Revue YOUR Review

Volume/Tome 1, issue/numéro 1 (2014)

*Y*ork *O*nline *U*ndergraduate *R*esearch

Intended to showcase York University (Toronto, Canada) student research, *Revue **YOUR** Review* is an annual, refereed e-journal offering an opportunity for York University students to prepare a paper for publication. The journal is multidisciplinary, open-access, and bilingual: articles are published in English or in French.

*Revue **Y**ork **O**nline **U**ndergraduate **R**esearch Review* is associated with York University's annual, multidisciplinary Undergraduate Research Fair. Articles are revised from top essays submitted for York University credit courses and accepted as poster presentations at the juried Research Fair. Submissions are reviewed by an Editorial Board comprised of York University faculty members, writing instructors, librarians, and students, and may also be sent to expert readers within the discipline. Together, the Research Fair and its associated e-journal offer students an educational experience in researching, writing, preparing an abstract, designing and presenting a poster session, and revising a paper for publication—all components in the cycle of scholarly knowledge production and dissemination. Author rights are governed by Creative Commons licensing.

La *Revue **YOUR** Review* se propose de mettre en valeur la recherche des étudiants de premier cycle et offre aux étudiants de l'Université York (Toronto, Canada) l'occasion de rédiger un article pour la publication. Cette revue annuelle à comité de lecture et à libre accès est pluridisciplinaire et bilingue (anglais/français).

La *Revue **Y**ork **O**nline **U**ndergraduate **R**esearch Review* est liée à la foire annuelle de recherche de l'Université York. Les articles ont été sélectionnés et révisés des meilleures dissertations soumises pour un cours de premier cycle à l'Université et acceptées comme présentation d'affiches à cette foire, elle-même sous la direction d'un jury. Les soumissions à la *Revue* sont examinées par un comité de rédaction comprenant des membres du corps enseignant, des professeurs d'écriture, des bibliothécaires et des étudiants. La *Revue* et la foire de recherche offrent aux étudiants une expérience authentique de s'engager dans les processus de recherche, d'écriture, de préparation d'un résumé, de participer dans une conférence scientifique, de travailler avec des rédacteurs et de reformuler une dissertation sous forme d'article de recherche—l'ensemble des parties composantes du cycle de la production des connaissances et de la distribution du savoir. Les droits des auteurs sont soumis à la licence Creative Commons.

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[*] Posters can be viewed on the *Revue YOUR Review* website/Pour voir les affiches, veuillez visiter le site Web de la *Revue YOUR Review* : http://YOURreview.journals.yorku.ca.

Editor's Introduction

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *Revue **YOUR** Review*.

*Revue **Y**ork **O**nline **U**ndergraduate **R**esearch Review* is sponsored by York University Libraries (Toronto, Canada) and is the collaborative creation of York University faculty, students, and librarians. Associated with the University's annual multidisciplinary Undergraduate Research Fair, this refereed e-journal is intended to showcase undergraduate research and offers York students an opportunity to prepare a paper for publication. The journal is open-access and multidisciplinary, a cooperative venture that bridges people and disciplines.

The articles in this inaugural issue have been revised from top student essays submitted for York University credit courses and accepted as poster presentations at the University's 2013 juried research fair. After each annual fair, interested students are invited to take their projects one step further and engage in the process of preparing, editing, and revising their works for publication. New authors attend a "Writing for Publication" workshop, prepared expressly for them and led by an instructor from the University's Writing Department, to learn how to revise a research essay into an article.

The Editorial Board of *Revue YOUR Review*, comprised of faculty, librarians, and students from various disciplines, reviews articles and selects a few to work with. Submissions may also be sent to expert readers on campus. Articles accepted, or conditionally accepted, for publication are then given over to student copy-editors in a fourth-year publishing practicum course. Led by a professional publisher, this class is structured much like a publishing company, with teams charged with specific tasks such as copy-editing or marketing. Each budding author is paired with a copy-editor-in-training who works with the writer on initial revisions. In the concluding stages of the editing process, journal editors and faculty work directly with student-authors on the final revisions of their articles and abstracts.

Revue YOUR Review—together with its associated research fair and publishing practicum—offers students an authentic experience in researching, writing, preparing an abstract, applying for a conference, designing and presenting a poster

session, working with editors, and revising a paper for publication—all components in the cycle of scholarly knowledge production and dissemination. The process engages undergraduate students, whose contributions to research are often overlooked, in a valuable experiential education initiative.

Revue YOUR Review is multidisciplinary and bilingual. Research articles in this inaugural issue span the social sciences, humanities, and fine arts, and future issues will incorporate articles in the sciences as well as original artwork. Topics range across a broad spectrum of issues: from studies of the urban landscape (Toronto's Bay Street corporate centre [Kitchen]; the reuse of formerly industrial spaces in Toronto's Junction Triangle neighbourhood [Hurley]) to the environment (climate change policy in Ontario [Potayya]); from pressing social and political issues (media coverage of protests during Toronto's G20 summit meeting of 2010 [Mastrocola]; stereotyping "fat" Black women [Henry]; military intervention in the global South [Bashaweih]) to the arts (the American Dream as reflected in a contemporary film [Del Carpio]), social history (LSD tripping in the '60s [Gage]), and food practices (the ethics of lobster-eating [Miller]; race and MSG in food [Regnier-Davies]). These are talented researchers, and we hope that this first venture into the world of scholarly communication encourages them to continue researching and writing.

In addition to full-length articles, we invite you to peruse a selection of abstracts and posters, available on the journal's website, reflecting the wide variety of research projects presented at York University's juried Undergraduate Research Fair (2013). Author rights are governed by Creative Commons licensing.

Congratulations to all the contributors to *Revue YOUR Review* and a warm welcome to our readers.

P. Warren
Associate Librarian
Co-Editor-in-Chief, *Revue YOUR Review*
York University Libraries
(Toronto, Canada)

Éditorial

Bienvenue au premier numéro de la *Revue **YOUR** Review*.

Parrainée par Les bibliothèques de l'Université York (Toronto, Canada), la *Revue **Y**ork **O**nline **U**ndergraduate **R**esearch Review* est la création collaborative des étudiants et des membres du corps enseignant ainsi que des bibliothécaires de l'Université. Lié à la foire annuelle de recherche pluridisciplinaire des étudiants de l'Université, ce périodique à comité de lecture se propose de mettre en valeur la recherche des étudiants de premier cycle et offre aux étudiants de l'Université York l'occasion de rédiger un article pour la publication. Cette revue à libre accès représente une démarche coopérative qui comble le fossé entre disciplines et entre facultés universitaires.

Les articles qui paraissent dans ce premier numéro ont été sélectionnés et révisés des meilleures dissertations soumises pour un cours de premier cycle à l'Université York et acceptées comme présentation d'affiches à la foire de recherche de 2013, elle-même sous la direction d'un jury. Après la foire, on invite les étudiants à mener leurs projets plus loin, soit s'engager à rédiger leurs textes pour la publication. Ces nouveaux auteurs participent à un atelier d'écriture, préparé pour eux et dirigé par un professeur du département d'écriture, afin d'apprendre comment préparer un article à partir d'une dissertation.

Le comité de rédaction de la *Revue YOUR Review* comprend des membres du corps enseignant, des bibliothécaires et des étudiants de diverses disciplines; ce comité choisit les meilleures soumissions, dont certaines sont envoyées aux spécialistes dans le domaine sur le campus. Les soumissions qui sont acceptées, ou acceptées sous réserve, sont données aux correcteurs d'épreuves, des étudiants dans un cours d'édition de quatrième année. Dirigée par un éditeur professionnel, cette classe s'organise tout comme une véritable maison d'édition, avec des équipes chargées des tâches particulières, soit la correction d'épreuves ou le markéting. On lie chaque auteur avec un correcteur d'épreuve en formation et ce dernier travaille avec l'auteur sur les révisions préliminaires. À la dernière étape du processus de révision, les rédacteurs de la revue travaillent directement avec les nouveaux auteurs sur la révision finale de leurs articles et de leurs résumés.

La *Revue YOUR Review*—tout comme la foire de recherche associée à la revue ainsi que le cours pratique d'édition—offre aux étudiants une expérience authentique de s'engager dans les processus de recherche, d'écriture, de préparation d'un résumé, de faire application à une conférence scientifique, de préparer une présentation d'affiches, de travailler avec des correcteurs d'épreuves et des rédacteurs et de reformuler une dissertation sous forme d'article de recherche—l'ensemble des parties composantes du cycle de la production des connaissances et de la distribution du savoir. Ce processus engage les étudiants universitaires dans une initiative d'apprentissage expérientiel tout en reconnaissant leurs contributions à la recherche scientifique, des contributions qui sont parfois oubliées.

La *Revue YOUR Review* est une publication multidisciplinaire et bilingue. Les articles dans ce premier numéro embrassent les sciences sociales, les lettres et les beaux-arts; les numéros à venir comprendront les sciences ainsi que les illustrations et les objets d'art originales. Les articles enjambent un large spectre de sujets : une étude du paysage urbain (la rue Bay et le centre des affaires à Toronto [Kitchen]; le réaménagement des espaces industriels au quartier du Junction Triangle à Toronto [Hurley]), l'environnement (le changement du climat en Ontario [Potayya]), les questions sociales et politiques courantes (le traitement médiatique des protestations contre le Sommet G20 à Toronto en 2010 [Mastrocola]; la stéréotypie des Noires obèses [Henry]; l'intervention militaire dans le Sud global [Bashaweih]), les arts (le rêve américain tel que reflété dans un film contemporain [Del Carpio]), l'histoire sociale (l'utilisation de la drogue LSD pendant les années '60 [Gage]) et les habitudes alimentaires (l'éthique de manger le homard [Miller]; l'additif alimentaire GMS [Regnier-Davies]). Ce sont des chercheurs de talent et nous espérons que ce premier lancement dans le monde de la publication scientifique leur encourage à poursuivre la recherche et l'écriture.

En plus de lire les articles de recherche, nous vous invitons à parcourir une sélection de résumés et de présentations par affiches, sur le site Web de la revue, qui reflètent la grande variété de projets présentés lors de la foire de recherche des étudiants de l'Université York, qui a eu lieu en 2013.

Nous félicitons tous les contributeurs à ce premier numéro de la *Revue YOUR Review* et nous souhaitons la bienvenue chaleureuse à nos lecteurs.

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Nous remercions les auteurs-étudiant(e)s de ce premier numéro, qui ont participé avec enthousiasme au long processus de révision des articles et ont travaillé de façon professionnelle avec divers rédacteurs. Ils ont accepté les commentaires avec grâce et bonne humeur. Nous tenons à remercier également Michael O'Connor, le rédacteur en chef de la maison d'édition Insomniac Press (London, ON) ainsi que ses étudiants du cours Book Publishing Practicum (WRIT 4721, Université York, 2014) pour leur travail intelligent et patient, non seulement avec les auteurs mais aussi avec les rédacteurs de cette revue. La peinture en acrylique qui est reproduite sur la couverture (*Sans titre*, 2014) est l'ouvrage de l'artiste-étudiante Gria. Les rédacteurs en chef apprécient surtout les conseils experts des bibliothécaires en Communication savante (Nina de Jesus, Ling He, Andrea Kosavic), la sagesse du Prof. Ron Sheese et de ses collègues du Département d'Écriture à l'Université York ainsi que les nombreux collègues, patients et talentueux, qui nous ont guidés à travers notre première incursion dans le lancement d'une revue électronique.

The Editors-in-Chief/Les rédacteurs en chef

KEVIN HURLEY

New Production in Old Spaces

Deindustrialization and the rise of the micro-enterprise economy in Toronto's Junction Triangle

Pockets of deindustrialized facilities in downtown areas made redundant by the relocation of manufacturing and processing industries can provide built-form opportunities for new economic purposes. Exploratory fieldwork in Toronto's Junction Triangle neighbourhood reveals a collection of old industrial spaces that have been reclaimed by an assortment of entrepreneurial micro-enterprises that provide replacement employment and economic value. This micro-enterprise economy is elevated by its locational advantage, serving high-end consumption goods, services, and experiences to a gentrified urban population. The mixed-method research findings serve as a case study for the protection of industrial facilities and their potential ongoing role in the urban economy.

INTRODUCTION

As Toronto city planners look for ways to increase residential density throughout the city, land assemblies in former industrial districts within the downtown area hold potential for this objective to be met. At one time, Toronto had a robust downtown manufacturing economy with facilities located along railways and waterfront areas; however, the combination of a relocation of most heavy industrial activity to the urban fringe (or overseas), together with a decades-long employment shift toward the service economy, has left several industrial-purpose facilities vacant, with the future use of these districts in question. Land developers are generally eager to see these employment areas converted to residential use to unlock potential development value, and in many cases, these settings have been redeveloped for new uses that appear more in line with the modern economy (e.g.: the condominium and box-style retail redevelopment of Toronto's Liberty Village). Despite the common desire of the development community, the employment value of former industrial districts needs to be carefully considered, especially since, in some cases, significant industrial-era buildings remain on these lands with varying degrees of potential adaptation and reuse.

Decisions about what to do with the facilities left behind as a result of deindustrialization bring into focus the nature of our future economy and the role that these facilities may play in shaping it. If there is to be no additional heavy industrial activity in Toronto's downtown area, are there new economic activities that can be nurtured and developed in the very spaces of the old economy? Can these new activities replace lost manufacturing employment and contribute to new dimensions of urban life?

Exploratory research on these questions in Toronto's Junction Triangle neighbourhood has revealed that if the conditions are agreeable—specifically, the availability of low commercial rent, the flexibility of large-format space, and the close proximity to a gentrified population—these settings can provide the conditions for a replacement economy to emerge. Located in the western part of Toronto's downtown area, the Junction Triangle is home to a mix of entrepreneurial micro-enterprises that result in a healthy—albeit modest—mix of economic production based around lifestyle goods and service offerings. The deindustrialized facilities made redundant by the migration of heavy industry act as centres of enterprising creativity and innovation built around a local market and workforce. By examining the nature and range of enterprises operating in this neighbourhood, we see that the physical legacy of the industrial era can be reused and that new economic activities can be conceived in the old industrial spaces in the downtown area.

INNOVATION, CREATIVITY, CLUSTERING: THE NEED FOR OLD BUILDINGS

According to Jane Jacobs, old buildings maintain important value and hold a unique function within the ecosystem of a healthy city (Jacobs, 1961). While many post-war politicians and planners across North America advocated for broad urban renewal strategies that involved severe redevelopment of 'obsolete' buildings that were seen to contribute to urban decay (Hall, 1988), Jacobs argued that cities *need* old buildings to thrive (Jacobs, 1961). Pitting urbanism against modernism, Jacobs argued for the protection of buildings of mixed age and condition, pointing out that not all business enterprises can afford the high costs associated with new construction (Jacobs, 1961). In addition to lower rents, deindustrialized facilities in the downtown area often have intrinsic locational advantages that make these settings attractive to re-imagined uses in the post-industrial economy. Jacobs lists neighbourhood bars, specialty restaurants, and "unformalized feeders of the arts" along with "hundreds of ordinary enterprises" as representative of the range of businesses that thrive on the lower overhead costs associated with old buildings (Jacobs, 1961, p. 188).

Downtown manufacturing facilities once held specific locational advantages for the industrial economy, such as proximity to a deep labour pool and efficient transportation access for input and output goods. While manufacturing's interest

eventually shifted away from the downtown in search of a cheaper labour pool (overseas) or to the suburbs for more space, lower taxes, looser zoning, and better trucking facilities, today's economic entrepreneurs can capitalize on these same locational assets for their own purposes.

Thomas Hutton (2004, 2008) has been examining the emergence of creative, technology-intensive clusters forming within the post-industrial landscape of Vancouver's downtown area and finds that the so-called New Economy is largely responsible for the regeneration of some of that city's once-derelict industrial districts. Agents of this New Economy—sometimes referred to as knowledge workers—benefit from the interconnected nature of the globalized economy and utilize communications technology (specifically computer-based software and the internet) to offer specialized services (Alcaly, 2003, p. 20). Hutton (2008) refers to a range of enterprises engaged in industries such as software, multimedia, video production, post-production, architecture, industrial design, graphic design, and advertising as all contributing to "the New Economy of the Inner City" and restoring vitality to many of Vancouver's deindustrialized facilities (p. 987). Hutton emphasizes the value of this regeneration as a central part of any relevant city's growth economy and advocates for protecting derelict industrial facilities for the benefit of these new industry formations (Hutton, 2008).

In a similar fashion, Graeme Evans (2009) details the contribution of the "creative class" to the local economy of London and the national economy of Great Britain at large underscoring the role of that the "micro-enterprise economy" (firms with less than five employees) plays in fertilizing this economic growth. Evans details the many micro-enterprises engaged in activities such as software, visual arts, crafts, "new" media, and associated technologies, who are clustering in former industrial areas and contributing to new schemes of economic and employment production. Referring to the phenomenon of new, creative industries in old manufacturing facilities as "new wine in old bottles" (p. 1004), Evans challenges the popular efforts by various civic governments around the world who have attempted to legislate the creation of innovation hubs *ex novo* (often on greenfield sites) while ignoring grassroots clusters of creativity and innovation already present in the urban ecosystem.

Meanwhile, in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, NY, the consumer desires of this gentrified neighbourhood has led to the use of old industrial spaces for on-demand production of high-end products, according to Winifred Curran (2010). Location (and the perceived *localness* of the goods-maker) is described to be the elemental ingredient for the success of the manufacturers operating in the area (Curran, 2010). As Curran explains, "the creation of consumer goods in highly 'authentic' places like inner-city industrial neighbourhoods helps to create favorable 'geographic stories' that make these goods more attractive than those from other places" (p. 873). She judges that the effects of gentrification in Brooklyn

and nearby Manhattan are the driving forces behind this arrival of small-scale manufacturing in Williamsburg, having "created a demand for custom furniture, high-end food products, fashion, and any number of products" (p. 881). Curran carefully highlights these niche manufacturers and the role they play in regenerating economic activity in the once-dormant manufacturing settings against the more-commonly discussed agents of the "creative class" (such as those outlined above), and argues that these traditional production activities are no less valuable to the urban economy than the coveted knowledge workers.

JUNCTION TRIANGLE AND THE RETREAT OF DOWNTOWN INDUSTRY

Located in the western part of Toronto's downtown area, the Junction Triangle occupies a wedge of land south of Dupont Avenue, just west of Lansdowne Avenue, stretching south from Dupont past Bloor Street to a pointed tip at Dundas Street West. The area's industrial character first began to take shape during the second half of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the Toronto Grey and Bruce CPR line (City of Toronto, 1979). Eventually bordered on three sides by railway tracks, the Junction Triangle was colonized by enterprising industrialists and by the start of the twentieth century, was built up with various manufacturing facilities, along with modest housing lots developed for their employees (City of Toronto, 1979). A fire insurance plan diagram from 1923 shows industrial uses accounting for an estimated 70-80% of the land use of the study area, which focuses on the southern *tip* of the Triangle, south of Bloor Street (see Figure 1). Some of the notable manufacturing tenants of this era include Cowan's Cocoa, T.A. Lytle Ketchup, the Aluminum Company of Canada (ALCAN, who built and occupied the landmark nine-storey tower that anchors the area), and Fairbanks Morse, a train-parts manufacturer situated on a large piece of land closer to Bloor Street (Goad, 1923).

Manufacturing played a vital role in the local fabric of this area of Toronto for the first half of the twentieth century, with these factories providing a large source of employment to the local homeowners (City of Toronto, 1979); however, forces beyond the control of local residents soon conspired to push these manufacturing jobs to larger suburban locations or overseas. Beginning in the early 1950s, the areas of the West Toronto Junction and Junction Triangle experienced a decline in manufacturing and resource processing jobs, accented by a five-year period between 1964 and 1969 when 4,000 local jobs were lost (City of Toronto, 1971).

Figure 1. A 1923 fire and insurance map shows a heavy concentration of large manufacturing structures in the heart of the site of the study area by this time (Goad, 1923).

The residents and industrial employees engaged in work here witnessed first-hand a phenomenon that was beginning to grip most of the western world at this time. The common experience was a mass deceleration of the robust manufacturing economy that had provided much of the western world with its economic growth following the industrial revolution (Bell, 1973). Spurred on by globalization and the reduction of taxes and tariffs imposed on international trade, more and more mass production and manufacturing moved overseas in search of cheaper land and labour costs (Bell, 1973). The swift erosion of the manufacturing sector promised to have a profound impact on society at large, as first suggested by

American sociologist Daniel Bell (1973), whose theory of an economy based on the value of information instead of the value of goods and the creation of a knowledge class appeared in his 1973 book *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. With finance and service-sector employment now surging in the later half of the twentieth century in Toronto and other cities, the traditional industrial economy would continue to play a diminishing role going forward, leaving manufacturing sites underutilized or abandoned altogether.

Figure 2. City of Toronto Archives photo showing industrial formations lining the railway tracks in the Junction Triangle (1922).

Through much of the first three quarters of the last century, land along the railway network of Toronto housed manufacturing and processing facilities that held tangible economic value in form of well-paying jobs for local residents and accumulated wealth for factory owners. As the industrial era wound down and these factories relocated overseas or to the suburban fringe, Toronto's local economy shifted to include a higher proportion of white-collar service jobs, typically concentrated in the central business district. While Toronto's service-based economy has flourished in the post-industrial climate thanks in part to its already well-developed economic base in place before manufacturing expansion (Caulfield, 2009), the local employment opportunities that the manufacturing

industry represented have largely been lost, contributing to an urban society with a diminishing middle class.

Figure 3. City of Toronto Aerial photograph of the Junction Triangle study area in the context of residential neighbourhoods (1954).

Today, the southern end of the Junction Triangle includes a mix of land uses ranging from industrial, residential, and commercial (see Figure 4). The railway lines still largely define the borders of the territory, although with rail-based shipping demand reduced, some of the track space has been converted into a pedestrian and bicycle pathway (West Toronto Railpath). With the exception of the Nestle chocolate factory (still operating on the same site as Cowan's Cocoa), all heavy industrial activity has moved on, leaving behind a collection of old structures and considerable brownfield open space. The small enclave of 40 to 50 residential houses on Perth Ave. and on the north end of Sterling Road remains, while the land that once housed Fairbanks Morse near Bloor Street has been redeveloped as a condominium and townhouse complex. Finally, a group of auto-mechanics has established a presence along Bloor Street and along Ruttan Ave.

Figure 4. A satellite image of the Junction Road study area, coded for present land use type.

THE JUNCTION TRIANGLE'S MICRO-ENTERPRISE ECONOMY

The focus of this study centres around the remaining industrial buildings that no longer serve industrial purposes on Sterling Road: numbers 128, 158, 163, 213, and 223-227. Of these five main deindustrialized facilities, one sits vacant (the monumental tower built by Alcan at 158 Sterling Road) while the other four are variously occupied. These four form the basis for the fieldwork, where I adopted a mixed-method research approach consisting of data collection and analysis along with interviews.

A completed business directory of the buildings forms the first part of the fieldwork research and reveals a wide range of mostly small (or more specifically *micro*-) enterprises engaged in a host of business activities from publishing to

recreation services to arts and culture (see Table 1). What emerges here is a pattern of locally focused services, many relying on a local customer base: dog-walking, furniture repair, and children's gymnastics, as examples. Additionally, many of the businesses are providing high-end handcrafted consumer goods, especially in fashion and furniture-making, logically to a local (Toronto) market. Clustering appears to be a common trait, especially around fashion services in 163 Sterling Road and woodworking or furniture making in 213 Sterling Road. A high number of recreation-based services also call the Junction Triangle home, from gymnastics and circus performing, paintball to recreational axe throwing. In addition, several enterprises working directly in the arts-and-culture stream—from performance venues and galleries to artist studios—also proliferate the directory. One notable observation from this research stage was a surprising lack of businesses that are engaged in what would commonly be referred to as "knowledge work": the actors of the so-called New Economy are scarcely present on Sterling Road.

The second research method consisted of a series of ten semi-structured interviews with business operators working in the subject buildings, covering a range of business sectors, with respondents from each of the four building addresses. Each organization that I approached was open to the interview, and in all but one case the respondent was the principal or co-principal of the enterprise. During the fieldwork interviews, I attempted to gain an understanding of: (1) the size of the respondents' organizations; (2) their timing and motivation for locating in the spaces that they were now occupying; and (3) their outlook on the future of the area along with a prediction of their place within it.

Firstly, the vast majority of the businesses are micro-enterprises, with a handful of exceptions that could be listed as "small businesses." Additionally, many of the organizations are relatively new arrivals to the Junction Triangle (within the last three years). Regarding the various motivations to locate in the Junction Triangle, three factors emerged as primary draws: (1) affordability of lease; (2) the location; and (3) flexibility of space, ranked in that order, with some respondents listing all three as chief among motivating factors.

The amount of space available for relatively inexpensive rents allows the Junction Triangle enterprises to engage in creative endeavours, and is clearly an important factor in the composition of the neighbourhood today (one tenant quoted his rent at $12 per square foot per year, much less than comparable market rates of $18-$20). Regarding affordability, two of the six respondents who listed price as a central reason for locating there spoke about the Junction Triangle being an affordable haven after both were priced out of nearby Parkdale.

Address	Business Name	Description	Sector
128 Sterling Road	Flying Colours International	Flags and Banners	Administration & manufacturing
	C-B-Q Tactical Paintball & Training Academy	Paintball facility	Recreation
	T-Dot Tumblers Gymnastics Academy	Child, youth & adult gymnastics	Recreation
	Film & Event Solutions Inc.	Equipment supply and rental	Service
163 Sterling Road	Forgetus Collective	Gallery / studio / venue	Arts & Culture
	Modrobes Inc.	Apparel design company	Fashion
	Muttonhead Collective	Apparel design company	Fashion
	Peace and Cotton	T-shirt company	Fashion
	Yesterday Press	Independent small press	Publishing
	Affordable Signs	Sign-making services	Service
	OLA Day Care	Child care	Service
	Saya Media	A/V recording / web & digital imaging	Service
	Sysneye Studio	Photographic servcies	Service
	Arc & Co. Design Collective	Design agency - Product development & design	Service
213 Sterling Road	Diane McGrath Studios	Visual art studio	Arts & Culture
	Kal Mansur Studios	Visual art studio	Arts & Culture
	Khromaspace	Art and design gallery	Arts & Culture
	Lumir Hladik	Sculpture studio	Arts & Culture
	R Goshgarian Photography	Photography studio	Arts & Culture
	2 Egress Sound & Design	Custom recording studio furniture manufacturer	Furniture maker
	Brothers Dressler	Woodworking furniture craftsmen	Furniture maker
	Dupont Woodworking Co-op	Woodworking studio	Furniture maker
	Centre of Gravity	Vaudeville theatre & circus training studio	Recreation
	Cirque-ability	Aerial, acrobatic and fitness studio	Recreation
	Just 4 Fun Sporting Club	Sporting venue space (floor hockey, dodgeball, etc)	Recreation
	Toronto Backyard Axe Throwing Club	Social club	Recreation
	Julien Armand	Designer furniture retailer	Retail
	Box Design Build	Design studio	Service
	Philip Beesley Architect Inc.	Architecture office (experimental)	Service
	Spyder Digital Research	Product designers (tablet / smartphone accessories)	Service
	Studio Blu	Photographic services	Service
221-227 Sterling Road	Michele van Maurik Studios	Visual art studio	Arts & Culture
	Raw Space	Performance venue & gallery	Arts & Culture
	Somewhere There	Music performance venue	Arts & Culture
	Woodlight	Wood-based lighting manufacturer	Furniture maker
	Lucid Media	Arts & entertainment magazine publisher	Publishing
	Ronald P Frye & Co.	Independent book publisher	Publishing
	JJamb Productions Inc.	Film special effects studio	Service
	Rose Antiques Repair & Restoration	Furniture repair	Service
	Unleashed in The City	Dog care services	Service
	Whaler Jack Design Build	Film & television design and construction	Service

Table 1. Businesses and organizations operating out of the Junction Triangle case study buildings, April 2012.

The connected urban location, and even the "industrial-type vibe" of the neighbourhood, was a strong attractive force for five of the ten respondents. The gymnastics company capitalizes on the location by marketing its programs to the nearby neighbourhoods of Roncesvalles and High Park, while one furniture retailer cites the local demand for high-end home furnishing as a reason for having chosen the site. Meanwhile, a newly established tenant that specializes in the design and assembly of high-end handcrafted furnishings highlighted the marketing value that a deindustrialized location such as the Junction Triangle provides.

Finally, many of the respondents spoke of the physical conditions of the space that allows for certain flexibility, especially for enterprises engaged in the production of handcrafted goods (art, furniture, clothing). "You need a proper space to do this kind of work professionally," said one of the respondents, who shares the lease on over 4,000 square feet with a woodworking co-op, giving them collectively the space for the necessary tools required for furniture processing. Other artists and artisans engaged in large-format work and performance-based professions also stressed the important role that large space plays in their ability to be successful.

"NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES"

The micro-enterprise community that has repopulated this series of deindustrialized facilities in Toronto's Junction Triangle represents a diverse mix of creative businesses and organizations who are taking advantage of a combination of cheap rents, urban location, and flexible physical space in order to thrive. The emerging economic vitality that these enterprises represent reinforces a message preached by Jane Jacobs (1961), who insisted that cities need old buildings with low barriers of entry in order to incubate new ideas and to house new ventures. Many of these Junction Triangle micro-enterprises are involved in creative and innovative areas operating decidedly outside of the mainstream knowledge economy. While the old industrial space gives these enterprises a certain degree of flexibility and room to experiment, what binds these enterprises together and keeps them thriving in this environment appears to be the very urbanity of this deindustrialized location.

Relating back to the experience of Williamsburg, Curran offers a theoretical voice that could readily apply to the micro-enterprise economy that forms the basis of this study: "Gentrification creates demand for products that local manufacturers can supply. Small, local manufacturers are ideally suited to the small-batch, flexible production process necessary to respond to the ever changing demands of the population" (p. 881). An influx of greater wealth into the city's west-end neighbourhoods has provided a healthy customer base to support this pocket of entrepreneurial micro-enterprises.

During the industrial era this corner of the city was a node of economic production and employment, and this latest regeneration is once again breathing life into it as a productive economic centre. The renewal has both real and symbolic importance. Locations such as the Junction Triangle provide niche services and diverse employment possibilities, even if on a modest scale compared to the overall regional economy. But just as gentrification brought on residential displacement in nearby neighbourhoods such as Parkdale, Bloordale, Dufferin Grove, and Roncesvalles, the same processes of displacement appear to be on the near horizon for a handful of the study's micro-enterprise tenants, especially those collectively owned organizations that are engaged in experimental arts who fear an

imminent increase in rental costs as a result of development projects planned nearby. The protection of such a diverse and creative economy is important, as it exists as a symbol of larger economic diversity and growth for the city or region.

As Hutton (2008) points out, rebirth of former industrial spaces in downtown areas can have a significant impact on "the reconfiguration of the metropolitan core's space-economy, redressing to some extent the spatial imbalance of the post industrial core which heavily favoured the corporate complex of the CBD [Central Business District], and partially offsetting job losses in central city industries and occupations" (p. 9). Furthermore, the diversity and independent spirit of the micro-enterprise economy in the Junction Triangle works against a dominant neo-liberal, one-size-fits-all urban theory by injecting unique goods and experiences (recreational axe throwing, for instance) into the consumption offerings for its urban market.

CONCLUSION

The examination of the recent emergence of an entrepreneurial micro-enterprise economy in the deindustrialized spaces of the Junction Triangle suggests that under the right conditions, replacement economies can emerge in the settings of outmoded economic production and employment. These micro-enterprise economic actors can have legitimate value in fertilizing the larger creative sector and thus the economy of the city at large. Studying the Junction Triangle, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The deindustrialized facilities of the Junction Triangle are home to a diverse range of legitimate micro-enterprises, engaged in a variety of creative and innovative endeavours.
2. The collection of micro-enterprises is valuable in terms of its employment benefit and its symbolic contribution to the overall urban economy.
3. The micro-enterprises in the Junction Triangle are generally focused on providing high-end lifestyle consumption goods and services to a local audience.
4. Urban location matters. The situated locational advantage of the Junction Triangle's deindustrialized facilities, which sits amidst gentrified residential neighbourhoods, has provided the businesses and organizations with the market necessary to succeed.

Protecting the city's emerging economies and labour pools needs to be a top priority for contemporary city planners. Niche and small-scale producers should not be taken for granted. Too often, cities over-value the benefits of residential growth and in the process overlook grassroots economic formations naturally clustering in the urban fabric (Curran, 2010). Local governments have the tools to

protect emerging economic configurations such as this one through zoning and land use policies, development regulations, rent controls, and design guidelines (Hutton, 2004). Based on the potential creative, innovative, and economic contributions to urban life that deindustrialized spaces can provide through adaptive new uses, the protection of the physical legacy of buildings and infrastructure left from the industrial era must be considered when developing the new city.

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JONATHAN KITCHEN

Towers of Power

An empirical analysis of Toronto's Central Business District

Over the past sixty years, Toronto's Central Business District (CBD) has become home to an ever-increasing densification of corporate office towers. Accessibility, control, power, and securitization of property has developed through the post-industrial evolution of the built environment, resulting in the exclusion of some individuals. This paper, through theoretical analysis and empirical data collection, argues that unequal access to privatized public spaces within the CBD's office towers, outdoor plazas, and the underground PATH system reinforces class distinction and capitalist hegemony. The qualitative empirical data used within this paper were collected through observational site visits of twelve corporate office towers and plazas in Toronto's CBD, as well as the PATH system. Through the analysis of these spaces, this paper concludes that the built environment of the CBD serves only the needs of the dominant capitalist and middle/upper-middle classes. The class distinctions and capitalist hegemony written into these built environments are reinforced through social, cultural, and physical controls of space. On a larger scale, the spatial exclusion of marginalized individuals within the urban environment speaks to a greater social and spatial inequality within the city, suggesting the need to re-evaluate systems of social, economic, and political power.

INTRODUCTION

The Central Business District (CBD) in downtown Toronto (see Appendix) is one of the oldest areas in the city and yet has had some of the most dramatic changes. It was first developed in 1797 as a residential zone, but by 1850 manufacturing industries had taken over and displaced many of the homes. Almost one hundred years later, the area once again was redeveloped, but this time around large office complexes that displaced the industrial buildings (Gad, 1991). Beginning in 1967 with the Toronto Dominion Towers (Figure 1), the city witnessed its first international-style skyscrapers. In less than a decade, twenty-five more towers were erected within the CBD, and since then, skyscrapers have become an expected and

desired sight in the downtown core (Bélanger, 2007). However, with office tower expansions came building densification in the CBD, resulting in a loss of public spaces.

The following discussion of the CBD will analyse three privatized spaces—the corporate office towers, plazas, and the PATH system—through themes of power, control, security, and accessibility. Methodologically, the qualitative empirical data were collected through observational site visits of twelve corporate offices and plazas[1] in the CBD, as well as the PATH system. Through research data and theoretical analysis this paper will argue that the built environment of Toronto's CBD reinforces class distinction and capitalist hegemony through unequal access to privatized public space.

Figure 1. Toronto Dominion Centre plaza and buildings.

CBD CORPORATE OFFICE TOWERS

Office tower exteriors

While each of the individual office towers in the CBD may have unique aesthetic qualities, their overall appearance is quite standardized: they are all made of similar materials—glass, steel, concrete, or stone—and are of considerable height, producing an imposing sight on the urban landscape. As a feat of technology, the towers are a source of prestige for the architects, the city, and its politicians, and are landmarks on the urban skyline. While formidable in size, the commanding presence of the buildings on the landscape reinforces their power over the city. Skyscrapers' imposing size and minimalist design portray images of efficiency, power, strength, and representations of wealth while remaining architecturally modern, both appealing to city planners and corporate institutions housed within them (Goss, 1988; Dovey, 1992; Huriot, 2012).

The design of the office tower is a clear expression of the political and economic dominance of its occupants. Lefebvre (1976) states that the symbols associated with corporate office towers represent "places of official Power, the places where Power is concentrated, where it reflects itself, looks down from above—and is transparent. The Phallic unites with the political, verticality symbolizes Power" (p. 88). The 26-storey Royal Bank Plaza (Figure 2) in the CBD is an example of Lefebvre's concentration of power. The financial institution has an exterior of reflective opaque glass with a sunken façade and an entrance encircled by columns. The size and architectural design of this building provides an image of the financial institution as almost an impenetrable fortress. According to Goss (1988), a building's aesthetics and expensive land value ultimately ascribes a commodification of space, and reinforces a distinction about what these buildings have been built for and who is meant to have access to them.[2] While the exteriors of the buildings exude power and strength, the interiors are highly political spaces of hierarchical control, both of labour production and social discourse (Goss, 1988).

Foyers and security measures

A common theme with the office towers are large expansive windows at the street level, sometimes the full front of the building, showcasing lobbies containing substantial pieces of artwork, decorative chandeliers, polished marble walls, and/or floor-to-ceiling columns (Figure 3). Like the buildings themselves, the lobbies are awesome in size and grandeur, and are meant to remind visitors of the power and prestige of the corporations above. The symbolism embedded in the spaces through their sheer size (oftentimes taking up two to three storeys and the entire street frontage), sterility, and glamour is a spatial separation between the inhabitants of the building and the street (Dovey, 1992).

Figure 2. Columns surround the main entrance to Royal Bank Plaza, North Tower.

Each of the office towers employs visible securitization tactics in an effort to distance the corporations from the public street level and to reinforce to visitors their power and control. For instance, for an individual to access the elevators in the lobby on any of the sites, they must first walk past a concierge desk where either one or two uniformed security guards are stationed (Figure 3). This sequence suggests that the building management is actively making the visitors and workers visibly aware of security personnel. Thus, while the symbolism and ideology of the height of the building is of success and power, the security presence suggests a perception of negativity and disorder associated with the street level, preventing access for some of the individuals found within it (Huriot, 2012).

Figure 3. Toronto Dominion Centre lobby, with main entrance on the left and a security station before two central hallways to the elevators.

Security guard stations act as a physical barrier, filtering access and reinforcing specific codes of conduct to be adhered to within the space. According to Byers (1998), the key to "maintaining the success of a property is for building managers to ensure the perception of safety, even if that means standing by while the perception is cultivated that the outside world, on the streets, is unsafe" (p. 199). During my visits to Scotia Plaza (Figure 4), Toronto Dominion Centre, and Bay-Adelaide Centre, security guards were roaming the lobby as well as the grounds around the exterior, monitoring the individuals coming in and out and their activities. Their patrolling, in addition to the architectural design elements, reinforces the perception of the building as a fortified and safe environment. This is not a new concept as protective town walls, gates, and guard stations have been used as visibly effective symbols of defensible space for centuries (Nissen, 2008).

Plazas

The exterior plazas surrounding the properties of these office towers, while seemingly public, are reflective of the same limited accessibility as the interiors of the office towers themselves. The aesthetics of the plazas suggest a significant order and functionality through design and landscaping, separating the spaces from the streetscape through the use of stone walkways, foliage, sculptures, large planters (Figure 4), and/or walls. Four of the properties—Brookfield Place (Figure 5), Commerce Court (Figure 6), Scotia Plaza, and First Canadian Place—even display signage that dictates the rules and regulations of the plaza space.

Figure 4. Security guard standing at the entrance to Scotia Plaza. Large planters divide the street from the building entrance.

This form of privatized and ordered environment, while accessible to the "public," is the modern capitalized form of public space within the CBD (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). The introversion of many of these "public" spaces, which are oftentimes enclosed in the property of the office complex, prevent usage by the actual public through architectural measures and inaccessibility from the street—such as the Toronto Dominion Centre plaza, which is encircled by buildings and raised up from street level (Figure 7). This effectively allows for the regulating of use to only the legitimized few that work in the office complexes and wish to escape from the city (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). The commodification of this space for elite and corporate consumption can truly be called, as Wagner (1993) so appropriately states, the "front gardens to the strongholds of capitalism" (p. 298).[3] The design of these spaces—with stylish architecture, manicured and landscaped gardens, and ornamental materials—is meant to reinforce orderliness, not spontaneity, and to be consumed by and to "promote cues consistent with the goals of private enterprise" (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993, p. 153). Through domination by the towers and the closed-off nature of the plazas, they are, in effect, isolated to the world outside, and, with the use of private security firms that police the interior and exterior property, they are able to maintain this division.

The PATH system

The PATH system began near the turn of the twentieth century with tunnels built at both the Eaton's department store and Union Station, but became popularized during the 1950s and 1960s with the completion of the subway system downtown (Bélanger, 2007). While the main reason for its development was to separate

pedestrians and traffic at street level (Byers, 1998), its expansion throughout the CBD was primarily due to a loophole in city zoning (Bélanger, 2007). According to the zoning regulations of the time, when building the new office towers, any space that was below-grade was not included in the height limitations set by the city bylaws, and developers were able to capitalize on this by creating a subterranean retail system in an otherwise unusable and/or undesirable area. By utilizing space belowground, developers were able to free up the street-level for impressive and expansive lobbies (Bélanger, 2007).

Figure 5. Posted "rules of use" signage in the plaza at Brookfield Place.

Figure 6. Private property signage in front of Commerce Court, North Tower.

The PATH is a privatized public space six city blocks wide by ten city blocks long, spanning three kilometres from end to end and connecting over fifty office towers (Byers, 1998). While walking through the maze of paths in the underground, it becomes evident that the affluence of the corporate offices above is translated into the PATH system below. This is apparent through the use of polished marble or granite on the floors and walls, architectural fixtures of brass and polished metals, and high-end stores lining the hallways (Figure 8). As with the lobbies and plazas, there is a very visible presence of security staff patrolling the privately regulated system.

Figure 7. Toronto Dominion Centre Plaza. Buildings surround a grassed area with trees, foliage, and benches (with notches in them to prevent skateboarders from using them).

The PATH system services over 100,000 individuals during the average workday (City of Toronto, n.d.), yet the retail spaces and conveniences offered in the system only cater to a very select group of people: white-collar business professionals. The system is designed and operated to create a comfortable environment for consumers, and, through subtle controls of the space, are able to limit its use to only a select demographic of individuals (Byers, 1998). The very distinct separation of the PATH system from the street level helps to maintain a professional-class and consumer homogeneity while excluding diversity from the street. Jones (1993) sums up the highly specialized PATH system as,

> A place devoid of children and young families, the elderly, the lower income segments of our society and the underclass. In large part, the underground is a retailing subsystem that is directly linked to the corporate city of enterprise. It serves the residents of the white-collar city of privilege. (p. 17)

Thus, this pseudo-public space provides the retail consumers and the office workers a controlled, ordered, and "safe" environment, which cannot be guaranteed in the "disordered" public streetscape (Byers, 1998). This separated system reinforces the distinctions of the social environment and the differentiation between the pedestrian classes, providing individuals with the ability to enjoy the city without the fear of the unknown, as the "undesirable" element is actively discouraged from entering through architectural and securitized measures (Byers, 1998).

Figure 8. The retail stores of Toronto's underground PATH system.

DISCUSSION

The dominant demographic of individuals observed at each of the sites was composed of middle-aged men and women in business attire, while missing from these sites were children, young adults, and the elderly. The lack of diversity within the CBD and the privatized public spaces is not by accident, but has instead been systematically reinforced through social and spatial factors. The corporate offices in the CBD employ social classification through subtle and not-so-subtle means. While they use very visible security measures such as the patrolling guards at Scotia Plaza and the outdoor signage outlining the regulations of use in the privatized plaza at Brookfield Place, their more subtle architectural design elements, such as the posts lining the street in front of the offices at First Canadian Place (Figure 9) and the high-end retail establishments in the PATH system, promote a social stratification and codification of acceptable classes of individuals.

Figure 9. A homeless individual stands in front of First Canadian Place. Posts provide a physical line differentiating between the public street and private property.

Accessibility to these spaces depends more and more on the individual's ability to assume the role of a middle- or upper-class consumer and fall within the narrow parameters set up by the capitalist few (Nissen, 2008). Peterson (2006) so aptly recognizes that the built environment is not created in a vacuum, but instead is,

> often designed to produce and support particular forms of public and private, provid[ing] the terrain on which concerns of access, security, surveillance and use are played out. Laws that authorize privatized public space and exclusions intended by "defensible space" are necessarily enacted by *people*. These controls become a means of constituting a public through

> relative inclusions and exclusions and … [from this] social groups and stratifications are produced. (pp. 377-378) (italics added for emphasis)

By removing the marginalized from view, the orderliness and "bourgeois cleanliness" of the CBD remains intact (Amster, 2003, p. 197). The standards with which undesirable elements—such as homeless, urban poor, panhandlers, elderly, or children—are excluded from the privatized public spaces is enforced and determined by those with power solely for the advantage of their own interests (Amster, 2003). Through "spatial and cultural cleansing," the CBD's powerful executives and building developers are able to stifle identities that are not in accord with capitalist perspectives on economic growth and prosperity (Amster, 2003, p. 199). For instance, while four homeless individuals were observed, all were on the street and not in or on any of the privatized public spaces (Figure 9). Their lack of visibility is a way of ensuring that they not threaten the validity of meaning with which the capitalist and privileged social classes interpret their lives (Mair, 1986; Amster, 2003; Mitchell, 1995).

According to Allahar & Côté (1998), "the state of capitalist society has two principal responsibilities: first, to ensure the long-term reproduction of capitalism and capitalist institutions and, second, to protect the interests of the various fractions of the capitalist class" (p. 41). Thus, to protect the economic prosperity of the CBD, the privatized public spaces are legitimized only for capitalist endeavours of a white-collar, homogenous, "consenting, invisible, and harmonious" public (Peterson, 2006, p. 359). This exclusionary system is reinforced through political and social systems that promote a normative and limited representation of "public," and is idealized through social discourse as desirable and preferable (Mitchell, 1995). Through the design elements of the built environment, and by employing regulations that are inherently exclusionary, executives of the capitalist class are able to filter out all but those whom they deem as the desired public.

CONCLUSION

The CBD's built environment has been systematically constructed to serve the needs of the dominant capitalist and middle/upper-middle classes at the exclusion of others. The class distinctions and capitalist hegemony are embedded in the built environment of the CBD and are enforced through social, cultural, and physical controls. This paper has argued that 1) the architecture of the office towers of the CBD symbolizes institutions of power held by corporations; 2) the plazas, lobbies, and street-level security act as buffers preventing access of the "undesirables" to the elite capitalist classes; and 3) the PATH system promotes a limited and idealized form of consumerism and bourgeois functionality. Accordingly, societal ideologies of power and social relationships with space are complex and deeply interrelated, ultimately constructing and reproducing unequal forms of privilege.

While this paper has attempted to examine the relationship between built form and social structures, it is limited by its focus on the CBD alone. The social forces behind the large office complexes in the downtown core and their exclusivity to the capitalist and middle and upper classes speak to a larger issue of social polarization within Toronto. With that in mind, this situation cannot be examined in isolation from the rest of the city, but instead must be examined as part of a larger urban, regional, national, and global system of social, economic, and political power. For further research, the framework applied to the CBD could be expanded to include other areas of the city to examine socio-spatial and socio-economic disparities, such as suburban sprawl, neighbourhood gentrification, and in-between cities. In addition, while gathering empirical data in the CBD, it became apparent in early observations that there was a racial divide between the white-collar business professionals and the service-sector employees. This unequal representation of racial diversity, while not discussed in this paper, also requires further examination and research.

Residents and users of the city must recognize that the built environment that surrounds them is socially and physically constructed by the privileged few that have the means to manipulate the city into something that represents their vision of inclusivity, efficiency, and beauty. The very fact that the alternative identities of the marginalized are a threat to the capitalist few suggests that the excluded masses hold a power that makes the bourgeoisie nervous. Within this power lies the possibility for these individuals to make a claim on the built environment and spatially secure a place for themselves within the city.

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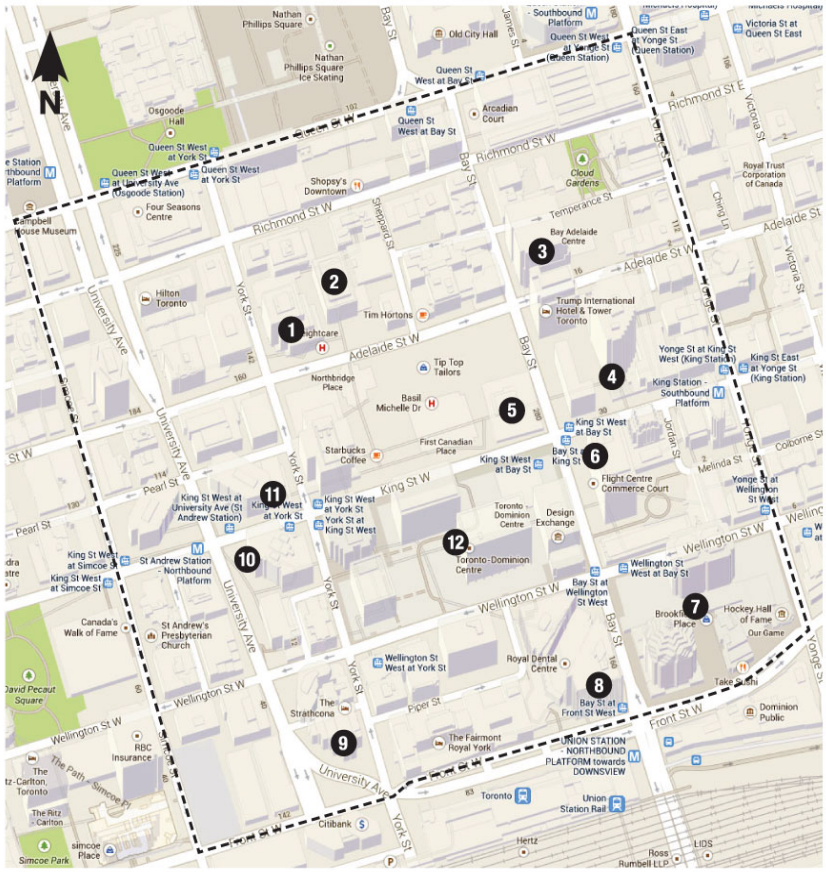
[1] The twelve locations observed were: Oxford Tower, Richmond-Adelaide Centre, Bay-Adelaide Centre, Scotia Plaza, First Canadian Place, Commerce Court, Brookfield Place, Royal Bank Plaza, 1 University Avenue, York Centre, Sun Life Tower, and Toronto Dominion Centre. Each site was visited twice, once during working hours (2:30pm) and once after the end of the business day (5:30pm). These buildings were chosen due to their size, location, and exterior grounds or plazas, as well as accessibility to the PATH system. The data was collected through detailed note-taking while observing the environment.

[2] Building aesthetics could produce physical accessibility challenges for some individuals, as nine of the twelve buildings observed are either raised or sunken below ground and set back, in some cases, quite a distance from the street.

[3] Wagner (1993) as quoted in Nissen (2008, p. 1134).

APPENDIX



Appendix. The Central Business District (CBD) in downtown Toronto.

DANIELA MASTROCOLA

Whose Streets?

Representations of the G20 protests in the *Toronto Star*

The following excerpt[1] *employs content and critical discourse analyses to investigate the* Toronto Star*'s representation of the protests that took place during the 2010 Toronto G20 Summit. Through the theoretical lens of Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, it assesses the inclusion and representation of protesters and their motivations for protesting.*

Cumulatively, the findings of this research point toward a hegemonic narrative in which the ideological status quo and those who support it are presented as legitimate and natural, whereas dissenters are depicted as illegitimate and socially harmful. These findings are generally consistent with previous analyses of corporate media coverage of other protests in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

INTRODUCTION

Douglas McLeod provides a normative understanding of media's role in the ongoing national dialogue of a country's norms, values, laws, and policies: "to stimulate informed participation" (McLeod, 1995, p. 7). Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony explains why and how the integrity of this dialogue is jeopardized by ideologically biased coverage that favours dominant actors, viewpoints, and goals over their subaltern counterparts. As such, the following excerpt analyzes representations of the protests which took place during the 2010 Toronto G20 Summit in the *Toronto Star*, a for-profit Canadian news medium, according to two primary research questions: (1) what percentage of articles paraphrases or includes quotations from (a) protester sources, (b) official sources (police and government officials), and/or (c) bystander sources; and (2) what percentage of articles discusses the purpose, aims, or intentions of protesters (a) positively, (b) negatively, or (c) neutrally, and/or includes no such discussion. I hypothesize that as a for-profit news source that seeks to attract a mainstream

audience by providing conventional and noncontroversial news coverage, the *Toronto Star*'s representations of the 2010 Toronto G20 protests will feature little to no discussion of the motivations of protesters; rather, journalists will rely primarily on official sources that emphasize the deviance of protesters and ultimately discredit and undermine protesting groups and individuals.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The following analysis employs a content analysis that systematically quantifies manifest content of the text in selected articles published in the *Toronto Star* from 19 June 2010 to 3 July 2010 in order to identify patterns of representation from which primary frames of coverage are induced. To complement the quantitative findings of my research, I also provide some qualitative observations using a critical discourse analysis that identifies the relationship between the content of the articles and the hegemonic power structures embedded in the *Toronto Star*. Completing a critical discourse analysis subsequent to a content analysis provides quantitatively verifiable qualitative results and also highlights the degree to which power relations impact the content of each article.

Content analysis: strategy and procedure

The following research was conducted using *Canadian Newsstand—Major Dailies*, an online database for Canadian newspapers. The *Toronto Star* was chosen because it is a highly circulated mainstream news medium.[2] The time period accounts for five days before, the weekend of, and five days after the Toronto G20 Summit and therefore demonstrates patterns of representation in anticipation of, during, and in reflection of the Summit. I sought out articles matching the search terms "G20" and "protests" or "protesters," which yielded a total of 47 articles, of which 29 were written by employees of the *Toronto Star*.[3] The resulting 29 articles were surveyed to ensure that they pertain to the "G20 protests" and do not contain these search terms incidentally: four articles were excluded.[4] To create a sample group of the remaining 25 articles that was practically feasible and representative of the entire population, I used a process of systematic sampling (Deacon et al., 2010, p. 48) in which the articles were listed according to the date of publication, numbered from one to five, and every article numbered three and five was removed, producing a total of 15 articles. As a result, the final sample accounts for 60% of all the *Toronto Star* articles published by 21 June 2010 and 2 July 2010 that match the search terms "G20" and "protests" or "protesters" and that were written by *Toronto Star* employees.

HEGEMONY AND MAINSTREAM CORPORATE MEDIA

To understand hegemony one must begin with ideology, which may be defined as a way of thinking or a complementary set of ideas that reinforce one another and

maintain power relations (Mazepa, 2011). Antonio Gramsci, living and imprisoned under Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini, came to identify "hegemony" as the normalization of ideology in which ideology becomes unchallenged, unquestioned, and institutionalized in laws and policies (Mazepa, 2011). Rather than maintaining domination through physical force, "consent" of the citizenry is ideologically secured by convincing citizens that the ruling class ideology is common sense and that "ruling class power [is] founded on that class's unique, self-evident ability to run the nation" (Downing, 2001, p. 14).

When speaking of hegemony in the North American and European contexts, one is often referring to the dominant capitalist ideology. For example, Charles Hall (1993) explains that, "By shaping social and political consent, the state sustains the dominant-subordinate class relations and the expansion of production required for capital" (p. 13). Although the *Toronto Star* is a relatively independent news source in comparison with other Canadian mainstream corporate media, it is nonetheless a for-profit entity that maximizes its advertising revenue by appealing to as wide an audience as possible.[5] The desire to attract the largest audience possible means that controversial issues and sources that challenge the status quo are less likely to receive coverage (Hamilton, 2000, pp. 357-358).

While few theorists will suggest that the audiences of mainstream media passively absorb the information they receive, many do propose that news media are powerful social institutions because they set the agenda of social dialogue (Duggan, 2011, p. 36). In other words, news media outlets determine which events warrant coverage, what aspects of an event should be emphasized, and what should be ignored (Ashley & Olsen, 1998, p. 263). The cumulative effect of this is that consumers of mainstream corporate media are left thinking about and discussing events based on the filtered information that mainstream media choose to cover and, more specifically, *how* they choose to cover it.

Previous research demonstrates the way hegemony manifests itself and operates in the way corporate media frame coverage of social protests. Of particular significance for this excerpt is the "official source" frame in which articles are organized around the comments of official personnel, such as police and government officials (Duggan, 2011, p. 8).[6] With little to no discussion of protesters' motivations, such articles tend instead to depict protesters as social deviants that are uninformed, naïve, or childishly protesting too many issues (Boykoff, 2006, pp. 218-221).[7]

RESEARCH DATA: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This study examines 15 *Toronto Star* articles; 14 are classified as news stories and 1 is classified as entertainment.

Sources

Of the total number of sources used in each article, six articles include protester sources and six articles include official or authoritative sources including police leadership, government officials, or representatives thereof for 50% or more of the total sources used (see Appendix A, Table A1, and Appendix B, Table B1).

Based on these findings, quantitatively, protesters are as likely to receive representation as official and authoritative sources. An article by Thomas Walkom (2010), published on Saturday 26 June, discusses the extraordinary stop-and-search powers that Dalton McGuinty secretly granted to police during the G20 weekend, allowing police to demand identification from anyone within five metres of the "G20 security zone" and to search those who do not comply. Of the total eight sources used in this article, three are protester sources and two are official sources. Although the number of comments from both types of sources is roughly equal, Walkom makes four disparaging comments about the protesters before and after quoting them. He criticizes McGuinty for passing the secret law in part because "[McGuinty has] given anti-G20 protesters something concrete to protest." Walkom also says that prior to the passing of the secret law, protesters "lacked credible focus," and dismisses anti-elitist, anti-capitalist, animal rights, and transgender equality motivations as factually unfounded and/or unrelated to the purpose of the G20 Summit. As such, the protester sources at the end of the article are undermined by multiple denigrating comments made by the journalist.

Similar comments appear in five of the six articles that feature protester sources for 50% or more of the total sources used. On average, each of these articles features 2.8 protester sources and 3.4 comments that criticize protesters. In other words, the average number of protester sources used in these 5 articles is equal to the average number of undermining or delegitimizing comments also used (Appendix B, Table B1).

Motivation(s) of protesters

To obtain a statistically meaningful measurement of the number of times protesters' motivations receive coverage in each *Toronto Star* article, I compared the number of times each protester and/or protesting group's motivations are mentioned to the total number of times each protester and/or protesting group is listed in each article. This comparison included only 14 articles that directly deal with protesters.[8] On average, the motivations of protesters are mentioned in approximately 38% of the instances in which protesters are mentioned generally. To put it differently, eight of the 14 (57%) articles analyzed mention protesters' motivations 40% or less of the time. Of the six articles that include protesters' motivations in more than 40% of the instances in which protesters are mentioned, four are immediately preceded or followed by undermining or delegitimizing comments about the protesters. Six of 13 articles (46%) that discuss protesters include no mention of the

protesters' motivations. Essentially, the motivations of protesters are more likely to be ignored, and those that do receive attention are 62% likelier to be discredited (Appendix B, Table B2).

Andrew Chung's (2010) article "Police Targeted Quebecers," published on 29 June, is focused on protester accusations that police officials deliberately targeted people from Quebec during stops-and-searches and arrests. The first quote is that of Mathieu Francouer, a spokesperson for the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (ACC): "For us, it's not violence. It's a means of expression and doesn't compare to the economic and state violence we're subjected to." Although the inclusion of this quote gives voice to the motivations of the members of the ACC, albeit vaguely, the impact of this statement is obscured by the preceding comment by Chung, that "[Protesters from Quebec] made no apologies for the broken windows and other mayhem that all but overshadowed the meeting of the world leaders." In other words, by introducing Francouer's quote with this statement, Chung focused the reader's attention on the tactics, and not the motivations, of the ACC. Two lines below, Chung similarly focuses the reader's attention back on the actions of the ACC, this time describing *them* as an "upheaval," vilifying the ACC for a second time in the first half of the article. Subsequent quotes from Montreal protester Danie Royer, who explains his anti-capitalist message, are followed by Chung's statement that, "Activists complained of 'unjustified' confrontations with police." As Laura Ashley and Beth Olsen (1998) have demonstrated, the use of quotation marks around a word—in this case "unjustified"—challenges the legitimacy of the word being cited (p. 268). The quotation marks question the validity of the word by implying that the author does not support its accuracy and that s/he feels compelled to specifically attribute the word to another source. In effect, Chung implies that police confrontations were justified; furthermore, despite Chung's relatively extensive commentary on the tactics used by the ACC, he does not offer a single comment, opinion, or fact in reference to the protesters' motivations. Thus, although this article may reference the motivations of protesters in two of the four instances in which protesting groups are mentioned, the impacts of these motivations are undermined by comments that criticize the group's tactics and distract the reader's attention from said motivations.

DISCUSSION

Sources

Many of the *Toronto Star* articles analyzed in this study do not use an official source frame; instead, protester sources are equally as likely to be used as official sources. This finding is dissimilar to previous scholarly research of protests, including Duggan's analysis of representations of the G20 Summit protests in the *Globe and Mail* (Duggan, 2011, p. 8). However, as demonstrated above, the undermining and discrediting quotes and/or commentary that appear in most of the

articles that use protester sources effectively undercut the sources' impact. From the perspective of a hegemonic analysis, the counter-hegemonic motivations of protesters, as reflected in their quotes and paraphrases, are muffled and filtered by the hegemonic perspectives of journalists and official sources that criticize protesters' motivations. The *Toronto Star* thus appears to substantiate the point of view of those with power against whom the protesters are protesting—a trend that Gamson et al. (1992) observe in media coverage of protests generally (p. 374). As such, consistent with the coverage of social protests in other Canadian and American mainstream news sources, a hegemonic narrative that supports the ideological status quo is employed instead of a challenging counter-hegemonic narrative.

Motivation(s) of protesters

As hypothesized, motivations of protesters do not receive significant coverage in the *Toronto Star* articles researched for this study, and when motivations are represented, disparaging comments from the journalist(s) and other sources are often present. From the perspective of a hegemonic analysis, these data suggest that the counter-hegemonic motivations of protesters are at odds with the ideological underpinnings of the *Toronto Star*. This ideological tension is manifested in the systematic delegitimization of protesters' motivations through criticisms of protesters that support the status quo; these criticisms demonstrate a favouring of the hegemonic narratives with regard to capitalism, physical and economic state violence, and the undemocratic nature of the G20 Summit.

CONCLUSION

Although my hypothesis that *Toronto Star* articles would rely primarily on official sources was disproven, the latter portion of my hypothesis was substantiated in this study: *Toronto Star* articles provide minimal coverage of protesters' motivations. What unexpectedly emerged were repeated occurrences in which journalists themselves provided hegemonic criticisms of protesters and protest activity, in addition to official sources. Cumulatively, these findings indicate a consistent theme in which protests are socially disruptive and largely unwarranted as opposed to democratic expressions of justifiable grievances. This theme reinforces a hegemonic narrative in which the ideological status quo and those that support it (such as the representatives of the G20 Summit and sources of authority, including police and government officials, who enforce the hegemonic order) are presented as legitimate and natural, whereas dissenters are depicted as illegitimate and socially harmful. It is not coincidental that many of the themes that emerged during this analysis are consistent with the themes that have been observed in other scholarly work analyzing mainstream coverage of social protests. Rather, this demonstrates an ideologically normalized pattern of representation that discredits

the objectives of protesters and thereby limits their social impact. This may owe more to the structure of for-profit news media than to intentional efforts on the part of journalists and editors to create bias: it may be an attempt of a for-profit news source to avoid controversial issues in order to appeal to a mainstream audience and thereby increase profits from advertisements, as Hamilton (2000) suggests (pp. 357-358). Either way, this type of coverage stifles the efforts of protesters, who depend on mainstream media to broadcast their grievances and objectives to a mainstream audience (Cottle, 2008, p.854). Future analyses may look at *Toronto Star* coverage of the G20 Summit protests in comparison to the same coverage from alternative news sources in order to better understand the (non)hegemonic coverage of corporate and alternative news sources.

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[1] This excerpt has been abbreviated for publication. To preview the full article, which explores the context of the 2010 Toronto G20 Summit and G20 protests in greater detail, and also provides evidence of the marginalization of protesters and as well as disproportionate reference to the "anticipation of violence," please contact the author.

[2] According to the Print Membership Bureau (PMB) results posted on the *Toronto Star* website, it is the most read daily newspaper in Toronto and has the largest audience in Ontario of all the national newspapers (Toronto Star Readership).

[3] The 18 articles excluded from analysis were letters submitted to the *Toronto Star*, rather than articles written by employees of the newspaper. Newspapers often receive many letters and selectively choose which letters to publish, thus reflecting a form of gate-keeping; however, such letters are generally opinion pieces that do not include sources and would have therefore skewed the results of the source-related portion of this study. As such, these articles were removed from analysis.

[4] For example, one of the four articles removed made reference to the G20 protests only in order to describe the behaviour of Justin Beiber fans at the MuchMusic video awards (Daubs, 2010).

[5] The *Toronto Star* is one of two daily newspapers in Canada that is not owned by the Canadian media conglomerates Bell Media, Shaw, or Quebecor (May).

[6] McLeod (1995) makes a similar observation about the over-reliance on police sources in protest coverage generally; he connects this, however, to a "protesters vs. police" frame and the criminalization of protesters (p. 6).

[7] Ashley and Olsen (1998) describe this frame as the "illegitimacy" frame (p. 265); Boykoff (2006) uses the terminology of a "freak frame" (p. 216); and Duggan (2011) refers to this as a "trivialization of protesters" (p. 8).

[8] The article "Foam 'Weaponry' Confiscated" does not discuss protesters per se; this article provides coverage of a man whose foam weapons, intended for a charade unrelated to the G-20 Summit protests, were confiscated by police as weapons.

APPENDIX A

Term:	Examples:
Protester	- Self-identified protester - Labelled "protester" by journalist - Spokesperson for protesting group
Official Source	- Police officer - Spokesperson for police - Integrated Security Unit (ISU) representative or spokesperson - Government official or spokesperson thereof - Business owners
Bystander	- Resident - Onlooker not involved in protest
"Other"	- Author - University professor - Non-*Toronto Star* news source, e.g. foreign news program - Member of think-tank - Person mistaken for protester

Table A1. Definition of Source Types.

APPENDIX B

Each Source/Total Number of Sources Used per Article						
Date	**Case No.**	**Article Name**	**Protester**	**Official Source**	**Bystander**	**Other**
22-Jun-10	1	"The First Encounter"	5/6	1/6		
22-Jun-10	2	"Raucous Protest a Taste of What's to Come"	1/3	2/3		
23-Jun-10	3	"As Protesters and Police Move In"	1/4	2/4	1/4	
24-Jun-10	4	"I am a Protester, Not a Terrorist"		1/4	3/4	
25-Jun-10	5	"G20: It's Starting"		2/4	2/4	
25-Jun-10	6	"Sweeping Police Power Demanded by Blair"		2/5	1/5	2/5
26-Jun-10	7	"A Tale of Two Protests"	4/6	2/6		
26-Jun-10	8	"The City, Through Frightened Eyes"				2/2
26-Jun-10	9	"McGuinty Gives Protesters a Rallying Cry"	1/2	1/2		
28-Jun-10	10	"The Lonely (and Hungry) Protester"	1/1			
28-Jun-10	11	"Violent Mob Who Never Were"	3/8	2/8		3/8
29-Jun-10	12	"City Slowly Recovers"		4/5		1/5
29-Jun-10	13	"Police Targeted Quebecers"	4/6	1/6		1/6
29-Jun-10	14	"An Open Letter to Citizens in Other Big Cities"				1/1
01-Jul-10	15	"Foam 'Weaponry' Confiscated"				1/1

Table B1. Sources.

Indication of Motivations of Protesters in Relation to Mention of Protesters					
Date	**Case No.**	**Article Name**	**Motivation of Protesters/ Mention of Protesters**	**Motivations/ Mention of Protesters as Percentage**	**Instances of Research from Websites or Organization Rallies**
22-Jun-10	1	"The First Encounter"	1/1	100%	0
22-Jun-10	2	"Raucous Protest a Taste of What's to Come"	1/3	33%	0
23-Jun-10	3	"As Protesters and Police Move In"	0/1	0%	0
24-Jun-10	4	"I am a Protester, Not a Terrorist"	4/5	80%	0
25-Jun-10	5	"G20: It's Starting"	0/2	0%	0
25-Jun-10	6	"Sweeping Police Power Demanded by Blair"	0/1	0%	0
26-Jun-10	7	"A Tale of Two Protests"	4/8	50%	3
26-Jun-10	8	"The City, Through Frightened Eyes"	0/1	0%	0
26-Jun-10	9	"McGuinty Gives Protesters a Rallying Cry"	4/5	80%	1
28-Jun-10	10	"The Lonely (and Hungry) Protester"	1/1	100%	0
28-Jun-10	11	"Violent Mob Who Never Were"	2/5	40%	0
29-Jun-10	12	"City Slowly Recovers"	0/1	0%	0
29-Jun-10	13	"Police Targeted Quebecers"	2/4	50%	0
29-Jun-10	14	"An Open Letter to Citizens in Other Big Cities"	0/1	0%	0

Table B2. Motivations of Protesters.

BETTY ANN HENRY

I Am Not Your Mammy

Media role models, size discrimination, and "fat" Black women in the workforce

This paper deals with the issue of equity in the workplace and particularly with size discrimination against "fat" Black women. The 1984 publication of Judge Rosalie Abella's report on equity in the workplace is the initial foundation of my research. The report found that race is a significant factor contributing to structured inequality among different ethnic groups in Canada. However, the report did not list size as a discriminating factor in the way that certain individuals were treated compared to their colleagues. Additionally, the topic of discrimination against size (sizeism, weightism, anti-fat prejudice, weight stigma, etc.) and the effects that this can have on employment equity has not received sufficient attention in scholarly literature relating to equity in the workplace.

INTRODUCTION

Equity in the workplace has been an issue that has dominated the research on labour relations for more than twenty years. Judge Rosalie Abella's report on equity published in 1984 was the foundation of the Canadian Employment Act. The intention of the Act was to oblige employers to provide fair employment opportunities for all job seekers with the required qualifications and abilities to perform the specified occupation assignments. More specifically, the purpose of the Act was "to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences" (Employment Equity Act, 1995). Judge Abella (1984) did not consider workers affected by weight-based discrimination as a designated group to be protected in her report. The Employment Equity Act has been amended several times since this report, and although the consequences of weight discrimination in employment have been "conditions of disadvantage" for

those affected, there has been no stipulation in the amendments to correct or to protect this group. Additionally, this issue of size discrimination and its significance to employment equity has not received sufficient attention in scholarly literature relating to fairness in the workplace.

The neglect of this topic within the discourse on employment equity means that the question, "Does a woman's size affect her access to employment and the way she is subsequently treated in her working environment?" has not been adequately addressed. This leads to further questions such as "Are there policies to protect women from size discrimination or has this issue been completely ignored?"; and with the added dimension of race, "Is there a significant difference between the way that larger White women are discriminated against and the way that larger Black women are discriminated against?"

My interest in this topic is both personal and academic. My personal interest is in the form of resistance to a stereotype that has been imposed on people like me. During my childbearing years, I steadily gained weight to a point where I was considered morbidly obese. I did not have a problem with self-esteem, though my spouse divorced me citing that he was not attracted to fat women. For years, I held on to the assurance that this was his loss, because not only am I kind, loving, and caring, I am also very beautiful and well educated. With that in mind, I was positive that my future prospects relating to remarriage and employment were optimistic. Back then, as a recent immigrant to Canada from Jamaica, I was naive about some of the social, cultural, and economic values and expectations of my new home. That is, from preliminary observations, fat Black women (fBw), despite their level of education, are often viewed as "unsuitable" to employers. Also in the realm of romance, many men will not "publicly" associate with fat women. Worst of all, they are often not considered as "marriage material" (the literature on this topic is extensive; see in particular Powell & Kahn [1995]; Root [1990]; Scruggs [2001]; DeJong & Kleck [1986]). At the time, I was only beginning to appreciate how strongly media views connected to how fBw were represented influenced how other people perceive women who are fat and Black.

However, I was very happy when I finally got a part time job, working for a professional who was also overweight, according to society's standards. She was a good employer, but I was mystified when she regularly referred to her chemist as "Aunt Jemima," and she did so without reservation in my presence. I finally met the chemist to whom she had referred. She is indeed a very tall, fBw who is exceptionally graceful, articulate, and intelligent. I later learned that she is a Harvard graduate, who is renowned and is well respected in her field. Thereafter, I became extremely insulted and annoyed when my employer continued to refer to this chemist as "Aunt Jemima," wondering if similar comments were also hurled at me in my absence. I knew that the term was degrading to Black women, but at the time I was unable to deconstruct or contextualize the situation. In this paper, I will

analyze the function that media role modelling plays in the sociology of work and labour, particularly as it relates to the intersectionalities of race and gender in North America and with a focus on the Aunt Jemima image.

In approaching this issue, I will discuss the power inherent to determining beauty and will provide an overview of the Aunt Jemima concept, along with an examination of the role feminism plays in the deconstruction of male power, with a focus on concepts of idealized beauty. The implications this has for the economic development of Black women has formed the basis for this discussion. I have purposefully used the word "fat" instead of overweight, heavy, obese, large, etc., despite its negative connotations, as a form of semantic power and resistance to the language of disempowerment. My definition of fat is anyone over the standard body mass index (BMI) of 30, which is usually more than 30 pounds over the "ideal" body weight. The World Health Organization (WHO) uses BMI to assess the percentage of body fat. It defines an overweight person as one with a BMI of 25-29, an obese person as having a BMI of 30-39, a morbidly obese person as having a BMI of 40-44, and a super-obese person as having a BMI of 45 and over (WHO, 2000).

SITUATING MY RESEARCH IN THE DISCOURSE

The primary aim of my own work is to contextualize the discrimination against fBw in employment within the larger discourse surrounding the way that this type of woman has been crafted within White, patriarchal society, and more specifically through the reproduction of specific images of fBw in film. In doing so, my goal is to determine to what degree this image acts as a barrier for Black women and equity. I hypothesize that fBw face triple discrimination based on gender and race, but also, more specifically, because of their size. I further hypothesize that a reason for this is an inability for people to separate fBw from the Aunt Jemima stereotype that has been so closely linked with this imagery in North America. This particular image has significance as it is a direct product of the enslavement of Black women and the disregard for their personhood. As a result, this image acts as a symbolic representative of the fBw, which situates her within a type of femininity reflective of the social, psychological, and economic oppression of Black women. Though my topic directly relates to Black women and size discrimination in the workplace, I am aware that obesity is a global epidemic that affects many people, regardless of race or gender; however, research has shown that the group for whom the economic consequences are most severe is women (Cawley, 2000), particularly fBw, as opposed to White women and men (Averett & Korenman, 1999; Judge & Cable, 2011; Caliendo & Lee, 2011; Gable et al., 2009; Kristen, 2002).

OBESITY AND THE "CULT OF THINNESS"

Women's status and sense of worth in North American culture is imposed through society's standards of beauty, which includes the maintenance of a specific weight

and a youthful appearance. Thinness is central to body image and as a result, both women and men collude in this construction in order to be accepted by and to fit into society. These standards of beauty are also transported to and persist in the labour market, where looks and body image often take precedence over qualifications or experience. Consequently, the thinner one is and the more youthful one's appearance, the more one will be rewarded economically. People who do not fit this standard of beauty are considered "deviant" (Clinard & Meier, 1998; Goffman, 1963) and are punished by society; they are stigmatized; they are made to feel like outcasts; they are made to feel "ugly." People who are considered to be fat are stereotyped as being lazy, lacking discipline and will power. According to Levy-Navarro (2010), the pervasive cultural assumptions attached to the fat woman is that she is a "victim of her appetites and that she is the very embodiment of 'death'" (p. 2). In addition, the medical and insurance industries deem fat people as being unhealthy: "fatness" is seen as a disease that needs to be cured or eradicated (Erdman, 2011). With this in mind, Hesse-Biber (2007) concludes, "it is no wonder that American women are obsessed with thinness. They are exhorted to strive for a physical ideal that is laden with moral judgment. Slenderness represents restraint, moderation, and self-control—the virtues of our Puritan heritage. Our culture considers obesity 'bad' and 'ugly.' Fat represents moral failure, the inability to delay gratification, poor impulse control, greed, and self-indulgence" (p. 2).

When it comes to beauty and body image, men and women are not judged by the same standards. Regardless of race, a man's age and weight are not significant contributing factors to his employability (Acemoglu & Angrist, 2001; Solovay, 2000), except in rare cases where he is morbidly obese or so old and tired that he appears physically unable to work. In the workplace, women often face inequities on many levels, but when they are young and thin, they have a better chance to "fit in"; if they are fat or old, they are "out in the cold." To make matters worse, if they are fBw, regardless of their educational background, finding or maintaining employment is a challenge in the North American labour market (Barnes, 1989; Rothblum, Brand, Miller, & Oetjen, 1990).

RACE, POWER, AND THE CREATION OF HIERARCHIES OF "BEAUTY"

Within the history of North America since colonization, White femininity has been the universalized ideal that women of all races are expected to adopt if they are to be viewed as "desirable" (Cole & Zucker, 2007; Duke, 2002; Schippers, 2007). Within the context of race and the representation of "beauty," this ideal has been exclusive of cultural differences that view beauty along a spectrum with a multitude of attributes that can be viewed as desirable (Berry, 2008). However, through colonization, the ideal of White beauty came to be expected as the dominant aesthetic ideal for all women, and women who did not fit this ideal were

positioned as "unattractive," irrespective of racial, cultural, or ethnic differences (Lange-Barry, 2003). The dominance of a White hegemonic ideal governing female beauty is rooted in the power that Whites had over socially constructed values regarding the female form (Gilman, 2008). Thus, Black women were viewed as "unfeminine" because of their inability to fit into the aesthetic that demanded that they be fair skinned, fragile of body, and thin (Berry, 2008).

The dominant White society establishes the status quo, which includes making decisions that endorse prescribed standards of beauty (Perry, 2005; Rice, 2002; White, 2010). Allowing this ideal to remain unchallenged amounts to a continuation of the oppression that was imposed on Black women throughout the history of the West, and in so doing, the oppression of the Black female constructed during slavery remains. Judging people based on physical appearance serves a stratifying function (Solovay, 2000); if there is nothing inherently good or bad about being attractive or unattractive, the question then becomes why looks-stratification exists and why it persists. While these are important and interesting questions, they remain outside the scope of this paper; nonetheless, they are worth pondering for future exploration.

To accept or exclude people, to place them within hierarchies, and then to allow this placement to determine life opportunities regarding income and jobs, marriages and social networks, and so on, purposely maintains an uneven playing field. The purpose of an uneven playing field in terms of physical appearances is the same as the purpose of an uneven playing field based on sex, race, age, and other determiners of prejudice: such a bias benefits some to the detriment of many (Rutherford, 2008). While it may be tempting to dismiss issues of attractiveness as superficial, this power to determine where a woman fits within hierarchies of attractiveness is directly connected to patriarchal power to determine what social and economic rewards a woman can expect from where she is positioned within a hierarchy that determines attractiveness according to White standards (Richards, 2003). For Black women, attractiveness in White, male eyes is more than a superficial concern—it is connected to the ability to find and maintain employment. This power to determine who is able to get a job and who is not because of their proximity to the White ideal of beauty is compounded when size converges with biases based on race and gender. Sexism and racism long prevented women and non-Whites from getting traditionally White male jobs, for example as professors, doctors, airline pilots, and the like, and thus kept competition at a minimum, almost exclusively among White men. To level the playing fields, as we have progressively done with the women's movement and the civil rights movement, it had to be made clear that women and non-Whites were as capable as men and Whites, respectively. In levelling the looks-based playing field, the trick has become redefining human worth based on something other than appearance (Berry, 2008); however, the issue of sizeism is specific to Black women

in a way that is not always relevant to White women because of the way that the image of the fBw has been solidified almost as an archetype in Western discourses concerning the female body.

A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

The emerging literature that focuses on the treatment of overweight or obese people in the labour market consistently reveals that the problem of weight discrimination is dire for these job seekers, even at the onset, because, for the most part, employers are reluctant to hire fat people due to the perception of their inability to fit "the corporate image" (Cawley, 2000; Larkin & Pines, 1979; Roehling, 1999). To concur, Elizabeth Kristen (2002) cites that discrimination against fat people takes many forms, including "failure to hire, payment of lower wages relative to thin or average-weight counterparts, relegation to non-contact positions, and failure to promote" (p. 62). Similar scholarship on the intersection between weight and economic privilege has found that there is a relationship between how much a person weighs and how much she or he makes. For example, Judge and Cable (2011) argue that income disparities exist between thin and fat people, though thin *women* are generally rewarded while thin *men* are often penalized. Gable et al. (2009) have also found significant differences between the ways in which thin vs. fat people are treated at work. This suggests that there is an underlying discrimination based on size that is largely undocumented and therefore understudied as a factor relating to workplace discrimination.

Weight discrimination has no direct legal mandates in the Canadian judicial system (Browne & Kubasek, 2012; Brownell, Schwartz, Puhl, & Rudd, 2005; Luther, 2010). Caliendo and Lee (2011) state that, "Despite evidence that obese people experience discrimination, to date, with the exception of the state of Michigan in the US, which enacted a law in 1977 prohibiting discrimination against overweight people, there are no laws protecting overweight people from discrimination in employment, education, and health care" (p. 122). Khazzoom (2003) notes that if a person gains weight while on the job, depending on the type of job, she or he may be demoted or pressured to lose the weight within a given timeframe to avoid termination of their employment (p. 489). For this type of weight-based discriminatory practice, there is very little legal recourse in most of North America.

John Cawley (2000) more specifically states that several studies have found a negative correlation between body weight and wages among women, but previous studies had been unable to determine whether high weight was the cause of low wages or low wages the cause of high weight. Applying the method of instrumental variables to data from the United States Department of Labor's National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, he presented two broad explanations to the phenomena of obesity causing lower wages and of lower wages causing obesity.

He states that because obese women face discrimination in the labour market, they are deemed less productive and, as a result, they are paid less; therefore, obesity causes lower wages. To demonstrate that low wages cause obesity, he summarizes that poor labour market outcomes lead to depression and depression leads to weight gain. These two broad categories of explanations need further deconstruction, but at this point are worth pondering.

Averett and Korenman (1993) summarized labour market outcomes and found that obese women from the ages of 23 to 31 consistently earned less than thin women. They also "use sibling differences as an alternative approach to controlling for social class or family background differences between obese persons and others. This technique (same-sex sibling differences) confirms the finding that family background differences do not account for the social and economic disadvantages experienced by obese women" (p. 6). Finally, they present findings using separate models of Black and Hispanics and conclude that there are "statistically significant and large race differences in the obesity differentials; the social and economic penalties attached to being overweight appear to be much smaller among black women" (p. 7); however, recent literature has contradicted this final point of the study.

This perspective on the connection between size, race, and class has also manifested itself in discrimination within the labour force. The work of Judge and Cable (2011) and Gable et al. (2009) examines the stratification that exists within labour regarding size and the effect this has on wages. Both studies found that when compared to thinner colleagues, people who are larger are on average paid less for comparable work. Both studies explain the pay difference in terms of prejudicial views about fat in Western culture. I would add that, when considered in juxtaposition with earlier theories of fatness, race, and class, these studies replicate an ongoing social understanding of size as reflective of a lack of education.

Though there is little research that has been done including race and gender as independent variables, the work of Averett and Korenman (1999) is among the few that consider how race impacts sizeism. They argue that race further compounds the problem of size discrimination, noting that the perception of fBw within the imagination of White society has had a detrimental effect on the ability of these fBw to progress economically when compared to their White counterparts.

THE AUNT JEMIMA STEREOTYPE AND THE PERCEPTION OF fBw IN THE WORKFORCE

Given the way that Black women as a group have often been marginalized as a result of social restrictions placed on them through their bodies, it is necessary to explore the way that the image of the large Black woman has been constructed in the social imagination. My focus here will be on the ways that the images of Aunt

Jemima and the "mammy" have been represented and utilized since their construction to perpetuate the stereotypical fBw. While some scholars make careful distinctions between the images of the mammy and Aunt Jemima, for the purpose of this paper, I will use them interchangeably because they are both characterizations of the fBw. The Aunt Jemima effect is based on the construction of a stereotype of what the fBw is or should be, and this interpretation has been replicated in the ideologies related to large Black women in the workplace. To a certain extent, the image in the media of the fBw upholds the image of the fBw in the workplace because there is the belief that the two represent the same thing. Thus, in order to deconstruct the way that women in the workforce who are fat and Black are understood, it makes sense to begin by gauging how this image has been maintained in the media over time and how it exists in the popular imagination at present. In doing so, my aim is to consider how this image replicates earlier images that promote discrimination against fBw.

Aunt Jemima is a fictional Black woman who was initially used in the advertising and packaging of a type of ready-made pancake mix. The Aunt Jemima character was prominent in minstrel shows in the late nineteenth century and was later adopted by commercial interests to represent the Aunt Jemima brand. Despite the fact that this image of a Black woman has been defended as fictional, there is a subtext lurking beneath the Aunt Jemima advertisements: this image embodies an early-twentieth-century idealized domesticity that was inspired by Old Southern hospitality, which was rooted in slavery. Aunt Jemima represented a stereotype of the Black woman who existed as a specific type of labourer in a White world, namely the "mammy." The concept of the mammy as a house servant was introduced in the 1830s as a stout, dark-skinned, smiling, hardworking, doting woman who offered the only "redeeming embodiment of Black womanhood imaginable within the intertwined race, class, and gender distinctions of the Old South" (Turner, 2002, p. 40). This image of a fBw has been idealized as a real conception of how fBw have come to be viewed in the workforce. This image informs the way that White people see Black women who are fat, as desexualized, somewhat masculine, and hostile towards other Black people. The result is the transferral of the expectations attached to the mammy becoming imposed on fBw in the workforce.

CHALLENGING WHITE PATRIARCHAL IDEALS OF BEAUTY AS A BLACK FEMINIST ISSUE

Typically, Black women have a larger frame and a more curvaceous body and generally tend to have a higher percentage of body fat (Agocha, Overstreet, & Quinn, 2010; Collins, 2004; Hooks, 1981; Shaw, 2006). Within the Black community, the aesthetic of a larger, more curvaceous woman is often preferred; this body type is only "problematic" to the extent that 1) women's employability is

often determined by their attractiveness; and 2) white patriarchal ideals of feminine beauty are often at odds with common physical features of Black women. Therefore, the central issue here is the ability of men to determine the type of work for which women of any race or ethnic background are suitable based on their looks, and to exercise control over women's bodies to the degree that their ideas about attractiveness can have an economic effect (Williams, 2003). Black women are at a further disadvantage because of the distance between common notions of beauty within the Black community and those of largely white, male employers.

Fat oppression, therefore, must also be discussed within the context of feminism since this provides a context for women who seek to explain attitudes and anxieties about female bodies, including what it might mean to be fat. Such debates continue the tradition of "the personal is political," according to Cooper (1998), and reframe women's private experiences in a public forum (p. 6). As Cooper explains, "Feminist discourse around beauty and appearance are relevant to fat women. Fat, like beauty and appearance, can be read in a political context; the stigma attached to being fat is a control mechanism which supports a power structure of one group of people over another, and fat politics is a way of challenging that status quo" (p. 6).

The need to deconstruct the image of the large Black woman, especially as it relates to the maintenance of the Aunt Jemima stereotype, locates this issue within the discourse of third-wave feminism. As Richards (2003) argues, the uncritical maintenance of this image lends credibility to its legitimacy. This image is one that has roots in slavery and the authority that White men had over Black women's bodies. By maintaining this image of the Black woman as an Aunt Jemima in the workforce, there is an endorsement that this image is reflective of a reality rather than a continuation of a racist belief that has not been properly addressed.

METHODOLOGY: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF FILMS WITH FAT BLACK CHARACTERS

In order to locate the necessary information to construct and support my argument, I have conducted and reviewed content analyses of several films. I have considered how each film depicts the way that fBw are treated in the work place. This has allowed me to compare how work environments are constructed ideologically through images and the implications of these ideologies for fat women in the workplace. I have analyzed ten classic and ten contemporary films: *The Golden West* (1932), *She Done Him Wrong* (1933), *Imitation of Life* (1934), *Judge Priest* (1934), *Alice Adams* (1935), *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Made for Each Other* (1939), *Pinky* (1949), *The Big Wheel* (1949), and *The Sound and The Fury* (1959); *Soul Food* (2000), *Kingdom Come* (2001), *Brown Sugar* (2002), *Bringing Down the House* (2003), *Beauty Shop* (2005), *Phat Girlz* (2006), *Dirty Laundry* (2006),

Madea's Family Reunion (2006), *Precious* (2009), *For Colored Girls* (2010), *The Help* (2011), and *Jumping the Broom* (2011).

I have examined how women are situated in the films in terms of their roles as primary or secondary characters. I have noted their economic status, state of mind, demeanour, sense of style, and the volume of their speaking parts, as depicted in the films; I have also noted how the roles of these fat Black actresses fit in the content of the stories and how the films or actresses themselves are reconciled: did they need heroes to rescue them? I have made note of the consistencies and the discrepancies of the films in general in my content analysis.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

An analysis of the content of the films indicates several shifts in the representation of fBw and the role that they occupy as labour in film. I have consciously chosen films from the pre-1960 era (i.e. the pre-Civil Rights era) and films produced in the new millennium to illustrate the net differences in how fBw are portrayed in the cinema; the 1960-2000 era is an interesting phase insofar as it is a transition period in the portrayal of fBw, though as such provides a less uniform picture of filmmakers' perception of them. In the pre-1960 films, fBw occupy roles that position their labour as menial and requiring little education. It is in these types of domestic servitude roles that the images of the mammy and the Aunt Jemima are most prevalent and blatant; that is, their roles are one-dimensional in nature and they have very little to do with the development of the plot of the film beyond performing duties which possibly mirrored the way that fBw were viewed in society. Their roles are one-dimensional in that they are positioned as household servants, but the films never show them with their own families or children. Instead, their lives as a fixture in White households encapsulate their entire existence. It is as if these women do not exist beyond the borders of the White household, and by showing them only in this capacity, there is the suggestion that their labour is only noticeable in relation to the White people for whom they work. The language that they use is usually a stereotyped form of African American Vernacular English meant to convey a low level of education, and they serve the function of contrast between themselves as uneducated and their refined White, female counterparts. Black women of the pre-1960 films are always depicted in some type of domestic atmosphere. That is, they are only shown within the house and always in the company of White characters. The message that this conveys is that this is their "proper" place, as servile and dependent on the generosity of White people.

The films that fall into the category of post-2000 show a radical transition in the way that fBw are represented in the workforce, but there is still some alarming continuity between these films and the ones released prior to the 1960. In the later films, fBw have moved outside of the domestic sphere and are no longer dependent

on White women; however, they are usually cast as secondary rather than as primary characters. They most often occupy the role of the comic relief, the best friend who is either asexual due to her lack of a love interest or as hypersexual, indicating her willingness to take any man who will have her. In the film *Beauty Shop*, the lead character is a fBw, but she is actually surprised that a handsome, hardworking, Black man is interested in her. This reflects a trend in several of the films where the fat Black female character has to be told that a man finds her attractive almost as though this is something she is not used to and is therefore unable to recognize for herself.

The post-2000 films depict fBw as aggressive and often as heads of families. It is almost an inversion of the mammy role where she is now only concerned with her own household rather than with White households. This type of inverted mammy character has been labelled the "Sapphire" stereotype (Yarbrough & Bennett, 2000). Although the mammy and the Sapphire share several traits, the Sapphire character is reflective of the trite attitude and demeanour of the Black woman being angry, evil, and "bitchy." The women of the post-2000 films, despite changes in Black female education levels, also speak a variety of African American Vernacular English, which can again be read as a representation of a lack of formal education, which in turn indicates that this "type" of woman is unable to secure employment that requires a high level of qualification. The result is the constant repetition of the image of the fBw as someone who is aggressive, uneducated, unattractive, and only capable of doing work that has been traditionally constructed as female, that is, work involving either domestic duties or in relation to beauty. Rarely are fBw constructed as business women, medical or legal professionals, or engineers, but rather are seen as being only a small step removed from the duties that their predecessors were expected to fulfil in White households: making the homes and the bodies of White women beautiful to look at and to occupy.

DISCUSSION

What the content analysis demonstrates is that the image of the fBw, which is presented to society over and over again in various but unvarying forms, represents a hegemonic image of fBw in the labour force. When this analysis is contextualized with the discrimination that fBw face economically, it is not surprising that connections can be made between the way that the labour of fBw is depicted in film and the way that this is then reflected in social reality: fBw are invisible in positions of authority and tend to be overrepresented in labour that is connected to domesticity or cosmetology. It is reasonable to argue that a part of what accounts for this respective invisibility and overrepresentation is that society has been taught to see these kinds of women as only fit for this type of employment. The result of this hegemonic view of the "proper" category of labour for fBw is that fBw who do not wish to engage in this form of labour and opt instead for different fields of work

find themselves unfairly stereotyped as unfit for them. The creation of images like the Aunt Jemima stereotype was initially responsible for the belief that fBw were most capable of domestic work. The maintenance of this image as a socially accepted signifier for the proper labour role for fBw means that there has been little real change in the way that fBw are positioned as members of the labour force. People are taught to see fBw this way and they become uncomfortable with fBw who do not know "their role," so to speak, believing that they should remain in the types of labour they are constructed as best suited for. This in turn feeds stereotypes in films about the types of actresses who should play certain roles, and the representation of fBw in a one-dimensional role is therefore maintained.

In conclusion, the maintenance of the Aunt Jemima stereotype in the imagination of North Americans contributes to the marginalization of fBw. People both consciously and subconsciously live by the tenets that the media prescribe—we are not born with ideas about what constitutes beauty, we learn them from family, peers, and, perhaps most of all, the media. Although size has been determined as a factor in the marginalization of different groups, for fBw this discrimination is very focused vis-à-vis the Aunt Jemima image. There is no comparable image for women of other races and this suggests that the fBw experiences discrimination differently from women of other races. The legacy of the Aunt Jemima image continues to contribute to the positioning of fBw as fit for only certain types of work, despite education level and qualifications. I hope to have provided a critical analysis of some of the challenges facing fBw as a result of stereotyped media portrayals, and call for further work to be done on this topic to critically deconstruct the economic disadvantages that fBw have experienced in relation to both thin Black women and Black men.

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VANESSA DEL CARPIO

Dreams of Today

Analyzing the American dream on film in the context of contemporary America

The American Dream is a central component of American culture and image; its frequent exploration in popular culture means the concept is familiar to domestic and global audiences. However, in the context of a profound economic recession and internal social and political struggles, the American Dream is met with increasing skepticism, both within the United States' borders and abroad. In this paper, I investigate how contemporary representations of the American Dream on film are reflecting and dealing with this remarkable historical period when the Dream is in decline. I examine the concept's origins, exploring how it has evolved to mean domestic felicity and economic security. I discuss how it has been interpreted in popular culture, with a focus on more recent interpretations, and in particular a close reading of the 2011 film The Descendants. *Employing textual analysis, personal observations, and an analysis of the film's wider cultural meaning in light of its box office performance, awards, and reviews, I argue that the film represents a reworking of the American Dream, emphasizing land and domestic felicity over economic security and the "good life." I suggest that this conception is likely a result of the current state of the Dream, particularly the impossibility of achieving the "economic security" component.*

INTRODUCTION

The American Dream is a concept so integral to the national culture of the United States, its history predates the country's independence, having been brought by Pilgrims leaving Europe in search of the "new world" and a better place (Cullen, 2003). Although the meaning of the American Dream has evolved over the course of the United States' history, the concept is generally understood to mean economic security and domestic felicity; a "deeply engrained pairing of the physical landscape of the United States with economic opportunity … a dream that promises a fresh start, a new beginning, a brighter future" (Gabrielson, 2009). Because of its longstanding history and influence on the everyday lives of many

Americans, it can be said that the Dream is a defining characteristic of the country's national identity (Winn, 2007). Its enduring role in US culture has meant that it has been a major theme in popular culture over the centuries. From the novel (and films) *The Great Gatsby,* to the television series *The Sopranos* and the Hollywood film *The Pursuit of Happyness,* the Dream has been explored in virtually every medium. Decades of the United States' dominance in the global media landscape has meant the core ideas of the Dream have spread far beyond the country's popular culture, and the pursuit is familiar to global audiences.

Today, however, the notion of the American Dream is met with increasing skepticism. Since the 1970s, economic conditions decreasing the quality of life of lower- and middle-class Americans have made achieving the Dream less possible, though it is only recently that large numbers of Americans have begun to question it seriously (Winn 2007; Courchene, 2011). In the context of a profound economic recession, weakening political might after the highly contested invasion of Iraq, and internal social and political struggles, the image of the United States is declining both internationally and within the country itself. Thus, those in pursuit of the American Dream are facing harsh realities, chief among them being global and national economic instability.

Yet the "American Dream narrative" remains as a key theme in popular culture (Gabrielson, 2009). In this paper, I examine how (or if) contemporary representations of the American Dream on film are reflecting and dealing with this remarkable historical period when the Dream is in decline, not just in realistic terms, but also in the minds of average United States citizens (Courchene, 2011). In the first section, I analyze the concept of the American Dream and its various meanings and manifestations, examining how it has changed in response to multiple cultural and historical developments. I also elaborate on the current state of the American Dream in United States culture, discussing how a number of political and economic forces and events have combined to construct a United States in which the possibility of the Dream is the bleakest it has ever been; and popular belief in it has drastically declined. In the second section, I briefly discuss how the concept has been interpreted in popular culture over the years, with a focus on more recent interpretations. In the third and final section, I perform a close reading of Alexander Payne's 2011 film, *The Descendants*, employing textual analysis, personal observations, and an analysis of its wider cultural meaning by examining its box office performance, awards, and reviews. I argue that the film represents a reworking of the American Dream, emphasizing land and domestic felicity over economic security and the easy "good life." I suggest that this conception is likely a result or a reflection of the current state of the Dream, particularly the near impossibility of achieving the "economic security" component thereof.

DEFINING THE AMERICAN DREAM

Freedom, equality, upward mobility, "the good life," a culture of consumption, home ownership, and the phrase "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" are all integral to the concept of the American Dream. The concept can be traced from its roots in Puritan Enterprise to our modern-day preoccupation with endless consumption (Cullen, 2003). Despite its prominence in our everyday vocabulary, the definition of the Dream is "virtually taken for granted. It's as if no one feels compelled to fix the meanings and uses of a term everyone presumably understands" (Cullen, 2003, p. 5). Therefore, in order to contextualize the use of the term throughout this paper, I will now discuss the evolution of the concept, keeping in mind that "beyond an abstract belief in possibility, there is no *one* American Dream" (Cullen, 2003, p. 7; emphasis in original). I principally draw from the work of Jim Cullen, and other scholars who have investigated the American Dream as a cultural construct.

The American Dream dates back to the Puritans, a small group of religious dissenters from the Church of England, who had a dream and crossed the Atlantic Ocean seeking a way of worshipping God as they saw fit (Cullen, 2003). They landed in what is now known as the United States of America; and their Dream involved creating a new society, building a community, making the world a holier place, and having their children lead better lives with less corruption compared to how they had lived back in England (Cullen, 2003). The Puritans also wanted freedom, which to them meant the freedom to cast off the "tawdriness and sloth" of corrupt churches and "complacent rulers" (Cullen, 2003, pp. 21-22). While their dream was unsuccessful overall, many of the Puritans' key ideas remain integral to the American Dream concept as it is known today. In particular, the idea of becoming "healthy, wealthy, and wise" has transformed from its initial usage by the Puritans as preparation for their fate in the afterlife, and has become an end in itself (Cullen, 2003, p. 41).

After the Puritans, the basis for the American Dream was essentially codified in the 1776 Declaration of Independence, a document that Cullen argues was a "piece of wishful thinking composed in haste … [but] lives as the charter of the American Dream" (2003, p. 69). The key phrase in the document is, of course, "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (U.S. Declaration of Independence, 1776, para. 2). The dream of the Founding Fathers was freedom from British rule and a "natural aristocracy" in which men of morality and talent led the nation (Cullen, 2003, p. 62). While the Declaration was only meant to give freedom and equality to white males, its legacy remains, contributing a sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo and constant desire for improvement to the American Dream (Cullen, 2003). Cullen suggests the document provided a "hardware" for which different "software" could be used at different times and contexts to mean different things to different people, shaping Americans' lives and behaviour (2003, p. 66).

For example, the words of the Declaration have been re-contextualized and invoked by politicians, advertisers, civil- and women's-rights activists for their own interests and version(s) of the Dream (Cullen, 2003).

Aspiring for upward mobility is a key component of the American Dream. This desire is connected to early Euro-Americans seeking riches, economic self-sufficiency, and an esteemed profession; important US figures such as Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln personify this aspect of the dream (Cullen, 2003). Upward mobility is the dream of the "good life," and its earliest incarnations saw overcoming poverty through human agency as the means to achieve it (Cullen, 2003). There was a belief in the ability of individuals to make their own destiny. This belief is a critical component of the Dream, which Winn summarizes eloquently: "the United States is considered the land of opportunity despite one's race, color, creed, or national origin. … Most Americans believe that the American Dream allows individuals to succeed without unfair limitations … [social] mobility is the most basic aspect of the American dream" (2007, p. 1).

However, some believe that the "achieving the good life" aspect of the Dream has gone from being realized through ambitious hard work to the desire for its luxuries specifically without having to do any work at all—to get "something from nothing" (Cullen, 2003, p. 167). This transformation in work ethic has been created by Hollywood, celebrities, and the "California Dream" of the easy life, or a life that at least appears easy (Cullen, 2003, p. 172). It is this version of the "good life" that has a "culture of consumption" at its heart (Cullen, 2003, p. 179).

Two other central components of the American Dream are equality and home ownership (Cullen, 2003). The Dream depends on equality because Americans need to believe in its existence in order for the American Dream concept to have any veracity. As Cullen argues "if [the promises of equality do not extend to everyone] then not everybody is eligible for the American Dream—and one of the principal attractions of the American Dream, and its major moral underpinning, is that everyone is eligible" (p. 108). Thus, the principle of equality has been the reasoning and basis for achieving the American Dream for many systematically underprivileged and marginalized groups; and has been incorporated into several socio-political advancements, including the Civil Rights Movement, women's suffrage, and increased civil liberties for queer peoples, among others (Cullen, 2003). Home ownership has also long been part of the American Dream, evolving from land ownership and crossing the Western frontier, to rural dwellings, to owning homes in cities, and most recently to acquiring detached houses in United States' suburbs (Cullen, 2003). It is this part of the Dream that has the broadest appeal and is the most widely realized (Cullen, 2003).

The perception of the American Dream has declined in recent years, as United States citizens increasingly express doubt in the possibility of ever achieving it. Trillion-dollar deficits, unsustainable Social Security entitlements for an aging

boomer population, increasing political polarization, the erosion of the middle class, the financial collapse, the mortgage debacle, the Great Recession, and near-double-digit unemployment are just some of the reasons for "broader societal concern over America's future" (Courchene, 2011, p. 1). Added to this is the growing clout of China, which is rivalling the United States' role as dominant global economic power. Escalating numbers of Americans losing their homes, a widening income gap between the richest one percent of the population and the other 99 percent, and the Occupy Wall Street Movement also attest to a growing problem and concern. Public confidence in the United States is understandably declining as well, as recent polls show. For example, one poll states 47 percent of the United States' voters believe that the "nation's best days are in the past" (Friedman, as cited in Courchene, 2011, p. 1), and a 2010 Pew Research Center Poll states that 61 percent of respondents thought the United States was in decline, while only 19 percent "trusted the government to do what is right most of the time" (Nye, as cited in Courchene, 2011, p. 2). Therefore, the American Dream is in dire need of some "rekindling" (Courchene, 2011).

THE AMERICAN DREAM AND POPULAR CULTURE

But how has popular culture, and in particular film, dealt with the American Dream concept generally and its current state specifically? Many scholars argue that rather than interpret or reflect on the concept, Hollywood films have done more to *create* it by depicting illusions of reality and "perfect" movie stars (Springer, 2000; Charyn, 1989). More recent films, however, have probed the American Dream and its successes, failures, and morals. It has been suggested that contemporary Hollywood cinema has moralized success, failure, and the material (Winn, 2007). Popular films support this position because they show hardworking and moral citizens achieve upward mobility, a preference for the moral high ground over economic success through immoral means, and cross-class relationships that reward distressed upper-class characters with personal happiness and impoverished lower-class characters with material wealth; examples of these themes on screen include *Working Girl, Wall Street,* and *Pretty Woman,* respectively (Winn, 2007). Contemporary Hollywood films thus do much to reaffirm the primacy of the American Dream, and translate its political-economic structural limitations to the level of personal inadequacy associated with the individual (Winn, 2007).

But the cracks in the American Dream are showing in some popular culture products, which question how realistic achieving it actually is. Gabrielson conducts insightful textual analyses of three contemporary television shows, *The Sopranos, Weeds*, and *Lost,* that illustrate this shift. She argues that these programs reposition the American Dream narrative "in such a way that results in a common skepticism regarding the possibility, and perhaps even the attractiveness, of the [Dream]." Although she examines television and not film, Gabrielson's argument

offers an interesting interpretation of the American Dream in popular culture that opposes—or, perhaps more accurately, updates—the work of earlier scholars such as Winn (2007). It is also worth noting that Gabrielson writes in the middle of the recent recession, which began in late 2008, while Winn's work was published just before it, in 2007. I now turn to my own textual analysis of an even more recent Hollywood production, the 2011 film *The Descendants*.

THE DESCENDANTS: A CLOSE READING

I will now analyze and interpret *The Descendants*, and argue that it represents a portrayal of the American Dream that emphasizes family and land over economic security, ambition, and consumption. I use textual analysis, a methodology often used in communication studies to refer to the in-depth, qualitative analysis of media texts.

The Descendants is the story of a man, Matt King (played by George Clooney), who, at first, seems to be living the American Dream—he is a white male in the upper or upper-middle class; is an accomplished lawyer; makes enough money not to have to use his family trust; has a detached home with a pool; is married with two daughters; and lives in what many consider to be paradise, the Hawaiian island of Oahu. Closer examination and a few scenes from the film bring to light that this is not true, but an illusion that even King himself has bought into. When his wife slips into a coma after a waterskiing accident, it is revealed that she has been having an affair. His eldest daughter has been shipped to boarding school after becoming involved with drugs and his youngest daughter has been having trouble in school with her peers, lashing out at them because she cannot handle her mother's accident. It is clear that King has lost touch with his family; in fact, he even calls himself the "back-up parent," admitting to viewers that he has no idea what to do with his kids without his wife. King also learns that his wife's affair had been the result of her loneliness and feeling that there had been something missing in their relationship. In short, King had chosen his law practice, which symbolizes hard work, ambition, and power, over his family, and now his family has physically and emotionally fallen apart. These conflicting forces—domestic felicity and economic security—highlight some of the key ideas related to the American Dream. However, in King's case, economic security does not necessarily mean that he must work hard, as he is the descendant of a powerful Hawaiian family and could live comfortably off his trust fund. Instead, King has *chosen* to work, compromising his family situation. This fact simultaneously questions the Puritan work ethic and early version of upward mobility via individual agency to which King has always strongly adhered; as well as the later version of the American Dream which emphasizes the "good life" without much hard work at all.

In the film, the resolution to the struggle between economic security and domestic felicity adamantly stresses the latter over the former, as King works hard

to "fix" his family. He does this while travelling from Oahu to another Hawaiian Island with his daughters in order to meet his wife's lover and gain some closure. In the process he learns the importance of family, while strengthening his relationships with his daughters by reconnecting with them. King (temporarily, at least) gives up working in order to do this, realizing that his energy and time should be with his kids, especially when he learns that his wife will never come out of her coma and that he must terminate her life support. The last scene, which movie critic Elbert Ventura (2012) considers "perhaps the movie's most celebrated scene," shows a reconciliation in King's family and domestic felicity restored, as he is seen peacefully watching television on the couch with his two daughters while they share ice cream.

The second triumph over economic security in *The Descendants* is won by land. The film's subplot focuses on King as the descendant of a powerful Hawaiian family that began with the marriage of a missionary and a Hawaiian princess. This ancestry has left him and his many cousins with 25,000 acres of untouched and undeveloped Hawaiian land that the family considers selling. A sale would make them rich, and unlike King, many of his cousins need the money. However, a sale would also mean the land would be turned into a resort and golf course. The decision of whether or not to sell the land therefore pits vast, unexplored land against economic riches, greed, commercialism, and potential corruption. The land also has a connection to King's nuclear family, as it was the place where his wife took his eldest daughter camping, an opportunity his youngest daughter looked forward to but had yet to experience at the time of the accident. This theme connects to the dream of land ownership and westward expansion of an earlier version of the American Dream, and perhaps questions what would have happened to the United States had it not "sold out" its beautiful land to corporations for exploitation and profit. In the end—and against his cousins' wishes—as the sole trustee King decides to keep the land, realizing that he was simply lucky to have inherited it, and that he has the duty to preserve it. This choice emphasizes responsibility, natural land, and hard work over easy money and commercialization.

In sum, *The Descendants* represents an older version of the American Dream, one where family is more important than power and economic security, and nature and land are more important than riches and the "good life." This conception of the Dream relates to Winn's analysis of contemporary Hollywood cinema moralizing working-class values such as honour, loyalty, and family (2007). He argues that this serves to maintain the hegemonic order by presenting a United States in which the lower classes maintain a higher moral ground and are more "virtuous" (and implicitly better) than the higher classes, thus reinforcing their current social status.

The Descendants may be in line with this, but it also reflects the current state of the United States and the American Dream, in which economic security and stability are increasingly difficult to achieve for all but the "one percent." Since

Winn's analysis was published in 2007, a year before the recession began in late 2008, it is certainly possible that now more than ever there is a need for a re-examination of the American Dream, and popular representations that more accurately reflect the possibilities and expectations of average Americans. Admittedly, this may reinforce the status quo, but it at least does little to offer audiences false hopes of upward mobility, as earlier films have done (Winn 2007).

Analyzing the impact and effect of *The Descendants* on society, however, also requires careful consideration of its wider cultural appeal, not just its textual messages and implications. The film was a critical darling, garnering rave reviews and receiving nominations for dozens of prestigious awards. Its key wins were an Academy Award for Best Adapted Screenplay, and two Golden Globes, one for Best Picture, Drama, and another for Best Actor, Drama, for Clooney's performance. The film was also a commercial success, making $171,362,709 worldwide (Box Office Mojo, 2011), well above its $20 million budget (IMDb). Yet, these facts and statistics must be put into perspective, as by no means was the film *the* movie of 2011, either critically or popularly. Critically, that honour would likely go to *The Artist* because of its triumph at the Oscars;[1] while the top films in terms of box office performance were *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hollows Part 2, Transformers: Dark of the Moon*, and *The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn Part 1*, which grossed $1,341.5 million, $1,123.8 million, and $712.2 million worldwide, respectively (Box Office Mojo, 2011). Thus, while *The Descendants* may serve a hegemonic role textually, it did not necessarily have that effect on audiences, who instead seemed to favour more open texts that invited them to participate through fandom and familiarity.

CONCLUSION

In this essay I have analyzed the concept of the American Dream and explored its role in film, specifically with a close reading of *The Descendants*. I have argued that the film represents a reworking of the American Dream narrative by emphasizing family and land over economic security and the "good life." I recognize this reworking can be interpreted in a variety of ways: it can either be a response to the current state of the United States and the American Dream, or it can serve to maintain the hegemonic social order. At the same time, I suggest that greater attention should be paid to the film's wider context before any conclusions can be drawn about its overall impact on society. Further work could include audience research to understand how audiences have interpreted the film; or, perhaps more interestingly, investigate why it is that contemporary films generally support the American Dream concept, in one version or another, while contemporary television questions its possibility and attractiveness. The answer could lie in audience expectations for each medium, or the different economic requirements of film and television.[2]

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[1] *The Artist* won Best Picture, Best Actor, Best Director, Best Costume Design, and Best Original Score at the 84th Academy Awards.

[2] This suggestion was made by my Professor, Dr. Andreas Kitzmann, while commenting on an earlier version of this paper produced for his course. Here I wish to thank him for his ideas and support in developing this paper, as well as Dr. Nathan Rambukkana for his lasting lessons on communications methodologies.

ALEX GAGE

Something in the Water

The American acid endemic

This study is an analysis of the reaction against the use of the substance LSD-25 in the United States of America during the 1960s. It seeks to answer why and how the drug appeared and vanished from the cultural landscape so rapidly, drawing from a pool of historical writings as well as primary documents from both academic and popular sources. It begins with a brief history of the scientific origins of LSD during the 1950s and the drug's place in the fields of chemistry, psychology, and among respectable figures of the international intelligentsia. The rest of my paper analyzes the methods and motives of government and moral authorities against the acid-fuelled counterculture that was emerging. This was in the wake of the ban of all sales and production of the substance in the United States by 1965. In this paper, I propose that the reaction against LSD use followed the paradigm of moral panic theory, and explain the perceived threat apparent in the relationship between LSD culture and the contemporary, mainstream American culture regarding the role of science and medicine, religion, racial tension, an affluent and educated youth culture, and anti-communist paranoia. My research findings suggest that the cause of the establishment's strong reaction against LSD and the surrounding subculture was not that it opposed the fundaments of mainstream American culture; rather, that it adhered perfectly to those core themes of American life and pushed them to the breaking point.

During the sixties in America, entering the alternate world of self-induced hallucination became the greatest escapist obsession since the advent of television. There were many choices of drug for those seeking the grooviest "trip." But the most iconographic drug favoured by the masses was the king of psychedelics, LSD. The rampant LSD use that characterized much of the 1960s American counter-culture has been construed as many things by its mainstream cousin: an attack on the establishment, an epidemic of escapism, profane religious dissidence, even an effort of hostile Soviet subterfuge (Lee & Shlain, 1985, p. 276). Whatever the accusation, the ingestion of LSD was depicted as a seditious act undertaken by

those who wished to destroy the foundations of American society. The reality is that acid culture expounded and exaggerated the fundamental American ideals present in the 1960s to grotesque and absurd proportions. This fun-house mirror effect, which LSD provided, aggravated the insecurities of Cold War America. The mainstream feared that the drug could be the straw to break the camel's back in America's effort to balance dynamic internal changes with the image of national unity demanded under the shadow of the Cold War and the domestic strain of the Vietnam proxy war. The result was a moral panic and backlash against one of the counterculture's main weapons of subversion: LSD. There was, however, a critical problem with attempts at suppressing the drug: the American acid endemic was a direct product of the same societal fundaments it was thought to threaten as it distorted the social fabric of middle-class America, its science, religion, and politics.

"Moral panic" is a sociological theory that describes the process by which something that is considered objectionable to the moral majority is reproached. It is first identified as a threat to the values or interests of the establishment. Second, this threat is attached to a visible or easily identifiable minority group. Next, there is a rapid build-up of sensational and disproportionate accounts of the dangers posed. This is concluded by what is seen to be a suitable response by higher authorities with aims to restore the peace to a disturbed public (Krinsky, 2013, pp. 3-4). Tracing the fleeting yet brilliant saga of acid culture, it is apparent that the social instability brought about by the mercurial shifts of 1960s American culture provided a hotbed for just such a phenomenon. It was by this reactionary formula that the potentialities of a legal life for the now infamous drug were cut down.

What is often overshadowed by the drama of the '60s are the clinical origins of the compound LSD-25 and its initial popularity in the scientific—particularly the psychiatric—world. It was not until the mid-'60s that LSD fell from scientific grace as it became clear that this substance was a double-edged sword (Edwards, 2004, p. 203). Its therapeutic contributions to the field of psychiatry in the 1950s had set it up to be one of the major triumphs of twentieth-century medicine.[1] Proponents of LSD therapy were excited by the drug's ability to open up the inner workings of a patient's psyche when combined with the established practice of psychoanalysis (Edwards, 2004, p. 203). By guiding patients through an acid trip, psychotherapists claimed incredible inroads in the treatment of alcoholism, autism, obsessive compulsive disorder, sexual aberrations, schizophrenia, and in assisting terminally ill patients to cope with their mortality (Lee & Shlain, 1985, p. 89). Hallucinations could be symbolized and repressed memories could be evoked more readily as patients were induced into to a state of "model psychosis" (Hofmann, 1980, p. 47). LSD manufactured by Sandoz Laboratories was provided freely to researchers for use in experimental treatments (Hofmann, 1980, p. 63). Calls for volunteers to participate in studies investigating the effects of LSD on healthy individuals

attracted members of the young artistic and intellectual crowds. It is here that many of the sixties' most prominent acid gurus and disciples, including Allen Ginsberg and Ken Kesey, were first introduced to its effects (Conners, 2010, p. 167). Ironically, the studies in which the latter participated were actually among the many branches of the CIA's own nefarious MK-ULTRA program.[2]

LSD's impressive reports, low required dosage, and absence of any detectable deleterious effects garnered what seemed to be an ever-increasing enthusiasm towards the drug (Conners, 2010, p. 166). It was, however, this unabated enthusiasm of pro-LSD psychologists that would prove the undoing of its scientific legitimacy. Sensationalist accounts of first-hand experiences with the psychoactive appeared not only in scientific journals but in popular magazines and newspapers (Hofmann, 1980, p. 58). Public opinion became such that it was perceived that anyone and everyone who desired to participate in clinical studies for a thrill or who sought psychological counsel would be offered a bottle of pills without reservations or pre-conditions. Many felt that psychologists were guilty of irresponsibly reducing their patients to mere guinea pigs for experimentation. No doubt in large part due to the eccentricities and instabilities of public personality Dr. Timothy Leary, the notion of "psychedelic therapy" had become a complete farce in the public eye. The medicinal use of LSD had become a joke. A point in case comes in Thomas Pynchon's brassy 1965 satire of American culture, *The Crying of Lot 49*, featuring the enthusiastic pro-LSD psychiatrist by the name of Dr. Hilarious—who happens to be guilty of committing war crimes as a Nazi scientist trying to induce insanity in unwilling captives and is himself completely insane.

On April 23, 1965, Sandoz Laboratories discontinued its production of LSD-25 (Hofmann, 1980, p. 62). Sandoz issued a statement concluding that while it still held that LSD had the capacity to yield worthwhile contributions to neurological research and psychiatry, three primary factors rendered the potential dangers of abuse beyond their ability to responsibly address:

> (1) A worldwide spread of misconceptions of LSD has been caused by an increasing amount of publicity aimed at provoking an active interest in laypeople by means of sensational stories and statements; (2) In most countries no adequate legislation exists to control and regulate the production and distribution of substances like LSD; (3) The problem of availability of LSD … has fundamentally changed with the advent of mass production …. Since the last patent on LSD expired in 1963 … an increasing number of dealers … are offering LSD from unknown sources. (Hofmann, 1980, pp. 63-64)

The illicit production and sale of LSD became a crime in the United States that same year and the FDA uniformly recalled the supplies of nearly all research

projects under new regulatory laws (Lee & Shlain, 1985, pp. 92-93). It would take another three years to make mere possession of LSD a crime (Lee & Shlain, 1985, p. 93). LSD itself was basically non-toxic; no conclusive evidence has proven it fundamentally harmful to humans. Curiously, that seems to have been inconsequential to the discourse, post-1963. The fate of LSD-25 in the United States may very well have been decided in that year, when the Sandoz patent expired and production fell into the hands of black-market manufacturers. The carefully constructed environments of the clinical experiments, however contentious, were now replaced by the highly combustible atmosphere of the American streets. In this setting, there was no appropriate application for a substance like LSD. So, along with its flagitious reputation, it seeped into the existing organism of American society with very much the same effect and potency that it had over the human organism.

Once released into the public sphere, what began as a controversial scientific debate quickly escalated into a full-blown moral panic by the mid-'60s. Just as one might react in fear to the distorted perception of his or her own reflection during an acid trip, so did America at large when exposed to its mirror image under the influence of LSD. Public concern surrounded LSD's perversion of America, particularly the youth population who, historically, is considered susceptible to corruption in instances of moral panic. Remembering what it had done to psychology, it seemed that anything acid touched would be helplessly corroded. Given this outlook, the fearful reaction when LSD found its way into the core institutions of the country's national identity comes as little surprise.

The United States has always been a deeply religious nation; its official and implicit laws, along with its systems of moral value, have developed from fundamental Christian values embedded in the social fabric since the first British settler communities established themselves on the east coast. When the nation's values have ostensibly become threatened, the most influential pushes for American moral reform have been spearheaded by Christian organizations or parties who have openly grounded their beliefs and mission within a religious framework.[3] To declare something un-Christian has the immediate connotation of being threatening to Americans at large. This was perhaps one of the greatest strikes against LSD on moral grounds. Hallucinogenic drugs have the power to induce what many perceive as a religious experience (DeBold & Leaf, 1967, p. 63), and LSD, an incredibly potent hallucinogen, has the ability to produce an incredibly potent religious experience. The problem with this brand of spirituality, however, is that, "although the experience is profoundly a religious one, it isn't quite Christian enough" (Alpert, 1966, p. 60).

The notion that it was possible to achieve spiritual ascendance by taking a drug flew in the face of Christian beliefs. Particularly distressed was the doctrine of the Protestant work ethic and its covenant of works. By Protestant logic, if it was no

longer necessary to spend an entire lifetime obeying the rules of God,[4] and instead all that was necessary was to pop a pill, then the entire religious framework supporting the country would be set to collapse. Melodramatic as it may seem, the sheer anarchy in which some groups chose to participate while under the influence of mind-altering drugs lent support to this argument.

Since the 1950s, intellectual figures such as Aldus Huxley had argued in support of psychedelics. He stated: "I am not so foolish as to equate what happens under the influence of [psychedelic drugs] with … enlightenment, the beatific vision. All I am suggesting is that the mescaline experience is what Catholic theologians call, 'a gratuitous grace,' not necessary to salvation but potentially helpful" (Huxley, 1954, p. 73). His theory was that the intoxication of mind-altering drugs could lend anyone a greater understanding of his or her chosen spirituality. For Huxley, this included Christianity as much as it did the Peyote Cult of Mexico.[5] Many of the seekers[6] justified their actions with arguments similar to Huxley's: that, albeit far more potent, LSD was fundamentally the same as religious experiences achieved through established practices like fasting, Yogic breathing exercises, chanting, singing of hymns, or prayer (Huxley, 1954, pp. 143-144). Predictably, heavy intoxication of any kind, and for any purpose, directly conflicted with the values of temperance and social responsibility proclaimed by Christian moralists since the colonial era. Even the mere suggestion of fuelling Christianity with drugs constituted blatant sacrilege.

It was also possible that the exorbitant claims of religious experiences made by those taking LSD were little more than attempts to justify a drug habit. Timothy Leary, the original prophet of acid, made several attempts while acting as the head of his League for Spiritual Freedom to gain amnesty in his copious use of LSD because he claimed that it was the sacrament of his religion. He argued that so long as it was illegal to manufacture, possess, use, and distribute LSD, the United States of America was infringing his constitutional right under the first amendment to "freely practice" his religion by outlawing its sacrament (DeBold & Leaf, 1967, pp. 102-104). The case of People v. Woody ruling in favour of the Navajo Indians' practice of their peyote-based faith being protected under the constitution was cited frequently as a comparative (DeBold & Leaf, 1967, pp. 102-104); however, Leary's appeal was less successful. Legitimate or not, the perceived epidemic of LSD abuse in the United States outside of any discernible religious context made this an issue beyond Leary's personal, if controversial, beliefs. The courts worried that if LSD were made legal on religious grounds, joy-trippers would also take advantage and regulation would become completely impossible.

A last religious black mark against the acid eaters was the colourful splashes of Eastern philosophy and spirituality that adorned the movement. For example, Timothy Leary translated the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* into English and from 1963 onwards proceeded to refer to it as a sort of manual for guiding acid trips (Blum,

1964, p. 154). Disciples of Leary followed a belief system described by a psychologist observing Leary's ill-fated Utopian experiment in Zuhuatanejo, Mexico as, "a mixture of modern psychology, New England intellectual mysticism, and modified Mahayana Buddhism" (Blum, 1964, p. 164). Poet Allen Ginsberg, cultural icon of the '60s, spent several years living abroad in India and Tibet to study eastern spirituality, even meeting once with the Dalai Lama (Conners, 2010, p. 139). The fear existed that not only was the Christian faith being perverted by drug addicts, but that proselytizers of LSD were attempting to convert good Christians to a *foreign* and hedonistic religion.

Opponents of its use needed every means available to them in order to construct acid as a foreign identity. As previously stated, the LSD boom of the sixties blossomed into a full moral panic. Previously in the United States, drug scares had been successfully blamed on ethnic minorities.[7] What was so disturbing this time around with LSD was that instead of some fringe ethnic group, the vice in question belonged to the very same group of young, educated, white middle-class Americans who were supposed to be sheltered from its outside influence (Lee & Shlain, 1985, p. 153).

The 1960s were a time when an unprecedented number of youths chose to pursue higher education (Henderson & Glass, 1994, p. 4). This, paired with "a heightened societal interest in the workings of the mind" (Henderson & Glass, 1994, p. 4), would provide perfect testing grounds for LSD. In the first half of the decade, the drug was still a hot scientific topic, a drug whose pushers were not black jazzers, immigrant labourers, or underground patrons, but professors, artists, and writers belonging to a diverse yet recognized intellectual crowd. This included the likes of Aldus Huxley, licensed psychiatrists and chemists, as well as another more shadowy school belonging to the ilk of Allen Ginsberg, Andy Warhol, William S. Burroughs, and Ken Kesey, especially before his Merry Prankster days. Of course, there is Timothy Leary as well: at one point he stood distinguished as a published and respected faculty member at Harvard, guest lecturer in colleges and universities, and generally recognized as having incredible potential within his field. However, one factor remained to compel comfortable, intelligent youths to experiment with the altered states of mind elicited by psilocybin in the case of Leary's early Harvard experiments and later LSD. The final push towards psychedelics was the understanding that, for most, the American Dream as it had been understood had already been realized. A sufficient salary, two parents, 2.5 children, and a car in every garage; this was the ideal of the 1950s, and by the end of the decade the majority of America had achieved it. Thus was born the suburban landscape, populated by children with enough education and free time to puzzle over the question of "What next?" The role of LSD in the '60s was in large part due to discontent amplified by curiosity and boredom with "the safety, predictability, and homogeneity of their suburban neighborhood" (Henderson & Glass, 1994, p.

31). Like all restless youth, this new generation sought out adventure and conflict against which it could test its mettle. Unlike previous generations, however, with the advent of the suburban American lifestyle, these old rites of passage no longer existed (Henderson & Glass, 1994, p. 31), with the exception of the Vietnam War. But for the majority of Americans who were not drafted for service, the realities of war were a long way from the drowsy blanket of their childhoods in the '50s.

To achieve the desired result, those who felt it their duty to defend the status quo from the onslaught of acid needed to identify the drug with a suitable minority, visible along lines other than simply race. The perfect candidates were the numerous radical political groups that were active during this period. A liberal interpretation allowed this list to include groups ranging from the Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers to The Merry Pranksters, Leary's League for Spiritual discovery, the Diggers, the Brotherhood of Eternal Love, the Hippie Movement, civil rights groups like Black Panthers**,** and even notorious gangs like the Hell's Angels[8] as representatives of the threat posed by LSD, whether or not they actually ingested the substance regularly. The majority of these organizations could be easily identified by their bizarre or ostentatious appearance. As in the case of the Hippies' infamous disregard for hygiene, these were visuals already calculated as part of an effort to defy the conventions and expectations of society.[9]

Another common accusation was that people in these groups did not contribute to society, or were not "productive" members. This association served two purposes: first, it made it possible to stigmatize LSD use with distinct minority groups of questionable moral standing. This acted to mar the reality of who was really using. It ensured that when a citizen heard mention of LSD, it immediately triggered an association with threatening images of groups and individuals entirely unlike themselves opposed to thinking of their son who was studying psychology at Harvard. But second, as Lee and Shlain (1985) succinctly explain in their book, *Acid Dreams*,

> By invoking the specter of hallucinogenic drugs, conservative politicians implicitly attacked the groups that opposed the war in Vietnam. [As] drugs became associated with cultural and political rebellion .... it was a lot easier to discredit the radical cause if the rest of society could be convinced that those uppity radicals were out of their minds—and the LSD craze was touted as sure proof of that. (p. 154)

This strategy applied not only to the contentious issue of the Vietnam War, but can be seen in examples surrounding the civil rights cause, religious dissidence as discussed earlier, and the various protests calling for social reform that were accused of promoting dangerous leftist ideology.[10]

The tendency to ascribe to LSD-using subcultures a communist or at least an anti-capitalist stance by both government authorities and members of the groups

themselves is certainly ironic. The circumstances explained earlier under which acid consumption became possible were sustained by a surge of consumer capitalism and economic stability (Harris, 2005, p. 13). Without this base wealth, there would be no time to pursue drug-fuelled flights into the stratosphere of higher consciousness. Young people would have been grounded by the reality of an unsupported life, occupied by working to meet their basic subsistence needs. Everyone has heard criticism of the capitalist system in the half-mocking slogan that "Money can't buy happiness"; but those who chose to drop acid in the '60s did not merely try to purchase happiness, they bought and sold reality for two bucks a hit in the ultimate exercise of the power of capitalism. The principle is no different from when the previous generation—their parents—paid for the ideal that was advertised to them when they bought their house, car, furniture, supplies for the new baby, etc.

The acid craze can be summarized, in part then, as a direct result of such a newly unburdened and well-educated youth population's confrontation with an accordingly fresh set of social conditions and opportunities—opportunities that included access to consciousness-altering compounds such as LSD. In the context of the 1960s, LSD experimentation in and of itself was in no way a break from the lifestyle established in the prior decade, but rather a next step following the same process of logic. Economic security allowed for the existence of the incredible social tumult and change during this era as a young and idle intelligentsia explored the existing culture surrounding it and proceeded to push it to its limits. The force and speed of these processes threw the establishment into a state of alarm. LSD became the target of a moral panic as a catalyst and instigator of unrest under both moral and political jurisdiction. Established ideologies will always be slower in their evolution than the immediate socio-economic conditions of a post-industrial nation. What ultimately defeated LSD was that its proponents attempted too much, too fast in their zeal to reshape the face of America with the help of this new wonder drug. It is impossible not to wonder what might have been had LSD-25 entered the picture in another era. The fact that, while it has never completely disappeared, LSD has remained on the shadowy outskirts of the drug world suggests that William S. Burroughs was correct in his 1964 novel, *Nova Express*. He included a warning to the cosmonauts of interspace that if they wanted to find what they were looking for, to achieve something true and lasting, they must "learn to make it without any chemical corn" (p. 11).

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[1] In 1938, researcher Dr. Albert Hofmann synthesized the first sample of lysergic acid diethylamide [LSD] while working for Sandoz Laboratories in Switzerland. It was not until the spring of 1943, however, that Dr. Hofmann discovered, quite by accident, the potent psychoactive properties of his creation. Its greatest potential seemed to lie in the field of psychiatry. In 1949, LSD was introduced in the United States and supplied at no charge for purposes of research into its effects and application in psychiatry. Throughout the 1950s lysergic acid diethylamide was hailed nearly as a psychological panacea (Hofmann, 1980).

[2] MK-ULTRA was a top-secret CIA program designed to investigate the potential of psychedelic drugs as mind-influencing hypnotics and truth serums. The complete failure of this program with its unseen consequences, such as creating LSD fanatics like Kesey, was an embarrassment to the CIA. The program was dissolved when it became conclusive that test subjects were simply too high to be trained into hypnotic assassins or provide accurate intelligence to interrogators (Conners, 2010, p. 166). The history of the program is detailed by Lee and Shlain in *Acid Dreams*.

[3] For example: groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, independent church groups, nationalists associations, etc.

[4] These rules included devoting oneself to the task of being a productive member of society. This would be another complaint lodged against the acid eaters who chose to "drop out" of society, renouncing the old ethos of going out and getting a job to make money so as to be able to support the example which would become known as the "nuclear family" and the American dream itself.

[5] The "Peyote cult" is a Native North American religion. Its members regularly ingest the highly hallucinogenic substance during ceremony as a central aspect of worship (Huxley, 1954, p. 71).

[6] A "seeker" was one in search of spiritual enlightenment, whose chosen spiritual path generally involved rigorous use of LSD or similar drugs.

[7] For further reading on the link between racism and drug-control policy in the United States, see Clarence Lusane (1991), *Pipe Dream Blues: Racism and the War on Drugs*.

[8] Although not a group interested in the pursuit of psychedelics, Ken Kesey, with the help of Hunter S. Thompson, introduced a chapter of the Hell's Angels to LSD in 1965 in La Honda under the suspicious eye of local police (Lee and Shlain, 1985, p. 125).

[9] For an in-depth analysis of a typical reaction to the Hippies' dress and hygiene by state institutions, see Marcel Martel (2009), "'They smell bad, have diseases, and are lazy': RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties." FBI agents in the U.S. reached markedly similar conclusions.

[10] Such as the "Death of Money and the Birth of Free" happening, a late-'60s demonstration where a mock-funeral procession for the dollar travelled down Haight Street in San Francisco.

JENELLE REGNIER-DAVIES

Understanding Monosodium Glutamate

Exploring food discourse and its social implications

This paper examines some of the mainstream discourse surrounding the substance monosodium glutamate (MSG). While the use of additives and preservatives in foods is of legitimate concern, it is arguable that the substance MSG is poorly understood, and has become vilified despite a lack of sound scientific evidence. Consequently, foods utilizing the flavour enhancer may be deemed inferior and presented in a negative way in mass media. This vilification, it is argued, reinforces food classism and assumptions about race.

INTRODUCTION

Though the discussion of "what to eat" is not new in North America, it has become a progressively hot topic of discussion in the media, on the news, in magazines, and within social networking sites. Popular culture authors such as Michael Pollen and Marion Nestle have encouraged North Americans to question their food sources, and to further examine the legitimacy of the industrialized food system. However, in many cases, media hype about foods and food substances results in the vilification and stigmatization of foods, deeming them inferior both socially and culturally. This vilification, it is argued, reinforces food classism, and reproduces assumptions about race and the cultural practice of food preparation.

The purpose of this paper is to reflect upon mainstream debates on MSG, and to highlight the differing perspectives regarding its effects on health. This paper will first outline a brief history of the creation of MSG, featuring its introduction as a kitchen staple and a mainstay in the industrial agricultural system. Secondly, the paper explores perceptions on MSG, assessing the ongoing debate, and the impacts of the substance on health. Lastly, the paper unpacks the inherent racism entwined within the deliberation of MSG in North America, illuminating the oppressive qualities of the discussion and its consequences.

BRIEF HISTORY OF MSG AND CHINESE RESTAURANT SYNDROME

Despite the plethora of literature—both academic and popular—on the health effects of MSG, there is quite little surrounding how and why the global food system came to use the amounts it does today. By 2007, the world production of MSG was over two hundred million tons (Sano, 2009). One can only speculate that the flavour-enhancing capabilities of the substance is reason alone for such widespread use, especially in processed and packaged foods; however, considering the methods of extraction, one can also deduce that the mass production of the substance may also be an outcome of America's heavily subsidized agricultural industry.

MSG was first derived from a brown kelp commonly used to make broths in Japanese cuisine (Halpern, 2002). Though present naturally in foods in the form of glutamic acid, MSG is an extracted and "free-form" version, which was first produced by Kikunae Ikeda in 1909 (Halpern, 2002). Ikeda, a Japanese chemist, was inspired to derive the substance after reading publications which suggested that the flavour of foods encouraged healthy digestion, and therefore, improved nourishment (Sano, 2009). Ikeda's motivation was to seek out a way to industrially produce glutamate, the savoury flavour found in many Japanese dishes, in order to improve national nutrition and health (Renton, 2005). In line with the new faith in science as an authority of health and nutrition, Ikeda eventually utilized this perception to market the product to bourgeois housewives, inadvertently suggesting to them that if they wanted to serve their families well, they would use only trusted products made by scientists (Renton, 2005; Sand, 2005).

Despite the costs, wealthy Japanese housewives, devoted to their responsibilities of keeping a hygienic, healthy, and safe home, were encouraged to use MSG in their cooking (Sand, 2005). The first decades of the twentieth century were an era in which new kitchen products and condiments began to be heavily introduced in homes, and were endorsed by trusted popular writers in women's journals and newspaper columns (Sand, 2005). Despite the lack of evidence that MSG supported a healthy diet, it became widely used and accepted in Japanese homes (Sand, 2005). Later, with increased production, which made MSG more affordable and readily available, it became more accessible across economic scales (Renton, 2005). By 1920, MSG was widely used by the Japanese public, and further, was introduced in the Japanese colony of Taiwan and throughout the rest of Mainland China (Sand, 2005). The Chinese public was generally apprehensive about the product at first, as many saw Japanese brands in China as an extension of Japanese imperialism (Sand, 2005; Mosby, 2009); however, this perception changed with the manufacture of Chinese labels, and the product became widely accepted and used in both restaurants and home kitchens (Sand, 2005).

Following World War II, MSG became a popular commodity in America as well (Renton, 2005). With increased industrial production of food, the use of MSG in processed foods was a natural evolution, as processed foods were largely bland

and tasteless in comparison to their fresh counterparts (Sand, 2005; Renton, 2005). Initially, MSG was imported in large quantities from Japan where it was mass-produced through the synthesis of corn, wheat, or sugar beets (Sano, 2009). Later, as production methods improved and became more efficient, the American industrial system sought to manufacture MSG, utilizing the country's abundant supply of both corn and wheat (Sano, 2009).

Although MSG became widely accepted by the American industrial food industry, it was still quite foreign to home cooks in its raw form (Sand, 2005). Many well-known household brands such as Campbell's and Swanson utilized MSG and marketed their products to American housewives, as a way to serve their families cost-effective, tasty, nutritious meals (Sand, 2005). However, with the influx of Chinese immigrants to American cities by the 1960s, MSG as a food enhancer became more widely known and associated with the cultural group specifically. A famous article written by a Chinese-American doctor, Robert Ho Man Kwok, entitled "Chinese Restaurant Syndrome," inspired food hysteria and led to a blanket of assumptions regarding unknown "foreign" foods in America (Freeman, 2006). Published in the *New England Journal of Medicine,* Kwok's account was a description of his experienced numbness in the back and neck, heart palpitations, and weakness after eating Northern Chinese cuisine (Kwok, 1968). He labelled the experience "Chinese restaurant syndrome" (CRS), which cemented the idea that Chinese foods were bad for health.

The response to Kwok's account of CRS was monumental, and readers of the journal retorted with their own experiences, ranging from cold sweats, dizziness, and migraine-like reactions (Mosby, 2009; Schaumburg et al., 1968). In response letters, readers not only vilified MSG, but also hypothesized various cooking methods used specifically in Chinese cultural cuisine that might be the culprit of the widespread food reactions felt by consumers of Chinese food in America (Mosby, 2009). The *New York Times* followed the story, further embellishing and mainstreaming the perspective that Chinese cultural cuisine could pose negative health effects if consumed (Mosby, 2009). This prescription led members of the public to adopt the perspective that Chinese foods were inferior in comparison to other types of cultural cuisine, as they needed to rely on special seasonings to enhance their flavour (Freeman, 2006; Renton, 2005). Despite the use of MSG in many American TV dinners and other widely accepted food products, it was inherently associated with Chinese cultural groups and their "substandard" cuisine (Freeman, 2006; Mosby, 2009).

MSG AND HEALTH

Following the hysteria of "Chinese restaurant syndrome," the scientific community engaged in a more thorough investigation of the food additive. Several researchers concluded that exposure to MSG in large quantities could lead to brain lesions,

blindness, and stunted skeletal development (Olney, 1969; Bakke et al., 1978). Psychiatrist John W. Olney reinforced the dangers of MSG through his experiment on lab mice, which resulted in infertility over long periods of exposure to the food additive (Olney, 1969). Though Olney recognized that humans might not have the same reaction to the substance, he warned that women should avoid using the product, as it might bring about complications during pregnancy (Olney, 1969).

However, more recent reports published by the American Medical Association's Council on Scientific Affairs and the European Scientific Committee for Food have indicated that MSG is safe when "consumed at levels typically used in cooking and food manufacturing" (Meadows, 2003, p. 35). The researchers argue that MSG becomes a problem when over 3g are consumed per meal (Meadows, 2003). According to a study cited by Michael Freeman (2006), a typical Chinese dish from a restaurant could contain MSG amounts from 10 to 1500 milligrams per 100-gram portion. In comparison, aged cheeses such as Parmesan can contain approximately 1200 milligrams of MSG, and prepared tomato sauces may contain any amount from 20 to 1900 milligrams (Freeman, 2006, p. 483). Although it is true that a Chinese meal may contain slightly more MSG than an Italian meal, as Freeman (2006) outlines, there is still inconclusive scientific evidence that the flavour enhancer, in fact, leads to ill health or diet-related sickness.

The earlier findings published by Olney have since become irrelevant to the scientific community, for the tests that led to the aforementioned results involved injecting small rodents with amounts of MSG far greater than any one person would consume at any given time (Meadows, 2003; Williams & Woessner, 2009). Subsequently, the United States Food and Drug Administration (hereinafter USFDA) has deemed MSG "Generally Recognized as Safe" (GRAS), as it has yet to be scientifically proven to be harmful to health (USFDA, 2012). Several USFDA-sponsored tests and independent studies have demonstrated that MSG is harmless, and claim that there is little need for concern, despite receiving ongoing reports of illness in relation to the consumption of the substance (USFDA, 2012; Jinap & Hajeb, 2010; Walker & Lupien, 2000; Williams & Woessner, 2009). In some cases, MSG has even been promoted as a healthy seasoning alternative for people who require a limited sodium intake for heart reasons (Fernstrom, 2007; Renton, 2005).

Nonetheless, many food activists and public health practitioners continue to challenge the rhetoric of safety, and take issue with USFDA-sponsored scientific research as evidence to support GRAS labelling. Increasingly, many wish to address the ways in which the industrialized food system uses an abundance of food additives and inputs to enhance the flavours of cheaply produced, pre-packaged, and processed foods. The distrust is arguably legitimate, given the fact that labelling systems often fail to offer transparency and coherent information about food products and are being increasingly utilized by industry to promote nutrient-low and calorie-rich foods, while often marketing them as "natural" or "healthy" (Benalt,

2005; Mosby, 2009; Rutkow, Vernick, Hodge, & Teret, 2008). It is a common argument that food labelling fails to indicate sufficiently the processes that food undergoes before appearing on store shelves, and that scientific jargon can easily confuse consumers, rendering it difficult to make educated choices (Rutkow et al., 2008). In the case of MSG, it is often found in variation, and may be labelled as hydrolyzed milk or vegetable proteins, autolyzed yeast extract, or textured protein (Renton, 2005). It is a prominent ingredient in nutritional yeast and products made with "yeast extracts" such as Marmite or Vegemite (Renton, 2005). In sum, MSG is an ingredient difficult to avoid, even for the dourest and most observant consumer.

FOOD RACIALIZATION AND NUTRITIONISM IN AMERICA

Although the debate over the health impacts of MSG has subsided in recent years, what resonates today is the way in which the discussion has been overtly racialized. Ian Mosby (2009) articulates that the debate of MSG went far beyond the scientific community and influenced the opinions of the public to a significant degree. As Mosby outlines, in 1969 the New York City Health Department went as far as to single out Chinese food manufacturers and vendors, issuing warnings against "excessive use of MSG" in foods, though without specification of what constitutes "excessive," and with no evidence that patrons were actually negatively effected by the foods sold through these venues (p.145). Despite the use of processed foods and additives in other establishments, Chinese food restaurants were the main target of such surveillance. Even today, "No MSG" signs hang in the windows of most Chinese food restaurants in North America to deter distrust from potential patrons.

Though there remains no conclusive evidence that MSG has any impact on health, positive or negative, the implications of the discourse itself are numerous. As Melanie Du Puis (2007) highlights, the question of "how to eat" remains deeply imbedded in American culture. Similar to how she describes the American fear of "germs and calories," the focus on "health" equally shapes the hierarchy of edibles, contributing to an elitism surrounding food. As we have seen, the classification of Chinese cuisine as somehow inferior resonates, and its connection with MSG is still deeply embedded in understandings of the cultural cuisine. Understandings of MSG are therefore racialized in a very specific way, and Chinese cuisine is indiscriminately classified and prescribed a position in a class-based culinary order.

George Scrinis (2008) argues that by reducing foods down to one or two qualities, whether positive or negative, the wealth of their collective attributes are subsequently overlooked. Through the debate on nutritional claims, we reduce those foods to poorly understood chemical elements rather than engaging with them on a more holistic level (Scrinis, 2008). The vilification of MSG, it may be argued, overlooks the whole of ingredients used in a dish, consequently maligning the properties of the foods in their entirety. The abundance of vitamins and minerals, or the varying cultural attributes that the meal offers as a whole, are

disregarded. The implication of this "nutritionism," as Scrinis defines it, is that agency is then removed from eaters, cooks, homemakers, and providers, and authority is placed in the hands of distant food "experts." Scientists, doctors, dieticians, and other elite figures are relied upon to determine how society should or should not eat, and "dietary salvation" depends on guidance from those in a position of authority (Pollan, 2008, p. 28).

CONCLUSION

Although the scope of this short paper does not allow for the identification of the full effects of consuming MSG, examining the debate has revealed that the discourse surrounding food and health is often entwined with assumptions of race. It should be recognized that although there may be legitimate reason to question the use and reliance of poorly understood substances, one should be aware of the implications of classifying foods, and recognize the inherent judgment and condemnation that comes with certain assumptions. Though the discussion around MSG and its impacts on health has subsided in recent years, the assumption that Chinese food contains MSG in abundance still resonates largely without question.

The objective of this paper goes beyond the examination of the history of the substance and its use in restaurants and the industrial system, but aims to encourage self-reflexivity of one's understanding of food and health, and to question inherent notions of race and cultural cuisines. As Du Puis (2007) articulates, "we have historically made diet part of the struggle over social deservingness"; we should recognize that "our dietary status games are not a solution"; rather, they in fact "contribute to inequality" (p. 43).

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MAIA MILLER

Claws of Catharsis

The food narrative of lobster eating

When it comes to eating meat, humans employ many techniques to distance themselves from the animal, or the animal from the meat, in order to mask the reality of eating a once-living being. However, the practice of eating lobster is a special occasion in which many North Americans seem to set aside wilful blindness in order to indulge in their gustatory desires. How do urban meat eaters rationalize eating lobster when the distance that they have created between themselves and the animal, and the animal and the meat, has collapsed? By analyzing the common techniques used to assuage guilty feelings when eating meat and demonstrating how eating lobster, like most cruel foods*, intentionally defies those conventions, I explore humans' need to create a harsh and definite distinction between human and animal. This analysis contributes to the study of animals in human cultures, and how perceptions of the animal both crystallize and confound our understanding of the human. It is through the practice of lobster eating that humans reassert their dominance over animals while simultaneously indulging in animal-like behaviour. The pleasure of lobster eating exists within the contradiction of ignoring, yet acknowledging, not only a lobster's humanity, but a human's animalness*.

The majority of people who feel bad about eating animals are often too invested in the habit to change their behaviour (Adams, 1998, p. 60). To assuage such guilty feelings, these people employ common techniques to shape their knowledge about the meat, the animal, or the process. This can include denying sentience to the animal, arguing that the animal's life does not have much or any value, or that the animal does not feel pain. People also tend to circumvent the reality of meat both physically and mentally by avoiding the animal-meat association: "Don't tell me about that, it will ruin my dinner" (Adams, 1998, p. 65). Yet some foods glorify the connection between meal and animal as its culinary high point, where the reality of meat is "acknowledge[d] or even celebrated" (Strong, 2011, p. 168). Accordingly, in popular North American cuisine, eating lobster unmasks the realities behind eating meat. In such a situation, how is the tension between guilt

and pleasure resolved? In understanding the human-animal distinction and the imaginary boundary that humans fervently attempt to uphold, it can be argued that the infrequently enjoyed lobster meal provides humans with a special and rare occasion to reassert their dominance over animals while simultaneously indulging in animal-like behaviour. This is done by pushing the tension of eating animal meat to centre stage, so that the pleasure of lobster eating exists specifically within the contradiction of ignoring yet acknowledging not only a lobster's humanity, but a human's animalness.

Lobster eating is most anomalous to other meat eating by the physical interaction involved in the process. As a primary method of evading guilt, most people physically avoid the animal they will be eating, which is made particularly easy in a contemporary urban lifestyle. Few urban and suburban dwellers ever come into contact with the living animal to be eaten or need to play a part in its slaughter. Particularly in suburban centres, "the redder or more 'animalized' a cut of meat is—the more it resembles a carcass—the more it turns the average consumer off," so companies marketing to mainstream grocery store shoppers purposefully package their meat product to erase its history as a once-living being (Herzog, 2010, p. 190; Armstrong, 2007, p. 125). Further still, when served on a plate, most meat does not resemble the animal it came from regardless of how it was presented when purchased. In short, North American meat eaters' physical interaction with the living animal they are to consume is limited. This is significant because it distances the reality of eating meat: the natural human instinct to project mental states and emotions onto other creatures (anthropomorphism) disappears when the eyes with which humans empathize are lost (Herzog, 2010, p. 60). This disconnection makes it easier to depersonalize an animal and to debase it to the status of object or food as opposed to a living being.

On the contrary, lobster eating purposefully creates a physical encounter. There are two startling aspects about the consumption of lobster, both of which encapsulate the novelty of the food. First, live lobster is coveted—buying pre-cooked frozen lobster would not be the same. Some argue this practice ensures the meat's absolute freshness, though this argument could be applied—yet is not—to any other kind of meat. This preference, then, insists upon an encounter with the animal in the meat-eating process. Moreover, lobsters are the only animal that urban people typically slaughter in their kitchens. David Foster Wallace (2004) describes the lively and uncomfortable lobster-cooking experience:

> The intimacy of the whole thing is maximized at home. ... However stuporous the lobster is from the trip home, … it tends to come alarmingly to life when placed in boiling water. If you're tilting it from a container into the steaming kettle, the lobster will sometimes try to cling to the container's sides or even to hook its claws over the kettle's rim like a person trying to

> keep from going over the edge of a roof. And worse is when the lobster's fully immersed. Even if you cover the kettle and turn away, you can usually hear the cover rattling and clanking as the lobster tries to push it off. Or the creature's claws scraping the sides of the kettle as it thrashes around. (p. 5)

In some cases, people have chefs cook the lobster on their behalf, but often not before picking the live animal out of a tank. The second novelty is the actual eating of the lobster. Lobsters are most prestigiously served whole, making a recognizable animal body a part of the eating experience. Significantly, the eating process also requires diners to use their hands and to continually return to and interact with the lobster's carcass. The use of specially designed tools affirms this ritual as a cultural act. Overall, the presence of the lobster's animality in its preparation, cooking, and consumption contradicts the conventionally evasive treatment of meat. How do urban meat eaters cope with their guilty feelings of eating a once-living lobster when the physical distance they normally create between themselves and the animal, and the animal and the meat, is abandoned?

To navigate this collapsed physical distance, one may utilize a number of mentally distancing techniques to ignore what meat is. One popular method is to deny the animal's sentience. Much of this debate revolves around whether animals feel pain or whether they recognize their own existence. It is anthropocentric to assert that the ability for high-level reasoning constitutes the best way to define significance within the animal kingdom; still, society is built upon it (Ingold, 1988, p. 10). Crustaceans are held, specifically for this reason, as lesser beings relative to mammals, as Peter Singer (2001) implies in his reflection on J. M. Coetzee's *The Lives of Animals* (p. 90). Descartes' groundwork in solipsism, which has had a major influence on modern thinking, rejects the parsimonious explanation of animal behaviour, in effect discrediting animals of consciousness (Midgley, 1988, p. 42). Yet David Foster Wallace (2004) delves into the possibility that lobsters may feel pain, concluding that, at the very least, "the lobster's behavior in the kettle appears to be the expression of a *preference*; and it may well be that an ability to form preferences is the decisive criterion for real suffering" (p. 7). Alternatively, in an affective appeal, Wendy Doniger (2001) incorporates Berger's idea of the *look* in arguing that an animal's eyes voice its consciousness to humans (p. 104).

The lobster's physical appearance may also play a role in easing the tension of confronting and eating a lobster. Humans understand animals according to a sociozoologic scale, which categorizes animals based on cultural rather than anatomical distinctions (Herzog, 2010, p. 48). For Westerners, lobsters are gross: they are anthropods, meaning they are part of the insect family and resemble centipedes or millipedes. They have spindly legs, thick antennae and eat dead things in the sea (Wallace, 2004, p. 1). Although cuteness does not matter in the world of ethics and morals, it matters a lot in the way humans think about and treat

other animals (Herzog, 2010, p. 38). This obsession with cuteness—or neoteny—is culturally based and drives people to make irrational decisions about animals (Herzog, 2010, p. 53). Part of neoteny is how closely an animal resembles a human, with special emphasis placed on the eyes. According to anecdote, residents of an African village would trap and kill baboons that ate their crops but warned hunters never to look into the animals' eyes because it made it much harder to kill them, since baboons' eyes look so human (Herzog, 2010, p. 38; Herzog, 2010, p. 62). Chicken and other birds have become a more popular meat than beef, arguably because cattle are more relatable and cute (Herzog, 2010, p. 192). This is consistent with Berger's *gaze*, where he describes an animal's look to have powerful effects on humans (1980, p. 3). But he is assumedly referring to animals with distinct and identifiable eyes. Crustaceans, such as lobsters, do not have eyes that are remotely similar to those of humans—if you can even find them. Fish have obvious and glaring eyes; however, they are less powerful than other animals' eyes, since "[s]emantic moral distancing is apparently less necessary as we descend the phylogenetic scale" (Herzog, 2010, p. 45). Lobsters' appearance in combination with their place on the phylogenetic scale (based on their evolutionary history) may mean that, although humans interact more with lobsters before and during eating than with other animals, the lobster does not hold the hypnotic powers that the animal gaze otherwise might.

Another tactic to deal with the contention between guilt and a physical encounter is to alienate animals from their *real* selves. An animal's context informs how humans perceive its identity. By changing the environment in which humans see animals, the natural, or *real*, animal disappears and is in turn supplanted by a reinvented identity (Berger, 1980, p. 23). A pig, lobster, or horse observed in its natural environment—for example, a forest, the ocean, or a lea—can present the animal beyond its human utility. However, most people only see animal representations in film, literature, zoos, and as pets (Berger, 1980, p. 24). As a result, the animal's value is situated around its human use, for all these artificial environments exist for human satisfaction. At restaurants, lobsters are kept in large numbers in giant, brightly lit tanks—despite the fact that they are actually ocean-bottom dwellers, preferring dark spaces and solitude (Wallace, 2004, p. 7). Lobsters' claws are also bound as a way of preventing them from attacking one another, their natural response to being under such stress (Wallace, 2004, p. 7). Consequently, the context erases the *real* animal and sets up the meat eater to identify the lobster based on the constructed circumstance: a waiting meal.

This alienation is reinforced through language, which can be powerful in shaping the way people think. In the case of animals as food, language dissociates the animal from the meat. Consumer terms like meat, pork, beef, or poultry diminish the animal's complexity by limiting its definition to solely a product to be eaten. For example, the difference between "pig" and "pork" is that one of them

can only be understood in terms of food. Moreover, these words distance the consumer from the animal's history and source. Even meat that goes by its animal name (e.g., lobster, chicken, lamb) undergoes grammatical change when referenced as food by becoming a non-count noun ("I see some lobsters" compared to "I want some lobster"). Normalized language can also neutralize an animal's death. The Lobster Institute (n.d.) refers to the lobster's actions during cooking as "twitch[ing] its tail," "movement," "activity," and "reflex action." These taciturn labels and descriptions reinforce the objectification and depersonalization of animals.

Yet despite these coping mechanisms, many people still care about the lobster's well-being during slaughtering, requiring an acknowledgement of the lobster as a creature with possible feelings, desires, and preferences. On the Lobster Institute's (n.d.) website, an organization that works with the lobster industry to sustain viable lobster fisheries, one of the first questions answered regarding lobster cooking is whether the animal feels pain when it is killed—an indication that the organization sees this question as a pressing dilemma for its readers. Despite the controversy around the website's adamant "no," why would one care about the animal's possible suffering if the lobster is deemed to be without consciousness?

Lobsters may be categorized as a cruel food. A cruel food is that which subjects an animal to unnecessary and excessive pain and suffering for gustatory pleasure. One of the key elements to enjoying cruel foods is knowing about the suffering of the animal, where "the element of cruelty figures not as a by-product but as a vital ingredient" (Strong, 2011, pp. 161, 159). Many fish and crustaceans are eaten alive or freshly killed, with the diner either having seen the fish alive before it was killed, or dead but presented to look particularly alive (Strong, 2011, p. 167). Sado-aesthetics, for example, is when one gains gustatory pleasure in seeing a dead or dying animal, including many seafoods that change colours in their end-of-life moments (Strong, 2011, p. 167). This fetish grants certain foods "being" status yet removes their significance as "beings" in the same breath (Baker, 2001, p. 136). People seem to savour the knowledge that the lobster is a living being by insisting upon a physical encounter before and during consumption and by attributing notions of pain and preference to the animal. The lobster, like all cruel foods, is thus a Derridean supplement to the narrative of food: lobster eating highlights humans' contradictory concern to hide, yet not hide, the animal behind the meat (Baker, 2001, p. 139).

So why do people tolerate—and even seek out—this tension? The use of cruelty can be a marker of distinction and exclusivity (Strong, 2011, p. 168); allowing social class to determine edible and appropriate foods is a common phenomenon in all cultures (Messer, 2007, p. 56). Another powerful driver to enjoying cruel foods is the feeling of domination and superiority one gets through the process. Consumers of cruel foods seek to multiply and intensify cruelty and death in order

to fulfill "a desire to annex and conquer more than one's proper share" (Strong, 2011, p. 190; Strong, 2011, p. 171). Seeing and choosing the lobster before killing it and then exacting force during consumption provide tremendous power to the diner (Strong, 2011, p. 166). Consistent with Baker's Derridean supplement, this tyranny is made possible because the lobster as a living, feeling animal is both included and excluded from the food narrative, "disturb[ing] the logic and consistency of the whole" (Baker, 2001, p. 139).

Another reason to enjoy this kind of food is sin: the guiltier one feels about the food, the more pleasant it is (Strong, 2011, p. 160). This was explored in Stewart Lee Allen's *In the Devil's Garden: A Sinful History of Forbidden Food* in relation to fatty foods and desserts, but can be applied to meat products as well (Strong, 2011, p. 160). Humans define themselves, especially in relation to animals, as the civilized, cultured, and reasonable species (Midgley, 1988, p. 35). To call someone "an animal" means that she or he has "acted on motives which human beings are supposed either not to have at all or to prevent from ever giving rise to actions" (Midgley, 1988, p. 35). There is, therefore, a pleasure for some that derives from animal cruelty because of the opportunity to break social conventions, which demand that humans respect animals. Gluttony, excess, and selfish behaviour are social sins, but they feel so good to indulge in. Perhaps, then, lobster eating presents itself as a form of catharsis, a letting-go of cultural restraints in order for people to tap into their more "primitive" selves. Being human is tantamount to being socialized and acculturated. To abandon one's responsibility, to pursue uninhibited desires of power and to give permission to cognitive dissonance without attempt to reason through it, would be to revert to one's "natural," "raw," and undisciplined self—ultimately, to abandon humanness (Ingold, 1988, p. 5). This is critical, since the definition of humanity is hinged upon a hostile and exclusive distinction from animals (Midgley, 1988, p. 37). Cruel foods return people to the animal they harbour within, by way of animals.

The fact that most people enjoy lobster only once in a while is significant. Up until the 1800s, lobsters were considered poverty food. "In 1622 Governor William Bradford of the Plymouth Plantation apologized to a new arrival of settlers that the only dish he 'could presente their friends with was a lobster … without bread or anyhting else but a cupp of fair water'" (Mariani, 2013, pp. 307-308). Its abundance in New England was probably the main factor behind this revulsion, for food availability regularly plays a large role in determining what is culturally tolerable or intolerable to eat (Herzog, 2010, p. 183). Accepting that eating lobster is a form of asserting excess and domination, over-eating lobster equated to continually indulging in sin and destruction. No less, the taste for lobster grew quickly, with the first lobster fisheries established in the 1840s (Mariani, 2013, p. 308). Notably, the creation of lobster fisheries coincides with the major anti-cruelty reforms in England, which in turn overlap with the emergence of Darwin's theory

of evolution (Franklin, 1999, p. 14). Darwinism "connected us more closely than ever before with those animals," meaning that, while beliefs in natural history and the biological sciences once created clear boundaries between humans and animals, humans suddenly needed new ways to distinguish themselves from animals (Franklin, 1999, p. 12; Midgley, 1988, p. 38). The ways in which humans differentiate themselves from animals can change so long as that boundary is always maintained (Franklin, 1999, p. 12). Lobster eating thus presented itself as a new form of demonstrating dominance over animals precisely when the need arose. By the twentieth century, the sudden growth in popularity of lobster eating reduced the number of lobster beds from which to fish, leaving lobster as a delicacy to be enjoyed and subjugated only periodically (Mariani, 2013, p. 308).

Animals share an incredibly complex relationship with humans, reflected in our association with them through food. Appetite is a driver that people seldom want to deal with at a cognitive level—valuing appetite over ethics, desire over reason (Adams, 1998, p. 65). People often distance themselves physically and mentally from the history of their meal to make the *real* animal disappear. Yet lobster as food does not conform to people's normal coping strategies for eating meat. It is a Derridean supplement to humans' eating habits in that it thrusts forward the contradiction that lies within a narrative of animal treatment (Baker, 2001, p. 139). The North American ritual of lobster eating illustrates that the way many people think about animals and the way they treat them are often in conflict (Baker, 2001, p. 148). But people cope with this tension for the cathartic, sinful, yet ultimately self-reassuring pleasure it provides. Although "[w]e imply that [animals] are in some way alien to us," the way many people define animals turns them into the embodiment of what people wish humans were not primitive, unmannered, and uncivil (Midgley, 1988, p. 35). Because animals stand for the unhuman, it is important that people always distinguish themselves as separate from them (Midgley, 1988, p. 35). Ironically, through lobster eating, the very primitiveness that we often insist only lives in animals is what we release in ourselves to create that distinction.

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SHAYMA BASHAWIEH

Military Intervention from a Global South Perspective

A TWAIL analysis

This paper aims to present the Global South's perspective on military intervention by applying a TWAIL analysis. The main focus areas will be the social, political, and economic consequences of military intervention for the states of the Global South and their citizens. The paper argues that current international laws, and in particular international practices in relation to military intervention, are based on an unjust, inequitable, and hierarchical international system that continually seeks to subordinate the Global South and its population for the advancement of the Global North's economic and political hegemony over the "developing world." The paper will analyze what role the practices of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), and the United Nations (UN) play in applying military interventions in the Global South under the guise of promoting democracy, human rights, and progressive standards of living. The paper maintains that there persists what TWAIL scholars have termed a "legitimacy deficit" in the current international system. Legitimacy awards international rules and practices their viability and therefore is crucial for the future of international law, insofar as the survival of the international system and its institutions and rules depend on legitimacy. Thus, to address the "legitimacy deficit" and restore faith in international law, this paper, in line with TWAIL scholars, proposes the revision of the current international system to adopt anti-hierarchal, post-hegemonic, and pluralistic practices that promote equity and embrace the diversity of the multiple nation-states. To this end, the works of renowned TWAIL scholars such as Orford, Okafor, Mutua, and Fidler, in addition to specific case studies and examples such as those from Rwanda and Yugoslavia, have proven invaluable.

Military intervention has been a part of international law for centuries and has been often employed, according to its proponents, as the only method through which to respond to various forms of international crises, ranging from the spread

of religious fundamentalism to natural disasters.[1] Nonetheless, despite the unfortunate, albeit common, fear-mongering and outright support for military intervention by politicians and the mainstream media in general—often citing as their justification concerns for "national security" or facilitating human rights and a democratic government for the people[2]—there have always been those that reject military intervention as a legitimate form of international law to the extent that they doubt its efficacy to extend human rights, democracy, and peace. However, much like other aspects of international law, the story of, and justification for, military intervention has been predominantly narrated from the Global North's perspective. Hence, this paper aims to present the Global South's perspective utilizing Third World Approach to International Law (TWAIL) pedagogy, and in particular its critical approach to common international practices—such as military intervention and its social, political, and economic consequences for both the states of the Global South and their citizens. Thus, the position assumed by this paper is that present international law, and more specifically military intervention, is based on an unjust, inequitable, and hierarchical international system that perpetually seeks to subordinate and disadvantage the Global South and its population in order to further the Global North's economic and political hegemony over the marginalized. Moreover, the paper will illustrate how military intervention is justified under the guise of advancing democracy, human rights, and progressive standards of living for the Global South's population, through the practices of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), and the United Nations (UN).

In its endeavour to illustrate its thesis this paper relies on the works of TWAIL scholars such as Orford, Okafor, Fidler, and Mutua. It furthermore utilizes examples of previous military interventions such as those in Rwanda and Yugoslavia in the 1990s to illustrate how the contemporary limitations of international law manifest themselves. The paper is especially indebted to Orford's article entitled "Locating the International" in which the author offers a sophisticated analysis of military intervention and provides the perspectives and arguments of both pro-interventionists and those who oppose military intervention. Additionally, Orford presents an immensely useful case study of the military intervention in Yugoslavia in the early 1990s as a response to the civil war and genocide unfolding there between 1992 and 1995, assessing what factors—domestic and international—may have caused them. On the other hand, Okafor's article entitled "Is There a Legitimacy Deficit in the International Legal Scholarship and Practices?" also proved immensely useful as it provided the research of this paper with valuable analysis on the history and efficacy of military intervention in the Global South. Okafor additionally utilizes concepts and terms such as "legitimacy deficit," the "Southern psyche," and "voluntary compliance" to international law in order to illustrate what he identifies as the limitations of

contemporary international law, arming this paper with terminology and concepts that help to efficiently communicate relevant issues.

Following the end of World War II, it seemed as though humanity had finally learned its lesson regarding the true costs of war as the world made strenuous efforts to ensure that such a catastrophe might never happen again. During this period a number of international institutions were formed[3] for the purposes of international peace and co-operation, human rights, and nation building, to name but a few. For example the Charter of the United Nations (1945) expresses its determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, … to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, … in the equal rights … of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice … can be maintained" (preamble, para. 1-4). Most importantly, citizens and leaders had faith in these institutions' abilities to provide human rights and democracy, for they were deemed impartial and benevolent (Orford, 1997, p. 477), having been created for the sole purpose of assisting states when in need. Okafor (1997) argues that it is the very faith in these institutions that gives them legitimacy (p. 93).

Nonetheless, scholars have scrutinized these institutions, arguing that they have previously been taken for granted as not enough research has been conducted towards their contribution to the very instability and humanitarian crises that they purport to prevent or to alleviate. However, this trend has changed as an increasing number of concerns have been expressed over international institutions' impact on popular sovereignty, substantive democracy, and human rights (Orford, 1997, p. 464). Okafor (1997) argues, therefore, that because of the current errors present in the international system that enable the injustice and inequality to continue, the entire system lacks legitimacy (pp. 101-103). Legitimacy is imperative for the future of international law, insofar as the survival of the international system and its institutions and rules depend on it (Okafor, 1997, p. 94). Thus, TWAIL scholars propose the revision of the current international system to incorporate anti-hierarchal, post-hegemonic, and pluralistic practices that promote true equality and embrace the diversity of the multiple nation-states.

Yet, in the post-Cold War period, as liberal democracy emerged the victor and "the end of history" was posited (Fukuyama, 1989, p. 4), changes in the international system were imposed in the name of liberal democracy. Meanwhile, modernization theory foretold of a linear political, social, and economic developmental process of the largely "backwards" and "traditional" South to, eventually, a governance system akin to a Western liberal democracy. Having "won" the Cold War, ideologies and processes supported by the Western democracies, such as neoliberal ideals on economic development, governance, and human rights, were increasingly asserted as the standard against which states' performances were measured, and the violation of which could provide grounds for intervention (Orford, 1997, pp. 450, 480-482). After the Cold War there was

renewed enthusiasm in Washington for the U.S. to play a leading role in promoting human rights and democracy in the Global South, advancing what President George H. W. Bush envisaged as the "new world order" (Meredith, 2005, p. 475). At the same time the Global South's role in the international decision-making process was declining as the Global North was no longer ideologically divided, enabling it to promote a more unified and homogenous approach to international relations, as opposed to the hitherto competition for allies in the newly decolonized world between the world's two Super Powers (Fidler, 2003, p. 49). It therefore comes as no surprise that the UN Security Council expanded its mandate after the Cold War, now regarding failure to guarantee democracy—specifically liberal democracy—and human rights as a threat to both domestic and international peace (Orford, 1997, p. 450). This view, regardless of the "1970 UN's General Assembly declaration on friendly relations—which promotes non-intervention and awards states the inalienable right to choose their economic, political, social and cultural system" (Fidler, 2003, p. 39)—justified intervention in the face of religious fundamentalism, local dictators, and other related international humanitarian crises. Orford, in her assessment of the legitimacy of military intervention, explores the dichotomy of action vs. inaction. Orford considers the viewpoints of pro-interventionists who argue that while intervention may come with its own set of undesirable consequences and may challenge the core concept of democracy, non-intervention carries an even greater risk insofar as it can, according to pro-interventionists considered in Orford's paper, "render the international community and the UN to the same fate as the League of Nations" (Orford, 1997, p. 447-448). Moreover, Fernando R. Tesón goes as far as suggesting "anti-intervention not only rewards tyrants but it betrays the purposes of the very international order they claim to protect … [for] states have a moral imperative to act collectively to intervene in such situations using force if necessary" (Tesón, 1996, p. 342; cited in Orford, 1997, pp. 448-450). The dichotomy of action vs. inaction has created considerable ambiguity in the debate over intervention as even non-interventionists feel that by opposing such measures, they are opposing the only realistic method of ending humanitarian crises. This, Orford (1997) argues, stems from the assumption that the threat to peace comes mainly from the "local level" (p. 444), thus justifying the collective security system in the name of restoring peace, stability, and human rights to the deviant states. These assumptions have led to a range of consequences in the conduct of international law such as the expansion of the roles of international institutions, the narrow and neoliberal interpretation of democracy and human rights, and the continual under-representation of the views of ordinary people in political affairs—especially the "Southern psyche"—as the opinions of "experts" and technocrats are what is valued and predominantly relied upon (Okafor, 1997, p. 101).

While pro-interventionists hailed these developments, TWAIL scholars conveyed significant doubts, pointing instead to the various consequences to which increased intervention would lead. For example, TWAIL scholars argue that pro-interventionists fail to provide details on what sort of democracy and human rights policies military intervention will advance (Orford, 1997, p. 461), and that only the broad ideals of liberal democracy and human rights are offered as an explanation. Mutua (2001) discusses the irony inherent in a noble, yet broad, concept such as human rights, questioning how the preamble of the UN Charter can demand universal adherence to "fundamental human rights" and recognition of the "dignity and worth of the human person" when a universal consensus on what these phrases entail is lacking (p. 206). Hence, as a result of pro-interventionists' narrow and vague application of democracy and human rights, current forms of intervention are accused of advancing political and civil rights at the cost of marginalizing social, economic, and cultural rights (Orford, 1997, pp. 460-463). One cannot help but to wonder what the use of political rights is if individuals are not awarded their social rights to education and thus cannot utilize their political rights critically.

With regard to increased military intervention, scholars point to the "merely rhetorical nature" of the UN Security Council's commitment to democracy and human rights (Orford, 1997, p. 447). This is evident through various points in history. Take Rwanda for example: between the mid-1960s up until 1991, this relatively small African country enjoyed substantial political stability, economic development, and generous foreign aid. However, local tension began to mount in 1991 as politicians and authority figures manipulated the ethnic tension in existence between the two major tribes—Hutu and Tutsi—that was borne out of the country's brutal colonial past with Belgium (Meredith, 2005, pp. 157-61, 486). In summary, the UN's commitment to democracy and human rights was tested by the Rwandan genocide and failed to measure up to its discourse. The UN, for the most part, stood idly by and ignored ample warnings and evidence of genocide in efforts to avoid another Somali "Black Hawk Down" fiasco, while over 800,000 civilians were murdered in a span of 100 days—the quickest "mass killing in recorded history" (Meredith, 2005, pp. 500-518, 523). This resulted largely because of the limited mandate and resources authorized by the Security Council for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and because the international community was largely unwilling to cooperate with the UN. For instance, UNAMIR had virtually no intelligence-gathering capacity, but, in the months leading up to the genocide, some Western diplomats that were stationed in Kigali were aware of the tension between the major ethnic groups in Rwanda and the potential for this tension to erupt in mass murder, and yet chose not to share this intelligence with UNAMIR. According to Meredith (2005) "A CIA analysis in January 1994 predicting that the Arusha Accords would fail, leading to hostilities in which half a

million people would die, was not passed on until after the genocide was over" (p. 503).

If the debate over action vs. inaction were to be applied here, advocating on behalf of inaction would mean closing off the only possible avenue of ending the genocide; however, the Rwandan genocide reveals that advocating for action did not do much to end the crisis either, as it was the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)—mainly composed of exiled Rwandans—that closed in on the *genocidaires* and worked to bring this horrific crisis to an end (Meredith, 2005, p. 517, 522). Although there were UN attempts at negotiation, they proved to be largely unsuccessful. This is not to dismiss the contribution made by previous military interventions towards maintaining international peace, but rather to examine the topic from an alternate perspective. Thus, Okafor (1997) warns that the incoherent and selective application of international law carries significant implications for the future of the international system insofar as it contributes to what he has branded the "legitimacy deficit" (p. 96).

Legitimacy is the factor that awards international rules and practices their viability, and leads to "voluntary compliance" (Okafor, 1997, p. 93) because "those addressed believe that the rule or institution has come into being and operates in accordance with generally accepted principles of *right process"* (Okafor, 1997, p. 95), without which power politics would be the only viable alternative. Okafor (1997) illustrates how this legitimacy is largely lacking in what he terms the "Southern psyche"—which refers to the "intensely negative reaction of the [Global South's population] to the existence of a descriptive institutional selectivity in the international system, and the consequences that this negative reaction may have on the … viability of international action" (p. 102). Okafor rejects the descriptive approach to legitimacy arguing that it accepts the apparent majority as conclusive of legitimacy, leading to the illusion of harmony between the external index of belief, and the internal index of belief, which can vary substantially (Okafor, 1997, p. 94). This leads to the under-representation of the Southern psyche in international decision-making. In his view, the "Black Hawk Down" fiasco took place in Somalia because of a legitimacy deficit in the Southern psyche. The article links this theory to colonial practices, stating that the legitimacy deficit in the Southern psyche finds its root in colonialism, for not only was the natives' homeland exploited for resources for the colonizer, but colonialism robbed the native of his/her political, social, and economic right to self-determination under the guise of "the white man's burden"—ostensibly for the ultimate good of the natives (Okafor, 1997, pp. 102-105). After decolonization, the Global South's population had, for the first time, real prospects for self-determination, which carried with them the expectations of claiming its uniquely independent spot in the international community, thereby redeeming its dignity (Fanon, 1961, p. 78). Consequently, the Global North's continual involvement in the internal affairs of

the Global South's sovereign states following decolonization is regarded with suspicion by the Southern psyche, even when justified under humanitarian assistance, for the reason that history compels them to be critical of the interventionists' intentions.

Another concern TWAIL scholars have expressed with regard to military intervention is the expanded role of International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and Orford offers a detailed account of a case study on Yugoslavia's genocide to illustrate this point. While acknowledging that there are domestic causes to the genocide, Orford's (1997) case study provides unique insight into how IFIs such as the IMF and WB can contribute to the humanitarian crises that they purport to solve (pp. 452-453), for their conditional development loan programs pressure local governments to apply unpopular policy reforms,[4] which disproportionately burden the poor and the disenfranchised—in efforts to gain access to international monetary assistance. While these reforms were presented by the institutions as economic in nature, they carried political implications which then led to the reshaping of Yugoslav politics and constitutional reforms. Some of these include, but are not limited to, the shift from a "de-centralized to a re-centralized government and national bank," "destruction of the system of worker participation in decision-making," and removal of "procedural protections against large-scale unemployment and cutting public expenditure" (Orford, 1997, p. 454). When the proposed Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) reforms failed to produce the desired results, they created insecurity and social instability, thereby challenging the legitimacy of the Yugoslav government to the extent that the united Yugoslav community, in the sense of Anderson's "imagined community," was replaced with fervent ethnic nationalism (Orford, 1997, p. 457). The state lost legitimacy because pressure from IFIs for access to loans forced it to implement policies that challenged its ability to provide "economic or administrative support," forcing civilians to look for it elsewhere (Orford, 1997, p. 457). According to Okafor (1997), the extent to which a rule is obeyed determines its legitimacy and "the greater the number of [individuals] the rule attracts to voluntary compliance, the more legitimate the rule" (p. 96). Hence, evidence of the Yugoslav governments challenged legitimacy was found in mass demonstrations and ethnic tensions developing by the late 1980s (Orford, 1997, p. 457).

Yet another concern resulting from the expanded role of IFIs is caused by the apparent U.S. domination of these institutions. Perkins, in his revealing book *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, discusses the United States' tendency to support tyrants and local dictators, provided that the particular tyrant is sympathetic to American interests. It is common knowledge that Saudi Arabia, by far one of the most fundamentally religious and undemocratic states in the world, is one of the U.S.'s main allies in the Middle East. In exchange for securing American interests, especially in terms of guaranteeing "to maintain oil supply" at prices that remain

"acceptable," the U.S. awards special treatment to the house of Saud in the international arena (Perkins, 2004, pp. 89-90, 96-98). For instance, even though the royal family openly funds organizations that can easily be identified as terrorist groups, the U.S. conveniently turns a blind eye to that fact, and its domination of the Security Council and the UN in general permits the U.S. to apply pressure on other states to extend the same courtesy to its allies (Perkins, 2004, pp. 96-98, 183). Additionally, U.S. domination of the UN Security Council is evident in what is widely viewed as its illegal declaration of war on Iraq. Even though the U.S. pursued the war in direct opposition to the UN, it suffered no significant consequence as a result (Ricks, 2006, pp. 60-61).

This addresses one of the main points of focus in TWAIL research interests, which is that international practices and institutions are a hierarchal system manipulated, willy-nilly, by the Global North to maintain its hegemony over the Global South at a very dear cost to the Global South's inhabitants. Under the current system, the strong do what they can while the weak suffer what they must. For instance, during the Rwandan genocide, France was unwilling to look past its friendship with Habyarimana's Hutu regime and its interest in preserving its influence in "la Francophonie Africaine"[5] (Meredith, 2005, pp. 493, 519). For this reason, even after it was established that the Rwandan government was executing an ethnic cleansing campaign, France continued supporting this rogue government going as far as evacuating leading members of the genocidal regime to France and offering financial assistance all in the name of Rwandan war victim relief (Meredith, 2005, pp. 509-510). Similarly, Perkins (2004) explains the irony of the war in Iraq given that Saddam Hussein, initially trained by the CIA, was put into power by the U.S. to promote its interests in the region since General Kassem was proving to be difficult to appease (pp. 182-184). Thus, the U.S. assumed that once one of its trained personnel assumed power, it would have another important ally in the region, similar to Saudi Arabia, thereby guaranteeing the much-needed "continued oil supply" (Perkins, 2004, p. 183). As it became increasingly apparent that this was not the order in which events would unravel, the U.S. quickly switched its policy towards Saddam Hussein's regime. It was not the fact that Saddam was a brutal and bloody dictator, "that he had the blood of mass murders on his hands," writes Perkins, but rather his betrayal of the U.S. in securing its interests in the region when it comes to Iraq's generous oil and fresh water supplies that led to Saddam's demise (Perkins, 2004, pp. 183-184).

Mutua (2000), with regard to the apparent neutrality of the international system, argues that there is no such thing. He explains that after World War II, Bretton Woods institutions and the UN were set up to ensure the continuation of the unequal North-South relations (pp. 31, 34). To elaborate, Mutua (2000) points to the structure of the UN: if the organization is neutral and impartial, the dominance of the Security Council over the General Assembly and features such as the

council's veto power "make a mockery" out of the notion of equality and justice in the international system (p. 34). This critique is espoused by other theorists such as Fanon (1961), who argues that there is a "tiny role reserved for the third world," while the Security Council holds the veto and thus a disproportionately powerful tool through which to enforce global events (pp. 77-78). Furthermore, Article 24 of the UN charter (1945) confers "primary responsibility" to the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security and urges the Council, in carrying out its duty, to act on behalf of and in the best interests of the states concerned (para. 83). This is naïve, to say the least, as one would expect the Security Council, when exercising its power, to secure its members' interests first even though they might go against international peace and security. This practice not only fails to ensure that the Security Council act on behalf of the state concerned, but also effectively handicaps the state concerned from taking any meaningful action in its own interests with the same weight as the Security Council's.

Okafor (1997), on the topic of equality in the international arena, discusses the role—or lack thereof—occupied by the majority of the Global South's population. He argues that the majority of the Global South's population has been excluded from international decision-making leading to serious consequences in the legitimacy of the entire system (p. 101). The Southern psyche has become increasingly important over the years as the policies and practices of international institutions predominantly address the states in the South and thus affect the daily lives of the Global South's populations (Okafor, 1997, pp. 105-106). For instance, policy reforms that result from the application of the SAPs have been known to affect wage levels, education and health policies, and food prices (Orford, 1997, pp. 466-468). The IFIs employ economic experts to assess the situation of a particular state and where "procedures and practices fall short of best international practices," the IMF applies its "technical assistance program" carried out by experts and technocrats; the local population, for the most part, is largely excluded from the decision-making process (International Monetary Fund news brief, 1997, para. 17) to foster economic development in their own nation-states. While it is acknowledged that local elites have some role in the decision-making process of their states, scholars such as Fanon (1961) and Okafor (1997) are critical of the role played by these elites in promoting the interest of the average Global South citizen, arguing that they are "comprador elites" who advance Western interests and resemble a sort of neo-colonial puppet (Fanon, p. 118; Okafor, p. 103). Furthermore, after largely ignoring the Southern psyche in the decision-making process, if the policies implemented should prove to be unsuccessful, it is this initially excluded and disadvantaged group of people that has to bear the cost of the mistakes. To advance legitimacy in the international arena, Okafor (1997) cites Thomas M. Franck's (1988) four components that have to be present for a rule to become legitimate or viable: determinacy, symbolic validation, coherence, and

adherence (Franck, p. 712; cited in Okafor, pp. 95-96). However, scholars argue that this does not resolve the issue at hand since what is important is not that these components foster legitimacy, but rather to find out what it is about these components that leads to the voluntary compliance of rules (Okafor, 1997, p. 97).

Finally, typical of TWAIL scholars, both Okafor and Orford, in their respective articles, propose the rethinking of current international practices. The authors argue in the same vein as Fidler (2003) that the current international system has its roots in the Westphalian Civilization and colonial practices, which has asserted European norms as universally accepted (p. 56). This has led to a narrow approach in international relations, promoting neoliberal ideals of human rights and democracy at the cost of undermining the credibility of unique domestic practices. Orford (1997) advocates pluralism and unity in diversity as she calls for the recognition of the diverse development, governance, and human-rights approaches available in the Global South (p. 467). One does not need to follow a single strict path to development but can rather adopt an approach uniquely suited to its conditions and circumstances. However, Orford's article fails to provide what sort of pluralism, or "unity in diversity," to advance, or how to advance it. One idea that has been proposed for quite some time now amongst scholars of international relations and politicians alike—and which would likely destabilize the current international order—is the rearranging of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Although this is not a new concept, if this should occur, one cannot help but wonder if the Global South would be presented with a better opportunity to address its concerns in the international arena, or if the new members would succumb to the same temptations of the current permanent members of the Council. Perhaps a more appropriate question would be: do the current limitations of the UN stem from who belongs permanently in the Security Council or is the problem a systemic one? But on a simpler note, Orford (1997) proposes the close monitoring of the international institutions and the assessment of their actions advanced under the guise of promoting the Global South's interests (p. 484), which in itself is a flawed notion insofar as it carries the colonial connotation of assisting in governance those who cannot govern themselves. Finally, while Orford (1997) ends with stating "measures other than increased military intervention are demanded of the international community in the name of humanitarian action, post-cold war era" (p. 485), Okafor (1997) emphasizes the importance of incorporating the Southern psyche in the current theories of legitimacy (p. 101). He argues that this is imperative as legitimacy "will enlighten international policies and strengthen the hands of the machinery of enforcement contributing to international peace and co-operation" (Okafor, 1997, p. 106).

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[1] As exemplified by "Operation Unified Response" when in 2010, the U.S. sent troops to Haiti in response to the earthquake, or the present deployment of troops by the United States, United Kingdom, and France to parts of West Africa that are facing a recent outbreak of the Ebola virus.

[2] As was the case when the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 under the pretense of eliminating a threat to its national security by neutralizing Saddam Hussein's Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), while at the same time facilitating the creation of a democratic government for Iraqis.

[3] Such as the aforementioned IMF, WB, and UN.

[4] Such as shrinking the social safety nets, liberalizing trade, eliminating or lowering tariffs, privatization, and so on; in other words Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)

[5] Franco-African family.

SHAAN MUTHADA POTAYYA

Climate Change in Ontario

Assessment, efficiency of green policies, and optimal environmental stability

Ontario possesses the technological and financial resources to address climate change. Yet, the Province has been unable to formulate coherent policies to significantly reduce emissions and adopt an environmentally friendly approach to this issue. This paper analyzes the response of the government to climate change and the barriers preventing efficient policy implementation in Ontario. The analysis draws from journal articles, governmental publications, and independent reports. It examines the effectiveness of public authorities to implement environmental policy. More precisely, this research points out the relationship that the Government of Ontario has developed with environmental issues. This essay reveals the challenges relating to policy implementation, for poor or mixed results have been achieved. This difficulty in achieving clear results is not a problem of policy implementation, but rather one of political will and accountability. The research highlights a persistent conflict between short-term and long-term goals. To address climate change efficiently, our current mode of governance needs to be reformed. This paper closes with a proposed solution to the current precarious state of climate change policy implementation in Ontario through a new method of environmental stewardship.

INTRODUCTION

Climate change has arisen as a consequence of the unfettered production and consumption of resources. Climate change is a threat to societies, economies, and the environment as a whole. Through the emissions of greenhouse gases (GHG)—namely carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, and methane—capitalist production has increased the concentration of these gases in the atmosphere, contributing to present and future rises in global temperatures. In 1992, the international community discussed the effects and impacts of climate change, as well as potential solutions. The conference, held in Kyoto, Japan, resulted in the Kyoto Protocol, in which signatory governments committed to reduce their GHG

emissions between 2008 and 2012, to levels below those recorded in 1990 (United Nations [UN], 1998, p. 3).

Ontario will be affected by climate change insofar as temperatures are expected to rise between 2.5°C and 3.7°C by 2050, and disturb ecosystems (Ontario Ministry of the Environment, [OMOE], 2011, p. 10). Ontario possesses the technological and financial resources to position itself as a leader in the effort to combat climate change, yet the province has been unable to formulate coherent policies to reduce significantly emissions and to implement an environmentally friendly approach towards accumulating wealth.

This paper analyzes the institutional response to climate change and the barriers preventing efficient policy implementation in Ontario; the implications and opportunities that climate change presents for the province; and the effectiveness of the policies already implemented by public authorities. More precisely, this research aims, through the example of climate change, to understand the relationship that the government of Ontario has developed with environmental issues. This paper will close with a proposed solution to the current precarious state of climate change policy implementation in Ontario through a new method of environmental stewardship.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND ONTARIO

Sources of greenhouse gases in Ontario

The increase of anthropogenic emissions in the past fifty years has accelerated global warming (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2007, p. 72). In 2011, Ontario was the second largest GHG emitter in Canada after Alberta (Environment Canada, 2013, p. 11).

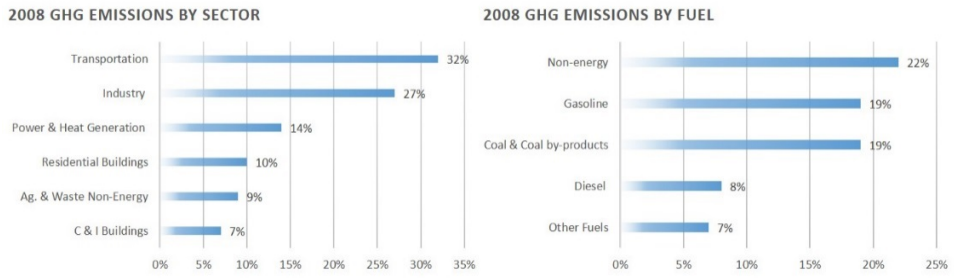

Figure 1. 2008 Emissions by sector and by fuel as per the Ontario Ministry of the Environment (2009).

The OMOE reports the share of GHG emissions through a "by Sector" and a "by Fuel" method illustrated in Figure 1 (2009, p. 42). The "by Sector" approach reports the GHG contribution of 6 economic sectors—industry, electricity and heat,

residential, agriculture, transportation, and commercial and institutional buildings—in total emissions. The "by Fuel" approach analyzes the fossil and non-fossil fuel sources of GHG in Ontario. In 2008, more than 75% of GHG emissions resulted from the use of natural gas, refined petroleum, and coal (OMOE, 2009, p. 42). Between 1990 and 2008, the transportation sector was the largest GHG-generating sector with 33% of total emissions (OMOE, 2009, p. 42). As a result of dependence on fuels producing GHGs, the emissions of the province rose by 8% between 1990 and 2008 (OMOE, 2009, p. 43).

Economic opportunities of green growth

Decreasing GHG emissions represents an opportunity to shift from unfettered capitalist production to greening our economic activities by "fostering economic growth and development, while ensuring that natural assets continue to provide the resources and environmental services on which our well-being relies" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2011, p. 4). Green growth offers benefits to Ontario through increased productivity, opportunities for innovation, new markets, and enhanced investor confidence to revitalize the economy. For instance, green building may correspond to a 30% decrease of GHG emissions by 2020, while energy efficiency retrofits may yield 13 to 16 jobs for each $1 million increase of the production of goods and services (Blue Green Canada [BGC], 2012, p. 3). The expansion of energy-efficient low-carbon transportation would raise employment by as much as 10%, boosting the local automotive industry while helping the economy as a whole by tackling congestion costs amounting to between $3 and $5 billion per year (BGC, 2012, p. 4).

Fighting climate change is a virtuous cycle: implementing policies to reduce GHG emissions would bring greater efficiency and competitiveness to the economy, which would positively impact the preservation of the environment. As the environment is protected, society benefits, which would lead to greater economic activity and as a result every other aspect of society and the environment affected by the economy.

Poor public management costs to the economy, society, and the environment

Current public management that promotes increasing GHG emissions leads to heavy economic costs. Consequently, adaptation and mitigation costs will have to match the impact of the increasing levels of emissions and the growing effects of climate change. A cost between $1 and $7.4 billion is likely in Ontario, as timber resources diminish due to drought and fire caused by climate change. In the forest industry alone, losses are expected to amount to $75 billion by 2080 (National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy [NRTEE], 2011, pp. 53-54). The current practices, propagating the release of GHGs, are, consequently, contributing to Ontario's impoverishment.

Continued GHG emissions have negative impacts on society as policies do not absorb the negative externalities resulting from our current practices. A warmer climate will ease the propagation of diseases, such as Lyme disease or Malaria, as insects migrate to the warming northern climates (Berrang-Ford, MacLean, Gyorkos, Ford, & Ogden, 2009). Climate change, if it is not addressed in an effective manner, will severely affect our ecosystems, disturbing wildlife habitats as temperature increases. Prolonged growing seasons, warmer winters, and extreme weather conditions will become frequent as wildlife habitats are disturbed (OMOE, 2011, pp. 10-16). Given this, it is difficult to understand why the Ontario government is failing to find a proper solution to such a pressing issue. This points to the inertia of the system and highlights factors behind receding attention to climate change.

Global warming is both a problem and a set of untapped opportunities to be unlocked by public authorities. Climate change calls for the introduction of innovative ways of pursuing economic growth and formulating policy.

GREEN POLICIES IN ONTARIO

Ontario's previous government, headed by Dalton McGuinty, implemented policies to ease the shift from current economic practices towards a greener path. Some of these policies are analyzed in the following section.

Recent measures introduced by the Ontario government

By introducing its Green Energy and Economy Act of 2009, the Ontario Ministry of Energy encouraged the development of renewable energies and the green economy. To reduce GHG emissions and adapt to climate change, Ontario set three targets: 6% below 1990 levels by 2014, 15% below 1990 levels by 2020, and 80% below 1990 levels by 2050 (NRTEE, 2012, p. 149). The OMOE established five strategies to reach these emission levels, as reported by Foon and Dale (2014):

1. Phasing out coal-fired power plants and supporting more renewable energy
2. Creating a culture of conservation
3. Creating a cap-and-trade system for industry
4. Giving provincial sales tax breaks for energy-efficient products
5. Introducing programs and incentives for consumers, businesses, and municipalities to go green.

The province adopted new practices to fight GHG emissions, conserve energy, and alleviate their resulting negative impacts by investing $150 million in green energy programs, tax rebates, and exemptions. At the same time, the dependence on renewable energy will be doubled by 2025 (OMOE, 2007a, p. 21).

The OMOE claims that its efforts to reduce GHG emissions confirm the government's new "realization" of the severity of climate change in Ontario; however, the success of these policies relies on proper implementation. In the next sections, the government's action is evaluated by analyzing the results of environmental policy in Ontario.

Results of policies

The introduction of the Green Energy and Economy Act brought 30 green energy companies to Ontario, reinforcing economic dynamism with business creation and 13,000 additional jobs (BGC, 2012, p. 2). Emissions from the production of electricity were predicted to decrease by 85% between 2003 and 2014 as the province phased out its use of coal (OMOE, 2007b, p. 4). In 2009, Ontario reduced its emissions by over 6% (a positive signal in the context of the Kyoto Protocol, especially in light of the federal government's withdrawal from the agreement), thereby reaching its stated goal for 2014 five years early (NRTEE, 2012, p. 149). Positive results were achieved.

While the government made tremendous strides in managing its contribution to climate change, the policies implemented display serious weaknesses.

Barriers and limitations of policies

In 2009, emissions shrank due to the economic recession that slowed industrial activity in Ontario but are expected to rise as nuclear power is replaced by natural gas (Environmental Commissioner of Ontario [ECO], 2011, p. 5). The Climate Change Action Plan (2009-2010) reports that the 2014 and 2020 targets will not be achieved, while the ECO is of the opinion that the tools to ease the transition towards the green economy are lacking (2011, p. 5).

The policies of the government do not allow for a proper assessment of each sector emitting GHGs as governmental segment-specific objectives are not required (ECO, 2011, p. 4). Defined sectorial goals are necessary as they allow for better monitoring and evaluation of the government's actions and ensure the greening of activity in all economic divisions (ECO, 2011, p. 4). Ministries are not expected to work together towards greening the economy—the main factor that allowed meeting the 2014 target in 2009 results mainly from the closure of coal-fired power plants. The non-imposition of sector targets points to an unclear governmental strategy regarding the issue of climate change.

The measures taken to reduce GHG emissions have not provided effective results; the province had not proposed any new strategies by 2011 to achieve the 2020 targets (ECO, 2011, p. 5). The government has failed to implement its own policies and has not been held accountable for showing lack of consistency in its actions.

Market barriers add to inefficient policies. Consumers do not have easy access to information on the energy market: 59% of energy consumers believe that they have insufficient information to consume electricity efficiently (Ontario Clean Air Alliance, [OCAA], 2011, p. 6). The presence of energy subsidies creates uneconomical conditions in the market: Ontario's expensive fossil and nuclear energy are subsidized, which adds pressure to the Province's finances. As a result of cheaper access to electricity, the development of green energies throughout Ontario is delayed (OCAA, 2011, p. 6). Excessive electricity usage is encouraged while consumers generate inflated and non-taxable GHG emissions (OCAA, 2011, p. 6). These policies do not encourage consumers to change habits that have a clear negative environmental, social, and economic impact.

Most importantly, several ministries failed to comply with the Environmental Bill of Rights (EBR) (ECO, 2012, p. 9). The Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Natural Resources, the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, and the Ministry of Transportation all neglected to abide by the EBR during the 2011-2012 reporting year: the public's right to provide its contribution on amendments pertaining to environmental laws was ignored (ECO, 2012, p. 10). The EBR was created to bring greater transparency and accountability from the government and to enable public participation in the decision-making process (ECO, 2012, p. 15). Currently, the Ministry of Infrastructure, the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, and the Ministry of Education—whose actions often have environmental impacts—are not prescribed under the EBR, adding to the inconsistency relating to the Government's implementation of policies (ECO, 2012, p. 15).

PROPOSED CASE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

The apathy of Ontario's governments over several decades to address climate change leads one to question the viability of the policies introduced and their commitment to resolving this issue. The numerous barriers to addressing the rising levels of GHG emissions call for an alternative approach to climate change policy implementation. This section introduces a proposed model, advocating the independence of environmental policy benefiting from the model of central banks.

Advantages of independent institutions: the case of the Central Bank

Central banks with greater independence from governments enforce efficient monetary policy (Fisher, 1995, p. 201). Goal independence allows the central bank to set its own policy goals, while instrument independence enables the bank to monitor monetary policy through instruments giving it the authority to determine interest rates and freedom from financing public budget deficit (Fisher, 1995, p. 202). Through independence, political pressures affecting monetary policy such as the inflationary bias—the increase of the general price level due to the rising

volume of money and credit relative to available goods and services—are prevented (Fisher, 1995, p. 205).

Mishkin and Serletis highlight the fact that a politician's main goal is to win elections. Politicians may not understand the importance of long-term targets, such as supporting the price level or preventing GHG emissions. They look for short-term answers to society's present problems, such as unemployment or purchasing power and do not usually take into consideration that policies designed to satisfy short-term aims may have long-term consequences. For example, a politician could support an inflationary monetary policy and its negative effects to be re-elected. These policies negatively impact the economy in the long run by propagating unemployment and price instability. Hence, an independent central bank can easily pursue unpopular policies on a political level that are good for the society's long-term interest (Mishkin & Serletis, 2010, p. 339).

In the context of climate change, the involvement of politicians in power, and to a larger extent governments, in the environmental portfolio remains weak. This discontinuity in interest between the economy and the environment is revealed by politicians giving priority to short-term goals to the detriment of the long-term goals required by the environment, society, and economy that survive them. Similarly, environmental challenges stand beyond the scope of politics. To be tackled in an effective manner, environmental issues should be managed by an independent institution that will ensure that the long-term goal of finding a balance between the preservation of the environment, society, and the economy is achieved.

Ontario governments and eco-centrism

This section juxtaposes the action of several governments with that of an independent environmental institution.

Most Ontario governments' approaches to environmental issues have been human-centred. The governments' efforts have conventionally favoured economic expansion—believed to ensure the well-being of the society they administered. Since 1945 and more so after 1985, governments have adopted a facilitative /managerial role of environmental issues: to be implemented, environmental policies have had to satisfy economic growth and development concerns through traditional sectors, such as natural resource extraction or industrialization. Environmental policies have become applicable depending on their level of political significance to leaders and society (Winfield, 2012, p. 190). The Progressive Conservative governments of Frost, Robarts, Davis, and the Liberal McGuinty governments searched for a balance between environmental issues and traditional economic development, causing tensions between these two pillars, which yielded mixed results (Winfield, 2012, p. 190). The McGuinty government in particular failed to achieve its long-term vision of finding a balance between society, economy, and environment (Winfield, 2012, p. 194). It displayed

confusion in adopting the Green Energy and Economy Act, while leaving nuclear energy at the heart of energy production (Winfield, 2012, p. 181).

Analyzing the strategy of the McGuinty government and previous governments—their relationship with the environment, the economy, and society—points to an incoherent understanding of these three pillars: externalities are analyzed in a "compartmentalized manner" (Giddings, Hopwood, & O'Brien, 2002, p. 189). For instance, externalities such as GHG emissions, health problems, intensified environmental catastrophes, are costs relating to economic development which are not accounted for when assessing the real value created for society and the environment. These externalities are evidence of the existence of trade-offs between the three pillars of sustainability—building the case for strong interdependence. It is clear that to achieve economic growth, economic activity is only possible based on heavy reliance on resources made available by both the environment and society. Human interactions encourage economic activity within our society contained within the environment, while the economy is part of the environment and society on which it remains dependent (Giddings et al., 2002, p. 191).

To operate the shift towards the green economy, our society needs an independent institution to reposition the government's action. This independent institution would ensure the balance between economic growth and social and environmental stability. The implementation of bold policies will contribute to establishing a new model of growth building its foundation on sustainable policies for greater efficiency.

CONCLUSION

It is undeniable that Ontario is affected by climate change, which, as a result of GHG emissions, negatively impacts the three pillars of sustainability. Climate change, however, provides the opportunity to shift towards green growth.

Measures have been taken to address climate change in Ontario. Although results have been achieved, policies have not proven sufficient to bring down GHG emissions. Environmental challenges demonstrate a poor commitment towards the implementation of environmental policies, and hence confirm the weaknesses of our mode of governance in achieving balance between the three pillars. Several barriers hindering policy implementation have been noted, including those posed by the markets, politics, and a lack of accountability, transparency, and consistency in action.

Governments, right and left, have not been able to address the implications of climate change efficiently. The failure of Ontarian governments to reduce GHG emissions forces us to analyze the divergence between short-term and long-term interests. The barriers identified herein make clear a conflict of interest between

economic growth and environmental conservation, between biased and short-sighted agents and the long-term goals needed to ensure environmental prosperity.

Giving an independent status to environmental policy would inhibit conflicts of interest and ensure an efficient implementation of policy to bring greater balance between the economy, the environment, and society. The long-term goals required for guaranteeing environmental stability, societal well-being, and economic health would be ensured. An independent institution would provide assurances of unbiased policy formulation. This institution's action would monitor policy formulation, not just relating to the environment, but of the government's actions as a whole. The scope of this paper does not allow proposing a fully developed study of this case; however, this could be a seed for future research.

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Abstracts

Résumés

The following abstracts accompanied posters presented at the first annual multidisciplinary Undergraduate Research Fair held at York University (Toronto, Canada) in February 2013. The poster images can be viewed by clicking on the abstract titles or by visiting the Revue YOUR Review *website:*

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Ces résumés accompagnent les affiches qui ont été présentées lors de la première foire annuelle de recherche pluridisciplinaire des étudiants de premier cycle de l'Université York (Toronto, Canada), qui a eu lieu en février 2013. Pour voir les affiches, veuillez cliquer sur le titre du résumé ou bien visiter le site Web de la Revue YOUR Review *:*

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SARAH ARIAI

The Influence of Sexual Orientation and Fear on Women's Mobility in the Built Urban Environment at Night

Women are frequent targets of violence in the night-time city. This can cause a fear of night and of urban space and can also affect mobility: women may avoid spaces perceived to be dangerous and may be drawn to other spaces thought to be safe. This fear can also impact individuals on a behavioural level, such as changing one's appearance in order to seem less attractive in an attempt to avoid being a target of violence. This case study explores the issue of urban violence by asking the following question: does sexual orientation influence women's spatial mobility, motivated by fear, in the built urban environment at night? Research was carried out in downtown Toronto, a city with a prosperous night-time economy and well-known issues of safety. A sample of ten women, five straight and five gay, were selected, with as much homogeneity among respondents as possible in terms of ethnicity, age, social class, area of residence, familiarity with the built environment, and primary method of transportation, in order to identify the influence of sexual identity and fear on mobility. The study reveals a variety of types and sources of fear, mobility patterns, and coping mechanisms among respondents, and suggests that a masculine built urban environment does not address women's needs. Lesbian women are an intriguing, and often overlooked, group to study as they are the victims of much hate crime. In addition to fearing rape by a male figure, they also carry the burden of fear of homophobic crime.

MADALYN BAVARO

Female Youth in Prostitution

The violence, the law, and the solution?

The purpose of this paper is to examine female youth prostitution and outline the abuse young prostitutes suffer throughout North America. I review the various ways in which young female prostitutes experience violence, and refer to current scholarly literature to address the following questions: What theoretical frameworks apply to female youth prostitution? How does prostitution affect young women and girls? To what extent has the law been successful in reducing the violence associated with prostitution? What societal or structural changes need to take place in order to eradicate female youth prostitution? What strategies for change have been employed thus far? This paper summarizes key information about female youth prostitution and why it continues to pervade North American society, and offers insights into what must occur in order for youth prostitution to be eliminated.

JEREMY BONHAM

The Jesuit Mission among the Huron

How were they successful?

When the European colonization of North America began, Christian missionaries were among the first groups to travel to the New World with the intention of converting the indigenous populations. Christianity is often viewed as an aggressive affront to indigenous customs and religions during the colonization period. However, the Jesuit mission among the Huron became one of the most successful missions of the time, and their success was due, in large part, to their method of presenting the Gospel within the framework of Huron customs. Based on an analysis of primary and secondary sources, I suggest that there are reasons on both the Jesuit and the Huron sides that explain this apparent spiritual success. The Jesuits' skill in communicating with the Huron, their willingness to live among them and learn their customs, as well as their compassion for them all contributed to the success of the Jesuit mission. The Hurons, for their part, were particularly open to the teachings the Jesuits imparted. This relationship suggests that, although Christianity was certainly a large part of colonization, not all Christian missionary groups condemned local cultures and customs, but sometimes presented Christianity within the local cultural framework.

EMILY CHICORLI

Victorians Abroad

Travellers, tourists, adventurers

Scholars studying British history agree that travel was made more accessible in the nineteenth century and travel by train is held to be one of the main reasons for the increased numbers of British travellers, both locally and internationally. However, I argue that it was not just the rise of the railway system that encouraged Britons to travel. Indeed, I believe curiosity about travel embedded itself in Victorian culture through literature, advertisements, and adventure stories. Using extensive online archival resources, I critically examine primary sources that discuss, or are relevant to, travel in the nineteenth century. Through an analysis of newspaper articles, journal entries, and travel handbooks and guidebooks, I show how the abundant resources available during the mid to late nineteenth century awakened in Victorians a wanderlust for travel, and helped Britain to become recognized as a nation of travellers.

JENNIFER FERRARA

A Comparison of "Dude" with "Man" in Spoken Discourse

How does the discourse patterning of two French-speaking twins in interaction with their mother evolve over a period of four years, as they grow up in the context of English-speaking Toronto? This paper describes the current phase of an ongoing research project on speech analysis, led by Professors J. Benson and W. Greaves (York University, Glendon College) and carried out by the Systemic Functional Linguistics Research Group, of which I am a member. The purpose is to study the interaction among languages or language varieties. In this phase of the project, we catalogue the video tapes of the twins speaking, which constitute our primary data, and transform them into a linguistic corpus by transcribing them in alignment with sound files, using the speech analysis tool PRAAT, a freeware program for analyzing acoustics. The next phase will consist of analyzing the twins' speech using the systemic functional linguistic network developed by Eggins and Slade (1997) and the computer program Corpus Tool, developed by Michael O'Donnell. At this interim phase of the research project, conclusions are not yet available.

DWAYNE GARDENER

Coriolanus, Friendship, and Politics

The Shakespearean play Coriolanus *is based on the real-life Roman leader Caius Marcius, who leads his troops to victory against the Volscian city of Corioles. Using Shakespeare's tragedy as the primary source for my analysis, I argue that the poem recited by the Volcan general Tullus Aufidius (4.5. 1473-74), Coriolanus's rival, reflects the essential characteristics of friendship as defined in the classical world. In this text, friendship, a key element in politics, is connected to the theme of sponsorship. To analyze the theme of friendship in this play, I researched scholarly resources related to both classical and contemporary perspectives of friendship. I conclude that Aufidius's speech connotes friendship through flattery, frankness, and virtuous conduct.*

ELANA HAIER

The Sanctioning of Rape Myths

Problematizing sexual assault

In this paper, I explore the complexities associated with sexual assault in Canadian law and society by analyzing significant or sensationalized sexual assault cases, including: the leading Supreme Court of Canada case R v Ewanchuk (1999) on sexual assault and implied consent; the murder trial of British Columbia serial killer Robert Picton (2003); and assaults occurring on the campus of York University (Toronto). The concept of Implied consent is central to the assumptions underpinning many rape myths that blame victims for the violent actions of perpetrators (e.g., a woman who is deemed to be dressed inappropriately is held to be responsible, in some way, for her own assault). I situate my arguments within feminist socio-legal studies and contend that rape myths unduly sanction discrimination against victims. Hegemonic masculinity, which is based on a mythical norm, emerges as problematic in (re)constructing sexual violence. Hegemonic femininity also engages in a process of "othering," which locates specific women as more "rapable" than others. Moreover, these gendered constructions are heightened by and interconnected with race and class inequalities. The use of sexual assault litigation as a tool for justice is debatable, at best, given the issue of reasonable doubt in criminal law and the re-traumatization of victims. Both Canadian law and society can be implicated in the problems associated with the trying of sexual assault cases, problems which cannot be adequately addressed without a deeper, contextualized analysis of discrimination as well as further activism.

DANIEL JEANNETOT

Why Is Germany Threatening the European Union?

Germany's 2011 decision to close its nuclear stations and phase out nuclear power in the country triggered joy, as well as upset, among activists and politicians worldwide, especially those in Europe. Though driven by domestic political interests, the decision nonetheless holds multiple consequences for the European Union (EU). In this study, I propose that phasing out nuclear power in Germany will have three important repercussions: Germany's neighbours will experience additional pressure because sources of renewable energies are not yet fully in place; levels of CO_2 and greenhouse gas emissions will increase; and the European Union will become even more dependent on its energy suppliers, notably Russia. I suspect that this decision was made without collaboration with other European nations. Germany's phase-out of nuclear power represents either an opportunity for the European Union to reform or poses a threat to the stability of its divided membership.

PATRICIA KI

Briefing Notes

The prevalence of mental health issues in children and youth involved with Child Welfare Services in Ontario

This paper examines the prevalence of mental health issues among children and youth served by child welfare services in Ontario and reviews academic literature, agency reports, and newspaper articles on the topic. The prevalence of mental health issues among young people involved with child welfare services is due not only to individual and family difficulties, but also to structural issues within the service sectors. Statistics illustrate a severe lack of accessible and timely services in both the child welfare and the children's mental health sectors. Inadequate access to services for young people involved in the child welfare system is considered in relation to neoliberal policy development, social stigma, the Children and Family Services Act, and the experiences reported by families and service providers. Involvement with child welfare agencies, mental health, and structural factors such as poverty, racism, and income inequality, are interrelated. Because these factors have been linked to child maltreatment, providing timely mental health services for children and families involved in the child welfare system is especially important.

MADELEINE LAVIN

The Ethics of Honey Production in Canada

A political-ecological analysis

This research paper presents a critique of conventional honey production methods used in Canada by examining the ways in which these practices contribute to four problems related to honey bee health and four considerations related to the economic well-being of beekeepers. Using a political-ecological approach rooted in agricultural ethics, three methods of ecological honey production—Canadian Organic Standard, Local Food Plus Honey Protocol, and Demeter Biodynamic Standards—are compared against the conventional methods in a comparative analysis related to honey bee health and beekeeper economic considerations. Using the framework for transitioning to sustainable agriculture developed by Hill and MacRae (1995), the ecological production methods are ranked according to the three stages of production outlined in the framework: efficiency, substitution, and redesign. The paper concludes with a discussion of redesign approaches and explores the potential for improvement in addressing the particularities of ecological honey production in the Canadian context.

POE LIBERADO

Long Road to Freedom

An investigation into the sexual and gender discrimination of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) minority asylum seekers in seeking refugee status in Canada

This study investigates the sexual and gender discrimination experienced by sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) asylum seekers in claiming refugee status in Canada. The author conducts a literature review of critiques of the refugee determination process in Canada, and reviews reports from service providers helping SOGI asylum seekers in Toronto. Historically, Canada has demonstrated an understanding that is ahead of the curve for LGBTQI refugees; however, much has changed under the current Conservative Government, led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Changes to the refugee determination system through the passing of Bill C-31 (2012) have made the situation for SOGI refugees particularly precarious. The designation of so-called "safe" countries of origin, as outlined in Bill C-31, shortens the time allotted to submit an application for asylum, making it more difficult to gather and prepare the documentation required for a successful case. The author pays particular attention to South Africa, as it is considered to be Africa's gay haven. As a gender-queer person of colour pursuing hir Bachelor of Social Work at York University, the author describes the unique needs of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, and intersexed (LGBTQI) refugee claimants. This study demonstrates the need for efficient and effective social services to meet the needs of SOGI claimants, needs that will surely increase due to changes to Canada's Immigration and Refugee Act incurred with the passing of Bill C-31.

KATHERINE MUNRO

A Lasting Riot

Controversy and Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*

The Rite of Spring *has consistently been depicted as an epoch-making piece of music and is often described as the most influential musical work of the twentieth century. No mention of the piece is complete without drawing attention to its scandalous premiere as a ballet in Paris on May 29, 1913, which ended in a riot. The work continues to be controversial in a variety of ways today. Academics disagree on several fronts: was the controversy surrounding the original performance due to the choreography rather than the music? How quickly did the audience response change from derision to congratulation? Does the* Rite of Spring *really break from the past or does it demonstrate significant continuity with other compositions? Does the work respect theories of composition and can it be analyzed theoretically? And, intriguingly, is Stravinsky's* Rite of Spring *an amoral work that celebrates inhumanity? Answers to these questions are proposed, based on the analysis of reviews of the early performances, as well as on academic writing about the work over several decades. The questions are further related to a review of a performance of the work in Toronto (2012). While the* Rite of Spring *may have a lessened ability to shock modern audiences, its vitality and controversial nature remain as dramatic as ever.*

NICOLE PERCIVAL

Road Kill at the Leslie Street Spit

Assessing the road mortality patterns in Toronto's urban wilderness

The presence of roads is a necessary component of urban life, but the manner in which the urban road network affects the surrounding natural environment—and, more specifically, the urban wildlife—is not often considered. The danger posed to wildlife in urban environments by means of vehicle-related fatalities is prevalent, even in areas of urban wilderness such as the Leslie Street Spit (the Spit) in Toronto, Ontario. The rate at which some species are killed on urban roads can be catastrophic to the population and possibly lead to extirpation. The goal of this study is to identify patterns of road mortality and, ultimately, to contribute data for effective mitigation strategies to reduce the instances of road kill at the Spit. The study area was divided into four sections and, from May to August 2011, the location and species of road kill found were recorded and mapped. The total count of road mortalities was 96, with snakes accounting for 71%, followed by birds (18%), amphibians (7%), and mammals (4%). The two sections of the study area with the highest vehicle traffic accounted for the majority (61%) of road mortalities. Temporal differences by taxonomic group were observed; for example, the mortality of snakes peaked in June, and that of birds in July and August. Overall, the results show that snakes are disproportionately affected by the presence of vehicles on the roads at Toronto's Leslie Street Spit and that the areas of increased traffic are also areas of increased mortality for the wildlife in this urban wilderness area.

JOSÉ LUIS TORRES

Indigenous Rights

A Mapuche's right to land

The Mapuche are South American indigenous people in what is now part of Argentina and Chile. Since colonial independence, the Mapuche have struggled for the right to land. This essay chronicles the rise and evolution of a particular organization within the Mapuche social movement. In the Chilean context, years of frustration from dealing with the Chilean government has led to the creation of more radical Mapuche indigenous social movements such as the Coordinadora de Comunidades Mapuche en Conflicto Arauco (CAM), which adopts a more aggressive approach than previous indigenous movements. The CAM provides a new perspective on the authorized Indian versus insurrectionary Indian dynamic and challenges the concept of neoliberal multiculturalism. It views the Chilean government as trespassers on Mapuche territory. Yet the rise of the CAM has also resulted in the re-introduction of the infamous (Pinochet style) Terrorist Law and the militarization of the southern region by the Chilean government. To research this paper, I gathered extensive data on Mapuche organizations in Argentina and Chile and on Chile's CAM organization from books on indigenous movements, journal and newspaper articles in English and in Spanish, the CAM organization's various websites, and news sources pertaining to the CAM and recent events in Chile.

JENNISHA WILSON

Racism and Discrimination

The manifestation and cycle of inequalities and their role in the increasing rates of HIV and AIDS in Toronto's Jane-Finch neighbourhood

Socio-political and economic factors such as poverty, unemployment, and poor health status have played a crucial role in increasing the rate of HIV/AIDS within the Afro-Black and Caribbean (ABC) community in Toronto, Canada. More importantly, these factors stem from a perpetual cycle of systemic and institutional marginalization rooted in a colonial legacy of racial oppression. In this paper, I argue that these processes of marginalization highlight and reinforce ties to colonialism that continue to reify the normalization of whiteness as the dominant ideology in Canada. I suggest that, despite resistance to racial oppression, such practices persist as a mechanism to protect and justify white privilege within Canadian society.

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