really loud even aFter eating a meal? [a

- voting chart with Yes and No columns drawn underneath)
 - LOL yes
 - Drink water
 - tips; push your stomach and hold your breath!
- Korean girls are hot; agree?
 - Fuck you
- what is the meaning of living?
 - GHANDI was an bastard
 - TRUE
 - No you are
 - Cosmo Gang; TBS; Fuck with; us; and get; ur aunty; fucked
 - RoRo + MUSHMUSH [inscribed inside a heart]
 - Fags [with a small heart]
 - who the fuck puts a heart on the school cubicle
 - Good Luck Studying; To Whomever Read; Thanks,
 - Stop reading; this and focus!
 - Thank you
 - LOOSE TEAM FIGHT; BUT TEEMO DIES; WORTH! ☑
 - ENJOY LIFE
 - I HATE SCHOOL
 - Me too
- K.DOT
 - I LOVE J.COLE; HE SAVED HIP-HOP
- Knowledge shall; be the power of; they times –; Faith tells it; all [underlined]
 - you are who; you pretend to be; be careful who; that is
 - Nice
 - Growing older [underlined] is mandatory; Growing up [underlined] is optional
 - So true
 - If you read this, everyday if your not; pursing your dreams, you; are spiritually committing to; suicide
 - Streets; Ahead
 - We don't see things as; they are. We see them; as we are
 - top 5 dead or alive!
 - Grammar; =the difference between; knowing your shit; &; knowing you're shit.
 - GOD [crossed out]
 - you
 - I am cool :)
 - I'm sure you are
 - One cannot know; something without experiencing; all [underlined] aspects of it
 - You can experience without touching
 - A women is not written in braille (?); you don't have to touch her to know her
 - But you have to see (?) her; to know what; she feels; like, I imagine...
 - What if I was blind...
 - Asshole
 - LOL
 - You wrote therefore; you; aren't blind
 - I'm writing; with eyes; closed; so I can;
- be blind
 - Thank you for all you have done; "JESUS"; from; ---!!!
 - Jesus [underlined]; Love [underlined]; you [underlined]
 - Amen!
 - A dead, guy; Loves me?
 - How can a man; be God's son???
 - Jesus was not; GOD. He is a man; who needs (food/water); and one who needs; is not perfect and the imperfect; does not deserve to; be worshiped
 - It was only a sunny smile; and that it cast the giving; but the morning light, is scattered; the night, and make the day; worth living.
 - That's beautiful
 - THIS COMPARED; TO BEING; WOULD BE A MISTAKE
 - Beauty gets attraction; but personality is what's captures the heart [a heart]
 - You're probably ugly
 - You must be; ugly for saying; such a thing!
 - To sum up, you're both ugly
 - That's the human; race.
 - Love truth; And Pardon error
 - LOL
- Luck is when; opportunity; meets; prepration
 - To get timmies; or not to; get timmies...
 - AFGHANISTAN
 - Sucks
 - You suck
- PROUDLY AFRICAN
 - why?
 - PUNJUBI; TO THE CORE
 - Turkey [crossed out and replaced by] PAKISTAN
 - ISLAM; 4; MANKIND [heart underneath it]
 - All Knowledge; is; from God
 - To Focous & study; follow @kraziesevin; & message
 - WTF [with an arrow pointing at "Focous"]
 - Can you tell; me how to get; to Sesame Street?
 - And rape by Big Bird's big bird [underlined]
 - I hope you like my; new recipe! They're called; shut the fucupcakes.
 - Big penis; or big brain [circled]?
 - You need nap.
 - both; #highstandards
- 2 B or not 2 B
 - That is the question; Hamlet
 - ABOLISH; CAPITALISM
 - Everyone asks "what does the fox say" ...; But no one ever considers how the; fox feels...
 - You have; the intellect of a; 360 year old; with Benjamin Button; (?)
 - And you like this
 - Be Happy :)
 - & touch yourself
 - I jacked; off here.
 - me too!
 - WE ARE THE; DREAM [Crossed out] JER CKOF BROTHERS
 - Study
 - Alabu Akbar [Crossed out]
 -)
 - Is York; Much campus; so Keele; Forks; WOW; Dage
 - Much work; very time; so keele; WOW; Dage
 - YOU HAVE; THE IQ OF; A WET; NEWSPAPER!



Students not \$tudent\$: Why UBC Students Participated in the “I am a Student” Protest

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ABSTRACT

A substantial amount of research has been conducted in the United States in exploring the psychological factors of protest participation. The focus on psychological factors infers that the decision to participate in social movements was an individual choice. Recently, studies have focused more on the social influences on movement participation; however, these studies are predominantly focused in the United State and few studies have been focused on the social and structural factors contributing to the more recent protests amongst Canadian university students. This study examines the case of the UBC student protest against a proposed tuition increase. Based on three face-to-face interviews with University of British Columbia (UBC) student protesters and an online survey of one hundred and thirteen student respondents there were three important findings: (1) UBC students' social network highly influenced the likelihood of protest participation; (2) Students who believed in the protest's cause and trusted that the student protest would prevent the proposal from being approved were more likely to participate; and (3) The framing of the “Students not \$tudent\$” created a powerful collective identity and support from student protesters. This study argues that the consideration of students' individual and organizational influences is necessary to fully grasp the complexity of why students join together to protest for a common cause.

INTRODUCTION

On October 14th, 2014, approximately 400 students from the University of British Columbia joined an on-campus teach-in to protest a proposed UBC tuition fee increase, which has become an annual norm. Around two weeks

later, the UBC Social Justice club organized a protest rally. The following week, over 500 students voted against the proposal for increased tuition. This was the first time in over 40 years where students reached the minimum quorum to launch a formal action against the university (The Talon, 2014). What influenced UBC students to join together to mobilize and pressure for social change?

During the 1960s cycle of social movement, individuals who participated in social movements were characterized as mostly irrational, insecure, and dysfunctional people (Kornhauser, 1959; LeBon, 1960; Tarde, 1969). However, as the discussion of why individuals participate in social movements shifted from individualistic and psychological to social and group-level processes and understandings, scholars were arguably able to produce more productive studies to explain why rational individuals participate in social movements (see for example, Hirsch, 1990; Snow, Zurcher, Eckland-Olson; 1980; Tilly; 1978).

The aim of my paper is to incorporate relevant individual and organizational level social movement literature to examine why students from the University of British Columbia (UBC) participated in several student protests against the proposal for a tuition increase. I conducted three face-to-face interviews with UBC students who participated in the protests, and I administered an online survey to direct and apply my understanding of the participant recruitment literature. My observations of the rally, interviews, and survey responses are tied into several relevant participant recruitment arguments including (1) social networks (McAdam and Paulsen; 1993; Polletta and Jasper, 2001); (2) consciousness-raising (Hirsch, 1989a, 1990b; Rosenthal and Schwartz, 1989); and (3) framing and collective identity (Bordt, 1997; Polletta and Jasper, 2001).

LITERATURE REVIEW ON PARTICIPATION RECRUITMENT AND COMMITMENT

Recruitment and commitment in the social movements literature was often theorized within the crowd theory and collective behaviour traditions. These traditions focus on individuals' psychological condition (Borch, 2013; Lebon, 1960; Kornhauser, 1959; Turner and Killian, 1987). For example, classical theorists such as Gustave LeBon's (1960) crowd and contagion theory reasoned that only irrational, insecure, and violent individuals participate in social and protest movements in order to seek alternative direction from the existing social order. Le Bon's problematization of crowds was framed as "an elitist fear with the socialist-revolutionary crowds he believed could potentially put an end to the civilized order and transform it into chaos of violence and irrationality" (Borch, 2013, pg. 47). The dramatic change in discussion of the crowd and collective behaviour should be credited to

Turner and Killian's (1987) development of the emergent norm theory, which goes against the previous beliefs that individuals who participate in social movements are irrational and insane. However, Turner and Killian continue to suspect that recruitment still revolved around the participant's psychological conditions such as confusion, insecurity, and impulsion. For example, the emergent theory argues that confused and insecure individuals join in collective behaviour and social movements to feel in control of their lives (Hirsch, 1990, pg. 244; Turner and Killian 1987). However, Turner and Killian's contribution to the social movement literature provided future scholars to examine the social structural influences and why individual participate in protests (such as Muller, 1980; Hirsch, 1990; McAdam et al., 1988).

Edward Muller and Karl-dieter Opp. (1980) critique and re-evaluate previous social theorists' focus on psychological perspective of social activists/collective behaviour and conclude that psychological conditions have minimum correlation in explaining why people become rebellious and resist institutionalized structures and dominant ideologies (pg. 69). As a result, the recent literature on recruitment and commitment shifted from focusing on individuals' psychological predisposition (as seen in Le Bon, 1960 and Turner and Killian, 1987) to examining the social structural factors, which contentiously is more effective in explaining collective participation in protest and social movements (McAdam, 1993; Muller 1980; Hirsch, 1990; Polletta and Jasper, 2001). For instance, instead of focusing on participant's psychological predisposition, McAdam et al., (1988) examine several social structural factors such as: (1) previous association with an activist; (2) affiliation in organizations; and (3) history of past activism. With the previous three factors, McAdam et al., show the positive correlational relationship between social structural factors and events with high turnout rate such as the civil rights movement, student sit-ins, and the antinuclear movement (pg. 645). By focusing on these social structural factors, McAdam was able to produce research explaining why people join together to protest and commit their energy to social movements.

The move toward social structural explanation of activists' participation signifies a corrective understanding to the earlier discussion that examines and concentrates largely on the individualistic and psychological factors (Hirsch, 1990; McAdam et al, 1988; Passy, 2002). This influenced social movement scholars such as Eric Hirsch (1990) to disagree with other popular theories that focus on the individual's cognitive behaviour such as the rational model theory – that is, a theory that argues that individuals are more likely to participate in a social movement that will benefit them. It is important to understand that students are generally more likely to participate in social movements compare to other group of people. As McAdam's biographical availability theory states, individuals are more likely to participate in a social movement if they do not have any personal constraints (McAdam, 1988, pg. 70). For example, most university students are usually free from many factors that may inhibit the possibility of them participating in their desired movements. This

includes the lack of responsibilities from family, marriage, and full-time employment (McAdam, 1988).

In Hirsch's study on Columbia University protest for divestment of stock in companies in South Africa, he argues that many student participants did not personally benefit from the Columbian divestment protest but endured mental, physical, and emotional harm. Hirsch examines how groups create commitment to their goals and tactics. He focused on the group thought processes including consciousness raising, collective empowerment, and collective decision making which was more accurate in explaining the Columbia student activist recruitment and commitment (Ferree and Miller, 1985; Hirsch, 1990). Considering Hirsch's mix-method methodology was useful to understand why Columbian students participated in the student protest; I will apply Hirsch's methodology of extended face-to-face interviews and surveys to understand why UBC students participated in the student protest.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on three semi-structured face-to-face interviews with student protesters who participated in either the UBC student teach-in and/or UBC student rally. Potential student participants were recruited during my own participation in both the student teach-in and student rally. All three participants signed the UBC consent form and their identity remains confidential. I will use a pseudonym in order to protect their anonymity. I also surveyed the UBC student protesters. This survey was administered online only. The survey was accessible on the popular survey website, Survey Monkey for one month. The advertisements for my research were placed on popular social media sites including FaceBook and Twitter. In addition, an advertisement was posted on the "I am a student" FaceBook page, which is a public group page for the UBC student protest against tuition increase.

All three semi-structured face-to-face interviews with the student protesters were conducted on the UBC campus. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. The transcribed interviews were interpreted and analysis into three general patterns: (1) they all had friends who participated in the student protests; (2) they all believed that the tuition increase was unjustifiable and believed that participating in the student protests might prevent the proposal from being approved; (3) they all agreed with the protest collective identity and the framing, "students not \$tudent\$". All three-student participants also attended the annual UBC Alma Mater Society's meeting to vote against the proposal for increase tuition fee, reflecting their active involvement and commitment to bringing about change.

General information of the sample group from the online survey:

Students who attended the UBC student protests								
Total	Gender		Age		Year Level		Major	
	F	M	18-20	21+	1-2	3-5+	Arts	Other
113	60	53	45	68	22	91	61	52

Table 1. Total count of students who participated in the 2014 UBC protests and the general variables used to measure the students background including gender, age, year level and major of study.

Among the 113 student respondents to the online survey, 53.1 percent were female, 49.6 percent were males, and no one identified as others in their gender selection. 39.8 percent ranged in age from 18 to 20 years old, and 60.2 percent were ranged in age from 21 to 25 and above. Considering academic class, 8.8 percent were first-year students, 10.6 second-year, 30.1 percent third-year, 43.4 percent fourth-year and 7.1 percent in fifth year and above. 53.9% UBC student protesters who participated in the student protest were in in studies related in the Bachelor of Arts degree, 14.2 percent majored in the Commerce program at UBC, 2.7 percent of student protesters were majoring in Applied Science, 11.5 percent were majoring in Science, and 17.6 percent were majoring in studies not listed in this survey questionnaire.

FINDINGS

Past research leads us to expect that UBC students' biographical availability would make them very likely to participation in social movement. However, there are over 50,000 students enrolled at UBC Vancouver, why did only 300-500 students participate in the UBC student protest movement? According to the interviews and data analyzed, I argue that (1) social networks (McAdam and Paulsen; 1993; Polletta and Jasper, 2001), (2) creating awareness (Hirsch, 1989a, 1990b; Rosenthal and Schwartz 1989) and (3) framing and collective identity (Bordt, 1997; Polletta and Jasper, 2001) provide a narrow explanation on the complexity of why UBC students joined together to protest against the proposal for tuition increase.

Social Networks

The interviews suggest the importance of social networks in motivating participants in joining a social protest and movement. As Passy (2002) explains, social networks matter in recruiting potential activists because social networks are associated with the socialization and construction of one's identity. This means that networks create meaning that allow individuals to create their identity and to establish similarity with one's social network (Passy, 2002). Thus Passy argues, an individual's social networks are important for developing specific meaning structures that may

encourage them to participate in a social movement with issues that resonate with one's social group. All three interviews claimed to have attended the student protest with several friends. This suggests that there may be a relationship between participants' social networks and their participation in the social movement. When asked why they participated in the student protests, all three participants claimed that they were either influenced by their friends or they were associated with a group of friends who were interested in participating together:

Participant 1: Well [pause] I had to attend the student teach-in and student rally because I'm really involved in the Social Justice Centre club at UBC. I was also one of the few people at Talon to find out about the tuition increase. Once I found out about UBC's decision to increase tuition increase I contacted all the members of the Talon to hold an important meeting. This was breaking news to us and we needed to let everyone at UBC know.

Participant 2: I was walking to the library when my friend told me that there will be a student teach in [laughs] I wasn't even aware that UBC propose to increase tuition fees. [Morsal] told me to join her since I had nothing important to do and it was only for an hour so I attended the student teach-in with her just to explore what was going on.

Participant 3: I went to the student teach-in and rally with a bunch of good friends, we all hated the fact that UBC is proposing such a dramatic increase in tuition fees.

Participant 1, a UBC student activist, exemplified the claims that certain structural factors increase the likelihood of participation. For instance, in regards to the social factors such as prior relationship with an activist and affiliation with an organization (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988), participant 1 is an editor for UBC's alternative newspaper organization, The Talon, which reflects the activist nature of the participant and possible factors that influenced their decision to protest. In addition, participant 1 is a senior year student who has great affiliation with the Social Justice Centre club and the Talon, which are organizations responsible or highly involved in organizing the student teach-in and student rally. Furthermore, the participant explained that their social circle consists of individuals who are highly aware and concerned with social inequality, injustice, and classist ideal reinforced in elite universities such as UBC. Thus, participant 1 suggests that involvement on campus increase their likelihood of participating in the student protest.

Participant 1's prior ties with their friends in the social justice club and the Talon strengthened their association with a social justice identity and likelihood to participate in the protest. This helped to establish a strong linkage between participant 1's identity and their social networks, which highly influenced their participation

in the student movement (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988; Hirsch, 1990; Passy, 2002). The other two participants mention explicitly that they attended the student protests with friends that motivated or encouraged them to participate in the student protests. Although the other two participants were not as highly involved or affiliated in student clubs responsible for organizing the student teach-in and student rally, their relationship with other student activists directly motivated their participation in the student protests. From this, social involvement and participant's social networks on campus appear to have an influence on the likelihood of student protest participation. In the next section, I examine how important consciousness-raising is in motivating UBC students to participate in the student protests.

Social Network and relationship with year of study and student age:

"Did you attend the protest with a friend/group of friends?"								
Total	Gender		Age		Year Level		Major	
	F	M	18-20	21+	1-2	3-5+	Arts	Other
YES 43	22	21	22	23	14	29	29	14
NO 70	38	32	21	47	8	62	52	18

Table 2. Summarizes the result for various variables within the sample group and their response to the question, "Did you attend the protest with a friend/group of friends?"

As table 2 presents, 61.9 percent of UBC student protesters attended the student protest with a friend or group of friends. Out of those 61.9 percent of student protesters who attended the student protests with friends, 88.6% were in their senior year, that is, year three, four and above. In addition, 41.6 percent of UBC students who participated in the student protest with a friend or group of friends were in the age group of 21 years of age or older. Only 11.4 percent of student in their freshman years, that is, year one and two, said they attended the student protest with friends.

Fig. 3 - Study Level of year and response to "Did you go to the student protest with a friend?"

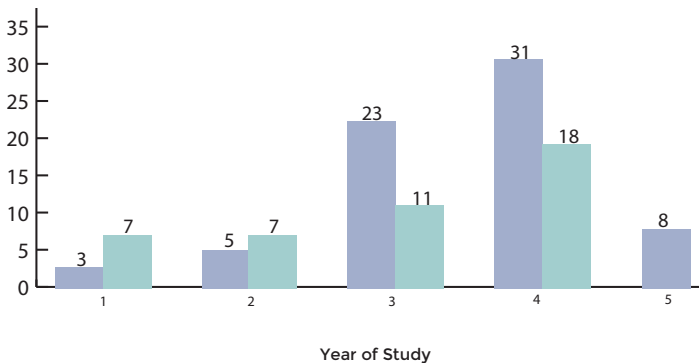


Figure 3 shows the visual relationship between year of study and response to the question where the survey asked, "Did you go to the student protest with a friend" (please view appendix A for a sample of the online questionnaire). The chart displays the high total count of respondents, over 88.6 percent of senior students, responding "yes" to the survey question and the dramatic decrease, 11.4 percent, of freshman respondents who said they participated the student protests with a friend/group of friends.

As McAdam et al., (1988) suggested, social networks such as previous social ties and relationship within one's social circle have an important effect on individuals likelihood in participating in social protests and movement. As table 2 shows, more than half of UBC students attended the student protests either with a single friend or a group of friends. Interestingly enough, most student individuals who responded to the survey that they went to the UBC student protest with a friend were in between the age of 21 and over and attending their senior year of study. Student who are in their senior year of study may have more time to develop a closer social circle, and social identity with other UBC students.

Consciousness-raising

As Hirsch (1990) argues, consciousness-raising is when potential recruits join a protest movement because they've developed awareness and commitment to the group cause and trust that non-institutional means such as a student rally may mobilize change (pg. 246). Most participants surveyed strongly believed that the UBC tuition increase was unjust and believed that the student protests would either prevent the UBC committee from implementing the tuition increase proposal or at the very least allow the participant to express their frustration and disappointment towards the tuition increase proposal:

Participant 2: I honestly don't know whether the student protests will actually stop the people in charge from increasing tuition but I do know that when people care a lot of something and they join together, some good changes are going to happen, that's why I think it's worth joining these student protests.

Participant 3: [laughs] I always hear other students say that there's no point in participating in these student protests because nothing is going to happen [pause] I don't like to think like that, we have freedom of expression here in Canada and honestly I'm going to join with other students to show UBC how [angry] we are at this tuition increase.

As both participant demonstrated, there was a belief that the protest would influence and mobilize change which most likely influenced them to participate in the student protest. Moreover, The consciousness-raising during the peaceful UBC

teach-in included Dr. Elvin Wyly and student representatives from several social activist clubs. The UBC teach-in aimed to convince UBC students and other concerned individuals that the tuition increase was unjustifiable. The General Assembly was held after the UBC teach-in. In this assembly, students came together for a broad open discussion about the upcoming student rally to resist against the tuition increase and to bring awareness to the student body. Around 60-80 students participated in making signs, banners, and discussed about potential tactics to further mobilize various student movements. When I asked participant 3 why she participated in the protest she explains,

Participant 3: I probably wouldn't have shown up to this General assembly if I didn't attend the student teach-in with my friends. I felt like this is a really big problem, I'm already 40,000 dollars in tuition debt and it angers me that future students will suffer even more...I had no idea that the justification for the tuition increase was basically to beat around the bush... so what if other universities are more expensive than UBC why are we heading to that direction instead of making education accessible for everyone?

These comments display the importance of consciousness-raising for supporting recruitment. The argument given by the speakers persuaded her to agree that the tuition fees were unjust and she felt that student protest and demonstrations against the institution was going to mobilize potential change. Thus from this example, consciousness-raising was enacted by student activists who organized the student teach-in and invited persuasive speakers to bring awareness of the problems within the UBC tuition increase.

It is unlikely that the decision to participate in the UBC rally was due to a narrow individual cost/benefit analysis. Regarding students weighing out personal benefits, it is known that the tuition increase will not affect currently enrolled UBC students. Hirsch's (1990) study of consciousness-raising appears to be more appropriate in explaining the recruitment of UBC student activists. Hirsch proposes that participation and recruitment of protesters is largely due to students' belief in the cause, and in this case, the participant I interviewed joined the protest because she believed that resisting against the power of the university will mobilize the removal of the unjustifiable UBC tuition increase proposal that may affect future students in more vulnerable financial situations.

Framing and collective identity

One of the major themes in the social movement literature is the concept of identity processes and collective identity to further understand participant recruitment (Bordt, 1997; Polletta and Jasper, 2001). Polletta and Jasper (2001) explain that the framing of a particular social movement will affect the movement's ability to recruit potential supporters. One particular framing for UBC student movement

revolves around the phrase "I am a student" which was inspired from Dr. Elvin Wyly's speech when he said, "You are students, not \$tudent\$" (Talon, 2014). The motivational framing tactic strengthened the student body's collective identity, where the collective identity applied to all students who refused to accept the justification of increasing tuition fee to strengthen UBC's reputation and marketing brand. The framing of I am a student aimed to create a collective identity where students are students not \$tudent\$. Most participants agreed with the student protest framing and visibly wore the small red flag to represent the student protest against tuition increase:

Participant 2: Well, like the slogan of this movement, I am a student. It may sound simple but hey I am a student and you're a student. So to say that this tuition increase will not affect you therefore you shouldn't join it is almost like saying, the environment is going downhill but hey I'll be dead by then. What about the future generation, what about the fact that we're all human beings? So I wanted to show support because well...I am a student and I care for other students who are here for education, not to dig themselves into a financial debt, like the chant goes we're students united we'll never be defeated

Participant 3: I agree with the phrase student not money sign students because [laughs] I don't know how else to say it, I'm not made of money, I'm a student here to learn and that's what I want to do. I don't want other students to worry about when and how they're going to pay off their tuition but instead how they're going to use the knowledge they gain from school to help the world

Participation in social movements frequently involves focus on collective identity for participation and offers participants the fulfillment and realization of their own self-identity (Polletta and Jasper, 2001, p. 56). The above dialogue presents the importance of relevant and relatable framing to encourage supporter and participants. In sum, the framing of the UBC student movement was successful in recruiting students who related to the message that I future students should have basic right for affordable housing and tuition. Ultimately, the three themes found within the interviews and the online survey supports previous literature that social activists' participation in protest and social movements involve both their individual agency and organizational structure.

CONCLUSION

The case of the "I am a student" protest suggests that the study of student participation must not only be based on individual's biographical availability but the social structural influences and individual and organizational level. Social movement

literatures on recruitment and participation are also vital to fully understand student participation in social protests and movements. I draw on data collected from the three face-to-face interviews, an online survey, and personal observation; I have three main findings emerged including: (1) social network; (2) consciousness-raising; and (3) framing and collective identity.

The three student participants whom I interviewed all mention that their social circle and social networks motivated and influenced them to participate in the student protest. The online survey also shows that over 60 percent of students who attended the student protest did so with a friend or group of friends; thus, these findings support the argument that social networks greatly influence the likelihood of student participation (McAdam and Paulsen; 1993; Polletta and Jasper, 2001). The consciousness-raising that occurred during the on-campus teach-in allowed students to become aware of the problems and there was a desire to participate in non-institutionalized means such as a rally to mobilize change. It is seen that UBC student participation was influenced by the belief in the cause and trust that resisting against the authorities of UBC will mobilize the removal of the UBC tuition increase proposal. Lastly, the importance of framing was applicable to the experiences of the student activists who supported to the "I am a student" framing. The powerful message "we are students not \$tudent\$", created a collective identity that mobilized students to advocate for fairness in tuition and housing for all.

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Jessie K. Tougas is an Honours Anthropology Student at the University of British Columbia. She will receive her Bachelor's Degree in May 2015. This is her first publication in a Sociology journal, and she is grateful to the entire *Sojourners* team for helping her through the difficult editing process and improving an article that she previously considered complete. She is also grateful to the Community Service Learning Program and to all those who helped facilitate her fieldwork.

Sania Ahmed

Sania is currently in the first year of her J.D. (Juris Doctor) at UBC's Peter A. Allard School of Law. She finished her B.A. also at UBC in May 2014, double majoring in Sociology and Psychology. She is currently working at the Canadian Journal of Family Law as the Business Manager, and volunteering as a clinician, offering free legal services with the UBC Law Students' Legal Advice Program and as an assistant editor at the UBC Law Review scholarly journal. During her undergraduate years, she worked as a Project Assistant at UBC's Stigma and Resilience Among Vulnerable Youth Centre (SARAVYC) where she was able to partake in research aimed at ending health inequities for marginalized youth, specifically involved in projects related to LGBTQ youth, homeless youth, and sexually exploited youth. Sania has a strong interest in the topics of social justice, law, power, and social determinants of health that she hopes to pursue further in research and practice. She is passionate about health policy in regards to risks and resilience among marginalized populations, with a desire to alleviate suffering and bolster protective factors among such populations.

I have had a great experience working with *Sojourners* on edits to my paper. I was able to improve my paper with guidance from the editors at *Sojourners* who gave constructive feedback and were also flexible to allow me to shape my paper with my vision in mind but also improved by their suggestions and feedback. Replies to my questions were timely and clear, demonstrating editors' willingness to be of assistance.

Negar Hooshmand

Negar Hooshmand-Mozaffar is a fourth year student in the department of Sociology and Psychology at UBC. She is set to graduate with a double major in December of 2015. Negar's research is informed by her interest in migration and immigration, gender, race, social inequality and identity politics. She works extensively with organizations that support refugees and immigrants establishing a new life in Canada and hopes to continue her work after graduation.

Adrian Semmelink

Adrian Semmelink received a Dual Degree (B.A. & B.Sc.) from the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 2015. He graduated with an Honours in Environmental Sciences and a Major in Sociology and is continuing to develop his interdisciplinary research skills as a M.Sc. student at UBC's Institute for Resources, Environment and Sustainability. Throughout his undergraduate degree, Adrian worked as a research assistant, studying social spiders in Ecuador and birds in Canada. His honours thesis focused on modelling the impact of natural enemies on insecticide resistance in agricultural pests. Adrian aims to integrate his intellectual passions for Sociology and Environmental Sciences into research that explores socio-ecological interactions and con-

tributes to a more just and sustainable future.

Rosanna Ho

Rosanna Ho is a fourth year student majoring in Sociology and minoring in Law and Society. She specializes in family studies and legislation in regards to how it affects society. Rosanna hopes to pursue a career in advocacy in order to aid marginalized groups and give a voice to those who are often ignored and/or silenced. Rosanna enjoys using various forms of art as a medium to reflect societal issues as well as to empower individuals. She is very grateful for the opportunity she has had to work with the people at *Sojourners*, who all made it an enjoyable process. Rosanna would also like to thank everyone who has contributed to her work; all of their time, advice, and encouragement is very much appreciated!

Justin Kong

Justin graduated from UBC with an honours degree in sociology. He is interested in issues of political economy, labour, migration, and popular culture. When not engaged in people watching, he enjoys conversations with friends and strangers alike.

Emily (Truong) Cheung

Emily will be pursuing a Master's degree in Sociology at the University of Toronto. She will be focusing on how social inequalities are maintained and reproduced in higher education. Emily wants to thank Dr. Alan Brain for inspiring her to pursue a degree in Sociology. Also, Emily wants to acknowledge and thank Dr. Rima Wilkes for her guidance and support to her academic journey.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

VOLUME 6 - 2014

Aaron Duong

Aaron Duong recently graduated from UBC with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, within which he immensely enjoyed the subfields of economic sociology and community studies. Having spent the entire summer following graduation eschewing his social life in order to study for the LSAT, he hopes to begin law school in the near future. When not analyzing everything he reads for argument structure, he lives vicariously through the boys of South Park.

Diana Lerner

Diana Lerner is a fourth year student in the department of Sociology at UBC. She is set to graduate in December of 2014. Diana's draw to Sociology was the analytical depth in the study of societies. Specifically, her main interests in the study of Sociology are the gender relations reinforced in Western society, as well as class divides amongst Canadians. Diana also has an interest in Religious Studies, but will not be completing it as a minor. After graduation, she hopes to travel across Canada in which she will taste all the most famous foods each province has to offer.

Caleigh McEachern

Caleigh McEachern has edited for *Sojourners* for two years, and she has also edited for *IGNITE* volume 6, the University of British Columbia's Gender, Race, Sexuality and Social Justice journal. Caleigh majored in English Literature and minored in Philosophy, and is currently pursuing her Master's in English at the University of Toronto with a SSHRC scholarship.

Debolina Majumder

Debolina Majumder recently graduated from the University of British Columbia with a Bachelor of Arts (Hons) in History with International Relations, and wrote her undergraduate thesis on the application of Lefebvrian theory to the conceptions and uses of urban and rural space by the Naxalites in late 1960s and early 1970s West Bengal. She is currently a Master of Arts student in Geography at UBC with a keen interest in labour history, urban historical geography, and Marxist spatial theory.

Marion B

Marion graduated from UBC Political Science in May 2014. Her interests range from ancient Greek to contemporary Canadian law. She is primarily interested in investi-

gating the Natural law principles explored by Francisco da Vitoria and its influence on Canadian property rights, especially vis-à-vis the Crown-Indigenous land relationship. Marion especially enjoyed working with the dynamic team of editors at *Sojourners* and being exposed to various strains of sociological thought.

She is currently saving money by working as a data analyst and pretending to live inside an Umberto Eco novel. Marion plans to pursue graduate study in Fall 2015.

Jennefer Chen

Jennefer is a recent graduate of UBC, currently enrolled in the Diploma in Accounting program at the Sauder School of Business. In her undergrad, she specialized in supply and demand curves and dabbled in post-modern literature, confucian philosophies and astronomy. The Arts interdisciplinary program was the only major that reconciled the chaos that was her academic interests. Aside from *Sojourners*, she can be frequently found trekking up the grouse grind, playing volleyball, drinking a grande pike place and taking long walks on the beach (while dancing in the rain).

Justin Choi

VOLUME 7 - 2015

Sharlie Eiker

Sharlie Eicker is a fourth year student in Modern European Studies and Sociology at UBC. Her passion for sociological inquiry, research, and writing led her to join the team as an Associate Editor of *Sojourners* this year. Sharlie found the role of editing an academic journal to be an incredibly informative process, as well as a rewarding personal experience. After graduation this spring, Sharlie will be spending her summer in Germany on a GoGlobal group study program before beginning Graduate studies this fall at Simon Fraser University, where she will be pursuing a Masters degree in Sociology.

Vesna Pajović

Vesna Pajović is a fourth-year Sociology major and French minor at UBC. Academically, she focuses on quantitative research, economic sociology, and the sociology of technology, and she hopes to pursue a Master's degree in one of these areas in the near future. Design and literature are among her non-academic interests. This is Vesna's first year as an Associate Editor, and she is pleased to have had the opportunity to work with the *Sojourners* team. This experience has proved rewarding as a first introduction for her to academic editing, and she hopes to be part of the team again next year.

Katherine Lyon

Katherine is a Sociology PhD Candidate with an interest in gender, sexuality and the scholarship of teaching and learning. Her dissertation work focuses on the experiences and needs of older adults in diverse care contexts. Katherine also co-chairs the UBC Sociology Mentorship Program and facilitates Instructional Skills Workshops with the Centre for Teaching, Learning and Technology. She is extremely grateful for the opportunity to collaborate with the fantastic *Sojourners* team!

Rachel Lee

Rachel is a third year UBC student majoring in Sociology with a minor in Health & Society. Not only is she fascinated by the impact of macro-level factors on individuals' health, she believes Sociology can be a great tool to ignite positive social change to eliminate health inequities in the world! As an Associate Editor, she was able to gain a deeper understanding of how the academic publishing process works. She learned immensely from collaborating with Jessie in making *Sojourners* an accessible platform for her original and creative research paper! (Asides from her involvement with the *Sojourners*, she was a student of the Urban Ethnographic Field School and is an Equity Ambassador, a Co-op student, and a volunteer for harm reduction programs! Other things she loves include Phineas & Ferb, music, running, and food!) She would like to acknowledge the **xʷməθkʷəy̓əm** nation for their ongoing generosity, whose unceded territories which UBC is situated on has made invaluable learning opportunities like this one possible throughout her years at UBC. She also thanks the Co-Editors-in-Chief Paz and Selenna, faculty who have reviewed papers and facilitated the publishing workshop, and author Jessie T.

Nerissa Jawanda

Nerissa is a fourth year Sociology major and Economics minor. She has previously worked as an editorial and research assistant at *Schema Magazine* and is a contributing writer for *Darpan* magazine. Being an Associate Editor at *Sojourners* has allowed her to gain a better understanding of the academic publishing process and has given her the opportunity to collaborate with many passionate students and faculty members.

Negar Hooshmand

Negar Hooshmand-Mozaffar is a fourth year student in the department of Sociology and Psychology at UBC. She is set to graduate with a double major in December of 2015. Negar's research is informed by her interest in migration and immigration, gender, race, social inequality and identity politics. She works extensively with organizations that support refugees and immigrants establishing a new life in Canada and hopes to continue her work after graduation.

Shawn Shabaquay

François Lachapelle