

# Nipissing University's Fifth Annual Undergraduate Research Conference

## Conference Proceedings

March 23 - 24, 2012  
Nipissing University

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	2
Message from the Vice President Academic and Research.....	3
Program at a Glance.....	4
Keynote.....	5
Closing Remarks.....	5
Abstracts.....	6
Full Papers.....	17
ADAIR, K. - The Pressure That Canadian Cultural Norms Put On Men During The World Wars.....	17
BARTLEY, M. - Alcoholism as a Mental Illness.....	23
BISHOP, T. - "The Unresting Thorn... The New Dawn":Religion and Politics in Occupy Wall Street.....	42
COLASANTE, T. - Resilient Children of Alcoholics: The Stages of Emotional Detachment and the Benefits of a Mindful Brain.....	50
COLLINS, C. - Social Control in Medicalization: The Case of FSD.....	58
DRAGOMIR, A.M. - Myth in Romanian Folklore: Themes, Motifs and Archetypes.....	72
DRAGOMIR, A.M. - Cultural Politics in Socialist Romania.....	84
DRENT, C. - Arviq! The Northern Hunter's Spiritual Connection to Animals and Community.....	95
FISHER, B. - Canadian Men And Their Journey Into World War One.....	103
FISHER, T. - T.S. Eliot's Hell on Earth in The Waste Land.....	108
GILLESPIE, E. - Canadian Sex Worker Organizations: Reproducing and Resisting Discourses of Inequality ...	112
GOODES, S.A. - Hume's "Of Miracles": The Significance of Part II.....	127
HARTLEY, A. - The Portrayal of Gallic Ethnicity by Roman Historians.....	134
HARTLEY, A. - Roman Imperialism: Romanization and its effects.....	138
KALAFATIS, J. - Canadian Corporate Directors and Educational Affiliations: A Geographical Analysis of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver Firms.....	144
LAUZON, J. - Determining the type of pain scale to utilize when caring for older adults with dementia: An integrative review.....	158
MACINTOSH, C. - Evoke: The Memorialisation of Affects.....	166
McLEOD, C. - The Implementation of Spirituality in Nursing Education: An Integrative Review.....	174
PAPE, S. - Visibilty: Finding the Staircase Kernel in Orthogonal Polygons.....	186

PEDDLE, D.F. - The Competitive Advantage of Canada’s Extractive Industries An Analysis of Corporate Social Responsibility Policies at Work .....	199
PICARD, J. - Self-Serving Activism: The Winter Soldiers of the Vietnam War .....	207
PROMINSKI, J. - “Real Men Don’t Rape”: The sexual politics of anti-rape campaigns .....	221
PYNE, A. - Lesbians as Spectacle: The Consumption of the Homosexual Female Body in The L Word .....	233
SAVILLE, S. - Aboriginal Representation in Disney Films: Is Disney Becoming Less Racist? .....	238
SCARLETT, D. - Black Jamaican Masculinity, Slavery & Post-Colonialism.....	244
SIMPSON, B. - Political Warriors?: Junior Leadership and the Combined Action Program in Vietnam, 1965-1971 .....	256
TALBOT, B. - Antidote: Reflections on Grant's "Poisoned Cup" .....	269
TALBOT, B. - The Epistemology of the 'Fag Hag' .....	280
THOMAS, S. - Equity and Justice in Grade Three Educational Achievement in Toronto .....	294
TOTIME, R. - Does Racial Profiling Exist in Sault Ste. Marie Police?.....	308
WEBB, W. - The Occupy Movement.....	325

## Acknowledgements

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**The 2012 Undergraduate Research Conference Program** can be found at:

<http://www.nipissingu.ca/academics/research-services/ors/ugrc/Pages/Conference-Schedule.aspx>

## **Message from the Vice President Academic and Research**

### **Undergraduate Conference**

We often hear people refer to an institution as either an undergraduate university or a research university as if the two could not co-exist. Nipissing University is an example that proves that they can, in fact, co-exist. Although Nipissing offers a doctoral program in Educational Sustainability and a number of master's programs, and has professors who receive funding from the granting councils, Nipissing prides itself on the excellent undergraduate experience it provides to its students.

This emphasis on undergraduate studies, combined with a strong research ethos on the part of the faculty, is no doubt what led to the concept of an Undergraduate Research Conference. Since we have an emphasis on both quality undergraduate programs as well as research, why not combine the two and encourage and mentor undergraduate research? Not just research within the confines of a class, but provide a venue where undergraduate students can present papers and have to defend their work.

At the 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference in 2012, 85 students showcased their research with 74 paper and 16 poster presentations. We were able to attract 15 students external to Nipissing, representing 10 universities in Ontario.

The Conference proceedings yielded 28 authors publishing 31 papers; 6 of the authors were external to Nipissing, from 6 universities in Ontario. The student presentations were strong and Nipissing University is pleased and proud to be able to publish the proceedings in CD format.

I would like to express my appreciation and thanks to all those who made both the Conference and these proceedings possible. Although not yet in office at the time of the 2012 Conference, I had the pleasure of attending it and was more than impressed with what I saw. Congratulations to all who participated.

Harley d'Entremont

## Fifth Annual Undergraduate Research Conference Program at a Glance

### Friday March 23, 2012

Time	Program	Location
6:30 - 8:00 pm	Registration	Nipissing Front Lobby
7:00 - 7:05 pm	Welcome – Interim President of Nipissing University Vicky Paine-Mantha	Fedeli Room (F210)
7:05 - 7:10 pm	Opening Remarks – Interim VP, Academic & Research Sharon Rich	Fedeli Room (F210)
7:10 - 7:15 pm	Introduction of Keynote Speaker – Prof. David Tabachnick	Fedeli Room (F210)
7:15 - 8:00 pm	Keynote Address – Darin Barney, Canada Research Chair	Fedeli Room (F210)
8:00 - 9:00 pm	Poster Presentations	Library, 2 <sup>nd</sup> floor
8:00 - 9:30 pm	Reception	Library Atrium

### Saturday March 24, 2012

Time	Program	Location
8:15 - 3:00pm	Registration	NU Cafeteria A246
8:45 - 9:00 am	Opening Remarks – Robin Gendron	NU Cafeteria A246
9:00 - 10:30 am	Concurrent Sessions #1 – Youth and Society #2 – Women and Society #3 – Culture and Society #4 – Popular Culture and Identity #5 – Memory	A224 A226 A228 A236 A242
10:30 - 10:45 am	BREAK	NU Cafeteria A246
10:45 - 12:00 pm	Concurrent Sessions #6 – Learning Outcomes and Challenges #7 – First Nations History and Identity #8 – Health and Welfare #9 – Technology and Democracy #10 – Population and Development	A224 A226 A228 A236 A242
12:00 - 1:00 pm	LUNCH	NU Cafeteria A246
1:00 - 2:20 pm	Concurrent Sessions #11 – Corporate Responsibility #12 – Men and Masculinity #13 – City Life #14 – Life’s Final Chapter #15 – Moral Questions	A224 A226 A228 A236 A242
2:20 - 2:35 pm	BREAK	NU Cafeteria A246
2:35 - 3:55 pm	Concurrent Sessions #16 – Technology & Society #17 – Human Rights #18 – Imperial Overreach #19 – Leadership	A224 A226 A228 A236
3:55 - 5:15	Concurrent Sessions #20 – The Public Sphere #21 – Science and Nature #22 – Molecules and Math #23 – Pre-service Teachers’ Self-Efficacy and Perceptions of App Integration	A224 A226 A228 A236
5:15 - 5:45	Closing Remarks – Mark Wachowiak Prize Presentations – Murat Tuncali, AVP Research	NU Cafeteria A246 NU Cafeteria A246

**Friday, March 23, 2012  
Keynote**

**7:15 - 8:00      Keynote Address – Darin Barney, Canada Research Chair      Fedeli Room (F210)**  
**"Courage and the University to Come"**

[Darin Barney's research and publications website.](#)

Darin Barney is a native of Vancouver, Canada, and studied at Simon Fraser University and the University of Toronto, where he trained in political theory and received a Ph.D. in 1999. In 2002, he was the Hixon-Riggs Visiting Professor of Science, Technology and Society at Harvey Mudd College in Claremont, California, and he has also taught at the University of Ottawa, the University of New Brunswick at Saint John, the University of Toronto at Scarborough, McMaster University, and Simon Fraser University. His research interests focus on the philosophy of technology, media and communication theory, and media and democracy. His courses emphasize philosophic responses to the ontological, political and ethical dimensions of technological society, and the debates arising from these responses.

Barney is the author of *Communication Technology: The Canadian Democratic Audit* (UBC Press: 2005); *The Network Society* (Polity Press: 2004; second printing 2006); and *Prometheus Wired: The Hope for Democracy in the Age of Network Technology* (UBC/Chicago/UNSW 2000) which was awarded the 2001 Award for Social and Ethical Relevance in Communication Research by the McGannon Center for Communication Research at Fordham University, selected as an Outstanding Title in political theory for 2001 by the American Library Association's Choice Reviews and a Finalist for the 2002 Harold Adams Innis book prize. He is co-editor with Andrew Feenberg of *Community in the Digital Age: Philosophy and Practice* (Rowman and Littlefield: 2004) and recipient in 2003 of the inaugural Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada's Aurora Prize for outstanding contribution to Canadian intellectual life by a new researcher.

In 2004, Barney was selected as one of fifteen "Leaders of Tomorrow" by the Partnership Group for Science and Engineering. From 2000-2005, he served on the Advisory Council of the Law Commission of Canada and he is currently on the Board of Directors of CKUT Radio McGill.

**Saturday, March 24, 2012  
Closing Remarks**

**5:15 - 5:45      Closing Remarks – Mark Wachowiak      NU Cafeteria A246**

Dr. Mark Wachowiak is Assistant Professor of Computer Science and Mathematics at Nipissing University in North Bay, Canada. He obtained the doctorate degree in Computer Science and Engineering from the University of Louisville. He was a postdoctoral fellow and research associate at Robarts Research Institute, a medical research facility affiliated with the University of Western Ontario. His research interests include algorithms for parallel computational architectures, geospatial and biomedical computing, signal and image analysis, applied global optimization, serious games, and assistive technologies. Dr. Wachowiak is the Nipissing site leader for the SHARCNET high-performance computing consortium, and is a recent recipient of an NSERC Discovery Grant.

## Abstracts

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### ***The Pressure That Canadian Cultural Norms Put On Men During The World Wars***

The topic I will be researching is how cultural masculine ideals shaped Canada's entry into and participation in the World Wars. More specifically, how those masculine ideals affected and influenced a man's decision to enter into the war. There were very specific cultural norms during WWI and WWII and those ideals set the stage with many reasons why men in Canada joined the military during this period. In my research thus far I have come across numerous scholarly, historical articles and books that describe the effects that masculine ideals had on men entering into the military during WWI and WWII. It is my opinion that during the World Wars, Canadian men felt pressure to join the military because of the cultural masculine ideals at the time. These ideals made men believe they were the superior sex and consequently had to be strong, aggressive, and courageous to live up to this superior standard. Not going to war was admitting of weakness and therefore not living up to what it meant to be a real Canadian man. I plan to support my thesis by answering three main questions. Firstly, by clarifying what the cultural masculine norms were during WWI and WWII. Secondly, answering the question of what it meant to live up to and not live up to masculine ideals during WWI and WWII. Thirdly, I will answer the question of what effects these masculine ideals had on men's participation in the military during WWI and WWII.

**BARTLEY, Megan**  
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### ***Alcoholism as a Mental Illness***

This paper focuses on the social and medical aspects of alcoholism based on a review of existing literature, which encompasses opposing views on alcoholism as a mental illness. It examines both sides of the debates and argues definitively that alcoholism is ultimately a choice that would turn one's consumption into addiction and a life consuming illness. To establish this argument, I will first examine what it means to be dependent on alcohol using the C.A.G.E. screener as well as factors that attribute to an individual having a high blood alcohol level. I will also refer to Thomas Szasz's work, in which he asserts that all mental illnesses are a myth, while also looking at Dr. E.M. Jellinek's discussions on the disease concept of alcoholism and alcohol's effect on the brain and nervous system. Lastly, I will explore who is more likely to suffer from alcoholism, how legislation promoting harm reduction as opposed to waging wars on drugs can help alcoholics and what effect the expensive alcohol would have on the Canadian economic system.

**BISHOP, Travis**  
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### ***The Unresting Thorn... The New Dawn": Religion and Politics in Occupy Wall Street***

In this paper I examine the Occupy Wall Street movement, through the existential political philosophies of Albert Camus, and Slavoj Zizek. I argue that there is a uniqueness to the scope and methods of the Occupiers which is specific to the contemporary modern context. This uniqueness is defined by its ideological pluralism, globalized origins, overwhelming presence in digital mediums, and in its abstinence from becoming directly involved in the ruling political paradigm. At the crux of my paper is the notion derived from Camus, that political revolt is essentially a metaphysical movement. This aspect of revolt is reinforced by a Zizek's understanding of belief and religion, and is manifest in many modern ways, which can be identified in OWS.

**COLASANTE, Tyler** (University of Toronto)  
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***Resilient Children of Alcoholics: The Stages of Emotional Detachment and the Benefits of a Mindful Brain***

Despite being labeled “at risk” for a range of mental and behavioural disorders, some children of alcoholics (COAs) grow up to lead healthy lifestyles. Such children are referred to as resilient. Researchers have attempted to identify factors specific to resilient COAs that contribute to their success. In particular, Werner and Smith (2001) observed that resilient children in their study managed to detach themselves emotionally from the issues that plagued their dependent parent(s). From this perspective, successfully detached children are able to escape, for the most part, the negative consequences of their parent’s addiction. However, the process of emotional detachment and the mechanisms behind it have received little attention from researchers. To address this deficit, I formulate a theoretical basis for emotional detachment as a stage-like process through which COAs progress. In particular, I propose three hypothetical stages of emotional detachment and identify potential moderators that affect one’s progression through these stages. According to Al-Anon (1990), successful detachment begins with “taking a moment” before reacting to alcoholic behaviour. Similarly, Kabat-Zinn (1990) defines mindfulness as a process of bringing one’s attention to moment-by-moment experience. With this similarity in mind, I propose that mindfulness can provide the key to successful detachment for COAs struggling to gain control over their emotional reactions. To this end, achieving a mindful state might be seen as analogous to achieving healthy detachment. Further research is necessary to ground these proposed stages in an empirical framework and shed light on the potential relation between emotional detachment and mindfulness.

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***Social Control in Medicalization: The Case of FSD***

A number of disorders throughout our social history have become medicalized: taken from their natural setting and placed under the supervision of competent, medical authorities. Examples of this process are evident through a number of facets; this presentation will focus on the case of Female Sexual Dysfunction (FSD). FSD is a fairly new ‘disorder’, yet pharmaceutical companies have aggressively promoted the emergence of treatments. Another contributing factor has been mass media’s support for the increase in pharmaceutical advertising of Sexual Dysfunction; this has allowed for the discussion of sex without controversy or taboo. Through the process of medicalization, pharmaceutical companies have invaded the medical profession by funding conferences that contribute to the creation of disease and have in turn, gained a monopoly on the creation and sustainability of disease.

**DRAGOMIR, Ana-Maria** (McMaster University)  
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***Myth In Romanian Folklore: Themes, Motifs, and Archetypes - Poster***

Romanian folkloric creations are impressively rich in symbolic content and poetical descriptions of the world. As active repositories of ancient knowledge, these stories reflect the artistic ways through which Romanian people have expressed their shared beliefs, values, and heritage. Whether depicted in legends, in superstitions or in fairy tales, the Romanian world is imbued with mythical creatures and magical beasts. Certain recurring elements have clear Indo-European resonances, which entwine and combine in Romanian folklore in unexpected ways, and provide the opportunity to further reflect and analyze whether these elements were inherited or assimilated. In my research I attempt to identify in what particular ways and to what extent Romanian lore could reflect ideological interactions and exchange with other ethnic groups in the past. Romanian folkloric creations are not widely available to non-Romanian speakers because of the paucity of translations and also because of the difficulty in accessing translated works. Similarly, even though the Romanian scholarly literature includes extensive studies and discussions on folkloric themes, motifs, and symbolism, very little of this work has been published or translated into English. My poster provides a survey of mythological themes and motifs found in Romanian lore, with parallels between possible Indo-European correspondents. It is part of a larger extracurricular independent study project that involved literature reviews of Romanian texts on folklore. My research was funded through a Student Experience Grant offered by the Faculty of Social Sciences Experiential Education office, at McMaster University.

**DRAGOMIR**, Ana-Maria (McMaster University)  
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### ***Cultural Politics in Socialist Romania - Paper***

My analysis focuses on Romanian cultural politics during communism, and on how cultural products engendered by various intellectual activities have led to the production of a certain national identity, and helped to reinforce state legitimacy. Throughout history, Romanian intellectuals, such as historians, sociologists, literary critics and philosophers, have competed for the authority to define the values that characterize Romanian national identity. During the last two decades of communism, the debates between intellectuals solidified into two major types of discourses which revolved around the idea of a national essence. On one side, indigenist intellectuals advocated for the primacy of Romanian cultural products, and rejected foreign imports, which were construed as forms of alien cultural imperialism, and a danger to the purity of Romanian culture. The Romanian Communist Party embraced this discourse, turned it into state doctrine, and used a strong nationalist ideology as a tool for reinforcing its hegemony. The opposing discourse promoted more openness towards Western cultural values, and the adoption of pluralism in the production of culture. Under numerous attacks from indigenist intellectuals, and often accused of treason, many advocates of pluralism became dissidents. However, after the fall of the regime, oppression and marginalization under communism helped dissident intellectuals to gain considerable moral capital, and legitimized their claims for cultural authority. In my paper I provide an overview to the historical development of discursive practices among Romanian intellectuals. My research is the result of an independent study course that consisted in reviewing academic literature concerning socialism in Romania.

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### ***Avriq! The Northern Hunter's Spiritual Connection to Animals and Community***

In Inuktituk, nuna, means the land. It means the rocks, rivers, mountains and the forests. Nuna is everything, and all parts of the nuna has an inua, which means a living soul. There is a special, if not sacred relationship between members of northern communities and the nuna. However, these sacred relationships are all too often glossed over, if not forgotten. In the social sciences, author John Sorenson articulates a critical argument and evocative opinions about hunting in his article, Hunting is a Part of Human Nature.<sup>1</sup> Sorenson demonstrates that hunting is an unnatural human activity which is linked to a cultural domination over animals. However, in these statements Sorenson neglects to consider the northern hunter in Inuit communities around the world. Cultural myths, social constructions and daily activities prove that hunting animals is a core value to how many Inuit peoples relate to each other and perceive themselves in the cosmos. This is a study that examines the relationship of people, land, animals and faith in order to understand the significance of hunting within Inuit cultures. <sup>1</sup> John Sorenson, "Hunting is a Part of Human Nature," Culture of Prejudice, Arguments in Critical Social Science. Eds. Judith Blackwell, Murray Smith, John Sorenson, (Canada:Broadview Press, 2003).

**FISHER**, Brittany  
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### ***Canadian Men And Their Journey Into World War One***

During the First World War of 1914 Canadians forged a reputation for bravery and commitment. This was because 500,000 men enlisted themselves in a war that posed no threat to their homeland. 60,000 of these men would go on to lose their lives. In 1914 Canada was still closely linked to the British. This meant that if Britain claimed war on a country, Canada was automatically required to declare war. Canada's lack of a foreign policy, effectively controlled by a Governor General, caused Canada to be at war when Britain was at war. Although Canada was at war in 1914, there was no pressure or political threat to the country forcing them to send troops to the frontlines. So why did many Canadians of both British and non-British descent volunteer in World War One? Many men felt that their bravery in World War One would prove their masculinity. Canada was a culture where men needed to feel like men. Military officials played on the cultural need for masculinity and used it to recruit volunteers in World War One.

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### ***T.S. Eliot's Hell on Earth in The Waste Land***

This essay argues that the first fourteen lines of "The Fire Sermon" section of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* depict a manifestation of hell on earth created by the superficiality of humanity. The essay explicates how Eliot presents the reader with a personified dying natural world stripped of the seasonal cycle which would have once promised a springtime renewal. Eliot pins the natural world's death on a civilization which appears to be more concerned with pleasure derived from material goods than the beauty of the Thames river. Humanity replaces the mystical nymphs previous poets attributed to the Thames with trivial goods. The essay also investigates how Eliot depicts the fragmentation of human relationships through the implied futility of the gatherings which occur along the Thames in the summer, thus suggesting that the sterility of the natural world is a reflection of civilization. The paper then dissects how Eliot implies the narrator's loss of poetic genius through allusion to scripture in order to emphasize the extent of the degradation of the earth. This essay suggests that Eliot trivializes memento mori and associates the condition of humanity with winter in order to show the reader that society has become content to live in the Waste Land. The author concludes by suggesting Eliot implies civilization may be salvaged if the disconnection, superficiality and apathy propagating hell on earth are reversed.

**GILLESPIE, Emily**  
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### ***Canadian Sex Worker Organizations: Reproducing and Resisting Discourse***

Sex workers are 60 to 120 times more likely to be murdered than members of the general population. The stigma and discourses that are attached to sex workers, combined with other intersecting factors like poverty, can be fatal in relation to how sex workers are treated and considered by institutions, social services, and the general public. Sex workers often have trouble accessing adequate supports in relation to their occupation, due to the legal status of their work, and the stigma that is associated with it; therefore it is important to consider the discourses that sex worker organizations engage with. My research analyses how sex trade workers and sex work is discursively described, understood and produced in select sex worker organizations in Canada, and questions if these discourses reproduce or challenge social inequality. My discursive analysis focuses on what I have identified as four different types of organizations that address the differing circumstances and, in turn, needs of Canadian sex workers in various geographical locations. By reflecting on the contents of organizations' websites I consider if the diverse organizations reproduce or resist inequality in similar or different ways. At times organizations may address more than one category; however, I focus on organizations for survival sex workers, resource based organizations, empowerment and activist centred organizations, and exit based organizations.

**GOODES, Sarah-Ann**  
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### ***Hume's "Of Miracles": The Significance of Part II***

In the second part of Section X in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, David Hume defines a series of four reasons arguing against the belief in miracles. This paper concentrates on the development and understanding of these principles along with an examination of the lack of scholarly responses to the principles as outlined by Hume. I will argue that the discussion over interpreting the principles Hume describes should be reopened in order to fully understand the connections that can be made between miracles, religion, human testimony, and contemporary culture, as well as to recognize possible strengths or weaknesses within his theory.

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### ***The Portrayal of Gallic Ethnicity by Roman Historians***

The subject of ethnicity addressed within the works of the ancient authors, is an intriguing topic for examination. Much can be derived from the manner in which these authors characterize those regarded by the Romans as barbarians, especially since their interpretations reflect the perspective of the Roman elites. Several overarching themes can be observed throughout the works of the ancients, such as the corruptive powers of wealth which leads to deterioration, the perpetuation of established ethnic stereotypes as a means of “othering”, the personal motivations and intentions of the authors themselves, as well as a reflection of the values of the age these authors wrote in. In order to demonstrate these aspects, examples will be provided from the works of Polybius, Cicero, Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus specifically in regards to the Gauls. In this way, the manner in which ethnicity was treated by these Roman authors can be observed, as well as assessing the themes of perpetuated stereotypes, Roman values over time, and personal motivations.

**HARTLEY, Adora**  
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### ***On Roman Imperialism: Romanization and its effects***

The study of Roman imperialism is an extensively complex and multi-dimensional subject. The manner by which the Romans expanded their empire through conquest and warfare, as well as the effects of this expansion both upon the conquered and conquerors, is simultaneously regarded as having contained negative and positive attributes. The process involved with Roman imperialism, often termed Romanization, encompassed various social and political aspects, a selection of which will be examined. Some of the effects of Romanization and imperialism to be analyzed are with regards to the positive and negative perspectives on Romanization itself, as well as conscriptions and citizenship. In this way, various positions will be observed on the subject of Roman imperialism and the Romanization process, elucidating the common theme of corruption, whether directly through wealth, the army, or interactions with the conquered.

**KALAFATIS, John**  
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### ***Canadian Corporate Directors and Educational Affiliations: A Geographical Analysis of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver Firms.***

In today's information economy, the knowledge base of a corporation's board of directors is becoming more and more valuable. This thesis focuses in on individual members of corporate boards and examines the factors that make these highly skilled personnel significant to a corporation's success. This research borrows from the theory “resource dependency” (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) which looks at board members as individuals who have access to resources external to the firm. In the case of this thesis, knowledge acquired and the social/professional network developed from a post-secondary education are the resources under investigation. Additionally, Saxenian's (1994) concept of “brain circulation” is utilized to explain the circular journey workers take in their pursuit of education away from their home region then return to conduct business. In this process they bring with them the knowledge gained through their education and experience back to their home region. This thesis focuses on three of Canada's top corporate cities: Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Specifically where directors of companies obtain their education is compared to where they presently sit on a board. This thesis examines a director dataset for firms based in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver as identified in the Financial Post's Directory of Directors. Additionally a dataset of firms listed on the TSX is used to analyze firm performance. The results of this research add to the empirical foundation of this growing perspective of economic geography.

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***Determining the type of pain scale to utilize when caring for older adults with dementia: An integrative review - Poster***

**Aim.** To review the literature about the types of pain scales available to nurses for assessing pain in the older adult with dementia. **Background.** Nurses utilize pain scales in order to provide proper pain management. However, when caring for clients with dementia numerical pain scales are no longer of use when they are unable to verbally express their pain. Therefore, we must determine which pain scale is better to use for assessing pain in the older adult with dementia. **Data sources.** A review of the literature from 1996 – 2010 was conducted. Two electronic databases were searched including CINAHL and ProQuest Nursing & Allied Health Source. **Methods.** An integrative review guided by Whittemore and Knafl (2005) was performed. **Results.** Seven published studies were included. Several pain scales were revised in order to determine the proper one to use when assessing elders with dementia. Three themes help to better understand pain assessment in the population of interest and they are: the type of pain scale, interveners, and the assessment of behaviours. Behavioural pain scales were the most reliable when assessing pain in the cognitively impaired client. Nurses and nursing assistants were the ones conducting the pain assessment. Pain noises, facial expression and defence were the most common pain indicators. **Conclusion.** This integrative review generated important information about the assessment of pain in the older adult population with dementia. By learning the proper assessment tool to utilize nurses will not only be able to identify pain, but also provide proper pain management. **Keywords.** pain assessment scales, integrative review, nurse, dementia, behaviours, cognitive impairment

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***Evoke: the Memorialisation of an Affect***

This paper examines the idea of reconstructing personal memories based on landscapes, involving the psychological and emotive characteristics which have been evoked. Their origins are inherent in the physical aspects of the memory, all of which derive from an individual experience. The focus is to communicate how a memory of a particular landscape, or a hybrid of numerous landscapes, affected me. I am inspired by the ability of a painting to act as an incarnation of a real experience, as well as in the idea of criticality - acknowledging that while I am attempting to relive an experience I am at once empowered and disempowered. I am empowered by the specificity of a memory, however disempowered since a memory can be subjectively altered. I interpret the idea of the Sublime in landscape painting as secular, involving the concept of self-preservation in terms of preserving personal memory by way of semi-representational imagery. I am influenced by the fuzzy and indistinct quality apparent in the manipulated landscape photo-paintings of Gerhard Richter. Richter's subjects appear as an essence which embodies the affects of a space and time. As well, the staining technique revolutionized by Helen Frankenthaler propels my methods of experimental mark-making. My desire is to create imagery which appears to be slowly dissolving onto a two-dimensional surface. This desire is fostered by process and material dualities. I switch between conscious and subconscious decision making, deliberate and reactive mark making, additive and reductive, as well as translucent and opaque, techniques.

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***The Implementation of Spirituality in Nursing Education: An Integrative Review - Poster***

**Purpose.** To review literature concerning the implementation of spiritual care into nursing education and identify factors influencing implementation. **Background.** Spirituality has been identified as important part of an individual's health. To provide holistic care nurses must assess patient's spirituality and offer spiritual care. In the past there has been a lack of spiritual education, leaving some nurse's feeling unprepared to provide spiritual care. **Data Sources.** A review of English literature from 1999 to 2011 was conducted using the electronic databases Proquest, CINAHL, and EBSCO Host. **Method.** This review was guided by Whittmore and Knalf's method and used a data quality rating system to determine a study's contribution during data analysis. **Results** Eleven qualitative and seven quantitative studies were included. Both facilitators and barriers to implementing spiritual education into nursing were identified as themes. From these themes four concepts emerged to guide the implementation of spiritual education: self-assessment, course work, clinical work, and ongoing training. Self-assessment requires pre-nursing student's to assess their personal spiritual beliefs, to

help them to begin being self-aware. Course work pertains to the opportunity for students to take academic spiritual courses, while clinical work is practicing spiritual care with an instructor in a clinical setting. Ongoing training is continued spiritual education for practicing nurses. Conclusion. This review revealed four concepts that influence the implementation of spiritual education into nursing. Further research of factors influencing implementation of spiritual education and concepts developed in this review may help form a nursing educational model for teaching spiritual care.

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### ***Visibility: Finding the Staircase Kernel in Orthogonal Polygons***

We consider the problem of finding the staircase kernel in orthogonal polygons, with or without holes, in the plane. An Orthogonal polygon is a simple polygon in the plane whose sides are either horizontal or vertical. We generalize the notion of visibility in the following way: We say that two points  $a$  and  $b$  in an orthogonal polygon  $P$  are visible to each other via staircase paths if and only if there exists an orthogonal chain connecting  $a$  and  $b$  and lying entirely within the interior of  $P$ . There are two principal types of staircases, NW-SE and NE-SW. Based on this notion we can generalize the notion of star-shapedness. A polygon  $P$  is called star-shaped under staircase visibility, if and only if there is a non-empty set of points  $S$  in the interior of  $P$ , such that any point of  $S$  sees any point of  $P$  via a staircase path. The largest such set of points is called the staircase kernel of  $P$  and denoted  $\ker P$ . Our work is motivated by the work of M. Breen. She proves that the staircase kernel of an orthogonal polygon without holes is the intersection of all maximal orthogonally convex polygons contained in it. We extend Breen's results for the case when the orthogonal polygon has holes. We prove the necessary geometric properties, and use them to derive a quadratic time,  $O(n^2)$  algorithm for computing the staircase kernel of an orthogonal polygon with holes, having  $n$  vertices in total, including the holes' vertices. The algorithm is based on the plane sweep technique, widely used in Computational Geometry. Our result is optimal in the case of orthogonal polygon with holes, since the kernel (as proven) can consist of quadratic number of disjoint regions. We present examples of our algorithm's results.

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### ***Corporate Social Responsibility in Canada's Extractive Sector Operations Globally***

The purpose of the paper is to examine the overall conduct of Canada's extraction industry operating overseas. It will focus on the influence these companies have from the Canadian domestic perspective as Canada's share of mining operations globally dominates with the most developed mineral-types. Due to this position, Canada has had prominent examples where intransigent corporate conduct in several jurisdictions around the globe highlighted deficiencies in the legal and regulatory networks. The role of corporate social responsibility and the government's explicit support for this program and the effectiveness of this program to date will be the central focus of this paper. Several cases demonstrating the lack of a viable means of recourse for this behaviour are brought forth to demonstrate the need for a more robust legal framework particularly in respect to the acquisition of mineral rights, the extraction methods and the accurate reporting. These examples are all reflective of a system that routinely conflicts with the indigenous and local communities' interests, is a major contributor to environmental contamination, can skirt around monitoring agencies, and has been implicated in egregious acts of violence in an environment of impunity. The federal government has opposed efforts to create a viable means of legal recourse for these violations with Bill C-300, while also instituting programs aimed at supporting the corporate social responsibility language with its appointment of a CSR Counsellor and the CSR projects of the mining companies overseas.

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### ***Self-Serving Activism: The Winter Soldiers of the Vietnam War***

The Winter Soldier Investigation was a three day event in Detroit that began on 31 January 1971. With the official goal of spreading public awareness of atrocities in Vietnam, the participating veterans took turns speaking out about the atrocities they committed or witnessed. This dialogue has been largely contested in the years since, largely due to the refusal of the participants to cooperate in Army investigations and the general acknowledgement of the American public that war crimes in Vietnam were limited to a select few events. More recently, historians and journalists alike have demonstrated the prevalence of atrocity in Vietnam. While this does not prove the individual testimonies given at the Winter Soldier Investigation, it vastly increases their credibility. Still, the refusal to pursue justice in regards to these crimes suggests a deeper reasoning to the actions of the investigation's participants. Utilizing the context of the atrocities committed by American soldiers in Vietnam, this paper examines the Winter Soldier Investigation in order to determine the motivations of its participants. Through their attempt to spread awareness of their own crimes, the Winter Soldiers illuminate their own shortcomings and demonstrate the toxicity of the Vietnam War.

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### ***"Real Men Don't Rape": The Sexual Politics of Anti-Rape Campaigns***

"Real men don't rape", a message provided by protesters at Slutwalk events over the past year, may represent a simple demand, "don't rape". However, I read this phrase as being much more complex. I am fascinated that a movement intended to reclaim the derogatory use of the word "slut", would employ the term, "real men", without considering how this essentializes the putatively inherent characteristics of masculinity and maleness. In reality, this language reifies hegemonic masculinity. Despite activists promoting Slutwalk as a woman-centred anti-rape campaign, most of the signs at Slutwalk seem to be "in conversation" with rapists. While Slutwalk is recent, anti-rape campaigns have attempted to engage with men and rapists for decades. Through a review of scholarly literature on anti-rape movements, I found a lack of discussions connecting anti-rape campaigns to the ways men communicate with each other about whom they are and who they are not. In this paper, I undertake an analysis of anti-violence-against-women literature and campaigns as well as their representation in national media. Considering that North American laws, policies, social and cultural norms are constructed by and maintained through a culture dominated by men, I argue that anti-rape campaigns are structured by power relations that reinstate hegemonic masculinity and phallogentrism. I demonstrate how campaigns like Slutwalk, Men of Strength and Don't be THAT guy can create space for men and men who rape to reproduce ideas about how sex and violence inform what it means to be a man.

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### ***Lesbians as Spectacle: The Consumption of the Homosexual Female Body in The L Word***

The lesbian image in popular culture is an exemplification of commodity fetishism and spectacle – while homosexuals are consumers, they are also consumed. Guy Debord's logic of the commodity is applicable to the discourse of consumption surrounding the feminized female body. The media is a paradigm of the globalization of heteronormativity; homosexual portrayals are shaped, influenced, and expanded, ultimately globalized, to operate in heterosexual constructs – they are globally cannibalized. The evolution of the lesbian body and corresponding moral character throughout the six seasons of Showtime's critically acclaimed series *The L Word* illustrates the commodity and exhibition of the social homosexual female in heteronormative mainstream media; a hierarchy of spectaclered lesbian identities is present, capitulating societal constructions of sexuality, gender, race, and class.

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### ***Aboriginal Representation in Disney Films: Is Disney Becoming Less Racist?***

Disney films contain obviously racist, sexist and just plain offensive depictions of different groups of people and cultures; this is problematic because of the immense cultural capital Disney exerts on the lives of children (Strong 418). More recently, as discrimination has become less acceptable and multiculturalism is the norm, Disney has attempted to be more inclusive by releasing films about non-white characters. This paper will take a critical perspective on Aboriginal representations within animated Disney films, focusing on Peter Pan (1953) and Pocahontas (1995) as well as briefly looking at Brother Bear (2003). The three films, which span 50 years, will be used to trace the movement from blatantly racist representations and appropriations of Aboriginal culture towards the more subtle but no less racist depictions in contemporary Disney movies. Although the newer Disney films have a greater variety of individuals and races represented, this so-called "inclusivity" is undermined by the use of "inferential racism" (Hall 83). "Inferential racism" should be understood as "the naturalized representations" of racial identities that are enacted as "unquestioned assumptions" (Hall 83). The insidious nature of the ethnocentrism found in Disney films teaches the viewers that a patriarchal Western perspective is the "right" perspective, without allowing opportunities to question the racist assumptions. The use of naturalized racism in Peter Pan, Pocahontas and Brother Bear promotes a very narrow and biased understanding of Aboriginal identities; through inherently racist and sexist representations of non-white cultures and people, Disney perpetuates white hegemonic ideologies.

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### ***Black Jamaican Masculinity, Slavery & Post-Colonialism***

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade accounts for three hundred years of history, from 1499-1870. During those three hundred years generations after generations of Africans have been born into slavery. A lifestyle that denied freedom, stripped mothers of their children, and husbands from their wives, turned human beings to chattels and exploited the body, both psychically and mentally, all based on the color of one's skin. The focus of this essay is to understand the capacity and effect slavery played Black Jamaican masculinity. This analysis will be conducted by using the book *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* by Trevor Burnard. This well-written and researched book is based on the diaries Thomas Thistlewood, a British slave owner who left Lincolnshire, England in late 1749 and arrived in Kingston, Jamaica May 5, 1750. Alongside this resource I will be using Hillary Beckles theory of hegemonic masculinity, in which Beckles theory of hegemonic masculinity will be applied to Thomas Thistlewood and his treatment towards his slaves. Combined, these works, and the inclusion of others, will serve as evidence of how Jamaican enslaved men were unable to fulfill the requirements needed to be the ideal 'man' based on the hegemonic ideal. Thus showing how slavery played an effective role in Jamaican masculinity during colonialism and post-colonialism. Finally, I will conclude by showing how the denial of the ability to attain and follow the Western hegemonic ideal has lead Jamaican men to follow the ideals that were established and carried out by the white slave owners, who themselves did not follow their own ideals.

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### ***Political Warriors?: Junior Leadership and the Combined Action Program in Vietnam, 1965-1971***

**Abstract:** There is an extensive body of literature produced by military historians of the Vietnam War. Much of this historiography tends to debate the various methods, tactics and strategies employed by American forces in South Vietnam in order to discover what caused the vaunted U.S. military to lose the war and also to determine how this massive failure could have been avoided so that the apparent "lessons" of the war can be applied to today's unconventional wars. One technique identified by many military historians as being a counterinsurgency success was the United States Marine Corps' Combined Action Program (CAP). CAP placed a Marine squad into a South Vietnamese village where they lived and worked with the local militia in order to provide security and conduct civic action projects which sought to raise the standard of living for rural Vietnamese. Historians of CAP have highlighted its civic action role as being an effective tool for "winning the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese over to the American cause. This paper re-examines the historiography's characterization of CAP

by critically engaging the literature surrounding CAP which was produced by its participants and observers. The picture created by this examination is one in which CAP was not an effective tool for enhancing Vietnamese standard of living, but rather an organization dominantly focused on the traditional military tasks of providing physical security. Further, the profound cultural ignorance and even paternalistic racism of CAP's leadership hindered even the small civic action projects which it decided to undertake, just as it handicapped America's entire war effort in Vietnam.

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### ***Antidote - Reflections on Grant's "Poisoned Cup"***

In 1974, Canadian philosopher George Grant presented his ruminations on justice and morality in his Josiah Wood lecture entitled English-Speaking Justice. He felt that the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade* held a "poisoned cup" to the lips of modern liberalism. In its wake, Grant poses the question, "What is it about any members of our species which makes the liberal rights of justice their due?", and sees the nihilism of modern thought overtaking the ideals of Christian and Platonic philosophy to the detriment of Western civilization. This paper engages exegetically with Grant's work and presents a response, a proposed antidote formulated from developments in feminist philosophy in the four decades since Grant enucleated his ideas. It seeks to both question the foundational principles of Grant's thought, and to deliver an alternative to the nihilistic instrumentalism which Grant sees as the lamentable outcome of modern concepts of justice.

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### ***Heteronormativity, Homosociality and the Hag***

Within Western gay male society, there lurks a liminal and little-known figure – the 'fag hag'. This paper presents an epistemology of the 'fag hag', straight women whose primary relationships are or are perceived to be with homosexual men. Combining Foucauldian concepts of discourse, Butler's ideas on gender performativity and Maddison's theories of homosociality, this paper shows that it's not what fag hags do, it's who they do it with and where they choose to do it that raises society's eyebrows. Drawing upon a broad range of media types, including personal testimonies from gay men and self-identified hags, documentary and fictional film, television and blog posts, the three most common discursive constructions of the hag – the Sad Hag, the Bad Hag and the Mad Hag – will be analysed and contrasted with examples from the lived experience of fag hags themselves.

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### ***Equity and Justice in Grade Three Educational Achievement in Toronto***

This paper analyzes the effects that socio-economic status (SES) have on educational achievement of grade three students in Toronto by utilizing four different sources of data: EQAO test results from 2009 to 2010, the Toronto Wards profiles, the Learning Opportunity Index (LOI) and the external funding record of the Toronto School Board. It examines how particularly six socio-economic status factors affect students' academic achievement: education, labor force occupations, average rent payments, lone parent ratios, low income ratios, and visible minorities ratios. The findings show that twenty schools, classified here as the "red schools," have low educational achievement and are located in wards of lower socio-economic status; nineteen schools, classified here as the "green schools," have high educational achievement and are located in wards of higher socio-economic status. One striking difference between these schools is that the "red" schools generate far less external funding for learning related school activities than the "green" schools. From a social justice perspective, this paper insists that students who perform low on educational testing not be taught the basic skills but be treated equally in attaining adequate education to fulfill their future potential. Two proposals have been recommended: either external funding be capped at a median amount throughout the Toronto District School Board; or public funding to make up the shortfalls in meeting their students' learning needs be implemented for the "red" schools.

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### ***Racial Profiling and Discretionary Powers of the Sault Ste. Marie Police***

Racial Profiling has been an issue in our society; yet we fail to acknowledge it. With this research, I will be analyzing the forms of racial profiling in Ontario specifically, "Sault Ste. Marie". Also, I will be focusing on how police abuse their power through this act. The purpose of this research is to analyze and investigate the understanding of, as well as whether there is an existence of racial profiling in Sault Ste. Marie. The definition of racial profiling which I will be using for this project is the process by which an individual is stopped, arrested or detained by police due to their race, age, gender or ethnicity. This has significant effects and impacts on prison demographics. This also has an effect, as it assumes the guilt of suspects before due process is served. Sault Ste. Marie Ontario is bordered by three first nation reserves while comprised of mostly Italian immigrants. Meanwhile, there are other immigrants from different minority backgrounds that create a diverse community. There have been reports and studies done on racial profiling with respect to Timmins, North Bay and Sault Ste. Marie. There is a report about how the racism issue can be tackled. This report was called Debwewin. This research will explore where Sault Ste. Marie is now and how education is influencing individuals with respect to diversification. Police discretion can be argued by individuals as focusing on the most important things that society expects of them. Discretion is the act of protecting or preventing oneself from harming themselves and deciding if one should be let go for a minor offense. Discretion is sometimes used in speeding cases including a case that involves couples fighting. Research studies have identified the percentage of the population who is likely to be stopped for a traffic violation. The reason for undertaking this project is because I have been a victim of racial profiling. There is also an issue with the way we describe people or profile subjects which might be effective or ineffective in some circumstances. These types of identifies can either break or make a person. This research will be in the form of online surveys, interviews with the police and individuals in the community and if possible interviews with racially profiled victims. There will also be panels on the issue. This will provide a better understanding of the disadvantages for both the individual and the law enforcers in Sault Ste. Marie. The surveys are meant to collect a general understanding of racial profiling from the public.

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### ***The Occupy Movement***

Occupy is a global, leaderless people movement for democracy that has the objective of overcoming issues of corporate greed and social inequality through non-violent protest and rational debate. In this paper, I present a case study of the Occupy movement from the theoretical perspective of Jurgen Habermas' public sphere, arguing that the movement achieves many of the criteria for a new public sphere, but also has some limitations. Despite these limitations, the movement has brought about new approaches and ideas, which may potentially catalyze the development of a new, more ideal public sphere. In this presentation, I will compare the movement with Habermas' public sphere, arguing the movement attempts to disregard social status, strives for inclusivity, and presents a domain of common concern. I will provide an assessment of communication technologies used by the movement, showing how these contribute to the movement and contain some of, but not all, the components of an ideal speech situation required for a public sphere. I contend that the movement overcomes the potential problems Nancy Fraser identifies in Habermas' formulation of the public sphere, such as exclusion, ignoring inequalities and the definition of common concern. Nonetheless, I maintain that the movement faces problems of time, weather, space, resources and fear of punishment by repressive state apparatuses. This makes it unlikely that the movement can continue for a long period of time without significantly changing, making it possible to produce a new, and more ideal public sphere.

## Full Papers

### ***The Pressure That Canadian Cultural Norms Put On Men During The World Wars***

Kayla Adair

During WWI and WWII, men in Canada felt pressure to join the military effort because of the cultural masculine ideals at the time.<sup>1</sup> These ideals made men believe they were the superior sex and consequently had to be strong, aggressive, and courageous to live up to this superior standard.<sup>2</sup> Not going to war was admitting weakness and therefore not living up to what it meant to be a real Canadian man.<sup>3</sup> This paper will look at three aspects of Canadian culture during the world wars. Firstly, what the cultural norms were during this time and how masculine ideals affected men. Secondly, what it meant to live up to, or not live up to those ideals. Thirdly, how cultural masculine ideals affected men's decisions to participate in the military effort. What masculinity meant to Canadian society pushed men towards serving in Canada's military during WWI and WWII, with cultural norms setting the standard for what it meant to be a man.

There were specific traits that marked a man as being a “proper man” in Canada during WWI and WWII.<sup>4</sup> Canadian cultural norms during the first and second world wars classified men as the breadwinners and women as the homemakers.<sup>5</sup> Masculinity was seen as being superior to femininity<sup>6</sup> and men were expected to be courageous, aggressive, and strong.<sup>7</sup> Being a warrior, a knight, and a leader were also descriptions of the ultimate man.<sup>8</sup> Men were also expected to be self-sacrificial and honourable.<sup>9</sup> From a young age, boys learned what it meant to be a man through examples set for them in school, and at home.<sup>10</sup> At home, domestic tasks were often left for the females of the household while the males took care of more manual labour.<sup>11</sup> This showed young boys that there was a distinction between what was expected of them as men and what was expected of girls.<sup>12</sup> In school,

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1 Dummitt, Chris, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 33.

2 Jackson, Paul, *One Of The Boys: Homosexuality in the Military During WWII* (Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 159.

3 Maroney, Paul, “The Great Adventure: The Context and Ideology of...” *Canadian Historical Review* 77, No. 1 (March 1996): 93.

4 Jackson, 159.

5 Heron, Craig, “Boys Will Be Boys: Working-Class Masculinities in the Age of Mass Production.” *International Labour & Working-Class History*, No. 69 (Spring 2006): 9.

6 Humphries, Mark, “War's Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914-1939.” *Canadian Historical Review* 91, No. 3 (September 2010):506.

7 Jackson, 159.

8 Epp, Marlene, “Heroes or Yellow-Bellies? Masculinity and the Conscientious Objector.” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 17, (January 1999): 109.

9 Coleman, Daniel, “The National Allegory of Fraternity: Loyalist Literature and the Making of Canada's White British Origins.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36, No. 3 (Fall 2001): 133.

10 Coleman, 139.

11 Heron, 9.

12 Heron, 9.

boys were often separated from the girls for “manual training” and gym class, which was often in the form of military drill.<sup>13</sup>

The idea of masculinity as being the dominant gender didn't change very much between WWI and WWII; in fact, many men looked at what it meant historically to be a man when deciding what it meant to be a man during WWII.<sup>14</sup> Taking charity was looked upon as being inherently feminine in both the world wars.<sup>15</sup> However, during WWII, a modern shift in thinking made war veterans feel entitled to a pension because of the sacrifices they made for Canada.<sup>16</sup> Still, society saw seeking charity as a feminine act, but they now saw veterans as justified and entitled to compensation because of their masculine self-sacrifice and risk-taking,<sup>17</sup> unlike with the war veterans during WWI.<sup>18</sup> In short, men in Canada during WWI and WWII were expected to behave in a very specific way that conformed to gender ideals at the time. Men were expected to take action instead of being passive and if they did not conform to that expectation, their masculinity was questioned, especially during war time.<sup>19</sup>

Masculine cultural norms during WWI and WWII put men in positions of power.<sup>20</sup> However, not living up to these very specific gender ideals could result in a man losing that feeling of power and becoming isolated and discriminated against.<sup>21</sup> This was especially true for those men who chose not to enlist in the military.<sup>22</sup> Conscientious objectors in Canada during WWII are a prime example of how being passive instead of aggressive was seen as being cowardly.<sup>23</sup> Because passivity was seen as being a feminine quality, as opposed to the masculine qualities of action and aggression,<sup>24</sup> to the rest of society, conscientious objectors seemed feminine in their decision not to fight in the war.<sup>25</sup> By not fighting, conscientious objectors were rejecting the masculine identities of being warriors and protectors.<sup>26</sup>

A stigma of cowardice was also put on men who were conscripted as opposed to volunteer soldiers.<sup>27</sup> When compared to volunteering to fight, being conscripted was looked upon by volunteer soldiers, as well as the rest of society, as being shameful.<sup>28</sup> Being conscripted was also feminized

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13 Coleman, 139.

14 Heron, 11.

15 Dummitt, 33.

16 Humphries, 525.

17 Dummitt, 36.

18 Dummitt, 36.

19 Humphries, 508.

20 Jackson, 189.

21 Heron, 7.

22 Maroney, 96.

23 Epp, 111.

24 Jackson, 189.

25 Epp, 110.

26 Epp, 110.

27 Dummitt, 35.

28 Maroney, 96.

because often conscripts did not get sent overseas like the volunteer soldiers, they stayed in Canada, making it appear like they couldn't handle or weren't worthy of participating in the real “manly” aspects of war.<sup>29</sup> However, conscripts were given more respect than that of civilian males who did not enlist. Civilian males were looked upon as having failed in their masculinity in some way.<sup>30</sup> Characteristics of weakness, cowardice, indecision, and femininity were placed upon those males who chose not to go to war during WWI and WWII.<sup>31</sup> Recruiting posters in Ontario during WWI depicted civilian males as scrawny and anxious as opposed to the Canadian soldier, who was shown as a strong, muscular, confident man.<sup>32</sup> It was seen as a man's duty to enlist in the military, and those who did not enlist, according to society, were less than real men.<sup>33</sup> These Ontario recruitment posters were drawing on deep-rooted gender ideals at the time and used these ideals to show men what a failure of a man they would be if they did not join the military, as well as showing them how much more masculine they could be through simply becoming a soldier.<sup>34</sup> To further the shame of civilian men who did not enlist, when voluntary recruitment began to fall, Canadian women adopted an initiative from Britain called the White Feather Campaign during WWI.<sup>35</sup> The White Feather Campaign involved groups of women pinning white feathers onto the clothing of civilian men.<sup>36</sup> This white feather was a symbol of cowardice and was used in attempt to shame men into doing their manly duty of enlisting in the military.<sup>37</sup> Women would also brand these men as being “slackers” and “shirkers”.<sup>38</sup> Although recruitment officials typically used masculine gender ideals in their propaganda to shame men into joining the war effort, they did not approve of the practices of The White Feather Campaign.<sup>39</sup> Despite the lack of support from officials, The White Feather Campaign continued until conscription was initiated in 1917.<sup>40</sup>

During WWI and WWII, men were also feeling more pressure to live up to masculine ideals because industrialization and urbanization were challenging the perceptions of what it really meant to be a man.<sup>41</sup> During WWI, many men were out of work because of the war and consequently, women began to enter the work force.<sup>42</sup> The idea of women being able to bring home money to help support

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29 Dummitt, 35.

30 Maroney, 93.

31 Maroney, 93.

32 Maroney, 93.

33 Maroney, 92.

34 Maroney, 92.

35 Socknat, Thomas P., “White Feather Campaign.” *Oxford Companion To Canadian History* (February 2006): 661.

36 Socknat, 661.

37 Socknat, 661.

38 Socknat, 661.

39 Socknat, 661.

40 Socknat, 661.

41 Wilson, JJ, “Skating to Armageddon: Canada, Hockey and the First World War.” *International Journal of The History of Sport* 22, No. 3 (May 2005): 316.

42 Dummitt, 29.

the family blurred the distinction of men being the breadwinner.<sup>43</sup> Traditional masculine traits of self-reliance and self-control were being challenged by the broadening sphere of women's responsibilities and opportunities.<sup>44</sup> Industrialization also brought an increase in factory and office jobs, forcing men to seek work outside of the home.<sup>45</sup> With men working outside the home, young boys were being raised primarily by their mothers.<sup>46</sup> This led to a lack of father-son interaction that caused many people to fear that these young boys would end up less masculine and more feminine in nature.<sup>47</sup>

An event that largely shaped the social power of masculine ideals was when the British military pulled out of Canada in 1871, leaving Canadians the sole defenders of Canada.<sup>48</sup> This responsibility led to Canadian leaders devising a plan to shape the rising generation of men to be able to defend the nation.<sup>49</sup> This desire to shape a nation of men to be able to protect Canada led to the Government implementing masculine, militia-related characteristics into organized sports, schooling, and many boys' clubs and even into toys.<sup>50</sup> Take hockey for example, a sport that during WWI was known to be more like war than any other organized sport.<sup>51</sup> Hockey practices often consisted of target practice and learning attack formations, which are synonymous with military training.<sup>52</sup> Hockey players were seen as being very masculine and the sport was seen as a defender of military preparedness because of how much hockey included military practices.<sup>53</sup> Many hockey players also enlisted in the military during WWI, which shows some of the success of the Canadian Government in their plan of having an impact on young men by instilling a manly military-based doctrine into organized sports in Canada.<sup>54</sup> Canadian Government and social agents were looking to instill manly traits like "fighting hard" and "never giving up" into the young boys of Canada to build up a country which would be able to protect itself, and in the case of hockey players it seems they were successful in doing just that.<sup>55</sup> Many men in Canada during WWI and WWII joined the military effort based on a combination of masculine ideals and the expectations those ideals came with.

Joining the military in WWI and WWII was seen as the epitome of masculinity.<sup>56</sup> War represented heroism, masculinity, and action.<sup>57</sup> Femininity was related to keeping and making peace,

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43 Dummitt, 29.

44 Humphries, 507.

45 Wilson, 316.

46 Wilson, 316.

47 Wilson, 316.

48 Wilson, 316.

49 Wilson, 316.

50 Wilson, 316.

51 Wilson, 315.

52 Wilson, 320.

53 Wilson, 315.

54 Wilson, 315.

55 Wilson, 320.

56 Jackson, 9.

57 Epp, 109.

whereas masculinity was seen in militarism, resulting in soldiers being seen as truly masculine; the complete opposite of feminine.<sup>58</sup> Early on, boys in Canada were taught that a warrior was the perfect model of masculinity and that war would give them an opportunity to go out and prove their manliness.<sup>59</sup> This relationship between masculinity and militarism was a huge part of the reason why men were excited and willing to go to war during WWI and WWII.<sup>60</sup> Going to war was a huge risk and risk-taking was an extremely masculine trait.<sup>61</sup> The excitement for war seemed to come out of men seeing the war as a thrill and an opportunity to live out their masculinity.<sup>62</sup>

Many men wanted to be a part of the infantry because being in the infantry was considered the most masculine position in the military.<sup>63</sup> Fighting on the front lines was an opportunity not given to women in the military, which made it a very socially powerful statement of masculinity.<sup>64</sup> So powerful, in fact, that being a foot soldier and having the opportunity to kill on the front lines was considered a privilege to many men.<sup>65</sup> It is obvious that during WWI and WWII there was a very powerful relationship between being a soldier and being a man.<sup>66</sup> Being a soldier was also considered to be very attractive to young Canadian females.<sup>67</sup> A man in uniform was known to cause women to swoon, and this obviously was very appealing to many young men.<sup>68</sup> Being in the military also supported the masculine ideal as man being the breadwinner.<sup>69</sup> Quite often conscientious objectors couldn't make enough money to support their families and felt they had no choice but to enter into the military to earn a decent wage and be the breadwinner they were expected to be.<sup>70</sup> It was extremely emasculating to not be able to financially support your family so joining the military was an opportunity for many men to prove that they were real men and to provide for their family at the same time.<sup>71</sup> Society also made men feel like it was their manly duty to serve in the military.<sup>72</sup> Many people even went so far as to say that it was a necessary part of a man's life to serve in the military; being involved in the war was unavoidable for men.<sup>73</sup> Men joined the military in Canada during WWI and

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58 Epp, 109.

59 Humphries, 507.

60 Dummitt, 33.

61 Dummitt, 33.

62 Wilson, 320.

63 Jackson, 212.

64 Dummitt, 33.

65 Jackson, 212.

66 Epp, 110.

67 Epp, 114.

68 Epp, 114.

69 Dummitt, 33.

70 Epp, 112.

71 Epp, 112.

72 Humphries, 514.

73 Dummitt, 33.

WWII for various reasons, however, those reasons were quite often driven by the impact that masculine cultural norms had on men throughout their lives.

The pressure put on men in Canada during WWI and WWII to live up to masculine ideals was intensified by the war effort.<sup>74</sup> Canadian gender norms and expectations that men should be strong, courageous, and aggressive led men to look at war as an opportunity to prove to the rest of society how much of a man they were.<sup>75</sup> If a man did not join the military, a stigma of cowardice, femininity, and failure was put on him and he was seen as less of a man.<sup>76</sup> To this day, the military continues to be a representation of masculinity in Canadian society.<sup>77</sup> This goes to show that gender norms during WWI and WWII in Canada were so deeply rooted that they still have an impact on how we view masculinity today.

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74 Jackson, 9.

75 Humphries, 507.

76 Maroney, 93.

77 Jackson, 8.

# ***Alcoholism as a Mental Illness***

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## **Introduction**

This honours paper will examine the dilemma of Alcoholism as a Mental Illness through the use of literature in order to come to the conclusion that alcoholism is ultimately an illness. Alcoholism was recognized as a mental illness in 1956 by The American Medical Association (Mercy. 2003.1529). However, it was not until 1963 to 1966 in the United States when alcoholism as a mental illness was first established. It was then, that President Kennedy delivered the first presidential speech on mental illness and retardation. The United States Public Health Service established a categorical program on retardation and the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) also created two Centers, for alcoholism and drug addiction (Demone. 1968. 23).

A mental illness is difficult to define because there are varying levels and degrees to which people suffer from a mental illness. Surveys estimated that “during a one-year period, approximately 22% of the U.S. adult population between the ages of 18-54 years –about 44 million people –had diagnosable mental disorders” (Cockerham. 2011.1). With so many people suffering from such broad aspects of mental illness, some psychiatrists would define it simply as any significant deviation from the ideal standard of positive mental health (Cockerham. 2011.3). However, other psychiatrists would define it more narrowly, as mental illness being only those behaviours that are clearly highly undesirable (Cockerham. 2011.3). It is extremely difficult to form an exact definition of mental illness, since disorders and their concepts are always changing, such as the fact that homosexuality was once considered a mental disorder up until the early 1970s (Cockerham. 2011.3).

Today, alcoholism is classified as a mental illness according to the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) (American Psychiatric Association.1980.168). In the fourth edition of this publication, the requirements for alcoholism to be defined as a mental illness are measured as a “loss of control and failure to abstain from using the substance despite evidence of the problems it causes” (Mercy. 2003.1529). A definition of alcoholism as written by Goodwin, says that:

*Alcoholism is a compulsion to drink that leads to a breakdown in the victim's ability to function. He more than suffers heartburn or social embarrassment. Alcohol, for the alcoholic, is a lethal poison, destroyer of the person's ability to lead anything resembling a normal existence. Alcohol, for the alcoholic, becomes an overpowering obsession that leads to a compulsion to drink that is so strong it dominates a person's life. Obtaining the next drink becomes a need that obliterates every other aspect of a person's psychological being and the*

*alcoholic's body comes to depend on alcohol almost as much as it depends on oxygen and food (Goodwin. 1994.37).*

This paper will explore the idea of alcoholism as a mental illness, assuming that drinking alcohol is a choice in the beginning but soon turns into an illness, in which a person's mind, body and life becomes consumed with obtaining their next drink. This concept will be understood by the end of this paper, by first examining what it means to be dependent on alcohol using the C.A.G.E. (Cut down, Annoyed, Guilty, Eye opener) screener as well as factors that contribute to an individual having a high blood alcohol level.

This paper will then refer to Thomas Szasz's work, in which he states that all mental illnesses are a myth, while also looking at Dr. E.M. Jellinek's opinions on the disease concept of alcoholism and alcohol's effect on the brain and nervous system.

This paper will then go on to examine more of a social aspect of alcoholism by discussing a number of legislations concerning both alcohol and mental illnesses. It will also explore communities and individuals that suffer from a predisposition towards alcoholism as well as refer to the war on drugs versus harm reduction. Lastly, this paper will discuss the impact alcohol has on the Canadian economic system.

## **Alcoholism**

Alcohol is a "depressant" drug. This means that it slows down the thinking and behaviour part of the brain, as well as an individual's breathing and heart rate (CAMH. 2009. 3). In a recent study published, in the *Journal of Community Psychology* (2008), it was found that there are changing attitudes of adolescents about the dangers and acceptability of drinking alcohol. Compared to teenagers in 1991, teenagers in 2008 viewed drug use and the consumption of alcohol as less harmful and more acceptable (Cheon. 2008.762). With this information, it is not surprising that according to a 2010 Health Canada survey, the rates among Ontario youth aged between 15 to 24 years engaging in frequent and heavy drinking was approximately three times higher, 9.4% compared to the rate for adults 25 years and older, 3.3% (Health Canada. 2011.1).

With so many adolescents heavily experimenting with alcohol, why doesn't everyone become an alcoholic? A heavy drinker is defined by the consumption of five or more alcoholic beverages during one occasion. According to the national average 17.3% of Canadians were defined as heavy drinkers, while Ontario (15.7%) and British Columbia (15.7%) were rated under the national average (Statistics Canada. 2010. 1). Statistics Canada is placing residents of Newfoundland and Labrador (23.8%), Nova Scotia (20.2%), New Brunswick (20.6%), Alberta (19.5%), Yukon (26.3%) and Northwest Territories (35.5%) all above the national average (Statistics Canada. 2010. 1). Despite these statistics, the problem with trying to describe the process of becoming an alcoholic is like trying

to describe air: “it’s too big and mysterious and pervasive to be defined. There is no single moment, no physiological event that pushes a heavy drinker across a concrete line into alcoholism. It’s a slow, gradual, insidious, elusive becoming” (Karp & Sisson. 2010.14).

### **C.A.G.E. (Cut down, Annoyed, Guilty, Eye opener) Screener**

Alcoholism has been defined as being physically and mentally dependant on a particular substance, and unable to stop taking it without incurring adverse effects (Chenier. 2001.2). Yet, as often heard within Alcoholic Anonymous (AA) meetings, denial is the disease of alcoholism (Karp & Sisson. 2010.62). Most alcoholics do not want to admit that they have a problem or they simply do not see themselves as having a drinking problem. Therefore the C.A.G.E. (Cut down, Annoyed, Guilty, Eye opener) screener, which is one of the oldest and most popular screening tools for alcohol abuse, is used to diagnose alcohol problems. The C.A.G.E. screener asks only four questions and is said to be more reliable than other tests that ask hundreds of questions. The questions asked are, “**C** - Have you ever felt you should **cut down** on your drinking? **A**- Have people **annoyed** you by criticizing your drinking? **G** - Have you ever felt bad or **guilty** about your drinking? **E** - **Eye opener**: Have you ever had a drink first thing in the morning to steady your nerves or to get rid of a hangover?” (Mayfield et al. 1995.1). Answering ‘yes’ to at least two of the questions in the C.A.G.E. screener indicates a problem with alcohol.

A single drink of alcohol often releases tension and makes a person feel more at ease and outgoing (CAMH. 2010.1), which is why many people continue to drink, hoping to experience these feelings again. Women are usually more sensitive to the effects of alcohol, therefore men need more alcohol to get intoxicated, causing them to often over drink in a single outing in order to feel ‘drunk.’ Most people are able to see alcohol abuse in other people, (CAMH. 2010.1) but when it comes to identifying alcoholism in themselves, it becomes a lot more difficult. Even when a severely intoxicated person ‘blacks out’ and has no memory of what they said or did while drinking (CAMH. 2010.1), they still have difficulties in seeing their drinking as a problem. This is precisely why the C.A.G.E. screener was created.

By addressing the aspects that are causing trouble, it is much easier for an alcoholic to see that there are problems created within their life. The C.A.G.E. Screener coincides with alcoholism as a mental illness, because it helps individuals truly answer the question of whether or not they have a conscious choice in deciding to have a drink. It helps an individual to understand that they are an alcoholic and that their life is dependent upon alcohol rather than letting their brain play tricks on them into believing that they are in control over the amount they drink.

## **Blood Alcohol Level**

When alcohol is consumed it is distributed throughout the fluids in an individual's body, including perspiration, urine, saliva, and blood but not in fat (Simpson et. al.. 1992. 25). In order to distinguish one's blood alcohol level, "the alcohol that is distributed within the bloodstream is measurable –the measure is in milligrams of alcohol per 100 milliliters of blood" (Simpson et. al..1992. 26). Alcohol in the bloodstream crosses over into an individual's brain where even a small amount of alcohol can impair normal functioning.

There are a number of factors that contribute to how intoxicated a person becomes and perhaps most importantly would be the number of drinks consumed. The more drinks consumed; the more intoxicated a person will become (Simpson et. al.. 1992. 26). Another important contributor is lean body weight. A large lean person has much more blood and fluids than a small lean person. Therefore, one drink will dissolve much quicker in the larger person, giving the individual a lower concentration of alcohol than the same drink consumed by the smaller person (Simpson et. al. 1992. 28).

Gender is another important attribute which can contribute to an individual's blood alcohol level. Since men tend to be leaner than women, meaning they have more fluids in their body, if a man and woman drink the same amount of alcohol, a woman will have a higher blood alcohol level than a man (Simpson et. al.. 1992. 28). Another factor is if the individual has eaten any food before drinking, especially food that is high in protein and is non-salty. Doing this will slow down the rate at which alcohol is absorbed into the bloodstream, generally resulting in a lower blood alcohol level (Simpson et. al.. 1992. 28).

A person's mental condition is a large contributor to why many individuals with a mental illness also tend to have substance abuse problems. Individuals who are tired, nervous, tense, or excited on average become more impaired by the same amount of alcohol than another person feeling normal. The reason being that an individual's bodily functions are running quicker, their heart rate is faster, their adrenalin is pumping and therefore their blood is moving faster. This causes the alcohol to get into their bloodstream faster, affecting their state of mind after just a few drinks. Another factor that is especially connected with mentally ill persons is being on medication. A number of medications, including tranquilizers, sleeping pills and antihistamines interact negatively with alcohol to increase the drinker's level of impairment (Simpson et. al.. 1992. 29). Lastly, a factor that makes many people turn from abusing alcohol to being dependent on alcohol is their tolerance level. Over a long period of time of continuously drinking heavy and frequent amounts of alcohol, an individual will find that they must increase the amount they drink in order to achieve the same effects they once felt with less alcohol (Simpson et. al.. 1992. 28).

## **When Alcohol Abuse turns into a Dependence on Alcohol**

Alcoholism is very difficult to understand since it is shaped by so many different factors. The change of a person going from a heavy drinker to an alcoholic is not fully clear, but perhaps one of the most important factors of being labeled an alcoholic is a dependence on, or abuse of, alcohol. Researchers would agree that the physical withdrawal symptoms, including the tremor of hands, tongue and eyelids; nausea; malaise; anxiety; and a depressed mood or irritability are important aspects of an individual being dependent upon alcohol, in which alcohol must then be consumed to relieve or avoid the symptoms (Cockerham. 2011. 32).

But what are the differences between abusing alcohol and being dependent upon alcohol? Alcohol abuse can be described as a harmful use of alcohol. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* describes alcohol abusers as those who drink despite recurring issues surrounding their consumption of alcohol including; failure to fulfill major obligations to work, school or home (Gmel & Rehm. 2003.1).

Alcohol dependence meets all of the same criteria as alcohol abuse, but when a person is dependent on alcohol, they also exhibit some or all of the following: they usually narrow down their choice of drink to only one brand or type of alcoholic beverage, they usually go to social events only to seek out alcoholic beverages, they have an ever increasing alcohol tolerance, and experience extreme withdrawal symptoms after only going a short period without alcohol in their system. Therefore, they often do not stop drinking because they want to avoid feeling the withdrawal symptoms. Lastly, people who are dependent upon alcohol usually cannot stop drinking without outside help, such as detoxification or medical treatment (Gmel & Rehm. 2003.1).

Generally people suffering from alcohol dependence are much worse off than those who abuse alcohol. According to Statistics from a treatment and recovery centre within Canada, it was revealed that an estimated 4% of the population over the age of 15 is dependent on alcohol, with almost twice as many males suffering from alcoholism than females (Ledgehill: Treatment and Recovery Centre. 2012. 1). In both of these circumstances, alcohol, for an alcoholic, becomes a lethal poison that consumes an individual's life (Goodwin. 1994. 37).

## **The Myth of Mental Illness:**

According to Thomas Szasz, all mental illnesses are simply not to be considered an illness at all (Cockerham. 2011.3). A mental illness can be defined according to the symptoms and effects felt upon the minds of the mentally ill. (Cockerham. 2011.28). As was discussed by Thomas Szasz, a "mental illness, of course, is not literally a "thing" -- or physical object -- and hence it can "exist" only in the same sort of way in which other theoretical concepts exist" (Green. 2002. 113).

Thomas Szasz questions how alcoholism can be considered a mental illness, when every person has the same amount of control as to whether they take that first drink of alcohol that may turn into a downward spiral of alcoholism. Thomas Szasz argues within the *Sociology of Mental Disorder* that mental illnesses are not to be considered illnesses at all, therefore Szasz would say that alcoholism is not a mental illness, rather drinking alcohol is a social phenomenon that is widely accepted within our Western society and which people freely engage in.

According to Talcott Parsons, there may be benefits that come along with calling alcoholism an illness, even though people within society who are labeled as having an illness are expected to get better in order to become contributing and healthy members of society (Kendall, Lothian-Murray & Linden. 2007. 561). Parsons defined *sick roles*, which are patterns of behaviours understood as appropriate for people who are sick (Kendall, Lothian-Murray & Linden. 2007. 561). Some of these include that the sick person is exempt from normal social responsibilities temporarily, such as going to work or school. As well, the individual is not held responsible, blamed or punished for their illness (Kendall, Lothian-Murray & Linden. 2007. 561).

The *sick role* as a tool of analysis has many benefits to a person dealing with alcoholism as a mental illness. The individual is no longer blamed for their problem and is able to easily seek out help, once their illness falls into the patterns of behaviours within the analysis of a *sick role*. According to Conrad and Schneider, “many behaviours that were at one time defined as ‘badness’ have been redefined as ‘sickness’ or ‘illnesses’ (Kendall, Lothian-Murray & Linden. 2007. 563). This is exactly what is taking place within society today when defining alcoholism as an illness. The ‘disease’ concept of alcoholism as an illness, takes away the responsibility of the substance abuse (Baldwin Research. 2006. 2). This means that many individuals blame their alcoholism on an illness and therefore they believe that it cannot be cured by their own willpower, but rather they need psychiatric and medical help in order to beat their alcoholism. Another disadvantage of defining alcoholism as an illness is that the individual’s power to become sober is taken away and their control is placed on professionals. The power is especially given to those within the medical area, who make individuals believe that they need professional help to become sober.

### **Alcoholism as a Mental Illness**

The concept of alcoholism as a disease or mental illness is a relatively new controversial debate that has caught the attention of many psychiatrists. It has been said, by Blum in 1991, that there are early symptoms of the disease of alcoholism that may prevail even before drinking actually begins. These symptoms may include intense forms of restlessness, anxiety, stubbornness, anger, depression, self-destruction, asocial or anti-social behaviours (Blum & Payne. 1991.14-15). Consuming alcohol

temporarily relieves these feelings and pain, causing pleasure and well-being which may induce further consumption of alcohol (Blum & Payne. 1991.14-15).

Concurrent disorders or dual diagnoses refer to a person who has a common mental illness, such as schizophrenia, depression, anxiety disorders or a personality disorder while also suffering from alcoholism (Prochaska. 1997. 496). Dual diagnoses is a very common occurrence, yet varies significantly “according to the kind of diagnosis, the location... it is generally believed that about one-half of all people receiving psychiatric treatment also experience a substance abuse problem” (Prochaska. 1997. 496). However in some cases, such as depression, it is unknown which illness comes first. Whether an individual begins abusing alcohol because of the continuous feelings of depression or if an individual becomes depressed by the continuous use of alcohol?

Intertwined within alcoholism as a mental illness is whether alcoholism can be defined as being hereditary. Dr. E. M. Jellinek, whose research on alcoholism as a mental illness may be the monumental turning point in which the disease concept became widely accepted, wrote a controversial book, on the disease concept of alcoholism, in which he “ argued that alcoholism is a chronic illness to which several factors contribute” (Blum. 1991. 89).

Dr. Jellinek first argues that certain individuals are born with a vulnerability to alcohol. According to Donald Goodwin, an alcoholism researcher, “children of alcoholics are four times more likely to develop alcoholism than children of non-alcoholics” (Thombs. 1994. 24). This means they have a larger tendency than others to lose control when drinking alcohol and are more likely to abuse alcohol because they have “a biochemical sensitivity to alcohol. This sensitivity may be genetic or congenital and may reflect a nutritional deficiency, a pathological condition of the brain, or a dysfunction of the endocrine system” (Blum. 1991.89). Another factor, that Dr. Jellinek contributed to the concept of alcoholism as a mental illness, is that there are personality or psychological factors, such as the feelings of inadequacy or alienation from society (Blum. 1991.89). These feelings make people more vulnerable to consuming alcohol and eventually, they become dependent on alcohol because it seems to bring a sense of calm and relief from the physical and emotional pain of their everyday life.

### **Alcohol’s Effect on the Brain and Nervous System**

Many years of heavy and frequent consumption of alcohol can have very detrimental and lasting effects within the way a nervous system functions (Erickson. 2007.121). One major effect alcohol is known to have on the brain and nervous system is a phenomenon known as ‘disinhibition.’ This is when the frontal cortex, which is the thinking part of the brain and is used to control the rest of the brain, is depressed by low doses of alcohol causing the rest of the brain to speed up. Thus, a person is more likely to take chances, have poor judgment, and engage in activities that will create an euphoric ‘high’ (Erickson. 2007. 121).

This type of behaviour often causes an intoxicated person to act without thinking, causing them to break societal norms and values. Another effect of drinking frequent amounts of alcohol in large amounts is that brain cells are killed; therefore a person who abuses alcohol for many years is more likely to “suffer from amnesia, confusion and dementia, due to the alcohol toxicity on the hippocampus, or ‘memory’ portion of the brain” (Erickson. 2007.122). Not only does alcohol cause effects on the brain and the nervous system but the consumption of large amounts of alcohol for long periods of time also has detrimental effects on other body organs, including the liver, heart, esophagus, and stomach (Erickson. 2007.122).

### **Labeling Theory**

The labeling theory is usually used in criminology, in which criminals, people breaking social norms, are labeled as deviant (Outhwaite. 2006. 326). Since drinking small amounts of alcohol is an accepted phenomenon within our Western society, it is difficult to determine when a person begins drinking too much alcohol and is labeled as an alcoholic.

However in Western society, we seem to refuse to face the fact that alcoholism lives among ourselves, family, neighbours and fellow co-workers. We often try to ignore the self-destruction going on within the alcoholics with whom we are associated (Blum. 1991.4). Typically “when we think of [an] alcoholic; we tend to think of the Bowery bum, the wife beater, or the party clown who passes out under the table” (Blum. 1991.4). This is due to the fact that we label alcoholics with a negative stereotype in which we forget that anyone from any level of class can have an addiction. Being labeled by society due to one aspect of your life, may cause an individual to have major transformations of their identity (Outhwaite. 2006.327). Individuals suffering from alcoholism begin to forget that they have other aspects of their life but rather seem to lose their self-esteem. They focus on the disease, similar to the way a deviant individual focuses on their crime. The person then assumes their ‘master status’ in life to be their alcoholism and slowly begins to let it consume their whole life (Outhwaite. 2006.327).

### **Legislation on the use of Alcohol**

Consuming alcohol is a widely accepted and practiced phenomenon around the world. It is highly difficult to put any type of legislation that directly relates to the private consumption of alcohol. This difficulty can be seen during the 1930’s when the government established prohibition, which made consuming all alcoholic beverages illegal. Prohibition forced an entire underground culture, which seemed to change the way many people viewed alcohol. Consuming alcohol became more of a way to express oneself, where many people engaged in drinking alcohol as a way to show the government they could not take away individuals’ rights to choose whether or not they wanted to partake in drinking alcohol. Prohibition also forced alcohol to be made illegally, quite often by people

who did not know proper distilling techniques, causing the alcohol to be full of diseases causing blindness, sickness and in some cases, even death.

With the knowledge that prohibition does not work, governments today have come up with different forms of legislation which have been accepted as our rights, responsibilities, and obligations to ensure that the consumption of alcohol is regulated, with the hopes of limiting exposure to the dangers of alcohol, especially to the vulnerable (Simpson et. al. 1992. 4).

Ontario has many forms of legislation in order to control the sale, distribution, and consumption of alcohol and some are widely known. Such as the legal drinking age of nineteen in all provinces except for Manitoba, Alberta and Quebec, where the legal drinking age is eighteen. An individual under the legal drinking age is not allowed to purchase or consume alcoholic beverages. In order for a person to purchase alcohol, they must show valid official government ID. Public intoxication is also illegal within Ontario and any individual either drinking in a public place, or acting 'drunk and disorderly' such as in a park or school yard, can end up with a fine and even be incarcerated.

The legislation revolving around drunk-driving is also widely known. Driving any vehicle while being impaired is a criminal offence with penalties under both the federal and provincial laws. In Ontario for drivers under the age of twenty-one, there is zero tolerance for blood alcohol level, while drivers twenty-one years and older with a blood alcohol level over .08% are considered to be over the legal limit and deemed unable to drive a vehicle (CAMH. August 2011. 1). Individuals caught driving while intoxicated receive harsh punishment in today's society. Some of these penalties include suspension of driver's licenses, fines, jail sentences, or even an ignition interlock device being installed in an individual's car, meaning a person would have to blow into the device each time they started the ignition to ensure they had a blood alcohol level of zero (CAMH. August 2011.1).

There are also several forms of legislation regarding serving alcohol which are not as well-known as other legislation within Ontario. There is one that states if an individual has a party and one of the guests drives home after a night of drinking and is involved in an accident, the individual who had the party could be sued for damages. It is often forgotten that anyone who serves alcohol has the responsibility to ensure that none of their impaired guests get behind a wheel (Simpson et. al.. 1992.40).

It is important to view these forms of legislation when depicting alcoholism as a mental illness, because individuals suffering from alcoholism need boundaries. Often when alcoholics begin consuming alcohol they lose all sense of reality and become oblivious. Therefore these forms of legislation have been created to not only help those individuals and keep them safe, but also keep society as a whole safe.

The Liquor Licensing Board of Ontario (LLBO) has authority over establishments that are allowed to serve alcohol to the public. By giving an establishment a license to serve alcohol, they give that establishment power and control over who enters and remains on their premises, as well as who consumes their alcohol (Simpson et. al. 1992.5). An establishment under the LLBO, must follow the Ontario alcohol legislation, in which they have the right to deny entry to a person for the following reasons: 1) the premises are too crowded; 2) an individual is viewed as being too intoxicated; or 3) an individual is underage. Selling to individuals who fit any of the above categories is cause for licenses to be revoked (Simpson et. al. 1992.5). Provided there is no discrimination on gender, religion, ethnicity or color, the LLBO has the right to suspend, take away, or refuse to renew licenses to establishments they feel are abusing their serving rights (Simpson et. al. 1992.5).

### **Legislations for Mental Illness**

As for Ontario's legislation towards the mentally ill, sadly there is not enough legislation which protects those suffering with a mental illness and hence, thousands of people in Ontario alone have limited or no access to mental health services. With this being said, research has shown that "when appropriate services, such as case management and supportive housing are available, the number of crises requiring immediate intervention, in many cases by police, decreases significantly—by 34% in some studies" (Canadian Mental Health Association, Ontario. 2011.1). Individuals, especially those suffering from alcoholism are overlooked, due to the fact that alcoholism as a mental illness is a relatively new and controversial topic.

Brian's Law (formally known as Bill 68) is one of the only major acts of legislation that helps the mentally ill to function within society (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long Term Care. 2002.1.). Brian's Law, which also helped to amend the Mental Health Act in 2000, sets guidelines for admitting a person into a psychiatric facility as both a voluntary and involuntary patient; it also sets out the rights of patients in psychiatric facilities and the guidelines for issuing, renewing and/or terminating community treatment orders. Community treatment orders are contracts made by a physician that define the needed treatment for an individual with a serious mental illness, in order for that individual to receive community-based treatment rather than being hospitalized (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long Term Care. 2002.1.). The life of an individual suffering from an addiction which is ultimately a mental illness has "no excitement, no glamour, no fun. There is no future and no escape. There is only obsession. An all-encompassing, fully enveloping, completely overwhelming obsession" (Frey. 2004. 178.). Therefore, there is an astounding need for community treatment with guidelines set up, in order to create a support group focused on helping and understanding the individual's illness. Community treatment orders help professionals to set in place the needed services and help, as well as monitoring the patient to ensure they are complying with the orders.

Alcoholism is a lifelong illness that will forever cause an individual to be powerless over alcohol and drugs, it is a “profound and incurable addiction” (Frey.2004.206). However if an individual is offered support in a normalized existence, where they can learn to survive soberly within their day-to-day existence, then they have a better chance at sobriety. Community treatment centers must be regulated and monitored in order to ensure they are running at their best and are therefore able to serve the individuals who truly need their help.

### **A Predisposition towards Alcoholism**

There are numerous factors that play a part in an individual’s participation of engaging in consuming alcohol. There are in fact, communities that have a greater outlet density, which can be defined as having a large number of liquor licenses existing within a certain geographical area (Alcohol Policy: Press Room. 2005.1). These communities tend to have a greater number of alcohol-related injury and crime, such as sexual assaults, domestic and youth violence, child abuse, and homicides. As well, impaired driving tends to increase significantly in these areas (Alcohol Policy: Alcohol and Health. 2005.1). This is because accessing alcohol becomes less challenging, with almost every street having a restaurant or bar selling alcohol. It also becomes easier for under-aged individuals to be served alcohol, because if one place denies them, they can just move on to the next.

Communities that have a large number of bars/clubs tend to have the highest rates for murders, rape, assault, robbery, burglary, grand theft, and auto theft. It has been concluded by Runcek and Maier that “adding one bar to a block would result in 3.38 crimes committed on that block in a year. It would increase the risk of murder taking place on that block by 5%, and increase the risk of having a violent crime of any type by 17.6%” (Runcek & Maier. 1991. 726).

The nightlife almost encourages illegal activity. With excessive drinking encouraged by cheap drinks, the ability for an individual to become out of control is greatly enhanced by the availability of the alcohol. The more an individual consumes, the more natural tendencies toward such acts of violence, routines, rudeness and illegal activities become more prominent. A study done on rat’s shows that darkness affects drinking behavior. After rats were kept in constant darkness they developed larger pineal glands. With the enlargement of these glands, the rats converted comparatively large quantities of serotonin into melatonin, which in return gave the rats a strong preference to consume alcohol over water (Blum & Payne. 1991.110). Humans seem to have a similar response to the consumption of alcohol, meaning more alcohol is consumed in the evening and at night when it is dark out, making the nightlife more dangerous because more alcohol is consumed. This is especially true for males, because alcohol increases their natural aggression, making bar fights a naturally-occurring event. In communities where crime is already high, adding alcohol to the mixture can be life threatening.

Although communities that have a higher outlet density are more susceptible to alcohol-related problems, communities that are secluded also tend to have high levels of alcohol consumption and related problems. In these communities where most individuals feel as though there is nothing to do in the evening after work, consuming alcohol becomes a way of relieving the mundane existence individuals find themselves in day after day. Therefore, alcohol is consumed as a way to escape reality, which may cause harm if an individual does not know their limits and when to stop drinking, or are unaware of their alcoholic tendencies.

The level of drinking, participating in drinking activities and binge drinking are all significantly higher among college and university students (Chaloupka & Wechsler. 1996.1). The rates of drinking are even significantly higher among students when there is a greater outlet density that exists near the campus (Chaloupka & Wechsler. 1996.1). Binge drinking is most commonly found among youth, especially those attending college or university, or those consuming extreme amounts of alcohol in one sitting where the individual's goal is to get drunk. This is dangerous, especially for youth whose brains are still developing, causing alcohol-related trauma such as a drunk-driving related car accidents to be a significant cause of death among youth (Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care. 2008.1).

Heavy drinking is associated with taking risks, so when adolescents take alcohol-related risks, they often go overboard which results in injury, violence, alcohol poisoning, unplanned or unwanted sexual experiences, or even death (Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care. 2008.1). Research shows that 45.1% of college/university students actually reported that they have experienced harmful consequences after a night of drinking (Smythe & Caverson. 2008.7).

Binge drinking is often one of the most abusive forms of risk taking an adolescent can put themselves through. It can have life-long lasting effects on the brain and body of a teenager, as individuals who abuse alcohol have been shown to have problems with memory, anxiety, learning, and other brain functions. Abusing alcohol may also cause damage to an individual's heart and circulation, lungs, liver, stomach, intestines, kidneys, fertility, bones, weight gain, skin, and sexual and mental health (Public Health Agency. 2009.1). In the early stages of alcohol abuse that many students experience "the brain may try to compensate by 'recruiting' additional neurons to perform a given task. But if the drinking continues into young adulthood, the damage to brain cells may grow and become too much for the brain to overcome" (Norton. 2005.1).

### **Social Class**

Most, if not all studies have come to the conclusion that the highest overall rates of mental disorders are found among those of the lowest socio-economic class (Cockerham. 2011.129). As for those that suffer from alcoholism, it has been stated that those with a higher income and education

level lead to higher levels of alcohol consumption. However, the highest levels of alcoholism have been found to be in the lowest-income population. This may be due to the fact that those in higher classes are better at hiding the truth about their drinking, or simply that those in lower classes struggle more from alcoholism because they have a limited supply of support and resources to help them (Hanson. 1997.1).

It is not a guarantee that an individual from a low social class with a mental illness is going to abuse drugs or alcohol, but it becomes a lot easier to turn to alcohol to avoid reality. Becoming an alcoholic can be a determinant and a consequence for dealing with a low socio-economic class lifestyle.

Within society, a person with a mental disorder has a higher risk of having a substance use problem in contrast to a person with a substance use problem who has an increased chance of having a mental health problem (Smythe & Caverson. 2008.7). In Canada statistics show that “27.5% of [individuals] identified with a current alcohol problem will also have a mental illness at some point in their lifetime” (Smythe & Caverson. 2008.7).

The danger of having a dual diagnostic (mental disorder and substance use problem) is that an individual has an even higher risk of living in a low social class. In many cases, “denial is the disease of alcoholism. Denial is what keeps you in there, keeps you entrenched, keeps your feet glued to the floor.” (Karp & Sisson. 2010.62). Falling into the role of denial means that without realizing, an individual plans their life around accessing alcohol, seemingly forgetting about their loved ones and support group. This makes receiving help and support very difficult, especially for those living in a low social class who do not have the money, nor the information or knowledge to access help. A study done in “Toronto found 33% of homeless people [have] had a substance abuse diagnosis in their lifetime” (Smythe & Caverson.2008.7), while the same study found that 20% had a current substance abuse diagnosis (Smythe & Caverson.2008.7). Even a successful individual who has a substance abuse problem and a mental illness, may fall into poverty due to the denial of the problems their drinking is causing, including causing them to lose their support system.

### **War on Drugs**

Approximately two decades ago in the United States, President Bush (Sr.) developed the essential features of the ‘war on drugs’, which has since expanded and made its way into Canada where it created a Drug Strategy. The war on drugs’ main goal is to rid all societies completely of all harmful substances. Has the government not yet learned anything from the failure of prohibition in the 1930s, that society will never be completely free of alcohol? The war on drugs is turning out to be very expensive, due to the fact that billions of dollars are needed to house the many people that are in

prisons, compared to the price it would cost in the treatment and prevention of those suffering from alcoholism or drug problems.

The war on drugs creates problems within the mental health community due to the fact that those suffering from mental illnesses need help from professionals to learn how to abstain from alcohol. This, however, may take time and be a slow process, weaning an individual off hard-based liquor substances that are doing the most damage. The war on drugs makes an individual lose possibly, one of the most important things a human being can lose, their dignity. (Frey.2004.1569) The war on drugs seems to ignore the fact that society will always be full of harmful substances, and that individuals need to be taught how to survive within this reality.

### **Harm Reduction**

Another controversial topic concerning alcoholism is a health-centered approach known as harm reduction. It can be defined as an approach that is geared towards both the health and social harms that are affiliated with the use of drugs and alcohol without enforcing users to actually abstain. Rather, harm reduction ensures users are met with a choice in which they can minimize harms to themselves (Van Wormer. 2008.25). This is done in a respectful way in order to guarantee users are treated as real people with their dignity and rights still intact. Some of this includes: discouraging users from turning to more harmful substances such as rubbing alcohol or mouthwash when there is no other alcoholic substance available (Dell. 2007.172).

This theory is important for people struggling with both alcoholism and a mental disorder as, the last thing they need in their life is to be judged. Therefore, the harm reduction approach is trying to focus attention on the fact that the big problem is not the increasing presence of alcohol and drug abuse but rather the symptom of a much broader societal problem (Dell. 2007. 173).

The harm reduction approach is geared more towards facing reality, as well as the idea that society will never be free of alcohol. It also illustrates that individuals struggling with alcoholism need help and support to work past the illness.

### **The Expense of Alcoholism and Mental Health on the Canadian Economic System**

Alcohol abuse has taken a large toll and burdened a number of services within Canada, such as health care and law enforcement, as well as the loss of productivity in the home and workplace resulting from premature death and disability (Rehm.2006.1). The estimated cost alcohol accounts for on the Canadian economic system is about \$14.6 billion per year (Rehm. 2006. 1) in both direct and indirect ways. The biggest single direct cost of substance abuse is health care. Some of these include: “acute care and psychiatric hospitalization, specialized inpatient and outpatient treatment, ambulatory care and doctors’ fees, visits to a family doctor and drugs prescribed to treat a substance abuse

problem” (Rehm. 2006.5). Although these health care institutions are very helpful for many individuals, the reality is that they put a large costly impact of \$3.3 billion on society (Rehm. 2006.1).

While there are many direct costs that substance abuse has on the Canadian economic system, there are also indirect costs that play a significant role on the cost to society. Some of these include when a person dies or becomes ill and is unable to work because of a substance-related illness. An individual who can no longer work will have to rely on money from elsewhere, such as the government in the form of welfare. Alcohol-related deaths are also a large contributor to the stressors put on the Canadian economy, where in 2002 there were a total of 4,258 deaths attributed to alcohol related problems (Rehm.2006.6).

With alcoholism officially recognized as a mental illness according to the DSM, it is officially one of the major leading causes of human disability and premature deaths. In 2008 mental illnesses were estimated to have cost the Canadian economic system, in terms of health care and lost productivity to be \$51 billion (CAMH. 2012. 1).

Alcoholism as a mental illness puts an enormous impact on the economic system, due to the fact that individuals lose their ability to help themselves and cannot overcome alcoholism without reaching out for extra help. Not only are community-based treatment centers in need, but more resources in terms of the healthcare system and therapy sessions are needed in order to help individuals abstain from alcoholism.

## **Conclusion**

The diagnosis of alcoholism as a mental illness is a controversial issue; however with the use of literature this paper has come to the conclusion that alcoholism is ultimately a mental illness. This topic was explored by first examining what it means to be dependent on alcohol by using the C.A.G.E. (Cut down, Annoyed, Guilty, Eye opener) screener, as well as the numerous factors that attribute to an individual having a high blood alcohol level. The concept was also understood by referring to Thomas Szasz’s allusion that all mental illnesses are a myth, as well as DR. E.M. Jellinek’s reference on the disease concept and alcohols effect on the brain and nervous system. I believe Dr. Jellinek seems to hold the most truth when it comes to the fact that certain individuals have a greater tendency to consume and abuse alcohol.

The social concept of alcoholism as a mental illness was also examined to determine that alcoholism is essentially an illness by assessing legislations concerning both alcoholism and mental illnesses, while also exploring communities and individuals who suffer from a predisposition towards alcoholism. Examining harm reduction appeared to be a more realistic approach over the war on drugs within society, as well as the burden alcoholism as a mental illness has on the Canadian economic system.

Nevertheless, alcoholism as a mental illness will continue to be a controversial topic in which many professionals have opposing views, due to the uncertainty of the role alcohol truly plays on a person, their nervous system, brain and body. The debate amongst many professionals that alcoholism is a mental illness is underlined through the unpredictable role that society and the political system should play when it comes to the legislation of alcohol within our society. Finally, without education and understanding that alcoholism is in fact a mental illness, society will fall ill to ignorance.

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## ***“The Unresting Thorn... The New Dawn”: Religion and Politics in Occupy Wall Street***

Travis Bishop

*“I don’t know what to do about the depression, and the inflation, and the Russians, and the crime in the street. All I know is that first, you’ve got to get mad. You’ve got to say: I’m a human being, God damn it! My life has value!”* - Howard Beale, *The Network* (1976)

### **Introduction**

There has been a stirring in the world as of late. Since mid-April of 2011, cries have risen up in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, denouncing authoritarian regimes which had been in place for decades. It was dubbed “the Arab Spring” by political commentators across the globe. Similar democratic revolutionary sentiments are now being echoed in Syria, Ghana and other parts of Africa. Close to the same time protests arose in Greece, Spain, and Portugal decrying the failing economic situation of the European Union and the governments’ response to it. As of mid-2011, this growing dissatisfaction was manifested in North America when a Canadian company gave a proper American name to this growing, world-wide expression of dissatisfaction: Occupy Wall Street. The multinational origin of this particular movement, in addition to how it has been profoundly shaped by digital technologies, may single out Occupy Wall Street as a distinctly postmodern political movement, both in scope and in method. The uniqueness of OWS, does not however, relinquish it from its deep historical roots.

In developing an appropriate understanding of this movement and its potential importance—both what it is and what it will become—there are two thinkers who prove themselves to be invaluable points of reference. French-Algerian philosopher, Albert Camus, provides a historical depth to understanding political movements and how they relate to Occupy Wall Street. Contemporary Slovenian political and philosophical thinker, Slavoj Zizek, has offered his modern expertise on the Occupy movement as well. A combination of the approaches of these two thinkers highlights the interplay of religion and politics and the paths which stand open for OWS to take if it is to become a truly affective movement in history.

### **Occupy Wall Street and Its Discontents**

The way is fraught with difficulties when embarking on an analysis of any contemporary movement, especially a movement such as Occupy Wall Street. As such, in keeping tabs on the progress of the movement, I have noted the caution which many pundits and commentators have taken in labeling the movement. It is, by nature, amorphous, with demonstrations spreading from the initial encampment at Zuccotti Park in New York City, to other countries throughout the West. While it is not apolitical, it is certainly not partisan, with supporters claiming no one political position, and representing views as varied as anarchism, socialism, Marxism, and republicanism, to name a few. In addition, the pace with which such movements can grow or peter out makes examining them a fickle

issue. It is yet unclear how the movement will affect change, or *if* it will, and merely by submitting such a paper there is the risk of missing out on an important development that could shift the trajectory of the movement.

To publicize the Occupation, an ominous poster of the charging bull statue of Wall Street, ensconced in smoke and gasmask-clad figures in the background, reads: “What is our one demand? #OccupyWallStreet. September 17<sup>th</sup>. Bring tent.”<sup>1</sup> The Occupy movement was first suggested by the Canadian group, Adbusters, as a means of peaceful protest against the marriage of the American government and its largest banking institutions, and the resultant economic disparity. It was inspired, in part, by the Arab spring and the 15-M (or Indignants) protests in Spain. The global magnitude of OWS’ origins certainly reflects a new social context in which revolution can take place. What happens in one part of the world affects another, and protesters learn from one another. A person in Germany can watch a video of a police raid on an American protest and be affected by it in real-time. This is something new for the world and it is uncertain how OWS will reflect that as political change.

Central to this globalized concept of revolt is the boom in mass-communications in the last several decades. The physical OWS protests are, in a sense, only the tip of the ice berg, with a large segment of supporters taking an active role on-line. A truly striking aspect of this movement is represented by the hashtag (#) in the aforementioned poster. On the social networking site, Twitter, hashtags are used to designate relevant words in a message. The amorphous nature of the Occupy movement is a reflection of the internet subculture which made it possible. There are many websites to promote the movement and organization of activities on a mass scale. Beyond meeting organizational needs, however, the success of OWS so far is in no small part due to the internet collective known as Anonymous.

The group is formed by anonymous hackers and internet users who do not conform to any single ideology or vision. Most of Anonymous’ participation however comes in the form of “hacktivism”—a form of activism based in the confines of the digital realm. A video released by a member of Anonymous on You Tube offers a fascinating explanation for itself:

*“...Anonymous, in fact, does not exist. It is just an idea. An internet meme that can be appropriated by anyone, any time to rally for a common cause that’s in the benefit of humankind... This makes Anonymous the first truly democratic endeavour in the world. It is a bee hive where the queen is missing.”* (YouTube). This sentiment of anonymity and collectivism, with distinct undertones of democratic dialogue, is echoed in the cries of “*We are the 99%*”.

To return once more to our #Occupy poster, it is important to note that there is only one

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<sup>1</sup><http://blogs-images.forbes.com/jamesmarshallcrotty/files/2011/10/occupy-wallstreetposter.jpg>

demand. The demand is not to governments, or banks, or corporations, but to people. It is a call to the “99%”, a statistic selected to emphasize the fact that the richest 1% of Americans hold 34.6% of America’s wealth (Domhoff). This call, to “Occupy first. Demands come later” (Zizek, The Guardian) is one of the most intellectually stimulating and controversial aspects of OWS. It is yet another aspect of this movement which sets it apart from other movements in history. OWS leaders have made some demands for social and economic justice and equality, but still remain vague in how it should be achieved. The protesters do not claim to be masters of theorizing and implementing a utopian political structure. Their main message is that rejecting dialogue about the failing systems of Western capitalist civilization can no longer be tolerated. They do not want to make demands, but to come to answers through dialogue, without the interference of special interest groups.

So given the facts about the unique nature of OWS (its birth from a global/digital context) and that this level of dissatisfaction will not soon be forgotten (city officials have resigned, the courts have been congested with cases regarding freedom of speech and right to assembly cases, the largest encampments have been targeted by city police departments, and force has been authorized on numerous occasions), Occupy Wall Street stands at an indefinite cross-roads. To better navigate this cross-road, I turn now to Albert Camus and Slavoj Zizek.

### **Camus: Political Movement as Existential Religion**

French-Algerian existential philosopher, Albert Camus, lived through the first half of the twentieth century and was no stranger to political, social, economic strife, and revolt. For this reason, I turn to him for insight into OWS, especially the inherently metaphysical aspect which he argues drives all forms of rebellion. Because he writes from the purview of historical perspectives, Camus creates an unavoidably prophetic quality to his writing. So many parallels are there between “The Rebel” and the current state of affairs regarding OWS (and all rebellious actions, no doubt) that an entire volume could be written to account for them. Here I will focus on Camus’ conception of “metaphysical rebellion”.

This kind of rebellion, which Camus suggests originated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, is a rising up against a perceived evil. It is a discontentedness with creation.

*“The insurrection against evil is, above all, a demand for unity. The rebel obstinately confronts a world condemned to death and the impenetrable obscurity of the human condition with his demand for life and absolute clarity. He is seeking, without knowing it, a moral philosophy or a religion”* (Camus 53). Where OWS is concerned however, there is a paradox. There is a demand for unity, however it is met with an unflinching plurality. This plurality stands to drive wedges throughout the movement.

Camus is careful to distinguish between the history of atheism, religious sentiment, and of

metaphysical rebellion. They are not at all the same, though we can identify certain other aspects of the metaphysical in OWS as acts of ritual. Here again I emphasize the uniqueness of OWS. Protest organizers were careful to choose privately owned parks in cities across North America, so that only the owners could have them removed, rather than the city authorities. This occupation of space which has become privatized is a reclamation of space. This ritual of occupying private space has, in a sense, served the same purpose as private homes for early Christian communities. With the erection of “People’s Libraries” at the encampments of each major protest, the facilitation of reading, thought, dialogue, and fellowship are being created (LeVine). The ends which this facilitation hopes to bring about is, ultimately, described eschatological terms as the death of the old system. This ritualization of the secular is a testament to OWS’ nature as a metaphysical rebellion.

I now move from what OWS is, to what it hopes to achieve and the dangers which present themselves in realizing those achievements. PBS host, Bill Moyers, has said:

*“I don't think Occupy Wall Street will have the influence they want unless they do what the tea party did and take over the nominating process. Unless they do, they will never have the satisfaction that they want and that the civil rights movement, say, had back in the 1950s and '60s. These people are not going to have long-ranging effect unless they have a party to act on their interests. They need to become a political movement instead of a grievance committee.”*  
(Moyer).

This, and criticisms like it, have permeated the major media stations for weeks. However, Moyers is perhaps misidentifying the protests as something they are not. The protests are not something different from the civil rights movements of the mid-twentieth century, they are an extension of it. The social inequalities facing minority communities are severe. The fact that black and white children are no longer forced to attend segregated schools says little about the “satisfaction” of the civil rights movement, and more about how new methods are really just masking old paradigms. In the increasing gap between the rich and the poor, racial minorities are still the most negatively impacted.

Through Camus, we can identify OWS as the first stages of what he calls metaphysical insurrection. From this stage, Camus tells us what to expect, and just what can happen should protesters take Moyer’s advice:

*“Human rebellion ends in metaphysical revolution... When the throne of God is overturned, the rebel realizes that it is now his own responsibility to create the justice, order, and unity that he sought in vain within his own condition.... at the price of crime and murder if necessary.” But these terrible consequences of revolution, “...only occur to the extent that the rebel forgets his original purpose, tires of the tremendous tension created by refusing to give a positive or negative answer...”* (Camus, 1991: 16).

Refusing to give either a positive or negative answer is exactly what OWS is doing, which makes it a pressure cooker for watching Camus' political theory unfold.

Aside from the undesirable violence which arises from rebellion-turned-revolution, Camus appreciates another danger, which was made apparent during the Communist Revolution in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Ultimately, any revolution that succeeds in its aims is so fragile that it must necessarily quash any dissenting voices from its inception. Camus' examples also include the Jacobins of revolutionary France, but spends most of his time in reference to Marx's revolutionary prophecy for Communism. Camus remarks that, "[Marx]... incurred by justifying, in the name of the revolution, the henceforth bloody struggle against all forms of rebellion." (Camus, 1991: 105).

Camus recognizes that revolution implies the establishment of a new government, whereas rebellion is action without planned issue. Revolution is then inherently misguided rebellion. Rebellion has an opportunity to evolve into revolution. To abstain from revolution can be seen as the true test of rebellion, and the rebellious spirit. The moment revolution achieves success, it has failed, as it becomes another extension of the ideological hegemony already in place.

*"...The first task today is precisely not to succumb to the temptation to act, to directly intervene and change things, but to question the hegemonic ideological coordinates. If, today, one follows a direct call to act, this act will not be performed in an empty space; it will be an act from within the hegemonic ideological coordinates..."* (Zizek, 2002: 542-566).

Here, the sphere of public ideology, and the role it plays in protest is evoked. This is not the voice of Camus, however, but of Slavoj Zizek whose message to the protesters themselves, I now turn.

### **Zizek on Occupation**

Zizek has become an increasingly popular public intellectual. He is known for his radical Marxist, and Lacanian analyses of philosophy and politics. Zizek compliments Camus very well, having the obvious advantage that he is still here to comment on OWS. Many of Zizek's political commentaries on OWS have echoed a Camusian sentiment, but is still uniquely Zizek. In an address to the OWS protesters at Zuccotti Park in mid-October, Zizek gives us a refined understanding of the metaphysical nature of rebellion: "But the conservative fundamentalists who claim they really are American have to be reminded of something: What is Christianity? It's the holy spirit. What is the holy spirit? It's an egalitarian community of believers who are linked by love for each other, and who only have their own freedom and responsibility to do it. In this sense, the holy spirit is here now. And down there on Wall Street, there are pagans who are worshiping blasphemous idols" (Zizek, Address). Zizek adds a new dimension to Camus' metaphysical understanding of people in revolt. Camus understands revolution, in part, as a deposition of God. For Zizek, however, the downward movement of the divine is not so that man may rise, as Camus argues, but so that the divine may present itself amongst

humanity in egalitarian communities. In addition, Zizek establishes the metaphysical yearnings of the protesters, but also of those they protest against, as “pagans”. These idol-worshippers put their lot, not in this divine humanity, but in the things humanity buys.

Like Camus, in contrast with Moyer’s suggestion, Zizek tells the protesters that “What one should resist at this stage is precisely such a quick translation of the energy of the protest into a set of concrete pragmatic demands. Yes, the protests did create a vacuum – a vacuum in the field of hegemonic ideology, and time is needed to fill this vacuum in a proper way, as it is a pregnant vacuum, an opening for the truly new.” Occupying physical space, as discussed earlier, is conversely related to the creation by protesters of an ideological space mentioned by Zizek. This ideological space creation is the true achievement of OWS thus far. It has made the freedom to criticize the current ideological hegemony a reality, where before, to do so was simply “un-American”. These crippling modes of thinking are now beginning to lose their grip.

In a 2002 article, *A Plea for Leninist Intolerance*, Zizek states that because of the current political ideology, we suffer from an “...inability to recognize how the new is here to enable the old to survive.” (Zizek 547). With OWS we may be witness to the change in consciousness which will allow us to properly appreciate the old, without unwittingly being enslaved by it. Zizek continues, “...how are we to remain faithful to the old in the new conditions? Only in this way can we generate something effectively new.” This is the question which the OWS movement now faces. Furthermore, in his 1993 article, *The Violence of Liberal Democracy* Zizek identifies the same danger with revolution as Camus, an idea originating from Hegel, in that “...the moment of victory of a political force is the very moment of its splitting” (Zizek 92). A political force as pluralistic as OWS is certainly at a very real risk of splitting. If OWS is to affect the beneficial change for the 99% that it wishes to, it must certainly avoid the mistakes of previous revolutionary efforts. In its demand for unity, while at the same time embracing pluralism, it must not let itself be hi-jacked by any one ideology. If there is any successful political change, it must be allowed to be challenged. Free and open dialogue, the current project of the movement, must be upheld *especially* if the movement becomes successful.

## **Conclusion**

*“In any event, the reasons for rebellion cannot be explained except in terms of an inquiry into its attitudes, pretensions, and conquests. Perhaps we may discover in its achievements the rule of action that the absurd has not been able to give us; an indication, at least, about the right or the duty to kill and, finally, hope for a new creation.” - Albert Camus, Introduction to *The Rebel**

I have argued throughout my essay that there is a uniqueness to the scope and methods of the Occupiers. I have also argued that, despite this uniqueness, though OWS espouses a plurality of

political and religious views (and countless other political movements in history if I am truly to apply Camus), they have a metaphysical aspect that is historically reminiscent of a religious movement. This historical aspect of revolution is reinforced by a Zizekian understanding of belief and religion, and is manifest in many modern ways. Aside from the global and digital origins of the movement which other movements in history do not share with OWS, aspects of modernism also include the abstinence from becoming directly involved in the political realm. This decision has been met with both criticism and praise.

OWS represents how our society is changing and has changed, but also how it has not. For the sake of brevity I primarily examined only the *differences* between older political movements and OWS, but more in depth analysis of the similarities with other movements in history would surely provide the rest of a very important picture. To torture a cliché, it appears that people are awakening from the American Dream. What is to become of OWS is unclear though Zizek makes his chief concern very clear, in his address to Zuccotti Park: *“The only thing I’m afraid of is that we will someday just go home and then we will meet once a year, drinking beer, and nostalgically remembering ‘What a nice time we had here’. Promise yourselves that this will not be the case. We know that people often desire something but do not really want it. Don’t be afraid to really want what you desire.”* The greatest danger for Zizek, is the constant threat of falling listlessly back into a state of apathy. While there is a persevering sense of collectivism to the movement, it carries the tensions of a plurality of bickering views, and it is not hard to imagine these tensions bringing the group to disband and make them forget why they were mad. Yet, even so, Zizek seems to remain optimistic that something new *will* fill the ideological vacuum we now have.

Camus also leaves us with reason for hope: *“All may indeed live again, side by side with the martyrs of 1905, but on condition that it is understood that they correct one another, and that a limit, under the sun, shall curb them all. Each tells the other that he is not God; this is the end of romanticism.”* (Camus, 1991: 152). The success of any political system, Camus believes, rests in how it understands its “principle of reasonable culpability”. Governing systems must be brought to understand their limits. According to Camus, the transgression of limits has been the cause of (and result of) the worst tragedies to befall the ideologies of the twentieth century. If we can identify and acknowledge these limits, we can hope for a better future. The most important step in achieving this in consistent dialogue.

Both Camus and Zizek offer us a hope for a shift in the current ruling ideology, which has apparently demonstrated itself to be either ineffective in the long term, or too culpable to corruption to be considered reliable to base social systems upon. Only time will tell for certain what this “new” thing will be, and whether it will be authentically new, or the same modernistic rehashing of the old

paradigms through which we currently exist. I will leave the last, prophetic, words to Camus:

*“Now is born that strange joy which helps one live and die, and which we shall never again postpone to a later time. On the sorrowing earth it is the unresting thorn, the bitter brew, the harsh wind off the sea, the old and the new dawn. With this joy, through long struggle, we shall remake the soul of our time...”* (Camus, 1991: 152).

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## ***Resilient Children of Alcoholics: The Stages of Emotional Detachment and the Benefits of a Mindful Brain***

Tyler Colasante

Despite being labeled “at risk” for a range of mental and behavioural disorders, some children of alcoholics (COAs) grow up to lead healthy lifestyles. Such children are referred to as resilient (Russell, 1990). Researchers have attempted to identify factors specific to resilient COAs that contribute to their success (Masten, 2001). In particular, Werner and Smith (2001) observed that resilient children in their study managed to detach themselves emotionally from the issues that plagued their dependent parent(s). However, the process of emotional detachment and the mechanisms behind it have received little attention from researchers. To address this deficit, I formulate a theoretical basis for emotional detachment as a stage-like process through which COAs progress. According to Al-Anon (1990), successful detachment begins with “taking a moment” before reacting to alcoholic behaviour. Similarly, mindfulness has been described as a process of bringing one’s attention to moment-by-moment experience (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). With this similarity in mind, I propose that mindfulness can provide the key to successful detachment for COAs struggling to gain control over their emotional reactions.

In accordance with research findings, Al-Anon and other support groups encourage emotional detachment as an integral coping mechanism for family members affected by alcoholism (Al-Anon, 1990). Additional resilience factors, such as the maintenance of interpersonal relationships and involvement with social services, require motivation on behalf of the affected child (Werner, 2000). Successful detachment preserves the self-esteem and intrinsic drive necessary to move beyond aversive situations (Werner & Smith, 2001). From this perspective, emotional detachment provides the foundation upon which further resilience can flourish. Despite the fact that emotional detachment has been recognized as one of the most valuable techniques for struggling COAs (Werner, 2000), current research is lacking an in-depth analysis of detachment in alcohol-affected families. The proper balance of passion and withdrawal that leads to successful detachment may vary by situation. For example, office workers with an oppressive supervisor might avoid abuse by removing all passion from their occupation. However, similar levels of withdrawal practiced by a child who holds an emotional relationship with a dependent parent may result in considerable guilt. Formulating a theoretical basis for emotional detachment as a stage-like process will clarify the optimal levels of passion and withdrawal that allow COAs to detach without feelings of guilt and ambivalence. Understanding emotional detachment as a process can also offer insight into the mechanisms employed by COAs to achieve this delicate balance. In the paragraphs to follow, I propose three hypothetical stages of emotional detachment in an attempt to explain how resilient COAs achieve emotional equilibrium.

The first proposed stage of emotional detachment is thought to occur when children begin to understand the severity of alcoholic issues affecting their parent or guardian. Initially, children might respond to these issues with overzealous attempts to reform their parent. However, due to the addictive properties of alcohol and high rates of relapse (Russell, 1990), attempts to improve the situations of dependent parents are likely to be fruitless. The pain experienced by COAs at this particular point can be attributed to a sense of “domicide” at the familial level. According to Porteous and Smith (2001), domicide is characterized by a destruction of home that causes intense suffering to victims. However, as noted by Bouma-Prediger and Walsh (2008), the physical dimensions of the house have a function beyond the amenities they afford. Bouma-Prediger and Walsh take the idea of domicide to a further level by defining home as any vehicle of meaning that allows individuals to experience identity and security. From this perspective, it is possible that the family structure itself serves a homing purpose for the individuals within it. COAs who experience this sense of home are likely to know their place within their family and that their place will be respected. However, as the efforts on behalf of COAs to reform their parents continue to fail, they are likely to be stripped of this perceived role within the familial system.

The experience of domicide is accompanied by feelings of anxiety, absurdity and alienation (Bouma-Prediger & Walsh, 2008). Anxiety is experienced when individuals fail to determine which aspects of the external world are relevant to themselves (Vervaeke, 2010). COAs who fail to receive reciprocal compassion from their dependent parent are likely to feel anxiety as they struggle with unresponsive surroundings. Feelings of absurdity arise when the individual loses their sense of co-relevance, or how things relate to one another. When co-relevance is lacking, aspects of the external world no longer “fit together” in the mind of the individual (Vervaeke, 2010). Children who are too young might fail to understand the nature or severity of addiction. From this perspective, the alcoholic behaviour of parents is assimilated as “normal” by COAs from an extremely young age. Ironically, this counter-intuitive sense of normalcy might be the reason why COAs remain relatively unaffected in their younger years. Although such children might witness their parents fighting, getting sick in the morning or behaving obnoxiously, they might fail to attribute these negative consequences to alcohol (a long-term problem) and would thus be more inclined to dismiss these issues as transient or short-lived. However, as children begin to understand the consequences of alcoholism, their prior views of alcohol and its effects are likely to be shattered. In turn, COAs encounter absurdity as the categories they form with respect to alcohol are continually contradicted. Feelings of alienation are experienced when the individual loses their sense of relevance to others (Vervaeke, 2010). For COAs, feelings of alienation are bound to occur when their parent continues to abuse alcohol in spite of its aversive consequences. The majority of COAs erroneously conclude that their dependent parent “wouldn’t

even stop for them” (Al-Anon, 1990). Such thoughts can potentially trigger a slippery slope as they generalize in scope until the child lacks the self-esteem necessary to feel important to others or worthy of their time (Masten, 2001).

The second hypothesized stage of emotional detachment is thought to occur when children are able to conceive their efforts as failure. In order to avoid further loss at the expense of their dependent parent, COAs might withdraw completely from the noxious conditions of their home life. If COAs manage to maintain an objective stance towards the familial domicile experienced in the former stage, they can avoid the anxiety, absurdity and alienation associated with overly passionate attempts to reform their parents. Extreme emotional distancing should be considered a logical response to the pain encountered by COAs in the primary stage of detachment. However, if children had previously maintained a positive relationship with their affected parent (apart from issues with alcohol), guilt is likely to ensue (Al-Anon, 1990). Resolution of this ambivalence might be achieved through an optimal balance of passion and withdrawal that allows COAs to “ride the wave” of what can be considered healthy detachment. Unfortunately, passion and withdrawal are two antithetical concepts, making this balance extremely difficult to achieve (Werner & Smith, 2001). Thus, controlled and precise emotional regulation on behalf of resilient children is thought to facilitate progression to the final stage of emotional detachment.

The third and final proposed stage of emotional detachment can be characterized by emotional fine-tuning and resolution of residual ambivalence. COAs in this stage have managed to withdraw completely without feelings of guilt. This ability to maintain optimal levels of both passion and withdrawal can be seen as inherently complexifying. A system is complex if it simultaneously integrates two opposing processes (Vervaeke, 2010). As noted above, passion and withdrawal are contradictory by definition. When a system complexifies, it goes through qualitative development and leads to emergent abilities (Vervaeke, 2010). Thus, as COAs practice emotional detachment, they might be provided with new ways to deal with the issues before them. Interestingly, it might be the case that the ability to successfully detach is developed as the child grows older. This perspective is similar to developmental theories put forth by Piaget (1952) and Kohlberg (1963) in the sense that the abilities of COAs might be qualitatively bound at certain stages of maturation. However, by engaging in the complexifying process of emotional detachment, COAs could potentially be afforded with emergent abilities (Vervaeke, 2010) that allow them to progress beyond qualitative barriers at an accelerated rate. Through successful detachment, the child is able to perceive the affected parent as separate from the disease of alcoholism (Werner & Smith, 2001). Resilient COAs become emotionally inured to alcoholic behaviour while simultaneously maintaining a healthy relationship with their

dependent parent (Masten, 2001). Thus, instead of taking alcoholic behaviour personally, the complexified child is able to say “that’s just alcoholism,” and let it go (Al-Anon, 1990).

Again, similar to Piagetian (1952) and Kohlbergian (1963) theories of development, I propose that most COAs progress through the universal stages of detachment in a linear fashion. Although each child may experience all three stages across time, the rate at which any child progresses through these stages will be determined by moderating factors. Personality characteristics, age, family dynamics and social opportunity have been identified in a variety of fields over the past 30 years as the main factors impacting a child’s ability to maintain general resiliency (Luthar, 2003). Since the capacity to withdraw emotionally is considered a facet of general resiliency (Werner & Smith, 2001), it is likely that these factors play a similar role with respect to emotional detachment.

If the potential moderators of emotional detachment are recognized by treatment programs, struggling COAs can be provided with an environment that increases the likelihood of successful detachment (Luthar, 2003). However, the actual process of change from unsuccessful to successful detachment might depend on the competence of the child (Werner & Smith, 2001). If treatment programs focus solely on creating an environment for change, they might not be tapping into the abilities that allow COAs to make use of their surroundings.

When Fishbein and Ajzen first proposed the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) in 1975, they were careful to include the variety of factors thought to influence one’s behaviour. However, Ajzen’s revision of the TRA, the Theory of Planned Behaviour (1985) would include two important additions: perceived behavioural control and, most notably, actual behavioural control. With the notion of actual behavioural control, Ajzen (1985) proposed that, regardless of one’s attitude, evaluation of subjective norms or behavioural intention, the behaviour would not occur if the individual was physically or mentally incapable of performing it. In a similar fashion, addressing the variety of factors thought to influence the process of emotional detachment does not guarantee the actual behaviour of detachment itself.

Throughout the process of detachment, COAs are required to separate themselves emotionally and spiritually from the destructive behaviour of their dependent parent (Werner & Smith, 2001). This separation is vital in moments where alcoholism causes an abrupt change of plans or sends unacceptable behaviour in the direction of the child (Al-Anon, 1990). Unfortunately, the passion evoked from such behaviour might override the child’s ability to detach in the “heat of the moment”. Indeed, many COAs find it difficult to detach and exert control over highly emotional reactions to alcoholic behaviour (Al-Anon, 1990). These difficulties are not surprising concerning the possibility that such reactions have been ingrained in the behavioural repertoires of COAs for their entire childhood. Thus, in order for these children to practice effective detachment, it is essential that their

emotional reactions are decoupled from the negative evaluations that follow them (Ostafin & Marlatt, 2008).

In recent years, mindfulness techniques have been used in psychotherapy to increase individual control over automatic behaviours and thoughts (Hayes, 2004). In particular, Ostafin and Marlatt (2008) have shown that acceptance of current experience through mindfulness weakens automatic alcohol-approach associations. Alcoholic participants in their study considered to be most mindful were afforded with increased control over appetitive responses to alcohol (Ostafin & Marlatt, 2008). Based on these results, it is proposed that mindfulness techniques can provide COAs with increased control over automatic, emotional reactions to the behaviour of their dependent parents. Through mindfulness, COAs can be provided with a window of reconsideration (Baer, 2003) that allows them to perceive alcoholic behaviour as separate from their dependent parent, a fundamental pre-requisite to successful detachment (Werner & Smith, 2001). By seeing their parents as separate from their illness, COAs can avoid being hurt by the groundless insults and outrageous lies associated with alcoholism (Al-Anon, 1990). In addition, the non-judgmental component of mindfulness ensures that COAs are able to set aside their emotional evaluations and develop an objective, constructive stance towards the issues of their parents (Baer, 2003).

Siegel (2007) defines mindfulness in the most general sense as “waking up from a life on automatic and being sensitive to novelty in our everyday experiences”. From this perspective, the tendency to react vehemently to dependent parents has essentially become automatic for COAs. Thus, increased control can provide COAs with the opportunity to regulate the “automatic” and make important choices. These choices could potentially result in refreshing change for those who have become habituated to recurrent struggles with alcoholic behaviour. Nonetheless, the control afforded by mindfulness should not be considered analogous to that of “taming a wild beast” (Ostafin & Marlatt, 2008). COAs engaging in mindful activity might not be actively restraining their emotional responses to alcoholic behaviour (Baer, 2003). Instead, it is suitable to see mindfulness as creating a “spacious meadow” for passionate emotions (Ostafin & Marlatt, 2008). From this perspective, mindful COAs are able to bring automatic responses into awareness and essentially watch them. The opportunity to deny or choose against impulsive reactions can thus be seen as providing COAs with a sense of control in lieu of deliberate emotional restraint (Ostafin & Marlatt, 2008).

Some children are able to detach themselves with ease, while others might struggle for their entire lives (Al-Anon, 1990). These varied reactions suggest that mindfulness is a skill that some individuals might be more inclined to than others. Interestingly, emotional detachment has also been regarded as an “art” or skill that can be developed with rigorous practice (Werner & Smith, 2001). Nonetheless, it is important to realize that mindful abilities and the capacity for emotional detachment

are not restricted to certain types of individuals. It is quite possible that the ability to successfully detach can be employed by any child with the help of mindfulness training. However, this presumption cannot be generated from the findings of Ostafin and Marlatt (2008). Instead of providing participants with mindfulness training, Ostafin and Marlatt (2008) employed the Kentucky Inventory of Mindfulness Skills to assess levels of mindfulness prior to experimentation. Nevertheless, a variety of studies have shown that intensive mindfulness training can result in measurable increases in cognitive control (see Tang & Posner, 2009). Such findings provide hope for treatment interventions attempting to address the struggles of non-resilient COAs.

The emotional elasticity of resilient COAs allows them to bend without breaking in the face of adversity (Russell, 1990). Although the majority of COAs are thought to experience all three stages of emotional detachment hypothesized in this paper, moderating factors may promote healthy realization and rapid temporal advancement for certain children (Luthar, 2003). Nonetheless, the ability to detach successfully will always depend on a child's capacity to do so (Ajzen, 1985). Even if a child is afforded with the benefits of an enriched environment, he or she will require the fundamental skills necessary to engage in successful detachment. Approaches to psychological treatment that incorporate the use of mindfulness seem promising with respect to the control of automatic responses and behaviours (Hayes, 2004). Emotional detachment requires COAs to step back in the "heat of the moment" and re-consider the source of their intense, reactive emotions (Al-Anon, 1990). With increased emphasis on the here-and-now (Siegel, 2007), mindfulness techniques might provide COAs with the ability to harness and transform emotional responses that would otherwise be considered inevitable. The application of mindfulness techniques under a therapeutic setting is a relatively recent phenomenon (Baer, 2003). However, such techniques have been central to the practice of Buddhist meditation for nearly 2500 years (Siegel, 2007). Indeed, the overall capacity for self-regulation and self-awareness in resilient COAs relates to the fundamental objective of Buddhism as a "religio" (Vervaeke, 2010). Thus, it is important that future research investigates the potential for mindful activity (or more generally, the adoption of Buddhist practices) to unearth the fine art of emotional detachment.

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## ***Social Control in Medicalization: The Case of FSD***

Celeste Collins

A number of disorders throughout our social history have become medicalized; rather, taken from their natural setting and placed under the supervision of competent, medical authorities (Conrad & Schneider 1980; Conrad 1992; Davis & Stasz 1990; Illich 1995; Szasz 2001). Examples of this process are evident through a number of facets including childbirth, hysteria (Stein & Kim 2009), attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (Conrad & Potter 2000), learning disorders and male sexual dysfunction (Hartley 2006) in addition to others. And despite there being some medical premises for the development of this practice, the benefits may not outweigh the costs in some cases. Through the process of medicalization, pharmaceutical companies have invaded the medical profession by funding conferences that contribute to the creation of disease (Conrad 2007; Kelleher 2005; Moynihan 2010). This article will explain how the medical profession exerts control over society through the use of medicalization as a process. Drawing from Conrad and others, the idea that disease is socially constructed for the purpose of capital gain will be explored; using the example of Female Sexual Dysfunction. This paper will look into the alternative explanations put forward for this disorder and evaluate the ideological and theoretical premises of each

### **Medicalization: Origins, Developments and Empirical Evidence**

Conrad and Schneider (1980) discuss 5 stages that move behaviours from an act of deviance to an illness. A particular behaviour must be defined in the first stage; what was once known as delinquent behaviour in school is now clearly defined as ADHD. When looking at the issue of the *medicalization* of deviance there is no better example than Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). ADHD is a type of label given to those children who are seen as deviant or disruptive in a classroom setting generally. It is interesting to note that ADHD is seen predominately in young boys; although ADHD was originally a childhood disorder, there is an increase of adults diagnosed with the disorder and treated through drug therapies (Conrad & Potter 2000; Hart et al. 2006). The research shows that there was a significant gender gap in the diagnosis of ADHD. With the change in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), the criteria for diagnosing ADHD was expanded and that large gender gap was brought closer together. Males are still labeled more often than females with the disorder, but with the new criteria that gap is decreasing at a rapid rate (Conrad 1976; Conrad 1992; Conrad & Potter 2000; Hart et al. 2006). Based on the new criteria, Hart (2006) asserts that ADHD is merely a resistance on behalf of the child to engage in the 'normal' socialization process. The DSM-IV contains criteria that must be met in order for a child to be diagnosed with ADHD. The criteria consists of behaviours that are what most individuals would consider a 'boys will be boys' scenario. Difficulties with

organization skills, easily distracted, noisy and forgetful are a few of the behaviours that are considered deviant. The medical field as well as the pharmaceutical industry have taken these ‘normal’ boyish behaviours and medicalized them with a drug treatment available to ease the deviant behaviours (Conrad & Potter 2000).

The next stage is called *prospecting*; in this stage there is no formal definition or diagnosis in the DSM however it has been brought to the attention of a professional audience. In this stage they propose the diagnosis and the specific symptoms that will be used to diagnose; they may also include a treatment option. In the *claims-making* stage, medical professionals, administrators, pharmaceutical companies, and support organizations look at any explanation for the disorder that may already exist and push that aside in order to create a new definition of the situation. By staking claim to a new disorder, the ‘creator’ will gain power and prestige within their field. The fourth stage is *legitimization* where the previous explanation for the disorder comes under attack in order to justify the explanation created by the parties involved in the process. *Institutionalization* is the final stage where these claims-makers want their claims to end up. Achieving this stage means that the claims-makers were successful in creating a new definition for a previous condition in order to create and market treatments from the pharmaceutical counter parts (Deutschmann 1994; Conrad & Schneider 1980). Through these processes, patients have now become more active participants in the creation of disease due to their increasing interest in symptoms and cures (Conrad & Potter 2000). Patients tend to expect more from physicians in recent decades and this, along with the medical profession, may contribute to the expansion of the DSM. Because individuals are confused and may not be able to comprehend specific symptoms, diagnoses are being sought to treat ailments that were once seen as natural processes (Conrad & Potter 2000).

This operational definition of medicalization can work only if the particular behaviour can be categorized into ‘healthy’ or ‘sick’. It is also important to acknowledge that Tiefer (2010) discusses that there are two types of medicalization. The first type is the attempt to redefine deviant behaviour into a medical issue; these can be behaviours that are seen as sinful, criminal, or antisocial. This first type is better known as medicalized deviance; alcoholism, eating disorders, ADHD, and drug abuse are all examples of deviant acts that have been redefined as medical events (Conrad 1992). The second type attempts to redefine events within society that normally were seen as common into a medical event; natural life events such as child birth, memory loss, and sexual dysfunction (Conrad 1992; Monahan 2003, Tiefer 2010) are now seen as medical problems that are diagnosed and treated accordingly (Tiefer, 2010).

When looking at *Parson’s sick role*, medical intervention, or medical social control attempt to normalize the deviant and reintegrate them back into their social roles. The purpose for the *sick role*

was that it was functional for society. Although the *sick role* is dysfunctional in nature, Parsons (1975) would argue that it creates roles within society that contribute to its homeostatic nature. For example without the 'sick' there would exist no roles such as doctors, nurses, and potentially the pharmaceutical industry. Taking into consideration the topic on mental illness, psychiatry can be seen as the leading example of medical social control. Individuals suffering from mental illness were once considered deviants in society, although it may be argued that they are still seen in this light, but now are seen under the medical umbrella as individuals with illnesses that must be treated through institutionalization or pharmaceuticals. The ultimate goal in psychiatry is to reintegrate the patient back into society as a functioning member (Conrad 1980); however, this raises important questions concerning the role of individual agency or societal means of control.

Medicalization became an issue of concern for sociologists in and around the 1970s (Conrad & Leiter 2004). The concept of medicalization is the transformation of natural processes within a person's lifespan redefined in medical terms and treated accordingly (Conrad & Leiter 2004; Riessman 1983). There is an increase in power and control that is given to the medical profession to determine, or label, an event as 'sick' in order to capitalize on it (Conrad & Leiter 2004). If the medical profession can establish that there may be a genetic or non-organic reason for an event to occur, that event becomes a candidate for redefinition as a disease or disorder, which in turn leads the medical profession and economic society to be in control (Conrad & Leiter 2004; Szasz 2001). Society is known to have judgments toward the sick and the diseased and *Parsons sick role* can attest to this ideology of health and illness. Society allows an individual to be relieved of their normal duties within society when they are ill (Parsons 1975); this opens the door for stigma, labeling, and negative self-concept. Parsons (1975) believed that illness and crime have similar characteristics with regard to how they are viewed in society. Illness violates the norms within society much like that of deviant behaviours. The *sick role* has benefits for the individual because once labeled sick, they are not considered deviant and the illness will be treated or managed; however, the *sick role* has negative effects as well. Deutschmann (1994) explains that once an individual is labeled 'sick', there is a false sense of hope that a treatment exists, which is not always the case. Because our society has marketed sickness as something that we have no control over, if an individual is diagnosed with a disease that may be permanent, it can turn into a negative self-fulfilling prophecy. The label given to the individual after diagnosis, for example ADHD, can become a master status that affects that person for the rest of his or her life.

There are many disadvantages that this type of medicalization can have on society. In terms of the medicalization of sexuality, the process of medicalization can create insecurity in both men and women. Individuals may be dissatisfied or anxious about sex and sexuality, however, this does not

mean he or she has a disorder; there may be ignorance in relation to social factors that create anxiety in sexual encounters (Tiefer 2010). The push toward a “quick fix” can mislead patients to believe that the issue is biological, when in reality it is a social and psychological issue. Medicalization ignores the possibility that there may be additional causes for sexual dysfunction and due to misdiagnosis, the patient will experience more distress when the pharmacological treatment is unsuccessful (Moynihan 2003). It must be noted that men and women differ in their needs regarding sex and sexuality, however, the definition and treatment for sexual dysfunction does not take this into account.

Some medicalization has benefits that are apparent alongside the significant flaws. Birth control, for example, has numerous benefits to the women’s movement and equality (Conrad 1980). Women have the right to postpone motherhood through means of drug intervention in order to pursue education and career goals that men have always had access to. Women are now more in control of their bodies and lives because they are able to control a natural process. Another benefit for some women is to regulate their cycle and ease the pain that may accompany it; this also allows a woman to have more flexibility in her job and career. Although there are benefits, birth control is a way of controlling reproduction (Conrad 1980).

The lifespan of males using Viagra has increased dramatically since it was first on the market. Adolescents, adults, and seniors are the extent of the market consumers of Viagra as a quick fix for erectile dysfunction (ED). Pfizer has promoted Viagra as a drug to aid in ED they claim affects half of the men over the age of 40 and younger men with issues regarding stamina. It is interesting to note that after Viagra was on the market for about a year, an estimated 150,000 women were prescribed a drug only tested for men (Dossey 2006). After this number of women were actively using Viagra, research began on the effects it may have on women. Nearly a decade later, when Viagra was seen to have no benefit to women, Pfizer pulled the plug on the research (Dossey 2006).

## **Social Control**

The concept of *social control* was coined by Edward A. Ross and was said to be an attempt to regulate society for the benefit of all citizens. Parsons shifted this ideology by asserting that social control is a means of ‘controlling’ deviants and promoting conformity within society. Using Parsons definition and explanation, social control is explained as a means of managing and sometimes eliminating deviance all together (Conrad 1992). In order to normalize, a society will need a set of rules and regulations that are created by the dominant and powerful figures. Each individual has his or her own set of biases that emerge from the norms and values within that particular society; this will affect how an individual defines deviance. By allowing the dominant figures to determine what is, or is

not deviant behaviour clearly biased by their own core values; the lower class of society inevitably suffers the consequences of these labels (Conrad 1980; 1992; 2007).

“The greatest social control power comes from having the authority to define certain behaviors, persons, and things” (Conrad & Schneider 1980:8). Those who have the greatest amount of social control are those members within a society that define behaviour as deviant and create the laws, professions, and labels that ultimately control the behaviour. Before the shift from religion to science, the church exuded the most power and control; therefore, the church defined what was considered deviant behaviour and punished the individual accordingly (Conrad & Schneider 1980). With the rise of science and technology; medicine, politics, and criminal justice systems often create what is considered deviant behaviour.

It is clear that the medical profession has gained dominance within society, but how did this occur? By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century with the increase in new treatments and the decrease in mortality rates, the medical profession was becoming a force to be reckoned with. Advancements including: anesthesia, antiseptics, “the germ theory of disease”, pasteurization, and scientific medicine, allowed medicine to monopolize the field of medicine (Conrad 1980; 1992).

A shift occurred in society that changed how the medical profession viewed the human body. The body no longer consisted of a mind and a soul; rather the body was a machine or a vessel that consisted of parts with specific functions. Viewing the body in this manner, it is easy to assert that any element that poses a specific function can also malfunction regardless of the cause (Lieter 1996). These ‘malfunctions’ are open doors for pharmaceutical companies and the medical profession as a whole to swoop in and create a name to coincide with the dysfunction occurring in the machine. Szasz (2003:41) explains that if a performance aspect of an individual fails to function, then dysfunction occurs, much like FSD. The medical professionals have moved away from ‘practicing medicine’ into the realm of ‘medical entrepreneurs’.

When the *Harrison Act* was passed and prescription laws came into effect, the pharmaceutical industry lost an enormous portion of the market for the sale of drugs. This decrease in the market included those individuals who engaged in drug use without a prescription. Manufacturers wanted to tap into this market, but the only way to maneuver around the law was to create diseases that could be treated through drug therapy (Szasz 2003).

Szasz (2003) coined the term ‘pharmacracy’ to link medicine and control together. He asserts that disease, which was once defined by physicians, is now defined by politicians and those individuals who hold the power in society (Szasz 2003). The idea that mental illness is not a disease may be farfetched in modern society; however, it is safe to assume that not all disorders listed in the DSM are necessarily diseases. Szasz (2003) argues that politics and government agencies have taken the lead on

the creation of disease by taking natural processes in life that are not in reality disease and manipulating these processes to create a disorder that the medical profession can diagnose and treat for the purpose of capital gain.

The American Food and Drug Administration (FDA) was created as a means of regulating what can and cannot be marketed and sold to the public. Extensive research must be conducted and data must be collected that shows a level of safety and effectiveness in the use of the drug before the FDA will approve it for sale. Each drug approved, must have a label that clearly states the scientific information, the suggested use and usage, as well as the dosage. However, the FDA does not involve itself too much with regard to off-label usage (Dresser 2007). Physicians have authority to prescribe a drug for a purpose not necessarily defined on the label. This can also occur in the instance that a physician may prescribe a higher or lower dosage that is recommended on the label or by the manufacturer.

The American Medical Association (AMA) believes that off-label prescribing allows physicians to gain control over some of the decision-making with regard to the treatment of a patient. Some physicians believe that because of the drawn out process of FDA approval for a deviation from the label, the outcome for the patient could be detrimental. On the other hand, critics of the FDA's lack of intervention say that the patient is more vulnerable to any harm the drug may cause. Because society sees doctors to be knowledgeable and powerful, patients may not know that the drug is not approved for that specific use and could cause them harm in the long run (Dresser 2007).

Manufacturers are making large profits from off-label prescribing and there is a fear that FDA approval will be set aside because of the lengthy process. This means that more and more physicians and manufacturers will prescribe drugs for usages that have not been approved. This ideology can send us back to a time before the FDA was in existence giving physicians and pharmaceutical companies full control over the treatment of patients without ever knowing the side effects and outcomes. What about the potential benefits of investigational drugs for severely ill patients? The idea of off-label prescribing has an increasing amount of consequences that could outweigh the potential benefit to these types of patients; however, it is not to say that experimental treatment has not worked in the past. In order to create a sort of balance, the patient must have a large role in deciding his or her own fate. If the patient is of a sound mind, the decision should be up to them in the case of experimental treatment. Also, the condition that the patient is experiencing may not have a treatment that will work before the physician starts experimenting with treatments that are not yet approved (Dresser 2007).

An alcoholic; a disease or deviant act? The answer then depends on who is asked. The criminal justice system would say it is a deviant act, whereas, the medical field would say it is a disease that needs treatment instead of punishment. A morbidly obese individual; medical or social issue? Medical

professionals would suggest bypass surgery to ‘correct’ the ailment although proper diet and exercise may allow the person to lose the weight in a healthier and less invasive manner. These are both examples of deviant behaviour that have shifted into issues that can be treated medically (Conrad 1980).

Looking back at alcoholism, this was considered an ‘extreme’ form of deviance; however once labeled an illness the medical profession takes precedent (Conrad 1980). Our society has emerged from panoptic to therapeutic in nature, where “deviants” have become patients. Society shifted to treating these patients as opposed to punishing deviants. This is an interesting transition because new professions have emerged based on this new way of thinking and controlling within society. Social agencies, pharmaceutical companies, and psychiatrists are now needed to help these patients ‘get well’. This has ultimately shifted the social control away from the criminal justice system and into the medical system. It has not only created jobs but can be seen as a way to create illness for economic gain (Davis and Slasz 1990).

There exists the concept of medicalization as well as demedicalization. Demedicalization can only occur if an ailment is not defined in medical terms anymore. An example of demedicalization is shown in the case of homosexuality. Homosexuality was considered a mental disorder, listed in the DSM, and treated medically up until the 1970s (Conrad 1992; Conrad 2007).

Conrad (2007) goes on to discuss the shift in the promotion of medicalization from physicians, social movements, and interest groups to biotechnology, consumers, and managed care. The emergence of new technology to aid in medical care along with the growing pharmaceutical industry has become the ‘major players in medicalization’. In previous decades, pharmaceutical companies promoted their drugs directly to physicians through medical journals or conferences. Although doctors still act as gatekeepers, the pharmaceutical companies rely heavily on direct-to-consumer advertisement in order to promote their product. Due to the changes in the FDA with regard to advertisement, consumers now play a significant role in medicalization. The Internet, for example, has created a new way for consumers (formerly referred to as patients) to diagnose and treat themselves. Most drug companies have popular websites that allow consumers to compare symptoms and find the proper drug to treat the symptoms. This trend has turned patients into consumers and this has ultimately created the need for a ‘quick fix’ solution (Conrad 2007).

It seems logical for pharmaceutical companies to target physicians and medical corporations for advertising purposes; however, this is not currently the targeted audience. Direct-to-consumer advertising is on the rise. After the *Federal Drug Administration Modernization Act* loosened the restrictions on standards of advertising, the television and Internet have been flooded with images of drugs related to sexual dysfunction (Conrad and Leiter 2004; Tiefer 1996). The media portrays the

medical profession as the source for any knowledge regarding health and illness. This power, given by society to the medical industry is what has allowed for the monopolization of disease. Allowing these ads to discuss and describe the disease and treatment aids in the implantation of a medical issue, would have normally been a natural process (Conrad and Leiter 2004; Tiefer 1996). Advertisements sponsored and paid by the government 'educate' people to 'understand' that their cravings and dissatisfactions with life and the conduct of their unruly children and unhappy aged parents are all 'diagnosable diseases'. (Szasz 2003:XVI).

Advertising disease and the pharmaceuticals to treat it, may create a society addicted to quick fix treatments and ultimately create a society addicted to pharmaceuticals. The way in which pharmaceutical companies market drugs to the general public can create a platform for the misuse of chemical treatments. Viagra, for example, was prescribed to women although the FDA did not approve its use for anyone other than males suffering from sexual dysfunction (Szasz 2003). Viagra was approved in 1998 by the Federal Drug Administration to treat sexual dysfunction in men; this was seen to open the door to the expanding medicalization of sex (Conrad & Leiter, 2004).

For advertisement purposes, drug companies can only advertise the name of the product in their commercial if they include the extensive side effects list. It would be perceived that the side effects listed for specific drugs would be a negative for pharmaceutical companies, however the opposite is true (Payer 1992). As the drug continues to sell, these companies can create and promote other medications to relieve the side effects. This continuous cycle makes for larger profits in *Big Pharma* corporations (Payer 1992).

A way around these guidelines set by the FDA is to add into the commercial that a large number of individuals suffer from the disorder and that the individual should speak with their doctor about the treatment. Payer (1992) discusses how society relies on diagnosis; however, she states that these views are obscured based on a few factors. One reason, she explains, is that a 'diagnosis' is merely a fancier word for the direct symptom. An example Payer (1992) uses is Myalgia. If a patient meets with his or her doctor and describes severe muscle pain, the physician may state that he or she has Myalgia; Myalgia is a Greek word meaning muscle pain, but for some reason, we believe it to be the 'almighty' diagnosis we have been looking for and that can now be treated. Diseases are also seen as 'things' but Payer (1992) explains that this is not really the case. Diseases are merely a way for doctors to organize symptoms to create a sort of standard for all patients. It is interesting to note here that disease is often separated into four types. *Infectious disease* is the first type which includes fungi, bacteria, and so forth. *Germs* are not diseases although we are made to believe that they are. The second type of disease attempts to diagnose using 'symptom clusters' (Payer 1992). The final two types look at 'disorder of structure' and 'disorder of function'. We can consider Female Sexual Dysfunction (FSD)

as a 'disorder of function' based on this model. Whether the term disease-mongering or medicalization is used, they both refer to describing a normal function or process in one's life and turning it into a disease or illness that must be treated (Payer 1992).

This paper has attempted to show the importance of medicalization and how it is used as a means of social control. Through the article the concept of disease as a socially constructed phenomenon and how a disease or disorder is created and established in the DSM were addressed and now these concepts will be applied to the creation of a specific disorder, Female Sexual Dysfunction.

### **Female Sexual Dysfunction**

For men and women, sexual dysfunction is divided into 4 categories: sexual desire disorder, sexual arousal disorder, orgasmic disorder, and sexual pain disorder. In order to be diagnosed with FSD one of the criteria that must be present is that a woman must feel bothered or distressed by the situation she is in with regard to her sexual encounter (Moynihan 2010). The issue that arises from having the same subcategories for both genders is that men and women have different biological makeup and the psychological issues surrounding sexual dysfunction differ between the genders. Women tend to relate sexual problems with subjective arousal, this can be through touching and emotional stimulation, where as men relate it to the physical act (Tiefer 2010; Moynihan 2010). The desire for intimacy is seen as an important issue in women's sexuality, meaning, that there does not necessarily have to be physiological issues with the ability of the sexual organs to function properly, but that the dysfunction can be more so that of a psychological issue. The definition explained in the DSM-IV asserts that all women are similar to men and more importantly similar to each other, when in reality this is not true (Tiefer 2010; Moynihan 2010).

Women differ in their individual value system, culture, and socialization and because of this, a single chemical treatment cannot 'fix' the collective of women suffering from FSD (Tiefer 2010). Prior to this emergence of FSD, medicalization was mainly focused on men due to society. The 'sexual revolution' created pressures for men to satisfy a female partner who may have a new, more open, approach to sex and sexuality. The 'sexual revolution also opened the lines of communication regarding female sexuality. These pressures cause men to turn to biochemical treatments to aid them in performing as a 'normal' man should, thereby avoiding any embarrassment or labeling (Tiefer 1994).

In 1997, a meeting took place in Cape Cod to further discuss the new definition of Female Sexual Dysfunction. Approximately half of those in attendance were representatives of the pharmaceutical corporations that provided the financial support for not only this, but many other meetings similar to it (Moynihan 2003). Researchers work hand-in-hand with pharmaceutical companies not only to define a new 'disorder', but also to develop this disorder to suit the needs of the shareholders (Moynihan 2003;

2010). Three large drug companies funded a 2003 conference and reportedly paid around \$600,000 to attend and promote their products. The purpose of this conference was to conclude the ultimate definition of FSD and the treatment of this new disorder. Dr. Irwin Goldstein, a urologist and a consultant for *Pfizer*, was in attendance and stated that “if you don’t have a definition, you don’t have an answer” (Kelleher 2005). The definition and treatment for FSD was completed and published in July 2004. Immediately after this, large corporations began research and drug trials on treatments for the disorder (Kelleher 2005).

There is an economic interest in these conferences for manufacturers of medical products. Their attendance ultimately allows the drug companies to aid in the creation of a disorder that they most likely have a drug ready and waiting to treat. It is possible to stumble upon a treatment for a natural human process, but without an illness to attach to it, the drug companies cannot manufacture the treatment (Moynihan 2010; Tiefer 1994). In order to maximize revenue, the pharmaceutical industry must create a need in the form of a disorder; ultimately drug companies not only sell pharmaceuticals but they also sell disease (Moynihan 2010). The economic interests of these conferences extend past the pharmaceutical companies to physicians. Doctors increasingly support pharmaceutical companies for this and many other reasons. This relationship allows physicians to help patients in a timely manner, which aids in the physicians reputation, as well as allowing for more profit for the physician as well as the drug manufacturer (Pacey 2008).

With regard to the new definition of FSD, the Mayo Clinic posted an article explaining that having the new classification allows for treatment and may reverse the dysfunction all together; they assert, “the promise for treatment is near” (Lightner 2002). Moynihan (2010) believes that FSD has become the next ‘blockbuster’ disorder that will create massive profit for the medical field. The question then arises, are women suffering from a physiological dysfunction or have they been brainwashed into the belief that a biological problem exists when in fact it does not (Lightner 2002)?

Social constructionists’ views on FSD look at the disorder as created based on the social environments of the time as well as a historical look at disease; what was once considered normal has shifted into the realm of disorder/dysfunction. The medical model explains that the deviation from normal functioning of a particular body part can be tested through medical means and treated accordingly. The idea that social stressors and other psychological issues may be present is pushed aside in an effort to treat it through the use of drug therapy (Goldstein 2006).

*Women’s Sexual Functions and Dysfunctions: Study, Diagnosis and Treatment* (Goldstein 2006) is an interesting ‘bible’ of sorts that explains FSD as a condition, which has possible treatments available or currently in the making. For a fairly new disorder, this 700 page diagnostic tool goes into great depth regarding a disorder that many women do not fully understand. The book discusses

pharmaceuticals and whether or not a drug will be created for women that is similar to Viagra. They assert that Viagra, “although initially questioned for their cardiac safety, ..... have been shown to be generally safe and effective in men...” (Goldstein 2006:9). It is interesting to note the choice of language used to describe a chemical that an individual is to ingest in order to have a successful sexual experience, “generally safe” does not leave the reader with a positive outlook on drug treatments. Although the language used to describe Viagra is less than appealing, currently there are approximately 30 million users of Viagra worldwide; apparently something that is “generally safe” and effective is enough for an individual suffering from an ailment. This is where the power of great advertising campaigns comes into play.

Female Sexual Dysfunction is a fairly new ‘disorder’, yet pharmaceutical companies have aggressively promoted the new emergence of treatments (Tiefer 2010). There is a belief that the mass media has supported the increase in advertising for treatments for Sexual Dysfunction because it has allowed for the discussion of sex without controversy or taboo (Tiefer 1994). There is an increase in negative reactions to the treating of FSD with medication. Although these individuals are lobbying against the medicalization of FSD, the increased interest has opened the door to more research and a greater understanding of female sexuality (Pacey 2008). Drug companies use the threat of stigma in order to promote a quick fix without embarrassment (Tiefer 1994). The stigma associated with sexual dysfunction arises from the idea that it is a psychological issue. It is easier to accept that an issue is one of biology that bears no fault, than to say that it is one of psychology. Pharmaceuticals, as treatment for biological issues, are less intrusive and allow the patient to openly address a concern outside of their control (Tiefer 1994).

The DSM tends to look past the idea that FSD, or dysfunctions as a whole, is a disorder that can be caused by factors other than biology. A woman may feel tired, stressed, or overwhelmed in her everyday life which can cause the desire for sex to not be present (Goldstein 2006). Ellison (2000) conducted a survey of over 2000 women to determine what issues with regard to sex were actually seen as problems or if in reality they were merely normal stressors. The study showed that being too tired, or too busy were seen as normal issues and not severe problems that disrupt the sex life of women. Based on this study, the 4 categories of Female Sexual Dysfunction should be readdressed to find out if, for example, being unable to reach orgasm is a dysfunction in the woman or merely an issue of fatigue or her partners lack of skill (Ellison 2000).

Adding a theoretical approach to the condition known as FSD, there are 3 areas that must be addressed alongside the DSM diagnosis. The medical profession must look into the relationship of the partners; if the intimate relationship is a negative one, the result of abuse or neglect, there may not be the emotional connection present that is needed to enjoy a sexual encounter. The sexual history of the

female must also be considered when making a diagnosis. When a full history is taken it should include previous sexual experiences and whether or not there is a history of abuse. Finally, the natural processes that come with age should be taken into account; menopause, for example, can have an immense effect on sexual function and dysfunction (Goldstein 2006).

Although society believes that a good sexual experience occurs through attraction, intimacy, and closeness of partners, the pharmaceutical industry has implanted the idea that without erection and orgasm, a satisfying sexual experience cannot be achieved. One theory that attempts to explain why no attention was paid to female sexuality states that for reproduction a male must ejaculate/orgasm; females have no biological or reproductive need to orgasm (Bancroft 2002). A drug used to treat one partner and not the couple disregards the involvement of the other; the 'untreated' partner is used as a tester in order to see if the treated partner has had success via drug treatment (Pacey 2008). By embedding these irrational ideas into the minds of vulnerable individuals who are frustrated with their sexual encounters, these companies can mass advertise and mass-produce 'solutions' to the dysfunction. The insecurity that arises from a sexual dysfunction leads to feelings of inadequacy or dissatisfaction with sex. Men and women in these situations begin to look into the options that allow for what is called 'workable sex'; this does not require passion or intimacy, rather it allows individuals to get through the encounter in order to feel normal, sexually. Low self-esteem, fear, and feelings of inadequacy are the gateway for drug companies to make a profit (Bass 2001).

Drug companies introduce the idea that passion is not important, rather sexual desire is, which instills a negative self-concept that consists of fear and inadequacy (Bass 2001). There is a fear that the influence these drug companies have on the medical profession, the social, personal, and physical causes and solutions will be disregarded (Moynihan 2003). Early research emphasized similarities in men and women's physiological responses during sex; therefore, the disorder and treatment must be similar (Tiefer 2010). Research has indicated that this ideology is not always factually accurate.

## **Conclusion**

The social construction of disease is a longstanding issue in sociology. The concept of medicalization as a way of regaining social order and control, along with the shift from deviant behaviour to illness, are interesting issues of discussion within society. Female Sexual Dysfunction, although a new disorder, is creating interest within the medical field, not necessarily for the purpose of helping those who are 'suffering' from the illness, but for the purpose of monetary gain. Since the immense success of Viagra to treat erectile dysfunction, the medical field understands that they have only scratched the surface by helping one half of the population. Because there is profit in shifting the views of society from natural processes to medical conditions, FSD is now going to be an ever

increasing ailment that many women will believe they have. Although there are benefits to medicalization, which some have been touched on in this article, the idea that our body has become a machine that can be adjusted and tweaked through medical means is an increasing issue of concern, or should be, for the general population. More research in the areas of the expansion of the DSM, the increase in natural processes becoming medicalized and the anti-psychiatry movement can be further conducted in order to demonstrate how the medical profession, including the pharmaceutical industry, has dominated the ideas surrounding disease, disorder, and more importantly, how society views these illnesses.

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## ***Myth in Romanian Folklore: Themes, Motifs and Archetypes***

Ana-Maria Dragomir

### **Background**

The Dacians were the first named ancient people inhabiting the Carpatho-Danubian land, most of which is now known as Romania. The Dacian kingdom reached its greatest heights during the reign of Burebista (82 - 44 BCE), who for the first time united all Dacian tribes (Grumeza 2009). Dacia was situated at the crossroads of the great migrations, from Eurasia, Central Europe and Southern Europe. Some of the ancient ethnic groups that the Dacians came into close contact with were the Iranians, Sarmatians, Schytes, Celts, Germans, Greeks and the Romans. Dacia was partially conquered in 106 CE by the Roman emperor Trajan (r. 98 - 117), who defeated the second greatest Dacian king, Decebalus (r. 87 - 106 CE). The new province was annexed to the Roman Empire, and named Dacia Felix. Of the Roman population that settled in Dacia during the occupation, only about 10 percent were soldiers (Georgescu 1991). The rest, besides the Dacians, were colonists from all over the Roman empire, and came from places such as Moesia, Thracia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and from Anatolia, Syria and Egypt of the Near East. However, regardless of how heterogenous this colonizing population was, it represented the Roman empire and its civilization, and brought with it the Latin language, as the most powerful Romanizing instrument (Georgescu 1991). In 275 CE, pressed by invasions from migratory tribes, and after numerous battles with the Free Dacians, the Romans withdrew from Dacia (Grumeza 2009). However, as Grumeza (2009) puts it, almost all the Roman veteran legionaries decided to remain with their families in Dacia, and contributed to the further Romanization of the Dacian population. During the early post-Roman period, Sarmatians, Mongols, Huns, and several Germanic tribes invaded Dacian territories. However, some Germanic tribes settled in Dacia, and in exchange for land, offered their military protection against invaders (Grumeza 2009). Nevertheless, from the fifth until the ninth or tenth century, Dacia was held in succession by the Huns, the Gepids (a Germanic people), and the Slavs (Georgescu 1991). The Slavs' occupation of the Balkans altered the ethnic character of the Dacians significantly, even though the latter retained their Romanic dialect and even assimilated the former into their culture. The formation of the Romanian people was a long process which extended over nine or ten centuries. It began with the Romanization of the Dacians during the Roman occupation, and ended with the Romanization of the Slavs who settled north of the Danube river, since the sixth century (Georgescu 1991).

It could be argued that the interaction with the various ethnic groups in the past contributed to the formation of the ideological fabric of the Romanian people. The cultural exchanges between these groups could be reflected both in the archaeological record and also in the folkloric literature and other

oral traditions, such as superstitions, taboos or customs. Therefore, it could be further argued that folklore may provide one possible framework for understanding cultural interactions. Analyzing shared beliefs, mythological themes, motifs and archetypes could have the potential to reflect the continuous dynamic ideological exchange that occurs between societies over time.

### **Cosmogony in Romanian Lore**

In most folktales, God and Devil are referred to as Fîrtat and Nefîrtat. These names could be loosely translated as Brother and “un-Brother.” Fîrtat governs the realms of sky and earth, while Nefîrtat reigns over the waters and the Underworld. According to one belief (Olinescu 2008), in the beginning there was nothing but darkness and stillness over a vast body of water. A sudden stir gave rise to waves which pushed foam towards the middle of this sea. The foam formed an island that took the shape of a lily flower. Two creatures who wandered off from the Otherworld, a butterfly and a worm, rested on top of the island. The butterfly dropped its wings and turned into a handsome, luminous youth. This was God. The worm also turned into a youth, only that he was dark and shadowy. He was the Devil. God and the Devil decided to create the land where they could both rest. Since Nefîrtat was the only one who controlled everything beneath the waters, he had to descend under the sea and bring mud in his hands so that Fîrtat would create the land from it. However, Fîrtat would only make the land if the sand was brought up by having his name invoked. Nefîrtat was reluctant to raise the mud to the surface in God’s name, but in the end, he complied with his companion’s demand. As the land was created, Nefîrtat became jealous because he wanted to be the only one to rule it. Therefore, he decided to drown Fîrtat by pushing him into the waters during his sleep. However, as Nefîrtat started pushing his companion, the latter began rolling. The more Fîrtat was rolling, the more land emerged from underneath him. And so the earth expanded to how we know it today (Pamfile 2007a).

Fîrtat and Nefîrtat represent metaphors for the antagonistic forces of the universe, such as good/evil, light/darkness, being/nonbeing (Chelariu 2003). Both are partners in creation, since neither can bring the world into being without the help of the other. As a divine pair, Fîrtat and Nefîrtat have correspondents in the Indo-European pantheon, such as the Vedic gods Mitra and Varuna, or the Iranian Amirdada, “Lord of the Trees” and Avirdada “Lord of the Waters” (Chelariu 2003).

According to some beliefs, Earth rests on water (Olinescu 2008). Its weight is supported by four pillars, which in turn used to be held up by four fish. God put Saint John in charge to look after those fish. However, during the Great Flood, the saint got distracted and forgot all about the fish. He was curious to see what happens on Earth. Meanwhile, flood waters swept away one of the fish together with its pillar. The whole world was about to sink and vanish. God punished Saint John by ordering him to hold up the world, together with the rest of the fish, for the rest of the time. From then on, the saint is also known by the name John the Pillar. Saint John the Pillar resembles Atlas, the Greek

titan, who was eternally condemned by Zeus to support the weight of the heavenly vault on his shoulders (Harris and Platzner 2007).

### **The First People: The Giants and the Kind Ones (Blajini)**

The first people to have ever walked the earth were the giants (uriașii, jidovii) (Olinescu 2008). They had heads as big as mountains, and with a few steps could reach any country they wished to go to. The giants were kind-hearted and very strong people. For a long time humans and giants lived peacefully side by side, and almost became friends. But one day, a war ensued between them. Each tried to get the better of the other by committing the most vile and atrocious crimes. There are many stories that explain how the giants disappeared from the face of earth. According to one tale, God decided to punish both the humans and the giants, and sent the Great Flood where all perished but a few humans. The last standing giant tried to save himself by propping his feet on top of two mountains while holding tight onto the sky handles. However, a swarm of flies got the better of the giant. As he released his hand from the sky to chase the flies away, the giant lost his footing and toppled into the raging waters of the flood (Olinescu 2008).

Some stories say that the biblical Adam himself was a jidov (Olinescu 2008). According to a Romanian tale, during his travels to the Far East, Alexander the Great and his army came across Adam's head. The mere sight of it frightened all the soldiers, and no one had the courage to advance. However, Alexander the Great asked a thousand of his bravest soldiers to bury the skull by covering it with stones. It took three days until the head was completely covered, and when the soldiers left, instead of the head there was a tall mountain (Olinescu 2008).

It is believed that the giants hoarded many treasures (Olinescu 2008). In their travels they gathered precious stones, metals and any delightful objects they could find. Those treasures were buried with them when they died. The places where giants were buried with their treasures are enchanted. It is thought that the night before great holidays, particularly in the eve of St. George's Day (April 23rd), magical fires burn above the places where treasures lie. However, it is said that the closer one gets to a giant's treasure, the deeper it slides into the ground (Olinescu 2008).

The Kind Ones (Blajini) are human-like, very tiny people created by God soon after he created the Giants (Olinescu 2008). They are so tiny that twelve Blajini could get their fill from a single egg. However, soon after creating the humans, God decided to move the Kind Ones into the Otherworld. This place, similar to Hades, the Greek kingdom of the Underworld, is separated from the human realm by a long, serpent-like river. The Otherworld is so distant that the sunlight resembles moonlight (Pamfile 2007a). Some people believe that when the moon shines bright, you should never say "what a bright light!" because the Kind Ones will put a curse on you to become nearsighted or even blind (Pamfile 2007a). Nevertheless, the Kind Ones are kindhearted, just, and very pious. Their greatest joy

is to celebrate Christmas and Easter. However, they never actually know when to rejoice because in the Otherworld there are no calendars. Humans remind them of these holidays, by throwing into rivers or streams walnut shells at Christmas and red egg shells at Easter (Olinescu 2008; Pamfile 2007).

### **Saint Ilie**

Saint Ilie is one of the most prominent figures in Romanian lore. Ilie entered the Romanian pantheon of Christian saints from the Old Testament. He is considered to be none other than the prophet Elijah, mentioned in the Book of Kings. Elijah confronted Israeli kings who worshiped false idols, and dedicated his life to punishing nonbelievers and defending the work of God. He was given the power to control rain: “there shall be neither rain nor dew these years, except by my word” (Kings 1, 17:1). While in the desert, God sent ravens to feed Elijah with bread and meat (Kings 1). Elijah performed miracles, resurrecting people from the dead, and ensured that food was always replenished for those who helped him. He tracked false prophets and destroyed them, either by sword or by invoking divine fire (Kings 1:18, Kings 2:1). As a reward for his unwavering faith Elijah did not die, but ascended “in a chariot of fire” drawn by “horses of fire [...] in a whirlwind into heaven” (Kings 2, 2:11). Romanian folklore has kept some of the elements from the Old Testament, even though never in the same consistent form. However, countless other details have been incorporated into rituals, superstitions and folk tales, which it could be argued have very little in common with Christian tradition. For example, St. Ilie is the fiercest enemy of the devil. His weapons are lightning and the thunderbolt. Ilie is well represented in ecclesiastical iconography, but also in popular beliefs, tales and superstitions.

The Romanian folk tales about Ilie present several Indo-European themes, usually associated with the warrior god or the archetypal male hero. Right from the start, Ilie is depicted as a warrior in almost any folk tale. Early in his youth he joins the army to fulfill his patriotic deeds. As he returns from service, Ilie encounters the devil who deceives him into believing that his wife committed adultery and that she even had a child with another man while he was away. There are different variations to this plot, such as Ilie murdering either his wife and son, or his parents in an act of rage. In all situations, Ilie understands his mistake and the devil’s deceit, asks God for forgiveness and begs for the chance to take his revenge. God then gives him a chariot of fire, thunder and lightning and puts him in charge of chasing and punishing the devil. However, Ilie’s strength and anger causes such havoc in the sky and among the devils, that God decides to take away one of his limbs, usually his right arm. Besides God, Ilie is the only saint who uses thunder and lightning as weapons, and during thunderstorms he turns the sky into a battlefield. He is governed by a profound sense of righteousness but also acts impulsively, a quality often met in hyperheroes. There are direct parallels between Ilie and the Greek hero Herakles, such as the slaughter of his own family, and entering a state of uncontrollable frenzy. The loss of limb is another widespread Indo-European theme related to

hyperheroes. This aspect is found in many contexts across the Indo-European landscape, from the Hindu hero Arjuna to the Celtic king Nuadu (Puhvel 1987). The possession of the fiery cart also situates Ilie among the sky gods. G. Ciausanu (1914) makes a direct correlation between St. Ilie and the Greek god Helios, who also rides in a chariot of fire, drawn by fiery horses.

In a folk tale (Voronca 1903a), where Ilie was enraged at some priests' inability to give him an appropriate penance for the capital sin he had committed, Ilie kills them and destroys their churches. To prevent further slaughter and damage, a hermit locks Ilie in his own hermitage, and throws away the key. For forty years Ilie lives off bread and water which magically replenish themselves. After forty years God releases Ilie and offers him a penance for his sin. He was to carry logs and firewood for a whole year, and then burn himself on the pyre. Only then would he be saved. Ilie did as he was told and while burning on the pyre, was taken by God to Heaven, where he was given lightning and thunder to hunt the devil.

The killing of priests resonates with Herakles' acts of desecration of the oracle at Delphi, when the Pythoness, the temple priestess, refused to purify him. However, it could be argued that the penance given by God is a reference to the Dacian ancient funerary rituals. The Dacian funerary tradition was cremation (Oltean, 2008). Only the children were buried. Considered without sin, children were reintroduced into the earth's "womb" to be reborn. Dan Oltean argues that one of the most important aspects of the Dacians' beliefs about life, death and sin was that each individual carried guilt within his/her own body. Sin was internalized, and guilt individualized. The only form of expiation was through actions imposed onto the body (Oltean, 2008). One could expiate through either ascetic life, like the priests and monks, or through heroic deeds in battle. The body was considered to be the source of evil, and the soul would become free once it fulfilled its destiny and the flesh was destroyed by burning (Oltean, 2008). It could be argued that certain elements related to Dacian values survived in Romanian lore and blended with certain Christian correlates, such as the search for purification through actions imposed on the body, and asceticism.

In some stories (Pamfile, 2007b), after murdering his own family, Ilie lives like a hermit for a long time in the desert or the mountains. Just as in the Old Testament story about the prophet Elijah, in Romanian religious iconography a raven is always portrayed as bringing Ilie food and water every day. A parallel could be drawn here between this detail and the widespread Indo-European theme of the bird who aids the hero or the god at crucial times (Puhvel 1987).

It could be argued that tales and beliefs about St. Ilie could be linked to an ancient cult for the storm or sky god. For example, according to one belief, St. Ilie strikes with thunder and lightning those who doubt his power (Brill, 2005). St. Ilie is celebrated on July 20<sup>th</sup>, the same day as Perun, the Slavic storm god (Struk, 1993). In Ukrainian folklore, the roles and attributes of Perun were transferred to the

cult for Saint Elijah (Struk, 1993). Ciausanu (1914) situates St. Ilie next to the gods Indra (Hindu), Thor, Donar (Germanic), Perun (Slavic), Taranis (Celtic), Zeus (Greek), Jupiter (Roman), and Iahve (Hebrew) who are all sky gods and relate to storm and thunder.

## **Dragons**

Storm and thunder are sometimes also attributed to dragons that live in the sky (Pamfile, 2007; Olinescu, 2008). Some people in Romania call these dragons zmei (Pamfile, 2007a). It is thought that during thunderstorms dragons battle each other. Sometimes the battle is so great that blood from the dragons pours from the sky. Their blood has healing powers for any kind of illnesses to both humans and cattle (Pamfile, 2007a). According to Romanian folk beliefs, there are several types of dragons: water dragons, land dragons, and celestial dragons. In some tales, celestial dragons are born in the sky when it rains. Whenever they meet, dragons start fighting right away and destroy everything in their path: uproot trees, wreck chimneys and rooftops, and sweep away carts and wagons that happen to be in their path (Pamfile 2007).

It is believed that a dragon is a snake that did not see a human face, or bite anyone for twelve years (Olinescu 2008, Pamfile 2007a, Voronca 1903a). Then, it grows wings and legs, and becomes zmeu. When it leaves the forest, the trees bend to the left and to the right to make way. Then, the dragon flies to the clouds. Echoing St. Ilie's tasks in the sky, dragons look after thunder, lightning and hail. Whenever clouds swarm over the sky and it thunders, it is the dragons who chase after the devil to catch and destroy him. There is no safe place for the devil to hide because dragons can strike anywhere: under a rock, an animal or even a human. People who are struck by lightning and die this way are forgiven of any sins they may have committed during their lives.

Marcel Olinescu (2008) makes a clear distinction between the dragons who are related to weather (rain, clouds, storm) and the dragons from fairy tales. Fairy tale dragons are always construed as the embodiment of everything evil, terrifying, and grotesque. Olinescu argues that the dragon from fairy tales symbolizes the union between incredible might, wickedness and proclivity to all things evil. Moreover, these evil dragons combine all the dreadful characteristics met in other beasts. However, aside from hyperbolic descriptions, fairy tale dragons share strikingly similar characteristics with storm dragons from folk beliefs. In Olinescu's commentary, these fantastic creatures have gigantic heads with twelve tongues and most often are depicted with up to seven heads. A dragon's mouth resembles that of a snake or crocodile and is so large that it could fit an entire man, together with his horse, in it. It has frog-like, bulging eyes, and its horse-like nostrils hurl red-hot flames against the opponent. The dragon's lizard-like body is long, covered with stone or steel scales. It has four or more legs that end with lion claws. Its snake-like tail is long, and so strong that with a single blow it could

put a bull to death. Some fairy tale dragons have wings, but most of them slither on the ground, and live in forests, caves or wells.

It is believed that snakes and land dragons have unique magical powers. According to one belief (Olinescu 2008), on a certain spring day, a multitude of snakes of all ages and sizes meet in a very remote place deep in the mountains. All snakes come from far and wide. Their meeting spot is a secret mountain gorge, surrounded by steep cliffs and thorny bushes. This place is so wild and uninviting that no man could ever set foot there. The time when the snakes meet falls once every other seven years. Close to this day all snakes become restless. They dance in the moonlight, and suddenly set off as if summoned by a voice or an enchanted whistle. When reaching their secret place, each snake starts wrapping against another, bending their heads to the left or to the right. The snakes whistle until all the others are gathered. Next, each snake takes a turn and spits frothy saliva into a certain spot, while the eldest of the snakes chants a spell unknown by the others. From this amalgam of spellbound foaming spittle emerges an enchanted stone with sun-like flickering. All the snakes start fighting for this stone. What happens next is a twisting and untwisting of bodies, contorting snake scales rise and fall, undulating against each other, biting and bone shattering. The strongest and mightiest of snakes draws near to the stone and swallows it. This entire ceremony is called “the seething of the stone.” The snake who swallows the stone, thus defeating its comrades, flees into the woods. If for seven consecutive years the snake did not see any humans, it turns into a dragon. For this to happen, the snake must hide in the deepest gorges or in the darkest forests. If it ever sees a human’s face, the snake bursts apart because of anger and spite (Olinescu 2007). These magical gemstones bestow upon those who possess them tremendous powers, such as fulfilling any desire one might have (Pamfile 2007a). Particularly, whoever holds a magical gemstone understands everything animals and plants say to each other. More importantly, this magical gemstone allows ordinary snakes to become dragons. According to some Romanian beliefs, land dragons live in Armenia in mountain gorges, or deep and moist valleys. This is why Romanians believe that Armenians are most famous for trading precious stones and gems (Pamfile 2007a).

Generally it is believed that dragons are good and holy (Voronca 1903b). If God allows them, they live in the sky. They have scales just like the fish, but as wide as a human palm and are dark-blue in color. Dragons are indestructible, unless they are injured beneath the scales, through their belly or mouth. Their head looks like a dog’s and their ears are yellow. Dragons eat woodland strawberries (Voronca 1903b).

### **Solomonari**

The dragons are controlled by wise men called solomonari (Olinescu, 2008). Romanians believe that the solomonari are very pious and knowledgeable men. After learning all the books in their

country, they leave for faraway lands, all the way to King Por (a fictive Indian king). There they live in a cave and on a stone table, write in a book all the knowledge from the world. To become solomonari, they have to face many challenges given by God. If the challenges are passed, God gives them the power to rise up to the sky and control the clouds and sky dragons (Olinescu, 2008). Then solomonari return to their villages by riding on clouds with their book of knowledge under their arm and directing the clouds with a staff. They live in the clouds for as long as they want to. From time to time, solomonari descend to earth to make sure that humans live righteously (Olinescu, 2008).

Solomonari dress like paupers and beg from door to door (Olinescu 2008). If people show hospitality, kindness and generosity, a solomonar rewards them with plentifulness and good luck. When people treat the solomonar unkindly, despise him and chase him away, those people are jinxed and punished. A solomonar goes to the nearest pond and reads from his book until the water freezes (Olinescu, 2008). He walks to the middle of the pond and breaks the ice to look for dragons. If the dragon that comes out is too small, the solomonar sends it back to grow some more. If the dragon is big enough, the solomonar rides on its back and raises up to the sky. With his staff, he summons all four winds and as a captain he commands the storm. Rain pours down from the sky, the winds pull young trees from their roots, and hail wrecks the fields. Solomonari receive this power only for a few years. Once that time has passed, they settle in their villages and live an honest life. They still keep all the knowledge and serve as protectors from other solomonari who could potentially punish the villagers unfairly (Olinescu 2008).

These wizards are, in fact, Dacian priests or monks, whose memory has survived in Romanian lore. Their direct association with the dragons is reminiscence of the Dacian military cult (Oltean 2008). The wolf-dragon combination has a profound and complex significance for Dacian ideology. The dragon with a wolf's head is the characteristic emblem of Dacian tribes that used to occupy present day Transylvania (Oltean 2008). These people considered themselves to have descended directly from wolves (Oltean 2008). Mircea Eliade (1980, as cited by Oltean 2008) argued that, in conformity with Strabo, Dacians called themselves daoi, the Phrygian name for wolf. Also, in initiation rites and during battle, Dacians imitated the wolves' behaviour (Oltean 2008). On its own, the dragon represents the highest display of power in nature and constitutes the ultimate challenge for Dacian warriors (Oltean 2008). The cosmogonic dragon is both revered and feared, and ultimately has to be defeated. The combination wolf-dragon symbolically suggests the submission of cosmic forces to the hero / warrior (Oltean, 2008). The Dacians inhabiting the Carpathian basin most certainly adopted the wolf-dragon war flag under the rule of Burebista in the 1st century BCE (Oltean, 2008). Even during Roman occupation until the middle of 4th century CE, Dacian troops that were recruited to serve the Empire kept their flag and wolf-like behavior during battle, through their war cry (Oltean, 2008). This

evidence suggests that, for at least four or five centuries, Dacians still practiced their religion and perpetuated the wolf-dragon warrior cult. The fact that in Dacia neither the wolf nor dragon were aggressively vilified by Roman conquerors, enabled the survival of these elements in Romanian lore, sometimes even with auspicious connotations (Oltean, 2008).

The correlation between solomonari and the dragon reminds us of the presumed Dacians' three initiation rites into priesthood (Oltean, 2008). The first initiation stage was the killing of the house snake, believed to be one's brother and friend until one reaches puberty (Oltean, 2008). The second stage represents identification and confrontation with the wolf and gaining recognition from the war god. The final stage constitutes identification with taming and defeat of the cosmic dragon (Oltean, 2008). Each stage presented challenges meant to reduce the number of candidates (Oltean, 2008). As not just any snake could become a dragon, there were very few among the Dacians who could become priests (Oltean, 2008). The snake is by definition a chthonic element, and a symbol of fertility. Moreover, in this context it represents a domestic element. The second initiation stage transforms the candidate into a warrior. The third and final initiation stage elevates the candidate to cosmic level and confers the status of a priest (Oltean, 2008). It is the closest one could get to the Dacians' supreme god Zalmoxis. From a spatial perspective, the priest gains the knowledge about all known realms by confronting, or identifying with, the most representative elements: sub-terrestrial through the snake, terrestrial through the wolf, and cosmic through the atmospheric dragon (Oltean, 2008).

With the rise of the Dacian kingdom within the Carpathian basin, between the reign of Burebista and Decebalus (82 BCE - 106 CE), a new specialized caste of priests, called pleistoi emerged (Oltean, 2008). These priests led an ascetic, isolated life, in temples situated close to the top of the mountains (Oltean, 2008). The pleistoi were likened to the Essenes, ascetic Hebrew people (Oltean, 2008). Just like the solomonari, the pleistoi chose places closest to the sky and the sky god. The primary function of solomonari is the control of weather and atmospheric phenomena through dragons, which they conjure, charm, and ride just as one would on tamed horses (Oltean, 2007). Oltean argues that the etymology of the word pleistoi, (s)p(h)el - to shine - suggests the priests' participation in rituals dedicated to the sky god.

To better understand the behaviour of the dragons, solomonari must live just like them, underground for seven years (Oltean, 2008). Meanwhile they must not speak to anyone. Afterwards they attend a school called solomonărie, where they learn from their mentor, Unilă (Oltean, 2008). Even though the complex personality of pleistoi is reduced by that of solomonari, their transformation in Romanian lore is due to subsequent cultural changes and external influences (Oltean, 2008). The most noteworthy example is that of the book of knowledge possessed by solomonari. The Dacians did not write or read. Just like the Celts, Scythians, and Germanic people, Dacians relied solely on oral

tradition to perpetuate their knowledge and ideology (Oltean, 2008). Later, around the 17th or 18th century when written knowledge was more widespread, under Christian Orthodox tradition the pleistoi became solomonari (Oltean, 2008). They were placed directly under the patronage of King Solomon from the Old Testament, from where the name for these wizards derives (Oltean, 2008).

### **Ielele**

Ielele, also known as Fairies, are among the most feared, but also revered figures in Romanian folkloric traditions (Eliade 1976). They are beautiful and playful immortal young women with an ambivalent character. If angered the Fairies can be cruel, therefore it is safer not to pronounce their names. One can refer to them as The Holy Ones, The Munificent Ones, The Rosalia, or simply They (Iele) (Eliade 1976). Whenever they meet, the fairies join in wild, frenzied dances. People who see them could lose their mind, or be maimed forever (Olinescu 2008). Wherever they dance, the grass looks as if burnt by a fire (Eliade 1976). Midsummer's Eve is the time when the power of Iele is the greatest. One can understand how animals talk amongst each other. Miraculous plants can be gathered, such as fern flowers thought to bring life-long luck, or Iarba Fiarelor, a mysterious flower which can be used to open any locks (Olinescu 2008).

Closely linked to beliefs related to Iele is the tradition of the Călușari. Călușari are an initiatic and cathartic group of men who perform dances meant to heal the physical and emotional injuries of those thought to have been maimed by Iele (Eliade 1976). The ritualic dance performed by Călușari creates the impression of flying and imitates that of the fairies. Their relation to Iele is ambivalent. While emphasizing solidarity with the horse (cal in Romanian), the totemic element thought to drive the Iele away, Călușarii are directly subordinated to the Queen of Fairies (Eliade 1976).

The wild dance of Iele resembles that of Maenads, "mad women" from Dionysus' retinue (Harris and Platzner 2007). The Greek god Dionysus embodies the human unconscious and instinctual life that animates nature. The Maenads gathered at night in the mountains and through ritual singing and dancing, achieved religious ecstasy ((Harris and Platzner 2007).

### **The Fates (Ursitoarele)**

The Fates from Romanian lore are three fairy sisters who decide the destinies of children from the day they are born. They live in a palace filled with candles (Olinescu 2008). Each candle represents a certain person's life and burns brighter or dimmer, depending on how much longer the person has left to live. Ursitoarele eat only stolen food and must never be seen by the parents of the child they visit. Romanian Fates are similar to the Moirae from the Greek mythology, and the Norns from the Norse tradition.

## **Conclusions**

Romanian lore, like any other tradition, is a vast and wonderful realm to explore. Even though at times it might seem ambiguous, inconsistent, and even contradictory, the mythic material in Romanian folklore offers invaluable insights into the values of the people who created it. Certain characteristics confer specificity to Romanian traditions. Myth and fairy tale coexisted in a common cultural context. It could be argued that the metamorphosis of folkloric narratives was contingent on the social, historical, and religious realities of the people who created them. Romanian lore displays elements often seen in traditions such as Greek, Norse, Slavic, and Iranian, suggesting interaction with neighboring communities and migratory populations. One question to further reflect upon is: at what time, and if possible, in what particular way, did certain elements referring to ideology, technology and even to economic exchange enter Romanian lore? Could an analysis of folkloric records and material culture help to understand ideological emphases in particular moments in a society's past? Reflecting on the language that suggests certain technologies, actions, or even beliefs could help one understand the context in which social changes might have occurred.

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## ***Cultural Politics in Socialist Romania***

Ana-Maria Dragomir

### **Introduction and framework**

One of the main ideas introduced by Katherine Verdery (1995) in *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania*, is that Romanian intelligentsia became the medium through which discourses of national ideology were produced and reified in communist Romania, and as such contributed to the formation of a symbolic-ideologic mode of control used by the state apparatus over its subjects. The processes of constructing such discourses are complex, and rooted in a very robustly institutionalized national ideology inherited by the Romanian Communist Party from the social and political developments which had led to the formation of the Romanian state (Verdery 1995). They also stemmed from a long history of endless critical debates in which Romanian intellectuals expressed their opposing views regarding the values that should define national identity. Furthermore, as Verdery argues, particularly during late socialist years, discourses of national ideology were strengthened by the intellectuals' struggle over the accumulation of cultural authority.

Drawing from Katherine Verdery's analysis of communism in Romania, I discuss the evolution of intellectual debates, their intersection with politics, and the resulting (re)production of a national ideology which was used by the Communist Party as a tool to enforce its hegemony. In discussing the politics of culture in Romania, I do not employ the "traditional" anthropological rendition of the word "culture." In my discussion, I use Verdery's approach to cultural politics, as a representation of the interplay between cultural products engendered by artists, writers, musicians, and scholars for both specialist and broader audiences, and the political sphere which sought to manage and shape the culture being produced (Verdery 1995). In Verdery's view, particularly relevant to understanding how the politics of culture contributes to the formation of national ideologies is an investigation of the politicized cultural productions in literary criticism, historiography, philosophy, and sociology.

### **Pre-WWII cultural politics**

The legacies that enabled the construction of a national ideology in Romanian imagination can be traced back to the producers (and promoters) of Romanian culture during the era of national revival in the nineteenth century. As Lucian Boia argues, and similar to other states-in-formation, "in the process of creating Romania, cultural action preceded political act" (2001:242). The main producers of a common Romanian consciousness were "men of letters [...] who gave shape to a common history and a spiritual space", and helped to build a Romanian identity (Boia 2001:242). This construction of a national consciousness and identity was based on romanticist views, which emphasized the ideas of

originality and authenticity, and situated the notion of national essence at the frontispiece of state-nation building. One of the most essentialized aspects of culture was folkloric literature, which was proclaimed the treasury of Romanian spirit, and the paramount of Romanian wisdom (Verdery 1995). It could be argued that this phenomenon of essentializing traditional forms is due to the fact that Romania for the longest time has been considered, and considered itself, a rural society. Furthermore, given the high level of urban minorities that were not ethnically Romanian, peasants were pushed full into view, and became the common denominators of everything that was considered essentially Romanian (Verdery 1995). Consistent with imaginings of rural life, and with traditional Romantic ideals, the idea of Romanianness was constructed around the perfect symbiosis between the Romanian people and the land they inhabited (Verdery 1995). One of the most prominent figures who emerged from this movement was Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889), who for the longest time was - and perhaps still is - portrayed as the embodiment of the “national genius,” and “the most outstanding of all Romanians” (Boia, 2001:245). Ever since the first publication of his poetry, Eminescu’s figure gained in Romanian consciousness mythological proportions, that no other Romanian poet was able to compete with (Boia 2001). Inspired from the Romantic German tradition, in which Eminescu was educated, his poetry is considered to be distinguished by a musicality that produced a “tyrannical effect” over its Romanian readers, and that kept them “under its spell for more than a century” (Boia 2001:244). Furthermore, Eminescu’s figure has always been identified with the rural Romanian life. Despite the fact that he completed his education in Vienna and Berlin, Eminescu remained in Romanian consciousness as a “‘man of the soil’ and of elementary essences,” and the “transfigured image of the eternal Romanian peasant” (Boia 2001:243). However, while his poetry is not overtly political, Eminescu was also involved in his contemporary political scene, as a devout nationalist and a reactionary (Boia 2001; Verdery 1995). He edited a conservative paper, where he promoted his nationalist views, and where he often displayed xenophobia, antisemitism and rejection of modernity (Boia 2001). However, his political writings have rarely been made available to wider audiences, and until recently, his extremist views have been virtually unknown.

Eminescu belonged to a group of intellectuals who promoted the indigenist values of Romanian culture. Another prominent intellectual from this group was Titu Maiorescu who strongly criticized Western influences. In literature, he developed the theory of “form without substance,” according to which Western “forms” were incompatible - and therefore harmful - to the “substance” of Romanian society (Verdery 1995:40). Maiorescu argued that, rather than engaging in cosmopolitan borrowing, Romanians should concentrate their efforts in promoting the organic development of their own culture. From this point on, the idea of defining the essence of Romanianness became the focus of debate among Romanian intellectuals (Verdery 1995).

The cultural life in the interwar period was characterized by passionate debates centered around issues such as the relationship between traditionalism and modernism, “the role of the Orthodox religion in Romanian society” and “the problem of the national character” (Georgescu, 1991:205). Some of the most notable examples are Nichifor Crainic, a theologian, professor of mysticism, poet and journalist, and Nae Ionescu, a philosophy professor. They both publicly declared their anti-Western and traditionalist position and called upon a return to the Christian origins of Romanian culture by arguing that the materialism of Western Modernism perverted national culture (Georgescu, 1991). Considering Orthodoxy as “the essence of Romanian-ness”, Ionescu was very close to the Legion of the Archangel, a far-right anti-semitic, ultra-nationalist, messianic movement, with the cult of the leader, that had its beginnings in 1922-1923 (Georgescu 1991). Closer to WWII the legion gained fascist links and was institutionalized under the name of Iron Guard (Georgescu 1991:205). The legionaries were responsible with “the first great pogrom after the outbreak of the war” which took place in Romania in the town of Iași in 1941 (Georgescu 1991:221). Over the course of WWII, hundreds of thousands of Jews died at the hands of the legionaries. However, as Georgescu points out, “Romanian Marxist historians have never acknowledged that the Holocaust reached Romania,” even though the legionaries were the fiercest enemies of the early Romanian Communist Party (1991:221). In the interwar period the legionaries continuously persecuted the members of the Communist Party, which they forced to literally move underground.

Other young intellectuals who gained considerable international prominence after WWII were Eugen Ionesco, Emil Cioran, Mircea Eliade and Constantin Noica (Georgescu 1991). With the exception of Ionesco, who in the 1930’s was “an antitotalitarian literary anarchist,” all were rightist intellectuals, and adhered to the traditionalist, anti-Western position (Georgescu 1991:205). They emphasized Romanians’ Dacian heritage, in which they took a particular interest and considered it “more significant to the development of Romanian spiritual values than the Roman - that is, Western - influence” (Georgescu 1991:205).

Some moderately traditionalist intellectuals avoided the extreme right standpoint but still sought to define national essence based on its traditional character (Georgescu 1991). Such is the example of Lucian Blaga, a philosopher and poet, who developed the theory of the “Mioritic space” named after a folk ballad, Miorița (The Ewe). In this theory he attempted to portray the Romanian landscape as the country’s stylistic matrix (Georgescu 1991).

Despite the strident rightist rhetoric employed by the traditionalist intellectuals in their discourses, there were several liberal artists, theorists and writers who significantly helped to shape the thinking of an entire generation of students. These intellectuals advocated for industrial and urban growth and rejected ruralism (Verdery 1995; Georgescu 1991). In literary criticism, the leading

intellectuals in the interwar period were Tudor Vianu, Eugen Lovinescu, and George Calinescu. Eugen Lovinescu engaged the traditionalists in fierce debates about their discourse on the idea of national essence (Verdery 1995). He attacked his opponents with the notion of synchronism, where he argued that “all forms of life in modern societies that are in solidarity with one another have a tendency to become uniform” (cf. Lovinescu 1972 [1924-1926]:359, as cited by Verdery 1995:52). He further argued that a relationship of interdependence among societies leads to borrowing and imitation, and helps to develop that which is best in a society’s indigenous social and cultural life. Lovinescu questioned the usefulness of the idea of “national essence” in helping to define Romanian culture. However, he pushed forward an apparently different one: that of the “national soul,” which, unlike the former, has the potential to change over time (Verdery 1995). Moreover, he took a critical attitude towards the idea of national essence, by pointing out that this discourse creates straightjackets for the literary and art forms (cf. Lovinescu 1972, as cited by Verdery 1995: 53).

### **Post-WWII cultural politics**

At the end of the war, Romania was under the influence of the Soviet Union. The first actions taken by the Communist Party were to hunt down all the legionaries, and the intellectuals who were suspected to have had any association with the fascist movement in Romania. August 23, 1944 marked the overthrow of Marshal Ion Antonescu, a Romanian leader who chose the Axis’ side during WWII. From then on and until the fall of the communist regime, August 23 was celebrated as Romania’s national liberation day, or put differently, the day of liberation from fascist oppression. Until the early 1960’s Romania, like the rest of the Eastern European states, undertook a period of dogmatism that was meant to accentuate the Soviet influence and inhibit the production of indigenous culture (Verdery 1995). During this period, the Party leaders emphasized the idea of proletcultism, an early socialist movement which originally intended to dethrone former “bourgeois” cultural forms and to promote proletarian culture, or culture produced by the masses for the masses (Verdery 1995). Nevertheless, during the early Stalinist years, proletcultism gained a different social currency, as it strived to eradicate former cultural productions altogether. Party ideology controlled and interfered with the production of culture. Many Romanian literary and philosophical texts from before WWII were censored, and certain interwar intellectuals who did not align with the Party’s agenda were either dismissed from their academic positions, or were prosecuted. For example Lucian Blaga lost his position as a university professor chair, and was employed as a librarian (Verdery 1995). The leader of the National Peasant Party, Corneliu Coposu, who strongly opposed the collectivization of rural lands, and remained a steadfast anti-communist throughout the regime, was imprisoned in hard labour facilities for over 17 years (Boia 2001). Philosopher Constantin Noica was another prominent victim of the period. Given his pre-war association with the extreme nationalist Nae Ionescu, and his post-war

illegal correspondence with Emil Cioran, who had emigrated to Paris, Noica was also sentenced to imprisonment in Romania's political penitentiaries (Verdery 1995).

In the 1960's the intellectuals accused the Soviets of having suppressed national ingenuity (Verdery 1995). Proletcultism was linked to the idea of dogmatism and the contamination of culture by politics. Artists and intellectuals demanded the decentralization of cultural institutions and of the publishing establishment (Verdery 1995). One of the strategies employed by the Romanian intelligentsia, for reclaiming control over the production and dissemination of culture, was what Verdery calls the "indigenization of Marxism." The intellectual efforts revolved around domesticating the imposed Marxist language by subverting its categories (Verdery 1995). This could be seen as one of the most paradoxical turn of events during Romania's socialist years. The indigenization of Marxism consisted of inserting "Marxist language and theoretical claims into a discourse in which the Nation had priority" (Verdery 1995:165). The discourse of the Nation was riddled with Marxist tenets, such as the right to self-determination, and the struggle against imperialism (regardless of its nature: political or cultural, Western or Soviet). In the end, the goal of overriding the Soviet discourse was accomplished successfully, and this development allowed Romania to gain autonomy from Soviet domination. Particularly after a famous speech by Ceausescu in the late 1960's against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, more intellectual elites were drawn into the Party than ever before (Verdery 1995). Furthermore, this strategy also helped Romania to gain the US "Most-Favored Nation" status in 1975, and Ceausescu was dubbed as the "maverick" of the Eastern block (Verdery 1995).

In the 1960's Romania enjoyed some of the most liberal reforms during communism (Verdery 1995). Many intellectuals who were imprisoned after the war during the dogmatist period, including Constantin Noica, were offered amnesty. Books were released from censorship and texts on Western critical theory were translated into Romanian. However, towards the late 60's, young intellectuals increased their demands towards the Party and asked for the abolition of censorship (Verdery 1995). They also demanded that there be no political involvement with the production of culture.

The reassertion of intellectual rights over the production of culture also revived the debate over the idea of national essence, and eventually brought with it a struggle over cultural authority. Verdery classified the two major directions in the debate as "protochronism" and "antiprotochronism." Protochronism (protocronism in Romanian), refers to "that which came first" (proto = first, chronos = time). Just like the early indigenists and traditionalists, protochronists rejected cultural synchronism, the idea of cultural periphery, and that of subaltern culture. They promoted cultural products that they claimed to have been first and foremost Romanian (Verdery 1995). This discourse was unintentionally started by Edgar Papu, a critic in literary theory, who argued that, historically, Romanian cultural

products have shown a high degree of originality. Furthermore, he argued that “Romanian literary creations had often anticipated creative developments (such as surrealism, dadaism, and so forth)” (cf Papu 1974, as cited by Verdery 1995:174). However, far from claiming that Romanian cultural developments influenced Western cultural creativity, he attempted to encourage Romanians to recognize and promote their own creative potential. Nevertheless, as the idea of a “Romanian first” started to gain increasing popularity among indigenist intellectuals, Lovinescu’s theory of cultural synchronism, and its supporters, were equated with advocating for an European (Western, imperialist) identity (Verdery 1995).

Protochronists felt indignant towards what they considered “Romanians’ practically inborn inferiority complex that makes them see their own culture as inferior” (Verdery 1995:177). The idea of a “first-before-anywhere-else” was seen as the solution to restoring cultural dignity. This loss of national pride was attributed to the culture of imitation and borrowing that pro-Western critics, such as Lovinescu, were now accused of having promoted. Protochronism was heralded as the answer to the dangers of Western cultural imperialism, and to the contamination of Romanianness with alien values. Therefore, to search for originality and for the treasures hidden within the national genius became a protochronist pledge.

The Party took a special interest in protochronism, turned it into state doctrine, and employed it as a useful political instrument (Verdery 1995). Through the insistence on original creations, protochronism helped to build, and later supported Ceausescu’s personality cult (Verdery 1995). Furthermore, an aggressive emphasis on territorial borders, by invoking the Marxist tenet of the right to self-determination, served as a form of resistance against the expansion of Soviet politics (Verdery 1995).

### **Literary criticism**

As Verdery puts it, within the literary establishment “the spread of protochronism was the sign of the struggle for power” (Verdery 1995:188). At stake was not what is being produced but rather who judges over the product, who decides the literary canon, who gets to write the anthologies, encyclopedias, the school manuals or the dictionaries, the very tools that inform future generations of their country’s cultural upbringing and legacies. Drawing from Pierre Bourdieu, Verdery points out that values and criticism are central to cultural debates, because critics hold a “social mandate to produce legitimate classifications of artistic value” (cf. Bourdieu 1984:24, as cited by Verdery 1995:189). Furthermore, it is criticism and the values it sets forth that “form the basis for the recognition and further accumulation of cultural authority” (Verdery, 1995:189). The antiprotochronists’ reactions towards the extreme revival of indigenism circled around the idea that “first” does not necessarily mean “great.” They emphasized the importance of maintaining lucidity in

criticism as the means for preserving the dignity of value, and for impeding ambiguity about value (Cf. Dobrescu 1981:3, as cited by Verdery 1995:189). However, the more the state made use of protochronist constructions in its politics, the less favorable positions the opponents of the movement were likely to hold within intellectual circles. Verdery argues that in the Romanian economy of shortage, protochronism contributed to the remaking of a social order where cultural authority was transformed into political authority, and where the social space of intellectuals was defined by their political status and cultural authority.

### **Historiography**

Similar to the situation within the literary establishment, historiography was governed by individual and institutional rivalries over the resources needed to pursue and publish historical research (Verdery 1995). As Verdery points out, by looking at how the visions of the past were produced in Ceausescu's Romania, and how this production was intertwined with national ideology, the discipline of history presents itself as a good site for examining the politics of culture and of identity. For example, since the study of history invokes the idea of national borders, the shifts in historical discourses can help to index international relations.

One of the most notable disputes between historians revolved around a Transylvanian uprising in 1784, which was led by a peasant named Horea. The protochronist Ștefan Pascu asserted that the uprising was in fact a revolution, which anticipated the French Revolution itself. Furthermore, Pascu argued that it signaled the political and social movements which eventually led to the formation of the Romanian Communist Party (Verdery 1995). In his view, not only was this the beginning of a class struggle, but also the beginning of a national movement (Verdery 1995).

The rebuttal to this revolutionary rhetoric came from David Prodan, who argued that Pascu's assertions were based on arguments that had no scientific support. He pointed out that equating Horea's uprising with the notion of revolution, particularly with that of a national movement, was unrealistic since it lacked social and political contingency (Verdery 1995).

### **Philosophy**

Within the discipline of philosophy, protochronists attempted to resuscitate the Romantic views on traditional wisdom, by setting forth the idea of *ethno philosophy*. They speculated on the presupposed philosophy of the Geto-Dacians, and on the unwritten philosophical wisdom which "existed in Romanian culture ever since the Romanian people and its spirituality were formed" (cf. Iancu 1988, as cited by Verdery 1995:274). Strikingly similar to the rightist extremism of the interwar period, but perhaps with a different kind of vigor, indigenist intellectuals sought to demonstrate the accumulation of Romanian wisdom in proverbs, and in the Romanian language itself, which were essentialized as the Nation's spiritual reservoirs (Verdery 1995). Simply having been born within the

Romanian people and on Romanian soil endowed one with the ancient wisdom of their forebears (Verdery 1995).

One of the most fought over figures among Romanian philosophers is Constantin Noica. Both the protochronists and their opponents competed to gain monopoly over his writings. He developed a theory according to which Romanian traditional forms of thought were embedded in linguistic usages (Verdery 1995). Noica reflected upon the relation between the particular and the general (or the universal) and sought to illuminate a “harmonic theory of the ontological relation between tradition and modernity” that would offer an alternative to the modern Western mechanistic and dichotomizing worldviews (Verdery 1995:263). His goal was to understand how it would be possible for small cultures to “participate meaningfully in a global order dominated by others” (Verdery 1995:263). Nevertheless, the protochronists interpreted Noica’s work, particularly his analysis and interpretation of language, as an attempt to reveal the Romanian “ethnic subconscious” (Verdery 1995). Even though Noica initially did associate himself with traditionalist views, and with the protochronist movement, later he only published in antiprotochronist journals (Verdery 1995). However, he never fully disassociated himself from protochronists. Without having been critically involved with the protochronists’ use of his work, Noica indirectly contributed to the formation of the nationalist discourse, and allowed them to lay claim over his cultural legacy (Verdery 1995).

### **National ideology as a symbolic-ideological mode of control**

The intellectual processes that had led to the construction of a national ideology were central to the (re)enforcement of state legitimacy. During late socialist years the Ceausescu regime employed its most hegemonic force, by using a symbolic-ideological mode of control over the state subjects (Verdery 1995). More similar to the early rightist nationalist rhetoric than to socialist narratives, the political discourses were sprinkled with organic imagery and metaphors of kinship. Culture was depicted as a living organism, “a being with a soul that has both organicity and vitality, linked to generations of creative geniuses perpetuating the line of their spiritual forebears” (Zamfirescu 1975:46, as cited by Verdery 1995:211). The Party was identified with the Nation, which in turn was considered sacred. The early Romanian writers were seen as the “fathers” of Romania’s contemporary culture, and from their legacies Ceausescu himself emerged as “the most beloved son of the nation” (Verdery 1996:73, Verdery 1995). Furthermore, while the producers of culture were almost exclusively dubbed as fathers and sons, discourses about the Nation were heavily feminized and eroticized (Verdery 1996). One such example came from Ion Lăncrăjan, a poet and writer, who linked patriotism to an adolescent’s first love. According to Lăncrăjan, Romania “is the land with the name of a girl, and the fiery soul of a man,” her “rustling eyelashes” can be seen in the “rustling grain stalks” (1982: 81, 84 as cited by Verdery 1996: 76, 77). Furthermore Romania is imagined “with melancholy eyelids and with

rough hiding places of a rough audacity” (ibid. 84, as cited by Verdery 1996:77). Verdery argues that the mode of control which characterized late socialism in Romania resembled fascism more than anything else. National ideology acted both as an acquisition device, and as a tool for binding the community. Particularly true among intellectuals, the use of discursive practices about national identity and cultural values helped to define “who is in and who is out” (Verdery 1995:127).

The opposing discourse promoted more openness towards Western cultural values, and the adoption of pluralism in the production of culture. Under numerous attacks from indigenist intellectuals, and often accused of treason, many advocates of pluralism became dissidents. However, after the fall of the regime, oppression and marginalization under communism helped dissident intellectuals to gain considerable moral capital, and legitimized their claims for cultural authority.

### **Conclusions**

Verdery argues that an obsession with the national image, and the erosion of Romania’s image as a civilized, European country were some of the main factors which have led to the collapse of communism in Romania, and particularly to the violent overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu. While Verdery’s argument has the potential to illuminate certain social aspects at the end of the communist regime, it should be noted that these developments were not singular to Romania. To better contextualize Romania’s cultural politics and its place among the Eastern block states, it could be helpful to further discuss in what particular way did other Soviet satellites address the expansion of Soviet ideological domination. Similarly, to get a better grasp of how localized cultural changes occur, further research could focus on the particular way transnational ideologies (such as Marxism) become adopted in other national contexts?

One of the questions that Verdery sets forth is in which direction would the production of culture head in a post-communist context. As Vladimir Tismaneanu puts it, “can nationalism be ‘tamed’ and transformed into a positive energy, conducive to civic dialogue and cooperation, or is it bound to further aggressive goals of ethnic self-aggrandizement?” (1998:5). Many predictions about the fate of former socialist countries have tended to be less than optimistic. It could be argued that these unfavorable views are based on generalizations rooted in Cold War narratives about the socialist world. The social, political and economic developments that took place within socialist states were also fully dependent on developments that took place at a global level. Nevertheless, it could be useful to further analyze in what particular way the intellectual climate changed in the decades following the collapse of the regime, and how discourses about democratization, or Europeanization have been negotiated, contested or else upheld by the intellectual Romanian elite. Do discursive practices and debates about the national essence still persist, and if so, where are they positioned within the Romanian society? What is their relation to the new discourse of Europeanness? In what particular

way and by whom is the history of Romania being rewritten, and how are Romanian intellectuals situated within the context of (re)drafting Romania's past? Answering such questions could provide an important insight into how past cultural and political legacies are refracted in the present, and the currency these legacies gain within the wider ideological landscape shaped by neoliberal politics and globalization.

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self, the elders and the spirits of the animals. It also allows for celebratory events to take place in which the people strengthen cultural bonds to each other.

The Inuit people identify proudly with the hunter since hunting is the foundation of their existence.<sup>10</sup> There is a cosmic connection between animals and humans that is governed by rules of respect. The Inuit creation story begins with darkness. Both humans and animals lived on the earth but there was no difference between them. Animals could become humans and humans could become animals. It wasn't until the magic words, that light was created.<sup>11</sup> In the beginning, animals and humans lived in the darkness as equals. Everyone and everything has an inua, since the very beginning of time. Both humans and animals have souls. The Inuit people recognize that animals have a conscience, the ability to talk, can make decisions and feel pain, as well as love. Since animals are known to have a soul, special rules of respect are followed by the people because it is a recognition of the animal's spirit. This is not a mask of guilt, nor an exaggeration of respect. It is a core value to creation, which is a foundation to Inuit culture and how they perceive themselves in the cosmos.

Passed down through stories from the hunter to the son, is a familiar tale of how the bowhead whale came to be.<sup>12</sup> The creation of the sea mammals began when a man threw his daughter out of a boat. The daughter, Sedena, clung to the side of the boat, begging to climb back in. Her father would not listen. Instead he cut away at her fingers, the hands that so desperately clung to the side. As her fingers fell into the water, they transformed into the different sea mammals.<sup>13</sup> Inuit people recognize sea mammals as descendants of Sedena's limbs. It attributes the animals, that the hunter hunts and the people eat, to a human origin.<sup>14</sup> Animals are respected because they are human descendants. Both spirits are connected and share an inua.<sup>15</sup>

The relationship between the people and animals is sacred. During the hunt, before the animal is killed, the hunter observes special rules that honor and respect the animal he is tracking. The people of Inalik, Alaska, and other surrounding communities, for example, specifically wear a parka that is

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<sup>10</sup> Laugrand & Oosteen, p. 103.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 104.

<sup>12</sup> Lyudmila Bogoslovska, "The Bowhead Whale off Chukotka: Integration of Scientific and Traditional Knowledge," Trans. Petr Aleinikoy. *Indigenous Ways to the Present, Native Whaling In the Western Arctic*. Ed. Allen McCartney, (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press, 2003), p. 209.

<sup>13</sup> Laugrand & Oosten, p.108.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Although animals and humans share a common origin, they have different positions during a hunt. Animals are meant to be killed and eaten by the humans. The distinction between humans and animals is through the name. Animals are not given individual names because they are believed to be continuously born again and reincarnated. Humans have names that connect to their ancestors. Human names establish bonds to the land of the dead. Furthermore, the human names are meant to have important qualities of protection from ancestors so long as the human maintains his or her pace in society. (Laugrand & Oosten, p.132)

not made with wolf's fur.<sup>16</sup> The people in Inalik believe that killer whales hold a symbolic and interactive relationship with wolves. When the wolves enter into the sea, they transform into killer whales and when the killer whales come close to the shore they shift into wolves.<sup>17</sup> The wolves and the killer whales share the same inua but their shape changes depending on the type of environment they are in. The bowhead whale is preyed upon only by humans and killer whales, and it is known for its close association to the ice as a method to seek refuge from the killer whales.<sup>18</sup> If a hunter wore a parka made with wolf fur, the bowhead whale would be able to sense this, and would refuse to give itself up.<sup>19</sup> A hunter ensures that the parka is not crafted from the offensive fur. This particular attention to detail demonstrates the close relationship that a hunter has with his prey. The hunter is careful not to offend the bowhead whale. By observing the rules that govern the hunt, the hunter may be successful. It is a cultural tradition passed down through oral communication that the people know, that wearing a parka made with wolf fur is offensive when hunting the bowhead whale. The people do not use this type of respect to justify the killing of the animal. The bowhead whale is treated with sincere demonstrations of respect.

When a bowhead whale dies, its inua lives on. The spirit continues on and it will return to the people, only if it's body has been properly respected.<sup>20</sup> When the bowhead whale is butchered, for example, the people are very careful not to cut the bones. From the bones, it is believed that the soul of the animal will re-grow meat.<sup>21</sup> If the bone was ever cut, then the animal would not be able to return because the sacred bones had been abused. Prey was expected to return to a hunter continuously because of reincarnation.<sup>22</sup> Specific rules dictate how the hunter and his wife live and interact with the meat. Rules, such as refraining from cutting bones were implemented into the daily lives of the people, to prove to the animal their respect and worthiness for the animal to return to them again. All interactions with the animal, required a form of ritual to demonstrate respect. Animals must be respected for the continuation of Inuit survival, resulting in a connected cycle of exchange between a hunter and an animal.<sup>23</sup> In exchange for the meat, the animal is given respect. However, if an animal is not respected, the consequences are dire. The people would be subject to starvation, because the animals will retaliate by refusing to give themselves up. Furthermore, when the wildlife is mistreated

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<sup>16</sup> One of the hunters' greatest prey in the north is the bowhead whale, known to the people as arviq. Its massive size can reach up to 14-18m long and its blubber ranges from 5.5-23 cm thick, making the bowhead whale a catch that is sustainable for a community for months.

<sup>17</sup> Jolles, p. 311.

<sup>18</sup> *Encyclopedia of Marine Mammals*, p. 131.

<sup>19</sup> Jolles, p. 311.

<sup>20</sup> Laugrand & Oosten, p. 119.

<sup>21</sup> Bogoslovska, p. 250.

<sup>22</sup> Laugrand & Oosten, p. 120.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

or abused, the same part of the abuser will share the same pain.<sup>24</sup> The relationship between animals and the people is intertwined and reciprocal. People respect animals, not only as a food source, but for their inua. Inuit are convinced that in every situation, animals must be respected.

In Point Hope, Alaska, the Inuit community sets aside 3 days a year for a celebration of the whale hunt. The festival is referred to as, Nalukataq.<sup>25</sup> The purpose of this event is to give thanks to the spirit of the whale and to create group solidarity. The celebration begins with a prayer and the distribution of the whale meat to all members in the community.<sup>26</sup> Prayer symbolizes gratitude and humility because it shows that the people recognize and honor the spirit of the whale. The meat shared, is a gift to strengthen the bonds of kinship.<sup>27</sup> During the celebration, the focus is to be in harmony with the land, the animal and each other.<sup>28</sup> By situating the entire community in three solid days of celebration to the whale, the people establish a balance. The festival establishes a social organization of kinship through the acts of planning the hunt, butchering the meat, distribution and sharing. Indeed, the respect for the animals and the harmony of all life from an Inuit perspective is genuine.

In Gambell, Alaska, the Yupik people take part in a celebration of the bowhead whale. Each clan, or ramka has its own specialized practices of giving thanks.<sup>29</sup> It is known as eghqwaaghusallu.<sup>30</sup> The ceremony begins in the early spring before the hunters set out in search of the bowhead whale. People join together at the beach to have meals. The atmosphere at these events parallels the anticipation that is associated with Christmas morning because the people endure a long winter with stored meat and they long for fresh whale. The sharing of the meal reiterates the importance of establishing kinship between people.

When a whale is brought back to the people, a ritual follows. Part of the liturgy involves four pieces of meat to be left out on the ice for 4-5 days, depending on the sex of the whale.<sup>31</sup> The purpose of this is to honor the whale because the whale's spirit will soon take leave of the sea, only to return again in the future.<sup>32</sup> Ritual is heavily observed and outlined by the elders. There is apprehension during this time because if the rules are broken or not followed correctly, the people fear that they will upset the animal's spirit. In 1998, Inalik elders from Gambell expressed their anxiety performing such

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 124.

<sup>25</sup> Mary Larson, "Festival and Tradition: The Whaling Festival at Point Hope," *Indigenous Ways to the Present, Native Whaling In the Western Arctic*. Ed. Allen McCartney, (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press, 2003), p 342

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin, Native People and Wildlife Conservations in the North West Territories*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Barbara Bodenhorn, "Fall Whaling In Barrow Alaska: A Consideration of Strategic Decision-Making. *Indigenous Ways to the Present, Native Whaling In the Western Arctic*. Ed. Allen McCartney, (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press, 2003), p. 285.

<sup>29</sup> Jolles, p. 317.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Jolles, 328.

a ritual. They wondered if their failure to perform ancient ceremonies properly in the past was the reason for the inability of the hunters to take a whale for so long.<sup>33</sup> To the Inuit people, the rituals are very emotional and spiritual. Conducting and performing these rituals is a very serious matter. There is no demonstration of cultural power, but instead, it subjects the Inuit to a position of subordination to the animal's spirit.

When the hunters return to the community after a successful hunt, the blubber, or mangtak is given to the elders.<sup>34</sup> The mangtak is the most valued part of the whale because of its taste and nutritional value. By reserving special sections of the whale for the elders, the hunter is giving respect to his superiors. Spirituality is established because the act of hunting shows a community the dedication and honor of a hunter. Etuangat Aksaayuk, an Inuit man from Uqqurmiut expressed that not being able to provide elders with this delicacy was extremely embarrassing.<sup>35</sup> The need to provide elders with special parts of a whale built up the self-esteem of a hunter. It emphasizes the traditional values that hunting provides to the community. In this respect, hunting is a naturalized activity that is a central part of a communities growth as well as individual recognition. Exercises of restraint and humility are imperative because it acknowledges the importance of the whale and kinship ties.

In Naukan, a small village off the Bering Straits in Russia, an entire month is set aside to celebrate the bowhead whale. The soul of the whale is present during the festival at all times and it is the whale who is considered as a visitor offering itself.<sup>36</sup> Each day marks a specific event or ritual that also marks a rite of passage for many of the youth in the community. For example, day 20 marks the spiritual initiation of boys and they are treated with pieces of whale flippers and are told legends of their clan.<sup>37</sup> The festival in Naukan proves that there is a tradition amongst northern Indigenous people to religiously set aside time to show respect to the killed animal. The whale unites the people and characterizes the community as unique because each clan and place has its own specific way of ritual. It parallels religious observances on Sundays, or the Catholic observance of lent because whale festivals are planned acts of habitual ritual and worship. During the whaling festival in Naukan, the emphasis is not placed on human mastery of the world. There is a balance of life understood between the people and the whale and the people deliberately plan an entire month to celebrate the gift of food that the whale has given the community. The people understand that when meat is taken from the animal, there must be something given back to restore the balance. The lack of domination over animals during whaling festivals in Naukan proves that some scholars have overlooked an important

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 313.

<sup>35</sup> *Uqalurait*, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> Bogoslovska, 250.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 249.

and unique community that do not use hunting and ritual to exert supremacy over animals. Instead it is quite the opposite.

Approaches to wildlife management in the twentieth-century resulted in many restrictions placed upon Indigenous people of the north.<sup>38</sup> The image of the indigenous hunter as a reckless killer became the primary justification for wildlife conservation programs in the north.<sup>39</sup> These ideas were based on socially constructed assumptions and neglected to factor the effect of non-aboriginal trappers, hunters and whalers who had significant impact in the depletion of animal populations.<sup>40</sup> Restrictions on hunting traditional animals is a painful experience for the Indigenous people in the North.<sup>41</sup> It denies the people their tradition of being able to eat a superior meat and acquire sufficient nutrients. Hunting allows the people to participate in cultural bonds of kinship and to maintain ethnic pride, as well as spiritual awareness. When this is taken away, the results are devastating to the people. Hunting is a natural way of life for Inuit communities, and when this right is stolen from them, the result is detrimental.<sup>42</sup>

Hunting is a natural part of a community and a distinct culture is developed from it. The modern restrictions on hunting practices tore apart kinship and honor ties. A renowned boat captain and elder from Sireniki, Tepegkaw said that when the authorities delayed issuing licenses or permits, the elders would pass away without tasting the bowhead whale again. This was a shame for both the elders and the hunters.<sup>43</sup> The bowhead whale is a crucial part of the communities ability to establish a hierarchy based on respect. Another boat captain, also from Sireniki, named Angqalen said, “when hunting was banned, it seemed that our soul was killed altogether.”<sup>44</sup> Hunting becomes a part of a person’s well-being. It is a part of life that is special, celebrated, spiritualized and cannot be separated. The consequences of wildlife management, proves that restrictive game conservation measures harmed the mentalities of Inuit communities.<sup>45</sup> The impact of hunting on northern communities was

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<sup>38</sup> Sandlos, 13.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Kulchyski and Frank James Tester, *Kiumajut (Talking Back) Game Management and Inuit Rights, 1900-70*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), p. 26-30.

<sup>41</sup> Bogoslovska, 210.

<sup>42</sup> The bowhead whale is still considered an endangered species, even after a century after the commercial whaling industry has been outlawed. To Indigenous communities today, there are limitations and restrictions to the number of whales that can be hunted. (See *Encyclopedia of Marine Mammals*, p 132) These regulations are governed by the International Whaling Commission. The bowhead whale is internationally recognized as a protected species. What is striking is that in 1979, the Canadian government issued a stamp of the bowhead whale. (figure 2) This stamp celebrates the mammal as a species, not as an important component to Inuit life. This shows a colonial perspective of wildlife conservation because it leaves out the human component. An Inuit perspective includes the relationships between humans because humans are naturalized whereas colonial perspectives reject anthropocentrism in order to protect animals as a resource.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 246.

<sup>45</sup> Sandlos, 13.

overlooked when scholars argued that eating flesh is unnatural.<sup>46</sup> It is indeed natural for Inuit communities to participate in the hunt and to consume the flesh of animals. When the Inuit people cannot have access to wild game, it not only impairs their physical being, but their emotional well-being as well. Consequences of conservation acts illuminate the value that hunting has in Inuit communities and it reflects how natural and connected it is to Inuit ways of life.

The people who live in close interaction with the land, understand that when something is taken, something must be given back. There is a value placed on balance and when the balance is restored, spiritual bonds are reinforced. Everything and everyone is respected because of their inua and this reflects how the Inuit people interact with their surroundings. Dismissing the role that respect has in northern communities is an offense to the people because to them, respect dictates the hunt which not only provides a sustainable form of nutrients, but also creates a community and a significant component of their origin stories. Animal kinship bonds that germinate from the creation stories, particular involvement of animals in oral traditions, specific rituals of honoring, and deliberate periods of time reserved for celebrations, prove that the Inuit people are sincerely harmonious with other life forms. Respect in Inuit culture uniquely characterizes the daily interactions with the land and hunting, and allows for these relations to build unity within a community.

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<sup>46</sup>Sorenson, 276.

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## ***Canadian Men And Their Journey Into World War One***

Brittany Fisher

During the First World War of 1914, Canadians forged a reputation for bravery and commitment. Canadians earned this reputation because 500,000 men enlisted in a war that posed no threat to their homeland. World War One was fought in Europe with no expectations of reaching North America. 60,000 of these men would go on to lose their lives<sup>47</sup>. In 1914 Canada was still closely linked to Britain. Although Canada had its own responsible government, Britain still controlled its external affairs. This meant that if Britain declared war on a country, Canada was automatically required to declare war. Canada's lack of a foreign policy and effectively controlled by a Governor General, caused Canada to be at war when Britain was at war. Although Canada was at war in 1914, there was no pressure or political threat to the country that forced Canada to send troops to the frontlines. So why did many Canadians, of both British and non-British descent, volunteer in World War One? Many men felt that their bravery in World War One would prove their masculinity. Men liked to think of themselves as the best man among a group of men<sup>48</sup>. Canada was a culture where men needed to feel like men. This masculinity allowed them to fit in and feel equal to other men. Military officials played politically and socially on the cultural need for masculinity, and used it to recruit volunteers in World War One.

Before World War One, masculinity played a large role within Canadian society. Married men were expected to provide for their families. Women were often stay-at-home moms and men were the sole providers for the family. Society expected men to go to their jobs and put food on the table. If a man was not able to provide for his family, he was often looked down upon by society. Sports were also important to the masculine portrait. Football and hockey became important to the image of a man. Being able to fight also became a classic image of a man. Professional boxing was introduced in Canada. Boxing was the perfect combination of sports and legal fighting, until the death of Luther McCarty in Calgary in 1913<sup>49</sup>. Due to Luther's death, his opponent was charged with manslaughter. This showed male members of society that fighting could be taken too far. There was an image of masculinity that all male members of society strived to conform to. In doing so, they wanted to feel equal and possibly even superior to other men within their community. Every man strived to be the

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<sup>47</sup> Cook, Tim. *At The Sharp End Canadians Fighting The Great War 1914-1916*. Toronto: Penguin Group, 2007, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Granatstein, J. L., and Morton, Desmond. *Canada and the Two World Wars*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2003

<sup>49</sup> Wamsley, Kevin B., and David Whitson. "CELEBRATING VIOLENT MASCULINITIES: THE BOXING DEATH OF LUTHER MCCARTY." *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 419-431. America: History and Life with Full Text, EBSCOhost (accessed March 5, 2012).

best man. Military officers played on this hunger of men, giving them hope that if they joined in the war effort, they would be seen as a 'Man' by society's standards.

Many men felt political pressure to join the war. Canada was a Dominion of Britain, and therefore it was still loyal to Britain. Many men felt as though they were still part of Britain. Men showed their loyalty to Britain by singing in the streets, and flying the Union Jack<sup>50</sup>. Out of the 500,000 Canadian men who joined the war, 18,465 were of British decent, 9,159 were Canadian, and 652 were from other British colonies<sup>51</sup>. Most of these men were protecting their homeland<sup>52</sup>. Part of the Canadian vision of a man was loyalty.

Many men saw the war as a government paid trip to see the world. Canadians longed to travel, but not all men possessed the resources to do so. Joining the war was a way for them to travel and view the world using government money<sup>53</sup>. For other men who originally moved to Canada from Europe, it was a government paid trip home. Many men felt as though other men would look up to them if they could explain and describe other regions of the world.

Yoichi Kamakura was a Japanese soldier who fought in World War One. He joined the war due to the political issues involving Japan and Canada. Kamakura was originally turned away from the British Columbia battalions because whites feared the Japanese military uniform<sup>54</sup>. This led to the commencement of a Japanese battalion who went straight to Robert Borden, who recommended them to Samuel Hughes, the Canadian military organizer. Kamakura and other Japanese men joined the war in order to prove that they were just as loyal and as equal as white men in Canada, and therefore they were just as masculine as white men. For the Japanese it was a war about equality.

Other men such as Augustine Emmanuel Lambert felt as though the physical endurance of the war proved to his culture that he was a man. Augustine enjoyed the physical demands of training and ultimately the war. Augustine was a huge hero to Canadians back home and proved his masculinity by frequently continuing to fight in frontline battles after he had been injured or sick, due to war conditions. Augustine survived a brutal German attack, trench fever, a face wound, and influenza twice, only to later be killed during the battle of Vimy Ridge<sup>55</sup>. To many Canadians this was the epitome of masculinity. It was not manly to complain or to leave your men and country behind due to a small injury. Augustine proved that a man pushes through all forms of pain in order to protect his country.

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<sup>50</sup> Cook, Tim. *At The Sharp End Canadians Fighting The Great War 1914-1916*. 23

<sup>51</sup> Cook, Tim. *At The Sharp End Canadians Fighting The Great War 1914-1916*. 23

<sup>52</sup> Cook, Tim. *At The Sharp End Canadians Fighting The Great War 1914-1916*. 23

<sup>53</sup> Cook, Tim. *At The Sharp End Canadians Fighting The Great War 1914-1916*. 26

<sup>54</sup> Ito, Roy. "Yoichi Kamakura". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto, vol. XIV (2000):1911-1920. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (accessed March 6, 2012).

<sup>55</sup> Summers, Jack. "Augustine Lambert". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto, vol. XIV (2000):1911-1920. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (accessed March 6, 2012).

Military officers also made men with previous military training feel like they had a political obligation to join their country in war. Military officers haggled men who had the military training to fight, but did not volunteer to join the war right away. Officers made these men feel as though they were not doing their duty, nor were they real men. Officers acted as if these men were cowards, until many of them agreed to join the war. Similar tactics were used on members of society who were highly educated in military studies or history. Doctors in these fields were made to feel as if they had something extraordinary to provide to their country that could ultimately end in a political victory. This would allow them to provide service to their country.

During the 1900's, men were also seen as the sole providers for their family. Many men were struggling to provide for their wives and children. If a man could not provide for his family, this was seen as the lowest thing that a man could do. Women were to stay at home and care for the children. This meant that the head of the family, the husband, was the sole provider of an income. For men who were struggling to do this, joining the military was seen as a way out. The military provided a small salary that a man could use in order to provide for his family. Other men wanted to leave the labour industry. The war was an excellent way to accomplish this without looking for a new job to earn an income. It became evident that there were many political issues within Canada during this time. Many men joined the war in order to prove these political issues or views of masculinity were wrong. Men often joined the war so that society would see them as a man.

Men also used social issues within Canada as a reason to join the war. Military officers often played a large role within the social pressures of war. Many Canadians felt as though they could not escape the war. Even though the fighting was taking place on another continent, the war still hit close to home due to many social pressures.

The most obvious and bombarding form of social pressure on masculinity was the use of propaganda. Propaganda showed gruesome images of horrific and immoral acts that were taking place in other parts of the world. It was the best way of bringing the war front home to Canada. Propaganda could be found on store fronts and on the streets. It could be lurking around any corner. Men were unable to escape it, and felt as though they had to go to war to fight for the rights of humans. Officers, such as Sir Max Aitken, used propaganda as a way to portray joining the war as an honourable and heroic act<sup>56</sup>. All men want to be considered a hero to those around them.

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<sup>56</sup> Cook, Tim. Documenting War and Forging Reputations: Sir Max Aitken and the Canadian War Records Office in the First World War. *War in History*, 10, (2003): 265-295 (accessed January 18, 2012)

Many men joined the war due to the demasculization of men. Soldiers walked around the streets of Canada and belittled those who were not wearing a uniform<sup>57</sup>. This was a terrible form of torture for many Canadian men. Men could be stopped on their way home from work, on an outing with their family, or at the local pub. Soldiers would yell at or converse with men until they felt as though they were not men, nor were they Canadians if they did not join the war effort. This was a tactic of social embarrassment. Many men were belittled in front of other men giving them a sense that they were worthless, and that they were not manly enough. Due to this humiliation, many men felt afraid to leave their own homes unless they joined the war.

Many Canadians also joined the war as a fight between what was right and what was wrong. Canadians saw the war as a battle between civilization and barbarism<sup>58</sup>. Canadian men heard stories of women and children being murdered in France and Belgium. This caused Canadian men to feel as though they were superior to men within those countries. This made it Canada's moral obligation to fight for what was right. This shows that Canadian men believed that they were better than other men. They believed that they were civilized men, and men in France and Belgium were barbarians. Canadians wanted "liberty, truth, justice, honour, mercy, and freedom for all"<sup>59</sup>. This again reiterates the fact that Canadian men thought that they were superior, and that they should spread their masculinity all over the world.

Other men thought the war would be more of a recreational outing. In 1914 many Canadians did not think that the war would last long, nor would it take much effort to defeat the central powers. Some men like Rankin Wheary joined the war in order to take part in sports. Rankin played baseball for the 104th battalion in France. He even went on to win a second Canadian Division Championship in 1918<sup>60</sup>. Before 1914, sports were a large aspect of being a man. This continued even during the war. The military had many sports teams, allowing men such as Rankin to join these teams while they were away from home. It appears that some men joined the war in order to participate in manly sports rather than battle.

The result was that many men joined the war effort overseas in order to qualify as men in a time when one needed to be a man to be socially accepted. Being a man was politically important in

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<sup>57</sup> Maroney, Paul. 1996. "'The great adventure': The context and ideology of Recruiting in Ontario 1914-1917" *Canadian Historical Review* 77, no. 1: 62. America: History and Life with Full Text, EBSCOhost (accessed October 29, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Vance, F. Jonathan. *Death So Noble Memory, Meaning, And the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997, 20.

<sup>59</sup> Vance, F. Jonathan. *Death So Noble Memory, Meaning, And the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997, 20.

<sup>60</sup> Williamson, John. "Rankin Wheary". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. University of Toronto, vol. XIV (2000):1911-1920. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (accessed March 6, 2012).

Canada because the government portrayed the ideal form of masculinity through their policies and their loyalty principles. Men feared the harsh social punishment that would belittle their masculinity if they did not take part in the war. Overall the Canadian government, as well as military officers, played on this general fear of non-masculinity in order to recruit the amount of volunteers that they needed to fight a gruesome war. For many men, World War One did, in fact, prove their masculinity to their government as well as to the peers around them. Canada was able to dedicate many troops to the war based on the concept of proving a Canadian version of masculinity. Canada will forever be known as a brave and loyal British Dominion due to their contribution in what is now known as the Great War.

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## ***T.S. Eliot's Hell on Earth in The Waste Land***

Thomas Fisher

T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, exposes the directionless, disconnected, and desolate existence of the human race in the aftermath of the Great War and the third section, "The Fire Sermon", appears to promise a much needed brimstone and fire sermon. The reader enters "The Fire Sermon" prepared to glean from Eliot the moral faults of mankind which such a sermon often focuses on, and to be swayed by a similarly stereotypical call towards repentance. However, Eliot is not interested in the possibility of his readers' souls being damned to spiritual Hell in this passage, as he illustrates that the waste land, Hell, has been physically manifested on Earth. The renowned Thames river and the natural world around it have been turned by humans into a site of death, frivolity, and meaninglessness in the opening lines of *The Waste Land*'s third section. In "The Fire Sermon", Eliot persuades his reader that the world is becoming pitifully sterile and decrepit as a result of the materialism, vanity, and disconnectedness of civilization.

Eliot personifies nature in the opening lines of "The Fire Sermon" to emphasize the death and desolation of the waste land, alerting the reader to the problematic state of the physical world. To personify the natural world, Eliot endows the Thames river with the ability to own property, a tent, and describes the leaves which fall from the trees as if they were human fingers (Eliot 173-4). By making the natural world human, entities which live once and then die, Eliot undermines the usual cyclical nature of the four seasons. The leaves, which are normally shed by trees peacefully in anticipation of the winter and the new buds of spring instead, must clutch at the "wet bank" (174) in an attempt to cling to the linear lifetime bestowed upon them by their human associations. Eliot's description of the "wind / [crossing] the brown land, unheard" (174-5) further emphasizes the death of nature. Although the audibility of a sound is usually associated with whether a human may hear it or not, the newfound human identity of the natural world from the preceding sentence, suggests that nature ought to be able to hear the wind if it was still alive. The brown lifeless hue of the natural world and the drowning of the "fingers of leaf" (173), combine with nature's inability to hear the wind that passes through, which suggests that it has died. As a result, the lovely nymphs of Edmund Spenser's Thames in *Prothalamion* have departed (Spenser 20; Eliot 175); the divine have forsook the waste land. In showing the death of the natural world and its ramifications, Eliot encourages his reader to question the source of this physical desolation.

Eliot posits to his reader that it is the materialism of humanity which has led to the genesis of Hell on Earth. Having earlier referenced the magical nymphs of Spenser's description of the Thames river, Eliot suggests that the civilization he describes has replaced the supernatural with material

goods. The “empty bottles, sandwich papers, / Silk handkerchiefs, cardboard boxes, [and] cigarette ends” (177-178) have been carried away by the river, and Eliot describes the absence of human commodities in the exact same words he earlier used to evoke the forsaking of the waste land by the divine: “[t]he nymphs are departed” (179). The mythical and supernatural effects, which visitors to the river once felt from the presence of the nymphs, have been reallocated to the common materials of a social gathering, objects of much less power. Also indicative of the importance of material goods to civilization in Eliot’s opinion is their role as the “testimony of summer nights” (179). The memories of pleasant evenings spent on the shores of the Thames are embodied in their physical remnants, not in the beauty of the - now rendered dead - natural world. The natural river is unable to bear the manufactured commodities which humans desire, and thus has become of little use or importance to civilization, resulting in its degradation and death. The natural world suffers as a direct result of the materialism of its human occupants.

The disconnection Eliot depicts between civilization and the natural world also exists between humans themselves in the waste land, with similarly detrimental effects. The people who gathered during the summer on the banks of the Thames are the “heirs of City directors” (180), children of very important, powerful members of society. However, unlike their parents, these friends of material goods merely loiter when they gather (180), rendering their social gatherings devoid of any sense of purpose or meaning. Eliot further emphasizes the disconnection of civilization by revealing that the socialites have “left no addresses” (181). Not only has nothing of any worth been accomplished during the time the humans spent together, but the contact information necessary for future interaction and the meaning it could produce is not shared. The humans thus implicitly come to the shores of the Thames as individuals, socialize pointlessly for an evening, and then depart remaining individuals. The sterility Eliot earlier described in the death of the natural world is reflected here in the purposeless interaction of the human race on its shores. The materialistic and impersonal tendencies of civilization are causing harm not only towards the natural world, but also between the very members of humanity.

Eliot’s allusion to Psalm 137 demonstrates the severity of the hellish state of the previously encountered materialistic and purposeless Earth to the reader. His line parodies the opening line of the psalm, as Eliot’s narrator sits down and weeps for the depravity of civilization and its effects on itself and the world (182). The ellipsis at the end of the line functions to reveal that Eliot has left out a great deal of the scripture, encouraging the reader to discover the remainder of the psalm for his or her self in order to derive additional meaning from Eliot’s allusion. Integral to understanding the reliability of Psalm 137 as an indicator of the narrator’s feelings is the fact that he so closely empathizes with the psalmist that he paraphrases the words of the poet to describe his own profound and deep emotions. Thus the psalmist’s longing for a return to Zion implies that the narrator shares a similar desire for a

better previous state of being, a revelation especially evident when the narrator's disdain for the civilization he sees is considered (New International Version, Ps. 137.1) . The psalmist is unable to sing his songs because of his residence "in a foreign land" (4), and the poetic narrator is also unable to continue unhindered in his craft, no longer able to speak "loud or long" (Eliot 184) due to his sorrow. The waste land, a product of human materialism and purposelessness, has become so desolate and oppressive that it reduces the narrator to tears, and restricts his poetic genius.

As the first stanza of "The Fire Sermon" concludes, Eliot describes the prominence and sustained nature of Hell on Earth. Eliot's final lines allude to an Andrew Marvell couplet, where the narrator states that "at [his] back [he] always hear[s] / Time's winged chariot hurrying near" (Marvell, 21-22). Marvell's lines function as a memento mori, a reminder of death, the ultimate destination of any mortal. However, Eliot makes several important deviations from Marvell's couplet which have significant implications. The addition of the phrase "cold blast" (Eliot 185) to the couplet evokes the winter, the natural death which follows the autumnal setting of "the brown land" (175), and Eliot here extends this association to humans, since it is the narrator, not nature, who experiences the chill. The permanent natural winter suggested by the cold blast evokes an eternal death similar to the biblical description of Hell, a lifestyle perpetuated by the materialism and fragmentation of society. The cold blast carries sounds of the "rattles of the bones" and a "chuckle spread from ear to ear" (186), stereotypically oppositional images here fused together. In combining these sounds, Eliot suggests that society has become mortally complacent, finding cause to laugh despite the death of the natural world and purposeful human meaning. The world Eliot presents the reader with has become so aimless that death, once the transcendent fascination of a society seeking salvation, has become a trivial matter. As a result of the trivialization of memento mori, society lives in a state of eternal death, a civilization of chuckling, rattling bones. Eliot's manipulation of Marvell's couplet fosters his depiction of the hellish state of a civilization content to live in the eternal death of winter.

As he opens "The Fire Sermon", Eliot presents his reader with a lamentable and sterile waste land on Earth created by human materialism, disconnection from nature and other humans, and mortal triviality. The citizens of *The Waste Land* live in a pitiful world which they themselves created. However, by exposing humans as the source of their own misfortune, Eliot also implicitly suggests that humans are capable of redeeming both themselves and the world around them. A return to nature and environmental stewardship, a renewed fascination with the philosophical questions evoked by Eliot's treatment of death, and a rejection of the superficiality and materiality rampant in civilization at the time are the inferred courses of action which will combat the degraded state of humanity. It is not coincidental that pursuing these priorities also remedies the purposelessness and inaction of society, as they invest themselves in turning the waste land into the promised land. Although Eliot presents his

reader with a vision of Hell on Earth in the opening lines of “The Fire Sermon”, his scathing social commentary also functions to suggest to his reader, potential remedies for the problems he posits.

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***Canadian Sex Worker Organizations:  
Reproducing and Resisting Discourses of Inequality***  
Emily Gillespie

**Introduction, Discourses of Sex Work**

In 1997 people began filing missing person's reports for family members and friends who disappeared from Vancouver's downtown eastside; many of the missing women were murdered by the now convicted serial killer Robert Pickton. The families of the missing sex workers that testified at the 2011 Missing Women's Inquiry felt that their reports were not taken seriously by the police because the missing women were sex workers (Fournier). The stigma and discourses that are attached to sex work can be fatal in relation to how sex workers are treated and considered by institutions, social services, and the general public when combined with other intersecting factors like racism. This is one of the reasons that it is important to examine the discourses that surround sex work and sex workers in Canada, and, in turn, the discourses that Canadian sex worker organizations produce. Sex workers are often situated on the margins of society. Due to the legal status of their work, and the stigma associated with it, sex workers often have trouble accessing adequate supports in relation to their occupation.

In this paper, I analyse how sex workers and sex work are described, understood and produced in sex worker organizations in Canada, and question if these discourses reproduce or challenge social inequality by looking at organizations' websites. My discursive analysis focuses on what I have identified as four different types of organizations in Canada that address the differing circumstances and needs of Canadian sex workers. Leslie Ann Jeffery and Gayle McDonald use the term "sex worker" as an inclusive term for all people who work in the sex industry because it acknowledges that sex work is legitimate work (4). My use of the term "sex worker," short for sex trade worker, will be inclusive of the various forms of sex work that different organizations address. Jeffery and McDonald explain that the word prostitute "is laden with meanings and overtones that reflect dominant society's agendas rather than any reality experienced by sex workers" (5). I use the term prostitute only when it is the language used by the organization or the academic I am referencing.

All sex worker organizations seek to assist sex workers; how they approach these goals, and the discourses they engage with, differs in relation to location, the populations they serve and their understanding of sex work. I have identified four types of organizations that serve the differing organizational needs of sex workers. Survival sex organizations, for example, serve survival sex workers and provide harm reduction programs and resources. "Survival sex" is a term used to differentiate those who engage in sex work as a means of survival (4). In contrast, resource and outreach based organizations provide a variety of services and programming for all sex workers; however, an examination of resource based organizations is beyond the scope of this paper. Activist

organizations also provide resources; however, they focus on sex workers' rights and advocating for change at a structural level. Lastly, exit based organizations provide supports for people leaving the sex trade such as counselling and resume clinics. Within organizations, sex workers' bodies become a site of struggle over competing understandings of sex work. Organizations are potentially powerful spaces to challenge oppressive discourses and the material and social inequalities that surround sex work that, unlike elsewhere, directly engage with people involved in sex work. Discourses that organizations produce have the potential to influence not only sex workers' experiences, but also how communities, and Canada as a whole, consider sex work.

Michel Foucault uses the term *discourse* to describe a social meaning making process (Wilchins 59). My use of the word *discourse* is informed by Deborah Brock's definition of discourse as a "system of knowledge that makes possible what can be spoken about, and how one can speak about it" (xxii). Discourse is both a place of power and resistance. Activism surrounding sex work can potentially produce new social ideas, but sex work cannot meaningfully exist outside of discourse.

There is a common overgeneralization in Canadian academic literature, as well as media and political discussions about sex work and workers. Brock explains that sex work was discursively produced as a "social problem" in need of containment (3). Sex workers in Canada were and continue to be objects of feminist, legal and political discourses (3). The actual people being theorized about are generally ignored despite the fact that sex workers have knowledgeable insight in relation to their experiences and needs (Jeffrey and McDonald 1). In addition to Brock, Tamara O'Doherty address the stigma that surrounds sex work in Canada in their respective works. They partially accredit this stigma to laws which make most actions that surround sex workers' livelihoods illegal, resulting in the popular association of sex workers with criminals ("Criminalization" 228). Comack and Seshia explain that addressing violence against street workers requires acknowledging the "role of public discourse in perpetrating this 'othering' process". The "discourse of disposal," refers to efforts to get rid of street sex work in residential neighbourhoods (Comack, Seshia 210). Another discourse that surrounds sex work is the idea that all sex workers are "victims," and that sex work is an act of violence against women ("Victimization" 945). This discourse precludes the possibility of workers having agency in their decision to enter this line of work and portrays every experience of sex work as violence. Jeffrey and McDonald explain that sex workers are socially labeled as either victims or whores, who are responsible for their own demise (4). The labeling of sex workers as "victims" is an example of the competing truths that are socially produced that, while representing the experiences of some workers, are often suggested to be universal.

Sex workers have different reasons for entering sex work and different understandings and experiences of sex work. The creation of capital-T truths undermines sex workers' lived experiences

when they contrast with dominant discourses. There is a significant amount of writing about sex work in Canada in relation to legal debates and the question of choice in relation to sex work; however, there is a considerable lack of engagement with sex worker organizations in academia. The concept of epistemic privilege can be used to suggest that sex workers have their own unique knowledge about sex work (Potts and Brown 259). The people running the organizations do not speak on behalf of all sex workers; however, sex worker organizations need to be included in academic and political discussions about sex work in Canada. The inclusion of organizations in these discussions would represent a shift as sex workers are addressed as subjects of discourse and valid producers of knowledge.

### **Organizing Around Sex Work**

Brock explains that prostitutes began to assert a “political voice” in the 1970s. Following the model put forth by the American organization Call off Your Old Tired Ethics, political organizations in Canada began to emerge that focused on creating better working conditions for sex workers (22). There is a need for sex workers to be able to organize, be it to access resources, make work environments safer, or to challenge unjust policies and stigma that are sometimes expressed by the general public, institutions and sex workers themselves. A member of Stepping Stone, a resource and outreach based organization, describes their experience: “I have found a place that is like a second home. The support is amazing, and the people are beautiful. Stepping Stone offers more than just food, clothing and a place to shower; it is a place where everyone can relate to one another.” Such a statement suggests that organizations can be a significant resource for sex workers.

### **Sex Work, Real Work**

Katia Dunn’s analysis of American sex worker organizations focuses on considering if prostitution is a “forced oppression” or a “chosen lifestyle” (32). The framing of this question rejects the possibility of considering prostitution as a work relation. Through discussions with activist and non-activist prostitutes Brock concludes that sex workers view prostitution as a “highly regulated work relation”(11). Considering sex work outside of the context of work relations potentially results in the silencing of prostitutes, as prostitution is then defined as a “social problem” (12).

Brock explains that the choice surrounding sex work is in relation to available opportunities. One of her interviewees describes sex work as her “lucky break” because she lacked other employment prospects (15). Not all workers enter sex work because of economic circumstances; however, Brock offers valuable insight for considering poor and working class people’s engagement with sex work explaining that “[w]hen we see how women get into prostitution, we can see that it is not so different a process from the way in which working-class women find working-class jobs, generally” (15).

Not all sex workers enter this line of work in relation to economic necessity. Wrenna Robertson, a Canadian sex worker has two university degrees, and thus the ability to have alternative

means of employment. She has been stripping for nearly two decades because she finds stripping an incredibly rewarding personal experience (Robertson). Most of them started working in other fields but their experiences in “straight” jobs were unfulfilling. Robertson views herself as “a valuable, productive member of society”.

### **Organizing Around Survival Sex**

Discrimination, lack of education and job experience, combined with social service cuts result in some people engaging with sex work as a means of survival (Brown 38). In Canada, there are several organizations specifically for survival sex workers. Providing Alternatives Counselling and Education Society, PACE, is a “sex worker led and driven organization offering low-barrier programming, support and safe respite for survival sex workers in Vancouver, British Columbia” (*PACE*). PACE serves “Vancouver’s most marginalized populations” who may not have access to support services that require sobriety or a fixed address. The organization provides a number of optional services such as counselling, advocacy work, violence prevention programs and assistance applying for housing. The Prince George New Hope Society, also located in British Columbia, supports “womyn” and youth survival sex workers and provides similar services as PACE (*Prince George New Hope Society*). The organization stemmed from identifying a need to have supports for survival sex workers in Prince George. Journalist Carolynne Burkholder explains that “New Hope is a unique resource for sex workers as the focus is not on exiting the trade, but rather on providing practical support, such as food, clothing, and harm reduction materials.”

Regardless of the question of choice that surrounds survival sex work, PACE does not consider it to be “exploitation” or a “lifestyle choice.” Rather, they present survival sex work as work and seek to provide services to make it safer and to help sex workers feel confident and dignified in their everyday life (*PACE*). They also have resources to assist those wishing to leave the sex trade. However, their objective to support current sex workers is complicated by the title of the organization, which references providing alternatives to the industry. Like PACE, New Hope recognizes that many of their members are engaging in survival sex. When listing their objectives they refer to “womyn in sex work and survival sex” (*Prince George New Hope Society*). The separation of sex work and survival sex, in contrast to PACE’s use of the term “survival sex work,” potentially implies that they do not view survival sex as work. Brock acknowledges that there is little choice surrounding most working class jobs that involve unskilled labour; however, these jobs are still considered “work” (15).

Both organizations focus on harm reduction approaches rather than encouraging sex workers to exit the trade. The harm reduction approach acknowledges that survival sex workers have few options. Kerry Porth, Executive Director of PACE, explains, “our organization acknowledges that people are going to do what they’re going to do. They’re going to do sex work in order to survive” (“PACE

Public Service Announcement”). The language of harm reduction reflects a social struggle over power. Porth accredits PACE’s lack of funders to the fact that they do not “rescue women from the sex trade or get them off drugs unless that’s what they want to do.” Funding is directly related to the discourse expressed by the organization and the understandings of sex work held by funders.

PACE’s philosophy is to address the individual needs of sex workers without judgment (Jairam). They are inclusive of sex workers of all genders and orientations. This inclusion contrasts with one of the prevalent discourses surrounding sex work that suggests that sex work is innately an act of violence against women (“Victimization” 945). American activist and sex worker Vic St. Blaise explains that male sex workers need services, yet they are often overlooked by organizations (62). He argues that this lack of support is in relation to the idea that men do not need services in comparison to women and children (62). New Hope serves sex workers who are biologically “womyn”; their website even includes a “herstory” of the organization. It appears that this exclusion is in relation to the female demographic of workers in Prince George. However, the language of biology and the need they identify for supports for “womyn” problematically excludes transgender people and men from the organization in a community that appears to have no other resources.

PACE practicum student, Padma Jairam reflects that “members truly embody PACE’s symbol, the daisy, which was chosen for its resilience to breaking through concrete to experience the sun’s rays”. Prior to her placement, she felt sorry for all sex workers and wanted to “rescue them” which relates to New Hope’s goal to assist “oppressed womyn.” However, at PACE she “didn’t see any victims”. Rather, she refers to sex workers’ strengths and calls them heroes in the face of great challenges (Jairam). PACE is a space where the community, sex workers and volunteers are invited to challenge the victim discourse even when engaging with sex workers who are on the margins of society. PACE addresses sex workers as subjects of discourse. They seek to provide “sex worker-led and driven programs” while moving away from generalized understandings of sex workers’ lives and experiences (*PACE*). The organization was formed by a group of sex workers and activists when they “realized that perhaps only sex workers could understand the needs of sex workers” (Jairam). It is significant that the organization is run by people with firsthand experience of sex work. However, as previously noted, being a sex worker does not necessarily mean that people will have a shared understanding of sex work. Suggesting that the public cannot understand, causes sex work to become an “othered” issue which discourages potential supporters in the community. Sex workers are treated as valuable members of the community at PACE with a unique knowledge of sex work.

PACE challenges the social inequality that is attached to sex work at the level of discourse through language and programming within the organization, and through community interactions. One of PACE’s objectives is to challenge the stigma that is associated with sex work in the community and

to prevent workers from internalizing social stigma. PACE also conducts educational presentations about survival sex work and holds workshops to aid community organizations to better support sex workers. These education programs address structural factors related to survival sex work, such as poverty and racism. Natisha, a former sex worker and board member, comments that she felt unsafe and ashamed in a university setting and she found PACE's classroom presentation about the dignity and rights of sex workers' inspiring ("An Interview"). Porth, in a public service announcement, reminds the community that sex workers are "somebody's mother, sister and daughter... they're human beings and deserve our respect." While this statement is intended to humanize sex workers, the female language and the appeal to empathy through family undermines the idea that all sex workers deserve respect and rights. I am cognizant of the fact that her script may be shaped by the public audience she is appealing to. PACE advocates for sex workers' rights and serves as a connection between sex workers and the community. For instance, they work with the police to ensure that workers are able to report "bad dates."

PACE also provides legal supports for sex workers. In one instance, the Crown attributed a sexual assault perpetrator's guilty plea to the fact that he knew the victims were well prepared for trial because of PACE's support. They regularly take part in community justice related events. PACE and New Hope are both organizations for survival sex workers; however, they engage with significantly different discourses. Regardless of the lack of choice that surrounds survival sex, PACE describes survival sex workers as resilient and provides supports so that they can be safer while working. In contrast, New Hope describes survival sex workers as victims and uses the language of exploitation. The different discourses expressed by the two organizations that serve similar populations suggests that the population served does not always shape the discourse.

### **Activism, Rights and Empowerment:**

All of the types of organizations I have identified engage with activism to some degree; however, one of the central focuses of activist organizations is to challenge inequality. Activist organizations provide resources, but they focus on sex workers' rights and advocating for change at a structural level. They have a more positive view of sex work in comparison to other organizations. Activist organizations situate the struggle for sex workers rights in relation to other social justice issues. Activist organizations work at a local, national and international level. Maggie's: Toronto Sex Worker's Action Project is unique in that it provides advice for people entering the industry. They frame sex work as potentially empowering in a political climate where most activities related to sex work are stigmatized and illegal.

Maggie's initially appears to have similar objectives as the other organizations. They seek to "assist sex workers in our efforts to live and work with dignity and safety" (*Maggie's*). Like other

organizations, Maggie's provides health, safety and legal information and supports. Kara Gilles, sex worker, activist and education coordinator at Maggie's, explains that the organization was formed by sex workers who wanted to challenge the social and legal inequalities that sex workers experience. Maggie's is active in fighting for the rights of sex workers. Gilles explains that the "early organizers recognized the necessity of providing basic, ongoing support to fellow sex workers while the systemic battle was being fought" (van der Meulen). Simultaneously, Maggie's addresses the immediate, everyday needs of sex workers, while working towards long-term equality.

Maggie's understands sex work as a work relation that is often experienced as oppressive in relation to social structures. Maggie's repeatedly asserts that "sex work is real work". This may be a powerful statement for some sex workers, and a discourse that challenges ideas about sex work, such as the idea that all sex work is exploitation. It can be empowering to assert that sex work is real work, even in contexts when one has few employment options. However, Maggie's serves sex workers from all areas of the sex trade, including youth and survival sex workers, therefore, not all members will necessarily consider their experiences as work. Maggie's principles directly engage with and challenge popular discourses about sex work, asserting that sex workers are not "criminals, deviants or victims. We are working people and we demand to be recognized as such" (*Maggie's*). Maggie's has workshops about how to make sex work more profitable and addresses sex work as a business engagement. While other organizations consider sex work as legitimate work, Maggie's moves a step beyond this arguing that sex work is important and valuable work.

Suggesting that sex work is important work validates the customer. This is in contrast to a common view that psychologist Melissa Farley asserts when she explains that "people who hire prostitutes seek out the most helpless victims in order to exploit the imbalance of power" (Dunn 36). A further part of Maggie's discursive challenge is when they state that sex work is not inherently dangerous, exploitive or oppressive; rather, social and legal structures may result in sex work being experienced as such. They do not seek to "rescue" people from sex work, but to challenge oppressive structures. They explain that when "people are doing sex work but would rather not be, it is this lack of options that is the problem – not sex work itself". Maggie's argues that sex work differs from human trafficking, and that sex worker empowerment actually works towards preventing human trafficking. The organization responds to and challenges these common arguments made against sex work, thereby reinstating the legitimacy of consensual sex work. The celebration of the positive aspects of sex work found throughout their website is absent in other organizations.

Maggie's is inclusive of sex workers of all genders, from all areas of the sex trade. Maggie's welcomes people who exist outside of the male-female dichotomy. As previously stated, transsexuals are often either excluded from sex worker organizations or considered as needing to be saved because

of the oppression they experience in relation to their identity (“Statement for Social” 1). Maggie’s identifies as trans and sex worker positive and does not consider sex workers as victims. The victim model is further challenged through the positive language used to describe sex workers. For instance, a recent event is described as a celebration of “all the creative ways we survive, thrive and live our beautiful lives!” (*Maggie’s*).

Maggie’s acknowledges that colonization continues to shape how Aboriginal people experience sex work and creates a climate where Aboriginal people may have few options for supporting themselves. Maggie’s developed the Aboriginal Sex Workers Education and Outreach Project, the first of its kind in Canada, in response to the exclusion Aboriginal sex workers face both in the Aboriginal community, and in other service organizations. They work to challenge internalized colonization. One approach to this challenge is to recognize that “Aboriginal sex work is an act of self-determination and an act of empowerment” (*Maggie’s*). This is especially significant because there is a history of trying to save both sex workers and Aboriginal people. Maggie’s moves beyond acknowledging the intersection between colonization and sex work, and creates a supportive network to actively challenge the injustices that Aboriginal sex workers face.

In addressing sex workers as subjects of discourse and valid producers of knowledge, Maggie’s believes that sex workers should take control and seek to improve their lives. The organization identifies itself as first and foremost an “organization for sex workers that is controlled by sex workers” (*Maggie’s*). They adhere to the activist slogan “nothing about us without us”. Aboriginal sex workers run programming that is specifically for Aboriginal people. This is significant because there is a legacy of Aboriginal people being controlled by non-Aboriginal people who believe they know what is best. Leadership roles held by Aboriginal people demonstrate that it is not exclusively privileged sex workers who have power in the organization. All of the organizations I have so far described are sex worker run, however, the use of the first person when writing about sex workers further challenges “othering” discourses and reinforces that sex workers are subjects of discourse within organizations.

As an activist organization, Maggie’s objective is to challenge the social inequalities that sex workers experience. This is reflected in the discourses that the organization engages with as they challenge stereotypes associated with sex work. For instance, Maggie’s recognizes that sex workers are “safer sex professionals”. Consequently, Maggie’s challenges health discourses surrounding sex work and opposes policies like mandatory testing that are not based on evidence but, rather, are based on stereotypes and social stigma. The organization considers sex workers as sexual health experts, and they challenge the idea of “expert” knowledge. Jeffery and McDonald also recognize that sex workers have a specialized understanding of sexual safety; therefore, Maggie’s discursive challenge is supported by academic literature (177).

Maggie's strives to create a more supportive and safer community for sex professionals. For instance, on their website they have a video created by sex workers about how to be a better partner to a sex worker. The objective of this project is to encourage sex workers' partners to continue to unlearn stigma. Other organizations address and seek to challenge the stigma that sex workers experience from institutions and society at large. However, Maggie's goes a step beyond this. They also work towards equality by fighting for the labour rights of sex workers. For example, Maggie's took part in the June 2011 Charter challenge, arguing for the decriminalization of sex work in the Ontario Court of Appeal. The organization views the decriminalization of sex work as leading towards increased rights and safety for sex workers and actively participates in legal change. Maggie's works at a local level but also engages with national and international politics, identifying as part of an international sex workers' rights movement. It is significant to note that Maggie's is the first "government-funded sex workers agency in the world" ("Sex-workers' Support"). I am unaware of the extent to which funding shapes the organization's politics; however, it is possible that government funding is the reason they are so inclusive. The government supporting an agency that does not focus on exit based services suggests the possibility of increased acceptance of an interpretation of sex work as work, and a limited acknowledgement of sex workers' needs.

### **Assistance Exiting an Industry of Sexual Exploitation**

Sex worker organizations are a space where there is a continuous struggle over interpretations of sex work. The different organizations separately, and simultaneously, engage with competing discourses. This struggle over meaning is particularly evident in my examination of an exit based organization as the ideas presented contrast with ideas put forth by other organizations and academics. The Centre to End all Sexual Exploitation, CEASE, is an exit based organization located in Edmonton Alberta. CEASE's vision is to create a community "where there is hope, respect and transformation for all individuals, families and communities affected by sexual exploitation" (CEASE). CEASE works with community partners to address sexual exploitation and the harms that they associate with prostitution. CEASE coordinates the Prostitution Offender Program, commonly referred to as "John school", which is supported by the Edmonton City Police and the Alberta Ministry of Justice. CEASE's programming includes things like trauma recovery, and poverty relief.

In contrast to the previous organizations I have addressed, CEASE describes all sex work, ranging from survival sex to massage parlor work, as sexual exploitation. They argue that no one willingly engages in sex work, and that all sex work is a form of exploitation. CEASE fails to clearly differentiate between sex trafficking and sex work; which they refer to as sexual exploitation. This is problematic because CEASE appears to have significant weight in the community. Through their education and outreach programs, they are encouraging community members and organizations to

understand that all sex workers are victims which conflicts with academic writing. Maggie's argues that sex work is a job selling a sexual service, whereas trafficking is forced labour. However, by addressing them simultaneously CEASE reinstates a common misunderstanding of sex work that organizations like Maggie's have worked to challenge. CEASE also reinstates other myths about sex work; for instance, one of their projects is to provide resources for those recovering from "sexual exploitation" and portrays prostitution not as work as other organizations suggest, but as something to recover from. CEASE considers prostitution as a social problem that can be addressed by challenging the underlying causes which they identify as poverty and social exclusion. It is necessary to look at the underlying social conditions that lead to survival sex work; however, this reading of sex work suggests that social marginalization is the only reason people engage in sex work. It also challenges the idea that, for those who have fewer options, the choice to enter sex work can be considered in relation to other working class jobs.

The organization presents sex consumers as criminals who need rehabilitation to understand the consequences of their actions and to be prevented from reoffending. Their understanding of sex workers as victims is reinstated in the language they use to describe sex consumers; echoing Farley's sentiment they refer to customers as men "who sexually exploit the vulnerable". The offender program is an example of the discourse of disposal as it reflects an effort to clean up the streets; offenders are encouraged to think about the neighbourhoods and business in addition to the victims and their families that are "harmed by their actions"(CEASE). They essentially work to remove the customer base for survival sex workers, neglecting underlying structural issues.

CEASE's understanding of sex workers reflects an overgeneralization about a diverse group of people. CEASE suggests that all sex consumers are male, and in contrast all sex workers are vulnerable females. They offer no services for male sex workers. They have a yearly award ceremony to honour men who they view as working towards healthy communities by protecting the vulnerable. The understanding of women as vulnerable victims and men as either perpetrators or heroes reinforces gender inequality by reiterating stereotypes about gender roles. One of their projects is to offer "support and hope to sexually exploited women so they are empowered to make positive, healthy choices" (CEASE). This suggests that sex workers make unhealthy choices such as engaging in sex work because they are not empowered. The Prostitution Offender Program attempts to use positive language to describe sex workers, explaining that the customers learn from "survivors" how it affects them and the community. The language of "survivor" is an improvement over the "sexually exploited"; however, it still suggests that sex work is something to survive from. Their understanding of sex workers appears to be based on stereotypes and reinstates discourses of inequality. For instance, contrary to Jeffery and McDonald's claim that most sex workers are not drug addicts, CEASE suggest

that consumers are not helping workers because most profit is directly used to support an addiction. CEASE leaves little room for sex workers who do not consider their experiences as exploitation, but want to change jobs and gain new skills.

The social struggle over the meaning of sex work is reinforced by the ideas put forth by CEASE. They engage with a politically conservative, moralizing discourse, which suggests that no one would willingly engage in sex work. CEASE suggests that, with their assistance, former sex workers can lead meaningful lives and be productive members of society. At CEASE, sex workers are treated as objects of discourse and are subject to “expert” interpretations of sex work. Former sex workers have limited involvement in the organization. “Survivors” sometimes serve as public and peer educators; however, these people are likely chosen because they present views that align with CEASE’s ideology. Sex workers are not significantly involved in the organization. It is unclear whether their self-identified need shapes the programming and sex workers are absent from the staff.

The discourses that this exit based organization engages with are unique because they challenge the possibility of sex work being considered as work and reproduce a limited perception of sex workers that other organizations seek to challenge. The discourses CEASE engages with reinstate and challenge social inequality. Although they strongly disagree with the reading of sex work as work, they view former sex workers as valuable members of society. However, their vision of success for former sex workers is in relation to social norms and trying to restore social order. CEASE writes that “education is hope in action”; hope for a future that does not involve sex work. While providing opportunities for former sex workers, CEASE reinstates discourses that ignore the complexity of sex work. For instance, under the heading “How Your Activity Hurts You and Others,” they make unsubstantiated claims about the inherent violence of sex work. These claims are defended by the inclusion of one sex worker’s autobiographical account of the horrendous violence she experienced. Thus, while the organizations’ claims speak to some workers’ experiences, the danger arises when they engage with stereotypes that other organizations seek to challenge and that contradict academic literature. They also suggest that the consumer may be robbed or contract a disease, which reinstates ideas about sex workers that other organizations work to challenge. CEASE is a respected voice in the Edmonton community. Through running a court diversion program for sex customers they occupy a powerful position that shapes how current and former sex workers, and the public, understand sex work.

### **Considering Discourse and Resistance Across Organizations**

General narratives about sex work employed by some organizations contradict other sex workers’ experiences as represented in different organizations. As previously stated, CEASE understands all sex work as exploitation; all sex workers as victims. When people leaving the sex trade approach CEASE, regardless of whether they consider their experiences to be exploitative, this is the

only lens for considering sex work that is available. Furthermore, the organization leaves no room for people who chose sex work. At CEASE, sex workers become objects of rescue and rehabilitation, subject to “experts” interpretation of their experiences. In contrast, Maggie’s presents sex work as legitimate and valuable work. Based on the content of Maggie’s website, it appears that CEASE’s reading of sex work as exploitation contradicts some of the experiences of Maggie’s members who enjoy their work. Services for people wishing to exit the sex industry are needed. In addition to providing services for current sex workers, PACE is able to provide non-judgmental exit based services that do not require a reading of sex work as exploitation. Although serving survival sex workers, PACE depicts sex workers as resilient people of great strength; whereas, CEASE relegates sex workers to a victim category. How the organizations consider sex workers is significant because it potentially influences how sex workers themselves and community members consider sex workers. All of the organizations, with the exception of CEASE, have a tendency to contradict the discourses they are supporting. Sex worker organizations do not exist outside of popular ideologies; despite contradictions within organizations and sometimes reproducing ideas that align with inequality, the organizations studied generally reflect a commitment to social justice and change. While PACE understands sex work as work, Maggie’s moves beyond this arguing that it is valuable work that may be experienced as empowering.

### **Hope and the Future of Organizing Around Sex Work in Canada**

The bodies of sex workers often become sites of struggle over multiple discourses about sex work; this is reflected in academic literature, legal decisions, and sex worker organizations. It is necessary to consider the discourses that different types of organizations challenge or reproduce, as organizations directly interact with sex workers and influence community opinions. When considering the discourses that the four types of organizations engage with, I did not make generalizations about the organizations that fall under each category as considering multiple organizations for each group was beyond the breadth of my research. However, with the exception of CEASE, the different types of organizations produced similar discourses and, the discourses they engaged with reflect their interest in social equality. Further research could include more organizations and compare the discourses across organizations that are in the same category.

Discourses within organizations are important to consider because organizations are becoming more influential in Canadian politics. After the Pickton murders, sex worker organizations in British Columbia were considered in conversations about how to make sex work safer (*PACE*). Sex worker organizations including Maggie’s and PACE have been active participants in the recent constitutional challenge. Traditionally, sex workers were objects of discourse; such political involvement is one example of sex workers fighting to be subjects of discourse and have their epistemic privilege

recognized. On March 26<sup>th</sup>, 2012 the Ontario Court of Appeal decriminalized operating a common bawdy house within Ontario, and changed the laws surrounding living off of the avails of prostitution. They upheld the soliciting laws (*Maggie's*). This is a limited victory for sex workers' rights in Ontario, as for the time being, it will decriminalize prostitution for those working from their homes that pre-negotiate the terms of engagement, which O'Doherty argues is the safest venue for sex workers. However, this law continues to force survival sex workers to negotiate their work in more dangerous locations, or risk being criminalized. A street sex worker from *Maggie's* responded to the ruling by saying "I reject the conclusion that street sex work is so bad for neighbourhoods that stopping it is more important than protecting women's lives". The state's consideration of the arguments of sex worker organizations demonstrates that the state is beginning to consider sex workers as subjects of discourse. It appears that sex worker organizations will play an active role as the struggle for rights and equality for sex workers continues. While organizations have challenged local community's perceptions of sex work, an acceptance of sex work and the need for sex workers' rights is still outside of popular discourse. For example, Ontario's PC leader Tim Hudak suggests that there is a discord between the legal decision and the views of Ontarians, arguing that legalizing brothels is "not in keeping with the values of the vast majority of Ontarians" (Watts). While there is no research to support the validity of this statement, it appears that there is a division between the rights sex workers need to do their job in safety, and public attitudes. However, the recent legal decision and the respect sex worker organizations such as *Maggie's* have gained, suggests hope for the future of sex workers' rights in Canada and exemplifies the significance of organizations.

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## Hume's "Of Miracles": The Significance of Part II

Sarah-Ann Goodes

David Hume's *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* presents a broad look at a number of ideas in both empirical and applied epistemology. Of the twelve chapters that make up Hume's revised version, one of the most controversial is Section X: "Of Miracles". Hume wrote this section to examine the reliability of human testimony and the connection of that testimony to epistemology. He first discusses reasons as to why human testimony should not be a reason to fully form beliefs. Human testimony is not nearly as powerful as direct evidence. From this, he delves into the four reasons why miracles should not be taken as certain, and why this is powerful evidence against the foundational principles of religion.

A flaw of much of the academic work done in respect to Section X is that it has spent little time discussing the importance of the four principles as outlined in Part II. Instead, scholars focus on a much broader picture: the debate about religion in connection with empiricism and whether miracles are plausible given the way that they are passed through human testimony as Hume outlines in Part I. Though important to the study of religion and its foundations, these principles of miracles are essential to interpreting Hume's discrediting of organized religion as inspired by miraculous events. The debate over interpreting these principles should be reopened in order to fully understand the connections Hume makes between miracles, religion, human testimony, and contemporary culture, as well as to recognize possible strengths or weaknesses within his principles.

Traditionally, the philosophical debate surrounding miracles focuses on two main ideas: defining the miracle and justifying the miracle. According to James E. Taylor, the requirement for the definition of a miracle is the semantic question while the reasoning of belief in miracles is an epistemological question (611). The questions require an answer in sequence, as it would be impossible to identify a miracle without a definition. In the *Enquiry*, Hume identifies a miracle as an event which is caused directly or indirectly by God and which violates laws of nature as we know them (90). These phenomena are what is used to justify almost every religion, and for Hume, particularly the Christian religion. From this, Hume concludes that it is never reasonable to believe that a miracle has occurred. He uses the rest of the chapter to outline the reasons why.

As an empirical philosopher, Hume believes experience to be fundamental to knowledge. However, he does say that "though experience be our only guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact; it must be acknowledged, that this guide is not altogether infallible, but in some cases is apt to lead us into errors" (87). As with our human testimonies, which Hume discredits, we have to be aware of the fact that our experiences are not exempt from the ability to err or deceive. Hume also goes on to say that "there is no species of reasoning more common, more useful, and even necessary to human

life, than that which is derived from the testimony of men, and the reports of eye-witnesses and spectators” (88). With this, however, we must recognize that our human testimonies are not infallible. Hume says that, “we frequently hesitate concerning the reports of others. We balance the opposite circumstances, which cause any doubt or uncertainty; and when we discover a superiority on any side, we incline to it; but still with a diminution of assurance, in proportion to the force of its antagonist” (88). We subconsciously and consciously must be aware that there is always another view that could be offered, and as such our opinions must remain subjective, not dictating ultimate truth or falsity. Again, there is no better way to reiterate the importance of the scepticism that should be held in terms of human testimony than how Hume describes it:

*We entertain a suspicion concerning any matter of fact, when the witnesses contradict each other; when they are but few, or of a doubtful character, when they have an interest in what they affirm; when they deliver their testimony with hesitation, or on the contrary, with too violent asseverations. (89)*

These characteristics should be what we seek to find (or not find) in people who are proclaiming to have been witness to miraculous events. As the old adage says, we must take everything that is said with a grain of salt.

Hume concludes his arguments with:

*upon the whole, then, it appears, that no testimony for any kind of miracles has ever amounted to a probability, much less a proof, and that, even supposing it amounted to a proof, it would be opposed by another proof; derived from the very nature of the fact, which it would endeavour to establish (98).*

Ultimately, for Hume, there cannot be a miraculous event as there can never be enough evidence for its proof. The criteria he describes in Part II illustrates further the things that he deems necessary for considering miracles a fundamental part of religion or of anything else.

In the article “Hume’s ‘Of Miracles’” by Chris Slupik, Slupik aligns the importance of miracles to religion for Hume to a letter that was written by Hume to a Rev. Blair. This letter states that, “I never read of a miracle in my life, that was not meant to establish some new point of religion” (523). Clearly, then, Hume does not seek to separate the two. He believes his examination of miracles is foundational in order to examine religion at all.

Hume also says that, “as the violations of truth are more common in the testimony concerning religious miracles, than in that concerning any other matter of fact; this must diminish very much the authority of the former testimony” (99). We must question all of our beliefs, certainly—but the beliefs in the miraculous events that are foundational to our religions should be questioned most of all. Violations of truth are far more common in respect to religious miracles than in ordinary situations.

There is an innate sense of blind faith that comes from following religions, even when the historical facts do not correspond. According to Hume:

*Mere reason is insufficient to convince us of its veracity: And whoever is moved by Faith to assent to it, is conscious of a continued miracle in his own person, which subverts all the principles of his understanding, and gives him a determination to believe what is most contrary to custom and experience. (101)*

Faith is detrimental to our own reasoning. Even in those who have an ingrained or trained sense of logic, faith can supplant all reason in order to enforce things that are entirely contrary and have no fundamental evidence. It is easy to slip into this subversion of principles.

Contrary to the typical religious readings of Hume's "Of Miracles", John O. Nelson argues that the only time religion comes in to the article is briefly at the very end, when Hume makes the claim that religion is founded on faith and not reason. Because of this, the only miraculous effect of faith that we can believe is that it is founded by miracles. Nelson says that,

*Except for this one brief and extremely suspect flirtation with a theological topic, the essay wholly concerns itself with determining the sort of evidence that a miracle would have to have to be rationally believed in view of its being, by definition, a violation of the laws of nature, and the empirically suspect nature of all evidence so far proposes for miracles or that might be proposed for them. (60)*

Nature has always been distinct from religion, and Nelson does an excellent job of highlighting this. Though scholars have put such an integral focus on the relation to religion that Hume makes, Nelson believes that it is overemphasized in terms of the arguments Hume is making. There is an immediate focus that we make to connect miracles to religion, and while this has its place, it should not consume our entire focus of the reading.

Nelson also says that the argument in "Of Miracles" against miracles is "in the first part... of a convoluted sort that could scarcely be fathomed or appreciated by most readers of a wider public" (59). He states that the essay is not well designed for the common public, even though Hume's purpose in the redesign of the Treatise was to stir up general interest in his opinion, and Hume went so far as to specifically include "Of Miracles" as opposed to sections about reasoning powers of animals, for example.

It could be argued that Hume's Part II, where he explicitly outlines the reasons for not believing in miracles, is not studied to the same extent that his Part I and conclusions are because of stylistic choices Hume made when he was publishing the book. Larmer argues in "Interpreting Hume On Miracles" that "Hume desired to contribute to the English debate on miracles and may have wanted to include the popular a posteriori arguments that featured large[ly] in the debate" (329). That said,

Larmer also includes a passage from R.M. Burns which says that “its inclusion may...have been motivated in part simply to be a desire to lengthen the essay on the stylistic groups that the unsupplemented argument of Part I might otherwise appear too short and sharp to be taken seriously” (329). Larmer also makes the argument that Hume is “making the point that, even if his opponents are not convinced of his ‘in principle’ arguments of Part I, the actual evidence supporting belief in miracles is more worthy of ridicule than serious discussion” (329-30). This is an absurd claim, as Part II is consistently written similarly to Hume’s other writings. There is no more mockery in Part II than in Part I, and Hume’s reasonings and explanations are valid and useful. Contrary to these scholars’ beliefs, the addition of Part II should be viewed as an essential part of the essay. Part I is simply the introduction, needed to be able to understand Part II, as it is necessary to have appropriate definitions of miracles and human testimonies before Hume is able to outline what the reasoning against miracles is. Hume’s real argument is contained in Part II.

Nelson’s response to Larmer’s claims that Hume’s Part II could be or should be taken as a joke is as follows:

*When what Hume is saying impinges on religious belief and is likely to excite uncontrollable passion, he usually tries, by insinuating either an empty piety or a joke at his own expense, to misdirect the eye of those hostile to what he wants to say openly but dares not, while still providing those sympathetic or who might be sympathetic a clue or enough of a clue so that the truth, as he sees, it, will not be entirely suppressed and philosophy thus silenced. (61)*

He argues that Hume is an intelligent jester, who consciously attempts to engage or vex specific readership who may be examining his works. Intent is imperative here, Nelson is well supported with evidence that Hume makes these stylistic choices conscientiously.

As mentioned, Hume gives four reasons that he feels are the most important as to why it is impossible for miracles to exist. This is after he has argued against the testimony of humans in support of miracles. These reasons provide his basis for rejecting organized religion, as religions are founded on principles of the miraculous and Hume is satisfied with his four proofs.

The first reason that is outlined in the Section is that throughout history, there cannot be any miracle found that has been verified by a great enough number of *credible* people so as to prove its existence. Hume refers to these people as having “unquestioned good-sense, education, and learning...undoubted integrity” (92), and highlights that we would also need to be aware if they had any designs on deceiving us. He also quantifies that these miracles and their celebrations would have to be “performed in a public world, so as to render the detection of them unavoidable” (92). Miracles cannot be secret events, or they will never be able to be proven.

A full acceptance of this first principle of Hume's should be cautioned because he is so specific in his qualifications—particularly those of education and learning. It seems a bit close-minded for Hume to argue that education and learning are a necessary requirement to be able to make evaluative judgments regarding the truth or falsity of a claim. That said, some form of wisdom would still be beneficial to the matter. An additional hesitation stems from Hume's comments on deception. Firstly, the only mention of deceit is brief, "so as to place them beyond all suspicion of any design to deceive others". Deception sounds like an important factor, and yet Hume neglects to elaborate on it at all. Thus we have a difficult time deciding its relevance to the entire argument. Secondly, deceit requires premeditation and intent to harm. Is it a fair judgment to say that because one believes in a miraculous event, they are truly intending to harm them self or others?

The second reason that Hume presents against miracles is the evidence in human nature of the pure want to be amazed by things. He says that we understand and accept that we should give preference to arguments that are founded on the greatest number of proofs, but that even when the "passion of surprise and wonder" (93) cannot be enjoyed firsthand, we seek to revel in it from others' accounts. We are thus amazed by this first- or second-hand information and forego what we ought to believe regarding sensible tendencies. It is fair to say that Hume does have a point here: humans love the marvellous.

The third reason, and arguably one of the most bold, is that hesitation against the belief in miracles should come very naturally for the people as outlined in reason one, as miracles are chiefly observed "to abound among ignorant and barbarous nations". He goes so far as to say that, even when civilized and well-educated peoples believe in miraculous things, the themes and miracles can be traced back to a generation when the people were not so educated or intelligent.

This presents a complex number of issues. It is a difficult claim to argue without exact representations of the world's population at any given time that believe or do not believe in religion, just miracles, or nothing at all. It could also be suggested that, if taking into account the modern, present-day society in Western culture, many have foregone religious beliefs not because of increased education, but because of increased comforts of material things. We do not have to worry significantly about poverty, disease, or starvation, given our employment. One might say that the decrease in religious beliefs and the willingness to question miraculous things is a result of our civilization and education, but it could also be argued that these stem instead from no longer needing to hope in something greater. Demographics in third-world and underprivileged cultures dictate a need for hope, and a need for something better (including education)—but do not equate that with the people being barbarous.

The fourth and final reason Hume outlines against belief in miracles comes with the biggest connection in his views against the foundations of organized religion. His argument is that there is an unavoidable impossibility of religion should miracles be accepted, as each miracle ruins the credibility of another form of religion: “every miracle, therefore...has the same force, though more indirectly, to overthrow every other system [of religion]” (95). He continues by stating that “in destroying a rival system, it likewise destroys the credit of those miracles, on which that system was established; so that all the prodigies of different religions are to be regarded as contrary facts”. If each religion’s miracles are negating each other, it does not leave any religion open to being correct in its foundations.

Based on the information that Hume provides in this premise, he leaves open the option of one ultimate religion being possible. Because his argument is dependent on there being multiple religions, it could be negated if there was only one. Then only the first three principles could apply, and from that the validity of the religion could, in fact, be determined. This is a weak concluding point for his arguments.

In Robert J. Fogelin’s paper, “What Hume Actually Said about Miracles”, Fogelin attempts to dissect what Hume said in the Chapter. The error with this, consistent with other scholars, can be determined right from line one: “Two things are commonly said about Hume’s treatment of miracles in the first part of Section X of the *Enquiry of Human Understanding*” (81). Again, another scholar who is attempting only to read Hume’s interpretations and make arguments from the first section. Why is Part II so neglected?

James E. Taylor is one scholar who does attempt to debate the principles in the paper titled “Hume on Miracles: Interpretation and Criticism”. However, he neglects to examine the criteria provided by Hume in a complete way, instead paraphrasing the first two points into three and ignoring Hume’s final arguments against miracles. His interpretations seem to be a broader read on the section regarding human testimony as opposed to the section discussing Hume’s reasoning against the existence of miracles.

In Taylor’s paper “Hume on Miracles: Interpretation and Criticism”, Taylor paraphrases the four criteria of Hume into three premises. His first summary says “reasonable people always proportion their beliefs to the strength of their evidence” (612). From the synopsis Taylor provides, it is reasonable to assume that his paraphrase is of Hume’s first principle, that sensible and educated individuals will have a difficult time believing in the miracle without any doubt. His second states “every law of nature is such that the evidence that it has never been violated is stronger than the evidence that it has been violated”. This premise as provided is a restatement of Hume’s initial characteristic of miracles as described in Part I. Premise three states that “if a miracle has occurred, it is a violation of a law of nature”. Again, this is direct summary from Part I, as well as almost being the

exact same principle as number two. Taylor provides the following conclusion from his paraphrasing: “reasonable people will never believe that a miracle has occurred” (612). Though logically sound, the conciseness of Taylor’s argument trivializes the full work of Hume. The section has significantly more reasoning and evidence than this small logical equation gives.

Why, then, does Taylor elect to outline the premises of the article this way? The initial reaction could be that perhaps he was working from the three examples against human testimony and not the four reasons against miracles. Is it then a mistake for Taylor to say that “Here is a paraphrase of Hume’s main case against the rationality of belief in miracles”? This is far more likely the case. At the beginning of “Part II”, Hume says that “in the foregoing reasoning we have supposed, that the testimony, upon which a miracle is founded, may possibly amount to an entire proof, and that the falsehood of that testimony would be a real prodigy” (92). The “foregoing reasoning” is in regards to the testimony of miracles, not “rationality [against] belief in miracles”, as Taylor puts it. It is not beneficial to summarize all of Hume’s ideas in this fashion.

Though Hume’s “Of Miracles” has been widely read and studied, many scholars neglect to see the importance in Part II of the section. Scholarship gives a variety of reasons for this, from the idea that it was just an afterthought or space-filler for Hume, to it being more of a joke. These are incorrect assumptions to make, and to truly understand what Hume is saying, one has to examine the section in its entirety. It makes more sense that Part I of the section was made as an introduction to both state the argument and to define the appropriate terminology. Because of this, Hume’s “Of Miracles” should be examined as a whole with particular emphasis put onto the arguments made in Part II against the validity of miracles.

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## ***The Portrayal of Gallic Ethnicity by Roman Historians***

Adora Hartley

The subject of ethnicity addressed within the works of the ancient authors, is an intriguing topic for examination. Much can be derived from the manner in which these authors characterize those regarded by the Romans as barbarians, especially since their interpretations reflect the perspective of the Roman elites. Several overarching themes can be observed throughout the works of the ancients, such as the corruptive powers of wealth which leads to deterioration, the perpetuation of established ethnic stereotypes as a means of “othering”, the personal motivations and intentions of the authors themselves, as well as a reflection of the values of the age these authors wrote in. In order to demonstrate these aspects, examples will be provided from the works of Polybius, Cicero, Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus specifically in regards to the Gauls. In this way, the manner in which ethnicity was treated by these Roman authors can be observed and the themes of perpetuated stereotypes, Roman values over time, and personal motivations can be assessed.

The first ancient author to create significant writings related to the Gauls was Polybius, whose focus in their regard was on the Roman/Gallic conflicts of the late third century as well as those surrounding the Second Punic War. Polybius described the Gauls as being a populous people who were tall in stature, physically beautiful, and brave in warfare<sup>61</sup>, however, their bravery was due to being rashly impulsive rather than rationally controlled.<sup>62</sup> Polybius also portrayed the Gauls as having developed a reputation for being easily bought<sup>63</sup> and were both rowdy and infamously fickle.<sup>64</sup> It would be these characteristics that would later develop into an established stereotype of Gallic ethnicity, which were of course opposite to Roman qualities of character. It is important to note that Polybius’ account of the Gauls reflects both his view of them as a Greek, as well as the Roman elite perspective to which he became accustomed while a hostage in Rome, and also through his close association to the Scipio family.

To be examined next, will be the works of subsequent authors, Cicero and Caesar whose works concerning the Gauls still survives. Cicero and Caesar both wrote during the late Republican period. Cicero more or less voices his disdain regarding all provincial peoples in his speeches and personal letters. Cicero stated that the most distinguished Gaul could not be compared to the lowliest Roman; that they were a hubristic and faithless nation who were bound to no religious integrities, and were indeed the genuine descendants of those same Gauls who burnt the Capital of Rome.<sup>65</sup> Cicero’s

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<sup>61</sup> Polybius, *Histories*, 2.15.7.

<sup>62</sup> Polybius, 2.35.2.

<sup>63</sup> Polybius, 2.7.5.

<sup>64</sup> Polybius, 2.32.8; 3.49.2.

<sup>65</sup> Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 27-30.

perspective reflects that of a Roman senatorial elite, who condemned all foreign influence, living remotely from those he described and in the context of the values of the late Republican period.

In Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, he provides an ethnographic discourse from his own personal experience while governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for 8 years, and accounts his military campaigns against the various Gallic tribes. Caesar's assumptions concerning Gallic characteristics are based upon their lifestyle, economic, and dietary situations.<sup>66</sup> Caesar states that the Gallic tribe called the Volcae Tectosages, who lived close to the area occupied by the southern Germans and shared similar economic conditions, which in turn affected their lifestyle and physical appearance making them more like the Germans.<sup>67</sup> This is then contrasted in the same section with the main Gauls in the Gallic provinces, who due to their close proximity to Roman culture and civilization and engagement in trade, had degenerated due to the contagious power of Roman wealth and lost their military prowess. Caesar similarly states that the Belgae remained the most prominent warriors in Gaul because they were the most far removed from the corruptive and effeminate influence of Roman wealth.<sup>68</sup> Here an example can be observed concerning the Roman theory regarding the corruptive power of *luxuria* and how its influence inevitably leads to deterioration, which is a common theme present in Roman literature. Caesar's account also shares some commonalities with Polybius', relating the impulsive nature of the Gauls, their faithlessness, and fickleness.<sup>69</sup> However, Caesar did have firsthand experience with the Gauls in warfare, so his accounts should not be dismissed as purely stereotypical. Another important aspect to be considered is the tone in which Caesar describes the Gauls, which was rather mixed. Caesar commented that the Gauls fought for their freedom against Roman servitude<sup>70</sup>, which indicated a sense of respect on his part rather than describing them as being naturally subservient as attributed to eastern peoples. In contrast, Caesar certainly criticized aspects of Gallic practice such as their perceived cruelty<sup>71</sup> regarding the offering of human sacrifices or resorting to cannibalism. Such allegations were commonly made against enemies who were despised and feared, not to mention that Caesar had personal motivations in portraying the Gauls in such a manner. In order to continue his command and governorship, albeit to escape charges of bribery and extortion back in Rome, it was imperative that Caesar justified his position, both as defender of Roman interests, as well as protecting her provincials, not to mention the glory and wealth involved in such a venture. These examples thus reflect the perpetuation of a developed barbarian stereotype regarding the Gauls, an

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<sup>66</sup> Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 413.

<sup>67</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 6.24.

<sup>68</sup> Caesar, 1.1.

<sup>69</sup> Caesar, 2.1; 3.8; 3.19.

<sup>70</sup> Caesar, 3.8.

<sup>71</sup> Caesar, 6.18;7.77.

overarching theme of the corruptive power of wealth, as well as the personal motivations and contemporary values reflected by the individual author.

Livy also wrote rather extensively on the Gauls in his work, *Ab Urbe Condita* or *From the Founding of the City*, where he chronologically narrated the events from the founding of Rome down to his own times in the early first century during the reign of Augustus, who was his patron. Livy's tone is overly hostile, unlike Caesar's for example, and reflects again the same developed Gallic stereotype derived from Polybius' accounts. Livy described the Gauls as being easily bought<sup>72</sup>, inconstant as well as insatiably wanton<sup>73</sup>, impulsively passionate<sup>74</sup> and violent tempered.<sup>75</sup> Again, these Gallic characterizations are portrayed as opposite to the qualities the Romans valued and endeavored (ideologically) to possess. Livy's motivations and patronage were significant factors in his portrayal of the Gauls and barbarians in general, for Augustus was creating the image of himself as being the second founder of Rome, ushering a new Golden Age uncorrupted by contagious foreign influence. Therefore, since Augustus was Livy's patron, his work reflects the tone of the political climate regarding barbarians, as well as the period's values.

Finally, in Tacitus' work the *Annales*, he presented arguments made against the admission of the Gauls from the Gallia Comata by the senators during Claudius' reign. Tacitus states that the opposition argued vehemently against the Gaul's inclusion on these grounds:

*Is it a small thing that Veneti and Insubres have already burst into the Senate-house, unless a mob of foreigners, a troop of captives, so to say, is now forced upon us? What distinctions will be left for the remnants of our noble houses, or for any impoverished senators from Latium? Every place will be crowded with these millionaires, whose ancestors of the second and third generations at the head of hostile tribes destroyed our armies with fire and sword, and actually besieged the divine Julius at Alesia. These are recent memories. What if there were to rise up the remembrance of those who fell in Rome's citadel and at her altar by the hands of these same barbarians! Let them enjoy indeed the title of citizens, but let them not vulgarize the distinctions of the Senate and the honors of office.*<sup>76</sup>

It is clear that the predominant issues for the Roman senators was their fear of losing their distinctions, honors, and wealth, to which they had become accustomed. Also, the perspective that Roman citizenship and senatorial rank was decreasing in value was likewise a concern for the Roman elites, since it was

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<sup>72</sup> Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 21.20; 21.24.

<sup>73</sup> Livy, 5.44.

<sup>74</sup> Livy, 5.37.

<sup>75</sup> Livy, 5.36.

<sup>76</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, 11.23.

the manner by which they “othered” themselves even from the majority of the Roman populace, let alone provincial foreigners. In an attempt to sway things in their favor, the recollection of past dealings with the Gauls is emphasized by the Roman elites, specifically the conflict between the Gauls and Julius Caesar as well as the sack of Rome, which ever remained a moment of infamy in the minds of Romans. In this way, the Roman senators endeavored to evoke the imagery of the stereotypical characteristics of the Gauls, in order to prevent their incorporation into the Roman elite world. Tacitus’ account of this, again reflects the Roman values of his period as well as provides another example of this harkening back to the Gallic past and their characteristics, which were un-Roman and still a source of fear.

Upon examination of the examples taken from this selection of Roman authors of antiquity, overarching themes can be observed in the treatment of ethnicity and barbarian characterizations, specifically in regards to the Gauls. The corruptive powers of wealth which leads to deterioration, the perpetuation of established ethnic stereotypes as a means of “othering”, the personal motivations and intentions of the authors themselves, as well as a reflection of the values of the age these authors wrote in can be comprehended through the lens of the Roman elite. In this way, clearer insight can be gained from the manner in which ethnicity was treated in ancient literature, which often tells us more about the writers and Romans themselves than the people they describe.

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## ***Roman Imperialism: Romanization and its effects***

Adora Hartley

The study of Roman imperialism is an extensively complex and multi-dimensional subject. The manner by which the Romans expanded their empire through conquest and warfare, as well as the effects of this expansion, both upon the conquered and conquerors, is simultaneously regarded as having contained negative and positive attributes. The process involved with Roman imperialism, often termed Romanization, encompassed various social and political aspects, a selection of which will be examined. Some of the effects of Romanization and imperialism to be analyzed are with regards to the positive and negative perspectives on Romanization itself, as well as conscriptions and citizenship. In this way, various positions will be observed on the subject of Roman imperialism and the Romanization process, elucidating the common theme of corruption, whether directly through wealth, the army, or interactions with the conquered.

A suitable place to begin then would be with the concept of Romanization that occurred within the provinces. Some features that are most often associated with Romanization are urbanization, markets and trade, as well as local administration. It was through the interaction of Roman culture with native ones that a synthesis occurred and produced a culture that we now call Romanized. The product of this new Romanized culture provided instances of social, economical, and cultural changes with a much wider significance.<sup>77</sup> Greg Woolf described Romanization as an ‘umbrella’ term to obscure numerous separate processes, which is by some, regarded as a drawback and by others as an enticing feature of Romanization. The term itself possesses no explanatory feature, but used in a descriptive sense it acts as a useful shorthand for the various changes that created the Roman imperial civilization and the patterns of similarities and differences that encompassed it.<sup>78</sup> One of the most common characteristics associated with Romanization is the development of towns/civitates with a specific structure and administration. These towns would follow the same layout and construction as the Roman towns of Northern Italy, consisting of Roman styled buildings such as a forum, basilica, public baths, temples, and amphitheater. This was a direct result of the Roman influence on local native elites who desired Roman favor and sought to emulate their ways.<sup>79</sup> In regards to administration, Woolf states that, “the governor’s role was probably more to promote and guide the efforts of locals to civilize themselves and perhaps also to provide models for their civilizing projects...by establishing civil communities of the kind within which they believed man’s potential was best realized and by

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<sup>77</sup> Martin Millet, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1.

<sup>78</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 7.

<sup>79</sup> Millet, 69.

encouraging the education of the best of the provincials”.<sup>80</sup> All these aspects can be clearly seen in a passage from Tacitus’ *Agricola*, where he described how his father-in-law Agricola, while governor of Britain, sought to Romanize the barbarian local population in order to make them more compliant to Roman rule, by showing them the benefits of a Romanized lifestyle and developed patron-client ties. Agricola did this by providing Roman education for the sons of the local elites, by promoting the building of temples, forums, and Roman styled houses. All this according to Tacitus, however, led to the corruption of the locals through association with Roman wealth and *luxuria* while the ignorant locals perceived this as civilization when in reality, it was in fact an element of their slavery.<sup>81</sup> Later, within a speech by one of the British chiefs Calgacus before a battle against the Romans, Tacitus delivers one of the most damning statements on imperialism, portraying the perspective of Romanization and conquest from the side of the indigenous population:

*Robbers of the world, having by their universal plunder exhausted the land, they rifle the deep. If the enemy be rich, they are rapacious; if he be poor, they lust for dominion; neither the east nor the west has been able to satisfy them. Alone among men they covet with equal eagerness poverty and riches. To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they give the lying name of empire; they make a solitude and call it peace.*<sup>82</sup>

This example displays Tacitus’ sentiment on how the Roman Empire had become corrupt by wealth and deteriorated into a lustfully greedy and brutal nation, which now was spreading its corruption upon the conquered indigenous barbarians. Another example of how the Roman Empire was seen as a corrupting influence upon her provinces and the local barbarians, can be seen in a passage from Caesar where he states that the Belgae in Gaul have remained the bravest because they were the farthest removed from the influence of Roman civilization and trade with merchants, which induces weakness through luxury that effeminates the mind.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, a connection is being made between military renown and virtue and the corruptive power of wealth that had poisoned Roman civilization. These passages provide examples of how some ancient historians viewed the effects of Roman imperialism in a negative light. As a contrast to this, some ancient historians believed that it was the conquered lands and people, through their customs and luxury that in fact corrupted the Roman Empire. Pliny the Elder remarked that it was due to the conquest of Asia and the influence of its wealth that Rome was corrupted.<sup>84</sup> Juvenal likewise stated that:

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<sup>80</sup> Woolf, 71.

<sup>81</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 21.

<sup>82</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30

<sup>83</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 1.1

<sup>84</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 33.53.148.

*We are now suffering the calamities of long peace. Luxury, more deadly than any foe, has laid her hand upon us, and avenges a conquered world. Since the day when Roman poverty perished, no deed of crime or lust has been wanting to us; from that moment Sybaris and Rhodes and Miletus have poured in upon our hills with the be garlanded and drunken and unabashed Tarentum. Filthy lucre first brought in amongst us foreign ways; wealth enervated and corrupted the ages with foul indulgences.*<sup>85</sup>

These examples present evidence of the contrary perspective on the corruption of the Roman Empire, having been contaminated by those conquered along with the wealth that imperialism produced.

The next topic to be examined, which is also tied to the Romanization process, is the Roman army. Due to the imperial expansion of the Roman Empire, the military became a major instrument of cultural blending and control within the provinces. Woolf details the impact of the army in Gaul, where ‘becoming Roman’ happened in an environment where Gauls were incorporated into some form of military service, and that experience was one that changed over time. Since the campaigns of Caesar and the triumviral wars, there were Gallic elites leading levies to support Roman troops. Even though the structure of military organization would gradually go through changes over time, with regards to the auxiliary troops and imperial command, Gauls would always have some role in the army. The Rhine legions were almost exclusively chosen from Narbonensis, while those Gauls who were incorporated into the military auxiliary were largely drawn from the northern and eastern parts of Gaul and then transferred to the frontier regions of Britain and Germany. Such a situation would thrust Gauls from a familiar lifestyle into a completely foreign one in a vastly different geographic zone. Also, in this way Gauls would be faced with aspects of Roman culture and whatever the local culture of their military station consisted of. In a similar fashion, those local natives who now lived in the midst of Roman soldiers experienced aspects of becoming Roman.<sup>86</sup> In Burns’ discussion on the role of the Roman army, he states that it was one of the two most paramount Roman institutions in regards to Roman-barbarian relations, the other being the urban centers already discussed. It was the imperial army that, “served as a means through which a host of cultural values were transported and transformed for the frontier environment, as well as being a military strike force...More fundamentally, it was integral to the governance of the provinces themselves, and its loyalty to the emperor remained vital to imperial stability”.<sup>87</sup> These aspects were also addressed within the writings of the ancients. Tacitus presents contrasts on the topic of conscription, stating that the Britains readily submitted to the levy,<sup>88</sup> whereas in Calgacus’ speech he proclaims that by conscriptions, sons of the

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<sup>85</sup> Juvenal, *Satire*, 6.

<sup>86</sup> Woolf, 243-244

<sup>87</sup> Burns, 151-152.

<sup>88</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 13.

provincials are torn from their families, becoming enslaved to Rome, and sent to the frontiers of the empire to fight for Roman interests and the enslavement of other peoples.<sup>89</sup> Additionally, Tacitus also states in a speech from Petilius Cerialis to the Gauls the benefits of Roman rule. He proclaims that other than paying tribute and supplying soldiers for the levy they are equal to the Romans, and these things were imperative in order to keep peace in the region and that Rome protected the Gauls from British and Germanic invasion and the exploitation of their resources. Also, the Gauls themselves enjoyed a special status and place in the military, so they should embrace submission and safety rather than pursue rebellion and ruin.<sup>90</sup> Returning to the subject of corruption, the Roman army itself was seen by some as the mechanism by which the empire was contaminated by wealth and indigenous barbarian culture. Sallust commented that in order to win the loyalty of his troops, Sulla allowed his soldiers to indulge in the luxuries of the east, which corrupted the Roman army's military prowess and morals. It was through the army that the Roman people were first introduced to depravity, as an effect of the influence from the conquered barbarians.<sup>91</sup> Similarly the army was attributed as the contaminating factor in Cassius Dio's work:

*The Romans, when they had had a taste of Asiatic luxury and had spent some time among the possessions of the vanquished amid the abundance of spoils and the license granted by success in arms, rapidly came to emulate the prodigality of these peoples and ere long to trample under foot their own ancestral traditions. Thus the terrible influence, starting in that quarter, invaded the city as well.*<sup>92</sup>

Again, the corruptive influence of eastern *luxuria* as well as the customs and culture of the conquered people are portrayed as the contaminating factors which infected the Roman army, which in turn transferred this pollution to the people of Rome. In regards to the incorporation of conquered people into the Roman army itself, there were some who felt that this in fact contributed to decaying the discipline and effectiveness of its military power:

*Various reasons have been advanced by historians in explanation of the decay of the Roman army, as, for example, the passive resistance of the Christians or the influx of barbarians in such numbers as to render the retention of the old and successful Roman method of fighting impossible... Vegetius, on the other hand, though in no way denying the existence of unfavorable*

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<sup>89</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31.

<sup>90</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.74.

<sup>91</sup> Sallust, *Catilina*, 11.

<sup>92</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 19.64.

*external conditions, finds the trouble germinating within the army itself, undermining it by a slow but certain process, and eventually sapping it of all its strength*<sup>93</sup>.

This article goes on to detail the revisions in the military structure that Vegetius, an officer from the late Roman Empire, felt were imperative in order for the Roman army to regain its former power and glory. The incorporation of barbarians by that time into the military was to such an extent that the majority of the army consisted of ‘barbarians’ and were seen as corrupting it from within.

Another factor pertaining to the effect of Romanization and imperialism, both upon the conquered and conquerors was concerning the granting of citizenship to auxiliaries. Upon completion of military service, a soldier was granted Roman citizenship, so if he had attached himself to some local native woman of a province and perhaps had children with her, in turn his wife and children would also become citizens. This would have an immense affect upon the changing meaning of being a Roman citizen and Roman identity as a whole, for it would begin to blur the lines between distinguishing what was Roman, Italian, and provincial.<sup>94</sup> Evidence of granting citizenship can be seen in inscriptions, where all those auxiliaries that had performed their service and had been settled were also granted marriage rights.<sup>95</sup> Again, to some people the granting of Roman citizenship to the conquered was perceived as a cheapening of it, and incorporating these people into the empire was only going to corrupt it from within.

Upon examination of the examples provided, it is apparent that there were contrasting perspectives on the effects of Roman imperialism and the Romanization process that accompanied it, upon both the conquered and conquerors. Specific examples relating to the aspects of Romanization itself, conscriptions, and citizenship have been analyzed and seen from both viewpoints. Additionally, the topics discussed share in common an overarching theme of the corruptive influence of wealth and *luxuria*, which were inevitable due to successful conquest and warfare. Therefore, evidence has been provided to illustrate how Roman imperialism and Romanization impacted both the conquered and conquerors through successful warfare, as well as how the corruptive influence of wealth was seen as a contaminating factor whether through Romanization, the army, or interaction with the conquered.

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<sup>93</sup> Alfred P. Dorjahn and Lester K. Born, “Vegetius on the Decay of the Roman Army” *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 30 (1934), 151. JSTOR. [www.jstor.org/](http://www.jstor.org/).

<sup>94</sup> Burns, 224.

<sup>95</sup> Brian Campbell, *The Roman Army 31 B.C – A.D 337* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 216. 349 CIL 16.13

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***Canadian Corporate Directors and Educational Affiliations:  
A Geographical Analysis of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver Firms***  
John Kalafatis

## **Introduction**

In today's global economy, the knowledge base of a corporation's board of directors is becoming more and more valuable. By focusing on individual members of corporate boards, this study will examine the factors that make these highly skilled personnel significant to a corporation's success. This research will borrow from the idea of resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978), which looks at board members as individuals who have access to resources external to the firm. In the case of this paper, knowledge acquired as well as the social and professional networks developed from a post-secondary education are the resources under investigation. Additionally, Saxenian's (2002) concept of brain circulation explains the circular journey workers take in their pursuit of education away from their home region, then return to conduct business. In this process they bring the knowledge gained through their education and experience back to their home region.

Following this line of reasoning, this paper focuses on three of Canada's top corporate cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. It makes sense that directors who obtain an education in regions pivotal to the world economy have access to a higher level of expertise and knowledge than regions further in the periphery. Theoretically, experience in these important regions should allow directors to access knowledge less available in peripheral regions. This process should benefit the firms they sit on, as it allows them to reinvigorate business practices when old ways of conducting business no longer create the advantages they once did. Bringing in directors with a wealth of knowledge from regions more entrenched in the international business world should provide valuable linkages. Once established in a region, it becomes difficult for a firm to uproot itself from the bricks and mortar; however the individuals within the firm are much more fluid. The objective of this paper is to determine if there is an association between where directors attend university and the location of the headquarters of the companies they now work for. Specifically, where directors of companies obtain their education will be compared to where they presently sit on a board. Just as important, a second objective of this paper is to determine whether or not the geography of these directors' educations influences a company's performance.

## **Literature Review**

Significant changes in the world's economic landscape are occurring. Some regions have benefitted, while others have not. For example, Knox (2008) points out; the deindustrialization of the 'Rust Belt' has been disastrous for many areas of Northeastern United States. On the other hand, the resurgence of New England, Pittsburgh's transformation from a steel city to a regional service centre,

and the concentration of financial institutions to world cities like New York, are examples of the North-eastern United States benefitting.

Regions like the ones mentioned above transition into new roles as the economy demands it, with quaternary services at the forefront of these transitions. Friedman's (1986) 'world city hypothesis' asserts that in advanced economies, the metropolitan centers transition from secondary (manufacturing) services to quaternary (advanced business) services. Quaternary services are knowledge based; they consist of knowledge generation, consultation, research and development, among many others. The quaternary sector is where boards of directors function, and where this research is particularly interested.

Networks are very important in this discussion of economic geography, with Pfeffer and Salancick (1978), Saxenian (1990), and O'Hagan (2010), all looking at how individuals and firms interact across networks. These networks interact with one another to create what is seen as the economy. It can be as simple as firms trading between one another or sharing information to improve each others' competitive advantage, or it could be the relationship firms share with the state or the consumer. Dicken (2007) contends that the economy must be viewed as these inter-related networks with a circular type of relationship. That circular relationship ties closely to Saxenian's (2002) work on brain circulation which could be summarised as individuals from regions moving and expanding their networks to other regions which not only benefits themselves, but their regions as well.

By looking at the individuals who sit on the board as people bringing specific resources with them, their personal histories can be examined to find out what experience makes them desirable at this high level of decision making. Pfeffer and Salancick (1978) describe directors, in the context of resource dependency, as individuals who will concern themselves with the success of the firm and use their resources which they have accumulated throughout their career and education. This paper specifically examines the directors' education from a spatial perspective and how this benefits firms. Following this line of thinking, a director educated in New England, where a large concentration of top business schools exist, has a better opportunity to create high level connections than an individual educated in a region at the periphery of the economy.

Pfeffer and Salancick (1978) frame the purpose of their work on resource dependency as understanding the struggle of corporate managers to maintain their firm's relevance and continued success by constantly acquiring novel tools. Well educated and well connected directors then are a resource that organizations rely upon to maintain relevance in the business world. Without new perspectives coming in from diverse educational backgrounds, companies will stagnate and fail to innovate. This concept is important when you consider the changing assets that make a company

competitive. A century ago, physical assets set good companies apart from “bad ones”. Today the true value of a company lies largely in its intellectual property and knowledge of its work force.

When viewed as a question of competitive advantage, the assets an individual brings with them to a firm can be critical. All individuals have their own personal connections, and are the product of unique experiences; this makes individuals who possess more novel experiential resources more valuable to a firm’s bottom line (Young et al, 2001). Resource dependence theory acknowledges the importance of a director’s personal history and what that brings to the firm; institutionalism (March and Olsen, 1984) explains the importance of these experiences in distant regions, and brain circulation places the concepts in the context of economic geography.

The concept of institutionalism has garnered an increased amount of attention in economic geography over the last two decades. As March and Olsen (1984) explain, institutionalism suggests that through interactions with society, institutions shape how individuals behave. These institutions range from government regulation or formal rules, to the way things are, or informal rules for conducting business (March and Olsen 1984). Specific regions develop institutional actors unique to their location. When looking at spatially distant regions, the institutional influences begin to differ.

To gain a better understanding of why researchers are suggesting that directors with knowledge from distant universities are valuable, it is important to understand institutionalism. Williamson (2000) and O’Hagan (2010) describe the concept as a complex interaction of varying structures within a region that have been shaped by society and culture. These structures vary in strength as Williamson (2000) points out, certain institutions (religion and social norms) have a greater affect on other institutions, while further down, statute laws and the basic rules of the game influence how individuals conduct business. For this research, the concept is applied to university education and how the institutions that shape education differ across space. Will this difference deliver a competitive advantage for firms seeking to reinvigorate their corporate culture?

Hall and Taylor (1996) note that adopting new practices are not always beneficial. A firm may be tempted to acquire new business practices or ways of operating which may in fact be detrimental to their bottom line, but these seem appropriate when compared to what other firms are implementing. One aspect of firm practices that other firms may look to emulate, is the hiring process. In the context of this research, this would be comparable to firms hiring individuals who graduated from Harvard, solely because it is the current trend within corporate culture, and not because that is what their current situation demands.

Recent studies have looked at corporate directors from the brain circulation perspective first suggested by Saxenian (2002). This concept was first used to describe the economic development of Silicon Valley and the immigrant engineers who built the region. Important to this theory, these

individuals returned to their home countries like Taiwan, China, and India establishing high-tech sectors there. When they returned to their home countries, they took their knowledge and experience gained from Silicon Valley with them. Saxenian (2002) and Kuznetsov (2006) suggest that these individuals played an important role in the rapid development of the high tech sectors in these countries. This movement of individuals not only benefits the individual firms, but the receiving city as well, by increasing the knowledge base of all the firms.

Saxenian (2007) concentrates on ethnic professionals who were educated and worked in Silicon Valley. Upon returning to their home regions, in emerging markets, they were able to use their entrepreneurial skill to identify promising opportunities within the market and establish highly competitive ventures. This is similar to the corporate directors of Canada who learn novel business strategy and build their own personal networks while attending diverse universities, and then continue to tap into this source throughout their careers. The education, experience, business background, connections and linkages that directors acquire, help firms in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver become more competitive and integral to the economy.

Work completed specifically on board composition and brain circulation by O'Hagan (2010) looks at corporate culture within firms. Firms benefit from executives with personal histories in different regions because they are able to bring in novel perspectives of corporate culture, and more easily question the status quo (O'Hagan, 2010). By bringing in these new points of view, stagnation within the firm can be counteracted or even prevented. Furthering this point D'Costa (2004) explains that having a diverse network within a firm's board is important because creating more connections in a network allows for more knowledge to be transferred, the greater the number of connections, the more valuable the network becomes and more connections means greater access to resources. This is why it is not only the firm that benefits from the diverse board with access to high value networks, but also the firm's region as a whole by creating even more linkages to key economic regions. O'Hagan (2010) argues there is a risk for firms to become stagnant and lack innovation if they rely too heavily on hiring corporate managers from geographically proximate regions. Constant effort must be made on the part of the firms to ensure fresh perspectives to maintain competitive advantage over their regional competition.

When one region looks to grow, it can benefit through external connections to learn from. Saxenian (1994) notes that in any instance in which a region has attempted to replace Silicon Valley, it has failed either in part or whole because the technology industry is already so entrenched there. She does however, note that regions that attempt to compliment or add value to what goes on in Silicon Valley, have been successful, such as Bangalore India or Taiwan. A key factor in the success of these two regions has been the immigrant entrepreneurs who established themselves in the U.S. using their

knowledge of their home country to identify critical openings in the labour market that outsiders would not be aware of (Kuznetsov 2006). On a smaller scale, O'Hagan and Green (2011) state, "when individuals attend a New England university compared to an Atlantic Canadian university they are exposed to external institutions and greater international connections... brain circulation does bring new knowledge, but also new connections via interlocks which further the knowledge base of these individuals." These connections can be an important intangible asset for firms or regions in the economic periphery.

Harvard University stands out in much of the literature around educational backgrounds. O'Hagan (2010) in an examination of Fortune 500 firms, found that 25% of directors at the top 65 finance and insurance firms were educated in Boston, the majority from Harvard. Also of note, only 2 of the 65 firms maintain headquarters in Boston. This demonstrates that a region can be a significant player in the economic world through factors outside of firm location. Boston may be on the periphery as far as firm headquarters are concerned, but its ability to specialize in valuable education connects the region closer to the core of economic production. Harvard is not the only university to see high representation on corporate boards throughout the United States. Even in Canada, there are several old Ivy League universities that are at the top of this list. This is a result of class hegemony, which Sonquist and Koenig (1975) describe as the upper class using its connections in business and otherwise to achieve their personal goals while promoting cohesion within the class. They do so through directorates, which carry prestige and enhance their personal and professional networks.

### **Data, Methods, and Limitations**

This paper examines a director dataset for firms based in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver as identified in the *Financial Post's Directory of Directors*. The resulting dataset consists of 14,395 directors based out of these three cities. Perhaps a limitation of this study lies in that all of the directors are assembled into one group. While CEOs possess the final say in decision making and possess the greatest influence, they are amalgamated into the dataset with all other directors.

Significant for this research, this source provides the director name, where he or she attended university and the name of the company that he or she sits on. From this data set, 7,134 directors provide information regarding their educational backgrounds. For the purposes of this analysis, only the university from which the director achieved their highest degree from will be looked at. Additionally a dataset of firms listed on the TSX is used to analyze firm performance. COMPUSTAT is software that provides corporate performance measures (profit, revenue, etc.) of companies that are on the TSX. This study specifically uses one variable, gross profit, because it directly measures corporate performance. For the purposes of this paper, the two separate datasets are merged into one dataset. Some directors are listed multiple times; however, this is because they sit on multiple boards,

which makes it necessary to count them each time they appear. Descriptive statistics are performed in SPSS to display the geography of the directors' education and their firms. T-tests and Pearson's correlation coefficient are then used to correlate firm performance for those firms for which data are available.

For the t-test analysis, directors were grouped into two separate categories, those educated within their firms' province and those educated outside of that province. The dependent variable being tested for mean difference is the gross profits. If the two groups are significantly different, it can be interpreted that there is a distinct difference in the gross profits of firms with directors educated in their firm's region with those educated elsewhere.

The next step of this analysis uses the variables of distance of the director's university to their firm and the firm's gross profits. Pearson's correlation is a way of determining if there is a relationship between two groups of variables. For this analysis a positive correlation would indicate that as distance from the firm to where the director attained their education increases, the firm's profits also increase.

## Results

Initial analysis uses descriptive statistics to provide us a breakdown of where the Canadian directors are coming from. Where the directors received their education is divided into three groups for analysis; the country they were educated in, the province or state, and the university. The Table 1 displays what country the directors received their education in.

**Table 1: Number & proportion of Canadian directors by university country in three Canadian cities**

Country	Toronto	%Toronto	Country	Vancouver	% Vancouver	Country	Montreal	%Montreal
Canada	2950	75.25	Canada	1328	72.25	Canada	1094	78.08
USA	608	15.63	USA	303	16.49	USA	202	14.42
UK	185	4.76	UK	118	6.42	UK	48	3.43
South Africa	33	0.85	Australia	32	1.74	France	38	2.71
Australia	26	0.67	South Africa	9	0.49	Australia	5	0.36
France	25	0.64	Mexico	7	0.38	South Africa	2	0.14
Germany	8	0.21	Switzerland	6	0.33	Germany	1	0.71
Ireland	7	0.18	Venezuela	6	0.33	Ireland	1	0.71
Brazil	6	0.15	China	4	0.22	Netherlands	1	0.71

As expected the overwhelming majority are alumni of a Canadian university. The next country for each of the cities is the United States, and third the UK. What shows here is a clear hierarchy of significance or magnitude of impact from each of these countries, Canada of course holding the number one position, the United States is then the second most impactful, followed by the United Kingdom. Businesses in Canada are highly integrated with those in the U.S., making its influence no

surprise here. Similarly the United Kingdom has a long history with Canada and our cultures share much in common.

Differences appear at the fourth level in the hierarchy. For Montreal, France supplies a large number of directors, 38 directors or slightly less than three per cent. While the data tells less of a story at the levels beneath this, there is a clear drop in the volume of directors produced by other countries. Australia and South Africa represent the fifth level of importance for Montreal. The remaining countries demonstrate the European connection that Montreal businesses are known for.

Looking at Vancouver, a very different geography emerges. While Europe provides a number of directors to Montreal, Vancouver has greater links to South East Asian markets. This results in 32, or slightly less than two per cent, of all directors coming from Australia. Further down the hierarchy, Chinese universities provide several directors. Because of the economic ties to Asia, it is advantageous for Vancouver firms to acquire directors with knowledge of the region. Australia is even more in-touch with Asian business, and there is a shared cultural history with Canada through the Commonwealth, making these directors quite valuable to Vancouver firms.

It is more difficult to say what role geography truly plays for Toronto based firms, if any. It shares the first three levels of the hierarchy with Vancouver and Montreal. At the fourth level South Africa and Australia appear, likely a result of their connection through the Commonwealth. Because Toronto plays such a large role in the global economy and attracts individuals from many countries for a variety of reasons, there is little to gain from analysis of the city at this level.

For analysis at a more localized perspective, Table 2 shows the province or state where directors were educated. From this geographic scale, it can be seen which regions influence Canadian corporate boards. This analysis is useful as there are some regions, such as Massachusetts, that are home to a number of elite universities.

**Table 2: Number & proportion of Canadian directors by province/state of university attended for three Canadian cities**

Province/State	Toronto	%Toronto	Province/State	Vancouver	%Vancouver	Province/State	Montreal	%Montreal
Ontario	2152	60.50	British Columbia	594	36.42	Quebec	690	53.24
Quebec	318	8.94	Ontario	424	25.00	Ontario	324	25.00
Massachusetts	200	5.63	Quebec	96	5.89	Massachusetts	72	5.56
Nova Scotia	115	3.23	Alberta	81	4.97	New York	29	2.24
British Columbia	100	2.81	California	50	3.07	Alberta	22	1.70
Alberta	93	2.61	Saskatchewan	49	3.01	British Columbia	19	1.47
Manitoba	75	2.11	Massachusetts	47	2.88	Nova Scotia	13	1.00
New York	54	1.52	Nova Scotia	34	2.08	California	11	0.85
New Brunswick	51	1.43	Manitoba	29	1.78	New Brunswick	10	0.77
Illinois	43	1.21	New York	19	1.17	Illinois	10	0.77

These data agree with previous research by O’Hagan et al. (2008), who argued that where directors receive their education is likely where they will work. As was discussed with Table 1, a

hierarchy also emerges within Table 2. Ontario is clearly the dominant region, providing one quarter of the directors for Vancouver and Montreal. Toronto and Montreal share similar geographies in the provinces and states that influence their corporate directors. Massachusetts produces the third most directors for the two cities. Other prominent US states are represented, such as New York and Illinois, which displays an orientation toward East coast universities for Toronto and Montreal. Vancouver stands out in that directors educated within British Columbia only account for 36 per cent of directors in the city. This indicates a strong influence coming from directors educated outside the home region. Unlike Toronto and Montreal, for Vancouver, California provides more directors from the US than Massachusetts indicating a spatial relationship.

Table 3 displays specific universities that the directors attended. Analysis of the directors is limited to the university where they attained their highest education because it is at this stage when they form the most important connections that they will bring with them to their firms. Weak trends emerge within this data.

**Table 3: Number & proportion Canadian directors and university attended for three Canadian cities**

University Attended	Number of Directors Toronto	% of Directors Toronto	University Attended	Number of Directors Vancouver	% of Directors Vancouver	University Attended	Number of Directors Montreal	% of Directors Montreal
University of Toronto	743	19.09	University of British Columbia	474	25.79	McGill University	161	11.48
University of Western Ontario	413	10.61	University of Toronto	114	6.20	Laval University	130	9.27
Queen's University	232	5.96	University of Western Ontario	108	5.86	Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (Montréal)	93	6.63
York University	222	5.70	Queen's University	73	3.97	University de Montréal	92	6.56
Harvard University	160	4.11	McGill University	56	3.05	Concordia University	81	5.77
McGill University	158	4.06	Simon Fraser University	53	2.88	University of Western Ontario	74	5.27
University of Waterloo	107	2.75	University of Alberta	52	2.83	University of Toronto	64	4.56
University of British Columbia	85	2.18	University of Saskatchewan	46	2.50	University of Ottawa	62	4.42
McMaster University	82	2.11	Harvard University	43	2.34	Harvard University	59	4.21
University of Windsor	72	1.85	University of Victoria	36	1.96	University de Sherbrooke	53	3.78

The number one university providing directors for each city is also located within that city, and there is only one foreign university appearing on this table. Toronto's top four universities for directors are Ontario based institutions with the fifth most influential being Harvard University. For both Montreal and Vancouver, Harvard comes in at the ninth position. However it is still the only foreign university represented for each. Montreal directors come from a variety of Quebec universities. Unlike Toronto or even more so Vancouver, where there is a clear domination by a single local university.

It is important to understand that there are many factors that influence firm performance. Knowledge that directors possess from their personal histories is just one way of a firm acquiring

knowledge. Other important links such as those with suppliers and buyers are ways of acquiring knowledge. Due to the variety of factors influencing firm performance, the strongest correlation observed is 0.407 for Vancouver. Although this is not close to 1, a perfect correlation, it is significant when considering the number of other factors involved. Montreal had a correlation of 0.123 and Toronto, 0.087.

Table 4 displays the t-test results and Pearson’s correlation for Vancouver. The results for Vancouver proved to be most illustrative of the concepts under investigation. Not only is Vancouver the only city where directors educated within the province have an average profit in the losses, it is also the city with the strongest Pearson’s correlation coefficient. With 42 directors educated within Vancouver, and 73 being educated elsewhere, Vancouver has substantially more directors from outside the region when compared to the other cities within the dataset. The t-tests show a statistically significant difference between the group educated within Vancouver and the group educated outside the region. This information tells us that Vancouver firms definitely benefit from individuals with knowledge acquired at distant institutions.

**Table 4: Vancouver t-test and Pearson’s correlation coefficient**

Vancouver Group Statistics					Vancouver Correlation		
	Educated in firm province?	N	Mean	Sig.		kmCoToUni	Gross Profit (Loss)
Gross Profit	Yes	42	-25.180905	.000	Pearson Correlation	1	.407
	No	73	201.840823		Sig. (2-tailed)		.000

At, what appears to be the other end of the spectrum in this analysis is Montreal. In this dataset there are 80 directors educated in Quebec and 85 directors educated outside of the province. There is a statistically significant difference between the average gross profits of firms from the two groups. The average gross profits for firms with directors from outside the region make three times that of firms with directors from within. This result agrees with Vancouver’s results. The Pearson’s correlation did reveal a positive relationship, however weak. That said, results were not statistically significant.

**Table 5: Montreal t-test and Pearson’s correlation coefficient**

Montreal Group Statistics					Montreal Correlation		
	Educated in firm province?	N	Mean	Sig.		kmCoToUni	Gross Profit (Loss)
Gross Profit	Yes	80	711.887725	.000	Pearson Correlation	1	.123
	No	85	2506.341247		Sig. (2-tailed)		.114

Several conclusions can be drawn from this. This could be the result of Montreal’s unique culture compared to Toronto and Vancouver. This would mean knowledge of how business takes place

elsewhere is redundant to your firm in Montreal. Another way of interpreting this is by looking at the global economy in recent years and where Montreal's links are. Europe and the United States have struggled in recent years. Montreal firms do a lot of business with Europe and the US, and analysis of the dataset shows that Montreal firms draw their directors from the Eastern United States and Europe. Compare this to Vancouver which draws on the West coast states as well as Australia and South East Asia, regions that fared far better during the economic slow-down. Thus other factors are likely affecting Montreal's performance.

Toronto provides the largest dataset for an individual city. Table 6 displays results for Toronto's t-test and Pearson's correlation. In Toronto there are 354 directors educated within Ontario, and 144 educated elsewhere. The t-tests show that there is a statistically significant difference in the average gross profits of each group. The group of directors educated outside of Ontario have gross profits that average approximately two times that of directors from within Ontario. While the correlation is extremely weak at 0.087, it is on the cusp of statistical significance at 0.052. As discussed previously, Toronto, as the epicentre for business in Canada is affected by many factors. Because of the number of variables that influence firm performance and the variety of firms conducting business within the city, while a very weak relationship is observed, the distance to the directors' university does not serve as a good indicator of firm performance for Toronto based firms.

**Table 6: Toronto t-test and Pearson's correlation coefficient**

Toronto Group Statistics					Toronto Correlation		
	Educated in firm province?	N	Mean	Sig.		kmCoToUni	Gross Profit
Gross Profit	Yes	354	1555.479740	.000	Pearson Correlation	1	.087
	No	144	3198.456313		Sig. (2-tailed)		.052

The analysis of these tables shows that the firms with directors possessing education from outside their province, statistically, perform better. Pearson's correlation confirms that for Vancouver firms, increased distance to the university the director attended has a positive relationship with increased profits. This data analysis concurs with the theories examined earlier in the literature review. When looking at these results through the lens of brain circulation, resource dependence, and institutionalism, the importance of experiencing different institutions than those of the firm is clear.

## Discussion

Initial results for the cities were as expected. O'Hagan, et al. (2008), in an analysis of director personal histories, found that the vast majority of directors work in the same city they were educated in. Tables 1-3 support this finding. The cities under analysis are dominated by the institutions

immediately surrounding them. Boschma (2004) points to the decline of regions as they specialize too heavily in a specific industry, which inevitably reduces competition and gradually erodes the regions institutions, stagnating corporate change. Statistical analysis of the cities indicates that firms with directors educated outside the province have significantly higher profits, and the analysis of Vancouver firms shows a statistically significant correlation between increased distance to the director's university and the firm with increased profits. This agrees with O'Hagan's (2010) analysis of regional success, which found that Northeastern (rust belt) firms eventually reached a point of stagnation and decline from the amount of intraregional directors, depriving them of external knowledge.

Along the lines of intraregional stagnation, the concept of resource dependency can be observed. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) argue that a firm's existence is constantly in question and it is their ability to manage and acquire new resources that will determine their success. Firms that become reliant on directors who cannot bring in new knowledge, stagnate. In this analysis, Vancouver is shown to be heavily influenced by interregional directors with only 36 per cent of the directors being educated in British Columbia. Table 4 shows Vancouver firms with directors educated in B.C. showing a net loss, while those educated outside of the province have positive gross profits. Vancouver also shows a positive correlation with distance from the firm to the director's university, and firm performance.

The importance geography plays in shaping individuals is one of the reasons why all three cities showed increased profits for directors educated outside their province. These directors with knowledge of distant regions, regions with unique institutions to that of where the firm is physically located, bring with them valuable and unique resources. O'Hagan (2010) concludes that small firms and small cities are at a disadvantage because they are unable to attract or secure directors with interregional knowledge and connections. Tables 4-6 demonstrate that for Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, the firms with interregional connections have greater gross profits than those of directors educated within their firms' province. While Montreal and Toronto did not show significant correlations between increased profits and increased distance to the directors' university, this weak correlation was likely affected by the proximity of successful regions such as Ontario and the Northeastern US and the connection to Europe which is more distant, yet less successful in recent years.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this paper was to examine the current literature in economic geography that is concerned with the individuals at the highest level of corporate decision making. Specifically, this research looked at directors of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver firms. Analysis of where directors received their education, as well as firm performance was utilized to understand what relationship existed between these variables. Previous research into this area of economic geography has focused

much of its attention on spatial connections such as board interlocks. This paper expanded the scope of quantitative analysis of the spatial relationships directors share with their firms and their education. Building upon the current economic geography dialogue on brain circulation and institutionalism, this research attempted to test these concepts using the available data.

Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver represent the top of Canada's corporate hierarchy. While they are not first tier world cities, they have significant impacts on the regional economy. Since these cities play an important role, it is important to understand the firms that make up the economy. Historically, economic geography has been concerned with the brick and mortar location of headquarters. Contemporary research has changed its focus to corporate control and the key decision makers within the firms, CEOs and the other corporate directors.

The first goal of this paper was to examine the composition of boards of directors for Canada's top corporate cities. Analysis confirmed previous findings that the vast majority of directors sit on boards in the city where they received their education. Ontario, and more specifically Toronto, dominate firm composition. There is a tendency for boards to draw on geographically proximate directors. Noteworthy is the dominance of Harvard over other foreign universities for all three cities, European connections that Montreal directors bring with them, and Vancouver's orientation to Oceania and Southeast Asia.

The relationship between geography and firm performance was a critical part of this research. To test the implications of the theories behind this research, firm performance and the spatiality of directors' education were compared. Results from this analysis are promising, as they show that firms with interregional directors perform better. Also, the positive correlations between distance to the directors' university and firm performance further confirm the importance of experiencing distant institutions. Montreal and Toronto did not show a significant correlation, but this could be attributed to other economic factors, such as the global recession and underperforming European markets.

The argument of this paper has been that the cumulative experiences of directors, specifically those gained at a distant university, provide intangible assets that result in a competitive advantage for their firms. Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver firms with directors educated outside of their province performed significantly better than those educated within the province. There is also evidence for a correlation between increased distance to the director's university from the firm and increased performance. This aspect requires further analysis, but the positive correlation for Vancouver is a sign that this avenue of research could provide more similar results. While an education at a distant university may not be the first indicator of firm success, it is a valuable asset. It provides the ability to approach problems with a novel perspective, and when seven out of ten directors have learned how to

do things the same way, being able to think differently is a resource firms should definitely be aware of.

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# ***Determining the type of pain scale to utilize when caring for older adults with dementia: An integrative review***

Jacinthe Lauzon

## **Introduction**

Dementia is said to be a progressive and deteriorating cognitive disease (as cited in Sherrod, Collins, Wynn, & Gragg, 2010), which can lead to “memory impairment and at least one of the following: aphasia, apraxia, agnosia, a decline in executive functioning” (RNAO, 2004, p.50), as well as a loss of memory, judgment, reasoning, a change in mood, and behaviour (Alzheimer Society of Canada, 2010).

As the population continues to increase, some feel that dementia is becoming more prevalent in our society (RNAO, 2004). In Ontario, 181, 000 individuals have dementia, a number that is expected to increase to 255,000 by 2020 (Alzheimer’s Society of Ontario, 2011). Approximately 27 percent of elderly people experience chronic pain, this includes; one-quarter of seniors living in households and roughly 4 out of every 10 in institutions (Statistics Canada, 2008). That said, records reveal that 43 percent of residents who were able to verbalize their pain are receiving treatment. However, only 17 percent of non-verbal clients receive effective pain management (Cohen-Mansfield, & Lipson, 2002).

Pain management is a crucial factor when assessing the patient’s quality of life. If pain is undertreated, it can cause sleep disturbance, weight loss and depression (as cited in Zwakhalen, Hamers, & Berger, 2007), as well as “decreased physical function, impaired mobility, decreased socialization, poor concentration, and increased health utilization costs” (Smith, 2005, p.100). Therefore, as nurses, it is important to have knowledge and experience in assessing pain in the older adult with dementia and also be able to identify pain indicators in this population in order to provide effective pain management.

## **Objectives**

The aim of this review of literature was to determine the multiple pain scales accessible to nurses and other health care providers, and to identify the most reliable scale to use when assessing the older adult with moderate to severe dementia. The following research questions were addressed:

- What is the state of knowledge on utilizing pain scales in the older adult population with dementia?
- What pain scale is the most reliable in assessing pain in the elderly with dementia?

## **Methodology**

An integrated review was conducted in order to increase knowledge on pain scales utilized for assessing older adults with cognitive impairments, i.e. dementia. An integrative review allows the inclusion of different methodologies which are generally seen as an important asset in nursing science

and nursing practice (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005). Electronic databases including the Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL), and ProQuest Nursing & Allied Health Source were searched using the keywords ‘dementia’, and ‘pain’ and the phrases ‘pain assessment’, ‘elderly with dementia’, ‘pain scales’, and ‘non-verbal adults’.

A systematic analytic method was executed when identifying resources for this review. A systematic review combines articles that provide “evidence of multiple studies regarding a specific clinical problem to inform clinical practice and is the method of choice for evidence-based practice initiatives” (Whittemore, & Knafl, 2005, p.547). Only primary data and English articles were selected for this review. However, one of the studies conducted only utilized French participants. The publication dates of the articles ranged anywhere between June 1996 to July 2010. Due to the vast amount of information regarding pain in the elderly with dementia, it was essential to limit the search to “pain scales utilized in assessing pain in the elderly with dementia”. The search was limited to published peer reviewed articles, which included both quantitative and qualitative studies. A total of twenty four research articles were identified. After reading the abstract or full text of each article, seven published studies between 1996 and 2010 met the inclusion criteria for this review. The seven identified articles, all consist of the fifth level of evidence hierarchy; individual experimental studies based on Stetler’s Model (Loiselle, Profetto-McGrath, Polit, & Beck, 2011). Only primary data was utilized, in order to improve the overall quality of this review (Whittemore, & Knafl, 2005).

### ***Data abstraction and synthesis***

The findings from each study were reviewed to determine the types of pain scales available to health care providers, and to identify the most reliable pain scale to utilize in practice when caring for elderly with dementia. Once each article was reviewed, the information was sorted into categories. This helped identify themes. Three themes were apparent: the type of pain scale, the interveners, and the assessment of behaviours.

### ***Characteristics of the Studies***

Of the seven studies, three were identified as having a cross-sectional design that examined the inter-rater reliability, internal consistency, face construct and concurrent validity, as well as a longitudinal design in order to examine test–retest reliability (Husebo, Strand, Moe-Nilssen, R., Husebo, Snow, & Ljunggren, 2007; Husebo, Strand, Moe-Nilssen, Husebo & Ljunggren, 2009a; Husebo, Strand, Moe-Nilssen, Husebo & Ljunggren, 2009b). These studies used quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Two studies (Bailey, Dalton, Hosfeld, Layman, Miller, & Neelon, 1996; Pautex, Michon, Guedira, Emond, Lous, Samaras, Michel, Herrmann, Giannakopoulos, & Gold, 2006), utilized verbal assessment scales, with the exception of one behavioural scale in the study conducted by Bailey, et al. Four of the seven studies (Snow, Weber, O’Malley, Cody, Beck, Bruera,

Ashton, Kunik, 2004; Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b) only utilized behavioural pain scales to indicate pain in the elderly with dementia.

That said, several pain scales were employed: Question of Discomfort, Discomfort Thermometer, Discomfort Screen, and the Discomfort Scale for Patients with Dementia of the Alzheimer's Type (DS-DAT) (Bailey et al., 1996). The Mobilization–Observation–Behaviour–Intensity–Dementia (MOBID, MOBID-2) (Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b), used the Pain Assessment in Advanced Dementia (PAINAD) Scale (Jordan et al., 2010), Non-Communicative Patient's Pain Assessment Instrument (NOPPAIN) (Snow et al., 2004), as well as the 6-point Verbal Rating Scale (VRS), the Horizontal Visual Analog Scale (HVAS), the Faces Pain Scale (FPS), and the Doloplus-2 scale (Pautex et al., 2006). These scales were utilized to assess pain in the elderly with dementia.

Participants included patients who were diagnosed with severe dementia, who were over the age of 65 years and who scored less than 12 on the Mini-Mental State Examination (MMSE). The observers/conductors of the assessment included registered nurses (RN), registered practical nurses (RPN), nursing assistants, and gerontological research nurses.

## **Results**

### ***Factors affecting pain management***

Several barriers that were identified in effective pain management included: the nurse to resident staff ratios, a high staff turnover, limited physician's presence, physicians' and nurses' beliefs about pain and attitudes toward pain management, physicians' and nurses' beliefs and attitudes about managing pain in patients with cognitive impairments, and the clinical staff's level of pain knowledge (Buffum, Hutt, Chang, Craine, & Snow, 2007). For this reason, knowledge about pain in the elderly with dementia is crucial, in order to provide proper pain management.

### ***Types of pain scales***

There are many pain scales available for nurses to utilize in their practice. However, it is important to identify whether the pain scale you are implementing is in fact the most reliable, especially when assessing pain in the elderly with dementia. Generally, pain scales are divided into two categories: verbal pain scales and behavioural pain scales.

In six of the studies (Bailey et al., 1996; Snow et al., 2004; Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b; Jordan et al., 2010), behavioural pain scales were utilized. Results indicated that the DS-DAT was not a reliable tool for routine care due to its complexity (Bailey et al., 1996). However, the MOBID and MOBID-2 indicated that this tool demonstrated varying degrees of reliability. For example, the detection rate of any pain when using the MOBID or MOBID-2 scale was 80.5 percent (Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b). This signifies that, if a

nurse were to evaluate pain in a patient with dementia, there is approximately an 81 percent chance of being able to identify pain in their patient. PAINAD is another pain scale that has been said to be effective in assessing pain in patients with dementia. The results from this study indicate that there is a sensitivity of 92 percent, which indicates that if an individual is experiencing pain, this scale is most likely to detect it (Jordan et al., 2010). Furthermore, NOPPAIN identified a mean detection success of 87 percent when assessing pain in the individuals in a controlled setting. However, the accuracy and validity of this pain scale in an uncontrolled setting is still unknown. This suggests that utilizing behavioural pain scales in individuals who are unable to communicate, does in fact detect pain in 80-92 percent of individuals.

Two studies (Bailey et al., 1996; Pautex et al., 2006), utilized verbal pain scales in order to assess the elderly with dementia. The study conducted by Bailey et al. (1996), indicated that verbal scales were inaccurate due to the poor response rate. Only approximately 27 percent of elderly with dementia were able to rate their pain using the Question of Discomfort, Discomfort Thermometer, or Discomfort Screen. However, a study conducted only on French speaking patients (Pautex et al., 2006), indicated that verbal pain scales can in fact be reliable, to some extent. The results indicated that 44 percent of the patients reported that they experienced pain, and 61 percent of patients with severe dementia demonstrated comprehension of at least one scale; VRS, HVAS, and the FPS. That said, when the authors compared their results with a behaviour pain scale, the observational rating scale underestimated the severity of pain compared with all three self-assessment scales.

It is important to note that although this study has identified that verbal assessment scales can be more reliable, we must take into account the reliability of the Doloplus-2 pain scale. According to Hølen, Saltvedt, Fayers, Hjermstad, Loge & Kaasa (2007), the Doloplus-2 pain assessment scale is not recommended as a clinical pain assessment tool in its present version. The results indicate that there is a need for systematic training of the administrators before the instrument can be of clinical use. This indicates that although Pautex et al. (2006), indicated that self-assessment scales were more reliable than behaviour scales, their findings might not be as robust as they suggest, due to the type of behavioural pain scale that has been utilized for this study. That said, if they were to implement the MOBID-2 or the PAINAD pain scale, their findings might have been a more reliable source.

### ***Intervener***

Verbal scales are said to be unreliable in elderly with dementia (Buffum, Hutt, Chang, Craine, & Snow, 2007) due to the fact that as the disease progresses, patients will generally have great difficulty in verbally expressing pain (RNAO, 2004; Buffum et al., 2007). Therefore, it is crucial for health care providers to learn how to properly assess pain in these individuals, in order to provide effective pain management.

Several studies that were conducted, identified that in order to identify pain in the elderly with dementia, health care professionals are required to conduct the assessment (Bailey et al., 1996; Snow et al., 2004; Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b; Jordan, Hughes, Pakresi, Hepburn, & O'Brien, 2010). The individuals conducting the assessment included gerontological research nurses (Bailey, et al., 1996), nursing assistants (Snow, et al., 2004), and nursing staff: RN and RPN (Husebo, et al., 2007; Husebo, et al., 2009a; Husebo, et al., 2009b; Jordan, et al., 2010). One study indicated that it was essential for the staff to familiarize themselves with the pain scale in order to identify pain indicators (Husebo, et al., 2007), while another study suggested that the nurses assessing pain in their clients had to be familiar with the patients habits, and therefore had the responsibility of caring for these individuals in the last 4 weeks (Husebo, et al., 2009b).

Nurses, as well as many health care professionals, play an important role in assessing the older adult with dementia. Therefore, it is crucial that they receive proper education in order to be able to identify pain in this population.

### ***Pain indicators***

Pain indicators are important factors in assessing pain in the elderly with dementia. Several studies were conducted in order to identify pain behaviours specific to this population. These include: pain noises, such as 'this hurts!' groaning, moaning, gasping, screaming; facial expressions, including grimacing, frowning, tightening the mouth and closing the eyes; and defensive motions, which include freezing, guarding, pushing and crouching (Snow, et al., 2004; Pautex et al., 2006; Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b; Jordan, et al., 2010; ). Others can be breathing, inconsolability (Jordan, et al., 2010), somatic complaints, altered sleep patterns (Pautex et al., 2006), and restlessness (Snow et al., 2004).

Several studies have indicated that the highest number of pain behaviour indicators per patient assessed by the external raters was observed for mobilizing the arms and legs. Also, facial expression was the most demonstrated pain behaviour indicator, followed by pain noises, and defence (Husebo et al., 2007; Husebo et al., 2009a; Husebo et al., 2009b). For this reason, it is crucial for the nurse to be able to identify pain behaviours in the older adult in order to be able to provide effective pain management.

### **Discussion**

Since the population of elderly with dementia continues to increase (RNAO, 2004), it is important to identify the most reliable pain scale available to health care providers. The studies included in this review reveal the complexity of assessing pain in the older adult with cognitive impairments. Since pain is said to be a complex and subjective experience (Lane, Kuntupis, MacDonald, McCarthy, Panke, Warden, & Volicer, 2003), it can be difficult to assess the intensity and

location that the patient is experiencing. There are multiple factors that can influence pain management. It is important to acknowledge that barriers do exist and to change your practice accordingly. It is important to recognize that behaviour is not only related to the progression of their dementia, but is, in fact, a key indicator of pain.

There are many pain scales available to nurses. Assessing pain in the elderly with dementia can be challenging due to many behavioural and cognitive problems. This paper states what pain indicators can be observed in the older adult with dementia, such as: pain noises, facial expression and defence. Furthermore, this review offers a greater depth of knowledge for nurses who are assessing pain in the older adults with dementia/cognitive impairments. Specific tools can be utilized, so it is important to utilize the proper tool for assessing pain in the elderly with dementia, by doing so it will be beneficial to your practice. Nurses who are well educated in pain assessment in the elderly with dementia, and who are able to identify pain indicators within this population will be able to provide effective pain management to their clients. There is evidence to support that behavioural pain scales are reliable when assessing the elderly with dementia. However, there is still need for further investigation on the most efficient pain scale available. Perhaps future researchers could conduct a study to compare the different types of behavioural pain scales available in nursing practice, in order to identify the most reliable pain scale.

#### ***Limitations of the review***

Limitations of this review are due to the inclusion of various designs. This indicates that by including all evidence, we are also including the potentially weak evidence as well (Sangster-Gormley, Martin-Misener, Downe-Wamboldt & DiCenso, 2011). Another limitation that is identified includes limiting the search to only English articles. By excluding the province of Quebec, valuable information could potentially be missed. Also, since only one author has conducted this review by conducting the search, applying the inclusion criteria, and extracting all data from the studies, some studies could have been missed and some factors may also have been missed or incorrectly extracted from the literature.

#### **Conclusion**

There are many factors that can have an impact on identifying pain in the elderly with dementia. It is important as nurses to utilize the resources available and acquire knowledge on the subject. Once nurses are knowledgeable in pain assessment for non-verbal clients, they will be able to overcome many of the barriers that other nurses and health care professionals face. Furthermore, it is important as nurses to know the pain indicators that individuals with dementia may experience, such as pain noises, facial expression, defence, breathing, inconsolability, somatic complaints, altered sleep patterns, and restlessness.

Although accurately assessing pain in the elderly with dementia remains a challenge, there are tools available to help identify pain in these individuals. As the research suggests, behavioural pain scales are thus far the most reliable scales available. However, it is important for nurses to realize that behavioural scales can underestimate the severity of pain compared to when utilizing self-assessment scales. When nurses become knowledgeable in this subject, they will be that much closer to providing effective pain management.

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## ***Evoke: The Memorialisation of Affects***

Carissa MacIntosh

My artworks engage with my personal memories of landscapes, and the communication of different spaces and times through semi-representational painting. In my work, I attempt to communicate certain characteristics of experiences that are personal to me. My focus is on the physical, psychological, and emotive incarnations of a real experience. I memorialise personal affects produced by experiences in a form that suggests that the memory is gradually solidifying into a coherent reality. As I think of specific memories, I am trying to understand them, recall how they appeared physically, and what affects were produced. When trying to make sense of my memories, I am simultaneously reliving the experience in my mind's eye, as well as reliving my emotive response. I am thus "empowered and disempowered" (Rogoff, 2006, 2). My aim is to provide viewers with the means to arrive at their own interpretations concerning my work and to encourage the application of physical, psychological, and emotive characteristics individual to each viewer. Due to the nature and presentation of my subject matter, interpretation varies greatly. As well, I am influenced by the concept of "the sublime" in the landscape in relation to self preservation and thus the acknowledgement of a space and time. I am inspired by the landscape paintings of Gerhard Richter and the vague quality the work conveys. I am also inspired by Helen Frankenthaler's staining technique, a crucial element which conveys translucency and gradual coherence. My process and materials are based on dualities: conscious and subconscious recollection of references, premeditated and responsive mark-making, additive and reductive mark making, as well as translucency and opacity.

The aim of my work is for viewers of my work to participate in and create an experience within an experience. To do this, I am influenced by philosopher Julia Kristeva, who writes:

"I had the impression that [the artists] were communicating this: that the ultimate aim of art is perhaps what was formerly celebrated under the term of *incarnation*. I mean by that a wish to make us feel, through the abstraction, the forms, the colours, the volumes, the sensations, a *real experience*". (as quoted in Simon O'Sullivan 2001, 130; italics in original)

Seeing my work as an "incarnation" of "a real experience," I paint a space and time individual to me, reflective of what I was thinking and what I was feeling. I want the viewer to approach my landscapes with their own subjectivity, and to interpret the art in relation to the feelings evoked from within them by the works. The personal experiences that I paint create the incidences that take place within the participant. This event, this affect, is not based on the representative characteristics of subjects and forms but "involves a kind of moving beyond the already familiar (human), precisely a kind of self-overcoming" (O'Sullivan 2001, 129). This idea of self-overcoming is a realization within the individual that something is beyond the linear, cognitive application of knowledge. Visual theorist Irit

Rogoff identifies this realization as “criticality” (2006, 2). Equipped with a broad range of theories and capable of analysing the most complex of problems, one is simultaneously experiencing that which she or he is trying to discover (2). Criticality is “a state of duality in which one is at one and the same time, both empowered and disempowered, knowing and unknowing” (2). Recognition of such “duality” heightens the awareness of a dissimilar approach. The attempt, then, to resolve by linear application would be self-defeating.

My work combines abstract and representational imagery. When I ask viewers what my paintings portray without telling them that I paint landscapes, rarely do they even say they see a landscape. Even if they do recognize the landscape imagery, it is rare for their interpretation to match my own. This adaptability is what contributes to the success of a work. My work embraces each viewer’s subjectivity. For me, abstraction, even in combination with representational imagery, delineates a place in relation to how I was thinking and how I was feeling in a specific space and time. I paint so that the focus is not on definitive subject matter and specific detail, but rather a generalization of the landscape dictated by the psychological and emotive characteristics inherent in the elements of design. The focus is on applying the elements in the most basic and straightforward way, allowing the viewer to build their own interpretation. My intent is that the elements of design, such as colour and texture, recall for the viewer something personal to them. The red-violet hue in *17B* (Fig. 1) may conjure for viewers the colour of their favourite sweater or perhaps a sunset they have seen. For me, the red-violet in *17B* is the shadow amongst the base of the trees that I remember *feeling* was there. I remember the overwhelming warmth that the autumn leaves exuded, so much so that even the shadows felt warm, as though they were glowing. My intention is to create a reflection of how I was affected by a space and time. I lean more closely towards abstraction because I feel it heightens not only the visual, but also the other senses pertaining to my memory. Abstraction fosters the personal aspect of me-as-artist to be simultaneously evident and removed. The painting is evidence of my own experience and yet the viewer relates to the work by connecting elements parallel to her or his own memories of experience.

The memories I use as reference, and the paintings which are born from those memories, are subjective representations formed by personal experience. I see this subjectivity as occurring in three layers. The first layer of subjectivity is what I choose to remember as determined by dominant sensations which occur in relation to that experience and the memory of it. If temperature affects me most during a particular experience, then my memory of it would focus on the temperature. What resonates with me may contrast greatly with the experience of another person; herein lies the subjectivity of the initial experience. The second layer of subjectivity lies with my paintings, the external manifestation of an internal description produced by the initial experience. The third layer

involves the viewer and their participation in applying their own psychological and emotive characteristics relative to memories of personal experience. There are objective layers concerning the connection between the initial experience and the viewer's interpretation of the work. The subjectivity expands viewer interpretations, so viewers take from the work what they choose, as I have chosen to take from my memories what I choose.

In addition to, but not separate from, the ideas of affect and subjectivity, my works address the concept of "the sublime." Within art history, the sublime in landscape painting was often correlated with God, a theory supported by the writings of eighteenth-century philosopher Edmund Burke. He stated that God is evident in the landscape, and is the reason that landscapes evoke feelings of both terror and awe. However, my interpretation of the sublime in the landscape is rooted in the secular. As writer Susan Glickman articulates, "sometimes we may recognize [sublimity] in *non-religious* phenomena because of the care, which nature has inrooted in all, of their own preservation" (1998, 40). My intention is to make my paintings about the individual and the idea of self-preservation. I paint what I remember. Sometimes I remember the strength of a storm or the brilliance of fresh snow. There is beauty in terror, a fascination with what is beyond my grasp, and I am "overwhelmed by the concept of vastness" (Lynn Gamwell 2002, 23). I paint in order to preserve memories and memories preserve experiences. I acknowledge my experiences through paintings because those experiences and their representations (in the abstract forms they take) give me the recognition of my own preservation. I believe landscapes—brilliant or mundane—are transformative. I feel inconsequential in comparison yet simultaneously empowered because my experiences with landscapes recall a feeling of insignificance merged with my realization of my capabilities. I am conscious of myself in that space and time.

The photography of German artist Gerhard Richter, which has been manipulated with oil paint (Fig. 2), relates to key elements in my work. His photographs are landscape-based, and he provides the viewer with an essence of the subject, what Kristeva would identify as "an incarnation" of his relationship with the experience. Richter's work implies a sense of movement, an aspect that is relevant with my own work. The landscapes that I paint are directly related to experiences that have occurred while I have been in a moving vehicle. Richter's blurred landscapes achieve a fuzzy indistinct quality, as if the image has yet to solidify into a coherent state. This ambiguity relates to my work both by referencing movement and by implying the gradual solidification of a space and time.

My process is based on dualities. I switch between states of thinking and non-thinking. When I am recalling a distinct memory, it is a conscious decision. When I am interjecting other indistinct memories into that memory, it occurs on a subconscious level. Sometimes multiple memories meld together to form a hybrid memory. The dominant experience is the primary guide for a painting.

When painting a distinct memory of a rainstorm, for example, I recall multiple indistinct fragments of rainstorms: how they appeared in a space and time, and how each affected me personally. The memories I experience are formed by all of my senses. I remember the physical aspects of a memory—the sights, sounds, smells, tastes and physical sensations—as well as personal thoughts, psychological aspects, personal sensations, and the emotive. Non-thinking occurs again during my process when I paint intuitively, thus responding to my mark-making immediately and almost mechanically. When I am thinking, I am making conscious compositional decisions. Such actions include viewing my work from a distance, blocking out areas with my hands, rotating the work, and viewing the work upside-down.

When I paint, I employ additive and reductive mark-making in each layer of my work. Beginning with a layer of gesso, I use a thin wash to cover most of the canvas, leaving some areas of raw canvas exposed. Other areas of the canvas are built up with gesso to create thicker patches and drips. I add water on top of wet gesso and rotate the canvas to create negative drips, erasing the wet gesso beneath. I use acrylic paint additively and reductively like the gesso. This technique is duplicated with the third layer, where I apply oil paint. The combination of impasto and staining forms a variation of opacity and translucency. Like Richter, who paints onto a separate support piece, such as cardboard, then presses and drags the paint onto the photograph, I am inspired by the combination of layering stains with thicker build-ups of paint because it creates a sense of a subject gradually coming into focus and solidification. My aim, as art historian James Elkins explains, is “to work until it is no longer possible to tell what paint is on top and what is underneath,” an important process because “the painting suddenly stops looking like a flat color-by-number with a few added touches, and takes on a rich and confusing aspect” (2005, 12).

I am also influenced by the paintings of American abstract expressionist Helen Frankenthaler. The most dominant aspect of Frankenthaler’s work, and the most influential to me, is her staining technique, which she popularized as a second generation Abstract Expressionist. Painting in both acrylic and oil, Frankenthaler would thin out her paints and work on raw unstretched canvas. Most of her paintings are quite large, a source of inspiration for me. She places her canvas flat on the floor, working above and around it, a process with which I have experimented. Stylistically, Frankenthaler’s work is abstract and captures an inherent psychological and emotive aspect. The beauty of her work is that it lends itself to unlimited interpretation, allowing the colours and textures to evoke something individual to the viewer. Her blatant use of colour parallels abstract painter Mark Rothko’s colour blocking (Fig. 3), appearing as an incarnation of undefined imagery that is slowly dissolving into focus (Fig. 4). For Frankenthaler, the main concern is with developing a close relationship between the image she creates and the surface on which it is presented. Image and surface become one in the same.

This, too, inspires my work and my desire to create imagery that appears to be in the process of reconstructing itself, as if it is slowly dissolving onto the flat surface of the canvas and embodying it. I want to convey the “fuzziness” memories have when one tries to remember them and to present them in a moment before the memory has fully developed into a coherent reality.

Painting from memory is an external description of an internal representation. When I paint from memory, my recollection becomes abstracted and the direct use of the elements and principles of design illustrate my memory rather than specific representational images. The reconstructed memory indicates a landscape, but the imagery has been developed instinctively. In this way, I believe that “experiences incommensurate with ordinary understanding find their proper expression in a poetry which transgresses ordinary linguistic form” (Glickman 1998, 40). As a result, I paint my recollections in order to comprehend them. Even a photograph of the landscapes I have seen is incapable of describing my recollections of, for example, the sound of rain beating against the car or the feeling of heat coming through the windows on a sunny day.

The memory I chose for *IIN* (Fig. 5) stemmed from my recollections of sitting in a car, as rain pummelled the ground and everything in sight. I heard this constant thrashing of water, as well as the car fan whirring on full-blast to defog the windows. The sky was a dark bluish grey, the trees and rock-cuts were black and sodden, and the road was barely distinguishable in the bouncing of rain. The visibility was minimal. The storm made me anxious. Somehow at the same time I was excited by what engulfed me. In the moment, I realized how my surroundings were affecting me. It was like the volume was raised. It was as if I could feel the wind outside the car and see colour where there was none. I felt enlivened knowing there was nothing I could change. All I could do was sit.

All of my works are inspired by memories of personal experience, such as the one I just recounted. I recognize the sublime in my memories and describe it in a language of semi-representational imagery, indistinct and slowly dissolving into a coherent state. However, my paintings are never fully resolved. My interest lies with the reconstruction of an experience. My paintings are subjective incarnations of how I was affected by a space and time. I focus on dualities of opacity and translucency, reductive and additive mark-making. These are formed from a duality of conscious and sub-conscious decision making. In my efforts to convey my experiences and memories within my artworks, I am influenced by the art of Gerhard Richter, for the hazy quality evident in his work, and Helen Frankenthaler, for her ability to infuse her canvases with paint. I paint in order to preserve my memories in the purest way I believe I can.

I end this paper exploring the process, imagery, and intent of my art with a quotation by Gerhard Richter:

*One has to believe in what one is doing, one has to commit oneself inwardly, in order to do painting. Once obsessed, one ultimately carries it to the point of believing that one might change human beings through painting. But if one lacks passionate commitment, there is nothing left to do. Then it is best to leave it alone. For basically painting is total idiocy. (2012)*

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## Illustrations



Fig. 1 MacIntosh, Carissa. *17B*. Acrylic and oil on canvas. 2011. 60"x48".



Fig. 2 Richter, Gerhard. *Fextal, Piz Chapütschin*. Oil on photograph. 1992. 4"x6".



Fig. 3 Rothko, Mark. *Ochre and Red on Red*. N/A. 1954. N/A.



Fig. 4 Frankenthaler, Helen. *Viewpoint II*. N/A. 1979. N/A.



Fig. 5 MacIntosh, Carissa. *IIN*. Acrylic and oil on canvas. 2011. 72"x24".

# ***The Implementation of Spirituality in Nursing Education: An Integrative Review***

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The World Health Organization (WHO) identifies four domains of well-being: physical, mental, social, and spiritual (1998). These four domains influence our health, as a decline in health is a disruption to one or more domains (WHO, 1998). The spiritual domain is a broad concept that encompasses, but does not equate with religion (Becker, 2009). Spirituality has many different definitions, but the concept is personally defined in development and beliefs (Becker, 2009). Spirituality is a key part of nursing, as nurses work holistically with patients, which includes aiding all four domains of well-being (McEwen, 2004). Spirituality in nursing is guided by theory, such as Jean Watson and Florence Nightingale's theories, to help nurses implement spiritual care (Callister, Bond, Matsumura, & Mangum, 2004). Despite the importance of spirituality to nursing practice, spiritual education is just beginning to develop (McEwen, 2004). One factor that inhibits the rise of spiritual care is a lack of emphasis on spirituality in nursing education.

## **Background**

This paper surveys 18 selected research studies in order to recommend a model of incorporating spirituality into training programs for nurses by minimizing barriers and maximizing the role of factors that facilitate the new model. A group of practicing nurses reported in one study that they felt inadequately prepared to provide spiritual interventions and felt discomfort discussing the topic of spirituality with clients (Pesut, 2008). Recently though, there has been a resurgence of interest in spiritual care and the effects of spiritual care on health (Lantz, 2007). With this resurgence, more attention is also falling onto nurses, their role with spiritual care, and how spiritual care is taught (Shih, Gau, Mao, Chen, & Kao Lo, 2001). A desire is now present to improve nursing education so that students can provide spiritual care and feel comfortable while providing that care (Shih et al., 2001). Yet, this task will be difficult, as spirituality and implementing spiritual education programs are both complex (Pesut, 2008). In response, many nurse researchers have attempted to implement different types of spiritual education programs, while exploring the effects of those programs on students and their ability to provide spiritual care (Pesut, 2008). This paper will utilize these research studies to examine what were the barriers and facilitators of implementing spiritual education so that future programs may be successful in meeting the learning needs of nurses or nursing students.

Integrative reviews help form evidence-based practice by amalgamating research and identifying research gaps within a topic (Whittemore, & Knalf, 2005). Thus integrative reviews are very important to the nursing profession as practicing and research nurses use their findings. Whittemore and Knalf's integrative review method will be used as a guide in this review as the method allows for integration of qualitative and quantitative studies. This method also functions to enhance

rigour by reducing systematic bias and error that occurs when sources are left out or are misinterpreted (Whittemore & Knalf).

### **Research Method**

The electronic databases Proquest, Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL), and EBSCO Host were searched using the keywords “spirituality” and “religion”, and the phrases “nursing education and spirituality”, and “nursing students and spirituality”. Upon completion of the data base search a review was also completed of each article’s reference list. Research was selected from the studies’ reference lists based on the quantity of citations in the article and the quality of citation pertaining to nursing education and spirituality.

Both qualitative and quantitative articles were included in the review. Studies published in the past twelve years (November 2011 to December 1999) written in the English language were included to ensure all studies that were relevant were included. Studies published previous to December 1999 were excluded, as data may be less current to practice. Studies were included from all countries to reflect a larger variety of culture and ethnicity (Polit, & Beck, 2011). Articles were excluded if the sample group did not include nurses or nursing students as the results should be known to affect nurses. Secondary works were excluded, since primary research description written by the researcher, is of higher reliability (Losielle et al., 2011). As well, to help focus the research, grey literature, opinion pieces, and case reports were excluded. Originally, twenty studies were identified, but a total of eighteen studies met the inclusion criteria.

Following the method of quality appraisal outlined by Whittmore and Knalf, no data is excluded on the basis of quality, but research is given a data quality rating (2005). The data quality rating for this review is a six level evidence hierarchy, from strongest to weakest (Losielle et al., 2011). The levels are as follows: 1. meta-analyses of randomized control trials, 2. experimental studies 3. quasi-experimental studies, 4. Non-experimental studies, correlational studies, and qualitative studies, 5. research utilization studies, quality improvement, and case reports, 6. opinions of authorities and expert committees (Losielle et al., 2011). Each study will be given a score, which will be included as a variable in the data analysis stage. If a study is of lower rigor and relevance through the rating scale, the study will contribute less to the analytic process. Each study was analyzed and reviewed to identify barriers and facilitators of implementing spiritual education with nursing students and registered nurses. Themes were then identified by placing barriers and facilitators into a chart form, increasing clarity and relationships (Miles & Huberman, 1994). After identifying barriers and facilitators, concepts were developed to guide future research and education projects (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

## Results

The studies included in this review, involved either clinical nurses or nursing students as participants, but some studies included medical students, nursing faculty and multidisciplinary professionals (Gewe, 1999; Sandor, Sierpina, Vanderpool, & Owen, 2006; Wasner, Longaker, Fegg, & Borasio, 2005; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002). Both qualitative (N=11), and quantitative (N=7) methodologies were used by the studies. Most studies were completed cross-sectionally, using a combination of questionnaires, focus groups, and interviews to obtain data from participants. Data quality was constant throughout the studies as every study rated either a three or a four, with the exception of one rating of two. Despite the range of participants and methodologies, the findings of every study concluded that spirituality is an important part of nursing education, spiritual education was beneficial to the majority that participated, and further research should be conducted to develop a spiritual education model (Brooks, Henry, LeBlanc, McKenzie, Nagy, Tallon, Wilhelm, & Flegel-Desautels, 2005; Callister et al., 2004; Gewe, 1999; Graham, 2008; Highfield, Johnston Taylor, & Amenta, 2000; Hoover, 2002; Hsiao, Chiang, & Chien, 2010; Lovanio & Wallace, 2007; Meyer, 2003; Milligan, 2004; Pesut, 2002; Sandor et al., 2006; Shores, 2010; Shih et al., 2001; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wasner et al., 2005; Williams, 2003; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002).

**Table 1**

<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Design and Data Collection Method</b>	<b>Quality Rating</b>	<b>Facilitators</b>	<b>Barriers</b>	<b>Spiritual Education Implemented</b>
Brooks, Henry, LeBlanc, McKenzie, Nagy, Tallon, Wilhelm, & Flegel-Desautels, 2005	7 Nursing Students	Qualitative Interview of Experiences	4	Nursing theorists from program framework, role models	Lack of time, no knowledge of personal beliefs, no knowledge of religion	Community project in parish nursing
Callister, Bond, Matsumura, & Mangum, 2004	132 BScN Students	Qualitative	4		Difficulty engaging client, fear of imposing own spiritual beliefs, confusion of nurse's role, and poor self-awareness	Courses (core & elective) with journals and spiritual projects
Gewe, 1999	187 Registered Nurses, 204 Medical Doctors	Quantitative Non-experimental Questionnaire	4	Positive attitude, role models, developed patient-client relationship	Time, fear, no opportunities, and varying cultural beliefs	Summer missions program and core bible study course

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Graham, 2008	24 Senior Nursing Students	Qualitative Interview of Experiences Mixed Method	4		Lack of self-awareness	Four hour seminar .
Highfield, Johnston Taylor, & Amenta, 2000	181 Oncology 645 Hospice Nurses	Quantitative Survey Cross-sectional Non-Experimental	4	Self-awareness, increased sensitivity to spirituality	Variance in practice from one nurse to the next	
Hoover, 2002	25 Part-time Nursing Students	Qualitative Four Focus Groups	4	Self-awareness, Holistic care and increased knowledge of spirituality		15 week module of spiritual knowledge & care
Hsiao, Chiang, & Chien, 2010	1276 Senior Nursing Students	Quantitative Non-Experimental cross-sectional	4	Knowledge of religious values, self awareness		
Lovanio, & Wallace, 2007	10 Nursing Student Sophomores	Qualitative Interview of Experiences	4	Aware of self and personal values	Lack of self-awareness	Meditation, Chapel Visits, and Bible Study
Meyer, 2003	190 Public Nursing Students 90 Christian, University Nursing Students	Experimental Quantitative Questionnaire	2	Increased self-awareness, positive student attitudes, and interest in spirituality		Students at Christian universities with Religion classes
Milligan, 2004	59 Nursing Students	Quantitative Non-Experimental Questionnaire	4		Spirituality is a complex topic and difficult to engage patient	
Pesut, 2002	35 First & 18 Fourth Year Nursing Students	Qualitative	4	Experience giving care, self-awareness, and attitude		Religion classes and clinical.
Sandor, Sierpina, Vanderpool, & Owen, 2006	122 Nursing Students, 293 Medical Students	Questionnaire Quasi-experimental Quantitative	3	Spiritual support, self-awareness		Religion course in first year
Shores, 2010	217 Nursing Students	Quantitative Non-Experimental Questionnaire	4	Self-awareness, cultural sensitivity		

<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Design and Data Collection Method</b>	<b>Quality Rating</b>	<b>Facilitators</b>	<b>Barriers</b>	<b>Spiritual Education Implemented</b>
Shih, Gau, Mao, Chen, & Kao Lo, 2001	22 Nursing Students	Qualitative Analysis of Narrative Descriptions	4	Relatable material, easy to understand	Negative Attitudes	18 week elective lecture course with field trips and clinical work
Van Leeuwen, 2008	97 Nursing Students	Quasi-experimental Quantitative Questionnaire	3	Spiritual care broke down into the nursing process		6 week spiritual care educational program
Wasner, Longaker, Fegg, & Borasio, 2005	48 Multidisciplinary Healthcare Students	Quasi - Experimental Quantitative Questionnaire	3	Positive work atmosphere	Suffering is complex	3.5 day training course
Williams, 2003	97 Pre-nurses 50 Nursing Students	Quantitative Non-Experimental	4	Nursing experience, increase in religion classes		
Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002	294 Nursing Students 161 Faculty	Quantitative Non-Experimental Questionnaire	4	Nursing experience, religious affiliation, self awareness,		Catholic school with core religion classes

### **Factors influencing spiritual education implementation**

This collection of studies displays a wide range of clinical settings across the world, from palliative to community nursing, in which spiritual care can be applied to. Yet regardless of the setting, all of the studies recognized that there are challenges to implementing spiritual education into nursing. In most studies, these factors were identified as either barriers, factors that hindered the implementation process, or facilitators, factors aiding the implementation process. Table 1 above, displays the studies included in the review, along with the barriers and facilitators identified in each study. As all studies are focused on the thoughts of the nurse or nursing student, all factors are derived from the perspective of the student in the educational program.

#### ***Barriers***

Through a review of the literature, barriers to implementing spirituality into nursing education identified within the studies, included negative attitudes towards spirituality, difficulty understanding spirituality, lack of time, and lack of self-awareness (Brooks et al., 2005; Callister et al., 2004; Gewe, 1999; Sandor et al., 2006; Shih et al., 2001). When a student or nurse had a negative outlook on

spiritual care they were reluctant to learn, participate, and continue delivering spiritual care (Gewe, 1999). Students who had a negative outlook felt uncomfortable providing spiritual care and fearful of imposing their own beliefs on patients (Callister et al., 2004; Gewe, 1999; Shih et al., 2001). Since spirituality can be difficult to understand and personal beliefs can be hard to relate to, students felt frustration when trying to implement spiritual care into their practice and felt confused about the nurse's role within spiritual care (Brooks et al., 2005; Callister et al., 2004; Highfield et al., 2000; Milligan, 2004; Wasner et al., 2005). Students and nurses also felt they had no time to spare in their busy schedule to assess the need for and provide spiritual care (Brooks et al., 2005; Gewe, 1999; Sandor et al., 2006). Studies also revealed that lack of spiritual self-awareness had a strong, negative impact on a student's outlook on spiritual education, as students were unable to recognize how to separate their beliefs from the patient's (Brooks et al., 2005; Callister et al., 2004; Graham, 2008; Lovanio & Wallace, 2007).

### ***Facilitators***

Self-awareness, positive attitude, using a nursing theorist to guide spiritual care, easy to understand knowledge, spiritual support, and past nursing experience were discovered as facilitators of implementing spiritual education within the literature (Gewe, 1999; Hsaio et al. 2010; Hoover, 2002; Meyer, 2003; Pesut, 2002; Williams, 2003; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002). Being self-aware of one's own beliefs was found to have a great impact on a student's nursing education as they were more sensitive to patient's spiritual care needs and more likely to provide spiritual care (Highfield et al., 2000; Hoover, 2002; Hsaio et al., 2010; Lovanio & Wallace, 2007; Meyer, 2003; Pesut 2002; Sandor et al., 2006; Shores, 2010; Wasner et al., 2005; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002). Student's who had a positive attitude about spirituality were found to participate in their classes more often and implement spiritual care into their personal practice on a regular basis (Gewe, 1999; Meyer, 2003; Pesut, 2002; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002). With a nurse theorist, such as Jean Watson who places emphasis on the dimension of spirituality in her theory, spiritual care was easier to implement as nurse educators and students were able to both explain the delivery and assessment of spiritual care, as well as form interventions from the theory's framework (Brooks et al., 2005; Gewe, 1999). Knowledge that was taught in a simple and well-defined model, such as assessment, planning, and evaluation, allowed students to grasp a clear idea of spiritual care (Hoover, 2002; Hsaio et al. 2010; Meyer, 2003; Shih et al., 2001; Van Leeuwen, 2008). Role models and a spiritual network to provide support, helped students become more comfortable with spiritual care (Gewe, 1999; Sandor et al., 2006). Finally, past nursing experience gave nurses more confidence to integrate spiritual care into their practice (Gewe, 1999; Hoover, 2002; Pesut, 2002; Williams, 2003; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002).

## Identifying concepts

From analysis of spiritual educational programs within the research, four concepts were developed to utilize facilitators and overcome the barriers, in order to increase success when implementing spiritual education into nursing (Miles & Huberman, 1994). These four concepts are *self-assessment*, *coursework*, *clinical work*, and *ongoing training*. The concepts are placed in chronological order, starting with a pre-nursing student and ending with an experienced registered nurse. A nursing student must be able to come into a nursing program and be provided with the tools to help them conduct a *self-assessment* of their own spirituality. By assessing their own spirituality, they will be able to start the growth of their self-awareness and track their own educational progress throughout the course, as spiritual learning is individualistic (Graham, 2008; Hsiao et al., 2010; Shih et al., 2001; Highfield et al., 2000).

*Coursework* pertaining to spiritual care can provide nursing students with the basic knowledge they require to enter a clinical setting and feel comfortable. Core coursework would be preferred as elective course work would not guarantee every student would be equipped with the skills they require to provide spiritual care. Yet, creating a course specific to spirituality within a nursing program may be unrealistic, thus one may consider integrating spiritual topics and teaching spiritual interventions into several core nursing courses, such as covering spiritual nursing theories in a nursing theories class (Callister et al., 2004; Sandor, 2006; Shih et al., 2001). Some studies implemented the placement of spirituality into nursing courses finding these courses provided students with essential knowledge to carry out spiritual care and offered the class to students either before or in conjunction with providing spiritual interventions in a clinical setting (Callister et al., Gewe, 1999; Hoover, 2002; Lovanio & Wallace, 2007; Meyer, 2003; Pesut, 2002; Sandor et al., 2006; Shih et al., 2001; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002). Each nursing program approached implementation into the coursework with lectures and projects, but some programs found that taking field trips and inviting guest speakers increased student satisfaction with the course (Shih et al., 2001).

*Clinical work* can provide a student with the ability to apply the knowledge they have gained from coursework and adjust to the obstacles of providing spiritual care in a safe environment. In one study, the students were able to apply their spiritual knowledge through local clinical placements during the school year and during the summer with international medical projects (Gewe, 1999). Another institution allowed students to practice spiritual assessment, planning, and interventions in a classroom setting before delivering spiritual care in a clinical setting. Taking part in a clinical assignment relating to, or directly involving spiritual care was also found to change a student's outlook on spiritual care, helping them to further realize the importance of spiritual care (Brooks et al., 2005;

Gewe, 1999; Meyer, 2003; Shih et al., 2001; Van Leeuwen, 2008). For example, one group of students worked with a community parish nurse to provide primary care to the members of the church's community. The student's reported that the experience opened their minds to the importance of providing spiritual care and that spiritual care is a key part of providing holistic care (Brooks et al., 2005).

*Ongoing Training* is important. Nurses need to continue training and updating their knowledge to provide spiritual care. The training module could be something as simple as a presentation or an online reading passage with a quiz (Sandor et al., 2006; Wasner et al., 2005, Graham 2008). One study found that a healthcare professional's delivery of spiritual care decreased after a sixth month period after initial training, suggesting that ongoing training is necessary for the continued implementation of spiritual intervention in nursing practice (Sandor et al., 2006). One study formed a training day, similar to those offered currently by employers for first aid renewal, which involved role playing, discussion, and presentations (Wasner et al., 2005). Another study also suggested an online method, which involves nurses completing online modules related to spiritual care (Hoover, 2002). These modules could be developed by the employer or a nursing group such as the College of Nurses and promotes independent learning at an individual pace that could be effective if the nurse is able to make time during her work day (Hoover, 2002). Due to a lack of information, more research should be done in the future to decide how often spiritual training should be completed, who should supply the training, and what method of training would be most effective.

## **Discussion**

Though this collection of research studies may answer many questions pertaining to spirituality and nursing education, there are still gaps within the data contained in the literature. Many studies in this review focus around Christian universities or institutions dominated primarily by one faith, whose students show spiritual care confidence and high spiritual interest (Gewe, 1999; Hsaio et al., 2010; Meyer, 2003; Pesut, 2002; Wimmer Kilpatrick, 2002). Yet, there is little research on students who have no religious affiliations or spiritual interest. Further research conducted with those students who have no spiritual interest and do not attend a religious institution, may give nurse educators a whole new perspective on the barriers and facilitators to implementing spiritual education. Another large relationship left unexplored in all studies is how a student's personal spirituality and ethnicity affects their spiritual care (Benari, 2009). Five studies explored nursing students perceptions of spirituality, but were unable to follow up on the student's ability to provide spiritual care, and no studies sought the effects of ethnicity on spiritual care (Graham, 2008; Lovanio & Wallace, 2007; Pesut, 2002; Williams, 2003, Shores, 2010). By identifying these gaps, researchers will be able to

build their future studies around uncovering missing data that will develop a successful spiritual education program for nurses.

### **Recommendations**

As a result of this review, recommendations can be made for future practice, education, and research. For practicing nurses, this review holds benefits if the nurses review the factors which influence how they provide spiritual care. They may complete a self-assessment of their own to discover how they provide spiritual care, discuss implementing workplace training with their manager, and take steps to integrate spirituality into their own practice. The factors influencing implementation and the four concepts, self-assessment, course work, clinical work, and ongoing training, may help guide future education programs. Post-secondary institutions can implement one, two, three, or all four concepts into their nursing programs in order to enhance the spiritual care training for their students and certificate programs could also be implemented for practicing nurses. Managers and employers could also utilize the concepts of this review to implement workplace in-services and education modules. As well, recognizing the existence of barriers to spiritual education, such as discomfort, nursing educators can help students overcome those barriers to improve the student's provision of spiritual care.

Inevitably, more research must be conducted to explore the facilitators and barriers to the implementation of spiritual nursing education further and the four concepts developed in this review. By researching the impact of adding these four concepts into nursing education, a more effective educational model could be developed at institutions that have an existing model in place, or research can begin in areas without any trace of spiritual education. For example, northern Ontario nurses work with many aboriginal patients who have their own unique culture and spiritual beliefs. This difference places a greater demand for spiritual knowledge onto nurses (Spotton, 2001). Despite this spiritual significance, neither Nipissing University, Laurentian University, nor Lakehead University offer core spiritual courses or clinical experiences in their bachelor of nursing programs (Lakehead university, 2011; Laurentian University, 2011; Nipissing University, 2011). Completing research within northern Ontario could offer up some unique factors and insights to aide in the implementation of spiritual education programs.

The statement, "Nursing is a career drenched in spirituality" (Callister et al., 2004, p. 165) is the motivation behind the recent surge towards spiritual education. Trying to develop and implement a spiritual education program has generated research that this review sought to integrate. Through integration, both barriers and facilitators to implementing spirituality into nursing education were identified. From these barriers and facilitators, four concepts were developed to help guide future spiritual education, aide the creation of a successful education model, and inform best practices.

Further knowledge is still required to close data gaps and to determine what components make up successful spiritual education for nurses. Yet, as the world looks to nurses to increase spiritual care, the use of the concepts from this review will help sensitize and motivate future research.

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**Keywords:** Orthogonal Polygons, Staircase Visibility, Staircase Kernel

## 1. Introduction

The problem of visibility in a polygon has been a considered and well researched problem of computational geometry for some time. The well-known Art Gallery Problem and its variations is the base problem to which I considered a viable research topic. To begin, consider a simply connected polygon  $P$  in the plane,  $P$  is convex if for every point  $q$  in  $P$ ,  $q$  is visible from each other point in  $P$ . By introducing the notion that  $P$  is non-convex, this becomes no longer possible.  $P$  is non-convex if there exists points  $p$  and  $q$  in  $P$  such that  $p$  is not visible from  $q$  via a line segment that lies entirely in the interior of  $P$ . Thus not all pairs of points in  $P$  have direct visibility. The notion of non-convexity also provides the possibility that  $P$  is star-shaped. A polygon  $P$  is star-shaped, if there exists a point  $p$  such that for each point  $q$  in  $P$  the line segment  $pq$  lies entirely within  $P$ . Since there exists such a point  $p$  we want to find the core set of  $p$ , the set of all such points that see all other points in  $P$ . The core set of all points  $p$  will be referred to as the kernel of  $P$ . The kernel of a polygon is the intersection of all its interior half-planes. An algorithm to find the kernel was constructed to run in  $O(n)$  time. However not all polygons are star-shaped, so a generalization is needed.

Fortunately a simple thing to generalize is the notion of visibility, to which visibility via staircase paths will be introduced. A polygonal path in  $R^2$  from point  $p$  to point  $q$  is referred to as a staircase path if its edges are parallel to the coordinate axes and alternate in direction, and thus  $p$  “sees”  $q$ . A polygon  $P$  is star-shaped via staircase paths if there is a point  $p$  in  $P$  that sees every other point of  $P$  via staircase paths.



**Figure 1.** star-shaped under the definition of staircase visibility.

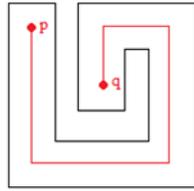
We now introduce the concept of orthogonal polygons (rectilinear polygon). A polygon  $P$  in the plane is orthogonal if its edges are parallel to the coordinate axes, thus its edges meet at right-angles, and the interior angle at each vertex is either  $90^\circ$  or  $270^\circ$ .

### 1.1. Theorem 1.

*Any simple orthogonal polygon  $P$  is convex with respect to staircase paths.*

**Proof:** Choose any points  $p, q$  in  $P$ . Since  $P$  is a simple orthogonal polygon, its edges are parallel to the coordinate axes, and its interior is simply connected. Then a staircase path can be drawn from  $p$  to  $q$ . Then  $p$  “sees”  $q$ , and

under the definition of staircase visibility each point of  $P$  is visible from every other point, and thus  $P$  is convex with respect to staircase paths.



**Figure 2.** A polygon that is convex via staircase paths

But now consider the restriction that a staircase path can only travel North West/South East or North East/South West. This restriction does not guarantee that every orthogonal polygon is convex, refer to the polygon in figure 1, it does not follow the restricted directions. However a question now arises, in the orthogonal polygon star-shaped, is there a point  $p$  that sees all other points via restricted staircases, which will now be referred to as staircase paths. This gives rise to the question of my research, how to find the core sets of all such points  $p$ , which will be referred to as the staircase kernel of  $P$ .

## 2. Geometric Preliminaries

There have been several papers on the subject of staircase visibility, and orthogonal polygons. Much of the material I considered was from Dr. Marilyn Breen's publications. Breen's approach follows from a well-known argument that for a polygon  $P$  that is star-shaped via line segments, the convex kernel of  $P$  is the intersection of all maximal convex

subsets of  $P$ . What is shown in [1] is that for  $P$  a simply connected orthogonal polygon that is star-shaped via staircase paths, the staircase kernel of  $P$  is the intersection of all maximal orthogonally convex polygons in  $P$ , which is in itself a convex orthogonal polygon. Breen uses the following lemmas to prove this case. Refer to [1] for the proofs and the full proof of Theorem 2 [1, Theorem 1].

**Lemma 1:** If  $P$  is an orthogonal polygon, then  $P$  contains finitely many maximal orthogonally convex polygons. Moreover, every orthogonally convex polygon in  $P$  lies in a maximal orthogonally convex polygon in  $P$ .

**Lemma 2:** Let  $x, y, z$  be points in  $P$ , and let  $\lambda_1, \lambda_2, \lambda_3$  be staircase paths joining  $x$  to  $y$ ,  $y$  to  $z$ , and  $x$  to  $z$  respectively. Then the bounded region  $T$  determined by  $\lambda = \lambda_1 \cup \lambda_2 \cup \lambda_3$  is an orthogonally convex polygon.

### 2.1. Theorem 2

[1, Theorem 1] *Let  $P$  be a simply connected orthogonal polygon which is star-shaped via staircase paths. Then (1) the staircase kernel of  $P$  is the intersection of all maximal orthogonally convex polygons in  $P$  and (2) is again an orthogonally convex polygon.*

**Proof:** Let  $\text{Ker } P$  refer to the staircase kernel of  $P$ , and  $P$  be a simply connected polygon in the plane.

(1) Let  $M$  denote the family of all maximal orthogonally convex polygons in  $P$ . By Lemma 1,  $M$  is finite and as such every orthogonally convex polygon in  $P$  lies in a member of  $M$ . It will be shown that the  $\text{Ker } P = \bigcap \{ m : m \in M \}$

Choose any point  $x$  in  $\cap \{ m : m \in M \}$ , and let  $y$  be any point in  $P$ . Then some member  $m_0$  of  $M$  contains  $y$ , so  $x, y \in m_0$ . By [2, Lemma 1], there is an orthogonally convex polygon in  $P$  containing  $x$  and  $y$  if and only if there is a staircase path in  $P$  from  $x$  to  $y$ . Hence  $x$  sees  $y$  via a staircase path,  $x \in \text{Ker } P$ , and  $\cap \{ m : m \in M \} \subseteq \text{Ker } P$ .

(2) To show that  $\text{Ker } P$  is an orthogonally convex polygon, it is shown that the  $\text{Ker } P$  is connected. Let  $x, y \in \text{Ker } P$ , and let  $\lambda_1$  be any staircase path in  $P$  from  $x$  to  $y$ , to show that  $\lambda_1 \subseteq \text{Ker } P$ . That is for  $w \in \lambda_1$  and  $z \in P$ , show that  $w$  sees  $z$  via a staircase path in  $P$ . Since  $x, y \in \text{Ker } P$ , there are staircase paths  $\lambda_2, \lambda_3$  in  $P$  from  $y$  to  $z$ , and  $x$  to  $z$ , respectively. Then by Lemma 2, the bounded region  $T$  determined by  $\lambda_1 \cup \lambda_2 \cup \lambda_3$  is an orthogonally convex polygon. Hence by [2 Lemma 1], every two points of  $T$  are joined by a staircase path in  $T$ . Moreover since  $P$  is simply connected,  $T \subseteq P$ , so every two points of  $T$  are joined by a staircase path in  $P$ . Thus for  $w \in \lambda_1$ ,  $w$  sees  $z$  via a staircase path in  $P$ ,  $\lambda_1 \subseteq \text{Ker } P$ , and  $\text{Ker } P$  is indeed connected.

Since  $\text{Ker } P$  is a connected intersection of finitely many orthogonally convex polygons,  $\text{Ker } P$  is an orthogonally convex polygon.

While Breen's approach is sound, it is not constructive enough for our purpose. By analysing the proof, we can find a way to find a construct an algorithm for the problem in question. Theorem 2 considers an orthogonal polygon that is already known to be star-shaped

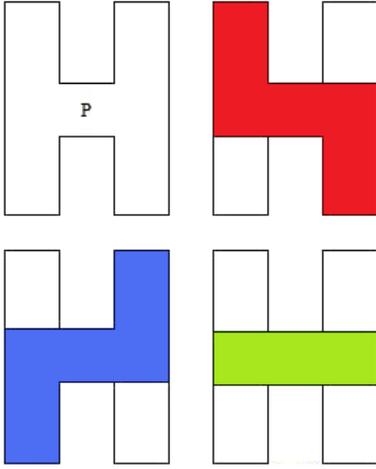
via staircase paths, so we will consider the converse of Theorem 2.

### 2.1. Converse Theorem 2

*Let  $P$  be a simply connected orthogonal polygon  $\in R^2$ . If  $P$  is a union of maximal orthogonally convex polygons which have a common intersection that is convex. Then  $P$  is star-shaped via staircase paths.*

**Proof:** Let  $\text{Ker } P$  refer to the staircase kernel of  $P$ , and  $P$  be a simply connected polygon in the plane. Let  $M$  denote the family of all maximal orthogonally convex polygons in  $P$ , and let  $\text{Ker } P = \cap \{ m : m \in M \}$ . Choose any point  $x \in \text{Ker } P$ , and  $y \in P$ . Then since  $y \in P$ ,  $y \in m$  in  $M$  and since  $\text{Ker } P = \cap \{ m : m \in M \}$  there is a staircase path  $\lambda$  from  $x$  to  $y$  since each  $m$  in  $M$  is convex. Thus for all  $x \in \text{Ker } P$ , and  $y \in P$ ,  $x$  sees  $y$  via staircase paths, and thus  $P$  is star-shaped.

By analysing the converse we can observe that given an orthogonal polygon  $P$  in the plane we can decompose  $P$  into maximal orthogonally convex polygons. Then their intersection will be the staircase kernel of  $P$ . In figure 3, given  $P$  observe that figure red & blue are the decomposition of  $P$ , and their intersection yields the staircase kernel in figure green.



**Figure 3.** Decomposition of  $P$  into maximal orthogonally convex sub-polygons, and its resulting kernel

We can also observe from [1, Theorem 1] that if any maximal orthogonally convex polygon within  $P$  is not part of the intersection then  $P$  is not star-shaped. However constructing an algorithmic approach that will efficiently decompose an orthogonal polygon into maximal orthogonally convex polygons is assumed to be of a high degree for time complexity so we will consider another approach that will compute the staircase kernel of an orthogonal polygon.

### 3. Main Result

From Theorem 2 we know that the staircase kernel is an orthogonally convex polygon. So we will consider an algorithmic approach that given an orthogonal polygon  $P$  in the plane, will find convex regions within  $P$ , which follows that each will be an orthogonally convex polygon. Since the staircase kernel is the set of all points that see each other point of

$P$  via staircase paths, each convex region must be verified to satisfy this property. Thus an algorithm to compute the staircase kernel of any given orthogonal polygon in the plane is given. We have generalized the results of Breen as the algorithm has been constructed to also handle orthogonal polygons with holes. To begin definitions of terms used, and lemmas are given.

#### 3.1. Definitions

- **Questionable Region:** A region that is determined to be both horizontally and vertically convex.
- **Non-Visible Region:** A region that cannot see another region via staircase paths.
- **Flagged Region:** A region that is defined as either questionable or non-visible during a plane sweep.
- **Open Region:** A region that is defined by an edge that enters the plane sweep or by an edge that is created to close an open region. Regions that are not simply connected are open.
- **Closed Region:** An open region that has been closed by an edge, making it simply connected.

#### 3.2. Lemmas

**Lemma 1:** During the plane sweep of a polygon  $P \in \mathbb{R}^2$ , if a region is convex, then the following region is non-convex. The converse is also true.

**Lemma 2:** During the plane sweep of a polygon  $P \in \mathbb{R}^2$ , while sweeping a non-convex

region and a new edge enters the queue, if the edge is disjoint from the current regions, a new region is defined; else it is determined to be part of one of the current regions.

**Lemma 3:** During the plane sweep of a polygon  $P \in R^2$ , a region becomes closed if it encounters another defined region.

**Lemma 4:** Regions within an orthogonal polygon  $P$  that are not vertically and horizontally convex are not part of the staircase kernel of  $P$

**Lemma 5:** The intersection of horizontal convex regions with vertically convex regions within a polygon is horizontally and vertically convex, given the intersection there is an intersection.

**Lemma 6:** The staircase kernel of a polygon  $P$ , is vertically and horizontally convex [1, Theorem 1].

**Lemma 7:** If there are multiple regions within a star-shaped polygon  $P$  that “sees” via staircase paths every point in  $P$ , then the staircase kernel of  $P$  is disjoint.

### 3.3 Algorithm

**Input:** Given a orthogonal polygon  $P \in R^2$

**Output:** The staircase kernel of  $P$

#### 3.3.1. Part A: Search for convex regions within $P$

**Step 1:** Horizontal Plane Sweep,  $O(n)$

While sweeping  $P$ :

- If an open region is closed while no other open regions are present, flag it as questionable.

- If an open region is closed while one or more open regions are present, flag all regions currently part of the sweep as non-visible.
- Place flagged regions top-down in the list Horizontal Convex Regions.

While sweeping  $P$ , close an open region with an edge:

- If two or more open regions meet.
- If only one open region is present in the sweep and a disjoint edge enters the plane sweep.
- If only two open regions are present in the sweep and one is closed.

When a horizontal edge enters the plane sweep:

- If no regions are present in the sweep, an open region is defined
- If the edge is disjoint from any current region, an open region is defined
- If the edge was created to close an open region, an open region is defined
- If the edge is part of any current region, the sweep continues.

**Step 2:** Vertical Plane Sweep,  $O(n)$

While sweeping  $P$ :

- If an open region is closed while no other open regions are present, flag it as questionable.
- If an open region is closed while one or more open regions are present, flag it as non-visible.

- Place flagged regions top-down in the list Vertical Convex Regions.

While sweeping P, close an open region with an edge:

- If two or more open regions meet.
- If only one open region is present in the sweep and a disjoint edge enters the plane sweep.
- If only two open regions are present in the sweep and one is closed.

When a vertical edge enters the plane sweep:

- If no regions are present in the sweep, an open region is defined
- If the edge is disjoint from any current region, an open region is defined
- If the edge was created to close an open region, an open region is defined
- If the edge is part of any current region, the sweep continues.

**Step 3:** Intersect the questionable regions from both lists,  $O(n^2)$

- Partition any questionable regions that become disjoint into the number of disjoint pieces
- Update lists: Horizontal Convex Regions and Vertical Convex Regions

### 3.3.2. Part B: Check for visibility

**Step 1:** Horizontal Convex Regions questionable region visibility check,  $O(n^2)$

- Scan the list top-down
- When a questionable region is found in the list, draw a staircase to each

non-visible region before and after it in the list.

- If successful, flag the region as H-visible and remove the region from the list
- If unsuccessful, remove the region from the list
- If no questionable regions remain, clear the list

**Step 2:** Vertical Convex Regions

questionable region visibility check,  $O(n^2)$

- Scan the list top-down
- When a questionable region is found in the list, draw a staircase to each non-visible region before and after it in the list.
- If successful, flag the region as V-visible and remove the region from the list
- If unsuccessful, remove the region from the list
- If no questionable regions remain, clear the list

**Step 3:** Determine the staircase kernel

- A region is part of the staircase kernel if it is both H-visible and V-visible
- If there are no regions that are both H-visible and V-visible, output is empty.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1. Part A: Search for convex regions within

P

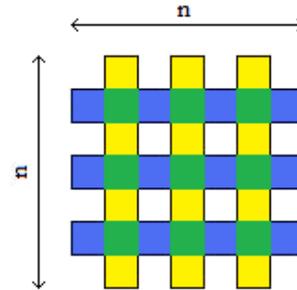
#### 4.1.1. Steps 1 and 2

The horizontal plane sweep of  $P$  follows from lemmas 1 through 3. The plane sweep is meant to check the horizontal convexity of  $P$ . A convex region of  $P$  is defined as questionable since by [1] Theorem 1 the staircase kernel is horizontally and vertically convex, and non-convex regions are defined as non-visible since under the definition of staircase paths, no point in one region is visible from the points in any other defined as non-visible at an equivalent time. By lemma 1 questionable regions are adjacent to non-visible regions, when a region is defined an edge is placed to close the region which divides the region from the next, the closed region is then placed into a list. So each region is defined by its closing edge, the closing edge is either a created edge or one that enters the plane sweep. Thus there are at most  $n$  defined regions placed into list which results in  $O(n)$  time. The vertical plane sweep behaves in the same manner as the horizontal plane sweep, thus also having a time complexity of  $O(n)$  time.

#### 4.1.2. Step 3

To find the staircase kernel of  $P$ , we must consider regions within the polygon that are both vertically and horizontally convex, [1 Theorem 1]. Thus the intersection of horizontally convex regions and vertically convex regions must be found. The intersection follows from lemmas 4 and 5. Any convex regions that do not intersect are discarded since they do not satisfy the properties of the kernel.

To find the intersection, each questionable region in the Horizontal Convex Regions list has to be checked with each questionable regions in the Vertical Convex Regions list to determine if they intersect, thus computing in  $O(n^2)$  time.



**Figure 4.**  $n$  vertical regions intersecting  $n$  horizontal regions

Figure 4 best illustrates the case of  $O(n^2)$  as there are  $n$  vertical strips intersecting  $n$  horizontal strips, thus there at most  $n^2$  intersections. Regions that become disjoint from the intersection are partitioned, and each partition is subject to further steps in the algorithm. The lists are updated as such; when the intersection of two or more questionable regions is found, the regions in both lists that correspond to the intersection are replaced with the intersection. The replacement regions will be either be a smaller region maintaining the same number of regions in the lists, or be a group of partitions increasing the number of regions in the lists. Questionable regions that have non-empty intersections are removed from the lists, since by Lemma 6 will not be part of the staircase kernel; the removed items will in turn decrease the number of regions in the lists.

Thus each questionable region in the updated lists corresponds to exactly one region in the other list, a one-to-one ratio. Updating the lists may increase or decrease the number of regions to check in later steps, but there will be still at most  $n$  defined regions in the lists.

## **4.2. Part B: Check for visibility**

### **4.2.1. Steps 1 and 2**

Finding the kernel of  $P$  follows from lemma 6. Since any point in the staircase kernel of  $P$  can see all points of  $P$  via staircases, a staircase path must be constructed from each questionable region in the lists to the non-visible regions in the list. If such a path cannot be constructed then the region does not satisfy the properties of the staircase kernel. As regions are checked they are determined as successful or failed and are removed from the list. When no questionable regions remain, then the list is cleared. Thus items enter the queue and are eventually removed. A staircase path can be constructed in  $O(n)$  time, as there are  $n$  edges to traverse. With  $n$  constructions in both lists, the time complexity of the visibility check is  $O(n^2)$ .

### **4.2.2. Step 3**

Once the lists are cleared, the staircase kernel is the region that is successful in the Horizontal Convex Regions list and the Vertical Convex Regions list, since by [1] Theorem 1 the staircase kernel of  $P$  is horizontally and vertically convex, and under the definition of a staircase kernel sees each point in  $P$ . Thus if the output is non-empty then

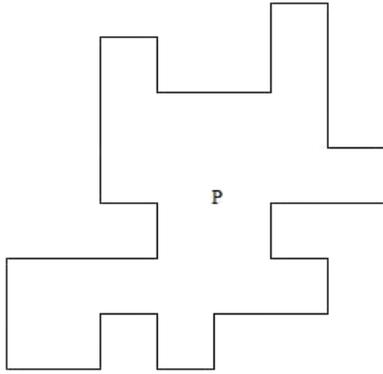
$P$  is star-shaped via staircase paths. If no regions were successful in both lists, then there is no staircase kernel and as such  $P$  is not star-shaped. However, we find that within the case that  $P$  has holes, Breens theorem, that the staircase kernel is in itself a convex orthogonal polygon no longer applies. Lemma 7 is a case where the kernel is disjoint and is as such non-convex. But each disjoint piece of the kernel is a convex orthogonal polygon and sees each point of  $P$  via staircase paths. Thus  $P$  still has a staircase kernel, and is star-shaped.

The time complexity of the algorithm is  $O(n^2)$  as argued in the analysis. The space complexity is  $O(n)$ , since there are  $n$  items in either queue. The optimal time complexity to find the staircase kernel of an orthogonal polygon possibly with holes is  $O(n^2)$  has also proven by Laxmi P. Gewali [3, Theorem 6], refer to [3] for a different approach to the problem

## **5. Examples**

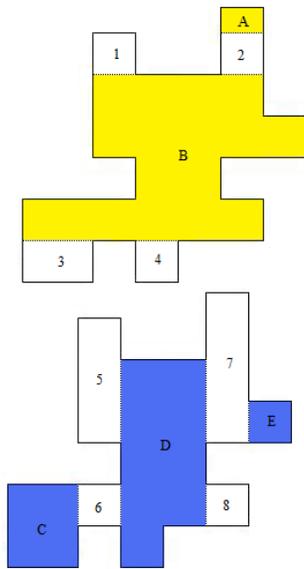
### **5.1. Example 1:**

Given a simply connected orthogonal polygon  $P$  with no holes such that the algorithm will have a non-empty output.



**Figure 5.** Given orthogonal polygon P

Part A: Step 1, yields the *Horizontal Convex Regions* list, while Step 2, yields the *Vertical Convex Regions* list.

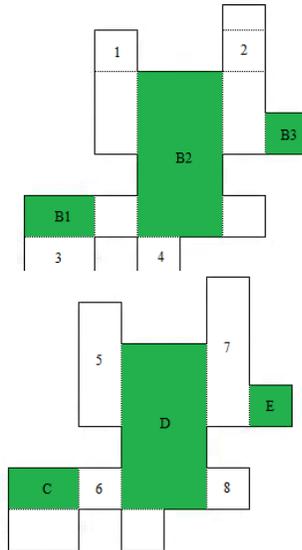


**Figure 6.** Horizontal sweep and vertical sweep of P

**Table 1.**

Horizontal Convex Regions	Vertical Convex Regions
A	C
1 2	5 6
B	D
3 4	7 8
	E

Part A: Step 3, intersects the convex horizontal regions and the vertical convex regions to yield the updated lists containing regions that are both horizontally and vertically convex. Note that region B is partitioned into B1, B2, and B3, while region C and D are reduced in size. Since region A has an empty intersection it is removed from the lists.

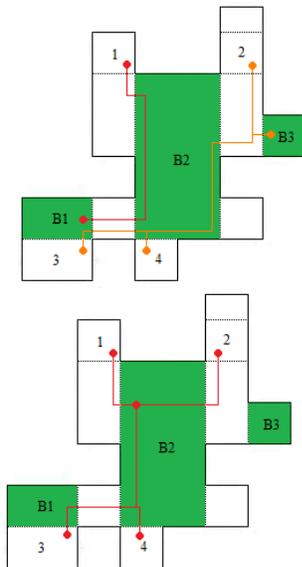


**Figure 7.** Intersections of horizontal and vertical convex regions

**Table 2.** Updated lists

Horizontal Convex Regions	Vertical Convex Regions
1 2	C
B1 B2 B3	5 6
3 4	D
	7 8
	E

Part B: Step 1, checks the staircase visibility of the questionable regions in the *Horizontal Convex Regions* list, and yields that region B2 is the only successful region.

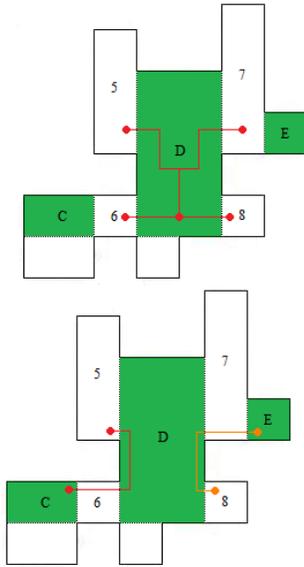


**Figure 8.** Staircases visibility check of horizontal convex regions

**Table 3.**

Horizontal Convex Regions		
1	2	
B1(success)	B2(success)	B3(success)
3	4	

Part B: Step 2, checks the staircase visibility of the questionable regions in the *Vertical Convex Regions* list, and yields that region D is the only successful region.

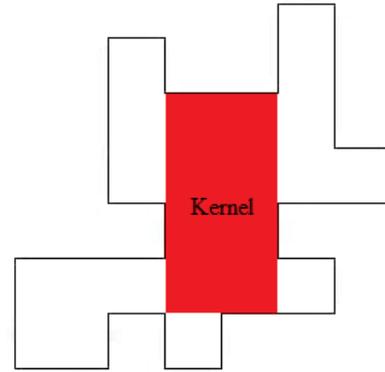


**Figure 9.** Staircases visibility check of vertical convex regions

**Table 4.**

Vertical Convex Regions		
C(fails)		
5	6	
D(success)		
7	8	
E(success)		

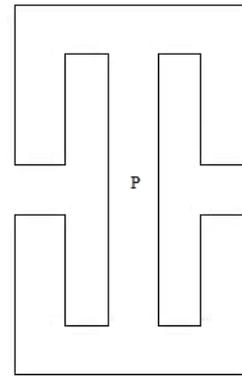
Part B: Step 3, finds that regions B2, and D were successful in the staircase visibility step. Since the regions in both lists correspond to each other, it is determined that the staircase kernel of P is the region defined by B2, and D. Thus P is star-shaped via staircase paths.



**Figure 10.** The staircase kernel of P

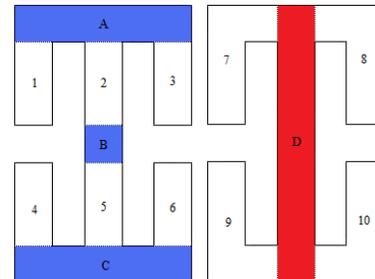
**5.2. Example 2:**

Given a simply connected orthogonal polygon P with no holes such that the algorithm will have an empty output.



**Figure 11.** Given orthogonal polygon P

Part A: Step 1, yields the *Horizontal Convex Regions* list, while Step 2, yields the *Vertical Convex Regions* list.

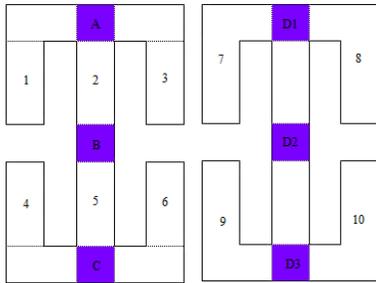


**Figure 12.** Horizontal sweep and vertical sweep of P

**Table 5.**

Horizontal Convex Regions	Vertical Convex Regions
A	7 8
1 2 3	D
B	9 10
4 5 6	
C	

Part A: Step 3, intersects the convex horizontal regions and the vertical convex regions to yield the updated lists containing regions that are both horizontally and vertically convex. Note that region D is partitioned into D1, D2, and D3, while region A, and C are reduced in size.

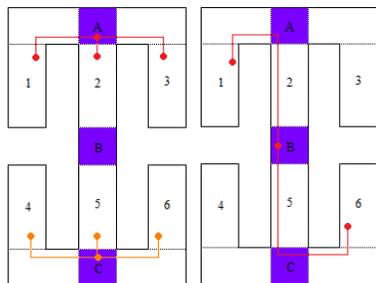


**Figure 13.** Intersections of horizontal and vertical convex regions

**Table 5.** Updated lists

Horizontal Convex Regions	Vertical Convex Regions
A	7 8
1 2 3	D1 D2 D3
B	9 10
4 5 6	
C	

Part B: Step 1, checks the staircase visibility of the questionable regions in the *Horizontal Convex Regions* list, and yields that region A, and C are successful regions.

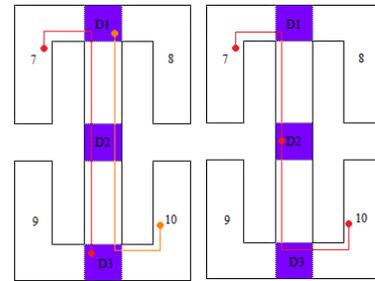


**Figure 14.** Staircases visibility check of horizontal convex regions

**Table 6.**

Horizontal Convex Regions
A(success)
1 2 3
B(fails)
4 5 6
C(success)

Part B: Step 2, checks the staircase visibility of the questionable regions in the *Vertical Convex Regions* list, and yields that no region is successful.



**Figure 15.** Staircases visibility check of vertical convex regions

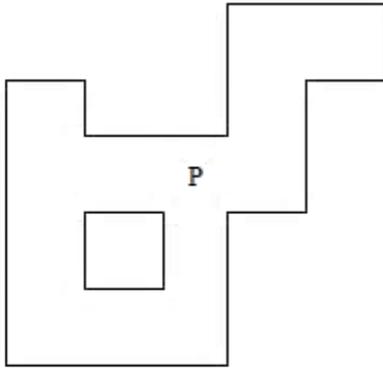
**Table 7.**

Vertical Convex Regions
7 8
D1(fails) D2(fails) D3(fails)
9 10

Part B: Step 3, finds that regions A, and C were successful in the staircase visibility step. But since both regions do not correspond to any successful regions in the other list, the output is empty. Thus P has no staircase kernel and is thus not star-shaped via staircase paths.

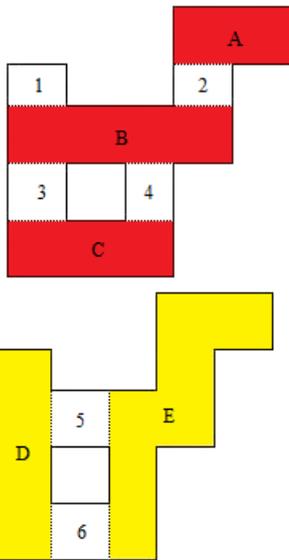
### 5.3. Example 3:

Given a simply connected orthogonal polygon P with holes such that the algorithm will have a non-empty output.



**Figure 16.** Given orthogonal polygon P with holes

Part A: Step 1, yields the *Horizontal Convex Regions* list, while Step 2, yields the *Vertical Convex Regions* list.

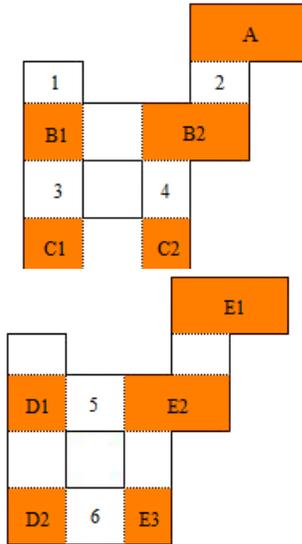


**Figure 17.** Horizontal sweep and vertical sweep of P

**Table 8.**

Horizontal Convex Regions	Vertical Convex Regions
A	D
1 2	5 6
B	E
3 4	
C	

Part A: Step 3, intersects the convex horizontal regions and the vertical convex regions to yield the updated lists containing regions that are both horizontally and vertically convex. Note that region B is partitioned into B1, and B2, region C is partitioned into C1, and C2, region D is partitioned into D1, and D2, and region E is partitioned into E1, and E2, and E3, while region A does not change.

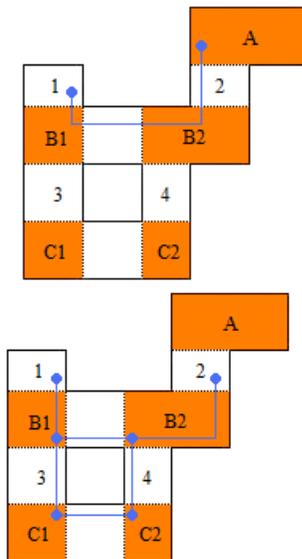


**Figure 18.** Intersections of horizontal and vertical convex regions

**Table 9.** Updated lists

Horizontal Convex Regions	Vertical Convex Regions
A	D1 D2
1 2	5 6
B1 B2	E1 E2 E3
3 4	
C1 C2	

Part B: Step 1, checks the staircase visibility of the questionable regions in the *Horizontal Convex Regions* list, and yields that region B1, B2, C1, and C2 are successful regions.

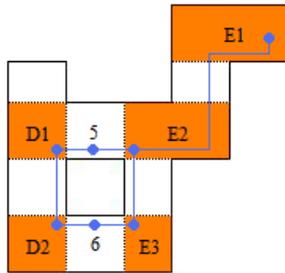


**Figure 19.** Staircases visibility check of horizontal convex regions

**Table 10.**

Horizontal Convex Regions	
A(fails)	
1	2
B1(success)	B2(success)
3	4
C1(success)	C2(success)

Part B: Step 2, checks the staircase visibility of the questionable regions in the *Vertical Convex Regions* list, and yields that all regions are successful.

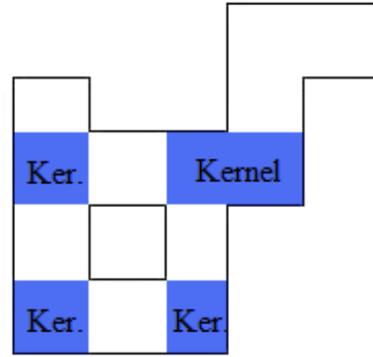


**Figure 20.** Staircases visibility check of vertical convex regions

**Table 7.**

Vertical Convex Regions		
D1(success)	D2(success)	
5	6	
E1(success)	E2(success)	E3(success)

Part B: Step 3, finds that regions only region A was unsuccessful in the staircase visibility step. So region A and region E1 which corresponds to A are not part of the output. Then the staircase kernel is determined by the regions defined by B1 and D1, B2 and E2, C1 and D2, and C2 and E3. In this case there are multiple corresponding successful regions, so the staircase kernel is disjoint, but each piece is in itself a convex orthogonal polygon. Thus P is star-shaped via staircase paths.



**Figure 21.** The staircase kernel of P

## 6. Conclusion

As we can see, given a simply connected orthogonal polygon P possibly with holes, in the plane, we can find the staircase kernel of P in  $O(n^2)$  time using the plane sweep method. As shown, if P is an orthogonal polygon without holes, the staircase kernel is a single region within P. If P is an orthogonal polygon with holes, it is possible for the staircase kernel to be disjoint within P.

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***The Competitive Advantage of Canada's Extractive Industries  
An Analysis of Corporate Social Responsibility Policies at Work***  
Derek Forest Peddle

A socially responsible mining company would presumably act in a responsible manner towards society. At present, the increasingly dominating global performance of the Canadian mining industry requires a greater level of scrutiny as to how these operations are developing, with a specific focus on the impact both domestically within Canada, as well as the emerging markets that they are conducting their business in. With several prominent occurrences of human rights violations and environmental calamities that can be attributed to individual Canadian mining companies, this industry as a whole has been able to escape relatively unscathed from both the victims and the general Canadian public. This paper will attempt to draw from a number of perspectives to demonstrate that the issue is systemic and that it is currently intractable. The desire to engender an ethos of ethical corporate behaviour has taken on many forms in the business community; Industry Canada's website<sup>96</sup>, for example, suggests that the newest form known as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is interchangeable with earlier manifestations such as corporate sustainability, corporate sustainable development, corporate responsibility and corporate citizenship. With the introduction and adoption of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) into the discussion about the roles and responsibilities of corporations in society, a clearer understanding of how CSR is currently being applied by multinational mining companies would demonstrate either that these corporations are beneficial to society or, as this paper aims to demonstrate, that their activities constitute an attempt to undermine the process of resources for victims of gross human rights violations and environmental mismanagement. Support will be drawn from publications by the extractive industry, pro-mining lobbyists, and anti-mining lobbyists, human rights groups and third party research.

To begin a process of understanding, it is of utmost importance to introduce a definition of Corporate Social Responsibility. The World Bank defines CSR as: "the commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development – working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve the quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development<sup>97</sup>." One of the principle issues with this definition as it relates to the mining sector is that in considering the approach to developing a mine site, sustainability is actually

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<sup>96</sup> "Corporate Social Responsibility" <http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/csr-rse.nsf/eng/home> Date Accessed: November 20, 2011.

<sup>97</sup> Petkoski, Djordjija and Nigel Twose. "Public Policy for Corporate Social Responsibility." World Bank Institute, July 2003. [http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/57434/publicpolicy\\_econference.pdf](http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/57434/publicpolicy_econference.pdf)

unattainable in this sector and it is a very obvious contradiction. A mine is successful only in as much as the resources that have been inferred to be present in the ground are there, when these resources are no longer present the mine is considered to be exhausted. With regards to the size of a company's claim to the mineral resources and the land they occupy, the speed at which a mine's development is approached can also influence how quickly a mine will be exhausted, so if a mining company decides to increase the development pace at a mine, then the likelihood of the mine being exhausted earlier increases. If we agree that everything about a mining claim is finite, then a mine in any shape or form cannot be considered to be a sustainable development project. Despite this contradiction, the impetus is still there for corporations to implement viable community-building projects in the areas they develop because the extractive sector will be actively altering the physical and biological environment when the decision is reached to develop a claim. As the changes to the environment are likely to carry on for many years, the corporation should be expected to make long-term investments in the community to make up for the massive alteration of the geology, the geography, and the biosphere. The reality however is much different from the espoused intentions of corporations in the extractive industry.

Corporate Social Responsibility serves principally as a rhetorical device for the Canadian extractive sector operating in developing nations because it allows the main office, situated in Canada to put out press releases and claim to be following the ideals of CSR while in the development area, the functioning and security of the work-site are held to be the highest priorities. In acknowledging a company's drive towards generating profit and expansion, the socially responsible aspect of CSR is ignored for the good of the corporation's balance sheets. CSR is essentially just a continuation of attempts to distance some of the worst instances of corporate malfeasance, with voluntary non-binding agreements without any sort of reliable enforcement or review mechanism. The corporate rhetoric all express an implied view that corporations have to go above and beyond the strictly business as usual mindset and actively develop, fund, and support the local communities where they operate with community initiatives. Taken from a number of corporate websites, the onus of following CSR principles is often expressed by the results from studies conducted by companies on North American consumers where a correlation between transgressions overseas directly related to a loss of financial earnings and a drop in consumer confidence in both the brand and the company. CSR in Canada does not have a very strong backbone as it is largely a voluntary, non-binding, self-imposed set of principles. The Government of Canada implemented a CSR Counsellor and the post is probably the best example of how ineffective CSR's principles are at keeping corporations in check. For one, the CSR Counsellor is supposed to be an "honest broker" between two parties in disagreement, yet the post has nothing that can legally compel a corporation to participate in a dialogue, nor is it permitted to

make rulings or recommendations to other government departments, but rather reports directly to the Minister of Industry, making the post more symbolic than anything else. The first attempt to honestly broker a conflict took place between Excellon Resources Inc. and a Mexican labour union which resulted in Excellon stating: “the process is appearing to legitimize unfounded allegations against the Company<sup>98</sup>.” As far as results go, this is the least desirable initial outcome. The CSR Counsellor does not possess any leverage over the extractive sector nor does the position carry any legal weight, or even a viable reporting mechanism, as the CSR Counsellor is reporting to the Minister and ministerial prerogatives are often at the whim and mercy of the political climate, i.e. at his/her discretion.

The process of remedy has been fleeting for many victims overseas, as they often cannot appeal to the local police or judicial systems because these institutions are often rife with corruption. Inevitably victims with sufficient means will be forced to attempt to bring a case from their own jurisdiction into one of the provincial jurisdictions of Canada. A review of some of the cases that have made it to provincial courts, namely the Superior Court of Quebec and the Superior Court of Ontario, will demonstrate that successful litigation of Canadian companies for their activities overseas in the provincial courts is very difficult to achieve. The first such case was undertaken by members of the Guyanese indigenous community who had been victimized from the environmental disaster at the Omai gold mine and they sought to sue Cambior, a Quebec incorporated company, for damages incurred. The court decided against exercising its jurisdiction over the suit against Cambior, preferring the courts in Guyana. As per the Superior Court of Quebec’s direction, the Guyanese indigenous community filed suit in Guyana only to have it dismissed creating the situation where a remedy for the victims was denied by two separate judicial systems<sup>99</sup>. Since that time, there have been very few cases brought forth against Canadian mining companies, though there are some hopeful exceptions. In 2009, the Superior Court of Ontario began hearing arguments regarding the allegations that the security forces hired by Canadian-based HudBay Minerals Inc. were implicated in the killing of a Mayan Q’echi’ indigenous leader named Adolfo Ich Chamán. The court also heard arguments regarding the alleged gang-rape of 11 indigenous women by company security guards, police officers and army officers, when they and their families were forcibly removed from their homes to allow the development of the mine in the municipality of El Estor to proceed<sup>100</sup>. The Superior Court of Ontario

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<sup>98</sup> “Excellon Resources Expresses Disappointment with CSR Counsellor’s Closing Report Issued Today and Claims Social Responsibility Process is Flawed.” TSX News Release No. 18. October 19, 2011. <http://www.excellonresources.com/Investors/Press-Releases.aspx>

<sup>99</sup> Keenan, Karyn. “Bringing Canadian Mining to Justice.” Pambazuka News, Issue 536. June 22, 2011. <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/74254> .

<sup>100</sup> “Angelina Choc et al. vs. Hudbay Minerals Inc. et al.” Ontario Superior Court of Justice. court file no. CV—

has yet to rule on whether it will accept jurisdiction. In any case, HudBay Minerals Inc. had decided by August of 2011 to sell off its controlling stake of the Fenix Project in El Estor. Murray Klippenstein, the legal representative for the Adolfo Ich Chamán's case, put forth that "it appears that HudBay took a financial hit as a result of speculating on a project in Guatemala that was beset by allegations of severe human rights abuse and risks of further abuse<sup>101</sup>". It is not so much the cost of litigation or the possible damages that HudBay Minerals might be forced to pay, but rather it is the association or perception of corporate malfeasance by the investment community that generated financial losses for the company.

While it is an optimistic development and likely a first step in the process of remedy, the absence of a precedent for the successful litigation in Canadian courts of a Canadian mining company's infractions overseas is still troubling. Since there is no legal prerequisite for abiding to CSR principles, or apparently a jurisdiction in Canada to which a Canadian-based mining company could be held to account for its operations overseas, the extractive industry operates in an environment of impunity – the exemption from incurring any kind of punishment, harm or loss from their activities. The maintaining of the atmosphere of impunity has presented the fiercest resistance on the part of industry lobbyists to bringing about necessary legal reforms and regulations to the forefront because the extractive sector knows that this would be a deal-breaker and a game-changer for Canadian mining operations globally. On an initiative led by Liberal MP John Mackay, Bill C-300 aimed to do just that by proposing:

*Corporations engaged in mining, oil or gas activities and receiving support from the Government of Canada act in a manner consistent with international environmental best practices and with Canada's commitments to international human rights standards<sup>102</sup>.*

The means of achieving this would be by empowering the minister with the responsibilities of receiving complaints regarding the Canadian extractive sectors activities from any Canadian citizen or permanent resident or any resident or citizen of a developing country in which such activities have occurred or are occurring. The minister would then be able to make recommendations to the President of Export Development and the Chairperson of the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board if a determination of wrongdoing was performed by Canadian companies' overseas operations<sup>103</sup>. If we

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IO—411159. November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

<sup>101</sup>"Ontario Lawsuits Against HudBay Regarding Alleged Human Rights Abuse Continue Despite Sale of Fenix Project." Marketwire, August 10<sup>th</sup>, 2011 <http://www.marketwire.com/press-release/ontario-lawsuits-against-hudbay-regarding-alleged-human-rights-abuse-continue-despite-1548269.htm>

<sup>102</sup> Bill C-300, "An Act respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries" 40<sup>th</sup> parliament, 2<sup>nd</sup> session. February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Section 4.1

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

consider the significant leverage that the Canada Pension Plan has through its large investments in both Canadian and International mining companies, it should give some pause as to the political morass that would arise from implementing and actively regulating the provisions of the bill if it were to finally be implemented. The gravity of possibly mishandling the pension divestment file would likely cost many MPs a re-election bid, and many others would argue that by doing so, it would create a competitive disadvantage for Canadian-owned companies. However, this response is a bit of a misnomer given the high levels of financial investment in this sector. The Toronto Stock Exchange's S&P/TSX Global Mining Index lists and facilitates trade for 60% of global mining companies in any given year<sup>104</sup>. Furthermore, the scope of Canadian business activities is spread out by over a thousand Canadian-based mining companies in over 100 nationalities. The Canadian Mining Assets Abroad (CMAA) figure estimates that these companies accounted for over \$129 billion in investments in 2010. Of that figure, nearly half of the investments occurred in only four countries: Chile (14%), Mexico (13%), the United States (12%), and Argentina (9%). Interestingly, more than half of the total CMAA figure was made up of only 7 companies, and that the 70 largest companies accounted for approximately 90% of total holdings<sup>105</sup>. PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP reports that the top 40 global mining businesses (including state-owned enterprises) had reached a record high, net profit of \$140 billion and those overall revenues had grown by a quarter percentile<sup>106</sup>. While much of this overall growth can be attributed to a flurry of activity in the exploration sector, a strong performance in the commodities trade also created significant profits. As a result of significant Canadian holdings in this sector, the divestment option is an approach that could move the discussion further as to how to encourage companies to abide by CSR principles by creating the option to divest if violations occur.

An alternative approach to regulating the industry might be found within the National Contact Point (NCP) process, which follows the OECD guidelines on multinational enterprises and is comprised of members from CIDA, DFAIT, Environment Canada, Finance Canada, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Industry Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Natural Resources Canada<sup>107</sup>. While the reporting and review process is similar to the CSR Counsellor's

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<sup>104</sup> "S&P Global Mining Index" Date Accessed: June 8, 2012.

[http://www.tmx.com/en/data/products\\_services/indices/global\\_mining\\_index.html](http://www.tmx.com/en/data/products_services/indices/global_mining_index.html)

<sup>105</sup> Canadian Mining Assets Abroad. (2012). Information Bulletin: The Geographical Distribution of Canada's Mining Assets. Natural Resources Canada. <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/minerals-metals/publications-reports/4425#F1>

<sup>106</sup> "Mine: The Growing Disconnect." PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP, 2012.

<sup>107</sup> "Canada's National Contact Point for the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises" Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. February 2011. Date Accessed: November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011. <http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/ncp->

mandate and though it is also a voluntary mechanism, this approach benefits from being inter-departmental. Furthermore, both the CSR Counsellor and the NCP review mechanisms appear to have mandates and protocols that are mutually dependent on the other, whereas a clear reasoning behind the decision to fund both programs is not forthcoming. The adoption of the National Contact Point's OECD guidelines would likely induce companies to subscribe to a strengthened regulatory framework while also maintaining a sense of cooperation between CIDA, DFAIT and the mining sector.

During the consultative steps taken for the crafting of Bill C-300, the Prospector's and Developer's Association of Canada (PDAC) commissioned a report which looked at the effectiveness of Canadian CSR policies. The report and its findings were not publically released, but a copy eventually leaked to the media which came up with a very interesting conclusion about CSR policies in Canada. The findings are presented here:

*The report discusses 171 high-profile CSR violations by mining companies between 1999 and 2009. Sixty-three percent of these violations are linked to companies from just five countries, including Canada. Canadian mining companies are involved in more than four times as many violations as the next two highest offenders, Australia and India [...] Canadian companies have been the most significant group involved in unfortunate incidents in the developing world. Canadian companies have played a much more major role than their peers from Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. The rate at which Canadian companies are more likely to be engaged in community conflict is 60%; environmental is a rate of 40% and unethical behaviour at 30%<sup>108</sup>.*

Of the utmost relevance is that the report also found that the majority of implicated Canadian mining companies had implemented CSR policies. The question is no longer a matter of whether this policy is effective, but how to go about implementing a regulatory body that actively compels companies to abide by the rules rather than the current environment of outright dismissal of any and all allegations of wrongdoing and subsequently paying lip-service to serious infractions with hollow press releases.

Take for example a known violator, Barrick Gold, the largest gold mining company in the world. This company has been implicated in human rights violations, environmental catastrophes, and fostering community and ethnic conflict in a number of jurisdictions from Latin America to Africa and Southeast Asia. It is important to recall the *modus operandi* of mines in that security and the perpetual functioning of the site are held to be the highest priorities. At the Porgera Joint Venture (PJV) mine in

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<sup>108</sup> "Suppressed Report Confirms International Violations by Canadian Mining Companies". Mining Watch Canada. October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

Papua New Guinea, Barrick's acquisition of the mine from Placer Dome was followed by an admonition in 2006 by Placer Dome that it knew of at least 8 deaths at the hands of the mine security forces. These allegations continued unabated, despite reputable reports by Amnesty International, on a New York University and Harvard University joint research study. Finally, a Human Rights Watch at the end of 2010 compelled the company to review its operations. In brief, its violations at the mine include a known military operation called *Operation Ipili* in 2009 that aimed to crack down on incidents of illegal mining, principally pursued by those living in the leased mining zone who had no visible impediment such as a fence to stop them from crossing into the mine site or in the tailings area where most of the illegal mining took place. Barrick's over reaction to these minor and resolvable issues was to pay the wages, to provide housing and logistical support to the Papua New Guinea police forces in an operation that burned over 300 homes. One of the main sources of conflict related to the mine is the desire of occupants residing in the leased mining zone to be relocated away from the mine site<sup>109</sup>. With regards to the environmental impact Barrick and Placer Dome have produced as a result of mining operations at the PJV, up to 20 years worth of tailings have been deposited into an 800 kilometre river network. An uncontrolled and likely incalculable amount of heavy metal contamination and mine processing by-products have dramatically altered the entire biosphere that depended on this body of water, including many of the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea that revere the rivers as sacred bodies. As a result of the dumping of toxic waste into the rivers by Barrick and the PJV, the Norwegian Pension Fund decided to divest over \$230 million dollars from the company citing: "the company's assertions that its operations do not cause long-term and irreversible environmental damage carry little credibility. This is reinforced by the lack of openness and transparency in the company's environmental reporting<sup>110</sup>."

One would have to hope that corporate activities do entail a realistic possibility for a relationship with the communities they serve from a mutually beneficial perspective. It is not difficult to conclude, that a suitable position for ensuring that corporate activities remain scrupulous would include divesting the public purse from investments in companies with less than stellar records of corporate conduct. The adoption of the National Contact Point's OECD guidelines, rather than the emphasis currently placed on a CSR Counsellor, would likely induce companies to subscribe to a strengthened regulatory framework that is internationally recognized and adopted, while also maintaining a sense of cooperation between CIDA, DFAIT and the mining sector. There is hope with

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<sup>109</sup> "Undermining Rights: Forced Evictions and Police Brutality around the Porgera Gold Mine, Papua New Guinea." Amnesty International Publications, 2010.

<sup>110</sup> "Recommendation of August 14, 2008." Norwegian Government Pension Fund Council on Ethics. Date Accessed: October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011. P.27 [http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/FIN/etikk/recommendation\\_barrick.pdf](http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/FIN/etikk/recommendation_barrick.pdf)

the current litigation against HudBay Minerals, that a precedent in the Canadian judicial system for prosecuting Canadian companies for their detrimental activities overseas is an open possibility. It should be kept in mind that Canada's international reputation is at stake, not just with regards to the extractive sector but also on its position of tolerance towards human rights violations and environmental disasters. In the increasingly connected global stage, a failing grade on either of these issues is unacceptable now and will continue to be unacceptable unless a remedy is applied.

**Self-Serving Activism: The Winter Soldiers of the Vietnam War**  
*A Season of Discontent: Vietnam Veterans and the Winter Soldier Investigation*  
John Picard

On January 31, 1971, Detroit was host to a group of Vietnam veterans trying to make sense of their lives. Dubbed the Winter Soldier Investigation, this three day event featured veterans representing each branch of the armed services, physically united to speak about their unjust actions in an unjust war.<sup>111</sup> They detailed the war crimes they participated in during their tours of Vietnam as well as those they had only heard second hand. More recently, temporarily unclassified files have allowed journalists to trace war crime allegations and contact those involved, unveiling the frequency of these atrocities as well as the conditions that enabled them. Although such exposés help invalidate many of the accusations towards the Winter Soldier Investigation and whistle blowing veterans in general, they do not address the frequent uncooperativeness of these same men when interviewed by the CID. Analyzing this dichotomy within these veterans' actions demonstrates that their goals in testifying differed radically from those perceived by the United States Government, the American public, and even other veterans of the same war. Besmirching the image of America was but a side-effect in reconciling individual inhumane actions with the sense of self, be that a victim, a patriot, or just a human being.

The term "Winter Soldier" was chosen by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War Movement (VVAW) to reflect the historical writings about George Washington's loyal troops at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-1778.<sup>112</sup> Having remained well beyond their enlistment requirements, Thomas Paine compared these troops to the "summer soldier," who will "in crisis, shrink from the service of their country..."<sup>113</sup> The inversion of this title is reflective of how the Winter Soldiers perceived themselves; despite having completed their tours of Vietnam, their responsibility to America continued.<sup>114</sup> Although the contradictory nature of such a title will be addressed later in the paper, the term Winter Soldier will be used as employed by the VVAW to describe the veterans who spoke against America's actions in Vietnam. It should also be noted that while certain tendencies can be viewed in the larger body of Vietnam veterans, this paper focuses specifically on the Winter Soldiers.

The documentary film based on the investigation, simply titled *Winter Soldier*, gives an incredible insight into American military policy in Vietnam, a subject which must be broached prior to

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<sup>111</sup> Andrew Hunt, *A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), 68-69.

<sup>112</sup> Gerald Nicosia, *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement* (California: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 79.

<sup>113</sup> Richard Stacewicz, *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (Chicago: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 5.

<sup>114</sup> Nicosia, 79.

discussing the war crimes themselves. Early in the film, veteran Steve Pitkin speaks of the pressure placed on the soldiers to ignore the humanity of the enemy. In a loaded phrase, he says “You were supposed to feel sorry for the American wounded, but you weren’t supposed to feel sorry for the enemy wounded, or dead. And I just felt sorry for the whole thing.”<sup>115</sup> Such is standard practice in warfare; research shows that it is easier to kill the enemy if they are emotionally disassociated from the killer, either culturally, morally, socially, or mechanically.<sup>116</sup> A moral distance embraces the legitimacy of one’s own cause as good and noble while simultaneously condemning the enemy as immoral and worthy of punishment.<sup>117</sup> In the intervention in Vietnam, one would expect the American soldiers to feel a moral disconnect between themselves and the communist insurgents. Such a disconnect must have a source, and as veteran Scott Camil explains, the idea of America’s moral infallibility did not come from military training, but rather stemmed from the household values of patriotism and doing what is best for the nation.<sup>118</sup> He is a rarity among the Winter Soldiers; most did not speak of a patriotic background.

Testimonies from *Winter Soldier* as well as examinations of Vietnam training protocol confirms that a moral justification for killing the enemy was not promoted by American military policy. In its stead, the cultural dissonance between Americans and the Vietnamese people was encouraged. This involves the continued denial of the enemy’s humanity, a process which is made all the easier by noticeable differences in their physical appearance, language, and activities.<sup>119</sup> In Vietnam, this was encouraged from early training. There is evidence of drill sergeants and officers using racial slurs, referring to the Vietnamese people as ‘gooks’, ‘dinks’, and ‘slant eyes’.<sup>120</sup> Some were still more overt, emphasizing the difference in Vietnamese rituals for the dead and even claiming “They’re not human.” One training exercise had soldiers wielding bayonets on targets and shouting the word gook with each thrust of the blade.<sup>121</sup> Psychologist David Grossman summarizes the utility of such racial slurs in the context of war; it allows the soldier to deny that war is about killing humans, and instead makes it about killing some imaginary sub-human ‘other’.<sup>122</sup> In the case of the Vietnam War, these ‘others’ were the gooks.

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<sup>115</sup> “Winter Soldier,” *The Winterfilm Collective*, produced by Vietnam Veteran's Against the War, 95 minutes, 1972, DVD.

<sup>116</sup> Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, (New York: Back Bay Books, Little, Brown and Company, 2009), 156- 159.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-165.

<sup>118</sup> “Winter Soldier.”

<sup>119</sup> Grossman, 161.

<sup>120</sup> The term “gook” is found in most sources featuring Vietnam veteran testimony. Given the apologetic atmosphere in the Winter Soldier Investigation, the word will be utilized in this paper as it was by American soldiers in Vietnam. It remains the most common term for the Vietnamese people, and replacing it with a more sensitive word would be ignoring the prevalence of its use in the American military; Sallah and Weiss, 47; Grossman, 46.

<sup>121</sup> Sallah and Weiss, 47.

<sup>122</sup> Grossman, 89-91.

What resulted was not necessarily the hatred of the Vietnamese, though this did occur in many individuals, but a denial of their status as humans. This is reflected in Thomas Heidtman's testimony at the Winter Soldier Investigation, where he declared that his unit did not differentiate between a Vietnamese and a gook. He continued on to explain that the only difference between a "good one" and a "bad one" was that the former was unarmed at the time.<sup>123</sup> Such ignorance was conducive to brutality, enabling Heidtman to participate in beating civilians and setting their villages on fire, reportedly for no reason but to show that they could. The only reason not to set villages on fire was when time constraints dictated it, an occurrence he estimated saved about half the villages his unit passed through.<sup>124</sup>

The destruction that grew from the denial of Vietnamese humanity was far worse than torched homes. In fact, by 1968, the American military's willingness to kill indiscriminately was tested by the body count measure of success, the literal measure of combat effectiveness as determined by the amount of resulting corpses.<sup>125</sup> One of the main promoters for the body count policy was Major General Julian Ewell who later stated in *Sharpening the Edge of Combat* that a large body count would result in a greater share of allocated air support.<sup>126</sup> The co-author, Colonel Ira Hunt, explained in an interview with journalist Deborah Nelson that there was no reason to believe that the immense influx of insurgents reported killed was anything other than a sign of success.<sup>127</sup> This was despite the fact that in a single six month operation, 10,889 insurgents were reported dead while only 748 enemy weapons were recovered.<sup>128</sup>

Thirty years prior to the investigations of reporters who sought to demonstrate the prevalence of atrocities committed in Vietnam, the Winter Soldiers discussed these very same issues at their conference. At one point in the film, Scott Camil tells of his experiences with the push for higher body counts, stating "the more people we killed the happier our officers were." The suggestion is that their superiors were both aware and encouraging of civilian murders. Camil explains that it was common to use ears removed from Vietnamese corpses as a method of proving their masculinity to each other. He continues to describe a game in which the soldiers were physically rewarded for this mutilation of the enemy; there was a system where the soldiers could literally use these ears to buy beer. Soon after Camil's testimony, veteran Mark Lenix recalls about bored pilots firing unprovoked on a hooch,

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<sup>123</sup> "Winter Soldier."

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Nelson, 90.

<sup>126</sup> Julian J. Ewell, and Ira A. Hunt, *Sharpening the Combat Edge: The Use of Analysis to Reinforce Military Judgement*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1974)

<http://www.history.army.mil/books/Vietnam/Sharpen/index.htm> (accessed March 4, 2012), 206-207.

<sup>127</sup> Nelson, 88.

<sup>128</sup> Nick Turse, "A My Lai a Month." *The Nation* 287, no. 18: 13-20. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed February 26, 2012), 13.

resulting in the killing of an infant and a three year old. Rather than a reprimand, two dead Vietcong were added to the body count board.<sup>129</sup>

Another *Winter Soldier* details the commonality of such inflation. In cases of “colonels going into competition,” a handful of dead Vietcong would be reported as a substantially higher number.<sup>130</sup> This coincides with evidence found in an internal report which outlines the importance of a high body count for the progression of a military officer’s career. The report continues to explain that aside from tangible incentives for soldiers, inflation and even indiscriminate killing was encouraged to produce these numbers.<sup>131</sup>

In *Winter Soldier*, Helicopter pilot Rusty Sachs testified to having personally seen up to fifty Vietnamese prisoners tied up, blindfolded with wire, and thrown from helicopters. When questioned about why this occurred and who the murdered individuals were, Sachs explained that any living Vietnamese were Vietcong suspects, while any dead Vietnamese were Vietcong confirmed.<sup>132</sup> Scott Camil elaborates on this, explaining that while the Vietcong had weapons and civilians did not, any dead Vietnamese person was counted in the former category. With a twisted logic reminiscent of an inverted witch trial, this meant that any civilian was categorized as an insurgent simply by the virtue of being dead.<sup>133</sup>

What such testimonies demonstrate is the factors that enabled Vietnam soldiers to kill civilians. But the aforementioned command-sanctioned denial of Vietnamese humanity and incentives to inflate the body count with civilian life leave a gap in understanding the Winter Soldiers. This focus on policies can be misleading because they worked within the reality that was the everyday Vietnam War, complementing the much more personal challenges of daily survival.

On an individual level, regular threats to life from external sources are powerful motivators to kill. In Vietnam, denying the enemy’s humanity entered the American soldiers into a cycle of violence in which, generally speaking, neither insurgent nor counterinsurgent had any interest in taking prisoners or believed that becoming a prisoner was a safe option. Executions, torture, and brutality created a cycle in which aggression in both sides grew. Essentially, the actions of American soldiers radicalized their enemies and thus themselves, promoting intense and even indiscriminate killing as a method of survival.<sup>134</sup>

This survival instinct is often cited in veteran testimonies and displays the interconnectedness of the survival instinct and the command-reinforced racism. When a soldier angrily asked Private Sam

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<sup>129</sup> “Winter Soldier.”

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Nick Turse, “A My Lai a Month,” 18.

<sup>132</sup> “Winter Soldier.”

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Grossman, 201-203.

Ybarra why he slit the throat of an unarmed prisoner, Ybarra reportedly replied “This gook would have killed you. You better learn to kill them first, or you ain’t never going home alive.”<sup>135</sup> Similarly, after surviving an insurgent attack which killed five of his friends, Scott Camil recalls in *Winter Soldier* that he decided to kill anyone necessary in order to protect his own life. Later he elaborated on the anger that festered in the group when one of them died and how it allowed them to retaliate by hunting Vietnamese civilians.<sup>136</sup> There is nothing remarkable about an individual’s survival instinct or the increased violence that stems from a thirst for revenge. Rather, what *is* remarkable is the adoption of the racist language and attitudes that were reinforced in training.

In his analysis of the language used by American soldiers, Grossman unveils the deep-rooted need they felt to rationalize their actions in war. Killing another human being, Grossman argues, is a difficult procedure that necessitates a psychological justification. In WWII, for many soldiers the reasons to act were obvious; there was a moral justification for killing what could be interpreted as evil invaders who had openly provoked America by invading its borders. It was easy to create a mental image of villains from groups who had attacked Pearle Harbor and declared war against the United States. Liberating Europe from German control could likewise be considered as the noble action to take.<sup>137</sup> As has previously been analyzed, there was little in terms of a comparable moral reasoning for the Vietnam War, and it certainly wasn’t a primary imperative of military training. For the American soldiers in Vietnam, the justification of killing the enemy had to come from what was available. As John Dower explains in his analysis of the use of Japanese stereotypes in WWII, racial fear and negatively stereotyping enemies during war helped create a precedence of racist rhetoric in America. Terms such as gook, “yellow monkey,” and “slopie,” had all been used to describe the Asian enemies.<sup>138</sup> With the driving factor of liberating the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam War differed fundamentally from the total war that was WWII, and yet the language and sentiments of hatred towards the Asian ‘other’ remained close in the historical memory. This is where some American soldiers, such as those involved in the Winter Soldier Investigation, found themselves willing to adopt the language quoted above; the soldiers were desperate to know that taking a life was not only necessary for the military’s purpose, but also the right thing to do under the circumstances.<sup>139</sup> With no semblance of a moral explanation, they grasped at what was offered to them by their commanders as well as their historical memory, and they were empowered to kill the ill-defined gooks.

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<sup>135</sup> Sallah, and Weiss, 64.

<sup>136</sup> “Winter Soldier.”

<sup>137</sup> Grossman, 166-167.

<sup>138</sup> John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 163-164.

<sup>139</sup> Grossman, 198-201.

Nearly all of the veterans showcased in the Winter Soldier Investigation admitted to buying into the racist interpretations of the enemies, and yet few of these veterans seemed to realize how influential this skewed worldview was in their decisions to brutalize the population. These few are almost exclusively minorities with a perspective that differed from the white majority. In the film *Winter Soldier*, one African American veteran is given considerable screen time to present his opinion. There is no record of him being a part of the Winter Soldier Investigation and he is the only speaker in the film whose name does not appear in the credits, and yet he gave the most advanced analysis in the documentary film. He argued that there was a fundamental flaw in the Winter Soldier Investigation; they were so focused on the injustice and the war crimes that the participants were ignoring the root cause. For this unnamed veteran, the origin of atrocity in Vietnam was the rampant racism in American culture.<sup>140</sup>

The debate took place in the lobby of the hotel in which the Winter Soldier Investigation was being conducted, and thus was not a part of the official proceedings.<sup>141</sup> The unnamed veteran not only addressed this informality, but embraced it, encouraging the dominantly white Winter Soldiers to ignore their instinct to be politically correct and unoffending. This was, after all, a forum for these veterans to discuss their experiences in Vietnam, and silence was not conducive to it. Essentially, it was more important to speak candidly about racism than to skirt the issue, which he accused the Winter Soldiers of doing.<sup>142</sup>

The African American veteran passionately compared the hatred and violence in Vietnam to his own experiences as a black man in a racist nation. He describes his first sergeant, a Ku Klux Klan member, and ties it into his own perception of the United States military as a violently racist organization. But the subtext to his argument is not that the military was racist, but rather that the military was made up of a racist population, the Winter Soldiers included. In a quick analysis of minority status in the United States, he describes the subtle racist connotations that Americans grew up with, demonstrating it best with the seemingly innocuous difference between angel food cake and devil's food cake; "the black plague."<sup>143</sup> One Winter Soldier initially agrees with the African American's statement that the underlying issue was racism. This, however, is when it appears the African American is blaming the government for its racist policies. When it becomes clear that the African American is calling the Winter Soldiers racist, the same veteran gets overtly upset about what he considers to be an inappropriate derailing of the subjects at hand. Another veteran tries to keep up

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<sup>140</sup> "Winter Soldier."

<sup>141</sup> Hunt, 134.

<sup>142</sup> "Winter Soldier."

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

with the argument, stating “we didn’t say anything about racism.”<sup>144</sup> But this is the unnamed veteran’s point; the cause of civilian murders and atrocities in Vietnam was the deep-seated racism within American culture. Although the Winter Soldiers were fully able to admit to buying into the mere gook rule rhetoric, the collective veterans partaking in the Winter Soldier Investigation were unwilling to accept that its potency came from the racist tendencies of the culture that shaped them.

At first glance, the unnamed African American veteran’s connection between the racist tendencies within America and the atrocities perpetrated by its soldiers in Vietnam appears to have a glaring flaw that must be addressed. For his theory to be correct, the military policies must have had radically different effects on minority soldiers. In fact, they did, and this was reflected in the Winter Soldier Investigation during two short panel sessions about racism led by minority veterans. Veteran Scott Shimabukuro spoke of his experiences as an Asian man in Vietnam, explaining that he was frequently used as an example of what a gook looked like.<sup>145</sup> Later, Allen Akers spoke of the use and manipulation of racism within the army as an external weapon. In his experience, units with heavy race mixing would be kept from combat for long periods to allow the cultural differences and animosity to build into violent tension. At this point, they would be sent to an area with ambiguous orders where they could release their frustrations in battle. This, Akers explained, was a deliberate tactic to push the soldiers into killing people with which many of the African American soldiers felt a kinship for their racial subjugation.<sup>146</sup> Despite these token panels on racism, the focus was again on the faults of the command structure; very little was said about the racist culture the Winter Soldiers came from.

The unnamed African American veteran in *Winter Soldier* was evidently not alone in his argument. Al Hubbard, a controversial VVAW member, cited Martin Luther King Jr.’s “Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam” speech to argue that America’s violence abroad was linked to its precedent of minority repression within its own borders.<sup>147</sup> That said, there is little reason to believe this realization was prevalent beyond minority veterans, and there was absolutely no evidence of it in *Winter Soldier* save for the one speaker who was not credited. The bulk of the Winter Soldiers were able to speak to the dehumanizing policies of their government, but the participants did not acknowledge any predisposition to racism within themselves.

This willful ignorance is crucial to understanding the motivation of the Winter Soldiers in speaking out. Historian Richard Stacewicz claims the Winter Soldier Investigation was a derivative of

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., " Winter Soldier Investigation: Racism Panel," *Sixties Project*.  
[http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML\\_docs/Resources/Primary/Winter\\_Soldier/WS\\_entry.html](http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Winter_Soldier/WS_entry.html).

<sup>146</sup> Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Inc., " Winter Soldier Investigation: Third World Panel," *Sixties Project*.  
[http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML\\_docs/Resources/Primary/Winter\\_Soldier/WS\\_entry.html](http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Winter_Soldier/WS_entry.html).

<sup>147</sup> Stacewicz, 249;Nicosia, 53-54.

the participants' "strong need to reveal the truth."<sup>148</sup> Such an analysis is by no means incorrect, but it grants the wider suggestion that there was a desire for justice behind the Winter Soldiers' actions. In a website designed to discredit the VVAW and the claims of the Winter Soldiers, author Scott Swett examines the files the United States Army's Criminal Investigation Division (CID) have made available on the subject. It is Swett's claim that the CID's investigation proved that the veteran testimony at the Winter Soldier Investigation was unsubstantiated and part of a larger propaganda effort to harm the image of the American government.<sup>149</sup>

Swett's conclusion is not entirely unfounded, but it does require an ignorant approach to the situation. Some of the CID files suggest embellishment in the testimonies. Veteran Larry Craig claimed in his testimony to have seen the murder of a prisoner of war by American soldiers of the 3/4th cavalry. In his CID file, the investigator claimed that Craig was unable to name any other witnesses or personnel involved and that the man he witnessed being killed may have been an insurgent.<sup>150</sup> Other Winter Soldiers such as Sam Bunge willingly provided the names of the perpetrators, but as these suspects denied the allegations, the original accusations were deemed unfounded.<sup>151</sup> The idea that the sworn testimony of accused murderers could outweigh those of the whistleblowers is not simply ironic, but representative of the CID's approach to war crime allegations. With an inability to search for physical evidence in Vietnam, prosecution relied almost exclusively on testimony. As is documented in *Tiger Force*, CID agents from 1971 onward frequently complained about the growing number of atrocity cases. They believed this to be representative of antiwar protestors and the international headlines surrounding the My Lai Massacre. Although they had no choice but to follow up on all allegations, the investigators often took the answers of their subjects without question and did not press them for inconsistencies. The CID's lack of interest in discovering the answers is apparent in how swiftly they dismissed Winter Soldier claims.<sup>152</sup> It is this lethargic approach that made it possible for Larry Craig's CID file to be dismissed with a note that the "male killed could have been VC [Vietcong]."<sup>153</sup>

Regardless of the CID's faults, there is a clear refusal on the part of the Winter Soldiers to be helpful witnesses. On the one hand, it should be no surprise that the same individuals condemning the American government are uncooperative with its agents, but on the other, the CID represents a mechanism to bring perpetrators to justice. What Scott Swett fails to realize is that the Winter Soldiers

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<sup>148</sup> Stacewicz, 234.

<sup>149</sup> Scott Swett, New American Media Online Services, LLC, "Newly Discovered Army Reports Discredit 'Winter Soldier' Claims." [www.wintersoldier.com](http://www.wintersoldier.com).

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Sallah and Weiss, 268-269.

<sup>153</sup> Swett.

had little interest in having individuals held responsible for their actions in Vietnam, and for good reason. At one point during *Winter Soldier*, a veteran admits to having killed a civilian simply because he was angry.<sup>154</sup> Confessions like this were common during the Winter Soldier Investigation, and so sworn testimonies with the same information would only have served to land themselves in court. It also ran counter to the goal of most VVAW members; the aim of the VVAW was not to have individual soldiers prosecuted.<sup>155</sup> Rather than seek justice, most Winter Soldiers actively fought against it, an action which Scott Swett mistakenly concluded meant they had fabricated their original allegations. This is important to understanding the motivation behind the Winter Soldier Investigation; these men recognized that they were war criminals, but they refused to do so in a setting that would put them in prison. With a resolution of justice off the table, the question of why they participated at all returns to the forefront, the answer to which comes full circle to the need to justify one's own actions.

American soldiers in World War II spent their tours as a unit.<sup>156</sup> When soldiers returned home, they participated in a cleansing ritual with a history in most societies; the communal journey home. The long voyage home gave soldiers the opportunity to speak with equals of their experiences and fears about what they had seen and done at war. This return was generally met with the warm welcome of the home communities. Whether these ceremonies were as elaborate as national parades or just the tipping of hats to returning veterans, they demonstrated the appreciation of society for the soldiers who fought, died, and killed for the greater good. Combined, these rituals allowed the soldiers to decompress and return to lives of peace.<sup>157</sup>

The cathartic acceptance of war and the accompanying willingness to reintegrate into society was challenged for veterans of the Vietnam War. Combatants were typically brought in to pre-existing units as replacements, and the standard twelve-month tour system impeded individuals from forming close friendships and emotional reliance on each other. Bonds within units were certainly formed, but the cycling of members helped to weaken these connections in comparison with other wars.<sup>158</sup> More importantly, this system removed the opportunity for the returning veterans to decompress and communally reflect on their time in war. As has already been discussed, the Winter Soldiers were trained to kill the enemy based on their cultural differences, not a sentiment of America's moral superiority. The Winter Soldiers were thus forced to recognize that their violent actions originated from fear and hatred, and the lack of support from society and their fellow veterans left them emotionally disturbed and seeking acceptance elsewhere.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> "Winter Soldier."

<sup>155</sup> Hunt, 103-104.

<sup>156</sup> Grossman, 271-272.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 274-275.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 270-272.

<sup>159</sup> "Winter Soldier."

The therapeutic nature of discussing war experiences with supportive veterans is well documented in the history of the VVAW.<sup>160</sup> Of course, the amount of Winter Soldiers and even members of the VVAW is but a tiny representation of Vietnam veterans, calling into question how widespread this crisis of identity was. But non-Winter Soldiers returning from Vietnam were widely plagued with hosts of psychiatric problems that would later be defined as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), indicating a wide need for post-war therapy.<sup>161</sup>

At first glance, PTSD seems to apply to combat veterans, not simply to perpetrators of atrocities. This, however, has been disputed. A 1992 study examined forty Vietnam veterans suffering from PTSD to determine what connection, if any, could be made to atrocities. The study determined that exposure to combat was not the cause of PTSD, but rather that witnessing and committing atrocities was the dominant factor. The researchers were even able to find a link between the severities of atrocities to that of the perpetrators' PTSD.<sup>162</sup> In Dave Grossman's analysis on fear in war, he found that it is low ranking in the causes of psychiatric casualties on the battlefield. If fear was a primary cause, he argues, civilians in danger of bombing attacks would be highly susceptible to PTSD, which is not the case. Furthermore, prisoners of war typically demonstrate low psychological trauma while their guards show the opposite. Grossman claims that it is not fear of death that causes this trauma, but rather it is the stress of killing the enemy while acknowledging their humanity. In the case of Vietnam and the Winter Soldiers, this acceptance of the Vietnamese people's humanity did not occur until the veterans were forced by an unsupportive society to reflect on their actions.<sup>163</sup>

The comparatively low numbers of Winter Soldiers do not suggest that they were the only perpetrators of war crimes and atrocities in Vietnam; such a claim would directly contradict the recent research into the subject. Rather, the Winter Soldiers were a minority of individuals who both felt responsible for unjust actions and attempted to reinterpret their violent behaviour as something external that could be fought against. While the majority of veterans did not subscribe to the feelings of guilt from their actions in Vietnam, others handled their own past violence in radically different ways, such as alcoholism and spirituality.

Sam Ybarra was a member of Tiger Force, a specialized task force of the United States army that was created to "outguerrilla the guerrillas" in the jungles of Vietnam.<sup>164</sup> During his time there he became known for his extreme violence toward the Vietnamese population, regardless of their status as insurgents or civilians. On one occasion, after receiving and returning fire on a hut, the Tigers found

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<sup>160</sup> Nicosia, 168-169.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 158-159.

<sup>162</sup> Rachel Yehuda and Steven Southwick. "Exposure to Atrocities and Severity of Chronic Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Vietnam Combat." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 149, no. 3 (March 1992): 334-335.

<sup>163</sup> Grossman, 54-56, 65, 291-292.

<sup>164</sup> Sallah and Weiss, 13.

among the corpses an infant child. Sam Ybarra proceeded to cut off the infant's head.<sup>165</sup> This barbaric incident was far from isolated; Ybarra was among several Tigers who strung the ears of their victims into crude necklaces for daily wear, and the unit has since been exposed for intentionally inflating their body count through the murder of civilians.<sup>166</sup>

Sam Ybarra spent the remainder of his life struggling with his actions. A frequent victim of his racist hometown, the half-native had spent two tours killing the Vietnamese and lost his only friend, Kenneth Green, to insurgent fire.<sup>167</sup> Although his anger at the death of his friend never allowed him to forgive the Vietnamese people, he nonetheless displayed a bipolar form of regret for the atrocities and murders he committed. According to his mother, he would vary between an enraged insistence that he should have killed more gooks and a remorseful detailing of the civilians he killed. Ybarra had no hope or desire to confront his past; he did not seek professional help or even friendship within the community, instead relying on his mother and alcohol to steady himself. He died in 1982 of complications from cirrhosis of the liver.<sup>168</sup>

The self-destructive Vietnam War veteran is a powerful representation of the personal need to move beyond one's own crimes and form a perception of having done the right thing. Another Vietnam veteran, Calixto Cabrera, dealt with his atrocities through spirituality. During a guided meditation, Cabrera came to the conclusion that he had lived several lifetimes, and in his many reincarnations he had perpetuated the cycle of killing and dying at war. In what he describes as his "state of knowingness," Cabrera met a being who illuminated the cause of his violent behaviour in Vietnam. In an interview, Cabrera said: "I had had a soul agreement with these beings that I had murdered that for my spiritual evolution in this lifetime I needed to kill these people. For their spiritual evolution... they needed to be killed by me."<sup>169</sup> At points during this same interview Cabrera acknowledges that he was never a believer of religion prior to these experiences, but has since grown to respect spirituality.<sup>170</sup> In what amounts to a cosmic justification, Cabrera found a way to disconnect his actions from himself entirely, thus liberating himself of any personal responsibility for his crimes. In essence, Cabrera's beliefs are a form of turning to spirituality for forgiveness and peace of mind. Although a wider pattern of veteran conversions cannot be assumed from Cabrera's spirituality, this same hope for liberation lies at the heart of the Winter Soldier Investigation and the Winter Soldiers themselves.

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 86, 212-213.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 197-198, 200-202.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 271-272, 314.

<sup>169</sup> Calixto Cabrera, interview by Richard B. Veronne, "The Vietnam Archive Oral History Project: Interview with Calixto Cabrera," *Calixto Cabrera Collection*, 2005-2006, 362.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 118-119.

In *Winter Soldier*, Scott Camil discusses his original outlook of the Vietnam War, one which does not reflect the typical Winter Soldier. Describing his upbringing, it becomes clear that Camil considered fighting in Vietnam to be part of his patriotic duty. In his mind, America was right. With this outlook, denying free elections to the Vietnamese was justified as they would squander the opportunity and elect a communist government, which was un-American and therefore wrong.<sup>171</sup> When Camil heard other veterans speak on atrocities, he came to the realization that his actions were actually the result of the immoral military policies. His sense of patriotism never left him, but his self-image of a patriot meant he had to speak out. The majority of veterans did not face this crisis; many never became hateful of the Vietnamese and actually grew to love the culture.<sup>172</sup> Others were able to cling to the notion that their actions were done for the greater good of survival and winning the war, such as Colonel David Taylor's justification of using Vietnamese civilians to walk through enemy minefields in order to save lives.<sup>173</sup> But for men like Sam Ybarra, Calixto Cabrera, and Scott Camil, the lack of societal support forced them to face their actions and attempt to justify them. While Ybarra and Cabrera are among those who turned to alcoholism and religion, Camil and the Winter Soldiers turned to political activism.

During the Winter Soldier Investigation, Steve Pitkin explained that one of his greatest challenges was coming to terms with the man he was in Vietnam: "a monster."<sup>174</sup> Pitkin's testimony was echoed by the other Winter Soldiers; they were monsters back in Vietnam, but they were no longer. It is this mindset that fuelled the Winter Soldier Investigation. Society did not tell the Winter Soldiers that what they did was right, and their own sense of morality made it impossible to fool themselves without widespread support. Instead, they turned to the next logical step; they would continue the war at home, but they would fight this one with nobility and with the goal of protecting future generations. It is in this light that the unnamed African American veteran in *Winter Soldier* was met with the frustration of other veterans. His argument was that the training programs only worked on the Winter Soldiers because they already felt a sense of racial superiority. Whether or not these soldiers actually were racist, they openly admitted to adopting the racist rhetoric into their vocabulary and using the words for empowerment. Either way, the Winter Soldiers could not accept this; rallying against corruption was pointless if the true source of it came from within themselves. Such an idea was harmful to the cleansing of their minds and souls, and so they ignored it in favour of the external problems embodied by the United States government. They were not ready to attack the entire problem

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<sup>171</sup> "Winter Soldier."

<sup>172</sup> Grossman, 163.

<sup>173</sup> Colonel Dave Taylor. Interviewed by John Picard and Bryce Simpson. *Difficult Wars: a Conversation with Post-Conflict Veterans*, November 3, 2011.

<sup>174</sup> "Winter Soldier."

head on, but they were willing to attack the parts that would bring them personal salvation. The Winter Soldiers were noble resisters to an unjust government, but not so noble as to face their own responsibilities in the atrocities they perpetrated. In this way, the Winter Soldier Investigation was fundamentally motivated by the selfish need for catharsis; it was self-serving activism.

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## ***“Real Men Don’t Rape”: The sexual politics of anti-rape campaigns***

Jessica Prominski

One of the signs in a photograph from a Slutwalk event in 2011, reads, “Real men don’t rape”. These words may represent a simple message, “don’t rape”. However, as an activist and scholar, I read this phrase as being more complex. I am fascinated that a movement intended to reclaim the derogatory use of the word “slut”, would employ the term, “real men”, without considering how this essentializes the putatively inherent characteristics of masculinity and maleness. Despite activists promoting Slutwalk as a woman-centered anti-rape campaign, most of the signs at Slutwalk seem to be “in conversation” with rapists. I appreciate that Slutwalk represents a movement that finally speaks to rapists, blaming them, rather than survivors, for the existence of sexual violence. Perhaps this conversation, however, represents the idea that women-led campaigns will not be successful without the help of men’s voices. For these reasons, “Real men don’t rape” will frame the analysis presented in this paper.

While Slutwalk is recent, anti-rape campaigns have attempted to engage with men for decades. Through a review of scholarly literature on anti-rape movements, I found a lack of discussion connecting anti-rape campaigns to the ways men communicate with each other about who they are and who they are not. This lack of discussion demonstrates the need to unpack what these issues mean in terms of anti-rape activism and women’s movements. Considering that North American laws, policies, social and cultural norms are constructed by and maintained through a culture dominated by men, how are anti-rape campaigns structured by power relations that reinstate hegemonic masculinity? I will unpack this question using three campaigns; “Slutwalk”, “Men of Strength” and “Don’t be THAT guy”. I consider how these campaigns can create space for men and men who rape to reproduce ideas about how sex and violence inform what it means to be a man. I also consider what woman-centered campaigns would look like and while I do not have a definite answer for alternative campaigns, I will explore some possibilities.

In *Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women’s Movement in Canada*, Adamson, Briskin and McPhail argue, “the women’s movement has been and is still one of the most significant and successful social movements in Canada” (1988, p. 3). Considering the freedoms and privileges I enjoy as a young woman-identified university student in Canada, it would be wrong to suggest that the women’s movement was unsuccessful. I understand that I have benefitted from some successes in various women’s movements. I also understand that not everyone identifies with the same privilege I do, and some have not experienced the same benefits. Therefore, understanding that sexual

violence is a daily experience for women and girls in Canada in 2011, I question how effective women's movements have been in addressing the realities of sexual violence.

If the women's movement were successful in addressing sexual violence, perhaps national and international campaigns to end violence against women would not be in the spotlight or increasing in community participation. Slutwalk, an international movement beginning in Toronto in April 2011, directly responds to the victim-blaming many women have experienced. Survivors and allies, frontline workers, and families marched in the streets all over the world in spring 2011 (and more recently as well) raising awareness of sexual violence and protesting victim-blaming. "Don't be THAT guy", launched in May 2011, is a poster-based campaign described as "targeting potential offenders – speaking directly to them in their language" with the posters<sup>175</sup> being placed in men's washrooms and participating bars around Ottawa. Men Can Stop Rape is a national not-for-profit organization based in Washington, DC whose mission is to "mobilize men to use their strength for creating cultures free from violence, especially men's violence against women". For this paper, I have analyzed their "My Strength is not for hurting"<sup>176</sup> public awareness campaign. Social media such as Facebook and Twitter have been particularly useful for circulating messages and information foundational to these campaigns.

I will use "rape", "sexual assault" and "sexual violence" interchangeably throughout the paper. These phrases refer to non-consensual touching between two or more people, regardless of gender, sex, sexuality, on top of or beneath clothing, which may include vaginal or anal penetration using a penis, sex toy or any other object, oral copulation, hand stimulation of breasts or genitals, on top of or beneath clothing, massages and kissing<sup>177</sup>. "Sexual violence" also includes sexual harassment, non-consensual gestures, language or coercion.

I consider consent to involve a negative, "no means no" approach where the person assaulted makes it apparent, verbally or through conduct, that they are not consenting to sexual touching or are consenting to specific sexual acts and not others. I also consider consent to involve a positive, "yes means yes" approach, where both participants are actively and enthusiastically using language or conduct to convey their interest in engaging in specific acts<sup>178</sup>. This discussion is crucial given that anti-rape work often relies on and disrupts definitions of consent. In "Transnationalism, Sexuality and the State: Modernity's Traditions at the Height of Empire", Jacqui Alexander discusses negotiating and suspending consent, which are applicable to all experiences of sexual assault. Importantly, she argues

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<sup>175</sup> Posters for the "Don't Be THAT guy" campaign can be found in the Appendix at the end of the paper.

<sup>176</sup> Posters for the My Strength is not for Hurting campaign can be found in the Appendix at the end of the paper. Others can be downloaded at: <http://www.mystrength.org/8.0.html>.

<sup>177</sup> The definition of sexual violence provided is a combination of my own work, and resources from the Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre and the Ottawa Coalition to End Violence Against Women.

<sup>178</sup> The definition of consent provided is my own definition from working in this area.

that hierarchies operate within different conceptions of consent – that certain types of consent are considered more legitimate than others (Alexander 2005, p. 211). Alexander’s argument is of particular relevance to this paper because it disrupts who is perceived as a legitimate victim or survivor and who is not. For example, as will be discussed further, some women, such as feminists and anti-rape scholars, have been constructed as radical and man-hating, and therefore, any violence that they experience is perceived to be deserving, legitimate or worthy of dismissal.

Constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in the existence of sexual violence and in the way it is encouraged and normalized. The performance, embodiment and policing of hegemonic masculinity within male-dominated institutions such as the government, law enforcement, athletic teams, and fraternities plays a crucial role in the alarming rates of sexual violence perpetrated against women in Canada and elsewhere. Hegemonic<sup>179</sup> masculinity means that privilege and supremacy are associated with those men who embody hyper-masculinity through their heterosexuality, strength, violence, athleticism, homophobia, and homosocial relationships (Sanday 1996, p. 632, Martin and Hummer 1989, p. 460). Through able-bodied, white, middle-class, heterosexual, anatomically male, hyper-masculine and athletic-looking identities, hegemonic masculinity is distinguished from other subordinated masculinities. To achieve their dominance over women and other subordinated masculinities, men embodying hegemonic masculinity must conform to expectations and practices of ideal masculinity at all times.

Homosociality is a foundational concept in terms of analyzing male-dominated spaces and groups, the nation and sexual assault, and refers to relationships between people of the same sex. In *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argues that homosocial relationships are usually based on male friendship, mentorship, entitlement and rivalry (1985, p. 1). The way she frames homosociality in terms of men emerges from her theory that the “opposition between the ‘homosocial’ and ‘homosexual’ seems to be much less thorough and dichotomous for women, in our society than men” (Sedgwick 1985, p. 2). Homosociality as a concept and male-bonding as a practice will be one of the foundational concepts of this paper.

In “The Matter of Whiteness”, Richard Dyer offers a complex definition of “whiteness” and discusses the privilege and exalted<sup>180</sup> position that come with being white. Dyer argues that there is an absence of acknowledgment that white people embody a racial identity and as long as white people remain “just people” and are not racially named, white will remain a human norm (1997, p. 1). Dyer

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<sup>179</sup> Raewyn Connell discusses hegemonic masculinity when she argues, “true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men’s bodies – to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body (2005, p. 45).

<sup>180</sup> Exaltation refers to the supremacy of whiteness through the recognition, naming, and silencing of racial identities. Regulation of race is encouraged to maintain racial and gender hierarchies that exalt “civilized” white men and women and subordinate men and women represented as racially other.

explains that there is an “assumption that white people are just white, which is not far off saying that whites are people, whereas other colours are something else” (1997, p. 2) and refers to an argument by bell hooks that when white liberals are seen by non-whites as white or when attention is drawn to their whiteness, they become angry (Dyer 1997, p. 2). For these reasons, I will name racial identities and acknowledge white privilege and invisibility throughout the paper to demonstrate how white represents an ideal form of masculinity and femininity.

Phallocentrism refers to the privileging of the erect penis and male orgasm, but more broadly, masculinity, men’s perspectives and male power, in social relations<sup>181</sup>. Phallocentrism, as Leo Bersani argues is, “not primarily the denial of power to women (although it has obviously also led to that, everywhere and at all times), but above all the denial of the value of powerlessness in both men and women” (1987, p. 217). Phallocentrism, for Bersani, refers to mastery and subordination in social and sexual relationships (1987, p. 216). The ecstasy of orgasm and the powerlessness and loss of control associated with it; however, are self-shattering (1987, p. 217). Bersani argues that sexual climax shatters the male ego and social relationships associated with masculinity and femininity, and makes sex and pleasure about bodies, a space where power relations are not apparent and a space where men are not necessarily inherently dominant over women. For Bersani, it is phallocentrism and social relations that construct men as dominant over women, rather than bodies themselves.

Bersani similarly argues that “if we assume that the oppression of women distinguishes a fearful male response to the seductiveness of an image of sexual powerlessness, then the most brutal machismo is really part of a domesticating, even sanitizing project” (1987, p. 221). Here, Bersani acknowledges that sexual powerlessness can be a desire or fantasy but because it is constructed as the opposite to ideals of men’s uncontrollable sexual desire and embodiment of violent masculinity, male violence and oppression of women represent a way for men to civilize, control and purify the temptations to embody passive sexuality. Raewyn Connell’s discussion of Hugh in her work, *Masculinities*, is a significant example of phallocentrism in Western culture. The way Hugh understood his body and identity initially was through sexual conquest and orgasm which are typically constructed as successes and ideals of masculinity (2005, p. 57).

The Slutwalk, “Don’t be THAT guy” and My Strength is not for Hurting campaigns are helpful in ending rape culture. First, the campaigns achieve some of their objectives. Whether the posters will change the thought processes of young men is difficult to confirm. However, being placed in men’s washrooms and bars and around college campuses means that the posters will reach the campaign’s ideal audience: young men. Slutwalk, though initiated by women, addresses victim-blaming and places

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<sup>181</sup> This understanding of phallocentrism has involved my own knowledge throughout courses and seminars on masculinity, as well as a broader discussion of phallocentrism by Leo Bersani and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in much of their work.

blame back on perpetrators of sexual violence. It has encouraged male allies and survivors of sexual violence to participate in the movement as well. The posters contain seductive language such as the phrase “just because she’s drunk doesn’t mean she wants to f\*\*k” and images which might result in drawing in more spectators than previous anti-rape campaigns and posters. Second, the campaigns acknowledge that the overwhelming majority of rapes and sexual assaults towards women are committed by an average, everyday man usually known to the person assaulted (Morris 2002). This helps combat the traditional and contemporary stereotypes of rapists as “the stranger in the bushes” or “the creepy old man at the bus stop”. While these types of rapists do exist, previous campaigns have been limited in their lack of acknowledgment of rapists as average men; therefore, it is important that these campaigns represent masculinity and male violence this way.

While campaigns are helpful in ending rape culture, they don’t end violence against women. Between the Take Back the Night events beginning in 1975 and Slutwalk today, victim-blaming has not changed. So how do we do more? We do more by questioning the ways these campaigns might uphold, maintain, or reproduce masculinist discourses that underpin our society and underpin rape culture. I want to think about the male-centeredness that we might be overlooking in anti-rape work. It is also important to look at what Catharine MacKinnon, Eve Sedgwick and Peggy Reeves Sanday have to say about homosociality and the way men speak to each other about violence against women.

In *Are Women Human?: And Other International Dialogues*, Catharine MacKinnon highlights how, in Bosnia, “public rape served as a ritual degradation of Muslim women” (2006, p. 211) and in Germany, Jewish women were live pornography for Nazis with holes put in their brothel rooms for German guards to watch sex and violence as it happened (2006, p. 219). She argues that these acts allow women’s bodies to be read as men’s expression, “the means through which one group of men says what it wants to say to another” (2006, p. 223). Men, as MacKinnon argues, mark their territory through degradation of women. This is not limited to sexual violence in armed conflict or genocide. In *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, Eve Sedgwick argues that homosociality requires white, heterosexual men to assert their masculinity and heterosexuality through exchanging women as a commodity (1985, p. 21). Sedgwick explores Rene Girard’s findings that in most erotic triangles, two males are rivals for a female (1985, p. 21). Sedgwick argues that the bond between the male rivals is stronger than the bond between either of the males and the female (1985, p. 21). This clearly demonstrates how men interact with each other to reassert their masculinity and heterosexuality.

Peggy Reeves Sanday contends, in *Fraternity Gang Rape*, that “the homoerotic desire is simultaneously indulged, degraded and extruded from the group. The fact that the woman involved is often unconscious highlights her status as a surrogate victim in a drama where the main agents are

males interacting with one another” (2007, p. 42). In this context, when a group of men are watching each other have sex with a woman who is unconscious, Sanday questions why the woman is even necessary (2007, p. 43). In this context, women are merely symbols of heterosexual desire and are only necessary as a prop to allow men to perform for one another (2007, p. 43). Through watching each other perform, and documenting it later, fraternity men engage in several male-bonding rituals simultaneously: hyper-masculinity through overt heterosexuality and homophobia, gang rape, rape as spectacle, and afterward, publishing conquests for guests to observe. These behaviours indicate their desire to know about each other’s sexual performances, if they were not watching it themselves (2007, p. 7). In “Rape-Prone Versus Rape-Free Campus Cultures”, Sanday highlights that “the homoeroticism of [fraternity] bonding leads them to display their masculinity through heterosexist displays of performance. The phallus becomes the dominant symbol of discourse” (1996, p. 632).

“Don’t be THAT guy” and “My Strength is not for Hurting” are both campaigns where young men created the images and language used in the campaigns to speak to each other. Ironically, men engage in both sexual violence and anti-rape work as a way of communicating with each other, and engaging in male-bonding practices and rituals. The placement of the “Don’t be THAT guy” and “My Strength is Not for Hurting” campaign posters in men’s washrooms and campuses also provides the opportunity for men to bond through vandalism and defacement of the posters. The fact that men who might not even know each other, enter washrooms and residences, draw phallic symbols and use derogatory language to deface anti-rape posters, and support and encourage each other’s vandalism symbolizes Sanday’s “pulling train”, described as “one man follows after another” (2007, p. 23).

Returning to the “Real Men Don’t Rape” sign, women activists and protesters importantly address the fact that the majority of perpetrators of sexual violence are men known to us: our brothers, fathers, friends, spouses and dates. I suppose “Real men don’t rape” could be read as a sarcastic counter-argument to the essentializing of ideal femininity, asking, if “real” men do exist, and “true” masculinity can be embodied, why does violence have to be included as a necessary characteristic for authentic masculinity? As previously mentioned; however, it is ironic that a movement created to reclaim the word “slut” and disrupt stereotypes and social relationships of masculinity and femininity, protesters are not hesitant to essentialize “real” men, as if there is such a thing. While essentializing gender is problematic, it is important to question why anti-rape campaigns struggle to use solely a woman-centered framework.

Slutwalk is a woman-centered campaign, but is similar to the “Don’t be THAT guy” and “My Strength is not for Hurting” campaigns in the way it appears to encourage a dialogue with men who rape. Andrea Dworkin argues, “a woman’s capacity to feel sexual pleasure is developed within the narrow confines of male sexual dominance, internally there is no separate being...” (1987, p. 67). I

would argue the same about social relations and language overall – women’s experiences and pleasures can only exist within the narrow confines of male dominance. This argument can be read as responding to this dialogue. If women’s sexuality, not to mention the entire society we live in, is measured by and restricted by the narrow confines of male power, how can women find any solutions that do not involve men? It would be virtually impossible.

While Slutwalk is a public demonstration, its messages have traveled across social media with incredible speed. These pages continue to be met with resistance from men. Most of the comments are not counter-arguments to Slutwalk, but are personal and violent attacks on women, often using derogatory language and wishing sexual violence on activists. Comments include : “but let’s be honest. If a woman dresses in a small skirt etc then rapists will more likely target her than a women dressed in a burka” (Christopher B) “sluts can’t be raped, they always want to fuck” (Derek P), “I hope a guy walks in on you in the shower at the gym...” (Daniel R), and “makes me shake my head knowing we gave women the right to vote” (Stefano C). It is clear through these examples that some men are threatened by women raising their voices about violence. In this case, men have violently pushed their way into the conversation to dominate women in sexual violence discourse, similar to the ways men dominate women in and through sexual violence.

The Crime Prevention Ottawa backgrounder describes the “Don’t be THAT guy” campaign as “targeting potential offenders – speaking directly to them in their language”, which plays an important role in male-bonding and homosociality as well. I am surprised that although the campaigns were created by men and are intended to speak to other men, the language they use is consciously chosen and almost polite. For example, one of the posters reads, “just because she’s drunk doesn’t mean she wants to f\*\*k”<sup>182</sup>. Being a university student and young adult, I have never heard anyone replace “fuck” with “f\*\*k” in their conversational language. If the campaign is intended to speak directly to “potential offenders”<sup>183</sup>, why not say “fuck”? This could be read as encouraging male-bonding as well.

While the majority of conversations and responses I have observed involving women on the Slutwalk Facebook page have appeared to be firm and informative, yet respectful, anti-rape scholars and activists as well as women protesters at Slutwalk have been constructed as radical and man-hating. If women are perceived in this way, it becomes easier for men to bond through their oppression of anti-rape scholars and activists and attempts to silence their voices. Through campaigns created by men like “Don’t be THAT guy”, and their use of polite language that barely skims the surface of the reality of sexual violence, men bond with each other through the silence of women’s voices. As Sanday argues,

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<sup>182</sup> See poster in Appendix.

<sup>183</sup> Men are described as “potential offenders” in the Crime Prevention Ottawa backgrounder, so I have used it in this paper. However, I have placed “Potential offenders” in quotation marks as it makes me uncomfortable and seems to imply violence and that every man is a rapist.

through male bonding such as jokes about women, feminists and homosexuality, fraternity men engage in processes that prove their manhood and heterosexuality (2007, p. 140). Therefore, this is another space where phallocentrism and male power play a role in sexual violence campaigns.

Similarly, Syrett argues, men in fraternities depend, to varying degrees, upon their brothers for affirmation and for indications about how they should behave and what their values should be...the fraternity as a primary group, then, produces masculinity not just through insisting upon certain standards but also through the enthusiasm of its members to live up to those standards (Syrett 2009, p. 9).

While this argument is based on masculinity in fraternities, Syrett also notes in the introduction that his discussion of masculinity in fraternities is representative of the nation in general, of law enforcement, and athletic teams, as well (2009, p. 6). If Syrett's argument is representative of the social relationships between men in Canada and the United States, it is safe to say that these dynamics, of young men depending on their friends for indications of how they should behave, are represented in the greater culture in Canada and the United States. I would like to believe that these social relationships have the ability to encourage men not to commit sexual violence, as the campaigns suggest. However, considering the widespread normalization of sexual violence by college and university-aged men, this level of male-bonding and role-modeling can have detrimental effects for women.

Andrea Dworkin, Diana Scully and Sherene Razack also offer important theoretical frameworks for this discussion. In *Intercourse*, Andrea Dworkin argues, "any woman who acts on a man's sensuality by provoking it – which she does just by being a sexual object in looks and behavior – makes him intoxicated, deranged, stupefied; he wants to call a policeman and have her put away" (1987, p. 16). This exemplifies the mentality that men condemning Slutwalk have made apparent. If men were already aware of sexual violence and did not benefit from it in any way, why have there been so many personal threats, online attacks and written responses made verifying men's violence and power?

Diana Scully explains, "feminist theorists have pointed out that because it preserves male dominance, sexual violence benefits all men, not just those who rape" (1994, p. 49). Scully highlights a critical point in this argument: all men, even those who choose not to rape, and regardless of geographic location, benefit from the degradation and subordination of women as it reifies their supreme status. Men often have higher wages, more job opportunities, perhaps less household responsibility, justification and expectations of violence – these advantages all rely on the continued subordination and degradation of women. It seems that any person addressing sexual violence, victim-blaming and the reality of hegemonic masculinity that sexual violence is based on, poses a threat to the benefits that men receive through the existence of sexual violence and challenges the legitimacy of

men's power and dominance. As a result, men who feel threatened will do and say whatever is necessary to disrupt addressing male violence realistically.

Sherene Razack also acknowledges the dangers of reinforcing ideal masculinity and femininity and the resulting silencing of women's voices and experiences in "Gendered racial violence and Spatialized Justice: the Murder of Pamela George". Razack explains that both of the young men accused and convicted of sexually assaulting and murdering an Aboriginal sex worker, Pamela George, were white male athletes, as were the dozen friends testifying in court attesting to their good character (2002, p. 300). Razack notes that, "in this remarkably homogenous shared world of young, white, athletic, middle class men (some of whom even had the same first Christian names), drinking and socializing occurred in isolated spaces mainly outside of their respectable homes" (2002, p. 300). She also argues that both men had gained a shared sense of identity from their association with other men which was based on a shared whiteness (Razack 2002, p. 201). Throughout the trial, George remained the "hooker" while the two young men "remained boys who 'did pretty darn stupid things'" (Razack 2002, p. 302). As is the case with many men associated with privileged identities, there is a sense of diminished responsibility that exists prior to even committing sexual violence. Because dominant sexuality and violence in masculinity are constructed as uncontrollable, inherent and natural, and women are constructed as passive and subordinate, men know if they commit sexual violence, there will likely not be consequences.

"Don't be THAT guy" depicts stereotypes and ideals about masculinity and femininity. The images in the "Don't be THAT guy" posters present rapists as white, hyper-masculine, able-bodied and heterosexual men and present survivors of sexual assault as white, feminine, middle-class, heterosexual and able-bodied women, while this is not a reality for all survivors. The "My Strength is Not for Hurting" provides similar messages. For example, the couples featured in each poster are of the same, or similar racial identities. The language of the posters also relies on the notion that men have a biological imperative to be sexual and to rape. This is evident when one poster says, "so when I wanted to, and she didn't, we didn't", and another says, "when she wanted me to stop, I stopped". In these posters, there is no acknowledgement of passive male sexuality, or dominant female sexuality. The female figures also show more emotion, like smiling or seduction, in their facial expressions while the male characters present serious, almost emotionless faces. This also relies on the notion that women are emotional and men are stoic.

Although the three campaigns analyzed in this paper can be helpful in ending rape culture, it is important to question who benefits from the messages the campaign sends. By normalizing a type of rapist and a type of survivor, the "Don't be THAT guy" campaign reinforces ideal masculinity and femininity, which problematically creates a binary of circumstances and identities. In this binary,

depending who is involved, rape is condemned or legitimized. Similarly, the “My Strength is not for Hurting” campaign reinforces ideal masculinity and femininity and associates stoicism and dominant sexuality with men and emotion and passive sexuality with women. The campaign, while it does acknowledge men as perpetrators and intends to show positive role modeling for younger men, reinforces the type of stereotypes that permit rape and sexual violence. These two campaigns, as well as Slutwalk, also use phallocentrism and male power in the way they encourage male-bonding through defacement of posters, conversations and responses to rapists, and silencing of women’s voices.

While the campaigns are helpful, I want to think about the question of who benefits from the messages that the campaigns send? Are we reinforcing ideal masculinity and femininity through anti-rape work? Are we reinforcing stereotypes that permit sexual violence? The campaigns are produced to combat sexual violence and yet at the same time are underpinned by male power relationships which ultimately open a space for male bonding and sexual violence to exist in the first place.

Where do we go to from here? I am currently working on developing a campaign to raise awareness for alcohol-facilitated sexual violence and the group I am working with has decided to go with a bystander intervention approach. Campaigns are often problematic because if they solely target women, they can be read as victim-blaming and if they only target men, they can be read as calling all men rapists, which is untrue. A campaign that ignores men altogether fails to address men and constructions of gender as the reason why sexual violence remains a widespread experience. Campaigns like the ones addressed in this paper, however, rely too much on notions of ideal masculinity and femininity and perpetuate and reinforce male-bonding and homosociality, which Sanday argues is problematic. On the other hand, campaigns that target both female and male bystanders or friends can be extremely effective because they do not rely on perpetuating gender stereotypes and binaries of sexuality, while also avoiding calling all men rapists and all women survivors and asking friends and witnesses to sexual violence situations to play an active role using this notion of “friendship”. I don’t know if a woman-centered campaign is possible in the society we live in, but I contend that bystander or friend approaches could potentially have a larger impact in ending sexual violence and violence against women.

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## Appendix

### A) “Don’t Be That Guy” posters



### B) My Strength is not for Hurting posters



***Lesbians as Spectacle: The Consumption of the  
Homosexual Female Body in The L Word***

Amy Pyne

Through a mainstream media lens, the contemporary homosexual female body is rooted in feminized social ideals of normalcy, widening the acceptability beyond the homosexual audience to that of the heterosexual consumer. As a result, television series aimed at a predominately homosexual audience, despite their best intentions, will glamourize and ultimately, heteronormalize the lesbian lifestyle to appeal to a mass audience. The lesbian image is an exemplification of commodity fetishism and spectacle; it is, essentially, the objectified relations of social force. While homosexuals are consumers, they are also consumed; Guy Debord's logic of the commodity is applicable to the discourse of consumption surrounding the feminized female body. The evolution of the lesbian body and corresponding character throughout the six seasons of Showtime's critically acclaimed series *The L Word*, illustrates the commodification and exhibition of the social female in heteronormative mainstream media. A hierarchy of spectacted lesbian identities emerges, as portrayed through representations of homosexual and heterosexual consumption, capitulating societal constructions of sexuality, gender, race, and class.

Guy Debord's theories on the image, mass media, and commodity fetishism are pertinent to the lesbian image as spectacle. His critique of consumer culture and practices was established prior to the popularization of the term globalization, arguably the politically correct title for our current time period, yet his theories remain relevant to the globalization of media. The domestic and international levels of media unify, or globalize, varying societies in directly and indirectly pervasive manners. Mainstream media is a paradigm of the globalization of heteronormativity; homosexuals are shaped, influenced, and expanded to operate in heterosexual constructs – they are “globally cannibalized” (Burns and Davies 182). Lesbians are spectacle; in principal, as Debord states, “the spectacle is capital to such a degree...that it becomes an image” (Debord, 6). Lesbians, through commodification, are reduced to a representation; they are “objectified” for the heterosexual audience (Debord, 1). This objectification is based on a hierarchy of lesbian identities.

The consumption of lesbians in mainstream media is a product of cosmopolitan consumer citizenship. Kellie Burns and Cristyn Davies define the act of being cosmopolitan as “being open and able to interact with a variety of different ‘world cultures’” (177). Their article moves away from a critique of what texts are or are not, and rather focuses on what textual representations do: “what they produce, consume, normalize, or curtail” (Burns and Davies 175). Metaphors of consumption are dispersed onto the lesbian body, supporting accounts of how the media normalizes lesbian images in a heteronormative society.

Tying into the concept of the spectacle, Burns and Davies argue that “individuals are encouraged to live ‘as if making a project of themselves’” (Burns and Davies 175). The characters of Bette and Helena mediate the narrative of urban cosmopolitan living, while Shane expands the boundaries of consumption. Bette lives an upper-middle-class lifestyle with her partner Tina. This is illustrated through the luxurious landscape of their home and her career as a well-known art curator and Dean of the California University School of Arts. Helena is an heiress who loses the family fortune as a lesson from her mother. She learns the value of money through spectacled relationships with wealthy women and through time spent in prison eventually re-gaining the family fortune: “her lifestyle is marked by many of the privileges associated with cosmopolitan consumer practices” (Burns and Davies 180). Shane pushes the consumption boundaries as the “ultimate sexual consumer” (Burns and Davies 175), whose financial situations and overall character varies based on her sexual relations. The main characters on the show illustrate lessons of moral character, but ultimately fall victim to ensuring their livelihood through the commodity market -- a parallel to the homosexual representation falling victim to heteronormativity.

Shows like *The L Word* have to “walk the fine line between creating a quasi-realistic queer-themed television series for gay and lesbian consumption, while simultaneously tapping a heterosexual consumer market” (Degroult and Farr 424). As a result, the construction and portrayal of the lesbian body must appeal to societal ideals of the female body. This results in a limited construction and representation of lesbians: “a body that is not only ‘femme,’ but is often white” (Degroult and Farr 424). The lesbian body is consumable in direct relation to the feminine ideals of the presumed and predominately heterosexual audience. The central characters of *The L Word* reflect social norms of femininity, specifically at the beginning of the series. Acceptability of feminine characteristics expands to include socially-moderated conventions of race and class, in addition to gender and sexuality, as the series matured.

Season one of *The L Word* illustrates the initial production of lesbians as a series-focus in mainstream television. In its modernity, knowing the consuming audience was marginal, the series originated in social norms of femininity, despite being a primarily homosexual-oriented series. The main protagonists fit into socially acceptable roles of femininity on the whole, with diversification present in the forms of lesbian embodiment, a notion predominately noticeable to the homosexual audience. This supports the concept of the “consumable lesbian...a manner that allows the mainstream heterosexual audience to regard them firstly as women, and secondly as lesbian” (Degroult and Farr 426). While the women are seemingly heteronormative in nature – white, middleclass – they fall into common lesbian stereotypes: Dana as the athlete, Shane as the androgynous, Alice as the bisexual, and Jenny as the confused “straight” girl. Dana is a professional tennis star: “her involvement in sports may

appear incidental to a heterosexual audience, but to a lesbian audience this references to the centrality of sports within lesbian culture” (Degroult and Farr 427). Shane embodies a more androgynous lifestyle through the spectacle of her clothing and hair; she is “the most ‘queer’ female character” (Degroult and Farr 429). Alice’s appearance is in frequent transformation, making reference to “the idea that bisexuals are unstable and inconsistent” (Degroult and Farr 427). Jenny enters the series in a heterosexual relationship, and goes through the trials and tribulations of discovering her sexual identity. Despite the diversity amongst the lesbian identities, all of the above characters, with Shane as the possible exception, are limited in the social acceptability of their white feminized bodies.

The diversity amongst the protagonists of season one is limited to Bette and Marina, both of whom can easily pass as white. Bette is multiracial, and Marina’s racial and ethnic origin remains ambiguous throughout the series. Bette’s racial identity is explored in the first half of season one through the chronicling of Bette and Tina’s attempt to start a family through artificial insemination. The couple has debates about using an African-American sperm donor in order to conceive a child that is racially connected to both mothers. Bette’s ethnicity is seldom discussed outside of familial situations. Through her ambiguity, Marina embodies the commodity fetishism of the consumption of the other -- the foreigner. Cosmopolitanism is a commodity: as Burns and Davies state, “consumer and lifestyle practices that fetishize the raced lesbian ‘other’ and render the white (lesbian) body as the normative or model cosmopolitan sexual citizen” (Burns and Davies 182). Both Bette and Marina do not live as “model cosmopolitan sexual citizens.” The relationship between Bette and Tina is often unstable, with Bette cheating on Tina with Candace, who is also a racialized other. Marina is the root of Jenny and Tim’s breakup, and arguably Jenny’s overall mental stability. Both women are the sexualized “other,” while supporting the notion of the white body as the normative and model sexual body.

After the inaugural season, critics insisted the program was, in essence, a spectacle of lesbian life; thus, the “producers attempted to ‘diversify’ the scope of lesbian representations on offer in the show” (Burns and Davie, 180). In addition to expanding the lesbian depictions, race and class conventions were also broadened. Carmen, a Latina from the working class, was added in season two; season three saw the introduction of transphobia through the character of Moira/Max; and season four and five saw the role of homosexuality in the American military with African-American Tasha, alongside the introduction of another Latina, Papi. *The L Word* brings forth political, cultural, and familial situations; however, the lesbian subjects are “always mediated within a storyline and setting that idealize and normalize elite and exclusive consumptive practices (Burns and Davies 175). By exploring sex and gender identity and its intersections with race and class, *The L Word* shows the production within normalized models of cosmopolitan consumer citizenship. While the series matured

in diversity from the first season of production, the characters labeled as diverse characters “continue to occupy outside status because they operate as the only suburban, working-class lesbian ‘others’ amid a cast of middle and upper-middle-class characters” (Burns and Davies 182). This supports the commodity fetishization and consumption of the other: the metaphors of consumption dispersed onto the lesbian body support their evolution and interpretation in a heteronormative landscape.

Television “does more than simply ‘represent’ real bodies and lives; it functions as a normalizing apparatus that ‘produces and reproduces the norms of gender and sexuality that are our lived reality’” (Burns and Davies 175). The portrayal of lesbians in mainstream media culture is problematized due to the predetermined globalization of heteronormativity. While the portrayal of characters themselves has already been explored, the same heteronormative conclusions can be applied to the institutions the characters are immersed in. At the end of the series, through the same foundational arguments and journeys a heterosexual couple may endure, Bette and Tina wish to get married. Marriage is a heteronormative construction, specifically in the United States of America where this series takes place. Bette and Tina fulfill social roles that fall into heteronormative constraints: Bette as the “man” and Tina as the “woman.” Bette has more masculine characteristics, seen through her role as the financial supporter of the family and her overall demeanor. Tina plays a more submissive role, and is the birth mother to their daughter, Angelica. This dichotomy transgresses into a hierarchical positioning of lesbian identities. Bette is a feminized butch, which creates a more acceptable understanding of her proposed marriage to the feminine Tina to a heterosexual audience. The relationship between Alice and Tasha is similar to that of Bette and Tina. The evolution of Alice’s sexual identity progresses to that of a feminine lesbian by the middle of the series. Tasha, like Bette, is a feminized butch, which is illustrated through her military career. The relationship and gender identities of Alice and Tasha, like Bette and Tina, are “read through a discourse of heteronormativity likening the butch-femme dynamic to that produced in conventional heterosexual relations” (Burns and Davies, 184). This is a normalization strategy of inclusion for the heterosexual audience; this strategy neutralizes differences while simultaneously reinforcing them.

The characters of *The L Word* are ultimately accepted and shaped by both heterosexual and homosexual audiences due to their overall gender and sexuality performances. Heteronormative consumer and lifestyle norms shape the portrayal of the lesbian body and character, resulting in a limited construction and portrayal of lesbian identities. The limitations placed on lesbian identity transgress the sex and gender boundaries to include race and class conventions, often supporting stereotypes of the commodified other. The, often white, feminized lesbian is the acceptable lesbian, adhering to social ideals of the female body, so as to not undermine or threaten heterosexual social

ideals of sex and gender. As a result, the media portrayal of female homosexuality results in lesbians as spectacle.

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## ***Aboriginal Representation in Disney Films: Is Disney Becoming Less Racist?*** Sydney Saville

Many Disney films contain obviously racist, sexist and just plain offensive depictions of different groups of people (Strong 418). More recently, as discrimination has become unacceptable and multiculturalism the norm, Disney has attempted to be more inclusive by releasing films about non-white characters. This paper will take a critical perspective on Aboriginal representations within animated Disney films, focusing on *Peter Pan* (1953) and *Pocahontas* (1995), as well as briefly looking at *Brother Bear* (2003). The three films, which span 50 years, will be used to trace the movement from blatantly racist representations and appropriations of Aboriginal culture towards the more subtle but no-less-racist depictions in contemporary Disney movies. Although the newer Disney films have a greater variety of individuals and races represented, this so-called “inclusivity” is undermined by the use of “inferential racism”: the inherently racist and sexist representations of non-white cultures and people in Disney films which perpetuate white hegemonic ideologies (Hall 83).

Walt Disney’s adaptation of *Peter Pan* was released in 1953 and contains explicitly racist representations of Aboriginal people. The movie is about a magical adventure that Wendy, John and Michael Darling experience with Peter Pan in Neverland. From the very first mention of Aboriginal people, when Michael sings that he would like to be “an Indian Brave,” the racial hegemony is established and places the European people above the Aboriginal people (*Peter Pan*, “You Can Fly”). A prime example of white male hegemony occurs after the children’s arrival in Neverland when John, Michael and the Lost Boys set out to “fight the Injuns” because John is interested in studying the “Aborigines” (*Peter Pan*, “Following The Leader”). The “Indians” are not considered equals. On the contrary, the “Indians” are considered specimens to be observed, hunted and captured. While the boys are hunting, they are actually the people who become surrounded and captured by the “Indians.” Just prior to being captured, John instructs the others to remember that “the Indian is cunning but not intelligent,” (*Peter Pan*, “The Boys Are Captured By The Indians”). Although this is ironic because the boys themselves are captured, there is no denying how horribly racist and ethnocentric John’s sentiment is. This racism is echoed in the many different words that *Peter Pan* contains to describe the Aboriginal population including, “Injuns,” “Indians,” “Red Skins,” “Aborigines,” “Squaw(s),” “Braves,” and “Savages”. The “Indian vocabulary” in *Peter Pan* manages to reinforce the racial differences between the “palefaces” and the “redskins,” which in turn reinforces the superiority of the European characters over the Aboriginal characters (Meek, 106).

In addition to the racist language surrounding the representations of Aboriginal people in *Peter Pan*, the physical depictions of the “Indians” are racially coded. The “Indians” are almost unrecognizable as humans in comparison to the drawings of all the other characters (who are all

Caucasian). In fact, the Aboriginal people appear more like caricatures than characters: the Indigenous people have extremely bright red skin, are all wearing moccasins, have feathers in their long, black hair and nearly all have extraordinarily large noses (*Peter Pan*, “The Boys Are Captured By The Indians”). The men who capture the Lost Boys walk in an almost ape-like fashion, with their shoulders slumped forward. Some of the men are dragging or carrying either children or the children’s toys and their hair is covering their eyes. It is difficult to tell the men apart, with the exception of a few taller or heavier-set men (*Peter Pan*, “The Boys Are Captured By The Indians”). The women, on the other hand, have two distinctive representations. The “Indian” woman in *Peter Pan* is either lighter-skinned, petite and very pretty or she is dark/red skinned, large and unattractive. This is very typical of how Aboriginal women are represented in film or literature; they are often cast as either the “Indian Princess” or the “Squaw” (Green 711). The fairly homogenous physical representation of Aboriginality in *Peter Pan* suggests that there are very limited and gendered ways to perform “Indianness”. These representations and images are coded so that the audience can understand that the more uniquely represented European children, and even the villainous pirates, are superior to the “Indians.” To clarify, because the European characters appear to be more human, have more unique appearances and are not easily confused with one another, they are marked as the more important and dominant group.

As previously mentioned in *Peter Pan*, the Aboriginal women are mostly depicted in a similar fashion to the male characters. The exception is Princess Tiger Lily: she is very beautiful, and although she has the “Indian identifiers” of a feather in her hair and moccasins on her feet, her skin colour is much lighter and her nose is very petite (*Peter Pan*, “Captain Hook Captures Tiger Lily”). Tiger Lily’s appearance is still different from the white characters, but because she is less Othered, it is acceptable for her to be a sexual *object* for the white man. Following Tiger Lily’s rescue, there is a celebration where she dances erotically and then kisses Peter several times by rubbing noses (*Peter Pan*, “What Makes The Red Man Red”). Even the kisses that Peter Pan and Princess Tiger Lily share are racialized and stereotypical. Although Tiger Lily plays an important role in the film, she does not say a single word throughout the movie. The combination of the speechlessness and sexualization of Tiger Lily indicates that as an “Indian Princess” – that is, as a person who is doubly subordinated because she is both an “Indian” and a woman – she is equivalent to an object. Even the white women in *Peter Pan* experience discrimination, but it is much worse for Princess Tiger Lily. The “Indian Princess” stereotype in *Peter Pan* is plainly discriminatory and highly representative of the white, male hegemony that both permeated society fifty years ago, and continues to do so today.

Whereas Princess Tiger Lily is more similar to the white characters, the “Chief” has the most startlingly different and racist image; he has impossibly red skin, with very dark and scary eyes, a large feathered headdress and two pointed horns on the top of his head (*Peter Pan*, “The Boys Are Captured

By The Indians”). With the placement of the horns and the anger that seethes from the Chief at the capture of Princess Tiger Lily, it is easy to interpret the Chief as a devil-figure. If the representation of the Aboriginal Chief was not racist enough, the Chief (who is one of only two Aboriginal characters who speak) has very poor language skills that work to “Other” him (Meek, 106). To borrow a term from Barbra Meek, the Chief uses “Hollywood Injun English;” this combines several “nonstandard features” of language (99), like the deletion of words and grammatical elements, to make the Chief appear “primitive” (101) and “incompetent” (103). The repetition of “How!” accompanied with a hand gesture and the use of phrases like “heap glad” are examples of the Chief’s Hollywood Injun English (Peter Pan, “What Makes The Red Man Red”). Again, this is an example of the “overt racism” that separates the “savage Indians” from the “civilized” European children (Hall, 83). Even when the children imitate the Chief and are “playing Indian”, they are reinforcing the subordination of the “Indians” under the Europeans (Meek, 114). The children act superior by “hunting the Indians” (even as a game, it is an act of domination) and by emphasizing the difference between the ways the European children speak “properly” and the people who are meant to represent Aboriginals use “Hollywood Injun English” (Meek 93).

While it is abundantly clear that *Peter Pan* is rampant with overtly racist representations of Aboriginal people, and that those representations emphasize the dominance of white men, the racism in *Pocahontas* (1995) is much less obvious. The emphasis on multiculturalism within contemporary society no doubt plays a role in the reduction of easily identifiable racism within more modern Disney films. In fact, an emphasis on multiculturalism may be why *Pocahontas* was developed in the first place. According to Leigh Edwards, the story of Pocahontas is “America’s first interracial love story” (148). *Pocahontas* is very loosely based on the true story of a real woman that was recorded by John Smith (Green 700). Disney’s film changed Pocahontas from the twelve-year-old girl John Smith wrote about into a “beautiful and voluptuous” young woman (Edwards 151). In order for Pocahontas’s story to matter, she had to fit into the category of either “Indian Princess” or “Squaw” (Green 711). Similar to *Peter Pan*’s Princess Tiger Lily, “Princess” Pocahontas “is the racialized native sexual object for the colonizing male subject,” and just like Tiger Lily, Pocahontas’s importance is reduced to her physical body, and her ability to be objectified by white men (Edwards 154).

Interestingly, Edwards points out that the artists who visually represented Pocahontas in the film combined a variety of features from different ethnicities onto her body (152). Pocahontas’s image and body represents a “reductive version of multiculturalism” (Edwards 152). That is, *Pocahontas* attempts to embrace multiculturalism through an interracial love story between John Smith and Pocahontas, through the establishment of peace between the Aboriginal people and the European colonizers and through Pocahontas’s body. This is problematic because Pocahontas becomes a

representation of a “non-white” woman instead of the representation of an Aboriginal woman. The different ethnicities that have been mapped onto Pocahontas also act to separate and “Other” her from the other Aboriginal characters (Edwards 152), which makes her an even more suitable sexual object for the white colonizer. Despite the attempt at multiculturalism, the white hegemony comes through and places white people in opposition to every other race (as a single group). Yet, the film does explicitly sanction multiculturalism through the song “Colours of the Wind” (Strong, 412). By advocating that if John Smith would “walk the footsteps of a stranger/ [he would] learn things [he] never knew [he] never knew” (*Pocahontas*, “Colours of the Wind”), Pocahontas opposes the notion that the European colonizers have the “right” culture and manages to teach John Smith a different perspective. Unfortunately she is only able to do so by occupying the stereotypical “Indian Princess” role. Regardless of the mixed messages about race and multiculturalism within *Pocahontas*, ultimately the film perpetuates the same hegemonic messages that *Peter Pan* does, but through a more subtle method.

Additionally, Pocahontas is further subjugated because of her female identity; despite the fact that the Powhatan social customs of the real Pocahontas’s time period would have allowed her to choose her own husband, in *Pocahontas*, her father attempts to force her to marry Kocoum (Edwards 156). This implementation of patriarchy is highly suggestive of the hegemony that is pervasive in contemporary society. Furthermore, the replacement of Aboriginal customs with European ones implies that the European customs are the best customs. The role of patriarchy within *Pocahontas* is a very good example of the implicit racism within the film. There is no one clearly stating that European values are “better” than Aboriginal values, but the exclusion of Aboriginal social mores in favour of European ones certainly implies that Aboriginal people ought to be more like the Europeans.

The Aboriginal characters in *Pocahontas* are definitely marked as “Indian” through their clothing and skin colour, but *Pocahontas* carefully avoids the obviously stereotypical and racist depictions that are apparent in *Peter Pan*. The Aboriginal characters in *Pocahontas* look like realistic Aboriginal people insofar as cartoons can look human; nevertheless, there are still parallels between the two different representations. Barbra Meek’s understanding of “Hollywood Injun English” (HIE) reveals the similarities between *Peter Pan* and *Pocahontas* by focusing on the ways in which Aboriginal representations are given different speech patterns than the European representations. In *Peter Pan*, the “Indians” HIE revolves around the very obvious and stereotypical deletion of words which marks the Aboriginal characters as childish, uncivilized and ignorant (Meek, 101). In *Pocahontas*, the HIE that is most noticeable is found in Pocahontas’ father. Chief Powhatan’s speech is characterized by many pauses, a slow pace and very formal language (Meek 98). The type of HIE in *Pocahontas* renders the Aboriginal characters that use it as stoic elders who are not fluent in English

(Meek, 98); this perpetuates the “Noble Savage” ideology. The stereotypes in *Pocahontas* are not as obvious because they are not nearly as offensive as the stereotypes in *Peter Pan*, but all stereotypes play a role in the continuation of prejudice and hegemony. Another way in which *Pocahontas* contains HIE is through the song “Savages” where both the Aboriginal people and the European people call each other “Savages” (*Pocahontas*, “Savages”). The film was careful to avoid the mistake of *only* referring to the Aboriginal people as “savages,” as that would be explicitly racist, but by inferring that the colonizers and the Aboriginal people were equally maltreated by each other, Disney is concealing the true history of colonization. By equating the historical damages to the Aboriginal people and the colonizers, *Pocahontas* replicates the hegemony that allowed colonization to occur in the first place.

Ultimately, it is quite clear when comparing *Peter Pan* to *Pocahontas* that there has been improvement in removing blatant racism from modern Disney films, but the racist discourse is still perpetuated by the “inferential racism” present in the films (Hall 83). A brief look at the most recent film that appropriates Aboriginal culture, *Brother Bear* (2003), confirms the idea that Disney films continue to reproduce ethnocentric ideologies. *Brother Bear* is the story about a boy who wants to become “a man” and desires a “macho” totem. Kenai is very unhappy to discover that the totem he is given is the “Bear of Love” (*Brother Bear*, “Kenai’s Ceremony”). Even though eventually, Kenai learns that his totem is appropriate and “manly”, at first he does not think “love has anything to do with being a man” (*Brother Bear*, “Argument”). Not only does this film replicate sacred ceremonies, it undervalues the outcome of the ceremonies while perpetuating sexist stereotypes. As Elizabeth Cook-Lynn writes, “anything is useable” in the stories being told by non-Natives about Native people (58-59). Just like Pocahontas was removed from her role as a strong, historical female figure and made into a Disney product worth hundreds of millions of dollars (Edwards 162), *Brother Bear*, while not obviously racist, turns the sacred into a commodity to be purchased and sold. By having sacred stories, objects, spirits and ceremonies being told through white voices, Aboriginal representation is once again subjected to the hegemonic ideologies that are prevalent in society (Cook-Lynn 58).

Ultimately, by turning Aboriginal culture into a commodity animated Disney films continue to perpetuate racist stereotypes despite the improvements in contemporary movies which *appear* to be more inclusive. By looking at Aboriginal representation in *Peter Pan*, *Pocahontas* and *Brother Bear*, it becomes apparent that although Disney has moved away from the use of “overt racism,” the corporation continues to perpetuate the hegemonic ideas embedded in society by including “inferential racism” in its’ films (Hall 83). While more modern Disney films may seem like they have become less focused on white male hegemony, these ideas are still very clearly present and are constantly being replicated in less perceptible ways. The Disney Corporation may be putting on a multicultural façade

by telling the stories that represent many different cultures, but deeper analysis reveals that ethnocentrism and racism exist in money-grabbing enterprises.

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## ***Black Jamaican Masculinity, Slavery & Post-Colonialism***

Danielle Scarlett

*For some slaves, the first step out of bondage is to learn to see their lives with new eyes. Their reality is a social world where they have their place and some assurance of a subsistence diet. Born into slavery, they cannot easily redefine their lives outside the frame of enslavement.* - Kevin Bales

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade accounts for three hundred years of history, from 1499-1870. During those three hundred years, generations after generations of Africans were born into slavery. A life that denied freedom, stripped mothers and fathers of their children, husbands from their wives, turned human beings into chattels and exploited the body, both physically and mentally; all based on the color of one's skin.

Jamaica, known for its brutality and immense violence during the colonial-era, became a slave society under the first generation of British settlement before the plantation system was fully developed (Burnard 2004, 244). By 1750, Jamaica had been a slave society for at least three-quarters of a century, thus making it one of the most complete slave societies in history, with over 90 percent of the population slaves and with a system of laws predicated on the nearly total obedience of slaves to white authority (Burnard 2004, 244). The focus of this essay is to understand the capacity slavery played on the Black Jamaican masculinity. This analysis will be achieved by using the book *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Anglo-Jamaican World* by Trevor Burnard. This well-written and researched book is based on the diaries of Thomas Thistlewood, a British slave owner who left Lincolnshire, England in late 1749 and arrived in Kingston, Jamaica on May 4th, 1750.

According to Burnard, Thistlewood's diaries "merely reaffirm and add a fresh gloss on the universal opinion of modern scholars that Caribbean slavery was one of the most dehumanizing systems ever devised" (2004, 155), in which "Slavery changed the form of the state, the nature of property, the system of law, the organization of labor, the role of the church as well as its character, the notions of justice, ethnics, [and] ideas of right and wrong. Slavery influences the architecture, the clothing, the cooking, the politics, the literature, the morals of the entire group-white and black, men and women, young and old...Nothing escaped; nothing and no one" (Burnard 2004,244). I will argue that if slavery was capable of reproducing itself in all aspects of Jamaican life, it is very likely that slavery played a major and influential role in the masculinity of Jamaican enslaved males during colonialism and post colonialism.

This paper will analyze and discuss how, through slavery, Jamaican enslaved men were denied the opportunity to be ideal 'men' based on the Western hegemonic ideals of masculinity and how this shaped their masculinity(ies) in post-colonialism. In order to understand, analyze and demonstrate how slavery played an important role on the Jamaican enslaved masculinity, a set definition of the

hegemonic ideal must be established. According to Beckles, masculinity is largely “a socially produced script” on which role fulfillment is coded (1996, 2). As male role fulfillment changes over time, representations of masculinities are revised, an indication of the interactive nature of ideology and institutional power (Beckles 1996, 3). Beckles states that central to these elements is the quest for monopolistic control, ownership and possession of societies, including the slaves in the society (1996, 4). “The possession of power, profits, glory and pleasure was specifically a core element in the articulation of masculine ideologies in which black men were negated and relegated to otherness”(Beckles 1996, 4). Beckles’ theory of hegemonic ideals will be applied to Thomas Thistlewood and his treatment of his slaves. Thistlewood’s diaries serve as evidence of how Jamaican enslaved men were unable to fulfill the requirements needed to be the ideal ‘man’ based on the imposed Western hegemonic ideal. Thus Thistlewood’s diaries provide the evidence for my argument that slavery played a role in Jamaican masculinity during colonialism and post-colonialism. In order to show how enslaved Jamaican men were denied the ability to attain these core elements in the articulation of Western masculine ideology, this essay will be broken into two sections, slavery and post-colonialism. Each section will distinctly focus on showing how slavery and masculinity are intertwined; in the first section there will be a focus on violence and family (in relation to masculinity) and in the second section the focus will be on the popular Jamaican music genre, Dancehall.

As Bale states above, born into slavery, they may not easily redefine their lives outside the frame of enslavement. The denial of the ability to attain and follow the Western hegemonic ideal has arguably lead Jamaican men to follow the ideals that were established and carried out by white slave owners, who themselves did not follow their own ideals.

### **Slavery**

According to Beckles’, central to hegemonic masculinity is the notion of monopolistic control; this notion of control encompasses ownership and possession (1996, 3). During slavery, slave owners would exert these masculine elements through various ways. This section will show how these masculine elements were exerted by the slave owner through violence directed at slaves, and through domestic control directed at slave families. Thus it is here that the link between masculinity and central elements of masculinity were created and would be repeated by Jamaican men to express their masculinity later in post-colonial Jamaica.

### **Violence & Masculinity**

White dominance in the sugar cane colony of Jamaica rested on the use of violence. Upon Thistlewood’s arrival in Jamaica he states that there were forty white people on the island. As previously stated, Jamaica was ninety percent occupied by slaves, meaning slave owners deemed violence to be a tool needed to maintain a slave society and to ensure their safety. With this in mind,

the use of violence, both physically and mentally, to maintain order and obedience was passed on from wealthy slave owners to new slave owners entering Jamaica. Before becoming a slave owner, Thistlewood worked as an overseer on one of the properties of the wealthy sugarcane planter William Dorrill. While living with Dorrill, he saw first-hand the extent to which white dominance rested on violence: “Twelve days after Thistlewood’s arrival in the Westmoreland Parish, Dorrill meted out ‘justice’ to ‘runaway Negroes’” (Burnard 2004, 3). Here he witnessed a runaway slave being severely whipped which was followed by his wounds being rubbed with pepper, salt and lime. In another instance that occurred three days later, a body of a dead runaway slave was brought to Dorrill who cut off the slave’s head, stuck it on a pole and then burned the body.

The notion of controlling slaves through fear and violence was presented throughout colonial Jamaica. Vineyard Pen, another slave plantation, serves as another example. In mid-July 1750, less than two weeks after becoming a pen keeper at Vineyard, he watched his first employer give the leading slave on the pen, Dick, a “mulatto” driver, “300 lashes for his many crimes and negligence’s.” In the nearby town of Lacovia on October 1, he “saw a Negroe fellow named English...tried [in] court and hang’d upon ye 1st tree immediately (drawing his knife upon a white man) his hand cut off, body left unbury’d” (Burnard 2004, 3). These examples reinforce the need for violence to successfully exert dominance. Through the use of violence, slave owners were able to maintain monopolistic control and retain ownership and possession of their slaves. This method was carried on by Thistlewood.

Burnard describes Thistlewood as a “brutal, sadistic master who controlled his slaves through the use of extreme violence, arbitrary, cruel tyranny and demonstrated his power and toughness daily through acts of violence intended to humiliate as much as punish” (2004, 244). In Thistlewood’s world, violence was meted out in two ways, whether physical or psychological, both involved gruesome, embarrassing and violent methods used to instill fear in slaves and maintain dominance. Physical violence took place in the dominant form of flogging, which was done through the use of the whip. According to Myrntinen, “weapons are seen as a militarized view that equates ‘manliness’ with the sanctioned use of aggression, force and violence” (2003, 1). Thus the whip serves as a type of weapon that represents the relationship between masculinity and violence. This was best seen when Thistlewood gave Titus, a slave who harbored a runaway, 150 lashes. In this example the bearer of violence is equated with one that is masculine and in power. Thus, Thistlewood, being the bearer (in other words the perpetrator) of the violence, is seen as masculine and is able to extend and assert his masculinity through the whip. Not only does the whip serve as an extension of his power, but it is also used to maintain monopolistic control, ownership and possession over his slaves.

Another form of violence that encompassed central elements of hegemonic masculinity was psychological violence. One of Thistlewood’s favorite punishments in 1756 was what he called

“Derby’s Dose,” in which a runaway was flogged, “salt pickle, lime juice and bird pepper” were rubbed in open wounds, and then another slave defecated in his mouth. He was ‘immediately put in a gag whilst his mouth was full’ and made to wear the gag for ‘4 or 5 hours.’ Another variation was to have a slave ‘piss in his eyes and mouth’ or to rub molasses on a runaway slave and expose him ‘naked to the flies all day and to the mosquitoes all night, without fire” (Burnard 2004, 3). The effects of these gruesome methods were meant to be twofold; one) to punish the runaway slave and two) to instill fear on the plantation as a means to prevent slaves from running away. Thistlewood used these tactics to maintain control over the slaves on his plantation. With the threat of both physical and psychological violence, slaves were deterred from running away, thus, Thistlewood was able to retain possession and ownership.

These particular examples of violence are inextricably linked to masculinity and to being masculine. The white slave owner was able to maintain dominance over his slave plantation through his use of violence. Thistlewood witnessed the power violence had over slaves upon his arrival in Jamaica, thus he ensured he ruled his plantation similarly through the extensive use of violence. Violence, during slavery, was equated with masculinity. Through the eyes of Jamaican enslaved men, in order to attain the central elements of masculinity, monopolistic control, ownership and possession, one must do so through violence.

### **Masculinity & Family**

The central representations of masculinity, as described by Beckles, are the quest for monopolistic control, ownership and possession. These elements constitute the underlying definition of what is deemed masculine based on the Western hegemonic ideal. In the previous section these common tropes of masculinity were expressed through the treatment of slaves. White slave owners maintained their dominance while simultaneously exerting the masculinity through acts of violence committed against slaves. In this section the central elements of masculinity will be applied to the enslaved Jamaican man and his family, more specifically his authority (or lack of) over his wife and children. By examining enslaved families and the role enslaved Jamaican men played within their family, it is evident that these men were denied rights over their family and their authoritarian position, as head of the household by Thistlewood.

Beckles’ representations of masculinity are all present in the family. Hooks states, that “enslaved black males were socialized by white folks to believe that they should endeavor to become patriarchs by seeking to attain the freedom to provide for and protect black women, to be benevolent patriarchs” (2004, 4). In the Western patriarchal family structure the male is supposed to be the breadwinner. He is able to provide for and protect his family through his income. In turn, by bringing money into the household, he is providing for his family. This allows him to have domestic and

monopolistic control over 'his family.' In a Western society monopolistic control is also extended through marriage, in which it is very common that the wife receive the last name of the husband. Here we see how ownership and possession are intertwined through marriage. Furthermore, the head of the household is able to extend this ownership and possession by having children, who also receive the father's last name. The patriarchal family structure serves as another way in which men are able to be masculine. The wife and children are crucial to the equation of family and masculinity, without them patriarchy cannot be achieved resulting in a direct threat against masculinity. This will be explored more in the latter section.

Despite that Thistlewood would allow, to some extent slave patriarchy, he would often times deny their masculinity by usurping men of their patriarchal powers. One of the most important ways in which masculinity was stripped from enslaved men was through enslaved women, especially women who were already married or in a relationship. According to Burnard, white men were expected to have sex with black women, whether black women wanted sex or not (2004, 5). With this notion and expectation embedded in the Jamaican slave society, Thistlewood took advantage of the sexual opportunities offered to white men. Due to his extensive diary, which includes his many sexual conquests, I was able to identify various scenarios where Thistlewood blatantly took possession and exerted control over the wives of enslaved men. These encounters often ranged from his dwelling place, to the cane fields, to curing houses, and to slave houses (Burnard 2004, 156). Burnard explains, that "following his first sexual experience in Jamaica...Thistlewood engaged in 3,852 acts of sexual intercourse with 138 women in his thirty-seven years in Jamaica" (Burnard, 156). This number is telling because it shows that despite the resistance and struggle enslaved Jamaican women put up against Thistlewood, he was still able to exert monopolistic control through the force of sex.

Thistlewood's diary indicates that no enslaved woman was safe, "for he had sex with his slaves when they were either in puberty or not long after-he had sex with Bess, Sally, Maria, Sukey, Coobah, and Phoebe for the first time when each was only fourteen or fifteen and had sex with Abba perhaps before puberty and made them have sex even when they were heavily pregnant" (Burnard 2004, 158). Burnard explains that Thistlewood had sex with Abba twice when she was over eight months pregnant; once a month before she gave birth in 1776, and most notably, two days before she 'brought to bed of a girl' and also Franke, who Thistlewood had sex with while heavily pregnant, in which eight days later she miscarried (Burnard 2004, 158). The sexual encounters Thistlewood had with all of these women, many being partners of enslaved men, is important in understanding how this belittled and placed restrictions on enslaved Jamaican men's masculinity. For example Abba and Franke, both heavily pregnant during the time of intercourse with Thistlewood, were pregnant with other men's children. Secondly, laws did not allow slaves to refuse social demands made by the owner, but it did provide the

punishment of recalcitrant, disobedient, rebellious and unruly slaves. According to Beckles, neither colonial statutes nor slave codes, then, invested slaves with any rights over their own bodies, but rather transferred and consolidated such rights to slave-owners. Thus, rape as a form, or degree, of sexual violation perpetrated against enslaved women by ‘masters’ was not considered a legal offence (1996, 3). Thistlewood’s ownership over his slaves, including the women he had sex with, prevented husbands from either defending their wives or attacking Thistlewood. Thistlewood’s sexual conduct was the ultimate disrespect to the enslaved man’s dignity and masculinity, as it would be, if this was done in the Western society.

The ability of Jamaican enslaved men to mimic the Western patriarchal family structure as a way of exerting masculinity not only failed because they could not assert monopolistic control and ownership over their wives, but also because they were denied the ability to extend the central elements of ownership and possession to the child (ren). The examination of this relationship is important to the concept of masculinity, because based on the hegemonic ideals created by the Western world, being masculine is the ability to successfully take on the role of being a father and parenting his child(ren). The idea of a breadwinner in a family is a prevailing and reoccurring concept that has been implemented by European males throughout the history of colonization, including in colonial Jamaica.

According to Beckles, “in social relations, the black male and his offspring were fed, clothed, and sheltered by white men whose hegemonic ideology determined that being 'kept' and kept down were symbolic of submissive inferiority, and gendered as feminization” (1996, 6). By feeding, clothing and providing shelter for enslaved wives and their children, the white slave owner became the breadwinner of the Jamaican enslaved man’s family. The enslaved male was denied the opportunity to provide for both ‘his’ wife and ‘his’ children, both of whom are essential to the equation of family and masculinity. In addition to this, enslaved males were denied rights to their offspring. After birth, enslaved babies take on the social status of the mother. Thus, regardless of the father’s status (emancipated or free) the child would take on the status of the mother. Slavery, therefore, as a socio-legal status, completely marginalized and alienated fatherhood, and focused its attention upon motherhood (Beckles 1996, 7).

Campbell (2006) explains that because “Slaveholders had neither social nor economic interest in black fatherhood,” enslaved children often had little to no relationship with their fathers for several reasons; one) slave families were typically matri-focal, meaning children stayed with their mother after birth, two) families could be split up and fathers might be traded to another plantation, three) fathers had absolutely no ownership, claim or right to their children; this went to the slave-owner. By stripping the enslaved male of his right to be the breadwinner, protector and provider of his family, elements that are central to being masculine through the patriarchal family structure, enslaved males were unable to

achieve the central elements of the hegemonic ideal as proposed by Beckles. Thus, they were unable to attain the Western hegemonic ideal of masculinity.

Thistlewood's diaries provide a primary example of how enslaved Jamaican men were denied the ability to be patriarchs of their families. As mentioned previously, Thistlewood would allow, to some extent, slave patriarchy to exist. Thus on rare occasions family relationships were acknowledged and men were placed at the head of the household (Burnard 2004, 203). Lincoln, the first slave purchased by Thistlewood, "was the head of the household that included his first wife, Sukey; his additional partner, Abba; and Abba's five surviving children, three of whom were Lincoln's" (Burnard 2004, 203). This example shows Lincoln as a patriarch within an African pattern of polygamous marriage. However, "in the battle between the authority of slave men and the authority of masters, masters invariably won" (Burnard 2004, 204). Despite being the patriarch of his family Lincoln's authority was undermined because "between 1770 and 1776, Thistlewood had sex with Sukey 26 times, paying her 2 bitts on each occasion, and had sex with Abba 155 times, also usually paying her 2 bitts for each encounter" (Burnard 2004, 204). By engaging in sexual coitus with the wives of Lincoln, Thistlewood undermined Lincoln's authority over his family, but more importantly his masculinity. If according to patriarchal ideas central elements of masculinity are tied to family and masculinity, meaning being a patriarch is an extension of one's masculinity and masculine power, then it is clear that Lincoln's masculinity was negated through the body of his wife. In doing so without the consent of the husband, this reinforced white dominancy while simultaneously subordinating and feminizing black masculinity.

During slavery, Jamaican enslaved men were unable to fulfill the central elements of Western hegemonic masculinity. Slave owners, like Thistlewood prevented the ability to attain monopolistic control, ownership and possession through the use of physical and psychological violence and by interfering in the slave family structure by denying enslaved men the ability to become benevolent patriarchs.

### **Post-Colonialism**

The post-colonial Jamaican society is a representation of its past colonial experience. Here, values and ideas, such as hegemonic masculinity, that were carried out by white slave owners are mimicked by free Jamaican men. According to Hope (2004):

*Transplanted African men...had to be taught to equate their higher status as men with the right to dominate women, they had to be taught patriarchal masculinity. They had to be taught that it was acceptable to use violence to establish patriarchal power. The gender politics of slavery and white-supremacist domination of free black men was the school where black men from different African*

*tribes, with different languages and value system, learned in the “new world,” patriarchal masculinity (3).*

Hooks argues that the need for men in post-colonial Jamaica to attain a patriarchal masculine identity is solely due to slavery. Thus, I argue that in a post-colonial Jamaican society there is a strong desire to reclaim masculinity. The masculinity referred to here is not solely the Western hegemonic ideal of masculinity but instead the masculinity that was expressed and carried out by the white slave owner, or what Hooks has called ‘patriarchal masculinity.’

During slavery, masculinity was characterized through the actions of the slave owner. This masculinity, expressed by the slave owner, did not always follow the standard Western hegemonic ideal. Thistlewood for example, used violence as a method to exercise his control, however “hegemony did not mean violence” (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, 832). Violence became an extension of masculinity, which like Beckles states is constantly changing. Because white dominance in colonial Jamaica rested on violence, violence became a terrifying and every-day occurrence in the life of slaves. Through embarrassing and gruesome tactics the use of violence in the eyes of slaves, became linked to masculinity. To be the perpetrator of violence established a sense of power, in which power is ultimately intertwined with masculinity. Thus in a post-colonial Jamaican society the use of violence has become normalized and is seen as masculine.

The notion of violence being linked to masculinity was not the only characterization of masculinity that was portrayed by white slave owners. During slavery, slave owners had complete access to the bodies of enslaved women. The diaries of Thistlewood indicate how it was common for slave owners, including himself, to indulge in the abundance of enslaved women on the island regardless of the struggle they put up against being raped. Enslaved women were subjected to both sexual assaults from their ‘master,’ as well as other slave owners from different plantations. In addition to having sex with enslaved women on his plantation, Thistlewood had 374 sexual encounters with 64 different women that lived on other plantations (Burnard 2004, 157). Thus it is clear where the idea of hypersexuality arises. During slavery, Jamaican slaves witnessed slave owners express their dominance and masculinity through the various sex acts with multiple women. It should be made clear, that I am not saying that all Jamaican men in post-colonial Jamaica are hypersexual. Instead I am showing how hypersexuality has become intertwined with the ideals of being masculine, which is based on the actions of white slave owners.

Lastly, based on the Western hegemonic ideal and the actions carried out by slave owners during slavery, the need to be a benevolent patriarch is essential to being masculine. Thus, in a post-colonial Jamaican society Jamaican men aim to achieve the Western patriarchal family structure as a means to exert their domestic control and reclaim their masculinity. In post-colonial Jamaica we see

these same methods reappear as a way to reclaim the masculinity that Jamaican men were denied for three hundred years. One of the best ways to understand the effects slavery had on Jamaican masculinity is by examining the popular Jamaican music genre known as Dancehall.

### **Dancehall**

Dancehall music emerged in the early 1980s as “a space for the cultural creation and dissemination of symbols and ideologies that reflect and legitimize the lived realities of its adherents, particularly those from the inner cities of Jamaica and increasingly symbolizes the existential struggles of individuals in these communities” (Hope 2006, 17). Hope’s definition of dancehall can be combined with the idea of plantation patriarchy, in which dancehall seeks to create and mimic ideas of masculinity that were established during slavery. Within this genre then, dancehall takes the idea of masculinity that was established by the white slave owner, mimics it and then creates a masculine identity for Jamaican men that is then introduced into the post-colonial Jamaican society through artists. Thus, I argue that through dancehall, Jamaican men are able to reclaim the masculinity that was previously denied.

Through an analysis of the 2009 song by Buju Banton, called ‘*Boom Bye-Bye.*’ I will illustrate how the central elements of hegemonic masculinity have been reproduced in this popular dancehall song. The opening lyrics to the song are as follows:

Boom bye bye  
Inna batty bwoy head  
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man  
Dem haffi dead  
Boom bye bye  
Inna batty bwoy head  
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man  
Dem haffi dead

Before examining the lyrics, meanings must be established. In reference to this song, the term “Batty bwoy” refers to a gay male, while “rude bwoy” refers to the ‘ideal’ man, a masculine heterosexual male. Within these lyrics, there is a clear sense of violence and homophobia. Both tie into the idea of what is masculine and what is not, and have historic significance embedded in slavery.

The issue/notion of violence is manifested in the lyrics of many dancehall songs. In Buju’s song the notion of violence is extremely prevalent; following the singing of these lyrics a gunshot is heard, further symbolizing the death of homosexuals. As Myrtilinen states, weapons are seen as one notion of masculinity, that equate ‘manliness’ with the sanctioned use of aggression, force and violence (2003, 1). Thus it is no surprise that the use of a gun, whether being portrayed as the weapon being used to kill homosexuals, or as a background noise, is expressed through this song. According to Beckles, the connection between the gun and Caribbean men serves as a way to express masculinity.

This association, between gun and masculinity, was created during slavery, where, instead the weapon used to exhibit masculinity and power was a whip. The use of violence ties into the core element of monopolistic control. As seen throughout slavery, the best way to exert control is through violence. Thus, some men in post-colonial Jamaica seek to express their masculinity through the use of violence. Through this dancehall song, violence, as an extension of masculinity, is expressed and normalized, thus becoming a part of the masculine identity in post-colonial Jamaica.

In the dancehall culture, where homosexuality poses a threat, the use of sex and sexuality is reinforced to represent a masculine identity. Hope describes that “departure from this form of masculinity results in the questioning of one’s manhood, thus homosexuality is viewed as a ‘threat to manhood’ because it underpins the lives of heterosexual men in a patriarchal society” (Hope 2006, 79). Homophobia is expressed in many dancehall songs, because homophobia is seen as emasculation and to be a homosexual means one is not the ideal masculine male. Also to “condone male homosexuality is to reveal an ideological overview that legitimatizes and supports the feminizing and subsequent loss of power of men, therefore, taking an anti-homosexual stance expresses one’s accordance for masculinity, male sexuality and male dominance” (Hope 2006, 79).

The rejection of homosexuality also occurs because in a post-colonial Jamaican society aiming to mimic characteristics of masculinity presented by the slave owner, the notion of establishing a patriarchal family structure is necessary for claiming a masculine identity. During slavery, slave owners were able to exercise monopolistic control, ownership and possession through the patriarchal family structure. This was done through two ways; one) through marriage and two) by having children. Both scenarios involve the passing on of male lineage through the last name. However, in a homosexual relationship this cannot exist. According to Hope(2006), “in the socio-cultural context of dancehall, to be gendered female is to be dominated and powerless, therefore, if a man engages in sexual activities with another man he becomes feminized and thereby loses his masculinity (i.e. his dominance and power)”. Furthermore, in a homosexual relationship where there is no female, the exertion of monopolistic control cannot be achieved, nor can ownership and possession be achieved by having children. Thus, in a society that was based on three hundred years of emasculation, dancehall attempts to remove the stigma and reinforce the masculinity of Jamaican men by rejecting homosexuality and homosexuals. It is here that plantation patriarchy is expressed the most.

During slavery, white slave owners used various methods, such as the use of violence, to negate the enslaved Jamaican man from becoming the ‘ideal’ man based on the Western hegemonic ideal. In post-colonial Jamaica these same methods reappear as a way to reclaim the masculinity that Jamaican men were denied, in which Jamaican men strive to maintain their own identity through their music and culture. Dancehall, most notably the song ‘Boom bye-bye,” “actively creates and re-creates the term

and definition of what it means to be masculine through, fashion, material possessions, dances, slang words and of course, its lyrics” (Hope 2006, 8).

## **Conclusion**

Throughout this essay there has been a consistent link between the masculinity of enslaved Jamaican males and the femininity of enslaved Jamaican women. Although my essay does not focus on this connection, masculinity and femininity are inextricably linked. In post-colonial Jamaica the bodies of women became a site for power contestation, firstly as field laborers and secondly as domestics and concubines (which was not always by choice, but instead through force) (Shepherd 2002, 20). The femininity of women was also abused in order to de-masculinize Jamaican men; this was achieved when slave owners engaged in sexual intercourse with the wife of an enslaved male. I would like to make clear that, just like enslaved Jamaican men, enslaved Jamaican women also resisted slavery. According to Shepherd, “there is overwhelming evidence that enslaved women did not give their bodies for reproductive or productive labour willingly; neither did they accept passively the use of their body by the white men...they used a variety of strategies to subvert the slave system and liberate their bodies from brutal forms of enslavement” (2002, 24). Like men who sought to redefine their masculinity through dancehall, so too did women. In the dancehall culture, “women use their sexuality or economic independence to control their own upward mobility and at the same time destabilize masculine identity” (Hope 2006).

During slavery, Jamaican enslaved men were unable to fulfill the requirements needed to be the ‘ideal’ man based on the imposed Western hegemonic ideal. Slave owners were able to prevent this through various methods. Through the use of physical and psychological violence, Thistlewood was able to instill fear in the slaves on his plantation, thus, retaining monopolistic control, ownership and possession. For example, the embarrassing and gruesome method, known as Derby’s Dose, was used to emasculate enslaved Jamaican men and prevent slaves from running away. This tactic allowed Thistlewood to exert his masculine dominance. The masculinity of enslaved Jamaican men was further denied through their inability to have or exert any rights over their family. In colonial Jamaica the rights of the child(ren) were given to the mother, while the slave owner clothed, fed and provided shelter for the enslaved male’s family. With the slave owner taking over the role of the patriarch in enslaved families, enslaved Jamaican men were unable to attain masculinity based on the Western patriarchal family structure: therefore being marginalized and emasculated further. Slavery then, was not only a system used to bring in income to the colonial empires, but also a system that denied men the ability to achieve the Western hegemonic ideal of masculinity.

Post-colonial Jamaica is in many ways a mirror of its colonial past. Here we see that born into slavery, Jamaican men may not be able to redefine their lives outside the frame of enslavement. One

Jamaican man attempts to assert his masculinity through the popular genre of Dancehall. However, the denial of the ability to attain and follow the violent Western hegemonic ideal has arguably led Jamaican men to follow ideals that were established and carried out by white slave owners, who themselves did not follow their own ideals. As Beckles states, masculinity is 'largely a socially produced script' meaning the definition of masculinity is constantly changing. Thus, post-colonial Jamaica is still unpacking three hundred years of enslavement and creating, as well as recreating, its definition of masculinity.

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***Political Warriors?: Junior Leadership and the Combined Action Program  
in Vietnam, 1965-1971***

Bryce Simpson

A Vietnam War veteran's fictionalized autobiographical account of his war service describes "a small elite unit fighting alongside Vietnamese Popular Forces in the sandy foothills of South Vietnam" which "specializes in magic – turning live Vietcong into dead men."<sup>184</sup> Another veteran's description of the instructions given to him by his commander upon arrival at a new unit recalled being told that,

*This time, we're going into these villages to stay. We're going to help them in their communities. We'll help them to build new schools, bridges, roads, and new housing. We're going to help them with their sewage disposal and sanitation. We're going to learn to speak their language and learn their customs and way of life.*<sup>185</sup>

Both accounts describe platoons of the Combined Action Program (CAP) which operated as part of the United States Marine Corps' (USMC) counterinsurgency effort in South Vietnam from 1965-1971. CAP integrated a Marine rifle squad with a Vietnamese Popular Force militia platoon within a village for the purposes of providing security, training and civic action to the Vietnamese.<sup>186</sup> Clearly, the two veterans' accounts present radically different perceptions of the same program with one characterizing CAP as a highly specialized unit orientated towards close combat with the enemy while the other emphasizes a less menacing civic action role. This disparity in the way two veterans remember their service in what was ostensibly the same unit raises important questions about the very nature of CAP and its place in the historical recollection of the Vietnam War.

The post-Cold War years have seen Western militaries devote considerable effort towards developing counterinsurgency techniques, tactics and strategies to be employed in the asymmetrical conflicts they found themselves engaged in. The Vietnam War has drawn specific attention, particularly within the United States, with military thinkers drawing historical and practical lessons from the perceived successes and failures of this notably disastrous and prolonged engagement. CAP has been regularly identified by some current military thinkers as a resounding success and even as a war-winning strategy for counterinsurgency.<sup>187</sup> However, despite such praise reserved for CAP by

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<sup>184</sup> David Sherman, *Knives in the Night*, (Toronto, Canada: Random House, 1987), back cover.

<sup>185</sup> Thomas Flynn, *A Voice of Hope*, (Baltimore, Maryland: American Literary Press, Inc., 1994), 38.

<sup>186</sup> Keith F. Kopets, "The Combined Action Program: Vietnam," *Military Review* 82.4 (2004): 79.

<sup>187</sup> Recent articles written in praise of CAP: Brooks R. Brewington, "Combined Action Platoons: A Strategy for Peace Enforcement," *Air War College* 1996, <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/usmc/brewington.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2012), Fraser Fowler, "The USMC's Combined Action Platoons: A Counterinsurgency Success in Vietnam and Why it Failed to Derail US Military Strategy," *Canadian Army Journal* 12.1 (2009): 89-102, Keith F. Kopets, "The Combined Action Program: Vietnam," *Military Review* 82.4 (2004): 78-81, Jim Seaton, "A Political-Warrior Model: The Combined Action Program," *Armed Forces and Society* 20.4 (1994): 549-563, Curtis L. Williamson, "The U.S. Marine Corps Combined Action Program (CAP): A Proposed Alternative Strategy for the Vietnam War," *Air War College* 2002,

current military thinkers, critical historical analysis of CAP has thus far been rare and much of the program's organizational history remains poorly understood.

To understand CAP within the context of the larger Marine strategy and American policy in South Vietnam, it is important to determine how the Combined Action Program was critically examined in both internally and externally produced scholarship. Specifically, the strategy-changing years of 1967-1970 which encompass the Tet Offensive and the period of change in U.S. policy which followed, deserve careful attention. The 1968 Tet Offensive radically altered both civilian and military perceptions of the war and the analyses and histories of CAP, which were produced in its aftermath. An examination of the literature surrounding CAP during the Tet and post-Tet periods reveals the complex civil-military relationship within the program, the degree to which observers deemed it to be a success, and the extent to which they argued that CAP could or should be expanded more widely. This paper will serve to address some of the fundamental questions about CAP's nature raised in the two accounts quoted at the beginning of this introduction, establishing whether the program's members were "Knives in the Night" or a "Voice of Hope."

Formed in I Corps Tactical Zone (I CTZ) in the Northern provinces of South Vietnam, each CAP platoon consisted of one Marine squad leader, the assistant leader/grenadier, a United States Navy (USN) corpsman, three four-man Marine fireteams, and thirty-five Vietnamese Popular Force militiamen.<sup>188</sup> This basic structure would remain a constant throughout the entire existence of the

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<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/usmc/williamson.pdf> (accessed 28 October 2011), Kenneth Eugene Wynn, "Did the Marines better understand the nature of the Vietnam conflict and was the Combined Action Program more suitable than Civil Operations Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) in dealing with insurgents?," *Marine Corps War College* 2000, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a529494.pdf> (accessed 15 February 2012).

<sup>188</sup> The USMC does not train its own medical personnel and medics, titled corpsmen, are trained and provided to Marine field units by the Navy.

In August 1965 Lieutenant Colonel William W. Taylor's 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, 4<sup>th</sup> Marine Regiment (3/4 Marines) was tasked with defending the air base at Phu Bai but like many Marine units at the time, faced regular harassing attacks from VC insurgents. The 3/4 Marines' Civil Affairs Officer, Captain John J. Mullen, was aware of the existence of the Vietnamese Popular Force (PF) militia which were charged with the defence of the villages in which they also lived. Capt. Mullen argued that with USMC support, they could become an effective security force to hold the populated areas around Phu Bai. On Capt. Mullen's suggestion, Lt. Col. Taylor ordered that the Joint Action Company (JAC) be formed from the integration of Marine rifle squads and PF platoons. Later this would be rebranded the 'Combined Action Company' (CAC). CAC's name was eventually changed to Combined Action Program (CAP). The change from CAC to CAP was warranted by an unfortunate cultural gaffe: 'CAC' when pronounced with a long 'a', identical to both English and Vietnamese slang terms for penis. CAC's motto 'suc manh', which meant 'strength' in Vietnamese, added to the unintentional humour as all CAC documents and signage seemed to indicate that the Marines belonged to the "strong penis" team. See Peterson, 23-26.

The PF were "the humblest – read despised – of the South Vietnamese military establishment," receiving the lowest pay, third-rate equipment, virtually no training and little access to combat or logistical support above the platoon level. PF members however, acted as a militia within the village where they were likely born and raised and could avoid other military service by joining the PF. See Peterson, 24.

combined action concept despite several organizational changes during its nearly seven-year existence. CAP drew heavily upon the institutional memory of the USMC's prior counterinsurgency operations in the first half of the twentieth century, both officially through the proliferation of the famous *Small Wars Manual*, and unofficially through the passage of practical knowledge within the officer corps.<sup>189</sup> At its peak, the program had 114 CAP villages and six formally stated objectives which would remain constant through its existence: to enhance village security, consolidate village intelligence activities, improve the standard of living in the village, strengthen local institutions, promote identification with and support of the national government.<sup>190</sup> Finally platoons were supposed to "work [themselves] out of a job" or in other words, accomplish its five other missions so completely that it would be possible to relocate the Marines to another village in order to repeat the process.<sup>191</sup>

Even at the height of the program's fame following the Tet offensive, CAP was never a major priority of the USMC counterinsurgency effort, let alone the overall American military effort. Still, the program managed to garner a measure of critical attention from military thinkers and scholars alike. The following examination of the assorted texts surrounding CAP has been divided into two groups: those written before or during Tet (1967-1968) and those produced after the offensive until the draw-down of USMC units from Vietnam (1969-1972). This division forms the basis of a comparison which will demonstrate the changes in thinking about CAP and pacification in general during the period. Additionally the division helps reveal the way in which CAP was characterized by its most engaged and critical observers.

Recent commentators have seized upon the concept of CAP, characterizing it as an under-utilized but highly successful model for pacification and counterinsurgency. Professional military officers such as Jim Seaton argued that CAP's mission was one of "politico-military *fusionism*" in which civic action and other roles not traditionally assigned to military forces played an equal role to that of the program's more conventional security missions.<sup>192</sup> However, this characterization seems to

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<sup>189</sup> The twentieth century saw the USMC being regularly deployed in small Latin American countries where it found itself engaged in counterinsurgency and constabulary operations for long periods of time. The 1915-1935 Banana Wars in the Dominican, Haiti, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, and several other Latin American countries were a significant source of experience in this type of warfare particularly the 1925-1935 Nicaraguan campaign. Most relevant to any examination of CAP, were the activities of the semi-legendary Captain Louis B. 'Chesty' Puller who led an integrated unit of Nicaraguan National Guardsmen and Marine infantry in an organization known as Company M. Puller went on to instruct new Marine officers where one of his first students was Lewis Walt who would go on to command III MAF in South Vietnam and be instrumental in the fostering of a nascent Combined Action concept. See Peterson, 16.

<sup>190</sup> Kopets, 79.

CAP Platoons at various stages of the war. June 1966: 38 platoons, January 1968: 79 platoons, January 1970: 114 platoons, May 1971: final platoons disbanded.

<sup>191</sup> Allnutt, 20.

<sup>192</sup> Jim Seaton, "A Political-Warrior Model: The Combined Action Program," *Armed Forces and Society* 20.4 (1994): 551.

be contradicted by much of the early literature produced from 1967-1968, before or during the initial stages of Tet. A detailed examination of both the internal and external scholarship surrounding CAP in this period reveals that even the program's most vocal proponents shared the vision of CAP as primarily an extension of USMC security operations rather than as an instrument of civic action or a self-contained war-winning strategy.

USMC Lieutenant Colonel William R. Corson's *The Betrayal* was published mid-1968 shortly after its author's departure from Vietnam and the USMC in 1967. It was written largely before the Tet offensive, though the author did manage to add several references to the events of January-February before publication. As the former commander of CAP, Corson's insights and opinions into the daily operations and conduct of the program are invaluable, however it must be noted that Corson's book is highly political in nature, aiming to demonstrate the general futility of American efforts in Vietnam barring a fundamental strategic refocus.<sup>193</sup> Along with his political message, Corson reveals a great deal about how he viewed CAP as an instrument of counterinsurgency. Interestingly, while he argued vehemently for a greater commitment to the "other war" in order to stave off defeat, his conceptualization of pacification was decidedly security or 'stick' heavy.<sup>194</sup> He argued that before pacification by means of civic action projects could even begin, his Marines first had to acquire credibility with the populace through their ability to "defeat the Vietcong militarily."<sup>195</sup> Whether there is any practical truth to this argument or not, it clearly demonstrates that Corson's model of pacification was one of security first, civic action second.

Corson's conception of pacification as having its foundation in security operations developed during his time as the commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Tank Battalion and transferred to CAP when he took command. Writing in *The Betrayal*, Corson identified what he saw as the six priorities of his former unit: destroying Vietcong Infrastructure, protecting public security and maintaining law and order, protecting friendly infrastructure, protecting bases and communications, organizing intelligence activities, and participating in civic action and propaganda.<sup>196</sup> Of these, the first five are almost exclusively security tasks; the sixth is deemed by Corson the lowest priority on the list. Under his command, Corson mandated that "the CAP specifically avoids initiating civic-action projects until the credibility of their military-security efforts has been clearly demonstrated to the people."<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Peterson, 3.

<sup>194</sup> William R. Corson, *The Betrayal*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1968), 26.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

LTC Corson was not the first former Marine to write a highly critical account of American military and government leadership, joining the ranks of two-time Medal of Honour winner Major General Smedly Butler who in 1935 published his highly critical exposé *War is a Racket*.

Furthermore once civic action projects were initiated, he argued that they were conducted “on the cheap” and generally remained small in scale and scope.<sup>198</sup> The priorities laid out in *The Betrayal* clearly reflected Corson’s opinion that CAP was and should remain a program primarily for the provision of militarily traditional security tasks with small civic action projects representing a positive side-effect. Notably, the LTC never argued that CAP was a standalone war-winning concept and his ideal strategy to affect a positive outcome in Vietnam is based primarily on the redeployment of conventional American manoeuvre battalions to the countryside of the country with an expanded CAP (consisting of 60,000 American troops) tasked only with providing security in the most threatened villages.<sup>199</sup>

Support for Corson’s security-centric vision came shortly after *The Betrayal*’s publication in the form of letters published in the USMC’s professional journal, the *Marine Corps Gazette*, where at least two officers argued strongly that the USMC and CAP should remain focused on the provision of security in Vietnam. Shortly after Corson’s book was published, an officer with CAP headquarters Captain W. C. Blaha, wrote to the journal that security was wholly “essential” to “ultimate victory” and that “here is CAP’s mission.”<sup>200</sup> In the same edition, Captain H. L. Preston argued even more vehemently that “The Marine Corps’ basic mission is combat. CAP has been of substantial help in the accomplishment of that mission” and added that “energies and resources [devoted to civic action] can be much more effectively used elsewhere.”<sup>201</sup> It must be noted that Corson himself was not opposed to civic action *per se*, and in fact devoted part of his book to recommendations for reforming the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) organization.<sup>202</sup> Still as far as CAP went, he remained convinced that it was and should remain an extension of conventional security efforts by the Marines.

The conception that CAP was primarily a program dedicated to the provision of security was shared by Captain Russell H. Stolfi in his lengthy pamphlet *U.S. Marine Corps Civic Action Efforts in Vietnam, March 1965-March 1966* which was produced for the USMC’s Historical Division and published in early 1968. Stolfi’s pamphlet is a history of all USMC civic action programs operated for the period stated in the title, but CAP (then CAC) is featured prominently. After opening his account with a voyeuristic retelling of a CAC platoon’s killing of a VC functionary, Stolfi makes an interesting

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<sup>198</sup> Corson, 189.

<sup>199</sup> Corson, 275-276.

<sup>200</sup> W. C. Blaha, “Letters: The People and CAP,” *Marine Corps Gazette*, August 1968.

<sup>201</sup> H. L. Preston, “Letters: CAP, Yes; Civil Affairs, No,” *Marine Corps Gazette*, August 1968.

<sup>202</sup> Corson, 275.

Corson consistently, and incorrectly, refers to CORDS as an “Army” organizational structure despite the fact that the organization included units from all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces as well as a large non-military component. Indeed the head of CORDS was by mandate, an American civilian. See Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam’s Hearts and Minds*, (San Fransisco: Westview Press, 1995).

observation in his introduction. He refers to the ‘other war’ as the “struggle against the clandestine apparatus of the Viet Cong” rather than the “struggle to promote economic and political self-sufficiency” in Vietnam identified by Corson.<sup>203</sup> Stolfi’s definition prefaces his discussion of the ‘other war’ with the assumption that it is waged as an extension of traditional military security tasks.

While Stolfi’s characterization of the Marine’s civic action efforts through the rest of the pamphlet does not entirely fit his own definition, his description of CAC and its operations certainly emphasize a focus on the provision of security. Stolfi confirms that the combined action concept was pioneered in response to the perceived “importance” of local security efforts and emphasizes the role of the Marines in improving the tactical capabilities of the PF.<sup>204</sup> His later outlining of the measures of success for all corps civic action projects includes six metrics: medical aid distributed, food distributed, clothes distributed, small operations conducted, large operations conducted and of course the infamous “body count” of enemy killed.<sup>205</sup> Further Stolfi’s descriptions of civic action efforts conducted by CAC units centre primarily on small projects of questionable utility. Occasionally these projects bordered on the ridiculous, with a Marine’s purchasing a pony with which to provide free rides to children cited as an example of a positive civic action effort.<sup>206</sup> Another example involved an amphibious armoured personnel carrier painted white and decorated with large cut-outs of reindeer to drop in on CAC villages only accessible by water, followed by a distribution of presents by a Marine dressed as Santa.<sup>207</sup> One can only imagine the thoughts of the predominantly Buddhist villagers of Khue Trung as a thirty tonne, white armoured vehicle with cardboard reindeer on its roof rolled into their village before revealing a red-suited Yankee St. Nick with gifts that curiously included basketballs.<sup>208</sup> Evidently, Stolfi viewed civic action efforts conducted by Marines as limited to the kinds of small, one-time projects mentioned above with their true role being the provision of security even going as far as to call their more humorous civic action efforts “misplaced zeal.”<sup>209</sup> The emphasis placed on security-based measurements of progress (operations conducted and body counts) by 1968’s official historian of Marine civic action efforts, demonstrates the prevailing conceptualization of counterinsurgent warfare within the USMC primarily centred on traditional security tasks.

A report entitled *Analysis of the Marine Pacification System* by Robert D. Campbell, produced for the Office of Naval Research, provides perhaps the most surprising perspective on CAP and USMC civic action of all the documents produced up to the end of 1968. Campbell’s report was based on

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<sup>203</sup> Stolfi, 1, Corson, 13.

<sup>204</sup> Stolfi, 38-39.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>206</sup> Stolfi, 30.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 78.

field research conducted through late 1967 in I CTZ, and was expected to develop ways to improve Marine training for pacification tasks. While the security-centric attitude of the Marine officers previously discussed can almost be dismissed as conforming to the dominant views of their profession at the time, as a civilian academic, it would be expected that Campbell would adopt a more balanced perspective. Indeed, Campbell did demonstrate an awareness that the ‘other war’ and the conventional military efforts should be brought into sync rather than working across purposes.<sup>210</sup> He also criticizes the weakness of the USMC in areas of “cultural interaction”, citing many examples of poor relations between Marines and Vietnamese civilians.<sup>211</sup> Like the professional officers however, Campbell did not view CAP responsible for civic action tasks and even questions whether the program constituted ‘pacification’ or not.<sup>212</sup> Campbell argues that the number one priority of CAP units is to “seek and destroy Vietcong,” later adding that only in the “relatively secure” villages can CAP Marines make time for any civic action projects at all.<sup>213</sup> His view that CAP served primarily as a security program was apparently shared by most of the program’s personnel who he interviewed, most of whom could not articulate why “positive cultural interaction” would have a positive impact on counterinsurgency while almost all could explain how conventional military operations could “win the war.”<sup>214</sup> Despite an awareness of the need for a united civil-military effort in Vietnam, Campbell’s report did not classify CAP as part of the ‘civil’ effort and instead joined with the professional Marine in characterizing it as almost entirely a program for the provision of traditional security tasks.

The literature surrounding CAP and American civic action efforts in Vietnam before and during the Tet offensive presents a radically different picture of the program from the characterization of many present day military theorists and historians. Indeed, even the most strident supporters of the program, such as William R. Corson, did not choose to define CAP as a civic action organization and instead defined its role as primarily security based. Before the end of the Tet offensive, it is clear that most observers thought of CAP as providing traditional military security, with its unconventionality arising from the combined operation of American and Vietnamese military members for a prolonged period of time and within a single geographic location.

The surprise and scale of the Tet offensive led to a shift in American political and military thinking. Pacification became the byword of American efforts in South Vietnam with the amorphous goal of “winning hearts and minds” coming to the forefront of policy. Richard A. Hunt points out that

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<sup>210</sup> Robert D. Campbell, *Analysis of the Marine Pacification System*, Office of Naval Research, 1968, At Defence Technical Information Centre, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=AD0833033> (accessed 24 October 2011), 14-15

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 39.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

the refocused effort on pacification was remarkable given that many in the press and the military community saw the Tet offensive as proof that pacification programs prior to 1968 had produced no results and that the unconventional approach to the conflict was “virtually hopeless.”<sup>215</sup> Campbell’s report for the Office of Naval Research published before the offensive ended, shared this sentiment by noting that Tet was a “major setback” for proponents of pacification.<sup>216</sup> Whether it was actually the case that pacification had failed in some way, and many historians would argue that it did not, Hunt asserted that the decision to refocus on pacification efforts was largely political. The big unit “search and destroy” missions had become a political liability both for their perceived wastefulness and the requirement for significant manpower.<sup>217</sup> The result was a dual focus on Vietnamization and increased pacification efforts for the remainder of the American involvement in the war. The literature produced surrounding CAP during this period reflects this change in strategic thinking.

In what proved essentially a sequel to Captain Stolfi’s 1968 *U.S. Marine Corps Civic Action Efforts in Vietnam, March 1965-March 1966*, Captain William D. Parker’s *U.S. Marine Corps Civil Affairs in I Corps, April 1966 – April 1967* was published in 1970.<sup>218</sup> Parker’s pamphlet reflected the renewed interest in pacification efforts and his characterization of CAP is part of the shift. He prefaced his work by stating that civil affairs are “every bit as important as the combat actions” and quotes the officially superseded USMC *Small Wars Manual* several pages later to support his argument that pacification projects could affect the eventual outcome of the war.<sup>219</sup> Contrary to Campbell’s questioning of whether CAP constituted a pacification program at all, Parker argued that CAP was being under-utilized adding that this was because the South Vietnamese government hindered its expansion by withholding the required Popular Force personnel from USMC control.<sup>220</sup> Still, Parker noted that CAP in 1967 was primarily focused on security and that it remained so at the time of his writing in 1969.<sup>221</sup> In short while recognizing the centrality of pacification in post-Tet American strategy, Parker argues that CAP had remained simply an effective instrument of security when it was first formed in 1965.

Civilian academic, Bruce C. Allnut’s 1969 *Marine Combined Action Capabilities: The Vietnam Experience* is in many ways analogous to Campbell’s 1968 report, and like Campbell’s, was

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<sup>215</sup> Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam’s Hearts and Minds*, (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1995), 141.

<sup>216</sup> Campbell, 35.

<sup>217</sup> Hunt, 143.

<sup>218</sup> Historical pamphlets covering the May 1967 to USMC withdrawal were apparently not produced by the Historical Division, with its interest possibly being lost after the end of American involvement in Vietnam.

<sup>219</sup> William D. Parker, *U.S. Marine Corps Civil Affairs in I Corps, April 1966 – April 1967*, (Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters USMC, 1970), iii, 1.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-86.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

produced for the Office of Naval Research. As in Campbell's earlier report, Allnutt identified ways to improve CAP in general and determined if other Marine units could garner transferrable knowledge from the program.<sup>222</sup> Here the similarities largely end. Allnutt has a great deal of praise for the capabilities and potential of the program, acknowledging that some may go as far as to say that CAP was "the solution to this complex struggle."<sup>223</sup> However, he also leveled significant criticism at the program's alleged objectives noting that "by far the largest proportion of time" was spent on "purely military operations" and adding that after Tet, USMC commanders had ordered that all CAPs *double* the number of day and night patrols which they conducted.<sup>224</sup> From Allnutt's field observations of almost every CAP in operation in mid-1969 it is clear that even after Tet, CAP remained a dominantly security focused program and even increased its focus on this after the 1968 offensive.

Given the current conceptualization of CAP as a civic action program in much of the historiography, one might expect Allnutt to argue for a reduction of the CAP's military duties in order to allow more time to be devoted to its other objectives. Quite to the contrary, he argued that CAP should divest itself of all non-security tasks and devote itself entirely to the conducting of patrols, defence of villages and training of the PF.<sup>225</sup> He also argued that the small-scale, Marine-initiated civic action projects had the potential to do more harm than good, highlighting the damage to credibility that occurred when CAPs wasted resources building schools without teachers or as in one case, starting an unpopular Boy Scout troop.<sup>226</sup> While Allnutt readily acknowledged the good intentions of the CAP Marines in starting small scale civic action projects, he notes that they are not experts in anything but combat and calls the expectation that a Marine junior non-commissioned officer in his late teens or early twenties would become a pacification guru overnight "unrealistic."<sup>227</sup> Allnutt's major conclusion was that CAP should be seen as an "umbrella of security" under which better qualified and equipped civic action personnel could conduct their mission which Allnutt deems to be of the utmost importance.<sup>228</sup> *Marine Combined Action Capabilities* reproduced the characterization of CAP as an organization which spends most of its time on security tasks which was articulated in the pre-Tet literature. While certainly possessing a more developed view of pacification as a jointly civil-military endeavour, Allnutt concluded that CAP's personnel belonged decidedly to the 'military' side of that relationship.

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<sup>222</sup> Allnutt, 3.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-46.

<sup>227</sup> Allnutt, 35-36.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

The final major analysis of CAP was produced in 1970 by Francis T. McNamara, the American Consulate's Political Advisor to the Commanding General of XXIV Corps which controlled all American forces in the five provinces of I CTZ, including the Marine forces under III MAF. McNamara observed CAP at its peak level of 114 platoons and his letter to Lieutenant General Melvin Zais (commander of XXIV Corps), argued strongly for CAP to remain in operation and even to be expanded in the final months of the American involvement.<sup>229</sup> While McNamara suggested that the program should be integrated into the CORDS command and control structure, he does not argue that it was an effective civic action program, identifying its contributions to security and the "improvement of the Popular Forces."<sup>230</sup> The *Fact Sheet* which statistically documented CAP's accomplishments, focused entirely on enemy versus friendly casualty figures and comparisons of kill ratios between PF platoons with attached CAP Marines and independent PF platoons.<sup>231</sup> McNamara's description of CAP is perhaps the most enthusiastic and optimistic of the post-Tet era, encouraging expansion even in the waning days of American involvement in Vietnam. However like the rest of the post-Tet CAP literature, McNamara's analysis of CAP highlights its capabilities as a security organization while at the same time emphasizing its importance to the defence of the increasingly high-profile civic action projects.

How is it possible to explain the post-Tet literature's classification of CAP as a program dominantly directed towards the provision of security? Given the current historiography of CAP which tends to highlight alleged civic action accomplishments, conventional wisdom would dictate that in the pacification-conscious post-Tet era most observers would be advocating an increased civic action role for CAP. As we have seen, it is clear that all three of the studies examined demonstrate a keen awareness of the refocused American strategy following the Tet offensive and their support of civic action projects is more articulate and clearly-defined than their predecessors. Still, CAP remains strongly defined as a security program and both Allnut and McNamara argue that it should be limited to those roles.

Through the Combined Action Program's short existence, it managed to garner a significant degree of attention both from military professionals and civilian observers alike. CAP's 1990s rediscovery from the dark corner of Vietnam War history brought the program back into the limelight of military thought once again<sup>232</sup>. However in many cases, renewed interest did not engender critical

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<sup>229</sup> Francis T. McNamara, *Fact Sheet on the Combined Action Force: III Marine Amphibious Force, 31 March 1970 and Attached Memorandum*, (At the Vietnam Center and Archive, Texas Tech University), Memorandum 1.

<sup>230</sup> McNamara, Memorandum 3.

<sup>231</sup> McNamara, Fact Sheet 11-19.

<sup>232</sup> The CAP concept was directly experimented with by 2/7 Marines from 2004-2005 in Iraq. See Phillip C. Skuta, "Introduction to 2/7 CAP Platoon Actions in Iraq," *Marine Corps Gazette*, 2005. Additionally, the

historical analysis of the literature surrounding CAP produced during its period of operations, leading to a characterization of CAP as an agent of American civic action efforts which went unrecognized. Some authors go further, arguing that if CAP had been expanded to all parts of Vietnam, the course of the war might have been changed and that this model of pacification has applicability in other unconventional conflicts.

The above examination of VN era literature on CAP reveals a great deal about what observers of the program thought about its mission, merits and limitations. Until the end of the Tet offensive, authors tended to characterize the program as dominantly for the provision of security in the villages of Vietnam with a small civic action role playing a supporting, almost diversionary place. Where some such as Corson or McNamara, argued that CAP should be expanded, the general consensus seems to have been that CAP was an organization which excelled at killing the enemy and improving the ability of the Popular Forces to follow suit. With the concentration of American efforts into pacification post-Tet, observers began to include defences of the utility of such programs in their analyses of CAP. However, none of the authors examined seem to have believed that CAP was or should be an effective instrument of implementing America's new civic action doctrine. On the contrary, the argument was made that CAP should give up even its nominal commitment to civic action and focus entirely on the provision of security. This was not a regression by the authors to the pre-Tet large-unit sweep and clear strategy but rather an argument that the combat-experienced Marines within CAP could be better utilized as an "umbrella of security" under which the professional civic action programs of CORDS could operate.

Perhaps most significantly, no author of the period argued that CAP was itself a war-winning strategy of counterinsurgency including its most vocal supporter, LTC Corson. The success of CAP is a debatable point, though many of the observers seemed to believe that it was having significant results in the realm of military security. However the current historiography's uncritical discussion of CAP as a potentially war-winning strategy with applicability in other conflicts should be approached with caution. As this examination argues, CAP's utility as anything but a militarily traditional security program is highly debatable. Contrary to much of the current historiography and the hopeful description of CAP by one of its veterans as a "Voice of Hope" in America's most costly strategic quagmire, the evidence clearly points to CAP as being a highly successful security apparatus rather

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"new" American strategy in Afghanistan is reminiscent of CAP with some 4000 American Special Forces troops being deployed to "Afghanistan's rural towns and villages to advise inexperienced Afghan forces." The strategy has been dubbed the "Village Stability Operations program" in which the American SF operators "help what is essentially an Afghan government-backed armed neighbourhood watch to keep the peace." See "U.S. Afghan Plan Outlines new Counter-insurgency Strategy," The Associated Press, *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News*, (12 April 2012) <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2012/04/12/afghan-draft-plan-withdrawal.html> (accessed 30 April 2012).

than being itself an effective provider of civic action. CAP Marines were decidedly closer to being “Knives in the Night” than the political warriors of the current telling. This is not to say that CAP was useless to efforts in South Vietnam and indeed many observers highlighted its role of providing security within the pacification strategy. The demonstrable faults in much of the historiography of CAP should be seen as a warning against cursory scans of the history of counterinsurgency for ‘one size fits all’ solutions to contemporary asymmetric conflicts.

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## ***Antidote: Reflections on Grant's "Poisoned Cup"***

Bonnie Talbot

In the concluding section of his 1974 Wood lectures on *English-Speaking Justice*, Canadian political philosopher George Grant uses the occasion of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade* to raise questions concerning the contractualism underpinning modern liberal thought. This contractualism is based in the principles of "right prior to good; a foundational contract protecting individual rights; the neutrality of the state concerning moral 'values'; social pluralism supported by and supporting this neutrality" (Grant 1998, 109). In Grant's estimation, however, while these principles may be necessary to the functioning of a liberal society, they are not sufficient to guarantee the existence of a just society. Justice, he argues, is an immutable and inherent human attribute, an ideal sprung from classical and Christian thought whose aspirational qualities are intimately and inseparably tied to the human condition. For liberalism to be considered just, he feels that it must be informed and shaped by this ideal. Without its constant reminder that there is a greater moral and ethical imperative than a technocratic balancing of costs and profits, harms and benefits, liberal thought risks rigidifying into a sort of technological social accountancy, or even a rationalizing form of utilitarianism. Mr. Justice Blackmun's majority opinion, for Grant,

*raises a cup of poison to the lips of liberalism. The poison is presented in the unthought ontology....once ontological affirmation is made the basis for denying the most elementary right of traditional justice to members of our own species, ontological questioning cannot be silenced at this point. Because such a distinction has been made, the decision unavoidably opens up the whole question of what our species is. What is it about any members of our species which makes the liberal rights of justice their due? (1998, 110.)*

The intent of this writing is to attempt to provide an antidote of sorts for the poison Grant sees as the end result of the contractualism of liberal justice. Through an exegetical analysis of the conclusion of *English-Speaking Justice*, I propose to trouble the assumptions Grant makes concerning the fitness of Christian and Platonic thought as the basis for a system of justice, and to examine the issues and questions he brings forth in the light of modern modes of thought (especially Nietzschean and feminist philosophy), which tend to view justice as a fluid and contextual concept instead of a fixed and universal one. In other words, Grant's concepts and concerns surrounding justice will be examined and considered from a point of view which is drawn from a source which is based in non-theism rather than secularism, the actual rather than the idealized, the ethical rather than the moral, possibility rather than unattainability. This antidote may cause some pain and discomfort in its administration; indeed, to some it might appear that its side effects are less desirable than the initial effects of the poison itself. It is offered, however, in the sincere hope that a questioning of what justice

is and how it might operate within the confines of our increasingly technological society will alleviate what Grant sees as a lamentable toxicity.

Grant perceives a "civilizational contradiction" (1998, 111) permeating the core of English-speaking Western civilization. This contradiction lies in the attempt to reconcile our modern technological existence, which holds that our lives are "ruled by necessity and chance" (1998, 111), with the account of human existence as presented in ancient thought and through Christianity, "in which the notion of good was essential to the understanding of what is" (1998, 111). There is a propensity among academics to view the contradiction as, essentially, a matter of opinion, or "differing accounts of the human situation" (1998, 111). But for Grant, this dichotomy has deeper and more serious connotations; "what is at stake in this contradiction is not only the foundations of justice, but more importantly its content" (1998, 111). It is this dichotomy which animated the early modern thinkers' musings on justice and, in Grant's words, "make(s) it not inaccurate to call the early centuries of modern liberal Europe the era of secularized Christianity" (1998, 112).

The presupposition of the primacy of Christian principles – even secularized ones – as a foundation for the content of justice which suffuses *English-Speaking Justice* strikes me as problematic. This challenging does not arise from any sort of instinctive, knee-jerk philosophical unease with anyone's belief in a deity, nor from any strict constructionist belief in the separation of church and state (since the provenance and pursuit of justice is more and more the province of the state mechanisms of legislatures, police and courts). It stems rather from an attempt to consider, as dispassionately as possible, the effects that Christian belief has had in ameliorating or enabling historical situations of *in*justice; and here, I think it is safe to say, the record shows mixed results. The spread of Christian principles has been held up as one of the greatest influences in the development of Western justice and the modern nation-state; but it is also a common aphorism that more wars have been fought over religious difference than any other cause (although, in passing, it is my contention that linguistic divisions run a close second). Christian thought has preoccupied itself with musings on peace, compassion, charity, equality and love, from the writings of the apostle Paul through St. Augustine, from de las Casas to Tutu; but it has also preoccupied itself with justifications (reinforced by scripture and Christian philosophy) for war, conquest, slavery, genocide, misogyny, racial division, repression, totalitarianism and pedophilia. Christian principles and ideals have been intimately connected to many notable campaigns for social justice, from abolitionism to civil rights to liberation theology; but they are also structurally integral to the horrors of the Crusades, the Inquisition, the Holocaust and Canada's subjugation of the First Nations through the Indian Act and the residential school system. This litany of shortcomings is not intended in any way to dismiss the contributions which Christian beliefs and practices have made toward the establishment of a more just social order,

nor to suggest that they should be jettisoned wholesale as inimical to its continuation. But to privilege Christian thought as superior to utilitarianism on instinctual moral grounds, however, is to privilege its occasional successes and ignore the sufferings and inequities which have been justified in its name.

For Grant, the philosopher who most clearly and lucidly enucleated the dichotomy at the heart of modern Western justice – "the desire to have both what was given in the new knowledge, and what was given us about justice in the religious and philosophical traditions" (1998, 112) – came, not from the English tradition, but from the German: Friedrich Nietzsche. Nietzsche's genius, for Grant, lay in his ability to look into the workings of Western civilization and discover the terrible twin snakes twined around its heart: the realization that "what is given about the whole in technological science cannot be thought together with what is given us concerning justice and truth, reverence and beauty, from our tradition" (1998, 113). Nietzsche, through his writings on justice, the 'will to power' and time as history<sup>1</sup>, forges a philosophical link in the chain forged by Bacon and added to by Darwin and Mendel, a chain whose purpose is to subdue and contain mysticism and its impingement on the functioning of liberal philosophy. Under the Nietzschean conception, "(j)ustice as equality and fairness is that bit of Christian instinct which survives the death of God" (1998, 114). He points out that the grafting of principles which assume the immanence of the eternal and the active influence of a higher good onto a system which assumes the immanence of the temporal and precludes the possibility of determining a higher good results in a system whose foundations and content are radically severed from one another. Modern thinkers like Locke, Rousseau, and especially Kant, "the intellectual democrats who adopt modern thought while picking and choosing among the ethical 'norms' from a dead past" (1998, 114) are the targets of Nietzsche's sharpest and deepest contempt.

In the classical and Christian ages, there seems too have been a sense of *complacency* in human activity; an assumption of a sphere of timelessness and constancy, a static space of perfection which would be realized, if not in this phase of our existence, then in the next. In the face of the wrangles and frustrations of daily lived experience, one could turn for comfort, like a fire in winter, toward this numinous realm of possibility. For the Platonists, this comfort could be found in the contemplation of the ideal, of the True, the Beautiful and the Good and the sustaining possibilities of our eventual union with its unending continuity. For Christian thinkers, it lay in the contemplation of the divine, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost and the sustaining possibilities of our eventual union with its unending continuity. There seems to have been an unquestioned knowledge that, if we hewed as closely to the parameters set out for us by the eternal, we were assured of being subsumed by its power and rendered eternal in our stead. It was this constant awareness of the ideal's judgment of our behaviour which animated classical and Christian life: *the immanence of the eternal*.

Technological advancement and development, since the Enlightenment and especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have brought us face to face with the concept of *obsolescence*, the constant possibility of becoming suddenly and unexpectedly irrelevant to the activity of existence. Industrial manufacturing and digital technology, in particular, have even introduced the concept of *planned obsolescence*, the idea that irrelevance is built into the very nature of the machine, that the death of that technological entity (which, being human, we tend to anthropomorphize) is inevitable, but it is acceptable and survivable; that while it may occasion some discomfort (both material in the cost of replacement and emotional in the form of the wrenching process required in adapting to the new or improved technology which replaces it), it is, in a strange sense, natural and welcomed. It is this constant awareness of obsolescence (through our bodies' connection to technology) which animates our technological society: *the immanence of the temporal*.

These two awarenesses, caught in the struggle to animate our intention, reason and apprehension, are also what bind the philosophies of Nietzsche and Grant in an intriguing and illuminating way. Grant is inarguably championing the cause of the immanence of the eternal, Nietzsche of the temporal; and the way in which their perspectives animate their beliefs in justice cuts to the heart of the matter. For in reading the two, one is left with the question: where should human energy and desire be focused, on the possibilities in the next world, or the possibilities of this one?

Technology and time as history have brought the immanence of obsolescence and its concomitant demand to 'adapt or die' to the forefront of human activity. To continue to base social interactions on the immanence of obsolescence, and yet base that society's system of justice on the immanence of the eternal, is to require a daily descent into schizophrenic justification to explain the disparity between the two.

Grant then enumerates a number of questions through which he attempts to frame the reconciliation of traditional perceptions of justice as eternal and unchangeable with the modern, Nietzschean perception of justice as historical, mutable and contextual. While these questions are obviously provided for rhetorical purposes without the expectation of a response, I believe that a consideration of them from the perspective of feminist political thought may provide corresponding questions which trouble the debate as much as Grant's questions do.

*Once we have realized what we can now will to create through our technology, why should we limit such creation by basing our systems of 'justice' on presuppositions which have been shown to be archaic by the very coming to be of technology? As we move into a society where we will be able to shape not only non-human nature but humanity itself, why should we limit that shaping by doctrines of equal rights which come out of a world view that 'history' has swept away? Does not the production of quality of life require a legal system which gives new range to the rights of*

*the creative and the dynamic? Why should that range be limited by the rights of the weak, the uncreative, and the immature? Why should the liberation of women to quality of life be limited by restraints on abortion, particularly when we know that the fetuses are only the product of necessity and chance? Once we have recognized 'history' as the imposing of our wills on an accidental world, does not 'justice' take on a new content? (1998, 115)*

The technology which springs to mind as a concrete example of the dilemma in Grant's first query is contraception, especially emergency contraception, or the so-called 'morning after pill'. Traditional beliefs hold that conception is the province of the eternal; it is in the hands of fate or God as to whether a woman will conceive. The moment that conception occurs, it is her duty, under these formulations of justice and right, to preserve the human life within her and to subjugate herself to these demands not of her choosing. Modern understanding of the human female reproductive system, coupled with the technical ability to synthesize artificial hormones, has brought about technologies which allow that woman to alter her body chemistry to prevent implantation of the fertilized ovum. No actual harm is done to the potential human in her body; the technology alters only the environment which it needs to survive. Informed by this preamble, Grant's question can be formulated thusly; is our hypothetical woman committing murder by preventing implantation, or is she exercising autonomy over her own reproductive system? Is emergency contraception a powerful tool for the empowerment of female human beings, or is it an attempt to 'play God', a technological intrusion into what should be a sacrosanct biological process? Which concern should be held as the highest priority *vis-à-vis* the operation of 'justice'?

Feminist political and cultural theorists would agree that the technologization of the human body is a bone of ardent and active political contention, as evidenced by the debates surrounding issues as diverse as abortion, transgender surgery, and cosmetic surgery's role in perpetuating patriarchal beauty ideals. But they would object strenuously to Grant's passing, almost casual assumption in his second question that classical and Christian principles are the seedbed of the 'doctrines of equal rights' contained in modern thought. The principles of equality and liberty central to liberalism were espoused in direct opposition to the idea – bolstered by Christian doctrine as shaped by classical philosophy – that one man had the right to unilaterally decide the fate of another, that some men are shaped by the eternal for domination over other, somehow lesser human beings. Our system of justice is supposedly, since the liberal revolutions of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, derived from these principles of equality and liberty, based on the 'facts' presented in each case. But if the 'facts' on whose basis we animate these principles are corrupted, incomplete, inaccurate or erroneous, then the conclusions derived from those 'facts' are bound to reflect the same. It is my contention that early modern thought had taken the *beliefs* which undergird Christian and Platonic ways of seeing and thinking the world as

*facts* in its derivation of the principles of justice: the 'fact' that the colour of one's skin was proof of one's moral fibre and how many fifths of a human being one was; the 'fact' that the ownership of human beings (or the removal of their autonomy and agency, the subjugation of their soul, through, say, imprisonment or execution) was not only justifiable, but righteous and charitable; the 'fact' of our dominion over the earth and the right to plunder, rape and destroy the very environment which provides for our existence; and, especially for feminist thinkers, the 'fact' that women were unfit to control their own reproductive choices or bodily functions, let alone the tenor and direction of public life. The supposedly objective and empirical methods used to support these assertions was based on the assumption of these 'facts'; the thinkers who developed the very systems and discourses of science and logic in which our current conceptions of justice are grounded mistakenly assumed the natural and eternal subjugation of the feminine, the alien and the labouring forces of the world. When these 'facts' or understandings were questioned and found wanting through basic, simple, reproducible, verifiable methods that were not bound by the unquestioning, presumptive, paternalistic fatalism contained in classical and Christian thought, they were jettisoned or tempered by science – but not yet entirely by philosophy, and not yet entirely by justice.

When prior assumptions about the inherent, physiological inferiority of women's intelligence and capacity for public life were struck down, the laws which affected their ability to engage with the world were changed; but the *system* and *discourse* of justice, its first principles, the methods, techniques, assumptions and mechanisms used since liberalism's emergence to think and speak those laws remained unchanged, unaffected, untouched by the presence of the feminine. They remained centered around unanimity and majoritarianism, not consensus and pluralism; around revenge and retribution, not reconciliation and restitution; around hierarchy and dominance, not horizontality and interconnectedness. Having women deliver the pronouncements of a patriarchal institution does not necessarily imply the existence of a gender-sensitive system of justice.

This system of justice which claims as its central motivating principle the upholding and protection of freedom is itself founded on and sustained by its continued negation of that freedom in human bodies it sees as 'Others' – specifically, gendered bodies. I am not implying that the exclusionist nature of the founding principles of our system of justice require that the entire structure be razed and some behaviourist, strictly-evidence-based system which privileges gender equality over all other considerations be hastily erected in its place. Such a remedy would likely be worse than the existing condition. But I am challenging Grant's unspoken assumption that the concepts of justice as represented to us through Christian and classical thought are based in a vision of universal equality.

The "production of quality of life" referred to in Grant's third and fourth questions is presented as a technology which promotes "the rights of the creative and dynamic" at the expense of "the weak,

the uncreative, and the immature". I would argue that quality of life technologies have been intended and, in the main, used to *expand* the definition of who is considered creative and dynamic to apply to those who were once considered weak, uncreative and immature, i.e., women. It is only with the expansion of the definition that the rights of those once classified as weak, uncreative and immature are perceived as conflicting with the rights of those who dominated the category of the creative and dynamic under classical and Christian constructions of the term. Christian-Platonic ideals of justice are concerned with unraveling how the weak, uncreative and immature *ought to be* treated by the creative and dynamic; modern thought tries to grapple with how the weak, the uncreative and the immature *are* treated by the creative and the dynamic, and how to bring forth the rights of the former in a way that does not infringe upon the existing rights of the latter. It is this conception which underlies what could be seen as a troubling differentiation common to liberal justice, one used by Mr. Justice Blackmun in *Roe v. Wade*; the differentiation between 'humans' (*all* people including the weak, etc.) and 'persons' (the creative and dynamic exclusively). This division is seen by Grant as springing from the dehumanizing and nihilistic tendencies of modern thought; but I would argue that its roots are far more firmly embedded in the soil of Christian and Platonic thought. This division is encapsulated in the deliberations and debates over whether or not women could be considered to possess a *soul*, an attribution hotly contested in Christian and Platonic thought; in modern liberal thought, this division is often drawn between those perceived to possess or not possess *agency*, the ability to interact and engender change in the world, an ability now presumptively proven as an ability which women indisputably possess. The development of theories around human agency can be looked at as the secularization of the concept of the soul. In this sense, modern technologies which facilitate the expression of agency – techniques to reduce child and maternal mortality, prevent mother-to-child disease transmission, to control one's own reproduction and biological processes, even the ability to participate and contribute to public determination of the advantages and drawbacks of the dissemination of these techniques – have contributed to the ensoulment (if you will) of millions who would, under the classical and Christian formulation, have been considered peripheral, irrelevant or inconsequential to the very possibility of the development of these techniques. In short, the bone in justice's throat lies not in the *limitation* of inherent rights, but in their *expansion*; and if expansion causes a system to wobble, one would hopefully change, modify and strengthen the foundation, not abandon the expansion.

It is this same division between 'humans' and 'persons', between the soul-bearing and the soulless, between the agential and the passive, which lies at the heart of Grant's fifth rhetorical rejoinder. In this question, and throughout *English-Speaking Justice*, the pivot of the abortion issue is presented as being positioned between the rights of the mother and the rights of the foetus. It is here

that the correlation of Grant's philosophy to the work of Luce Irigaray may be most illuminating. In chapters 6 and 7 of *I Love To You* (1996, 69-95), she examines the gendered nature of the differences in linguistic exchanges between men and women. From her analysis, it is overwhelmingly clear that that which is neutral or collectively mixed-gender is conceived of as belonging to and claimed within the masculine gender by both men and women. In the light of this analysis, Grant's positioning of the rights of the mother (an emphatically gendered term) against the rights of the foetus (a 'neutral' singular and collectively mixed-gender grouping, and therefore implicitly assumed to be masculine) is shown to be aligned with the exclusionary nature of Christian-Platonic thought toward the feminine in general, and women in particular, developed in the previous section. It is this remnant of Christian and classical thought concerning the division between personhood and humanity which, consciously or not, subordinates the feminine to the masculine, which privileges the (subconsciously and implicitly male) foetus over the mother. As Irigaray further develops (1996, 96-128), not only is this privileging highly problematic; it is also problematic in that there is no accepted language with which to express – or, realistically, think – a view which attempts to deprive the supposed inherency of the right to life of the foetus, or to balance it with the mother's right of bodily autonomy, without being perceived as harsh, nihilistic, utilitarian and inherently unjust.

A feminist, Nietzschean perspective on the sixth and final question Grant poses requires its restatement back to his philosophy in a slightly different form: Once we have recognized '*justice*' as the imposing of an *eternal, immutable will* on a *temporal, adaptable world*, *is it not required to take on a new content?* Technology has forcibly withdrawn certain human activities – most notably human reproduction itself – from the perceived control of the *eternal* and placed it squarely and ineluctably under the control of the *temporal*, i.e., placed reproduction under the control of human 'will' rather than God's or the universe's 'will'. As such, liberal ideas of 'justice' must necessarily become self-directed instead of other-directed, regardless of whether our course of action is predicated on the advice or pronouncements of others. It is a choice which becomes literally, inevitably and necessarily *embodied*; and a concept of 'justice' which is based on the unquestionable assumption of the transcendence of the flesh will never be adequate to addressing the very real and very pressing needs of bodies which do not assume it. Justice which excludes is not justice at all, but privilege.

Grant then moves on to a warning of the danger he sees in the marriage of liberalism and technology:

*...(O)ur justice is being played out within a destiny more comprehensive than itself. A quick name for this is 'technology'. I mean by that word the endeavour which summons forth everything (both human and non-human) to give its reason, and through the*

*summoning forth of those reasons turns the world into potential raw material, at the disposal of our 'creative' wills. (1998, 116-117)*

Grant's objection to the adoption of a technological and contractual basis for justice is that *(i)t will exclude liberal justice from those who are too weak to enforce contracts – the imprisoned, the mentally unstable, the unborn, the aged, the defeated, and sometimes even the morally unforming. The price for large-scale equality under the direction of the 'creative' will be injustice for the very weak. (1998, 117)*

What troubles me about Grant's interpretation of contractualism and the rationalization of justice is the absolutist strain of his enucleation; *either* the assumed moral and ethical superiority of Christian and Platonic thought are retained as a tempering influence on the changes engendered in the human condition through technological development (which he sees as unlikely, maybe even impossible) *or* we are doomed to endure a concept of justice which is divorced from any consideration of its moral consequences, a system of justice which is heartlessly and *mandatorily* utilitarian, where the 'weak' are coldly sacrificed to the fires of necessity without a backward thought in order for the 'creative' to continue the transformation of the world into raw material for consumption, which has become the end rather than the means of progress. Grant's ideal of justice seems to require a rigidity of content and purpose, an inflexibility which erases all difference and alterity, in order to maintain a *status quo*, dictated by the eternal, which seems less and less relevant with each passing decade. Modern thought concerning justice – especially that which has arisen from the relatively recent development of feminist, postmodern and poststructural theory – is attempting to move away from the assumption that there *is* an ideal form of justice which suits all situations and all contexts. Liberalism is more and more being called upon to provide justice for bodies which are considered 'persons', when they were once considered "merely 'human'" (to use Arendt's memorable phrasing). The issue which troubles Grant so deeply is not the limitations imposed on 'justice' by the nihilism of technological liberalism; it is the way the fabric of 'justice' tears as it tries to encompass bodies whose exclusion was its former justification for being.

In Grant's exposition of the course of human justice, humanity was guided by a vision of ultimate goodness and justice which was external to themselves...and then they internalized and contractualized that source of goodness and justice through the secularization of liberal democracy, perverting it and emptying it of meaning. But just because Grant *perceives* a past infused with the operation of a transcendental ideal does not mean that that ideal was actual or real – or universal. For many human bodies – gendered bodies, racialized bodies, disabled bodies – Grant's transcendent ideal

was the metaphorical set of shackles which chained them for life to the state of exception which both limited and defined 'justice'.

Grant closes with a careful, articulate description of the bifurcated nature of the dilemma he sees as poisoning the cup of justice:

*It is folly to simply return to the ancient account of justice as if the discoveries of the modern science of nature had not been made. It is folly to take the account of justice as simply of antiquarian interest, because without any knowledge of justice as what we are fitted for, we will move into the future with a 'justice' which is terrifying in its potentialities for mad inhumanity of action.*

I would answer him with the equally forceful assertion that it is folly to insist on the ancient account of justice as the only legitimate source of animation for its operation. The account of justice which sees more potential in humanity than it sees in itself is a tradition which should be preserved and nurtured. But the canon must be expanded; voices from places other than Athens or Jerusalem must be included in the debate over what justice is if it is to remain a debate which is relevant to the lived experience of humanity. The traditions of justice which come to us from cultures whose subjugation, assimilation and destruction were evoked in the opening paragraph's of Grant's 'Time As History' must be preserved, revived and put once more into active congress with the traditions of Western society. The theories, suggestions and proposals of that half of the human race who, until the twentieth century, were considered 'persons' only under a contract of subjugation and even then only in a limited sense – women – must be materially adopted instead of academically patronized.

An effective way of ameliorating or eliminating a dose of poison is through its dilution in a greater volume of liquid. If the cup of liberalism is not sufficient to contain the healthy and nourishing concepts of justice required for its continued applicability, then the cup of liberalism must be refashioned out of a greater amount and diversity of materials and ideals. A cup deep enough and large enough to contain enough justice for all cannot afford to jettison the components provided by Christian and classical thought; but neither can liberalism any longer afford to continue privileging their inclusion if it means prohibiting the inclusion of other material which has been proven to be useful in the past. In the same way that the modern feminist conceptions of justice should never abandon attempts to reconcile themselves with classical and Christian thought on the subject, so the latter must never stop increasing its attempts to understand and enfold the former into itself.

## **Endnote**

1. For a more in-depth understanding of Grant's engagement with Nietzschean thought, the reader is directed to his 1969 Massey Lectures on "Time as History" (published 1995, University of Toronto Press).

## **References**

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## ***The Epistemology of the 'Fag Hag'***

Bonnie Talbot

*She left the bar weeping. Fag hag. Fag hag! It rang in her ears as she walked home; it was the only refrain she heard on the street – she imagined everybody whispering it as she passed. Fag hag! She'd heard that label applied, derisively, to other women; not to her. Yet what else could she be? Her entire life was devoted to the company of gay men who didn't care a damn for her – who found her an amusing diversion, a sparkle of color in their monochromatic, all-male realm. Was she as pathetic as that? An anomaly? A figure of fun? A silly indulgence, of no importance – not beneath notice, but not much above it, either?*

- Robert Rodi, *Fag Hag: A Novel*

Fag hag. Swish dish. Faggotina. Homo honey. Flame dame. Fairy godmother.

The appellations are multiple and varied, but their tone and context are remarkably consistent: heterosexual women whose close friendships *are* or are *perceived to be* primarily with gay men are labelled with names which denigrate and deride, addressed with a language that mocks and criticizes both her identity and her identifications, met with words that cast aspersions on both her femininity and her friendships. A remarkable measure of contempt, pity and derision gets aimed at 'girls who like boys who like boys', as evidenced by the unfortunate marriage of "the homophobic designation 'fag' and the sexist 'hag'" (Pellegrini, 42) in the most common sobriquet applied to this figure. Where does the vitriolic and, frankly, unprovoked reaction to this figure come from, and why? Why are people so mean to the fag hag?

This paper attempts to answer this question. It presents the epistemology of the fag hag: the current treatment of this figure within gender and queer theory, and her location within the discourses of gender and sexuality which animate Western systems of heteronormativity. An examination of the discursive construction of the fag hag will demonstrate that the hostility she generates stems, not from *what* she does, but from who she does it *with*. The fag hag is not seen to transgress against heterosexual processes of identity formation, so much as she is seen to transgress against homosocial processes of identification and affiliation; her breaking of this 'heterosocial taboo', whether perceived as deliberate or driven by error, provides the context for the negative perceptions which attach to her.

### **Foundations: Theory and Context**

Concerned, as this paper is, with the construction of sex, gender and sexuality within a heteronormative context, its roots in postmodern and post-structuralist theory can be easily identified. Given the negativity and opprobrium with which the fag hag is confronted by Western society, a postmodern sensibility, especially based in theories of gender and sexuality, seemed the most appropriate and effective approach in the construction of her epistemology. As Wilchins notes, "postmodernism is a philosophy of the dispossessed, perfect for bodies and genders that are unspeakable, marginalized, or simply erased." (2004, p. 44) In order to unpack the process through

which alterity is constructed, how "bodies and genders" *come to be* "unspeakable, marginalized or simply erased", it is essential to examine concepts presented by French philosopher Michel Foucault.

Foucault is considered the originator of the concept of *discourse*, what Wilchins describes as "a set of meaning-making practices. Discourse is a set of rules for producing knowledge that determines what kind of intelligible statements can be circulated within a given economy of thought." (2004, p. 59) Discourse, in the Foucauldian sense, should not be taken to mean a purely or even primarily verbal form of communication and knowledge production; nor should it be assumed to be purely or primarily an interpersonal process. Representational imagery, institutional structures, pedagogical techniques, spiritual and religious belief, and rituals both ecumenical and ecclesiastical (among others) also contribute to the propagation and perpetuation of various discursive techniques and constructions.

Foucault's work provides two important insights into the operation of discourse as far as how it relates to the fag hag. The first concept drawn from Foucauldian is the recognition that discourse is a process wherein "the main exercise of power is not through repression but *production*. Discursive power produces specific kinds of individuals, with specific bodies, pleasures and sexes." (Wilchins, 2004, p. 62) Bodies which are seen to have been shaped by discursive power in the 'correct' way in regard to a multiplicity of variabilities – gender, race, class, ability, nationality, to name a few – are rewarded with access and opportunities to participate in discursive and material reproduction.

The second insight Foucault provides is that, when confronted with bodies that are 'incorrectly' produced, discursive power operates through decentralized, "diffuse and capillary" (Wilchins, 63) *disciplinary* and *regulatory* methods in an attempt to realign these bodies with the hegemonic discourse. In other words, discursive power's primary effect lies not in the overt repression of women and the attempted elimination of homosexuals and homosexuality. Instead, it operates through the productive privileging of marriage, motherhood and domesticity, for example, to produce the 'right kind' of women, it operates through the deployment of *disciplinary and regulatory techniques* such as surveillance, interrogation and rehabilitation (especially through medical/psychiatric and legal/incarcerative discourses) against homosexuals to discourage their 'unproductive' relations and affiliations. As this paper will show, the fag hag contains a mixture of 'right' and 'wrong' constructions. Discursive constructions of the fag hag are targeted at realignment with the discourse of heteronormativity.

A second postmodernist whose work must be addressed is that of Judith Butler. Building on Foucault's theories regarding the discursively constructed nature of sexuality, Butler casts a critical eye on the assumed inherency of the characteristics of gender and sex, exploring the possibility that they, too, may not be 'natural', prediscursive givens, but, rather, the discursive construction of desire as an aligned, fixed, and productive binary. "If the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this

construct called "sex" is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all." (Butler, 1999, pp. 10-11)

Again, a pair of concepts emerge from Butler's work as particularly salient to our consideration of the fag hag. The first is the concept that gender and sex are not biological or genetic requirements inherent to all bodies, but that they are *socially constructed*. Desires, relations and sexual acts which were, until recently, commonly held to be intrinsically and exclusively heterosexual – monogamous pair bonding, the desire for commitment and a lifelong union, reproductive sexuality, etc. – have been revealed as active and current concerns for non-heterosexual individuals and couples as well; witness the fervent and hard-fought campaigns for marriage equality throughout the West, including its legalization in Canada. "The replication of heterosexual constructs in non-heterosexual frames brings into relief the utterly constructed status of the so-called heterosexual original. Thus, gay is to straight *not* as copy is to original, but, rather, as copy is to copy." (Butler, 1999, p, 41)

The second important concept drawn from Butler's work which is necessary to understanding the construction of the fag hag is the concept of *gender performativity*. This does not mean that human beings only 'act out' their gender roles without internalizing them as a part of their existence and lived experience; it means that gender is not inherently possessed by the body before it is endowed by discourse. Once the body's gender/sex identity has been endowed, the acts and attributes which 'belong' to it are identified, imposed, encouraged, taught, repeated, and reinforced, again and again, until they become naturalized by the body and bear the appearance of inherence and naturalness. "...[T]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results." (Butler, 1999, p. 33)

In the light of these concepts, how, then, is the fag hag discursively produced? What disciplinary measures are brought to bear in order for her to emerge – or, as is usually the case, for her to be erased? How does she transgress against the gendered and sexed expectations of current discursive constructions? How does she transgress performatively and bring into question the social construction of gender? An answer, if only a partial one, can be found through an examination of the concept of *heteronormativity*.

### **Discourse, Part I – Heteronormativity and Identity**

Heteronormativity is a concept developed in feminist and queer theory to describe a cultural bias which assumes that human beings fall into one of two discrete categories of biological sex, male or female, and that the expression of one's gender is tied to one's biological sex. It holds further that human sexuality also bifurcates neatly and cleanly along gender lines, so that heterosexual desires, relations and sexual acts become an unquestionable norm in defining social interactions between the

two genders. These techniques organise categories of identity into hierarchical binaries, i.e., man as the opposite (and superior) of woman, and heterosexual as the opposite (and superior) of homosexual. These binaries are exclusionary: if something isn't A or B, it is either forced to become one or the other through disciplinary and regulatory techniques; if these are unsuccessful and the binarized body still refuses both choices or demands more options, it is labelled as irremediable and excluded and ostracized. They are also hierarchical; "the first term of the binary acts as a center that is insulated from being questioned" (Wilchins, 2004, p. 41). Should questioning occur, either from those who are within the insulated center or from those whose exclusion defines it, the same processes and techniques of discipline and regulation are employed to reinforce the binary, and to realign the questioner within it or reconstitute them as outside of it. In short, heteronormativity assumes that for most human beings, gender, sex and sexuality will align with one another to produce a 'normal' heterosexual body, which is seen as the 'natural', 'default' state of human existence: all other bodies are suspect in their difference; they must be watched, tracked, questioned and, where possible, realigned with this 'natural' state of heterosexuality.

Picture the way a compass works. The needle of a compass *always* points north. If you want to go south, you rotate the compass housing until 'south' is aligned with the direction of the travel arrow. Then you align your body so that, when the compass needle again points north, it means you are facing south according to where the needle shows 'north' to be. No matter which direction you want to travel, you determine your path *by knowing where 'north' is and aligning your body and path of travel according to that knowledge*. A similar situation pertains under heteronormative discourse; one gains an understanding of how close to 'normal' one's gender or sexuality hews based on the magnetic cultural compulsion of heteronormative standards. Without reference to heteronormative formulations, there is as (yet) no language or system of communication through which one can determine the intelligibility of knowledge produced about gender, sex, or sexuality. Heteronormative discourse provides more than guidance or suggestions as to how one is constituted *vis a vis* these modes of experience; it works to ensure that it is the *only* economy of thought within which one can intelligibly and coherently produce knowledge concerning them. In this sense, heteronormative discourse operates as a socially constructed 'magnetic north' toward which we are forced to orient, not only to ensure that we are going in the 'right' direction, but in order to have any comprehension of the concept of 'directionality' in the first place.

The operation of heteronormative discourse on the construction of gender identity is, like all discursive activity, multi-layered and multi-pronged, operating on levels as diverse as the institutional, the familial and the institutional. Adrienne Rich, for example, takes note of "...the constraints and sanctions which have enforced or ensured the coupling of women with men and obstructed or

penalized women's coupling or allying in *independent* groups with other women." (2007, pp. 202-3; emphasis added). In addition to noting the jointly productive and disciplinary operation of the discourse, this excerpt draws particular attention to its hierarchical property; independent action is not possible for the feminine, because it is perpetually placed in subordination and service to the needs of the masculine – in this case, for access to the sexual and procreative 'reservoirs' provided by the feminine. Rich also points out the multi-layered and multidirectional operation of heteronormative discourse:

*In Western tradition, one layer [of heteronormative discourse] – the romantic – asserts that women are inevitably, even if rashly and tragically, drawn to men; that even when that attraction is suicidal,... it is still an organic imperative. In the tradition of the social sciences it asserts that primary love between the sexes is 'normal'; that women need men as social and economic protectors, for adult sexuality, and for psychological completion: that the heterosexually constituted family is the basic social unit; that women who do not attach their primary intensity to men must be, in functional terms, condemned to an even more devastating outsiderhood than their outsiderhood as women. (2007, p. 216)*

A consideration of the heterosexual/homosexual binarism underpinning heteronormative discourses can be facilitated through a consideration of the theories of Gayle Rubin. She clearly and concisely delineates the hierarchical nature of relations between the two supposed poles of human sexual behaviour, as well as a reaffirmation of the productive and disciplinary dimensions of discursive operation:

*Modern Western societies appraise sex acts according to a hierarchical system of sexual value....Individuals whose behaviour stands high in this hierarchy are rewarded with certified mental health, respectability, legality, social and physical mobility, institutional support, and material benefits. As sexual behaviours or occupations fall lower on the scale, the individuals who practice them are subjected to a presumption of mental illness, disreputability, criminality, restricted social and physical mobility, loss of institutional support, and economic sanctions. (1984, p. 151)*

In summary, heteronormativity is engaged in the production of the 'right' bodies as per its formulative criteria: male bodies who display traits, desires and behaviours which are interpreted as masculine, including heterosexual attraction; female bodies who display traits, desires and behaviours which are interpreted as feminine, including heterosexual attraction. These two bodies are in turn expected to indulge their attraction through societally-sanctioned, monogamous lifetime commitment in order to facilitate the re-production of bodies organized along the same hierarchical, binary lines. Bodies which deviate from this formulation, through displays of non-normative gender performance or unsanctioned, promiscuous, non-reproductive behaviour, are punished and circumscribed until one of two outcomes is achieved: realignment of the non-normative body with heteronormative standards and behaviours, or the ostracization and expulsion of the non-normative body from access to the privileges and rewards, both material and intangible, attendant upon adherence to the requirements of

heteronormative discourse.

Heteronormativity operates on individual bodies in exceptionally circumscriptive ways. There is a relatively limited discursive vocabulary which one can access to describe one's identity under heteronormative formulations. What one identifies *as*, the performative aspects of gender/sex/sexuality within which one feels the most comfortable or is able to embody most effectively – straight, gay, female, male, masculine, feminine – becomes, through a dual process of constant imposition and internalization, what one *is*; to speak in a Butlerian fashion about "doing gender", as opposed to *being* one's gender, outside of the confines of a gender studies department or a feminist conference would likely lead to considerable confusion and unease. In this sense, heteronormativity plays a strong part in identity formation, in how one constructs one's sense of autonomous selfhood within the confines of preexisting heteronormative constructions. The performativity of gender and sex are masked by the familiarity and easy accessibility of binary formulations, and become perceived as inherent, rather than learned, characteristics. This tendency toward essentialism leads to broad generalizations (not to mention generalizations about 'broads') along the lines of "Men operate spatially, women operate conceptually", or, "Women prefer consensus, men prefer competition", or "Straights are monogamous, gays are promiscuous". These generalizations became a part of the currency of the heteronormative economy of thought, and are in turn assumed to be inherent rather than learned; it is this process which, for example, leads young women of a scientific bent to engage in the 'softer' sciences, like zoology or botany, rather than the more mathematically rigorous (and more lucrative) fields such as physics or chemistry; or young men with an interest in musical theatre to train for and seek out more 'masculine' jobs in a theatrical production, such as set construction or lighting design, rather than pursuing a performance career.

But does this binary, hierarchical system operate as more than a definer and policer of the attributes and attractions adopted by individual bodies? Heteronormativity has a marked and noticeable effect on who we identify *as* – gay or straight, man or woman, 'normal' or 'queer'. But does it also have an effect on who we identify *with* – our friendships, our associations, and our affiliations? And, conversely and more importantly in regards to the fag hag, does who we identify with affect our discursive construction under heteronormativity?

### **A Short Digression: Identity and Identification**

The interplay of identity and identification, the space where "I-am" ends and "I-am-like" begins, is complex and confusing. As Fuss notes,

*Identification is the psychical mechanism that produces self-recognition. Identification inhabits, organizes, instantiates identity. It operates as a mark of self-difference, opening up a space for the self to relate to itself as a self...Yet, at the same time that identification sets into motion the complicated dynamic of recognition and misrecognition that brings a sense of*

*identity into being, it also immediately calls that identity into question. The astonishing capacity of identifications to reverse and disguise themselves, to multiply and contravene one another, to disappear and reappear years later renders identity profoundly unstable and perpetually open to radical change. (1995, p. 2)*

This passage demonstrates the existence of a degree of slippage between our idea of identity and our idea of identifications. Identifications are fluid, mutable, contradictory and unreasoned; and yet they provide the basis for heteronormativity's concept of identity, which is presumed to be fixed, stable, a being rather than a becoming. Under heteronormativity, one 'is' a woman or a man, irrevocably and eternally, barring the employment of what is considered 'extreme' surgical and judicial intervention to change it. Yet the foundation of what it means to 'be' a woman or a man is built on ground which is unstable and contradictory, "both voluntary and involuntary, necessary and difficult, dangerous and effectual, naturalizing and denaturalizing. Identification is the point where the psychological-social distinction becomes impossibly confused and finally untenable." (Fuss, 1995, p. 10) Assertions made in the following section concerning the nature of identity and identification are made in full knowledge of the often contentious and contradictory nature of the relationship between the two concepts.

### **Discourse, Part II – Homosexuality and Affiliation**

Deborah Thompson (2004, pp. 43-44) provides an intriguing theoretical perspective on the way in which processes of identity formation differ for the fag hag which might provide insight into the impetus for the hostility and derision directed at her. For the fag hag, there is a distinct difference between how we constitute ourselves for ourselves and how we constitute ourselves for others, between our identity and our identifications. How she defines herself does not provide the sole basis for friendship, association and affiliation; who she *is* does not necessarily dictate who she is *with*. This seeming disruption to the essentializing tendencies of heteronormativity, as discussed in the previous section, may provide the necessary context for the negative way in which the fag hag is discursively constructed.

Thompson states that in the 1980s and 1990s, "[a] person's politics were based solidly in what one identified *as*: straight woman, gay man, African American, Native Canadian, and so on. Whom one identified *with*, it was presumed, was—or should be—identical to what one identified *as*." (2004, p. 38) I contend that the essentializing of differences between one's identity and one's identifications which Thompson is addressing is the same essentializing process previously noted as being operative in processes of identity formation under heteronormative discourse – the requirement that who you *are* and who you are *with* must operate in concert to reinforce and reproduce the desired heteronormative economy of thought. It is this essentializing tendency, this elusion and conflation of identity and identification, which animates another important component in the fag hag's discursive construction;

the demand for homosociality.

Heteronormative discourse, like every discourse, is binary. It recognizes two sexes, male and female, which can be defined as its *constitutive* modes; two genders, masculine and feminine, which can be defined as its *performative* modes; and two sexualities, heterosexual and homosexual, which can be defined as its *productive* modes. But heteronormativity does not only evaluate us based on our body, our identity, or our partners. It also evaluates us based on what can be defined as our *associative mode*, or who we choose as friends and social partners. Heteronormativity binarizes our associative mode of behaviour as well based on its degree of homosociality or heterosociality, on whether our friends are mostly of the same sex or the opposite sex. I deliberately use the word sex, because it has much to do with the bodies of those one associates with, as well as the gender, class, and race perceived to belong to those bodies. Heteronormativity privileges homosociality over heterosociality for several reasons having to do with the interplay of these intersectional variables. If we examine cultural constructions of heterosocial associations, we should – and do – find them described using language which is by turns denigrating, disempowering, derisive, and derogatory. To explain how heteronormative demands for homosociality affect the fag hag, it will be necessary to quickly explore homosociality as it specifically relates to two of the aforementioned intersectional variables – gender and sexuality.

Let us begin by considering how the discourse of homosociality operates between men and women of the same sexuality (heterosexual), class and race; this narrows the field of intersectionality, as far as is possible, down to the single variable of gender. Under heteronormative formulations, then, heterosexuality requires an erotic association between both genders for reproductive purposes, both material and discursive; homosociality can be said to require a platonic association *only* within one gender for the same reason. The hegemonic discourse surrounding male heterosexual behaviour rests on men's dominance and subjugation of women and subordinate masculinities, while the hegemonic discourse surrounding female heterosexual behaviour is one of compliance and accommodation to men's interests and desires (Connell, 1987, pp. 183-188). As a result, heterosocial interactions between straight men and women are coloured by a requirement of instrumentality – a need to physically embody and reproduce this endless discursive cycle of dominance and submission which drives both production and reproduction; otherwise, they are expected and encouraged to restrict their social interactions along strictly homosocial patterns of association in order to ensure that dominance is located only within heterosexual masculinity, and that those who seek social and cultural power must serve the needs of that masculinity in order to attain it.

A plethora of examples can be drawn from modern Western culture to demonstrate this encouragement and expectation of homosociality amongst heterosexual men and women. Think of the

gendered nature of most visual media: films, books, television shows, magazines, all – except for those created with a deliberate focus on other intersectional variables – anchored in one gender or another, from 'chick flicks' to action films, from romance novels to military fiction, from *Maxim* to *Cosmo*. Think of the gendered nature of some social spaces, such as sports bars, spas, automotive and home repair stores, bingo halls: none of them spaces which are deliberately gender-segregated, but all of which, in various ways, symbolically and spatially discourage heterosocial interaction through the privileging of certain supposedly gender-specific behaviours over others. (Interestingly, these spaces are then economically 'gendered' and hierarchized in their turn, with institutional and governmental concern for the health and economic well-being of the 'masculine' corporate and industrial sectors being privileged over the more 'feminine' health, service and domestic sectors.) Think of the way that invitations to private family milestones, such as weddings and baptisms, addressed to 'X and Guest' when intended for unmarried invitees, emphasizing the heteronormative expectation of a mate or potential mate (ostensibly of the opposite sex) being available to attend and mark the occasion. Think of the way that heterosociality in other productive environments, such as the workplace, are carefully policed to maintain platonic relations, with policies which penalize the formation of romantic attachments in many offices, up to and including loss of employment as a consequence. Think of the way that straight women who associate with multiple straight men get labelled as 'sluts', while straight men who associate with multiple straight women get a reputation as a 'player' or a 'man-whore'. In these, and a myriad of other, ways, heteronormativity prescribes a discourse of private erotic heterosexuality and public platonic homosociality for its heterosexual subjects to ensure men's dominance over women.

The putting into play of other intersectional variables in heterosocial relations adds to the complexity and layering of disciplinary and regulatory techniques, with binary hierarchies of the discourses belonging to those variables shaping the way the dominance of specific men over specific women and subordinated masculinities comes into play. Considerations of class and economic status, for example, colour interactions between men and women significantly, with derogatory names being attached to the economically subordinate partner in the relationship. Poor men who interact with rich women are tagged as gigolos, while poor women who interact with rich men are tagged as gold-diggers. The confluence of discourses surrounding gender and age (male as superior to female, young as superior to old) create some fascinating linguistic markers of dominance and submission; older women who associate with younger men are likely to be called 'cougars', while the younger men they associate with will be questioned for seeming to be seeking 'unproductive' sexual relations, i.e. relations which are unlikely to lead to reproduction. Older men who associate with younger women are painted as 'cradle-robbers', while the younger women who associate with them are seen as 'wasting'

their reproductive capacities in pursuit of a mate whose physical strength and protective ability is waning. The combination of racial and gender difference in social relations can be particularly dangerous, both discursively and in a bodily sense: the collision of discourses surrounding miscegenation and heterosociality can be explosively fatal; as shown through the tragic examples of the Scottsboro Boys (Goodman, 2000) or Emmett Till (Beauchamp, 2005).

The fag hag sits right at the discursive juncture where heteronormative demands concerning heterosocial relations meet heteronormative demands concerning the subordination of alternate masculinities. Her discursive stability as a heterosexual woman, as a female body displaying markers of femininity, is not grounds for discipline and regulation; it is her affiliation with homosexual, therefore subordinate, masculinity which causes these discursive techniques to be deployed against her. She self-identifies and is recognized as, and therefore bears the *identity* of a heterosexual woman, but her processes of *identification*, her social relations are a result of her participation in male homosexual life and community; she is, by definition, female, but her affiliations and associations link her to an overwhelmingly male, but also overwhelming subordinate, community.

There are several facets of the fag-fag hag relationship which set off heteronormative alarms, if you will. The first is, in a sense, the idea that the hag's 'natural' heterosexual femininity is more 'real' than the fag's constructed, feminized masculinity. The perception is that this community of men, which valorizes and attempts to internalize the subordinate gender, often attempting to 'become' female, is being taught femininity by the heterosexual women in their midst. This places women in a dominant position to men; and, as noted above, the central ideal animating heteronormative discourse is the domination of women by men. It will not – in a way, it *can* not – allow a relation based on female domination to persist undisciplined and unregulated. It must construct the dominant female body, even if only linguistically, as unnatural, unhealthy, or in some way undesirable. In the case of the fag hag, not only is she labelled with the sexist appellation 'hag', implying dessication, unripeness, infertility and unproductivity; she is also, in a sense, homosexualized through the (unfortunately) mnemonically distinctive addition of the virulently homophobic interpellation 'fag', thereby being doubly subjugated, doubly denigrated, and doubly disciplined for her choice of affiliation.

A second, more subtle, objection to the relationship can be found in the characterization of the fag hag as oblivious to the sexual difference between herself and her fag, a trope extending as far back as Doris Day and reanimated again in Rodi's cautionary novel (1992). This perception leads to the deployment of disciplinary techniques constructed around the evocation of pity and contempt. If the fag hag's obliviousness to her partner's sexuality is seen as genuine (as in the case of gay men who do not fit the stereotyped, feminized, 'swishy' gay mold), she becomes an object of pity. She is perceived as expending the required amount of energy to secure a heteronormative relationship but with the

'wrong' kind of masculine figure; those wishing to be kind might label her a 'beard' rather than a fag hag, which carries a subtle implication of being 'tricked' into marriage by the gay man's striving to access the power bestowed on heteronormative masculinity and gives her the benefit of the doubt. If her obliviousness is seen to be unreasonable, i.e. if there is the suspicion that she knows her social partner is gay but refuses to admit it, she becomes the focus of contempt and ridicule. She is seen as being willing to transgress against the heteronormative demand to comply with heterosexual masculinity by affiliating with homosexual masculinity, but unwilling to suffer the consequences of her transgression through refusing to be censured for it by accepting the label 'fag hag'.

A third objection to the fag hag relationship comes from the gay community itself; the idea that the fag hag is a form of *agente provocateuse*, infiltrating the gay community in a devious attempt to thin its ranks and 'convert' its members to heterosexuality. This is the flipside of the discursive impulse toward segregation and exclusion at work, the same impulses which drove the Briggs Initiative, the 1978 attempt to bar homosexual teachers from California classrooms, and the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, which bars homosexual Americans from federal recognition, and access to the social and material benefits, of marriage. Like the heterosexual impulse to ghettoize the gay community, fear of the fag hag is driven by what Maddison identifies as "the identification with masculinity as sameness, unity, subjectivity. Bonds between women and gay men not only work to offset the authority of such patriarchal sameness, but in their very enactment they make negotiations of difference." (2000, 71) Homosexual men's access to heteronormative power stems from their masculinity; while it is a subordinated masculinity which is kept in check by hegemonic ideals, it is still imbued with an attendant demand for homosocial, male-only relations. The acceptance of female bodies into the homosocial male spaces of the gay community represents, for many gay men, the feminization of the community itself; a feminization which increases the perceived distance between gay men and their access to power under heteronormativity; for if a woman can be 'masculine' enough to gain acceptance in the community, then how masculine can it be? It is this perception which underlies remarks like the following:

[Calling a woman a fag hag] is a derogatory statement...It means a *masculine* bitch, with a very big mouth, who will flaunt her relationships in public by *acting like one of the guys*'making "cock-sucking remarks...and by bringing up your personal life whether you want her to or not. It connotes insincerity on their end of the friendship, and yours. (Moon, 1995, 488)

The consequences of breaking the homosocial expectations of heteronormativity are not only discursive; there are disciplinary techniques which carry with them material consequences, as well. For example, for a woman to become commonly known as a fag hag means for to be commonly known as constantly surrounded by gay men. Masculinity in a heteronormative society is predicated on the avoidance of any possibility of awakening homosexual desire, and therefore requires straight

men to shun the company of gay men in order to avoid its possibility of ever occurring. Maddison enucleates Sedgwick's work on this confluence of straight and gay masculinity extremely succinctly: "In her approach gay men, and the possibility of homosexual desire, lie at the heart of male patriarchal authority: the proximity of homosexual desire acting as a constantly invoked abjection *from which men must flee at all costs.*" (2000, p. 72: emphasis added) Hegemonic masculinity cannot abide constant association with gay men; straight men who are comfortable in the gay community are an even smaller minority than straight women in the gay community (Nardi, 1999, p. 107 (table)). As a result, *if* the fag hag remains a fag hag and privileges her friendships with gay men, then under heteronormative discourse, she will come into contact with fewer heterosexual men, and her access to the social and cultural power which comes with monogamous heterosexual marriage will be severely curtailed.

## **Conclusion**

Thompson notes:

*Work on the fag hag also needs to use her as a figure to ask some very fundamental questions about identification in general, and about fag hag identification in particular. What is the nature of this love and identification between fags and fag hags? More importantly, why is the fag-fag hag relationship so dangerous to identity politics?—so dangerous that, in an era of identity politics that encourages so many identity categories to declare pride and demand respect, fag hags have remained shamed, and the fag-fag hag relationship has been, until very recently, a current “love that dare not speak its name”?* (2007, p. 40)

While space limitations and the direction of my research forestall an attempt to answer the first of Thompson's two questions, this essay represents an earnest attempt to answer the second. And, as per my prior assertion that the essentialism of identity politics and the essentialism of heteronormativity are more than structurally linked, but actually the same essentialism – for, in all honesty, what is heteronormativity but heterosexual identity politics? – if the fag-fag hag relationship presents a danger to identity politics, then it is a relationship that also threatens heteronormative discourse with disruption. I contend that this is because the fag-fag hag relationship is more than simply a misinterpretation or misunderstanding of gender performativity; it is a direct (albeit possibly unconscious) refusal of that essentialism, as well as a deliberate rejection of heteronormative demands that heterosocial relationships be predicated on productivity and reproductivity. As Maddison asserts, "...in aligning themselves with gay culture...women reject particularly dominant, respectable notions of femininity, and femaleness; effectively they are undertaking acts of gender dissent....women who bond with gay men do so as a form of political resistance." (2000, p. 10) What they reject is the instrumentalist assumption underlying the compulsion to heterosociality; that intergender contact is undertaken purely for productive or reproductive purposes which serve the hegemonic needs of heterosexual masculinity. The fag hag, in the final analysis, may come under attack simply due to the

fact that she is able to construct a social world in which the needs of heterosexual masculinity are as non-existent as the needs of women and gay men are under the operation of heteronormative discourse.

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## ***Equity and Justice in Grade Three Educational Achievement in Toronto***

Sherell Pizzoferrato (Thomas)

Within education, there has been this internal debate; should students who perform low on educational testing be taught the basic skills or do socio-economic status factors relate to academic achievement? This paper takes the stance that socio-economic status factors lead to low educational achievement from a social justice perspective, which can be overcome through public policy changes.

There are four sources of data that were analyzed: The first source of data is the 2009-2010 test results from the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO). EQAO is an annual test that provides a quantitative measure of educational performance. EQAO is administered to “measure the achievement of students across Ontario in reading, writing and mathematics”. (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division. (Grade 4-6), 2007) There were thirty-nine schools that were analyzed. Schools were separated according to the percentage of students who passed EQAO. Red Schools are schools that had less than forty percent pass EQAO. Green Schools are schools that had more than ninety percent pass EQAO. The second source of data used is the Toronto Wards Profile. There are forty-four wards within Toronto. Each ward within Toronto has certain characteristics that separate one ward from another. The Toronto Wards profile was devised using the 2006 Census of Canada information. The Toronto Wards profile is used to find the specific population characteristics of each school's neighbourhood demography. The third source of data used is the Learning Opportunity Index (LOI) that can only be found in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB); it is based on “measures of external challenges affecting student success.” (LOI, 2010: 1) The importance of this data set is that it ranks schools according to the greatest amount of external challenges relating to low socio-economic status backgrounds. The fourth and last source of data that is used comes from the external funding record of the TDSB. External funding is generated from school-raised and parent council funding.

This paper has been separated into four sections: The first section further analyzes the educational debate in the existing literature and the theoretical framework. The second section of this paper examines education and testing. In this section, The TDSB, the Ontario Curriculum, EQAO and a classification of the red and green schools will be described. Once the connection is made between EQAO tests results from 2009-2010 and red and green schools, the Toronto Wards will be introduced to establish the neighbourhood characteristics; the neighbourhood characteristics are also known as the six socio-economic status factors that will be specifically analyzed. The purpose of this section is to link the red or green schools with the characteristics of their wards in the hopes of understanding the differences in educational achievement. The third section of this paper is the analysis. This section

analyzes: the six socio-economic status factors, (education, labour force occupations, income earnings, average rent payments, family type, and visible minorities' ratios); the Learning Opportunity Index (LOI); and the external funding record of the TDSB to explain the differences in red and green schools. The four section of this paper ends with my recommendations and conclusion.

## **I. Literature Reviews and Theoretical Framework**

### ***a. The basic curriculum argument***

Nationally, in terms of the basic curriculum argument, it is said that those from low SES schools need to focus on only teaching the “basic curriculum”. (Harris and Chapman, 2004: 422) By focusing on basic skills for those with low educational achievement, it will allow those students to learn at their own pace in the hopes of betterment in educational achievement. The trouble with “focusing on basic skills in schools with a low SES intake is that by offering them an impoverished curriculum, social divides could be exacerbated rather than diminished”. (Muijis, Harris, Chapman, Stoll, Russ, 2004: 155) “The reason low income students face such barriers in receiving a quality education and the opportunity for high achievement relating to the provincial standard is because of “high staff turnover, poor facilities, lack of resources, falling pupil numbers and constant streams of supply teachers. These are pressures that schools in more prosperous areas simply do not face”. (Harris and Chapman, 2004: 419)

### ***b. The socio-economic status factors argument***

Socio-economic status factors serve as external problems that hamper educational achievement. “Schools located in disadvantaged areas suffer a myriad of socioeconomic problems such as high levels of unemployment, physical and mental health issues, migration of the best young people, and low educational achievement”. (Harris and Chapman, 2004: 421)

Schools located in low SES areas are “often in receipt of higher than average numbers of pupils with diverse ethnic backgrounds and low literacy levels on entry”. (Harris and Chapman, 2004: 421) Low SES areas have a “high proportion of refugee children or pupils that have been excluded from other schools. Not only does this make the student population inherently transient but it presents teachers with the daily task of teaching pupils who they have not taught before”. (Harris and Chapman, 2004: 421)

Within the United States, “recent surveys conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) indicated that, on average, minority students lagged behind their White peers in terms of academic achievement”. (Sirin, 2005: 420) There are three factors that explain this laggardness: “minorities are more likely to live in low-income households or in single parent families; their parents are likely to have less education; and they often attend under-funded schools. All of these factors are components of SES and linked to academic achievement”. (Sirin, 2005: 420)

## ***Theoretical Framework***

The theoretical framework that will be used is the social justice theory. Social Justice is defined as “a question of equal opportunities”. (Barry, 2005: 7) According to John Rawls, a key theorist in social justice, he believed that social justice should be a part of the “basic structure”. (Rawls, 2001: 10) This idea of “the basic structure of society is the way in which the main political and social institutions of society fit together into one system of social cooperation and the way they assign basic rights and duties and regulate the division of advantages that arises from social cooperation over time”. (Rawls, 2001: 10)

John Rawls states that “each person has the same indefensible claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same liberties for all”. (Rawls, 2001: 42) This means that every person is entitled to an equal opportunity; one group should not be more advantaged than the other as that causes equality issues and barriers according to socio-economic factors. “No one chooses to be born into a disadvantaged social group, or with natural disabilities...no one should have to pay for the costs imposed by those disadvantageous circumstances”. (North, 2006: 512)

## **II Education and Testing within the TDSB**

### ***The TDSB***

Within the Province of Ontario, through elementary school education, there are sixty-three boards, “1.4 million students...4,000 publicly funded elementary schools” that are all mandatory. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2011: 1) Out of those sixty-three boards, only one will be examined. The reason as to why the TDSB was chosen is because the TDSB is the largest school board in Ontario. The TDSB follows the guidelines of the Ontario Curriculum.

### ***The Ontario Curriculum***

The Ontario Curriculum is an outline of the expectations publically funded elementary school students should be learning.

There are four reading expectations students are required to fulfill:

1. Read and demonstrate an understanding of a variety of literary, graphic, and informational texts, using a range of strategies to construct meaning;
2. Recognize a variety of text forms, text features, and stylistic elements and demonstrate understanding of how they help communicate meaning;
3. Use knowledge of words and cueing systems to read fluently;
4. Reflect on and identify their strengths as readers, areas for improvement, and the strategies they found most helpful before, during, and after reading.”

*(The Ministry of Education, Language, 2006:11)*

There are four writing expectations students are required to fulfill:

1. Generate, gather, and organize ideas and information to write for an intended purpose and audience
2. Draft and revise their writing, using a variety of informational, literary, and graphic forms and stylistic elements appropriate for the purpose and audience

3. Use editing, proofreading, and publishing skills and strategies, and knowledge of language conventions, to correct errors, refine expression, and present their work effectively
4. Reflect on and identify their strengths as writers, areas for improvement, and the strategies they found most helpful at different stages in the writing process.

*(The Ministry of Education, Language 2006: 12)*

There are five mathematic strands students are required to fulfill:

1. Number Sense and Numeration
2. Measurement
3. Geometry and Spatial Sense
4. Patterning and Algebra
5. Data Management and Probability.

*(The Ministry of Education, Mathematics: 8)*

### ***EQAO***

The Ontario Curriculum was emplaced to teach students core skills. EQAO is an annual standardized test that ranks students based on the skills learned using the Ontario Curriculum. All the test results from each year and each grade are submitted to the “Ministry of Education”. (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division, Grades 4-6: 2007) EQAO is a test of how well students are learning, what needs to be improved, how well teachers are following the curriculum, which schools have high levels of educational percentages and which schools have low levels of education. “EQAO provides the Ontario school system with valid, reliable and comparable year-to-year data on student achievement”. (Framework: Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Junior Division, Grades 4-6: 2007) This paper analyzed The Assessment of Reading, Writing and Mathematics, Primary Division because this is the first test administered to students.

### ***Red Schools VS Green Schools***

The red schools and green schools were compiled using EQAO test results from 2009 to 2010. Thirty-nine schools were analyzed. Red schools are schools that had less than forty percent of the total grade passing the primary division. There are twenty red schools. Green schools are schools that have more than ninety percent of the total grade passing the primary division. There are nineteen green schools.

#### ***Figure 1: Red Schools***

In Alexander Stirling, 37% passed EQAO

In Calico, 38% passed EQAO

In Chester Le, 38% passed EQAO

In Eastview, 40% passed EQAO

In F.H Miller, 31% passed EQAO

In George R Gauld, 34% passed EQAO

In Mason Road, 32% passed EQAO

In Peter Secor, 33% passed EQAO

In Regent Park/ Duke of York, 33% passed EQAO

In Sheppard, 36% passed EQAO

In Brookhaven, 40% passed EQAO

In Carleton Village, 25% passed EQAO

In Diftwood, 31% passed EQAO

In Edgewood, 33% passed EQAO

In General Mercer, 30% passed EQAO

In Nelson Mandela, 26% passed EQAO

In J. G Workman, 35% passed EQAO

In Queen Victoria, 39% passed EQAO

In Roselands, 35% passed EQAO

In Wellsworth, 36% passed EQAO

### ***Figure 2: Green Schools***

In Abor Glen, 99% passed EQAO	In Bennington Heights, 94% passed EQAO
In Bedford Park, 92% passed EQAO	In Bessborough Drive, 92% passed EQAO
In Cameron, 90% passed EQAO	In Courcellette, 91% passed EQAO
In Deer Park, 94% passed EQAO	In Denlow, 94% passed EQAO
In Frankland, 95% passed EQAO	In Hillmount, 97% passed EQAO
In Hollywood, 93% passed EQAO	In John D Parker, 90% passed EQAO
In John Ross Robertson, 94% passed EQAO	In Lambton Kingsway, 92% passed EQAO
In Maurice Cody, 95% passed EQAO	In Rippleton, 95% passed EQAO
In Seneca Hill, 94% passed EQAO	In Vradenburg, 90% passed EQAO
In West Humber Junior, 91% passed EQAO	

### ***Toronto Wards Profile***

The second source of data that was used was the information pertaining to the Toronto Wards. Toronto Wards are affiliated with Statistics Canada. All the information used was compiled from the “2006 Census of Canada”. (Toronto Wards, 2011: 1) The Toronto Wards were used to analyze the neighbourhood demography also known as the socio-economic status factors. Finding red schools and green schools through EQAO did not tell me much about the differences in educational achievement; I had to find the neighbourhood characteristics of the red and green school wards; to do that I had to look at each neighbourhood, which is the ward each school was located in.

There are forty-four wards within Toronto but not all were analyzed; only the wards that each green or red school was found within were used. There were fifteen wards found with red schools. There were thirteen wards found with green schools. Only one ward (36) was found with both red and green schools.

### ***Figure 3: Red Schools Wards***

Alexander Stirling is located in Ward 42	Brookhaven is located in ward 12
Calico is located in ward 9	Carleton Village is located in ward 17
Chester Le is located in ward 39	Diftwood is located in ward 8
Eastview is located in ward 43	Edgewood is located in ward 37
F.H Miller is located in ward 17	General Mercer is located in ward 17
George R Gauld is located in ward 6	Nelson Mandela is located in ward 28
<b>Mason Road is located in ward 36</b>	J. G Workman is located in ward 35
Peter Secor is located in ward 44	Queen Victoria is located in ward 18
Regent Park/Duke of York is located in ward 28	Roselands is located in ward 11
Sheppard is located in ward 9	Wellsworth is located in ward 3

### ***Figure 4: Green Schools Wards***

Abor Glen is located in ward 24	Bennington Heights, is located in ward 27
Bedford Park is located in ward 25	Bessborough Drive is located in ward 26
Cameron is located in ward 24	<b>Courcellette is located in ward 36</b>
Deer Park is located in ward 22	Denlow is located in ward 25
Frankland is located in ward 30	Hillmount is located in ward 24
Hollywood is located in ward 23	John D Parker is located in ward 1
John Ross Robertson is located in ward 16	Lambton Kingsway is located in ward 5

Maurice Cody is located in ward 22  
Seneca Hill is located in ward 33  
West Humber Junior is located in ward 2

Rippleton is located in ward 25  
Vradenburg is located in ward 40

### III. Analysis

When analyzing socio-economic status and educational achievement, there were three findings that I found. The first finding relates to: the six socio-economic status factors and the red and green school wards; the second finding is derived from the LOI; and the third finding comes from the external funding record of the TDSB.

#### *a. Socio-economic status factors*

##### *Education*

The first socio-economic status factor analyzed was *education*. The total population above fifteen years old was asked to record their highest education. The categories were based on highest educational achievement starting with: Earned Doctorate; Master's Degree; University Degree; College, certificate; Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate; High School certificate; and no certificate, diploma or degree.

- The average Earned Doctorate percentage in the green school wards is 1.5%, in the red school wards, 0.6%, a 0.9% difference in favour of the green schools.
- The average Master's Degree percentage for the green school wards is 8.6%, in the red school wards, 3.8%, a 5.2% difference for green schools.
- The average University Degree percentage for the green school wards is 44.2%, in the red school wards, 24.8%, a 19.4% difference for green schools.
- The average College Certificates percentage for the green school wards is 13.2%, in the red school wards, 14.9%, a 1.7% difference for red schools.
- The average High School Diploma percentage for the green school wards is 22.2%, in the red school wards, 30%, a 7.8% difference for red schools.
- The average Apprentice or Trades Certificate percentage for the green school wards is 4.8%, in the red school wards, 7.3%, a 2.5% difference for red schools.
- The average person with no certificate, diploma or degree for the green school wards is 15.6%, in the red school wards, 26%, a 10.4% difference in favour of the red schools.

My findings, in terms of education of persons over fifteen years old within the red and green school wards are as follows: the red school wards have more persons with no certificate, diploma or degree and more people having high school certificates, apprenticeship or trades certificates and college certificates. What this means is that within the red schools wards, it appears people are not investing in education financially as much, or in a timely manner; this is evident as the highest percentage of education obtained within the red school wards is publically funded education with the exception of a college certificate. The highest percentages found within the red school wards are high school certificates at 30% and no certificates at 26%. Both of these educational advancements require no financial money. High school education is free within Ontario so obtaining a high school diploma

these days is just a minimum.

Within the green school wards, there are more persons with a university degree, a master's degree and an earned doctorate. What this means is that people in the green school wards appear to be investing more money into higher education in a timely manner and this is based on the percentage of degrees within the green school wards. The highest percentage found within the green school wards is from university degrees at 44.2%. These educational advancements require financial money to fund tuition fees, books and travel costs. None of the educational achievements that are found within the green school wards are free.

### ***Labour Force Occupations***

The second socio-economic status factor that was analyzed was *labour force occupations*: What I found was that in the red school wards, the most frequent job was manufacturing jobs at 15.7%. For the green school wards, the most frequent jobs were professional, scientific and technical services at 15.2%.

The red school wards had more people in manufacturing occupations. This is significant because the red school wards had a higher percentage of persons who had either a high school diploma or trades certificate. Within the green school wards, there were more people in the professional, scientific and technical services. This is significant because out of the red and green school wards, the green school wards had a higher percentage of university and higher degrees.

### ***Income Earnings***

The third socio-economic status factor observed was *income earnings*: low income earnings were classified as earnings under \$29,999; high earnings were classified as earnings of over \$80,000. Within the red school wards, 29% had a lower income as opposed to 24.6% of the green school wards. The red school wards had more persons with a lower income than the green school wards by 4.4%.

In terms of higher income, the red school wards have 27.2% of persons with a higher income while the green school wards have 35.4%. The green school wards had more persons with a higher income than the red school wards by 8.2%.

### ***Average Rent Payments***

The fourth socio-economic status factor that was observed was *average rent payments*. Average rent payment is significant because the cost of rent makes the difference in where someone can afford to live. The average rent people in the red school wards paid was \$850 a month. The average rent people in the green school wards paid was \$1002. This finding shows that the red school wards pay less rent than the green schools wards. What is significant is that the red schools wards pay less and have less educational achievement whereas the green school wards pay more rent and have more education.

### ***Family Type***

The fifth socio-economic status factor that was observed was *family type*. Family type can be separated into two types; lone parent families and low income families. Lone parent families comprise of only one adult within the home and a child/children. Children who grow up in lone parent families are more likely to live in poverty than dual family homes. The average number of persons living in a lone parent family within the green school wards is 17.1%, within the red school wards, 23.4%. The red school wards had 6.3% more persons living in a lone parent household than the green school wards.

According to the number of persons living in a low income family, there were 19% of families living in low income within the green school wards and 23% within the red school wards. The red school wards had 4% more persons living in a low income family than the green school wards.

### ***Visible Minority Ratio***

The sixth and last socio-economic status factor observed was *visible minority ratios*. In the red school wards, 13.9% are black. Within the green school wards, 17.3% are Chinese. My findings showed that within the red school wards, there is a higher concentration of blacks and in the green school wards, there is a higher concentration of Chinese minorities.

### ***Overall Findings from the six socio-economic status factors***

My overall findings for the red school wards are: the red school wards have lower levels of higher education. The highest educational attainment in the red school wards is: no certificates; high school diplomas; apprentice certificates; or college diplomas. This educational attainment relates to the most frequent job within the red school wards being manufacturing. With less education and a job in manufacturing, there are higher levels of people earning a lower income within the red school wards and persons paying lower rent payments than the green school wards. I also found that within the red school wards, there were more lone parent and low income households. The last finding that was unveiled was that the red school wards had more black minorities.

The green school wards however had higher levels of education. The green school wards had more persons with a university degree, master's degree or an earned doctorate. This educational attainment relates to the most frequent jobs being, professional, scientific and technical services. With more education and jobs in professional fields, there were higher levels of people earning a higher income within the green school wards. With people earning a higher income status, this number becomes reflective on the average rent payments; average rent payments were higher in the green school wards than in the red school wards. Within the green school wards, there were less lone parent and low income households. The last finding showed that the green school wards had more Chinese minorities.

## ***b. Learning Opportunity Index (LOI)***

The Learning Opportunity Index (LOI) is a measure that is based on school and student achievement. LOI focuses on defining which schools have the most external challenges. The variables which are used are: “median income; percentage of families whose income is below the Low Income Measure (before tax); percentage of families receiving social assistance; adults with low education; adults with university degrees; and lone parent families”. (LOI, 2010: 2) “The accuracy of the LOI depends on two factors: the accuracy of the information entered by schools into our student information system (SIS) and the data accuracy to which it is linked (i.e, tax data, and the Federal Census)”. (LOI, 2010: 3) Schools with the highest rates of external challenges are ranked low on this index and schools with the lowest rates of external challenges are ranked high on this index. This index is out of 479 schools.

### ***Figure 5***

#### ***Red Schools and the LOI Ranking***

Alexander Stirling ranked 164 on the LOI  
Brookhaven ranked 41 on the LOI  
Calico ranked 46 on the LOI  
Carleton Village ranked 57 on the LOI  
Chester Le ranked 113 on the LOI  
Diftwood ranked 9 on the LOI  
Eastview ranked 17 on the LOI  
Edgewood ranked 176 on the LOI  
F.H Miller ranked 146 on the LOI  
General Mercer ranked 124 on the LOI  
George R Gauld ranked 222 on the LOI  
**Nelson Mandela ranked 2 on the LOI**  
Mason Road ranked 49 on the LOI  
J. G Workman ranked 135 on the LOI  
Peter Secor ranked 71 on the LOI  
Queen Victoria ranked 52 on the LOI  
Regent Park/ Duke of York ranked 3 on the LOI  
Roselands ranked 50 on the LOI  
Sheppard ranked 54 on the LOI  
**Wellsworth ranked 261 on the LOI**

*Source: The Learning Opportunity Index*

#### ***Green Schools and the LOI Ranking***

Abor Glen ranked 408 on the LOI  
Bennington Heights ranked 458 on the LOI  
Bedford Park ranked 469 on the LOI  
Bessborough Drive ranked 466 on the LOI  
Cameron ranked 433 on the LOI  
Courcellette ranked 464 on the LOI  
Deer Park ranked 436 on the LOI  
Denlow ranked 456 on the LOI  
Frankland ranked 420 on the LOI  
Hillmount ranked 382 on the LOI  
Hollywood ranked 361 on the LOI  
**John D Parker ranked 226 on the LOI**  
**John Ross Robertson ranked 473 on the LOI**  
Lambton Kingsway ranked 472 on the LOI  
Maurice Cody ranked 462 on the LOI  
Rippleton ranked 437 on the LOI  
Seneca Hill ranked 392 on the LOI  
Vradenburg ranked 355 on the LOI  
West Humber Junior ranked 312 on the LOI

What I found when comparing red schools to green schools using the LOI is that the students within the red schools ranked lower on the LOI than the green schools. This means that the red schools do in fact suffer from more external challenges than the green schools. The highest ranking, which means that this school does not suffer as much from external challenges within the red schools was 261 out of 479. The highest ranking within the green schools was 473 out of 479. The lowest rank, which means that the school does suffer from external challenges within the red schools, was 2; the lowest rank within the green schools was 226.

**Figure 6: LOI Rankings**

<b>Ranking</b>	<b>Red schools</b>	<b>Green Schools</b>
Between 1-99	12	0
100-199	6	0
200-299	2	1
300-399	0	5
400-479	0	13

Overall, within the red schools, the majority of schools, twelve, ranked between 1-99. There are six schools that ranked between 100-199 and two schools ranked between 200-299. There were no red schools that ranked above 300. The green schools on the other hand did not have any schools rank between 1-99 or 100-199. The average ranking, thirteen, was found between 400-479. Five schools were found between 300-399 and one school ranked between 200-299.

This is significant because it shows that the green schools suffer less from external challenges than the red schools. I found it very significant that the majority of red schools ranked between 1-99 and 100-199; the green schools had no schools in these rankings. On the other hand, the majority of green schools ranked between 400-479 and 300-399; the red schools had no schools in these rankings.

**c. External Funding Record of the TDSB**

The last finding relates to the external funding record of the TDSB. When analyzing publically funded school budgets, the budget for all schools within Canada was equally proportionate with enrolment rates. Major differences in budgets came from the external funding record of the TDSB.

This external funding from the TDSB comes from two main sources: parent council funds and school generated funds. “School-generated funds come from a variety of sources. In Elementary schools, the money is mostly generated through fundraising by the parent council, but would also include money collected for field trips, monies raised by charity, Scholastic book orders and hot lunch programs.” (TDSB, 2009: 1)

**Figure 7: External Funding Record**

<b><u>Red Schools and External Funding</u></b>	<b><u>Green Schools and External Funding</u></b>
Alexander Stirling generated \$17,548	Abor Glen generated \$74,946
Brookhaven generated \$30,899	<b>Bennington Heights generated \$20,685</b>
Calico generated \$9,340	Bedford Park generated \$191,383
Carleton Village generated \$15,464	Bessborough Drive generated \$81,074
<b>Chester Le generated \$7,062</b>	Cameron generated \$62,800
Diftwood generated \$15,491	Courcelette generated \$67,574
Eastview generated \$9,425	Deer Park generated \$234,605
<b>Edgewood generated \$43,393</b>	Denlow generated \$229,060
F.H Miller generated \$23,096	Frankland generated \$72,635
General Mercer generated \$28,936	Hillmount generated \$58,951
George R Gauld generated \$29,489	Hollywood generated \$53,186
Nelson Mandela generated \$7,253	John D Parker generated \$53,735

Mason Road generated \$19,946  
 J. G Workman generated \$25,073  
 Peter Secor generated \$25,712  
 Queen Victoria generated \$39,149  
 Regent Park/ Duke of York generated \$7,428  
 Roselands generated \$24,158  
 Sheppard generated \$20,908  
 Wellsworth generated \$28,051

John Ross Robertson generated \$253,478  
**Lambton Kingsway generated \$279,9256**  
 Maurice Cody generated \$21,644  
 Rippleton generated \$66,127  
 Seneca Hill generated \$107,792  
 Vradenburg generated \$42,268  
 West Humber Junior generated \$83,127

Source: *The Toronto Star Archives.*

What I found out about the external funding record of the TDSB is that the red schools are significantly underfunded more than the green schools. Within the red schools, the least amount of funding generated was \$7,062. In the green schools, the least amount of funding generated was \$20,685. The green schools generated more money than the red schools when it came to the least amount of funding by \$13,623. In terms of the most funding generated, the red schools generated \$43,393; the green schools generated \$279,926. The green schools generated more money than the red school when it came to the highest amount of generated funding by \$236,533. The overall average amount of funding the red schools generated was \$21,391; the green schools generated 107,105. The green schools again generated more funding than the red schools by \$85,714.

**Figure 8: External Funding**

<u>\$</u>	<u>Red schools</u>	<u>Green Schools</u>
Under 29,999	17	2
30,000-49,999	3	1
50,000-69,999	0	6
70,000-99,999	0	4
100,000-199,999	0	2
200,000+	0	4

When analyzing the red and green schools, what I found was that the majority of red schools (17) had generated funding under \$29,999. Three schools generated between \$30,000-49,999. None of the red schools generated above \$50,000. The green schools however, generated more money than the red schools. The majority of the schools (16), generated more than \$50,000 and only three schools generated less than 50,000. What is significant is that there is a gap in terms of external funding between the red and green schools.

**Overall Findings from the External Funding Record**

What I found is that there is a social justice issue relating to capital between the red and green schools. Within the social justice theory, it states that one group should not be at more of an advantage than another group. Within this research, the green schools are at an advantage over the red schools; this relates directly to external funding as the green schools generated more money than the red

schools. How fair is it that some red schools generate less than \$10,000 while some green schools exceed \$200,000? The green schools generate more money than the red schools overall causing a complete domination in terms of capital. Not only do the green schools generate more money than the red schools, but they also perform higher on educational achievement testing like EQAO. This leads me to question if this external funding gap between the red and green schools could be the reason as to why the red schools have low educational achievement in comparison to the green schools.

External funding can be used to enhance teachings through technological and social advancements. However, without money, it can be said that innovative teaching methods are harder to utilize because some schools cannot afford to provide the majority of students with computers, iPads or smart boards. Students within the red schools are left at a disadvantage when elementary school education is supposed to be equal in Ontario. Beyond parents being rich or poor, when a student enters a school, finds his or her classroom and sits down to learn, each student should have the same opportunities to flourish, no matter where that child comes from. Poverty should not interfere with educational equality within the Toronto District School Board.

#### **IV. Recommendations**

I have two recommendations to alleviate the social justice gap between the red and green schools based on external funding. The first recommendation is that a policy be put in place within the TDSB to cap external funding at a median amount.

My second recommendation, after external funding is capped at a median amount, is for the Provincial Government of Canada to match the capped median amount of funding. For all the schools that cannot attain the capped amount of funding, the government should provide the extra funding so that all schools in the TDSB are equal. For example, if a green school exceeds its capped amount of external funding, the extra money should be given to the schools in need, so that external funding is even.

#### ***Conclusion***

Throughout my research, I have analyzed educational achievement by looking at four sources: EQAO test results from 2009-2010; the Toronto Wards Profile and six socio-economic status factors; The Learning Opportunity Index; and the external funding record of the Toronto District School Board using the social justice theoretical framework perspective. From those four sources of data, I was able to pinpoint why there was a difference in educational achievement of the red and green schools.

My findings suggest that the main issue with education, beyond the inequalities created by capitalism was external funding. External funding caused a gap between the red and green schools which further created a social justice issue. Two recommendations that would alleviate the social justice issue within the TDSB firstly is that a policy be put in place within the TDSB so that external

funding is capped; second, the Provincial Government of Canada should top up the funding for schools that cannot achieve this median capped amount. Only then, when this problem within the TDSB is changed using government intervention and a policy change/addition, will this social justice issue diminish.

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# ***Does Racial Profiling Exist in Sault Ste. Marie Police?***

Robert Totime

## **Introduction**

There are many reasons why racial profiling should be studied; especially in Sault Ste. Marie. The world is evolving and becoming a more diverse place where individuals of many minority backgrounds come for different reasons to either better themselves or gain an experience or an education.

Racial profiling has arguably not been studied in Sault Ste. Marie extensively; however it is an issue that has a big impact on the effectiveness of law enforcement to protect and serve the public. There has been policy introduction about how racial profiling plays a part according to the Sault Ste. Marie Police service. There was an article introducing Policy on Racial Profiling by The Sault Ste. Marie's Police Services Board in 2005. According to the Chief of Police, "I do not believe our police service is totally immune or isolated from discriminatory incidents," said Chief Robert Davies in a report to his Police Services Board."<sup>233</sup>

Throughout History, we have seen more and more minorities become disadvantaged. This is more evident towards minorities than majorities. Sault Ste. Marie is comprised primarily of European immigrants, specifically Italian, and is surrounded by First Nation reserves<sup>234</sup>. Throughout Canadian history, Anishinaabe peoples have been subjected to racial profiling as well as other minorities. But what has been done so far, is critical to what should be done next. According to the Definition of Racial Profiling by the Sault Ste. Marie Police service, "Racial/biased profiling - means the practice of an officer linking a person or persons to an unlawful incident or incidents based solely on race, ancestry, place of origin, color, ethnic origin, citizenship, religion, sex, sexual orientation, age, marital status, same-sex partnership status, family status or handicap"<sup>235</sup>

As a young Student coming from Ghana to further my education in Canada, specifically in Sault Ste. Marie, I was delighted and excited about access to information, access to space, as well as better facilities to help enrich and better the experience. I could not possibly have received these supports if I was in my home country. The experience has opened many doors for me as well as opened doors to unforeseen circumstances. My personal experience with racial profiling in Sault Ste. Marie started as a lunch break ride taken to the Station Mall. A young adult black male was being looked for by the police on suspicion of possessing weapons as well as assaulting an officer. This

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<sup>233</sup> "City Police Introduce Policy on Racial Profiling." *Sootoday*. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <[http://www.sootoday.com/content/news/full\\_story.asp?StoryNumber=12096](http://www.sootoday.com/content/news/full_story.asp?StoryNumber=12096)>

<sup>234</sup> "City Police Introduce Policy on Racial Profiling." *Sootoday*. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <[http://www.sootoday.com/content/news/full\\_story.asp?StoryNumber=12096](http://www.sootoday.com/content/news/full_story.asp?StoryNumber=12096)>

<sup>235</sup> "City Police Introduce Policy on Racial Profiling." *Sootoday*. Web. 16 Mar. 2012. <[http://www.sootoday.com/content/news/full\\_story.asp?StoryNumber=12096](http://www.sootoday.com/content/news/full_story.asp?StoryNumber=12096)>.

individual was from Toronto and somehow made a call here in Sault Ste. Marie. This led to the Mall security identifying me as the offender without any photo identification; and with this information, the police started a pursuit. Living in a small city where diversity is an integral part of the society in terms of its development was taken under consideration. This high risk stop, as described by the police service, was undertaken. The police followed me and another student to the university, pulled out their weapons and conducted an immediate stop. Several weapons were aimed at us. I am black and the other student is First Nation. Diversity is mostly celebrated but the issues that minorities face are sometimes neglected and not looked at. Racial profiling in Sault Ste. Marie still can exist, as well as not exist, depending on the factors put in place. There is a celebration of diversity, but the processes of recognition and living with these changes are not being followed. How do we describe the human race, or ethnicity solely based on physical characteristics? This was very evident when the two Algoma University Students were profiled based only on their skin color. Afterwards, one can also look at the attitude of individuals who respond to racial profiling and what they do about it. This research will seek to widen the understanding of racial profiling and try to find a common ground where every race, color and ethnicity can live together harmoniously. The identification of our core values is important in this factor.

## **Literature Review**

Racism was examined in North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie and Timmins. (The Debwewin Report) This Debwewin Report was a project established in 2005 to address the issue of racism in North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie and Timmins. "There were surveys, interviews, and focus groups conducted and racism was seen as an issue for many individuals in the cities of Sault Ste. Marie and Timmins."<sup>236</sup> The Debwewin report's main objectives were to embark on an anti-racism initiative in northern Ontario. Educating the communities of these cities and bringing awareness to race relations was also a subject addressed in this report through cultural education. There has not been another report since 2005, so we will see how much of an impact has been made.

In the Article "*The New Face of Racial Profiling: How Terrorism Affects The Debate*" Sherry F. Colb talks about racial profiling after September 11, 2001 and how Police enforcement used this and also stipulated the advantages and disadvantages leading into the future. She defines racial profiling as "the law enforcement practice of taking the race of a potential suspect into account in deciding whether to initiate investigation of that suspect."<sup>237</sup> This is more focused towards Criminal Racial Profiling. She also talks about assumptions sometimes made by law enforcement and how certain races are seen

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<sup>236</sup> "Racism examined in North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins" Debwewin Report 2005

<sup>237</sup> Colb F. Shaerry "The New Face of Racial Profiling: How Terrorism Affects The Debate" FindLaw | Legal Commentary." *FindLaw's Writ*.. <<http://writ.news.findlaw.com/colb/20011010.html>>.

to engage in illegal activities, an attitude which can prompt the police to engage in traffic stops’<sup>238</sup> Rights that are afforded by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, afforded by the Constitution, sometimes are not guaranteed to all individuals under it. Section 15 of the Charter states that:

*Equality before and under law and equal protection and benefit of law*

*15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.*

*Affirmative action programs*

*(2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.*<sup>239</sup>

Colb talks about how this denies “equal protection”<sup>240</sup> for all. Driving while Black (DWB) is one term she uses and she explains how it is used by police officials to profile African Americans. “Specifically, when police disproportionately stop African-Americans on the highway, they operate on the basis of myths about the distribution of drug-related activities among various sectors of the population”<sup>241</sup> We might be surprised if this still happens in today’s modern world.

Racial Profiling: Racism in Practice? Zool Suleman, Suleman & Co, Canadian Immigration Lawyers came out with a paper discussing several definitions of racial profiling and how different decisions and courts define it. It is also noted that Canada became attentive after September 11, 2001 and this was a wakeup call. Cases like “*R. v. Brown and R. v. Khan* have racial profiling as a significant element in them”<sup>242</sup> I find that Profiling of an individual is connected to the criminal aspect of it. Looking at the definitions given, leads me to that understanding. Profiling exists in many ways and the differences should be distinguished between. When there is an incident and race is a factor, it is important how we distinguish between when there is an incident dealing with race and separate that from the treatment or criminal aspect of it. It is also identified that racial profiling can be a result of fear as “the arguments opposed to the use of racial profiling are made eloquently by law professor David A. Harris, who is one of the acknowledged experts on racial profiling in the U.S. in his written testimonial before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, “Flying While Arab:

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<sup>238</sup> Colb, Sherry F., “The New Face Of Racial Profiling: How Terrorism Affects The Debates.” Accessed on March 1, 2012 at <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/colb/20011010.html>

<sup>239</sup> [The Constitution Act, 1982, Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 \(UK\), 1982, c 15](#)

<sup>240</sup> Colb, Sherry F., “The New Face Of Racial Profiling: How Terrorism Affects The Debates.” Accessed on March 1, 2012 at <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/colb/20011010.html>

<sup>241</sup> Colb, Sherry F., “The New Face Of Racial Profiling: How Terrorism Affects The Debates.” Accessed on March 1, 2012 at <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/colb/20011010.html>

<sup>242</sup> Zool Suleman, Suleman & Co, Canadian Immigration Lawyers “Racial Profiling: Racism in Practice?” <http://www.cba.org/cba/newsletters/pdf/racial.pdf>

IMMIGRATION Issues, and Lessons from the Racial Profiling Controversy”<sup>243</sup> He notes that “while it is a natural human reaction to fear, to make judgments based on *broad categories*, such fear can translate into the denial of the civil liberties of those targeted”<sup>244</sup>

In a Newspaper article, Area native leaders link border delays to racial profiling. This newspaper article talks about different treatments and experiences of first nations people at the Sault Ste. Marie Canadian Customs Border. “Dean Sayers who is the Batchewana First nation Chief, spoke about one incident where, because the yellow bus had the inscription of the band name on it, everything changed. Everyone was asked to pay duty on everything no matter what the amount was.”<sup>245</sup> The reason why this was done was because of a demonstration which was held to prove the federal government was wrong and to lobby them into listening to their demands. “Members of Garden River and Batchewana First Nations were shopping in Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., as part of a sovereignty demonstration over federal and provincial plans for a harmonized sales tax that would do away with a point-of-sale exemption for First Nations people in Ontario.”<sup>246</sup> Their protest was seen as a form of racial profiling as several elements were visible according to the chief.

## Methods

The intent of the survey was to develop a general understanding of what the public of Sault Ste. Marie defines as racial profiling and whether it exists or not. This survey was for the general public in Sault Ste. Marie. Surveys were done voluntarily by individuals in the class rooms and in the community; a message was placed in the university newsletter, AlgomaUknow, for individuals interested in conducting the survey to contact me. A request was placed in the minutes of City Hall to request permission for those interested to fill out the surveys. United way was contacted to help with getting individuals to do the surveys. The surveys were done online as well as on paper. Survey Monkey was used. Even though surveys conducted online are in control of the United States and they have the sole power to disclose any information collected publicly, no data collected was associated with any individual. The survey consisted of around 20 to 40 people.

In terms of interviews, Individuals were asked specific questions relating to the topic. There were random sampling of subjects from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds at Algoma University, Sault College and in the community.

Focus Groups were held to discuss the question whether racial profiling exists in Sault Ste.

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<sup>243</sup> Zool Suleman, Suleman & Co, Canadian Immigration Lawyers “Racial Profiling: Racism in Practice?”  
<http://www.cba.org/cba/newsletters/pdf/racial.pdf>

<sup>244</sup> Zool Suleman, Suleman & Co. “Racial Profiling in Practice” Canadian Immigration Lawyers  
<http://www.cba.org/cba/newsletters/pdf/racial.pdf>

<sup>245</sup> Purvis Michael “Area Native leader Link border delays to racial profiling” The Sault Star, Article ID 2234377  
<http://www.saultstar.com/ArticleDisplay.aspx?e=2234377&archive=true>

<sup>246</sup> Purvis Michael “Area Native leader Link border delays to racial profiling” The Sault Star, Article ID 2234377  
<http://www.saultstar.com/ArticleDisplay.aspx?e=2234377&archive=true>

Marie. With permission from professors and other advertising agencies at Algoma, I was able to reach a diverse group of individuals at Algoma and from the community.

## Findings

There are two categories I have noticed as an individual in Sault Ste. Marie. The issue of misunderstanding as well as suspicion of “race, color, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin”<sup>247</sup> as stated by the human rights council.

The Definition of Racial Profiling by the Ontario Human Rights Commission is what I used as the main definition for this thesis. “Is any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that relies on stereotypes about race, color, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin, or a combination of these, rather than on a reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment.”<sup>248</sup> The Question: does racial profiling exist? With respect to the definition, this can be interpreted in different ways. For example, when a teacher says that a student has a learning disability, depending on who observes this, it can be looked at as what they can or cannot do. When a person tells you, he or she cannot dance, this can be false. The movement of our body everyday can be a form of dance. This can be in the form of brushing our hair and putting cloths on. When we talk about profiling, we tend to look from the side of a silhouette. Language is important because it can be manipulated to suit any situation.

The term perversion of language is something that different groups have in their circle. I was speaking to some colleagues of mine and they have a term that they use and most people will not understand it until they are told. Understanding racial profiling can be somewhat hard. In this article by the Canadian Immigration Lawyers, two positions are explained. “A nuanced consideration of the two positions, pro and con, is undertaken by Prof. Randall Kennedy, and he points out that both sides have some merit to their arguments; however, the argument about racial profiling should begin with “an insistence upon the special social significance of racial distinctions in American life and law.”<sup>249</sup> Prof. Kennedy points out that the courts in the U.S. have ruled that more than mere reasonableness is required to discriminate on racial grounds. He also notes that there is a disturbing trend in the debate over racial profiling which suggests that people, including judges, “are suggesting that decisions distinguishing between persons on a racial basis do not constitute unlawful racial discrimination when

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<sup>247</sup> "What Is Racial Profiling?" *Ontario Human Rights Commission*. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.  
<<http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/resources/factsheets/whatisracialprofiling>>.

<sup>248</sup> "What Is Racial Profiling?" *Ontario Human Rights Commission*. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.  
<<http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/resources/factsheets/whatisracialprofiling>>.

<sup>249</sup> Zool Suleman, Suleman & Co. "Racial Profiling in Practice" Canadian Immigration Lawyers  
<http://www.cba.org/cba/newsletters/pdf/racial.pdf>

race is not the sole consideration prompting disparate treatment.” He goes on to note “taking race into account at all means engaging in racial discrimination.”<sup>250</sup>

In terms of the language and the definition from the Ontario Humans Rights Commission with respect to racial profiling, First Nation people have also been subjected to racial profiling when crossing the border. There was an article on an instance of racial profiling and this group was subjected to differential treatment. Considering the story of the First Nations as first on the land with no restrictions, I believe it is difficult to be forced to state ones citizenship before entrance into the states. For other boarders, one can say, I am Anishinaabe and be allowed entrance. We hear statements like, how much are you Anishinaabe or what percentage is your blood. Are you one of the 51% in Sault Ste. Marie?

Feeling safe in a community like Sault Ste. Marie is very possible. There are two types of people, those who immigrate here and those who were born here. Individuals who have lived here for more than 10 years still do not feel they belong. Individuals who immigrate here feel they are allowed to do certain things but not at a full capacity, but rather a limited capacity. I have realized that whether you are black, white, yellow, or red, you try to find someone new and try to find a sense of belonging. The environment in Toronto is different from Sault Ste. Marie, but then we realize that in Sault Ste. Marie because we hear the word minority more often than Toronto. First Nation people are called a minority most often. The rest try to fit in where they can. Sault Ste. Marie is growing, with an increasing number of people coming from all over the world to study at Algoma University and Sault College. An Anishinaabe student shared an experience he had with a fellow student, who approached him and after having a conversation, found out that he did not smoke or drink or even do drugs and was surprised by it because to him, all Native people do these things. In such a circumstance, there was a general assumption in this case. Personally, when crossing the border here in Sault Ste. Marie, the idea of honesty, if you say you are just heading over to Wal-Mart or going to get gas is a much different situation then telling the truth. If just going over to help a friend with their thesis project, you might be detained.

### **Results and Interpretations and Summary**

There were 88 surveys conducted which answered 25 questions. Most of the surveys were conducted by White Caucasians from Sault Ste. Marie, which might reflect the answers that we see below in the graphs. There were 28 individuals between the ages of 19-20, 26 between the ages of 21-25, 13 between the ages of 26-30, 6 between the ages of 31-35, 4 between the ages 36-40 and 11 over the age of 40. Individuals who were under the age of 18 were not allowed to fill in the survey. The

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<sup>250</sup> Zool Suleman, Suleman & Co. “Racial Profiling in Practice” Canadian Immigration Lawyers  
<http://www.cba.org/cba/newsletters/pdf/racial.pdf>

survey strongly represents the younger generations of residents in Sault Ste. Marie. Out of 88, we had 34 male and 54 female participants. In reference to the data, there were 3 Africans, 2 Asians, 72 white Caucasians, 10 Anishinaabe peoples/First Nation and 1 Arabian. It is important to note that most of the data was collected within Algoma University with students from mostly Sault Ste. Marie and Southern Ontario.

The most important question asked here was whether racial profiling exists in Sault Ste. Marie? You can cross reference with graph number 4 which states according to the survey, 40% Agree that racial profiling exists, 27% of the survey strongly agree, 24% were neutral in terms of having a 50% chance of having racial profiling existing and not existing, 4% disagree and 4% strongly disagree. This data shows that there is an issue of racial profiling. The data collected with respect to the victims were really low amounting to 17% but in terms of those who witnessed it, there was a 37 percentile. The question of whether only minorities are profiled, created lots of responses. Some of the responses were, 'No'. There appears to be limited cultural awareness in the Sault. Many people have prejudice attitudes towards any trait or characteristic they have not been exposed to, regardless of "minority" status"<sup>251</sup> and another tries to explain how some individuals in Sault Ste. Marie feel:

*"I feel that Sault Ste. Marie has very specific ideas about who makes a good citizen of this city, and although it is rare to see overt public racism, a quick discussion with the many average city patrons reveals a tremendous lack of education and understanding about basic racial stereotypes and what is racist and what is not. Further, widespread prejudice about everything from race, religion, employment and economics is still prevalent among the working class people of this town."*<sup>252</sup>

But it can also be argued to the opposite that minorities are not the only ones who are racially profiled. For example if you traveled to another country, it would likely be that you could be profiled if you were a minority. It can be negative as well as positive but then, the "White Man" has been in power for centuries from colonization and inventing most of the technology we see today. We can believe this happens to only minorities but when you live in a society where power is dominant and the rich is visible from the poor then we can establish the theory that there is economic profiling, perhaps this is where we can see the deferential. Stereotypes sometimes can be used to connect the way individuals behave, whether the information is from the media, or some other source. The question, "do you believe that racial profiling by police is justified?" collected 85% no's and 15% yes. Individuals everywhere are not the same; hence the actions of one person should not be used to deny others of the same race, the freedom they deserve. In other words, to strengthen the argument that police actions sometimes leads to racial profiling and so forth. It is also important to establish the fact that racial

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<sup>251</sup> Appendix #

<sup>252</sup> Appendix #

profiling exists before dealing with the issues that come with it. Every side of the coin has its advantages and disadvantages but then when we look at the other side, we cannot blame the police entirely for causing certain actions to be questioned. A survey participant pointed out an example of why a particular ethnic group should be profiled. "If X percent of a given population, Y, is ethnic, and said ethnicity overall reports beyond 50% criminality, then said Y population should be suspect, regardless of individuality."<sup>253</sup> 78% believe racial profiling does not benefit any society and 9% believe the opposite while 14% are not sure. There are many reasons given why this does not benefit society in any way. It brings a divide into cultural groups hence enforcing the idea that one's culture or the color of their skin is better than another.

It seems to be quite difficult to change the way things are. The surveys conducted showed that 44% believed racial profiling will never be eliminated and 11% believe it will be eliminated, on the other hand, 44% are on the fence of whether it will be eliminated. Other individuals believe that different races are treated differently. The question "Do police officers often treat white Caucasians better than blacks and other minorities" produced pretty interesting answers where 29% strongly agreed, 44% Agreed, 25% Disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed.

The Ontario human rights commission explains race from the human rights code. It is also mentioned that racial discrimination does not have any specific definition as it is cumbersome to define but is however, explained as:

*socially constructed differences among people based on characteristics such as accent or manner of speech, name, clothing, diet, beliefs and practices, leisure preferences, places of origin and so forth. The process of social construction of race is called racialization: "the process by which societies construct races as real, different and unequal in ways that matter to economic, political and social life."<sup>254</sup>*

The economic, political and social life aspect of racialization is a whole different part that should be explored and researched upon. When we look at this, we then realize that society plays a big role in terms of the way we do things and perceive other individuals. According to the surveys conducted, 42% tend to agree that police officers are more likely to use physical force against blacks and other minorities than against whites in similar situations; however this percentage is the highest while 29% feel otherwise. The most important question asked was whether Individuals raised, born, or immigrated here to Sault Ste. Marie felt safe? The 25 survey participants which can be viewed under graphs, produced 13% of individuals who felt extremely safe, 28% felt very safe, 49% felt moderately safe, 7% felt slightly safe and 3% did not feel safe at all.

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<sup>253</sup> Appendix #12

<sup>254</sup> "Racial Discrimination, Race and [Racism](http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/resources/factsheets/race)." Ontario Human Rights Commission. Web. <<http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/resources/factsheets/race>

In order to capture concrete results from residents as well as individuals originally from Sault Ste. Marie, it was important to know who was filling out the surveys. 46% of survey participants were not from Sault Ste. Marie. This is a category where individuals have migrated here for work, to attend school, or otherwise. 54% of the survey participants were from Sault Ste. Marie and these are participants who are originally from the Sault.

### **Recommendations**

Changes must start in our schools. We have to start with young children, teaching them about race and the differences and uniqueness of people from all over the world. A simple thing like not taking the time to pronounce ones name correctly can make an individual feel excluded. Anti-racist education is very important. Sault Ste. Marie does not reflect systematically and structurally whether racial discrimination is an establishment in the city and does not reflect the diversity that it talks about. Without these representations there might not be proper education. Children are good examples in terms of speaking and expressing the way they feel. If a child is being bullied, they are afraid to speak out because they may be bullied more and the other child also suffers that punishment. It is important to learn from these because it is the difference in our lives that enrich us individually. "O Canada we stand on guard for thee" should be respected, where everybody is included and no one is left out. The use of section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is important to be upheld.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

Racial profiling can be a very complicated issue. This issue stems from how all aspects of society are affected. The police system can also be affected in terms of providing the justice system that the community deserves in order to be trust worthy. Protecting public safety and civil liberties of the community is important as well. With the survey conducted, we can come to a conclusion that racial profiling exists. The allegations of racial profiling are those that come from citizens from different ethnic backgrounds. There is a systemic issue of individuals feeling left out and being treated unequally.

The Ontario Human rights commission has a definition for this practice; however it is difficult to define an act that is very specific when the definition is so broad. When individuals are stopped in traffic based on race then, how do we define it? The *California Criminal Penal Code* section (e) talks about how one individual practice can affect a whole group of people. "Racial profiling," for purposes of this section, is the practice of detaining a suspect based on a broad set of criteria which casts suspicion on an entire class of people without any individualized suspicion of the particular person being stopped."<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> "CAL. PEN. CODE § 13519.4 : California Code - Section 13519.4." *CAL. PEN. CODE § 13519.4 : California*

Some countries have tried to understand the issue and find recommendations for them by making police officers collect data during traffic stops. There is not a high population of black or other minorities in Sault Ste. Marie, but it is important to note the way First Nations people are treated there. First Nations people are considered minorities and as such discriminated against and they live under poor living conditions.

On the other hand, it is important to revive old policies and write new ones that reflect a community's population. There should be racial profiling training offered to anyone who wishes to take it but it should be enforced in public institutions such as the police service, schools and work places. Once individuals have that knowledge it might reduce most of the incidents we hear about because now we would not only be culturally sensitive but also culturally knowledgeable. This however should not end here. It is understandable that not all individuals believe the same thing, hence the need to provide a forum where information-sharing can be used to identify peoples mistakes, or stereotypes in order to make people better individuals.

I realize that the system for addressing racial profiling issues is cumbersome and there should be an easy system that could address this effectively and provide an equal opportunity for everyone. We as citizens; whether you are in an official state of office, or an individual living in a community, all have a role to play in changing and making the way we live better.

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<sup>1</sup> "CAL. PEN. CODE ã,â§ 13519.4 : California Code - Section 13519.4." *CAL. PEN. CODE ã,â§ 13519.4 : California Code*. Web. 25 Apr. 2012. <<http://codes.lp.findlaw.com/cacode/PEN/3/4/4/1/2/s13519.4>>.

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## Appendix #1 to 26

Due to a page limit of 20 for this paper, the appendices containing the qualitative answers to many of the questions below were left out.

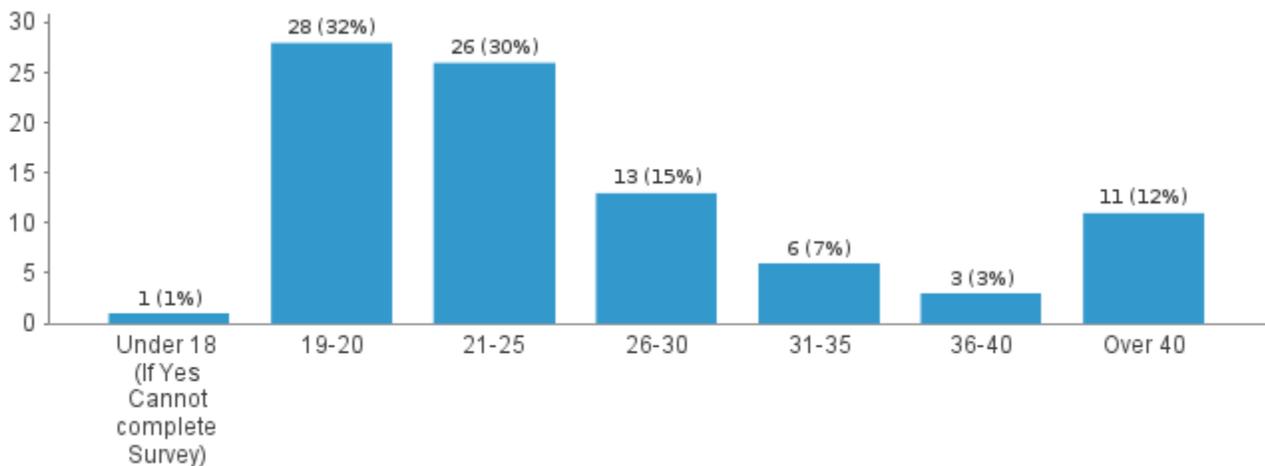
### LIST OF TABLES

Surveys graphs and figures and picture

Figure 1.1



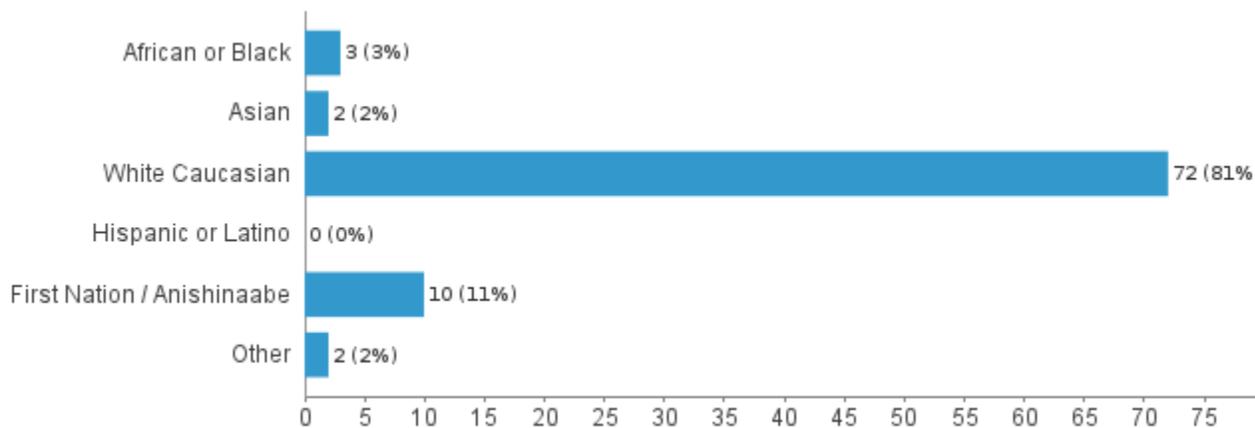
#### 1. What is your age?



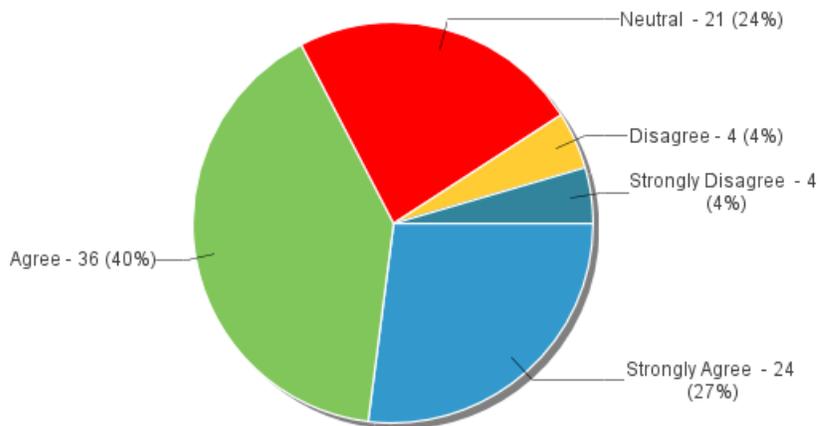
## 2. What is your gender?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Male		38%	34
Female		61%	54
Other		1%	1
<b>Total Responses</b>			<b>89</b>

## 3. What is your Ethnicity?



## 4. Do you think racial profiling exists in Sault Ste. Marie?



## 5. If you answered strongly agree or agree. Do you think racial profiling occurs only to minorities? Please explain.

The 57 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

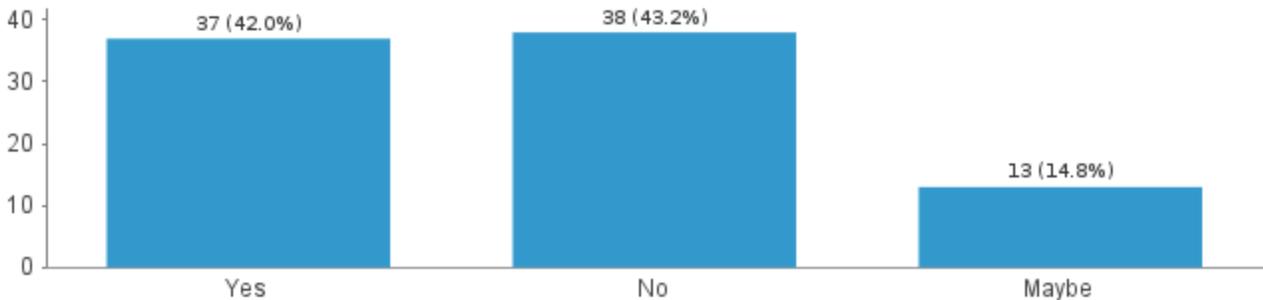
**6. Have you been a victim of racial profiling?**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Yes		17%	15
No		70%	62
Maybe		13%	12
<b>Total Responses</b>			<b>89</b>

**7. If you answered Yes, Explain what happened.**

The 15 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**8. Have you witnessed someone being racially profiled?**



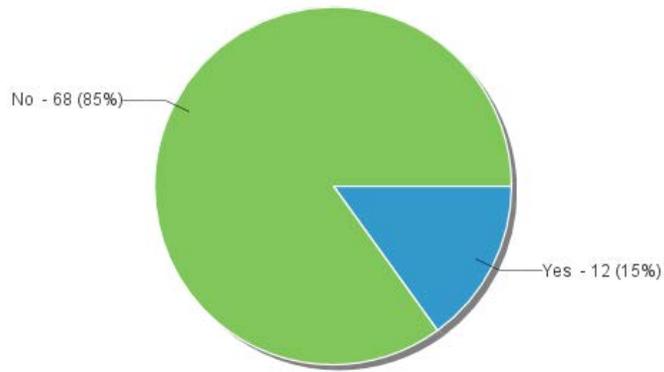
**9. If you answered yes above, explain what happened.**

The 33 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**10. If you answered Yes to Question #8 then, how many times have you observed racial profiling?**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
0-5		45%	21
6-10		17%	8
11-20		9%	4
20+		30%	14
<b>Total Responses</b>			<b>47</b>

**11. If you believe racial profiling exists, then do you think racial profiling by police is justified?**



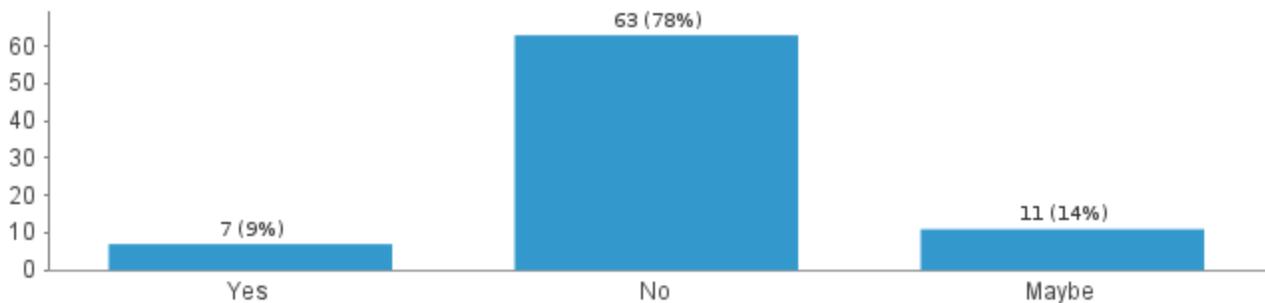
**12. If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, please explain.**

The 11 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**13. If you answered "No" to the previous question, please explain.**

The 59 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**14. If you believe racial profiling exists, then does racial profiling by police benefit society?**



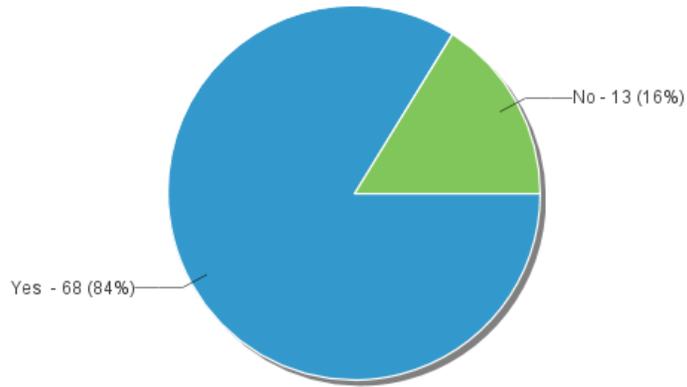
**15. If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, please explain.**

The 7 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**16. If you answered "No" to the previous question, please explain.**

The 47 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**17. If you think racial profiling exists, then do you think racial profiling is racism?**



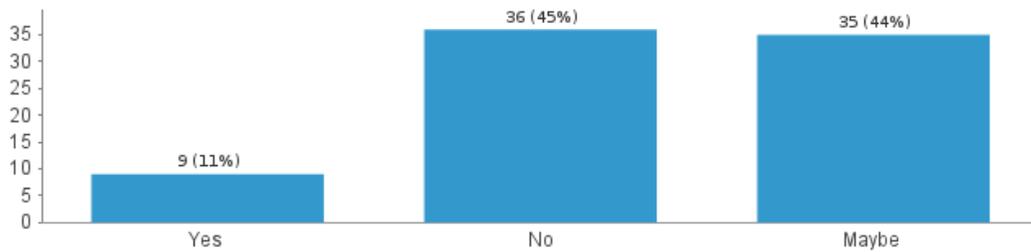
**18. If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, please explain.**

The 52 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**19. If you answered "No" to the previous question, please explain.**

The 11 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**20. If you think racial profiling exists then, do you think racial profiling will ever be eliminated?**



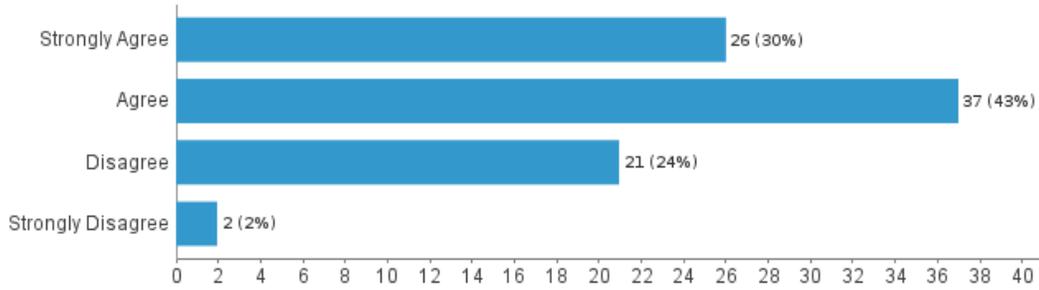
**21. If you answered "Yes" to Question #20 then, please explain.**

The 10 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

**22. If you answered "No" to Question #20 then, please explain.**

The 32 response(s) to this question can be found in the appendix.

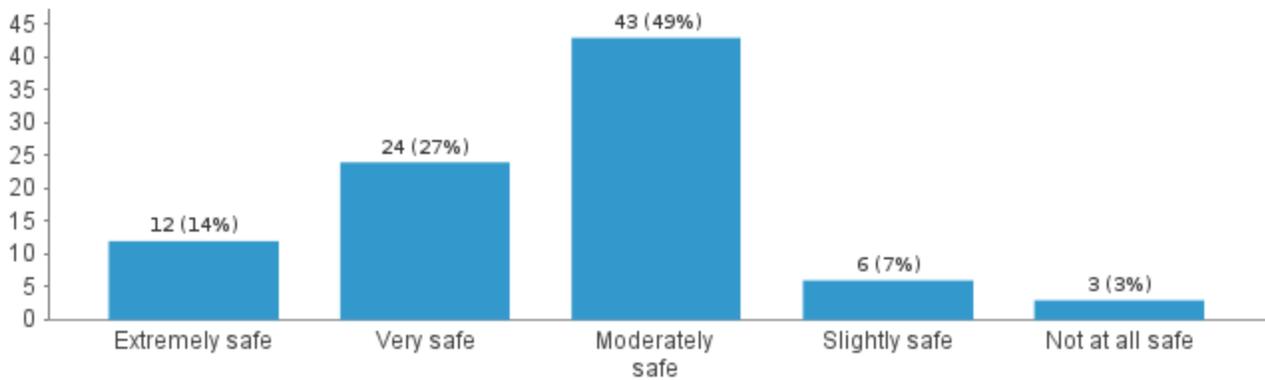
**23. Do Police officers often treat white Caucasians better than blacks and other minorities?**



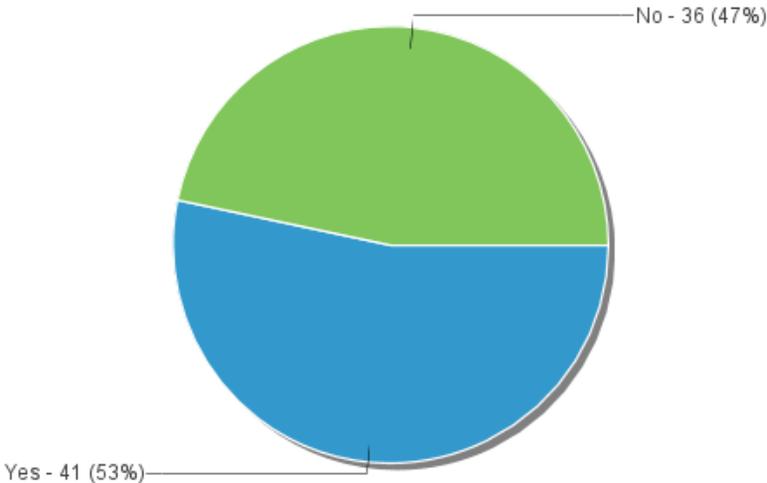
**24. Police officers are more likely to use physical force against blacks and other minorities than against whites in similar situations**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		26%	23
Agree		41%	36
Disagree		29%	25
Strongly Disagree		3%	3
<b>Total Responses</b>			<b>87</b>

**25. How safe do you feel in Sault Ste. Marie?**



**26. Are you originally from Sault Ste. Marie?**



## ***The Occupy Movement***

William Webb

In this paper, I will argue that the Occupy movement achieves most of the criteria for a new public sphere, but also has some limitations, such as access issues, and resources. Despite these limitations, the Occupy movement has brought about new approaches and ideas, which may potentially catalyse the development of a new, more ideal public sphere. Firstly, I will provide a brief outline of what the Occupy movement is about. Next, I shall compare the Occupy movement to Habermas' public sphere, arguing it addresses political concerns through rational debate, attempts to disregard social status, strives for inclusivity and presents a domain of common concern. Thirdly, I will assess the communication technologies used by the Occupy movement, asserting that the movement contains some, but not all of the components of an ideal speech situation required for a public sphere. Fourthly, I shall contend that the Occupy movement primarily overcomes the potential problems Fraser addresses about the initial model of the public sphere, such as exclusion, ignoring inequalities and the definition of common concern. Finally, I will maintain that the Occupy movement may face problems of time, space, resources and fear of punishment by repressive state apparatuses (RSAs). Thus it is unlikely the Occupy movement itself can continue for a long period of time without significantly changing, which in turn may produce a new, more ideal public sphere.

Occupy “is a leaderless people movement for democracy that began in America on September 17<sup>th</sup> with an encampment in the financial district of New York City”, eventually spreading to over eighty nations worldwide (“#occupywallstreet”, par. 1; Taylor, par. 1). The movement was “inspired by the Egyptian Tahrir Square uprising and the Spanish *acampadas*,” and has the objective of overcoming issues of corporate greed and social inequality through non-violent protest and rational debate (*ibid*). The movement's goals are evident in its slogan “we are the 99%”, which seeks to convey the message that wealth distribution in various nations is lopsided because a small fraction of the population controls the majority of the wealth, such as in America where 1% of the population makes almost 17% of the nation's annual income (Lubhy, par. 5). Furthermore, the movement uses the Internet and general assemblies as its primary forms of communication; Internet websites, such as *adbusters.org*, provide updates about the movement and allow people to talk about it on discussion boards (“#occupywallstreet”, par. 1); a general assembly is a new form of communication developed in the Occupy movement that is defined as “a participatory decision-making body, which works towards consensus” (Carolina, par. 7).

One of the most basic requirements of the public sphere is that it must have political implications (Habermas 441). The Occupy movement fulfils this prerequisite since it has the goal of changing wealth distribution through the means of government regulation, such as through the Robbin

Hood tax, which would tax a fraction of stock transactions (Hager, par. 1). A public sphere must also operate through rational debate (Habermas 449). Since the primary consensus building arrangements of the Occupy movement – general assemblies – function through the use of rational debate (Carolina, par. 7), the movement satisfies yet another criterion of an ideal public sphere.

In addition to political action through rational discourse, a new public sphere must disregard social status: “the terms and conditions of association proceed through public argument and reasoning among equal citizens” (Habermas 447). In order for citizens to be treated as equals, status and hierarchy must be disregarded so that everyone is on a “level playing-field” (Ironstone, October 31, 2011). The Occupy movement attempts to disregard status by striving for “equality for everyone participating” as well as not favouring anyone by “involve[ing] people who have not yet intervened in the debate” (Carolina, par. 16). However, general assemblies only discuss the “best arguments” that are put forward, as determined by a floor team coordinator – an individual who helps facilitate discourse in a general assembly (*ibid*). A complication may then arise in that the needs of those who are not able to formulate high-quality arguments, due to reasons such as no formal education, may be overlooked. Thus level of education is an implicit obstacle limiting the movement’s ability to disregard social status.

An ideal public sphere also requires “complete inclusion of all parties that might be affected, their equality, free and easy interaction, no restrictions of topics and topical contributions... etc.” (Habermas 449). Firstly, the Occupy movement promotes inclusion by allowing everyone, regardless of race, gender, sexuality, socio-economic position etc., to participate (Carolina, par. 32). Therefore, the movement theoretically offers complete inclusion. However, some individuals may feel reluctant to participate because of their critical opinions. For example, those who proclaim the 1% have suffered more than the 99% with respect to the recent economic recession are often met with hostility in online forums (“Occupy Econ 101”, par. 1). Thus one who does not agree with some aspects of the movement may fear participating in rational debate at a physical location of the movement, where they might face physical or verbal hostility. Furthermore, participation in the Occupy movement is free in that one does not have to pay money to participate in a general assembly. However, to be physically present at an Occupy location requires the investment of both time and money. Thus those who are geographically distant from an Occupy location or cannot afford to go to a movement because they need to work in order to support their families do not have the same opportunity as others to directly participate in a general assembly. However, if one has access to the Internet, they have the option to participate in the movement through online discussion(s). Finally, the Occupy movement has few restrictions on topics (except that they must be relevant to the movement) since it attempts to respect all opinions, except prejudicial ideas that might make certain groups reluctant to participate (Carolina, par. 24). Thus the

movement has some restrictions to what may be discussed, but the restrictions are generally positive since they facilitate discussion and reduce discrimination.

Habermas also states that a new public sphere must present a domain of common concern (447). On a macro-level, the movement's common concern is in addressing the issue of uneven wealth distribution (“#occupywallstreet”, par. 1). Resource distribution is of common concern to all since everyone, both those in the 99% and 1%, will, in some way, be economically affected. On a micro-level, only ideas that are relevant to wealth distribution are examined at general assemblies. People may submit their ideas to a floor team coordinator who then decides whether the idea is relevant to the current topic of discussion. However, there are two potential problems with this model. Firstly, there is no clearly laid out procedure for how floor team coordinators are designated (Carolina, par. 15), which might bias who is selected to be one. Secondly, there are no clear guidelines that allow a floor team coordinator to (somewhat) objectively decide what is or is not relevant (*ibid*). Granted these limitations, the movement attempts to make the definition of common concern more objective by using more than one floor team coordinator during a general assembly meeting (*ibid*).

The two primary modes of communication for the Occupy movement, general assemblies and Internet communication, fulfil many, but not all, of the requirements for an ideal speech situation necessary for a public sphere. To begin with, an ideal speech situation allows “every subject with the competence to speak and act... to take part in a discourse” (Ironstone, October 31, 2011). General assemblies meet this stipulation through both encouraging all to participate and by having floor team coordinators filter out incompetent and irrelevant ideas. However, on the Internet, ideas are rarely filtered. Furthermore, some may lack the resources to actively participate in online discussion, leaving them unintentionally excluded. Secondly, in an ideal speech situation everyone must be allowed to question any assertion, to introduce any assertion and to express their attitudes, desires and needs (*ibid*). In a general assembly one may question any assertion immediately through the use of hand signals, such as folding one's arms in a cross above one's head to show disagreement or by approaching a member of the floor team to gain approval to rebut the idea in question (Carolina, par. 16). However, there has been a growing concern among members of the movement that “marginalized voices are not being heard”, due to some of the limitations already discussed (e.g. education) (“Structure”, par. 1). On the Internet, anyone may question an assertion or make any assertion expressing his or her attitudes, needs and desires in many ways, such as by commenting on the discussion section of a website. However, some online news sources, such as foxnews.com, reserve the right to delete comments they feel are not appropriate, thus limiting the amount of freedom one has to express their point of view (Ruiz et al, 475, 482). Finally, in an ideal speech situation one must not be prevented by internal or external coercion from exercising his or her rights as laid down in the first two

principles (Ironstone, October 31, 2011). Although the movement attempts to give everyone an opportunity to speak, some may be reluctant to participate in the movement because of potential police brutality (Stolanik, par. 1) (see the section on RSAs below for more detail) or the fear of verbal abuse due to difference of opinion, as previously discussed. Despite some events of external coercion at protest areas, the Internet has very little, if any, internal or external coercion due to the anonymity it provides, which encourages a more free and open sharing of thoughts (Papacharissi 16).

The concerns that Fraser raises about the initial model of the public sphere, such as problems of exclusion, ignoring inequalities, and the definition of common concern, are generally overcome by the Occupy movement. The problem of exclusion Fraser raises is primarily in relation to women and ethnic minorities (63). As previously stated, the movement is inclusive with respect to gender and race. However, women may be subject to sexual abuse if they choose to stay overnight in the parks (Linette and Johnson, par. 1), hence women may feel reluctant to participate in the movement after dark. Furthermore, Fraser's concern goes beyond simply including those who were previously excluded in Habermas' depiction of the public sphere, suggesting that individuals who do not have the same capacity as others may need some assistance in participating (64). The movement tries to overcome this concern by aiding disadvantaged individuals, such as by having designated people at general assemblies to translate oral communication into sign language for the hearing impaired as well as taking wheelchair accessible routes on protest marches (Carolina, par. 17; "Occupy On Wheels: Awareness, Inclusion, Solidarity", par. 1).

Fraser suggests another complication with Habermas' public sphere is that bracketing everyone as equals ignores inequalities, which usually works "to the advantage of dominant groups... and to the disadvantage of subordinates" (64). Moreover, Fraser points out that only having one public sphere may exacerbate the problem of ignoring inequalities (66). Fraser then suggests that these two problems may be overcome through the use of multiple public spheres, which allow for ideas to be discussed in greater detail (68). After particular issues are thoroughly examined, Fraser suggests that they may be brought before a public sphere with a broader domain of common concern (*ibid*). Since multiple publics allow for more ideas to be discussed in detail, the range of topics that are not adequately discussed decreases, thus also decreasing the probability that inequalities will be ignored. For example, if one has the ability to thoroughly address the problem of economic inequalities related to race in a smaller group, ideas can be refined. Next, the smaller public sphere may democratically select their most compelling arguments and then present those arguments to a public sphere with a larger domain of common concern, ultimately reducing the probability that the issue of economic inequalities related to race will be 'glossed' over. Similarly, the Occupy movement uses interest groups where specific ideas of common concern may be discussed in great detail (without the limitation of floor team

coordinators) and then, brought to a general assembly. If we return for a moment to the previous concern of education level being an implicit obstacle to effective participation in argumentative discourse, it is possible that through the use of multiple public spheres this is overcome. In smaller public spheres one who is not educated may raise a concern and then form an alliance with another individual, who perhaps is educated, to speak on their behalf or to help them formulate arguments for their cause. However, as previously mentioned, some individuals still feel that marginalized voices are not being heard. A potential solution to this problem comes from combining Fraser's concepts together, in that those publics with fewer resources should be assisted by those with more resources so that disadvantaged publics may better articulate their needs and wants.

Despite the Occupy movement meeting many requirements for an ideal public sphere, it still faces many practical problems if it is to continue. One of the many limitations the movement faces is that the decision-making process at a general assembly is slow and time-consuming, partially since everyone has a chance to speak. Furthermore, in many countries the movement faces eviction from the parks that protestors are gathered in, which leaves them without physical space to unite (Ha, Mills and Michleburgh, par. 1-5). Although people may not be able to unite physically, those with Internet access can communicate online. However, by primarily communicating online, the movement unintentionally excludes those who do not have convenient Internet access. Also, the movement needs many resources if it is to continue (e.g. food, tents, etc.) and while certain websites, such as [adbusters.org](http://adbusters.org), and protest sites accept donations, there are still at least two problems the movement faces in terms of resources, (1) "there is no accountability for the spending of finances granted by the GA [general assembly]" ("Structure", par. 1) and (2) there is no guarantee that what is donated will be enough to sustain all the protestors who lack the means to sustain themselves. Moreover, the movement has suffered from coercion by RSAs, limiting its ability to become an ideal public sphere. For example, protestors involved in the movement have been pepper sprayed, beaten with clubs and arrested by the police ("Suppressing Nonviolent Dissent", par. 1-3). Additionally, independent online websites and mass media coverage of these events may indirectly influence the attitudes of people (Ironstone, October 31, 2011), potentially causing those who have heard about or seen police brutality to fear participating in the movement (i.e. they may believe that the same physical coercion may happen to them).

Although the Occupy movement has had some recent success in impacting political discussion, such as by getting the United States senate to discuss banning insider trading (Kindy, par. 1), the movement's future remains uncertain due to the practical restraints it faces (e.g. time, space, resources, etc.). Furthermore, the movement has met many, but not all, of the requirements for an ideal public sphere. However, if the Occupy movement can find a way to overcome some of the potential

limitations I have outlined, through rational discussion, it may develop into a more ideal public sphere, and thus have a greater impact on changing political policy regarding unequal wealth distribution.

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