# Phenomena

## The Queen's Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

*Phenomena* is a peer reviewed journal published semi-annually. Our mandate is to provide a venue for the publication of outstanding undergraduate writing. Submissions are accepted in the fall and winter of each year. For more information about submissions, please contact the Editor-in-Chief at phenomena.queensu@gmail.com.

Are you interested in volunteering for Phenomena? Do you have questions or comments about this year's fall edition? Please contact us at phenomena.queensu@gmail.com.

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# CONTENTS

## MEET THE TEAM
THE TEAM BEHIND PHENOMENA /P1

## ESSAYS
TOP SUBMISSIONS FROM QUEEN'S SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS

From injustice to environmental issues, Queen's students cover it all!/ p04

## SPOTLIGHT
DAVID MURAKAMI WOOD

Extracts from a Research Diary, Tokyo, 2019 /p50

## SOCIOLOGY BANTER
IMPARTING WISDOM

A collection of comments from sociology students/ p54

# Meet The Team

*Introducing the Team behind Phenomena*

**Helen Kosc**
**Program:** 4th year Sociology Major, Psychology Minor, and Certificate in Business
**Interests:** Currently studying the growing role of advanced information and communication technology, I am intrigued by the effects they have on the individual consumer's privacy. For future PhD research I hope to examine how consumers navigate this new technological world. Particularly, how the motivations that are innate to the human psyche – our desire for affiliation and need for connection – leave us ill-equipped for the world that faces us.

**Samantha Heller**
**Program:** 4th Year Sociology Major with a Certificate in Business
**Interests:** The main focus of my Sociology interest is around consumer culture and the ways in which social behaviours greatly influence purchasing decisions. Today's consumer culture has undergone a significant transformation. In hopes of pursuing a career in marketing after graduation, I believe that understanding modern culture and how it influences the customer buying process is essential for my future aspirations.

**Lauren Konikoff**
**Program:** 4th Year Sociology and Health Studies Medial
**interests:** I am most interested in the field of Sociology of Health. More specifically, I am interested in health inequalities and how to adapt environments or policies to ensure that health outcomes are positive for all, regardless of any social inequalities experienced. In the future, I hope to pursue academia, and study how the health care system in prisons can be adapted to ensure positive health outcomes in the prison setting.

# Meet The Team

*Introducing the Team behind Phenomena*

**Varya Genkin**
**Program:** 4th Year Sociology Major, Psychology Minor
**Interests:** My primary fields of interest in sociology relate to the cultivation of consumerism/consumer culture and the ethics associated with advancing technology. In the future, I'm hoping to apply this knowledge in the realm of marketing and entrepreneurship. I'm interested in combining ethics and business to create something that can grow, while remaining sustainable.

**Marlee Konikoff**
**Program:** 4th Year Sociology and Health Studies Medial
**Interests:** I am interested in how social inequalities and marginalization affect health outcomes. In the future, I hope to pursue research with the goal of filling gaps in knowledge surrounding inequality and health in different environments, such as post-secondary institutions. I hope that this research can be applied to structure institutions and institutional practice in ways that promote equality and health.

**Madelyn Costanzo**
**Program:** 4th Year Sociology Major and Religious Studies Minor
**Interests:** My interests in sociology are constantly expanding but I'm really interested in consumerism & the effects that advertising has on one's sense of self. My interest in sociology of the body has grown, and I'm enjoying learning more about how the body can act as a site of reproduction of cultural values. In the future, I hope to embark on a career in education. I know that having a sociology background will allow me to engage in teaching through a multi-faceted approach.

# Editor's Note

## Dear Reader,

*Phenomena* began as a simple idea. Back in the early months of 2019, it was just a proposal to provide a student-run venue for the publication of outstanding undergraduate writing in Sociology. As a fourth year Sociology major, I have long sought a platform through which I could share my ideas and offer my perspective in the name of academic discourse and discussion.

This year marks the official launch of Queen's University's first-ever Undergraduate Journal of Sociology. In honour of this very special milestone, I am thrilled to introduce the inaugural issue of Phenomena. Published on a biannual basis, our journal is designed to celebrate you — the incredible minds of Queen's University.

After promotion via social media and with the help of Professors allowing us to address their lectures, the journal received an overwhelming amount of submissions for our first issue. Many students devoted their time and talent to the works they submitted to the journal, and we had so many exceptional submissions to choose from. In the end, we selected those pieces that best reflected our aim as a journal: showcasing a diversity of opinions through exemplary undergraduate papers written by sociology students.

Contributing to the journal affords students an invaluable opportunity to have their work published early in their academic careers. As well, it serves as a great medium for students of all years and faculties to read about the research and ideas of Queen's Sociology students — a very talented group of students who are probably itching for a chance for their opinions and ideas to be heard!

I owe so much of Phenomena's success to the support I have received from both the Sociology Department as well as the Phenomena Team. It was the support of the Department Heads: Dr. Kay, Dr. Burfoot, and Ms. Schuler, who really allowed the project to get off the ground. As well, my phenomenal team of Editors and Content Curators: Maddie Constanzo, Varya Genkin, Lauren Konikoff and Marlee Konikoff, as well as Samantha Heller, Director of Digital Design, for turning the vision into a reality! Finally, thank you to you, the readers and contributors, for celebrating exceptional academic thought.

I am confident that Phenomena will continue to serve as a platform for academic discourse and innovative thinking for years to come.

I hope you enjoy reading this as much as I did. If you would like to contribute to future issues, please check out **queenssociologyjournal.com**

HELEN KOSC
**Founder & Editor-in-Chief**

# Challenges to and Opportunities for Aboriginal Justice; Comparative Analysis of Australian and Canadian Legal Systems

The Criminal Justice System (CJS) is an integral, dynamic and highly controversial part of society. Controversies within the system reflect socio-cultural implications and considerations. Society must assess how effectively the system addresses challenges within, such as issues with fairness and equality and more importantly, how it fails to address them. The choices made within the CJS vary because of discretion, "the power or right to act according to one's judgment," yet despite this being a core value of the system, Indigenous overrepresentation within the CJS is manifested globally (Griffiths 2008:8). In Australia, the rates of Aboriginal incarceration have increased 45% since 2008 and researchers have affirmed that this is not due to higher crime rates but stems from the impacts of colonization, which includes structural inequality, racism, and dilapidation of communities (Russel and Cunnen 2018). All of these factors conjoin to trigger the overrepresentation of Indigenous criminalization.

Many criminologists have scrutinized traditional Western systems, concluding that incarceration is not successful with Indigenous populations and although this is widely acknowledged, there is yet to be a profound change in contemporary Western systems (McGlade 2010:9). Given the evidence, the CJS must be reconceptualized to understand Indigenous diversity and reflect these cultural understandings across judicial sentencing. This essay will compare and contrast Australia's Aboriginal judicial systems with Canada's to argue the challenges within the CJS along with opportunities for alleviating Indigenous overrepresentation and victimization within the CJS. These strategies will point towards measures for both countries to achieve a more sustainable and successful approach when considering Indigenous populations. Moreover, this essay will conclude by exploring the implications of achieving these goals.

One of the core reasons why the CJS is ineffective is because there are too many goals, not all of which can be achieved by sentencing principles. There is a widely held misconception that the law is appropriate and saves people from crime. However, Western systems of governance are held to a threshold that is impossible to achieve. While rehabilitation and reintegration should be prioritized as methods for reducing recidivism (the likelihood of a perpetrator reoffending), these goals often come secondary to incapacitation, due to high-risk aversive societies (Myers 2018). Aboriginal populations are prone to marginalization due to systematic discrimination and biases within the justice system, which fail to address the historical, social, cultural, economic and political factors that contribute to the overrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples in the CJS.

Historically, Aboriginal peoples have a poor relationship with police, courts, juvenile detention, and prisons due to maltreatment within the system. Profiling and over-policing of Aboriginal reserves demonstrate how systemic biases are at the core of the CJS (Roberts & Grossman 2016:293). Poor education systems, intergenerational trauma, mental health issues, poverty, lack of resources and addiction are all factors that stem from dilapidated conditions in unstable communities4. These conditions spiral into social disorganization, acculturation, discrimination, and socio-structural deprivation, which provoke criminal responses in Indigenous offenders (Patenaude 1992:115). Accordingly, many people who have committed offences have been victimized themselves, demonstrating the self-perpetuating nature of childhood trauma and abuse. The complex and multifaceted needs of Aboriginal peoples create legal issues that lead to high levels of contact with the CJS, vindictive of minor social crimes. Poor government responses to these challenges lead to the higher surveillance, regulation, and over-incarceration of Aboriginal peoples.

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Furthermore, customary law recognizes the use of traditional punishment imposed with the consent of the person being punished such as spearing or torture which are used as forms of general deterrence (McGlade 2010:10).

Bush law attests to the importance of respecting the knowledge of traditional systems, increasing perceptions for how Aboriginal legal systems can fit within contemporary practices of law. Mutual understandings can help Aboriginal Australians, Torres Islanders peoples and First Nations Canadians to claim equality, justice, and human rights. The Aboriginal Justice Strategy aims to provide alternatives to the mainstream justice system in appropriate circumstances to increase the involvement of Aboriginal communities in the local administration of justice. Some efforts include the examination of aggravating and mitigating factors of case-law, to account for how history and background may have led the criminal to commit the offense they engaged in (Jeffries & Stenning 2014:460). This was further amended to examine the possibilities of individualized sentencing and case law for Aboriginal peoples (Jeffries & Stenning 2014: 460). Despite the rules of proportionality and uniformity in sentencing law, growing tolerance of Indigenous identity could decrease crime rates, victimization, and incarceration of Aboriginal peoples.

After the Truth and Reconciliation of Canada in 2015, a variety of changes have been implemented within the CJS to preserve Indigenous integrity within the criminal courts. To address issues of over-policing and profiling on reserves, the First Nations Policing Program has increased Indigenous representation within the police force in efforts to increase cultural understandings of these populations (Roberts & Grossman 2016:300). The court systems have been examined targeting the lack of diversity across juries and criminal justice personnel. A subsection of the Criminal Code S.718 .2 was amended, recognizing the problem of Indigenous over-incarceration. It stated, "All available sanctions other than imprisonment that are reasonable in the circumstances should be considered for all offenders, with particular attention to circumstances of Aboriginal offenders" (Myers 2018).

These provisions were implemented with the objective to use restraint and reserve custody for only the most serious offenders.

The provision of the Criminal Code S.718.2 referred to the case R v. Gladue, which directed sentencing judges to recognize the unique circumstances of Aboriginal peoples when imposing custody. The Gladue Courts introduced the idea of sentencing circles and community justice forums so that the conditions of the offender and how their actions affected their victims and the community could be accounted for (Roberts & Grossman 2016:306). These courts, now recognized as Canada's Aboriginal Healing Lodges, are one of the most successful paradigms for dealing with the diverse needs of Indigenous offenders. Self-identification of Aboriginality allow offenders to connect with their heritage and communities in these courts. Indigenous court workers help judges to understand the cases from a culturally sensitive perspective (Griffiths 2018:294). There is typically the presence of Aboriginal elders, cultural symbols such as the eagle's feather (opposed to the Bible) and ceremonial features such as sage burning to develop a holistic paradigm (Myers 2018). Finally, there are greater opportunities for the individual offender and their family to speak with the court, emphasizing the importance of circle sentencing (Jeffries & Stenning 2014:458). While these measures strive to achieve a sustainable and successful approach within the CJS, there is still a dramatic overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders.

Similar to Canada, Australia's justice system allows for cultural considerations, but the degree to which this is accounted for in criminal sentencing is unknown. According to the Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services Report, the rates of Indigenous incarceration have raised drastically over the past 25 years, causing a great deal of concern (Tubex 2018:265). In an interview, Devon 'Lucky' Napope reflects on his own criminal pathway arguing,

> I see a system designed to bring you back, designed for division amongst Aboriginal people and cultures. That environment which creates gangs, which creates more friendships within the dysfunctional lifestyle (Department of Justice Canada 2017).

WRITTEN BY RACHEL ALTER, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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Within the CJS, judges fail to recognize that Western ideologies cannot be synced with Indigenous knowledge as they struggle to find culturally appropriate sentences. They contradict each other in many ways, which illustrates that Western concepts of success may not be effective for Aboriginal communities when attempting to achieve goals such as recidivism (Roberts and Grossman 2016:303). The CJS fails to recognize diversity, cultural understanding and mutual respect that could aid the rehabilitation offenders, which perpetuates a cycle of recidivism and over-incarceration. An example of failure to recognize diversity within the mainstream CJS is language (Patenaude 1992:118). Oftentimes language is a cultural barrier that may challenge the offender's right to express their case, due to limited understanding, fear, reluctance to speak and disadvantage. In her article Response to Intimate Partner Violence, Elena Marchetti attests that this is due to the "monocultural nature of our legal system which is experienced by Indigenous defendants" (Marchetti 2015:88). Aboriginal offenders are likely to have spent the majority of their sentences in maximum security prisons, which provide minimal access to rehabilitative resources, counseling and welfare support within the prison (Griffiths 2018:328). Furthermore, Aboriginal offenders are less likely to be granted parole, or if they are, they are more likely than their non-Aboriginal counterparts to have parole revoked due to conditions that are impossible to comply with, such as gun restrictions. This condition is hard to comply with due to cultural hunting for food (Griffiths 2018:298).

The system is rooted in unequal justice and must take urgent measures to improve Indigenous treatment and incorporate cultural awareness. This could be achieved by increasing Indigenous participation in the CJS (Tubex 2018:281). An Australian Aboriginal justice study conducted by the British Journal of Criminology controlled for offender's responses to the sentencing process when examining intimate partner violence. The study concluded that the representation of Elders and community members provided moral and cultural guidelines that were absent from the Western contemporary CJS.

The presence of Elders was successful in creating an environment that used public shaming as an opportunity to transform the behaviors of Indigenous offenders. Additionally, community involvement fosters support for the offender, by treating them with respect and understanding their cases, which led to offender perceptions of appropriateness and fairness within the judicial system (Glade 2010:10). This case emphasizes how Western judiciaries might learn from Aboriginal customary law.

Aboriginal bush law explores the potential for collaboration between traditional Aboriginal law and the mainstream CJS. Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders, along with First Nations Canadians, have their own sets of systems, beliefs, and cultures that prevail post-colonization. In an interview with BBC, Billy Janpijinpa Lajamanu community elder reflects on the Warlpiri system stating that,

> When we start breaking their law they will start breaking our law too...but they don't get punished by our law and we are punished by their system...what is the difference here? They walk away free (BBC 2011).

This quote reflects disparities between Western and Aboriginal legal systems, which must be repaired in order to achieve a more sustainable system. When Aboriginal peoples are marginalized and victimized in their own communities, it is important to acknowledge their systems, in order to achieve a sense of cultural awareness (Shiosaki 2019). Traditional Aboriginal legal systems are structured around retribution, rehabilitation and community healing in response to crimes. Though different tribes have unique interpretations of these systems, overall goals strive to achieve victim and offender reconciliation using a holistic approach focusing on man's relationship to Country (McGlade 2010:9). An example of a traditional Aboriginal legal system is the Medicine Wheel, which links offenders to history, culture, spirituality and Dreamtime to incorporate physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual elements as reintegrative pieces of the healing journey (McGlade 2010:10).

WRITTEN BY RACHEL ALTER, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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The Australian Bureau of Statistics represents rates of Indigenous incarceration raising 45% since 2008, which proves that prisons in isolation do not reduce crime (McGlade 2010:10). Research has shown that incapacitation perpetuates cycles of poverty, inequality, and recidivism in Australia (Russel & Cunnen 2018). Influences such as removing offenders from their tribal clans, socializing them amongst other offenders, and the lack of job opportunities and rehabilitative programs in prisons set Aboriginal prisoners up to fail in the system (Crofts & Mitchell 2011:279). Furthermore, due to a punitive public, there is more of an emphasis on mandatory minimum sentencing rather than proportionality, which indicates that the sentence should fit the circumstances of the crime (Jefferies & Stenning 2014:460). The Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act was enacted in 2007 to intervene with the judiciaries, imposing regulations on judges to prohibit them from exercising discretion when accounting for customary law or cultural practice as a mitigating factor in the courts29. Finally, variance in legislation across states show discrepancies across sentencing laws, with some making greater efforts than others.

When conceptualizing avenues for future improvements, it is important to consider that, "this is not an arena of work conducive to political expediency, partisan games, cynical half-measures or rhetoric not backed up with action. This requires boldness, courage and a vigorous agenda for change from all of us" (The Canadian Press 2019). This demonstrates how as members of society we cannot stand idly as we wait for change to occur. Currently, both Canada and Australia struggle to incorporate Indigenous lifestyle and culture within the prison system. These structures need to change in order to decolonize the relationships between Indigenous peoples and CJS.

Research has provided evidence of some of the opportunities for alleviating Indigenous overrepresentation and victimization in the CJS. Firstly, cultural awareness training must be further developed and implemented for CJS personnel. s of Indigenous knowledge (Anthony 2015:51). This can be achieved by incorporating more Indigenous participation within the system by diversifying roles within the legislation.

Societies must move away from traditional 'crime and punishment' orientations and look towards a more holistic model that encompasses community healing and connection to Country, which are core principle.

Furthermore, implementing treaties between governments and Indigenous peoples creates opportunities and provides resources for community healing on Country (Patenaude 1992:128). One implication of this involves restructuring local education systems, family units, communities and rehabilitative programs for reserves. Governments could fund initiatives to alleviate alcoholism and drug addiction on reserves—or even work with families to understand domestic violence and aggravated assault and develop strategies to overcome these issues (Patenaude 1992:132). By restructuring communities, Indigenous peoples will have the resources to impose their own justice systems based on contemporary legal principles of the criminal code, with emphasis on cultural healing, accountability, and rehabilitation.

Restorative justice programs are vital to the success of decreasing the rates of reoffending for Indigenous prisoners. It has already been established that traditional incarceration is not successful at either rehabilitating or diverting people from the justice system, which is evident when looking at recidivism within Indigenous communities (Anthony 2015:51). Aboriginal healing lodges, circular healing, and community-based programs are all elements of restorative justice that aim to help offenders reconceptualize their behaviors and take accountability. Localized corrections would provide cultural guidance from Elders without removing Indigenous peoples from their clans (Patenaude 1992:128). Circle healing is one positive step towards achieving this goal because it focuses on victim-offender and community relations (Russel & Cunnen 2018). Currently, there is a lack of support and resources on reserve to achieve these goals. However, in conjunction with these other solutions, positive changes can be achieved.

WRITTEN BY RACHEL ALTER, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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Overall, it may be said that, in addition to each of these suggestions, what is most important are the structural changes that are needed in order to overcome adversity, inequality and socio-cultural biases. This is no small feat because Aboriginal peoples live within the context of historical settler colonialism, which has ultimately led to intergenerational trauma, poor parenting, addiction, and mental health issues which are all attributed to the effects of colonization, discrimination, and cultural genocide (Tubex 2018:273). These histories are unconsciously entrenched within some peoples' belief systems. The imposition of structural changes involves a long-term approach to change indoctrinated perspectives and involves great cooperation of the whole government, judiciary, and Aboriginal communities (Tubex 2018:285). This is challenging because the contemporary political climate works on a four-year rotation, filled with empty promises and half-finished short-term goals. These implications all point to how society must implement long-term, holistic strategies to address the underlying causes of community determinants of crime such as poverty, disorganization, and fear in order to create a sustainable and successful approach that encompasses Aboriginal customary law, tradition, and respect.

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# Educational Epidemic: A Study of the Academic Underachievement of Luso-Canadians

The term Lusophone refers to an individual who is either culturally, linguistically or historically linked to Portugal or one of the countries colonized by Portugal, including but not limited to, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Brazil, or Macao.

The Celebration of Portuguese Heritage Act, by the Provincial Government of Ontario states that, "The Portuguese Canadian community is a vibrant community in Ontario and continues to make many significant contributions to our society and to enrich it with its history, language, culture and work ethic"(DeFaria, 2001). While it is irrefutable that the Luso-Canadian community has played a substantial role in Canadian history, Luso-Canadians continue to be marginalized and institutionally oppressed within Canadian society. The Lusophone community across Canada has been subject to an epidemic with relation to youth academic attainment and subsequent communal issues resulting from this initial obstacle.

This paper will analyze the intergenerational 'academic epidemic' plaguing the Luso-Canadian community, and outline subsequent communal issues stemming from the low academic achievement within the community. Next, this paper will draw parallels between social-psychological theories that relate to the issue at hand in order to exemplify the causes, and finally discuss potential solutions to this dismal issue.

Luso-Canadian students make up the largest ethnic minority in the city of Toronto, and constitute approximately ten percent of all students in Toronto high schools (Nunes,1999). The majority of the research regarding low academic achievement across the Luso-Canadian community is based in Toronto, and more specifically the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). This is an important area to conduct this research in because Toronto holds the highest concentration of Luso-Canadians in all of Canada, and the TDSB holds the highest concentration of Luso-Canadian students in Toronto (Presley & Brown, 2011).

While similar trends have been noted in both Quebec and British Columbia, which hold the second and third highest concentration of Luso-Canadians, a study focusing mainly on trends in Toronto still encapsulates the majority of this population (Santos, 2006). It is for this reason, that the information accumulated by the TDSB and scholars studying academic trends in Toronto are exceedingly relevant and can be considered representative when studying the academic epidemic facing the Luso-Canadian community.

According to a study conducted by the TDSB in 2011, Luso-Canadian students are one of the highest 'at-risk' ethnicities academically (Presley & Brown, 2011). This 'at-risk' status is constituted by intergenerational patterns of higher drop out rates and at earlier ages than the national average, disproportionately high representation in remedial reading programs and special education programs, and unusually low numbers of students in post-secondary education (Nunes, 1999). Numerous scholars, as well as the TDSB, have compared Luso-Canadian post-secondary academic achievement to that of Indigenous Canadians, a group more widely known to be overwhelmingly marginalized in various sects of society (Presley & Brown, 2011). Luso-Canadians continue to be the minority group with the highest percentage of individuals with no higher than a primary school education, and only approximately 2-4% of individuals have been noted as receiving a university level education (Santos, 2006).

While it is irrefutable that the Luso-Canadian community has in the past, and continues to face an overwhelmingly high rate of academic underachievement, the cause of this issue and subsequent issues plaguing the community is still up for debate. There seem to be three major theories that attempt to identify the cause for these issues: parental influence, initial immigration patterns, and systematic streaming of Luso-Canadian students in Toronto.

WRITTEN BY CARLEY ALVES, *3RD YEAR SOCIOLOGY MAJOR*

# Continued...

The first potential reason for the widespread academic underachievement evident in the Luso-Canadian community is the perceived lack of parental support and/or involvement in their children's education (Santos, 2006). Because the academic attainment issue has been present for many consecutive generations, the parents of the affected children today were also subject to the same educational disadvantages in their own youth. Henrique Santos maintains that professionals in the academic community (such as teachers) assume that there is a lack parental support for their children's education in the Luso-Canadian community (2006). In actuality, the parental initiative displayed by Luso-Canadian parents is a direct result of the system that continues to affect their community so many years after their own academic experiences (Nunes, 2013).

If there is a lack of support from Lusophone parents for their children's academics, it is because it is unlikely that they received a high level of education themselves. Therefore, the Portuguese-Canadian community is lacking educated individuals that Lusophone students can relate to and be inspired and encouraged by (Santos, 2006). Bradley and Taylor (2004) found that there is a positive relationship between parental levels of education, parental occupation, household income, and subsequent parental involvement in their child's education. Their findings concluded that the likelihood is greater that a child will stay in school if their mother or father hold professional level occupations. Because Portuguese-Canadian parents statistically do not occupy professional level jobs, Portuguese-Canadian students are more at risk of dropping out than their non Luso-Canadian counterparts (Santos, 2006).

Furthermore, a number of studies which date back to the 1970's have found that Portuguese-Canadian parents do not discourage schooling or education for their children. Rather, because of the statistically low academic attainment evident across elders in the Luso-Canadian community within Toronto, parents do not have the resources to aid their children in their academic endeavors (Nunes, 2013). Aydemir et al. (2008) note that in immigrant communities which consist of more educated individuals, elders are able to "steer their children though the barriers they may face in broader society in a way that gives them an advantage."

In Luso-Canadian society, youth are not given this opportunity since the academic epidemic is intergenerational, and therefore there is a lack of educated individuals with the ability to steer their children in a direction that encourages education (Presley & Brown, 2011). Although parents have been widely blamed for a lack of interest in the academic underachievement displayed by their children, Fernando Nunes (2013) found that Luso-Canadians identify educational issues as being the most important issue their community faces. Proving therefore that there is no considerable lack of parental interest in their children's studies. Thus a misconception arises, which blames parents for the underachievement of their children academically, when parents are in fact, a product of the same disadvantaged system as their children. This shows that the cause of academic underachievement among Luso-Canadian youth, while directly influenced by their parents, is not necessarily the fault of the parents, but rather the fault of other disadvantaging forces.

The second of the common theories used to explain the cause of the academic epidemic plaguing Luso-Canadian students is the systematic streaming of Luso-Canadian students into academic paths that are proven less likely to promote success (Nunes, 2013). Santos (2006) identifies that the initial provincial policy piece regarding Luso-Canadian lack of educational attainment focused on the TDSB and the Toronto Catholic District School Board (TCDSB). The policy concluded that the education system present in Toronto should itself be held accountable for the academic underachievement that is so prevalent in the Luso-Canadian community.

The 1994 Ontario Royal Commission on Learning showed that Luso-Canadian students were more heavily encouraged to attend schools which statistically showed less opportunity for future university level education (Nunes, 2013). Similarly, in 1991, an earlier Royal Commission on Learning contested that schools in areas with higher immigrant populations are, "putting students into narrow streams from which they have little chance of escaping" (Nunes, 2013). Interestingly, the same groups of people that were blaming parental involvement for their children's academic underachievement were working within themselves to limit the opportunities of Luso-Canadian students systematically.

WRITTEN BY CARLEY ALVES, *3RD YEAR SOCIOLOGY MAJOR*

## *Continued...*

Studies have shown a disproportionate presence of Luso-Canadian students attending technical, commercial or vocational secondary schools, all of which are schools traditionally not geared towards a university level post secondary education, and in many cases, any post-secondary education at all (Nunes, 2013). The Toronto Portuguese Parents Association (TPPA), upon realizing this disturbing trend, mobilized, and confronted the TDSB for, "devaluing Luso-Canadian students and their culture" (Nunes, 2013). They fought actively against practices such as ability grouping, streaming, culturally based assessment procedures, [and] cultural irrelevancy in the curriculum" (Nunes, 2013). Again, proving that while Luso-Canadian parents do play a role in the academic underachievement evident across Luso-Canadian youth, the larger, more influential issue arises from the school systems themselves, and their systematic oppression of Luso-Canadian students intergenerationally. Also, Luso-Canadian parents do in fact care about the detrimental effects of the failing educational system their children are a part of, evident by their communal mobility in attempting to solve the issue.

The third theory outlining the causes of the academic epidemic Luso-Canadians have been faced with for decades is the original migratory patterns of Portuguese Canadians during the first wave of Portuguese immigration to Canada (Santos, 2006). This theory can not be conclusive and overarching of all Luso-Canadians suffering from academic disadvantage because it only refers to Portuguese-Canadians (and not immigrants of Portuguese colonies aswell) and it only refers to families whose Canadian immigration began between the 1950's and 1960's. Nonetheless, this theory does work to exemplify key characteristics notable in a large portion of Luso-Canadians.

Melo (1997) notes that many first generation Portuguese immigrants during the earlier waves of immigration did not intend to stay permanently in Canada, but rather to simply come to Canada, make money and eventually move back home to Portugal. Furthermore, Nunes (2004) found that the majority of immigrants coming from Portugal to Canada at this time were "disproportionately from the poorest and most disadvantaged regions in continental Portugal and the Azores Islands."

During the first major wave of immigration, Portugal was ruled by a dictator names Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. One of Salazar's major policies was making schooling highly inaccessible past the fourth grade, in an attempt to promote manual labour to help the Portuguese economy flourish (Santos, 2006). As a result of the socio-economic status of the initial Portuguese immigrants to Canada, paired with the imbedded notion to prioritize labour over academic achievement, and the fact that Portuguese immigrants did not expect to plant long term roots in Canada, Portuguese immigrants would traditionally refrain from integration into Canadian society. As a result, they would underachieve economically, socially, politically and academically. This trend commenced with the initial immigrants and is still a common characteristic pertaining to Luso-Canadians today.

Early influences in a person's life prove to be a prominent determinant of said person's accomplishments later in life. As previously mentioned, Luso-Canadian individuals who were subject to the wide-spread community academic underachievement did grow up to ultimately underachieve in later sects of life such as the economy, socially, and politically. Santos (2006) maintains that Luso-Canadians continue to be underrepresented in both the political and economic sects of Canadian society.

Furthermore, it is important to examine not only the causes of this epidemic, but also, the reasons why these disturbing trends continue, and are yet to be ratified. Nunes (2013) maintains that this issue has persisted among so many generations of Luso-Canadians because of a lack of data related to the topic, as well as unsatisfactory research methods. Early studies conducted by the Toronto Board of Education did not cross-tabulate academic performance statistics with ethnicity information, only race information (Nunes, 2013). Because the Portuguese-Canadian community is not distinguishable from other ethnicities by race, there was no common factor between these individuals to notice a trend of low academic achievement. The same holds true for survey questions that inquire about a person's ethnicity or if they are a racial minority. Because Portuguese people are western European, and predominantly white, they do not fit into a 'visible minority group', and their statistical information has gone unnoticed.

WRITTEN BY CARLEY ALVES, *3RD YEAR SOCIOLOGY MAJOR*

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Furthermore, other Luso-Canadians that come from one of the numerous Portuguese colonized countries that are based out of Africa, South America, or Asia, would be classified into such groups and contribute solely to the statistics pertaining to other ethnicities in those areas. Thus allowing the Luso-Canadian academic epidemic to slip through the cracks for generations and continue to disadvantage youth intergenerationally.

According to a 2005 report, the children of Luso-Canadian immigrants (irrelevant of their generation) had nearly doubled the education levels of their fathers. Despite having achieved a substantially higher level of education comparably, the cohort of students studied failed to exceed their parent's socioeconomic roles (Presley & Brown, 2011).

On average, members of the Luso-Canadian community earn less income than the average income evident across non-Luso-Canadian society, with approximately 23% of Portuguese Canadians living below the national poverty line (Santos, 2006). Luso-Canadians also continue to be grossly overrepresented in working class occupations, which typically earn less monetary capital than other more professional level jobs, where Luso-Canadians are extremely under represented. The economic issues facing Luso-Canadians can be seen in one of two ways; one, they are a result of an educational institution that has failed to meet their cultural needs, and two, they continue to perpetuate the aforementioned academic underachievement because of the influence low parental economic success has on the educational attainment of their children. This vicious cycle is not only plaguing the Luso-Canadian community, but also working to continually stifle the success of a community whose individuals hold so much potential.

Luso-Canadians are also highly underrepresented in the Canadian political sphere. An unfortunate truth, as this would potentially enable the community to mobilize more effectively and create meaningful change within their community. Again this issue is a repercussion of the aforementioned 'vicious cycle' (Santos, 2006).

A number of social psychological theories can potentially be employed when studying the academic epidemic and the social consequences that the Luso-Canadian community has been faced with since the primary wave of immigration in the mid 1950's.

For the purpose of this paper, I will discuss how 'networks' and 'social capital' are related to the societal issues of the Luso-Canadian community, outline the lack of agency evident within the community, how 'doing difference' enforces the continuity of this matter, and the roles that both 'racial socialization' and 'unconscious' and 'institutional racism' play in the lives of Luso-Canadians that are affected by this unfortunate truth. Furthermore, I will outline that by taking a symbolic interactionist approach when studying patterns of academic underachievement within the Luso-Canadian community, sociologists can likely understand the issue in greater depth and reach a cumulative understanding for a potential solution.

Social networks "refer to sets of relationships among individuals and groups" whereby the individual builds connection that either advantage or disadvantage them in society (Rohall et al., 2014). Our actions and performance in society are a direct result of the social networks we construct throughout our lives (Rohall et al., 2014). Therefore, the poor academic performance evident in the Luso-Canadian community intergenerationally is indicative of the social spheres, or social networks that Luso-Canadians are a part of. Since the majority Luso-Canadians either underachieve in school, and/or occupy blue-collar jobs void of the political or economic sectors, these trends are reproduced in the younger generations seeing as these are the social networks they are connected to. The social capital available to Luso-Canadian youth within their cultural community encourages the continuity of poor performance in the academic, economic, political and social spheres of Canadian society (Rohall et al., 2014). Because individuals draw on their social networks to attain social capital, and the social capital available across the majority of the Luso-Canadian community is indicative of trends of underachievement, Luso-Canadian youth is proven to intergenerationally struggle to succeed to the same extent as their non-Luso counterparts.

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'Doing difference' is defined in Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives as being, "any way in which inequality linked to any form (race, class, or gender) is perpetuated during our interaction as people are held accountable to the social categories they are a part of" (Rohall et al., 2014). This theory is relevant in explaining the social epidemic within the Luso-Canadian community because of the intergenerational effects that low academic performance has had on subsequent generations of Luso-Canadian students. Students from this demographic are being linked to academic underachievement within their social interactions. With ethnic assumptions regarding the academic ability of Luso-Canadian students, students are further encouraged to continue to underachieve in not only their academic but also in economics and politics (Rohall et al., 2014; Nunes, 2013; Santos, 2006). In other words, stereotypes are internalized and result in youth emulating the expectations of society.

Luso-Canadian students are subject to racial socialization, as with many ethnic groups, and racial socialization is not necessarily detrimental. It refers to learning about ones own ethnic and/or racial identity (Rohall et al,. 2014). Families often pass their cultural heritage onto their children through ethnic pride, history, or traditions, and while this is a beneficial part of belonging to a cultural mosaic such as Canada, where a number of cultures reside, the experience may be different for families pertaining to ethnic minorities (Rohall et al., 2014). Minority parents are also expected to prepare their children for cultural biases they may face because of their ethnicities (Rohall et al., 2014).

A number of Luso-Canadian families have shown an interest in sharing their culture with their children, however the celebration of said culture is tainted because of the disconnect evident across the Luso-Canadian youth community (Rohall et al., 2014). Youth identified a division between their heritage and their successfulness as individuals (Presley & Brown, 2011). Luso-Canadian youth are defined by bicultural or pluralistic life patterns which results from a bi-socialization process, involving the internal, being the family and the Luso community, and the external, being traditional Canadian society (Presley & Brown, 2011).

At different points in a youths' life, Presley and Brown maintain that both the internal and the external take on different degrees of meaning and importance in their life (2011). A "strong ethnic identity is associated with greater psychological well-being," therefore meaning that this divide and disconnect from the Luso-Canadian community is ultimately harmful to the individual, and a solution to the unfair choice Luso-Canadian students have to make must be identified (Rohall et al., 2014).

Institutional racism refers to when a minority group lacks the same access to services or opportunities allotted to other groups or other members (Rohall et al., 2014). The Bogardus Scale of Social Distance, developed by psychologist Emory Bogardus, is ultimately a 'racism test' aimed at measuring the willingness of individuals to socialize with varying groups of individuals. The scale, which measures from one to seven (one being "would marry" and seven being "would bar from entering my country") with various levels in between. Based on the evidence accumulated for the purpose of this study, if the Bogardus Scale were to be adapted to study ethnic prejudices again Luso-Canadians, the Toronto Board of Education would arguably score a five indicating that they "would have [Luso-Canadians] as a speaking acquaintance only" (Rohall et al., 2014). This is arguable because of the Toronto Board of Education's acts of segregating Luso-Canadian students by streaming them to subpar schools, and ultimately hindering Luso-Canadian children from reaping the full benefits that a public education in Toronto has to offer (Nunes, 2013).

Finally, the Luso-Canadian community lacks a high degree of agency, which could partially explain the continuity of exploitation. Agency is "our ability to act and think independently from constraints imposed by social conditions" (Rohall et al., 2014). In the case of Luso-Canadian underachievement, the social conditions that restrict the ability to act and think independently would be prejudice stereotypes that restrict Luso-Canadian students' performance in academic settings. "Children learn the use of agency from their parents" and "the ability to employ agency can vary across people of different social categories" (Rohall et al., 2014).

WRITTEN BY CARLEY ALVES, *3RD YEAR SOCIOLOGY MAJOR*

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Because the injustices facing the Luso-Canadian ommunity are intergenerational, the agency of Luso parents is also compromised, thus leading to their children's subsequent lack of agency.

Rohall et al. maintain that, "it is difficult to asses the role of agency in predicting the life course because it can be constrained by social conditions, especially class" (2014), meaning that people of lower class have limited agency because of preexisting notions that limit them imposed by societal assumptions. For example, Jessica McCory Calarco found that, on average, elementary school students that are classified as 'middle class' are less likely to ask for assistance in the classroom, in stark contrast to their higher-class peers. Because of this, higher class individuals excel greater academically (Rohall et al., 2014). Because Luso-Canadian students often come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, they would constitute the types of students that would refrain from seeking assistance in class, therefore hindering their academic success, and encouraging the continuity of the academic epidemic amongst Luso-Canadian students.

Partially because of a lack of knowledge regarding the topic, there is yet to be a conclusive overarching agreement amongst the community, scholars, and individuals in the field of education, as to which effective solutions could potentially make improvements in this drastically underachieving ethnic cohort. A research study entitled, "More Than My Minority: The Importance of Culturally Relevant Curriculum argues that the lack of cohesion between the Luso-Canadian community and positive academic performance could be solved through the incorporation of culturally inclusive curriculum (Alves et al., 2015). The study outlined the underachievement of Luso-Canadian students in both major Toronto school boards, the TDSB and the Toronto Catholic District School Board, and assessed the achievement of students attending Harbord Collegiate Institute (the only school in either Toronto school boards that offers Portuguese language or cultural courses in their curriculum) (Alves et al., 2015). Students in these classes performed higher academically than the national average Luso-Canadian academic performance rate, and the study also disclosed that, students from other schools showed an overwhelming interest in having a culturally inclusive curriculum (Alves et al., 2015).

As previously stated, psychological well-being is partially contingent on a strong ethnic identity, which clearly is not being encouraged among Luso-Canadian students because of the disconnect students feel between their ethnic identity and ability to excel academically (Rohall et al., 2014).

Another solution that could potentially ratify the social injustice of academic underachievement amongst the majority of Luso-Canadians would be to have more educated individuals within the community. The irony is clear in this statement, if there were more educated individuals within the community, the issue would drastically reduce in prevalence. What is intended by this seemingly contradictory statement is, the community would benefit from having educated individuals within the community to promote the value of education, as well as to act as role models within the Luso-Canadian community to inspire young individuals. The TDSB notes that, "the limited professional and educational profile of the first Portuguese immigrants, paired with high rates of school drop-outs, soon led this community to experience levels of unequal participation in Canada's economy" (Presley & Brown, 2011). Thus strengthening the theory that better educated role models within the community would act as a deterrence to the continuity of such issues as the academic underachievement and the subsequent issues plaguing the community.

The Luso-Canadian community has been subject to a multitude of unfortunate social injustices including mass underachievement in academics, marked by high drop-out rates, overrepresentation in special education and remedial reading programs, and extremely low rates of post secondary education. These barriers early in life have been identified by numerous sources as being the cause for various subsequent issues the Luso-Canadian community has faced, including vast underrepresentation in other professional spheres of Canadian life. While numerous causes can be identified to explain the reasoning for these injustices, it is clear that legislative actions by the school boards and board of education must be taken to battle this issue and ensure that Luso-Canadians can fulfill their full potential.

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# Participation In a Meal Program and High School Completion Rate Among First Nations Students Living On the Reserve

**OBJECTIVE**

"Education is the passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to those who prepare for it today." This is a quote from Malcolm X, a human rights activist in the 1960s. Education is the key element needed to provide for oneself and one's family. Without education, it can be difficult to have the qualifications for positions that will provide the economic stability needed to keep yourself and your family alive. Individuals in the 21st century are required to have a high school diploma in order to obtain a well-paying career. However, it is not easy for some individuals to reach this standard.

8.5% of Canadian born (non-Aboriginal) individuals have not completed high school. In contrast, the Aboriginal population of Canada where 20.1% have not completed high school (Uppal, 2018). This discrepancy needs to be addressed.  It is important to address this issue as high school completion often correlates with many negative consequences. For example, a study examining high school dropouts showed that a lack of completion of high school correlated with high unemployment rates, lower income levels, being on public assistance, and ending up in prison (Chrisle, Jolivette and Nelson 2007: 1). The research showed that 56% of individuals who drop out of school were unemployed, compared to 16% of students who completed high school (Chrisle, Jolivette and Nelson, 2007).

This current study will add to previous research examining First Nations students and their high school completion rates. The present study aims to improve high school completion rates among First Nations students living on a reserve in Ontario. A study conducted by Paula Arriagada explored the effects of extracurricular activities on high school completion rates among First Nations students studying off-reserve. When studying both males and females, the authors found a positive correlation between participation in sports or social groups and high school completion (Arriagada 2012: 1).

Although this study predicts positive results, showing that participation in extracurricular activities increases high school completion rates, it only includes First Nations students that are being educated off of a reserve. This current study will focus on First Nations students that are being educated on reserves in Ontario. It is important to look at students being educated on reserves as their education will be much different than those being educated off the reserve. On reserve students have different living conditions, different societal rules and a different education system. This can determine whether a program will help or hinder a student's likelihood of completing high school. In order to have the highest percentage of First Nations students completing high school, future research studies need to test programs in each environment to determine the most effective way to raise completion levels.

The study will address two main questions. First, does implementing a meal program motivate students to complete high school? Second, does including a mentor at the meal program reduce dropout rates?

The first hypothesis that will be tested is: if schools implement a free meal program then high school completion rates will increase. The second hypothesis that will be tested is: if the meal program includes a mentor then high school completion rates will further increase. It is hypothesized that implementing this program will increase the student's GPA because it will act to keep them away from drugs, receive help with their homework, and allow them to study on a full stomach. This intervention has the added benefit of giving the students a place to escape from personal problems. This study has practical significance as it is being tested on students within the education system. We are directly testing the program on the demographic it is meant for.. Therefore, if a positive correlation is found between the meal program and high school completion rates, researchers may be able to implement this program at different high schools and expect the same results.

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Potential positive results will be useful as they will produce an increase in high school completion rates and result in more students graduating and obtaining high paying jobs.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The proposed study will be taking a post colonialism theoretical framework. Research has been conducted on the relevance of postcolonial theoretical perspectives on research in the area of First Nations individuals (Browne, Smye and Varcoe 2005). This study showed that using this framework on First Nation research is beneficial as it examines issues of concern to First Nations people (Browne Smye and Varcoe 2005).

Researchers have been examining students who leave their education programs prematurely and the implications this choice has on their future lives for many years to come. There are many different studies that have taken different approaches on this topic. The present study, however, will focus on the influences that keep students in school. This focus is being used in order to try and improve high school completion rates. A previous study was conducted that examined First Nations student's perspectives on the factors influencing high school completion (MacIver 2012). In this study it was stated that the First Nations population has large numbers of individuals living in poverty, as well as higher rates of unemployment than those who are not from a First Nations population. These researchers decided to talk to First Nations students to ask for their opinions on the factors that encourage First Nations students to remain engaged in school and graduate. The students that were interviewed discussed that linking lessons to First Nations heritages, and building relationships between students and teachers are two ways that have potential to get students more engaged in their education (MacIver 2012).

The current study will use these findings in the program that is being implemented. The program being used, a meal program, includes mentors who are a group of Elders in the community and teachers at the school. By using teachers as mentors, it is our hope that student-teacher relationships will be improved and the teachers will be better able to help the students thrive academically in the classroom.

Elders will also be used as mentors since they are respected individuals on First Nations reserves. J.W Berry conducted interviews at Queen's University to discuss the role of elders in First Nations heritage. One participant stated that "one value of my tradition is to listen to Elders for the teachings of how to live, and the importance of extended families." (Berry 1994: 22). Therefore, it is believed that having Elders as mentors will allow heritage to play an active role in the students schooling, which will help keep them engaged.

In order to implement a program that is going to increase high school completion rates, warning signs first need to be identified that show that a student may be on the path to failing or dropping out of school. A study conducted by Robert Balfanz, Liza Herzog and Douglas Maciver, identified four main warning signs to watch for in students and discussed ways to improve high school completion rates. After conducting the study, they found that dropping out of high school was positively correlated with poor attendance, poor behaviour marks, failing math, and failing English. The study discusses that poor attendance is the biggest indicator of student failure. Students need to attend school and behave properly in order to graduate (Balfanz, Herhog and Maciver 2007: 9). Educators need to take this information into account and watch for warning signs in these areas in order to help prevent this outcome. Additionally, the results of the previously mentioned study showed that the more students were able to physically engage in their learning, the more the student could mentally engage as well (Balfanz, Herhog and Maciver 2007: 9). This is good information for teachers to have when they are making lesson plans. If teachers are aware that lessons that are more hands-on will increase engagement, and if engagement will increase high school completion rates, then hopefully they will aim to include as many hands on activities as possible.

The present study aims to improve attendance at school by implementing a before and after school meal program. It is hypothesized that offering free food to students who attend the program will encourage them to attend school daily. Since the program will occur right before school and right after school, it has the potential to increase school attendance as the students are already at the school.

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Self-esteem plays a huge role in an individual's actions. It can either cause an individual to make it through hard times or cause them to "burn out." One specific study examined the role of self-esteem and school connectedness on grade four students. The results showed that there was a strong correlation between students' self-esteem and their school connectedness (King Vidourek Davis McClellan 2009:1). The study also looked at mentors within the school system. It was found that mentored students were less likely to be depressed, involved in bullying, or engaged in fighting (King Vidourek Davis McClellan 2009:1). Depression, being bullied, or fighting are all reasons that can cause an individual to drop out of high school. The present study will use this information by making mentors in the program aware of this finding.

Upon researching programs that are implemented that also have the goals of increasing high school completion rates, a study discussing the correlation between participation in extracurricular activities and high school completion rates was found. This study examined First Nations students that were educated off of the reserve (Arriagada 2012: 1). It was found that only 59% of First Nation students completed high school (Arriagada 2012: 1). For this study, First Nation students participated in sport activities once a week. At the end of the study it was seen that high school completion rates had risen (Arriagada 2012: 1). This study informs the public that having students more involved in their school (in this study by participating in school extracurricular activities) increases high school completion rates. The present study will implement a program that gets students more involved with the school, however it will examine First Nations students that are being educated on reserves. Researchers are unable to assume that results that are produced in a study of students that are being educated off the reserve will be reproduced in studies assessing students being educated on the reserve. This is because students will have a very different living environment and education system. Environment could be a dictating factor on why a program works with one group and not the other.
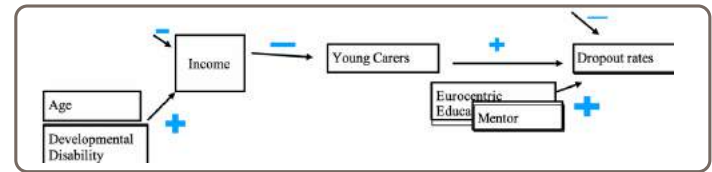


Above is a causal model of the relationship between the variables within this study. High school dropout rate is the dependent variable in this study. All five variables being examined could have an effect on an individual's likelihood of dropping out of high school. Eurocentric education could cause students to become disengaged in their education, which could cause them to drop out. Developmental disabilities could cause an individual to not be able to keep up with the expectations of high school, which can cause the student to fail out of school. This, in turn, could affect income if their disability causes them not to be able to obtain a job. Age is related to whether the students will attend the meal program and if teachers can change a student's negative opinion on school. Age also determines income as the type of job an individual can obtain does relate to their age and ability. A mentor variable is added to investigate whether the mentor program will increase high school completion rates more than just the meal program. Lastly, a child's family income could determine whether the child has time to attend school, or if they are forced to work full time in order to support their family.

## METHODOLOGY

For this study, participants will be selected based on enrolment at a randomly chosen high school located on a First Nations reserve. Simple random sampling will be used in this study. Simple random sampling is sampling that assigns a number to each participant (Babbie and Lance 2018). A random number is picked and the participants that have that number are selected for the study (Babbie and Lance 2018). All the names of reserves in Ontario will be put in a list scrambler and given a number. The numbers will be put back into the scrambler and the first number that the scrambler identifies will be the reserve chosen for the study. If there is more than one high school on the reserve, the high school names will be put in the list scrambler and the first high school on the list will be selected. The names of students attending the chosen high school will receive a number.

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These numbers will be separated by grade and put into a random number generator. The first twenty numbers to appear from each age group will be the students chosen to participate in this study. The participant numbers will again be scrambled and the first half of the numbers will be the participants assigned a mentor. Attendance of students will be taken each day as students enters the program. The survey will be given to all students for their parents to complete. This survey will include a 5$ grocery store gift card that will be given to families whether they complete the survey or not. On the survey, there will be questions asking if the child participates in the meal program, if they have a mentor, as well as questions related to the family's income level, which will help distinguish between students who attend the program and students who do not, and the child's family income. A correlation will be made between attendance and socioeconomic status.

The meal program will be implemented starting on the first day of school. This program will run every weekday, before and after school. It will include free breakfast and dinner for all in attendance. A mentor will also be given to half of the participants. This mentor will be there to help students with homework or any personal problems that they may be experiencing. After a month of running the program, a survey will be given to the students who attend the program. Attendance and survey results will be compared to high school completion rates at the end of each year. Attendance of students with mentors will also be compared to high school completion rates to examine if the mentorship has further increased high school completion rates. This program will run for five years in order to have all students high school completion rates documented. The students' completion rates for the next five years will be compared to the students' completion rates from the five years prior to the implementation of the program. The method of analysis for this study is the comparison between attendance rates and high school completion. It is proposed that higher attendance rates will positively correlate with high school completion. It is also proposed that having a mentor during the meal program will positively correlate with high school completion. Researchers see no ethical issues with the study, confidentiality, or anonymity.

All students will be given a number in the data base, so that if the data was exposed, viewers would not know which student was associated with each number. This ensures that the privacy of all students is respected.

## MEASUREMENT

The present study has six key variables of interest to the researchers. These variables could determine whether the study is successful. The five variables are as follows: age, developmental disabilities, a mentor, young carers, income and Eurocentric education.

Socioeconomic status is the core concept of this study. Socioeconomic status is a large concept and can be measured in many ways. For the purpose of this study, socioeconomic status will be measured by an individual's income. This concept is important to the present study as an individual's income can have a major effect on whether the individual completes high school. Having a really low income can cause stress in the individual's life, which can cause them to not be able to focus on school work. Having a low income can also cause an individual to have to have a full-time job instead of going to school, so that they are able to provide their family with their basic needs (food, water, and shelter).

Socioeconomic status that is determined by income can be affected by the other variables found in this study. Age could cause an individual to not to be able to work. Having a developmental disability could cause an individual to not have the mental capacity to work. Young caregivers have a lot of responsibility since they have to take care of their parents who are ill or have a disability, and this responsibility may be so large that they are unable to work or can only work for limited hours. Lastly, Eurocentric education will affect income in the future. Without a high school diploma individuals may not be able to earn a high income.

Age is an antecedent variable and is one of the key variables within this study. The purpose of the present study is to examine this program at a high school level to see if it will have an effect on high school completion rates. Researchers are interested in examining whether the program will encourage students to attend and achieve better grades in school.

WRITTEN BY DREW RENAUD, *SOCIOLOGY*

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Age plays a role in the decision to attend the program. This variable is important to examine as it may be the reason why a student does not attend the program. If a student is too old, they may already have an opinion about the education system that is hard to change. Another reason age plays a role in this study is that resistance to peer influences increases as children go to high school (Steinberg, Monahan 2007:1531). This could both help or hinder the study. Peer influence could be the reason why a child attends the program (because all their friends are doing it) or the ability to resist peer influence could also be the reason why a child attends the program (instead of following their friends and not attending, the child decides for themselves that the program is worthwhile and attends the program alone).

The present study will pull questions from a past study investigating the age differences in peer influence (Steinberg, Monahan 2007:1535). Age will be measured by a question asking participants to write their exact age. Knowing this information could determine whether or not future duplications of the study kept or changed the age group participating in the program. Questions relating to resistance to peer influence are also borrowed from the Steinberg and Monahan study. Two sample questions would be "some people go along with their friends just to keep their friends happy" but "other people refuse to go along with what their friends want to do, even though they know it will make their friends unhappy" (Steinberg, Monahan 2007:1535). The questions will be measured using numbers between one and four, four being really true and one being not true. Higher scores indicate greater resistance to peer influence (Steinberg, Monahan 2007:1536).

Developmental disability is another antecedent variable since the individual may have had a disability before they became poor or started to fail high school. This disability could cause the individual not to get a job or be able to keep up with the work load of high school. It is important to examine as developmental disabilities could be a reason why a child does not attend the program. A child with a developmental disability could feel unwelcome in certain situations or if a child is unaware of their disability, they could feel different from their peers without understanding why.

An undiagnosed disability could be the reason why a child is not doing as well as expected in school, and could lead to them not completing high school.

A study conducted in 2016 examined the underdiagnoses of developmental disabilities in First Nations individuals (Pietro, Illes 2016: 243). Results indicated that the lack of diagnosis of developmental disabilities was due to a lack of research and knowledge (Pietro, Illes 2016: 243). The lack of research was a result of an under-reporting of these disabilities, lack of trust between community members and researchers and challenges for researchers to access children living under the care of child welfare services (Pietro, Illes 2016: 243). The presences of a developmental disability would be measured on the questionnaire. Novel questions that would be created relating to this variable could be "do you have a developmental disability?" and this question would be answered with a 'yes' or 'no' response. If the answer was no to the first question, a follow up could be: "If no, do you find your child acting in ways that are different from the other children in the community and seem abnormal?" "Does your child fit in with the children in their class?" All of these questions could be answered with a yes or no option, and these questions could indicate the presence of an undiagnosed developmental disability.

A mentor will be assigned to half of the participants in the study. This study's second hypothesis states that adding a mentor to the program will further increase high school completion rates. Therefore, half of the students in the program will receive a mentor and half will not in order to determine whether the mentor has an effect on completion rates. It is important to have this variable in the study, as the goal is to increase high school completion rates as much as possible. If higher completion rates are found among students who received a mentor, then further research can determine the effectiveness of assigning a mentor to all students. On the survey, a question will ask whether the participant has a mentor or not. This way it will be documented and used when examining the high school completion rates. The next variable within our study is Young Carers. The young carers variable is an intervening variable. It is intervening because it occurs with the main variable.

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Young carers are defined as individuals who "undertake what is perceived as an excessive volume of domestic care giving" (Newman 2002: 613). These individuals are responsible for taking care of ill or disabled parents and siblings (Newman 2002: 613). Young carers have so much responsibility at home that education is not always a top priority for them.

Results from a study conducted by Tony Newman that investigated the implications of young carers showed that being a young carer can interfere with child's education and have long-term consequences on the individual's adult life (Newman 2002: 613). This variable is important to examine within this study as this heightened responsibility can negatively affect the amount of time a child has for school, and could cause the individual to not have enough time to attend the program.

On the other hand, young carers may attend the program to access the free food. If a child is responsible for their parents, the parents may not be able to provide income for the family. A child would then have to go to school, take care of their family, and work in order to provide food for the family. Having a program that gives children free food may encourage these young carers to attend in order to have food for themselves and bring some home for their family. Since the parents are filling out the questionnaire, a novel question that would be included on the questionnaire about young carers would be "please indicate the household tasks your child completes," with a list below providing examples of common household responsibilities. A young carer would be identified if the child is completing most of the household tasks. This would allow the researcher to determine which individuals within the study are young carers.

Family income levels are another indicator of whether an individual will attend the program or not. Income is the main variable. It is the main variable since it is a major reason why children are unable to focus on school. If students are hungry and wondering when their next meal will be, they may be unable to fully focus on their education. Poverty could increase the attendance at this program since the students will receive a free breakfast and dinner.

Poverty could also potentially decrease the attendance rates, because if the child's family income is so low that most of the bills are not being paid, then free food may not be enough. The child may have to work long hours in order to pay some of the family bills. The survey will include a question asking how much each working member of the family makes a year. This can allow researchers to know which families income are below the poverty line.

The last variable is Eurocentric education. This is an intervening variable. It is intervening as it works in conjunction with income levels. Teachers are coming into schools and teaching Eurocentric curriculum and teaching during the months of Eurocentric societies. Both of these are causing First Nations students to disengage from their education. Students may be disengaged because school months run during hunting season. Since the poverty levels are high, most families rely on hunting season to feed their family. If students have to choose between going to school, or helping their parents hunt food for the winter, they are more likely to choose to help their parents. This will result in low attendance at school, causing the students to fall behind and possibility drop out.

*The survey will provide two questions to measure the effects of the timing of school on student success. One novel question will be "When are your families main hunting months?" and another will be "Does your child help with the hunting?"*

The timing of school is one element of the Eurocentric education that is affecting First Nations students, but another element is the curriculum. High schools that are located on the reserve are bringing in teachers from off the reserve. These teachers are then teaching a Eurocentric curriculum. Seth Agbo conducted research on the status of culture and language in First Nations education. The elders within the community were interviewed about their thoughts on the education curriculum. The elders believed that "disintegration of traditional beliefs causes lack of identity and self-esteem in young people" (Agbo 2004: 11).

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Having the students learn about their traditions and their heritage in their education will keep them engaged (MacIver 2012). The present study will incorporate this into the program as elders will attend and become the student's mentors.

This will allow the elders to teach the students about their traditions and heritage. The survey would include questions such as "How much First Nations tradition or heritage is taught in your school?" and "How interested are you in learning more about First Nation traditions and heritage?" The questions will be measured using numbers between one and four, where for the first question, four means a lot of tradition and one means very little tradition, and for the second question, four means really interested and one means not interested. Higher scores on the first question indicates that there are a lot of traditions being taught in the education system (which prior research has shown is false). Higher scores on the second question indicate a high interest in learning more about First Nations traditions and heritage.

## IMPLICATIONS

The present study was created in order to improve high school completion rates among First Nations students going to school on the reserve. It is hypothesized that if a meal program is implemented then high school completion rates will increase. The second hypothesis was that if a meal program includes a mentor then high school completion rates will further increase. Assuming that this study produces positive results, its findings would increase student achievement and lead to a better lifestyle. If positive results are found after five years, the program would be implemented in all high schools on First Nations reserves in Ontario. After this, if levels of completion continue to rise among all high school located on First Nation reserves, the program would be implemented at off-reserve high schools. If the program was successful in all schools that it was implemented in, this could lead to the program being made into a social policy. The increase in high school completion rates would improve individuals lives in many ways. If an individual does not complete high school, they have a higher chance of obtaining lower paid jobs, and may work in sectors that could produce health issues long-term.

Many companies require, at minimum, a high school diploma in order to apply for a position. Therefore, not completing high school will limit the amount of jobs that individuals are able to apply for. A study conducted in 2000, looked at the implications of not completing high school.

It was found that out of the individuals surveyed that had not completed high school, 56% were unemployed (Chrisle, Jolivette and Nelson 2007: 1). Companies that will hire someone without a diploma will usually offer a lower salary for their employees. In the previously discussed study, it was found that individuals who had completed high school and were employed made an average salary of $21,000, whereas individuals who had not completed high school made an average salary of $12,400 (Chrisle, Jolivette and Nelson 2007: 1). Therefore, implementing a program that will increase students high school completion rates will help these students obtain a higher-paying job, which will improve their quality of life for the future.

Researchers have examined the link between education and an individual health. It was found that health and education are highly correlated (Freudenberg 2007: 1). First, the less education an individual has, the higher risk they have for premature death, and the higher levels of risky health behaviours they engage in, such as not participating in physical activity, smoking, or being overweight (Freudenberg 2007: 1).

Implementing a program that would increase high school completion rates among First Nations students on reserves in Ontario would benefit the health of the students. More education would allow individuals to earn a higher salary, resulting in the individual being able to afford a house in a safer neighbourhood, purchase healthier food, and go back to school for more education, if desired (Freudenberg 2007: 1). Each of these factors have been correlated with health outcomes.

Second, individuals with a low level of schooling may be more likely to be employed at a low-status job. A study conducted by The New York Academy of Science observed the relationship between low-status jobs and health issues.

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It was found that low-status jobs and blue collar workers showed higher psychophysiological stress levels than individuals who work more stimulating and flexible jobs (Lundberg 1999: 162). These jobs were found to have a negative emotional state associated with going to work, which was correlated with a reduction in motivation to seek proper medical treatments, which resulted in a higher development level of chronic illnesses (Lundberg 1999: 162).

Lastly, individuals who have dropped out of high school and have blue collar jobs are more inclined to do work that is physically monotonous or repetitive which is associated with pain in an individual's neck, shoulders and lower back (Lundberg 1999: 162). These health problems could cause individuals to need more days off to recover which could result in a lower paycheck for that period of time.

Overall, if the proposed study produces positive results, it would improve the student's way of life in many ways. Completion of high school would result in students having an easier time finding a job, and obtaining a job that has a better salary. Having a job would allow individuals to be healthier since they would be better equipped financially to buy a house in a safer environment, and healthier food, which could in turn decrease individual stress levels. If the program is successful, it could change a student's life forever.

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# How the Self Relates to Society

The concept of the self is present in several different ways, as discussed by many sociologists. This strand of theory focuses on how the self and interpretive work relates to social interaction as it pertains to symbolic interactionism. What an individual presents to others in specific settings or is led to put forward due to institutional expectations is all part of the self and how it is influential in one's everyday life experiences. Through an analysis of the self, this paper will argue that the positions by Mead, Goffman, and Cooley demonstrate the different ways the self relates to society.

George Herbert Mead focused on the interpretation of the self through social interaction. This is associated with pragmatism, which emphasizes the practical conditions under which action occurs and the practical consequences (Dillon, 2014: 298). Mead argues that we are simultaneously subjects to, and objects to, ourselves (Gorea, 2017). This relates to the 'I' and the 'Me' in which the 'I' is viewed as the subject, and the 'Me' is the object (ibid). Both are engaged in an ongoing interaction that forms the self, which is ultimately relational (ibid). In addition, Mead holds that the 'Me' is the social self as it pertains to the attitude of the other person in the interaction. This is how one understands people around them and formulates perceptions through imagining the possible outcomes of situations. These imagined responses from those the individual is interacting with are then projected. According to Gorea (2017), a person splits off from themselves and becomes objects by taking the attitude of the other, as demonstrated by Mead's idea of the self (ibid). Furthermore, it is argued that the self is active and always reflexively processing current events. Therefore, an individual has an ongoing engagement of internal conversation with themselves, where the self is used to monitor and evaluate social action (Dillon, 2014: 275).

Mead's explanation of the self and its connection to society pertains specifically to how one takes what is expressed by others and responds based on these ideas. Mead also explains the self as emerging out of social experience since it is not initially present at birth but arises as a result of relations that are processed and involves other individuals (Dillon, 2014:277).

The family is an example of this as an agent of socialization that influences the development of a child's self through orienting behaviours in a family setting and social environments from a young age (ibid). Therefore, in society, how one acts is developed out of social interaction and social experience. As Mead states, "selves can only exist in definite relationships to other selves" (Mead 1934: 173 cited in Dillon, 2014:276).

Next, Erving Goffman's view on social interaction is explained by how the individual is situated in society through the self. Goffman "uses the metaphor of a theatrical performance to elaborate on the many elements that go into face-to-face interaction in everyday life" (Dillon, 2014: 281). Goffman argues that the individual uses the performance as a show for the 'benefit of other people,' and because people have rules in everyday life, the observer takes seriously the impression they are presenting (Goffman, 1959: 17). To further this argument, Gorea (2017) states that role behaviours shape people's definition of a situation since certain reactions to behaviours are not automatic but rather constructed by the meaning attached to a situation. This explains that the self being performed is essentially what shapes people's perceptions in any given context. Park cited in Goffman (1959: 19) states that "everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role... It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves." This exemplifies the ways in which the self relates to society through the masks that are put on to serve different purposes but also represent the true conception that is formed of one's self.

Goffman furthers his ideas on the self through the label of the "front" relative to the theatre metaphor of the stage, where the term performance refers to the activity by an individual that influences observers. The front operates to define the situation for those who observe the performance, and the setting is what allows for the human action to take place (Goffman, 1959: 22). Additionally, Goffman divides the stimuli that comprise the personal front into 'appearance' and 'manner.' Appearance refers to constant stimuli that tell the social status of the performer.

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Manner refers to the stimuli which function at the time to provide warning of the role the performer can expect to play in a situation (Goffman, 1959: 24).These are to explain how the self is portrayed in the front. Goffman also describes how a social front can become institutionalized through abstract stereotyped expectations and the front becomes a part of "collective representation" (ibid: 27). This relates to an actor having to choose which front to portray when performing a task in society, and if there is an established social role, an established front often comes with it (ibid). Lastly, Goffman points out how fronts are selected not created, which can cause dilemmas in selecting the appropriate front for one's self. This furthers Goffman's overall argument that social fronts are divided into different components, which are then performed depending on different factors. This concept of the front is Goffman's way of explaining the self and how all individuals put forth a specific version of themselves as deemed most fit for a particular social situation in society.

Not only does Goffman analyze the concept of the self through social interactions and perceptions, but Charles Cooley also applies this notion through the metaphor of the looking-glass. This notion demonstrates the dynamic interpretive process that takes place when one looks in the mirror, and what is seen in the reflection is part of wanting to please others through the imagination (Dillon, 2014: 276). The looking-glass self is expressed when one imagines their appearance to others in addition to the judgment that would be received, and then feeling something as a result, which is ultimately the self. To Cooley, the self is formed and maintained through ongoing interaction, including what is imagined about how socialization plays a role in the self, which can only emerge out of social interaction. Socialization in this respect means both teaching to "internalize and adopt the perspectives of others", and at the same time, the means of one's own development of their self (Schubert 1998:22 cited in Dillon, 2014:276). Cooley also relates the self to broader systems in the sense that one's distinct self and associated feelings are always interpreted in relation to others. Essentially, the experience of the self is in response to the imagined evaluation of others.

Similar to Mead, Cooley also argues that through socialization as children, the understanding of the "I" and "Me" teaches how one should perceive and interpret all things in a social environment (Dillon, 2014:78). Ultimately, Cooley's conception of the self relates to society since how an individual views their own being is internalized to adjust how to present who they are, which is reinforced through social interaction. Socialization shapes how one views themselves because this comes from contemplations of personal qualities and perceptions of how one is being perceived by others. Cooley believes that you are not directly influenced by the appearance of others, but rather by what you imagine this influence to be.

In essence, these analyses of the self by Mead, Goffman, and Cooley demonstrates that how an individual presents who they are to society is influenced by different factors. This includes their own imagination according to Cooley and socialization, which Mead also argues. The major metaphors of the 'I' and 'Me,' the front, and the looking-glass self are unique ways of explaining the concepts behind symbolic interactionism and the dialectical relationship between the self and society with an emphasis on how interactions are shaped by different motivations of participants (Scott, 2009: 24). Scott (2009) further points out that these notions of symbolic interactionism demonstrate how social behaviour is made through revising such actions in light of the behaviour of others. In connecting this back to the three sociologists, Mead and Cooley emphasize that the self is relational; one cannot have a self without other selves, while Goffman places emphasis on the self and its interaction between social actors. Therefore, it is most important to highlight that the self relates to society through performativity and how it is conceptualized through socialization.

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# The Institutionalized Realities of the Seemingly Individualistic Self-Care Phenomenon

One of the critical questions asked at the Peer Support Centre (PSC) when coming across a student suffering from chronic stress is, "what is your form of self-care?" A question seemingly so simple, but so pertinent in my line of work has provided me with countless answers consisting of common themes. Due to its distinct importance, the center has installed a "Self-Care Board," one in which students may write down what they believe to be their personal variety of self-care. In clear view for all those who wish to visit the PSC, the board is covered in different opinions of what self-care means to them. It is from this process that I began to notice and question why it is that, although being a personal action, self-care activities look the same for most of the students participating: face-masks, Netflix, bath bombs, spa days, etc. It was then apparent that there were other forces at hand. As the PSC draws from students of all backgrounds and ages, having these commonalities seems repetitive and revealing. Biologically, each individual is wired to preserve the self, however, what influences such wiring in modern society is of critical importance. Through the use of this anecdote, I wish to look critically towards the self-care industry and how it has shaped and constrained our choices of what is an effective way to take care of ourselves, and why it is that some themes remain so prevalent among copious numbers of students. The new form of self-care is, therefore, more sociological than it is personal. In this paper, I will explore through the use of Adorno's theory of the totally administered society, Marcuse's theory on false and true needs, and Bourdieu's concept of habitus, the possible explanations as to why forms of self-care have become universally ingrained around distinct choices.

For Adorno, the "totally administered society" is constituted within commodity relations and the dominant technologies of entertainment, a system whose impact is seen as influential in conforming an individual's behaviour (Dunn 2008). The marketing of this administered society induces idleness, instilling a dependency on a system where the desired outcome is profit maximization (Dunn 2008).

Through the totally administered society, individuals are shaped into passive consumers of predetermined packages of experiences, thus generating feelings of insecurity, anxiety, and dependency, with relief being found predominantly in the sphere of consumption (Dunn 2008). The alienated consumers, therefore, desire what is forced upon them, because their needs are just as much products of the totally administered society as the goods they consume (Gartman 2012). As the self-care industry continues to become marketed as a guide in the path to refuge, consumers are commonly exposed to advertisements portraying fetishized substitutes for the real satisfactions which they lack in society. A common theme in the self-care industry is the use of face masks or other skin treatments to relieve the body of its stresses, where different products claim to cleanse your skin of its daily toxins and emit an aroma which mimics that of a spa or other relaxants. To grasp this demand, the totally administered society offers these products as a promise of freedom and individuality from stress and anxiety, while in reality denying both in the desire for profit (Gartman 2012). The form of these products is based on homogeneity and predictability, where different brands of clay face masks, all made from the same materials, all claim to provide slightly altered individual benefits.

Although an increasing number of students talk of stress-related anxiety at the PSC due to a busy schedule or feelings of being overwhelmed, it is commonly marketed that to relieve these feelings, one must avoid such obligations and take time off for themselves. In placing value on taking time off for self-care, the individual actively avoids the responsibilities that if actually completed, would relieve their stress entirely. The self-care industry then capitalizes on this misdirection of focus and encourages the consumption of goods that supposedly 'take the mind off' of those tasks in which they feel rushed or overwhelmed over, thus creating a cyclical process of purposeful ignorance through consumption. Therefore, as consumers wish to escape the stresses of their daily lives, they cling to the deliberate choices provided by the totally administered society, those that have capitalized on the individuals cynical and reluctant desire for retreat and calmness.

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As well as Adorno's totally administered society, Marcuse's theory of false and true needs additionally lends itself as a useful tool in examining the heterogeneity of the self-care industry. False needs, according to Marcuse, are those which are superimposed on the individual by specific social interests, and perpetuate "toil, aggressiveness, misery, and injustice" (Dunn 2008). The majority of the dominant needs for relaxation, leisure time, and to consume in accordance with advertisements fall beneath this category (Dunn 2008). On the other hand, true needs are those essential for survival and basic well-being; however, these needs are commonly suppressed by consumer society as they do not promote the luxuriant consumption of marketed goods (Dunn 2008). Today, marketers recognize the desire for self-care products and the power these items hold over individuals without them having anything to do with actual, physical needs. No matter how much the need for a face mask or time to have a bath have become the individual's own; no matter how much one identifies themselves in their gratification, they continue to be products of a society where the dominant interest demands profit (Zug 2014).

It is through these channels of advertisements and emulation that individuals begin to desire certain goods, all of which have been meticulously created to guide one's idea of self-care towards a set of pre-determined choices and products. In shaping false needs such as calming bath bombs or nighttime soothing body lotions as necessities for an individual's everyday well-being, the marketers influence a process in which consumers believe they cannot experience symptoms of de-stressing without these products (Hanks 2009). The self-care board at the PSC thus proves critical, as it simply lists all activities which have become ingrained in the modern consumer psyche as something that one must do if they value their mental health. As once it was a topic of personal concern, the self-care industry has pressured mass conformity in the ways in which people care for their bodies and their minds. It is as long as individuals are denied autonomy and manipulated, that their choices cannot be their own.

In relation to the theories of Adorno and Marcuse, Bourdieu also contributes to the understanding of the manipulation of choice in the self-care industry through his theory of habitus. The term habitus derives from the idea of habit, custom and the state of things, and follows a state of dispositions and systems that organize the individual capacity to act (Lury 2011). Habitus functions at every moment of the individual's perceptions and actions, and allows for the achievement of tasks, thanks to prior schemes providing the solution for similarly shaped problems (Lury 2011). It is formed through the internalization of a given set of material conditions and acts to develop the individuals' tastes in a variety of cultural preferences (Lury 2011).

**Advertisements are one of these systems which provide countless material conditions and values, all acting to persuade the individual to choose and consume certain tastes as their own, personal preferences. Therefore, what the individual sees as personal taste, is ultimately regulated by past experiences and stems from class practice and imagery (Lury 2011).**

The impact of advertising as the medium of regulation is due in part to its pervasive messages that reflect and shape society, as well the role they play as societal intermediaries, partially as 'taste-makers' and drivers of new societal trends (Drumwright and Kamal 2015). It is with this intensification of ideas surrounding self-care that the individual's habitus is altered and mutually constructed by the marketing industry, as well as the passive consumer. Through watching movie stars in major films take bubble baths, to wishing to emulate one's mother's nighttime routines, people succumb to these customs and, below the level of consciousness, reproduce them as their own. Those answering the question of self-care at the PSC are then exercising their habitus, as their immediate responses to how they relieve their stressors are structured from previous experiences and imagery, whether it be from personal action or seeing others do the same.

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Thus, it is critical to examine the self-care industry and the marketing of these products as a formative influence on an individual's habitus, resulting from years of exposure to the fluctuating tastes and ideas surrounding what it means to take care of one's self.

It is therefore critical to understand that the modern consumer, a figure possessing needs and desires that are expressed through purchases in the marketplace, exists in a world that is subject to a system of commercial manipulation, a world where advertising images and marketing techniques condition decisions surrounding consumption (Smart 2011). In examining the self-care board in the PSC, it is clear that every activity promoted to relieve stress is one that demands the purchase of one good or another and are increasingly circulated as a universal ideal of self-care and mental preservation. The self-care industry has therefore shaped and constrained our choices through pervasive systems of advertising, promoting common themes such as doing face masks, face creams and using bath bombs as treatments for chronic stress and personal anxieties. Through the use of Adorno's theory of totally administered society, one is able to picture the ways in which the self-care industry has induced the individual as a passive consumer, always compelled to choose these pre-determined packages even though they see through them (Dunn 2008). In addition, Marcuse's theory of false and true needs is important in depicting the ways in which the advertising industry has conditioned values of relaxation and leisure as necessities or true needs. It is through the definition of these societal values as fundamental for one's everyday well-being and satisfaction that the individual finds themselves dependent on products created to repress them (Zug 2014). The final theory aiding itself in the understanding of modern self-care is Bourdieu's concept of habitus, whereby an individual's seemingly natural tastes and values are ultimately shaped and formed throughout their lived experiences and internalizations (Lury 2011). Through regarding the self-care industry as the 'taste-makers' of society, it can be seen that one's choices, although seemingly autonomous, are far from it.

This self-care industry has, therefore, carved the ideal ways in which individuals are supposed to care for themselves while simultaneously promoting dependency on the products these people feel are imperative to their well-being. Thus, the extent to which consumers make choices in relation to self-care is minimal, whereby although they feel it is of personal choice to take part in face masks, bath bombs and the like, it is anything but.

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# Modern Consumer Culture

Freedom of choice is, arguably, one of the most prominent features of modern consumer culture. In a society marked by excess and variety of products, social actors are constantly reminded of their power to consume and are encouraged to exercise it whenever possible. However, as the following analysis confirms, the idea that individuals in a consumer society are completely autonomous in their consumption decisions is dubious at best and a manipulative marketing strategy at worst. In my critique I will identify several factors that influence the choices that people make and determine how these factors operate differently across social classes. Although producers and many consumers advocate for the right to choose freely in a free market economy, influences of habitus and implicit advertising play a much larger role in consumer decision-making than they are perceived to.

As outlined by MacGregor (2018), a key component of today's neoliberalist society is the shift towards individual responsibility in regard to choice-making practices (2). Today's society places an increasingly large emphasis on self-governance in that, as members of society, individuals are expected to be rational, well-informed consumers and make choices accordingly (ibid.). At the same time, a defining feature of a modern consumer culture is its ability to provide abundance and variety in production. The presence of choice is seemingly indicated by the never-ending stream of seemingly unlimited options. In fact, consumer societies make it intrinsically impossible not to choose (Slater 1997). Slater notes this when he says: " [in neoliberalism] consumer choice became the obligatory pattern for all social relations and the template for civic dynamism and freedom" (ibid:10). Thus, modern capitalism places importance on individual responsibility and calls for its exercise through constant and compulsory decision-making. Individuals are judged on the basis of their self-regulation and assessed according to the choices they make. Ironically, the idea that consumers are able to choose is put into question when considering how much autonomy individuals really have over the choices they are presented with.

Upon analyzing what factors may contribute to personal decision-making in a consumer society, several factors are seen to actively and thoroughly manipulate the outcomes of one's consumption, despite a large majority of people being unaware of them. A major influential component in determining choice is one's "habitus," which can be defined as the operating framework of choices based around an individual, their culture, and environment (Hand 2018). Habitus predominantly draws on our past and posits that our status and upbringing predetermine our behaviours, tastes, and preferences (ibid.). Accordingly, the influence of habitus is present in almost all of our daily choices and decisions. Even when an individual is presented with a choice, that choice is shaped by a multitude factors outside of their control. Drawing from Bourdieu's conception of the term, one of the most powerful influences on an individuals' habitus is their position in the social hierarchy (Hand 2018). While this may not be the sole influence, many aspects of a person's life such as education, background, location of residence, and cultural capital are generally tied to socioeconomic factors and, thus, are determinants of the information that is available to different groups. The influence of these factors is apparent in Johnston's study, which looked at variance in ethical consumption patterns across different neighbourhoods, finding that key constraints can be identified based on whether one belongs to a higher or lower socioeconomic class (Johnston et al. 2011). Here, Johnston examined the notion that ethical consumption is usually limited to the wealthy and affluent (ibid.). While he did not find this to be necessarily true, certain factors undoubtedly made it harder for less wealthy individuals to practice ethical consumption in the same way that members of higher classes could (ibid).

Firstly, ethical products tend to come at a much higher cost compared to their generic counterparts, and thus are selectively available to those that can afford them. It is understandable that individuals with low-income who might be struggling to provide for their families could not justify purchasing organic, locally sourced products for double the regular price. Nonetheless, the price point of these products means that the choice is being made for them.

WRITTEN BY VARYA GENKIN, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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Secondly, geographic location and neighbourhood play a significant role in making consumption opportunities accessible. Products that are deemed "ethical" – which include those marketed as local, free-range, organic, grass-fed, etc. – are largely available in stores that do not operate in lower socioeconomic neighbourhoods and are concentrated primarily in wealthy, affluent areas (ibid.). Thus, even if individuals with lower income could justify spending the extra money for ethical reasons, their access to such products would be limited by the location of the stores and their ability to get there.

Thirdly, the desire to purchase ethically sourced products comes from the conscious awareness and knowledge of why doing so is superior to mainstream consumption practices. While reasons for consuming ethically may vary and certain people may do so unaware of its ethical aspect, the desire to consume ethically is, for the most part, a result of educating oneself on the harmful processes associated with production (ibid.). Typically, having this knowledge is indicative of individuals with high "cultural capital" – a by-product comprised of an individuals' upbringing, environment, and cultivated tastes and preferences (Hand 2018). Higher cultural capital is generally associated with access to higher education opportunities, which, unfortunately, is not feasible for many people in the lower classes (Johnston 2011). As a result, it becomes harder for these people to acquire the same knowledge due to the lack of comparable resources that higher-class members can more readily access. Thus, if people do not have the means to educate themselves on ethical consumption, they are not likely to participate in it in the first place.

Another way that choice is largely predetermined is through advertising and marketing in that it is virtually inescapable for the public. In their research, Schneider and Davis argue that media, rather than state institutions, plays the most influential role in teaching consumption patterns and practices in today's society (MacGregor 2018).

Operating through surveillance, self-regulation and normalization, marketing has become an integral part of technologies of power and largely controls the self-governance practices employed by individuals (ibid.).

While advertising products with the goal of increasing sales is not a new concept, the use of implicit tactics has excelled to the extent that it is nearly impossible to detect when something is being sold to us. The shift from selling product to selling ideas and lifestyles has resulted in companies being able to influence people's thoughts and beliefs – and, therefore, their purchases (ibid.).

This is seen in MacGregor's assessment of language used in advertising and marketing. The use of personal pronouns in advertising highlights a notable shift towards individual responsibility of the consumer, which can be observed in the increased attention that people have started paying to health and wellness in recent years (ibid.). Acutely aware of this, the marketing media has begun using this health craze to their advantage; suddenly, categories such as "superfoods" and products claiming to help "kill cancer" are introduced into the market and available for purchase (ibid.). Additionally, the prevalence of conflicting claims that lack substantial scientific support is indicative of the fact that these labels are used solely as a means of placing blame on consumers and shaming them into purchasing products (ibid.). Rather than advertising legitimate properties of the food, producers focus on "selling the experience" of health and self-care. Largely operating on the basis on the lack of awareness of the typical consumer, advertising has taken advantage of the ever-increasing fear of appearing unhealthy in today's society and used it against consumers. And while the more educated consumers may be able to distinguish pseudo-scientific claims from evidence-based facts, many people become susceptible targets of the marketing industry.

What further exacerbates the problem of deceptive marketing is that while expectations in regard to rational choice-making are, for the most part, the same for all social actors, the opportunities available to make these decisions largely vary across social classes. A person of a higher socioeconomic standing may possess the advantage of having a greater amount of knowledge and resources at their disposal to aid them in making educated consumption choices. At the same time, an individual of a lower social class may not be capable of making the same informed decision due to the absence of adequate resources and, thus, cultural capital to do so.

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Nonetheless, individuals from both groups will be held to a similar decision-making standard, as they are both regarded by society as capable, autonomous, and, responsible to meet societal expectations (ibid.).

The lack of consideration for factors that may influence people's ability to make informed choices is frequently seen in the negative attitudes towards lower-income populations, specifically in regard to their perceived consumption habits and ethical practices (Johnston 2011). The failure to acknowledge inherent barriers that exist for certain social groups when it comes to consumption not only exacerbates existing symbolic boundaries between social groups, but also perpetuates the notion that ethical consumption can only be exercised in a particular way. As indicated in Johnston's study, ethical perceptions and practices will vary across social classes, but this variance is largely due to social constraints, rather than intrinsic or deliberate ignorance of the people (ibid.). Although not a conclusion of Johnston's research, it can be argued that identifying the constraints as external rather than inherent to a social class may help us shape a better, more adequate understanding of how consumption operates across different groups.

From the factors that shape our consumption preferences to those that constrain the choices that we are exposed to, the notion of choice is somewhat of an oxymoron in modern society. Although frequently advertised by producers as an inherent social right, consumer choice is plagued by restrictions and, thus, may be the furthest thing from a freedom. It is ironic that the same forces that emphasize and advocate for rational choice are the ones that impose constraints upon it. And while the capitalist economy continues to reap the benefits of the continuous expansion of consumerism, the mechanisms through which it operates could be detrimental to the healthy functioning of society. Having evaluated the possibility of true autonomous choice in modern consumer society, not only does it appear to be non-existent, but the vast majority of information that we consume is targeted towards selling us something – and often by means of deception. This creates an unhealthy and highly unstable environment in which consumers are routinely manipulated.

As more attention is brought to the underlying forces that govern consumer decisions, it is only a matter of time before producers will have to adapt and adjust their tactics accordingly.

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WRITTEN BY VARYA GENKIN, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

# Analyzing the Deepwater Horizon and Bhopal Disasters: The Corrupt State-Corporate Relationships in Economic Context

In mixed economies that have both public and private enterprises such as the United States, Canada and, India, there are multiple cases where worker fatalities and injuries are created through omission of obligations by the state (Kramer, Michalowski and Kauzlarich 2002:277). When it comes to violations of worker safety both the corporate sector and the state crime. Extreme cases like the Union Carbide gas explosion in Bhopal, India or the BP Deepwater Horizon disaster off the Gulf of Mexico along with others will be analyzed to demonstrate how corporate negligence can lead to catastrophe (Sheoin and Pearce 2015:9). As well, state organizations such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) finds evidence of a collective failure to protect workers safety for the benefit of capital accumulation (Gerkin and Doyon-Martin 2017:242). Without this analysis it often seems that occupational injuries and fatalities are simply unfortunate events, but this is not the case. Violations of workers' right to a safe workplace and a lack of state enforcement of regulations establishes the conditions under which this type of corporate crime occurs. The capitalist nature of mixed economic systems is the foundation for this unsafe relationship between the corporation and state, both supporting taking shortcuts and neglecting human safety for capital benefit.

In a mixed economic system, such as those adopted by the United States and India, the state can have a degree of regulation over the economy while the private sector drives it forward. For the oil industry this means that companies like BP and Union Carbide (UC) are supposed to follow regulatory guidelines when completing work. If not, they may face severe criminal, civil and other forms of charges. Often, though, the regulations put in place by the government puts a financial burden on the companies and takes time to adhere to, usually necessitating the company to follow a route that does not lead toward the greatest capital gain. In this case, the regulatory agencies obtain substantial revenue from the industries that they try to regulate (Eargle and Esmail 2012:74).

It is important to recognize the nature of the economic system before delving into corporate and state negligence.

On the 20th April 2010, in the Gulf of Mexico, a deepwater drilling rig named Deepwater Horizon exploded and caused the deaths of 11 people, while simultaneously injuring 17 others and spilling 35-60 thousand barrels of oil per day (bpd) into the ocean (Osi 2011:1). This disaster could have been avoided altogether if several engineering, design, and regulatory failures had not been ignored. However, because of the complex system of the Deepwater Horizon and the companies that ran it, it is difficult to place blame for the explosion. Drilling rigs are made up of many different working components, and for that reason, it is common practice for the head company (in this case BP) to contract out work that they themselves are not specialized to do. This is also a strategy that companies utilize to spread legal liability of the rig to ensure that the head company does not take all responsibility for any potential trouble that occurs (Eargle and Esmail 2012:70).

In the case of the Deepwater Horizon, BP was the operator (or leaseholder) of the Deepwater Horizon (DWH) vessel – they manage all the work that is performed on the rig, hence why the oil spill is often attributed to their name. The DWH was leased from Transocean as BP does not construct drilling rigs, meaning that Transocean needed to adhere to any plans or schedules that BP advised. M-I Swaco was contracted to monitor the mud surrounding the well to make sure that it was stable enough for a deep water well to be drilled through it. Another company, Weatherford, was contracted for the casing job, a crucial aspect of any oil drilling operation that includes casing the exterior of the hole in the ground to ensure the integrity of the well. Finally, Haliburton was contracted for cementing, a potentially more vital job than casing.

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Cementing includes encasing the well in a strong cement hold, temporarily plugging the well with cement to block any unwanted flow, and pre-emptively and consistently ensuring the integrity of the cement to make sure the well is stable. Of course, all these companies were under the direction of BP and usually were not able to make decisions that differed from those that BP prescribed (Osi 2011:13-14).

The DWH disaster can now be analysed to determine everything to our knowledge that went wrong and what companies were responsible. Prior to the disaster, it was commonly known that the DWH had many engineering and design faults that were overlooked for cost-effectiveness or in an effort to save time. Known precursors to the disaster are as follows: a single barreled pipe was used to transfer the oil from the well to the rig rather than a double barreled pipe which would have exerted less pressure on the outsides of the well, the shut-off valves were off-line because of testing and when brought back online during the explosion they did not function, and the cement was nitrogen-based which the workers had very limited experience using in deep water (5000 feet below the ocean surface). Warning signs of methane gas on the ship were not uncommon but the supervisors only authorized a period of discontinuing use of hot devices to not spark the gas. Further, BP's emergency plan was also faulty (wrong phone numbers, the Internet was not operational, named experts to contact were deceased, and some of the aspects to deal with an explosion were based in the Arctic, rather than a comparable location). These faults are seemingly due to corporate negligence, but the state further maintained these unsafe standards (Eargle and Esmail 2012:26-27).

Some Mineral Management Service (MMS; a dissolved government regulatory agency that reviews and approves permits responsible for regulating oil sites) employees were found to accept vacations using corporate luxuries, gifts, parties, and other items from officials in BP to persuade decisions in regulation. This close relationship does not exist selectively with BP though, outlined in a 2007 report were many MMS regulators that were found to have accepted vacations and golf tournaments that were funded by off-shore oil companies, the same kinds of companies as BP.

In addition, some industry officials were working with MMS officials to gain a persuasive position and advise the MMS against demanding for a better system to prevent well blowouts. If the MMS had gone through with a better system it would ultimately cost oil companies more money and time (ibid:73).

This relationship that BP, as well as many other off-shore oil companies, and MMS shared was a large part of the problem that inevitably led to the DWH disaster. This close relationship was the foundation for BP's ability to skip crucial tests, use an ill-advised well design, ignore the engineering advice from the companies they contracted who have more knowledge in their specializations, and fail to adhere to numerous other regulations. The relationships that existed between companies and the MMS though are only possible in a political economic context where regulations are poorly enforced for the benefit of capital accumulation to both sides (ibid:73). To prove this, the Union Carbide disaster at a chemicals plant in Bhopal, India will be analyzed to show how unsafe and corrupt behavior stems from the economic system of a country.

During the night of the 2nd of December 1984, an unexpected chemical reaction occurred in a chemical storage tank at the Union Carbide (UC) pesticide factory in Bhopal, India. The poisonous gas, not deterred by the factory's safety devices, spread over the Indian city and killed approximately 7,000-10,000 people in the first three days following the incident. It is estimated that over the next 20 years 15,000 more had died (Sheoin 2010:21). This resulted from years of corporate and state negligence to make profit. As far back as 1976, Bhopal worker unions had attempted to draw the attention of management to numerous safety problems at the factory but little, or nothing at all, was done to fix these issues by UC or the state. Later, in 1982 a safety audit was conducted at the Bhopal plant which identified 61 hazards, 31 of them major issues which could lead to irreversible repercussions. Yet, only temporary fixes were implemented which became obsolete by the disaster in 1984 (Eargle and Esmail 2012:56-57).

Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) is the parent company to Union Carbide India Ltd. (UCIL) that holds 50.9% of shares in UCIL;

WRITTEN BY LUKA WRENSHALL, *SOCIOLOGY*

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despite this they issued continuous statements that it is "wrong to say that the American company is the parent company" (Jones cited in Eargle and Esmail 2012:60). This is notable because UCC is the overseer of the UCIL plant in Bhopal and their decisions were always put forth. Common maintenance issues in the plant included a refrigeration unit that was permanently shut down to cut down on costs; a vent gas scrubber that was turned off by a supervisor as he was misinformed on the importance of its continuous operation; faulty gauges, valves, and malfunctioning temperature, and pressure indicators that were never repaired. Design issues included an inappropriately sized emergency relief system, a water sprinkler system that was also unable to accommodate the size of the plant (this was noted in the safety audit in 1982 but never attended to), and the largest of all design flaws was the excessive amounts of stored MIC (methyl isocyanate; the largest constituent of the gas) which was an executive decision made by UCC contrary to objections by UCIL engineers (ibid:57).

On top of problems with the engineering and design of the plant were personnel issues. As a result of a string of (relatively) minor incidents at the Bhopal plant in 1982 a large group of union workers at the plant printed six thousand posters to protest the work conditions, and the union leader went on a hunger strike demanding safer work environments. UCC responded by firing three of the union leaders (publicly stating that the firings had nothing to do with the unions), banning all political and union meetings within the factories, and began a campaign meant to present unions as seeking nothing more than larger salaries and less hours of work. This inhumane treatment of workers that UCC conducted was not unusual in the Bhopal plant, many workers were fired who spoke out, staff training was deficient, many workers were unqualified for their work, and the toxicity of the chemicals was unknown to the workers. In order to further censor the workers, UCC hired less skilled workers who worked longer shifts (rather than professional engineers) so they would not notice if safety regulations were or were not being followed (and most required less pay) (ibid:58).

Following a rupture in one of the excessively large chemical storage tanks, MIC gas spread across the town of Bhopal and affected thousands.

Methyl isocyanate (MIC) is a chemical used to produce insecticides and herbicides which has a sharp odor but "cannot be relied upon to warn of the presence of vapors at low concentrations", this is important because it is extremely toxic through inhalation (PubChem). While it may seem obvious that a pesticide plant was producing toxic chemicals, the toxicity of MIC was kept as a 'trade secret' by UCC as was their right to hold private research findings from company competition. While this may seem suspicious, this is common for chemical companies in the US, where plenty of toxicological research is kept hidden. Following the chemical spill in Bhopal, UCC controlled released information while the death toll continued to climb, maintaining that it was simply an eye-irritant that could be treated with water. The information that UCC did provide was faint and outlined only possible treatments but did not provide local healthcare services with the specific toxic effects of the gas (Eargle and Esmail 2012:59).

As previously mentioned, UCC held 50.9% of the shares in UCIL making them the parent company responsible for the Indian subsidiary. They claimed that UCIL was an affiliate to the American corporation, stating that the Bhopal plant was built by Indians and the American company had nothing to do with its design flaws. This, along with the negligence to MIC's toxicity, was all an attempt to limit corporate liability. 'Spreading the blame' is a common corporate tactic, similar to BP blaming Transocean, Haliburton, and others for the DWH disaster. UCC tried to sever ties with UCIL to avoid any liability that could be traced back to the American parent company; this complex legal system is a by-product of a political economic context where capital accumulation is the main, and often only, focus (ibid:59-60). After an unspecified amount of time UCC sent high ranking doctors, who were also advisers to the state, into India to minimize damage to persons. These doctors were informed to administer sodium thiosulphate as an antidote to those affected by the gas. While this proved to be effective, this advice was soon recalled since UCC's suggestion of this antidote as a rational treatment meant that the company recognized that the gas was more than an eye-irritant and had produced multi-systemic effects, leading to legal liability (Sheoin and Pearce 2015:2).

WRITTEN BY LUKA WRENSHALL, *SOCIOLOGY*

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The Indian government did not try to help doctors and limit the death toll, in fact, they did the opposite and sided with UCC. This unhealthy and corrupt relationship between state and corporation exists because of the economic context. In 1984, regulations dealing with the environment and industrial health and safety were lacking in India, partially explaining why the regulatory agencies failed to protect the citizens of Bhopal. Further, the state agencies were largely understaffed, leading to the UCIL's inability to respond to the rare inspections that the state employed. The situation was further limited due to a lack of relevant staff training. The two inspectors tasked with the Bhopal area were mechanical engineers and had no training in assessing chemical hazards. For these reasons, the state had an ethical responsibility for dealing with the aftermath of the disaster, but they also had a legal reason, the state owned 23% of equity in UCIL, making the plant partly the state's responsibility. On top of this there were close connections between some elite Indian political members and UCIL who took offers to use the company's luxury guesthouses (Eargle and Esmail 2012:61). In both cases with UCC and BP, the regulatory agencies in place failed to administer proper assessments of hazards, neglected to take proper action against the companies, and participated in inappropriate relationships, making both the US and Indian states partly responsible for both disasters. It could be argued that the MMS and Indian government were under manipulation or special circumstances relative to the companies they were dealing with, and not because of the political economic context they existed in. However, a closer look at the collective failures of a currently existing regulatory agency in the US, more specifically the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), undeniably concludes that regulatory agencies in this specific form of society are destined for corruption.

The OSHA is a regulatory agency in the United States that is responsible for the creation and enforcement of safety regulations for the U.S. industry (OSHA cited in Maul 2006:1).

According to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions 2008b:1, many deaths could have been prevented if safety measures were properly followed but instead,—

for most employers, "safety of workers is secondary, taking a back seat to production" (cited in Gerkin and Doyon-Martin 2017:242).

OSHA suffers from similar problems to the MMS and the Indian state; limited budgets, minimal staff, weak regulations and inconsequential financial penalties. But these are not the only reasons for OSHA's failure to protect workers. The agency plays a significant role in establishing and strengthening the structures where safety regulations are being violated with lack of punishment. OSHA, MMS, and other forms of regulatory agencies, in the political and economic context of the United States and others like it, are made to "facilitate capital accumulation, even at the cost of human life" (Gerkin and Doyon-Martin 2017:242).

*After a hydraulic line exploded and caused a massive fire in a chicken processing plant ran by Imperial Food Products on September 3, 1991 in Hamlet, North Carolina, 25 workers were killed and 56 more injured.*

These deaths can be attributed to the fact that the company regularly locked several fire doors in order to "prevent employee theft of chicken and keep the flies out." These deaths and injuries were due to a series of state crime omission. For example, North Carolina rejected supporting OSHA and returned nearly half a million dollars to the state in unspent OSHA money right before the fire took place. Furthermore, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) takes a spot right next to OSHA in their criminal behaviour as two of their agents permitted the fire exit doors to be locked: one admitted to knowing that the company regularly locked the doors, but assumed he had no authority to deal with it; and the other USDA agent directly approved of the locking because he was focused on preventing flies from entering rather than allowing humans to exit (Kramer et al. 2002:277).

Through detailed analyses of the DWH, the Bhopal disaster and the collective failure of OSHA, it is evident that states of a capitalist nature hold a permissive and corrupt relationship with corporations. In the political economic context of the U.S. or India, both the state and corporations are driven by a need for greater capital accumulation, putting human safety as a secondary objective.

WRITTEN BY LUKA WRENSHALL, *SOCIOLOGY*

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As seen with the DWH, companies often manipulate regulatory agency personnel for their personal benefit in order to cut costs or save time, indirectly causing the state to support the acts of BP.

In the case of the Bhopal disaster, it is also possible for the state to directly support the side of the corporation where the state of India held equity in UCIL. Comparing the DWH disaster and the UCIL explosion in Bhopal gives strong evidence that these regulatory agencies and corporations are not corrupt at heart, but it is the nature of the capitalist and mixed economic state to permit corrupt relationships protected by complex legal systems, all in the search for capital accumulation.

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WRITTEN BY LUKA WRENSHALL, *SOCIOLOGY*

# Marital Conflicts and Divorce: Exploring the Correlation Between Marital Conflicts, Divorce and Children

Parental conflict and divorce negatively affect the way individuals between ages 10-30 interact with others, and the personal/emotional connections they make later in life. In point of fact studies show that children who have had to experience divorce or parental conflict are more likely to grow up with social competence (Sutherland 2014). Contrary to widespread belief, two homes are most of the time better than one. In fact, "82% of those aged 14-22 who have endured family conflict, would prefer their parents to part ways if they were unhappy" (Bowcott 2015:1). This paper argues that parental conflicts and divorce cause interruptions both emotionally (how they develop social relationships with others) and socially (how they act in social environments) in a child's well-being, yet in most cases, divorce is better than subjecting children to parental conflict. This is demonstrated by the way a child interacts with their parents, their friends, or adults in general, such as teachers and extended family. The fact that divorce is better than subjecting children to parental conflict is also demonstrated by how the government chooses to help children who are going through divorce or who live in a home where parental conflict is present.

Research into the social effects of divorce and parental conflict on children, teens and adults is important because children need to be supported and surrounded by a nurturing environment as they grow up. In fact, parental conflict can "cause children to develop a low threshold for stress, becoming overly reactive to adverse experiences throughout life" (Wood 2015). An individual's reactions to adverse experiences caused by growing up around parental conflict can become a problem when entering new social situations or lead to issues with conflict management as an adult.

If parents cannot provide a stable, supportive home, the environment in which the child is growing up in needs to change. If divorce is the chosen route to take, then governments should put resources in place to ensure that the child's best interest is kept in mind throughout the divorce.

Such government plans would include access to free psychological counselling to determine the mental state of the child going through divorce or living with parents who are disputing. The evaluation could assess feelings toward their parents, how they view other adults or how they view themselves.

For the purpose of this paper when talking about parental conflicts, this shall include, fighting both physically (hitting, pushing, grabbing, etc.) and verbally (name calling, yelling, swearing etc.).

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Parental conflicts and divorce cause issues in a child's social life. When children have been exposed to elevated levels of conflict, they begin to develop relationship conflict, caused by a learned inability to make resolutions or compromise stemming from overexposure to parental conflict (Gager 2015: 256-257). The effects of parental conflict are observable through the ways in which children and teens externalize their problems (Acock 1999: 2). Signs of externalizing problems include sudden changes in mood, strong temper, stubbornness, cruelness or hyperactivity (Vandewater 1998: 330). In acting this way, these individuals are acting in opposition to accepted social norms. Fent (2006) describes social norms as "whenever coordinated behaviour is enforced without the help of an authority or a rule guiding individual decisions concerning rituals, beliefs, traditions, and routines" (1). Social norms then, tell us to what we can and cannot do (Anderson 2016: 130). For example, a social norm used in North American in this decade is "do not be rude to teachers or your classmates" (Your Dictionary 2018:1). Being cruel and bullying others is not accepted, yet it is a way in which children and teens externalize behaviour, thus rejecting accepted social norms. When children and teens do not follow social norms, they are seen as deviant. Parental conflict causes children and teens to defy social norms through the externalization of behaviour and an inability to create resolutions, resulting in deviant behaviour.

WRITTEN BY HOLLY L. DOUGLAS, *2ND YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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Parental conflict also causes children and teens to defy social norms in a way that is a causal sequence; an additive effect from one event setting off a chain of negative events.

Children and teens may also begin to internalize their problems; the results of internalizing problems include low self-esteem or insecurity (Boyd 2012: 5). Children and teens may blame themselves for their parents' conflict, in turn creating a different view of their parents and themselves (Boyd 2012: 5). How you view other adults and how you view yourself are at the roots of socialization. If one view adults in a negative light, it will change how one acts in front of them, and if one has low self-esteem it will also change how one acts in unfamiliar environments and around other people. For example, being over accommodating to those around you to gain approval is a sign of insecurity (Lee 2010). When you over accommodate for other people, sometimes others take advantage of the trait and the child and teen who over-accommodate for others ends up getting hurt. This shows that insecurity can influence how you act in social situations and demonstrates that it is important to note the effects parental conflict can have on children and teens experiencing and internalizing feelings of low self-esteem (insecurity).

Children and teens not only experience trouble with external social situations when exposed to elevated levels of parental conflict, but they will also have social issues within their own family. Frank (2007) states that "marital conflict exerted an effect independent of divorce, negatively affecting relationships with both parents" (105). Not only does parental conflict affect the direct parent-child relationship, parental conflict also affects sibling socialization. Findings regarding sibling relationships while experiencing parental conflict explain that "siblings in homes with marital conflict were more likely to develop hostile relationships with each other" (Conger 2009: 48). Hostile relationships may begin to present themselves between siblings because "children and teens may infer that this form of behavior is an acceptable way to interact with siblings" (Conger 2009: 47). "This form of behaviour," refers to the negative and hostile behaviour presented by the siblings' parents (Conger 2009: 47).

Parental conflicts change the social dynamic in children and teens own home, not just the external social world. Parental conflicts in the home negatively affects the ways in which children and teens act in social setting both inside and outside the home, creating a platform for social maladjustment.

## ADULTHOOD

Parental conflict also has multiple effects on children and teens as they transition into adulthood. When children and teens are consistently surrounded by parental conflict, they notice the negative behaviours their parents display and begin to act in similar ways (Sarrazin 2007 :81). When you enter adulthood the behaviours you learned as a child and as a teen tend to follow you. When faced with problems, adults will take what they learned from their parents during their childhood and apply this knowledge to their own situations (Riggio 2001: 13). When the problem-solving skill learned is anger it "increases the likelihood of conflict in interpersonal relationships" (Riggio 2001: 14). When effective problem-solving is clouded by an inability to resolve conflict peacefully (i.e. being taught this skill by your parents who do so in a negative manner) it increases the likelihood to be unable to deal with conflict management calmly and the children and teens who have to experience parental conflict "learn to experience fear in personal relationships" (Riggio 2001 :15).

In the same way that parental conflict affects how adults deal with conflict management it also affects the ways in which adults view the intentions of others (Riggio 2001 :15). A study done by Riggio (2001) found that adults who grew up in a home plagued with parental conflict tend to view other people's behaviours as having hostile intent even when they do not (15). Having the constant presence of parental conflict stimulates the expectation that all conversations will involve conflict or hostility (Riggio 2001 :15). When adults who live with parents who are constantly in conflict enters a situation that they feel is hostile they will "model aggressive responses" to these acts (Riggio 2001 :15). Children and teens learn social interaction patterns from their parents and carry it with them into adulthood where they use what they have learned to guide their own social interactions.

Parental conflict is a huge contributing factor in adult hardship.

WRITTEN BY HOLLY L. DOUGLAS, *2ND YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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As mentioned, how one parent acts in relation to the other parent has a significant impact on the adult that the children and teens become. Parental conflict can affect the optimism attached to the idea of getting married (Roberts 2002: 79). This is because children form general ideologies of what they think a relationship should look like and when they are constantly surround by negative examples, negative outcomes will arise (Roberts 2002: 83). An example of negative outcomes involved with marital status is from a study that found that adults who were raised in a conflicted environment also report high numbers of marital problems within their own marriages (Yu 2007: 33). What children learn from their parents' relationships is what they will expect to happen in every relationship. This gives us an idea for why marital optimism is lessened in adults coming from a home infiltrated with parental conflict. Not only can parental conflict decrease the optimism attached to getting married, it can lead to relationship avoidance. Adults who grew up surrounded by parental conflict have this ideology that relationships are not long lasting and that if they enter a relationship, they must do so with hesitance (Nguyen 2013 :67). The idea that every relationship will end and that you need to lead with hesitance is the reason that these adults who grew up watching their parents fight often end up avoiding any close social relationship in their adulthood.

## DIVORCE OVER CONFLICT

Overall, divorce is a better outcome than subjecting children and teens to parental conflict. In fact, "severely distressed marriages were more damaging to children than divorces" (Rutter 2009: 713). When parents are faced with this ultimatum, physical separation to lesson conflict is better for the children than remaining together (Vandewater 1998 :329). Looking at what is known about parental conflict and understanding the consequences of parental conflict, it is clear that the benefits of divorce outweigh the aforementioned risks of conflict. Divorce has many positive effects on those who are exiting a home surrounded in conflict.

To start, divorce produces "higher levels of overall happiness" in children and teens. It also manufactures closer relationships to kin and friends (Yu 2007 :40).

For example, when children and teens are not constantly surrounded by negativity it allows them the ability to stop having to focus on their parent's relationship and focus on themselves (Sember 2017 :1). When it comes to sibling relationships post-divorce, they have far more tremendous positive outcomes and have stronger relationships (Nguyen 2013: 66). This is important because when the children and teens are given the opportunity to focus on themselves, it gives the children and teens time to build their own personal relationships. When high conflict marriages come to end, children and teens often feel the positive effects of being removed from such hostile environments, making them hopeful for the future (Nguyen 2013 :65).

Divorce also helps boost positive long-term abilities of the children and teens. Yu (2007) found that adjustment to different environments and social situations get better overall following divorce (39). Thankfully, studies have found that the negative effects of divorce are lessened when parents make the decision to end their union (Gager 2015 :256). Socialization occurs over the span of someone's entire life, so when transitioning from such a high conflict environment into a positive one, socialization plays a role in aiding younger adults in their life (Gager 2015 :256).

*According to Rutter (2009) the worst kind of home for a child to grow up in is a "distressed, married family" (712). Therefore, remaining in a high conflict marriage for the sake of the kids is not a productive excuse. Divorce has many positive effects on children and teens who are coming from a high conflict home and should also be the determined route to take to lessen the amount of conflict children and teens are exposed to daily.*

## GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES

The government should play a significant role in ensuring that they are aware of situations in which children are surrounded by parental conflict. When parents have come to the conclusion that divorce is the necessary route that they need take to improve their lives, the biggest concern should be the children since they may already having to go through a lot by watching their parents grow angry and leave each other.

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Currently, the federal Divorce Act does not set out factors that parents should consider when determining the best interests of children" (Government of Canada 2019: np). This is a problem because children are very impressionable at young ages and when they witness divorce around them without the correct resources in place to help them through, it results in negative consequences on children (Sarrazin 2007 :81).Children and teen internalize and externalize their problems, they have romantic relationship hostility which may affect all social relationships in the future.

The Government of Canada is aware of this issue and have many ideas of what needs to happen for divorce to occur within the child's best interest. The Government of Canada says that children should be provided with a needs assessment, "mandate a periodic review of parenting arrangements", and "encourage parents to make decisions that avoid a lengthy process" (Government of Canada 2019). These ideas would prove beneficial to children's well-being during the process of divorce. When these recommendations are followed it can allow for the Government to truly understand what the child or teen really needs during this process. For example, children benefit from remaining in contact with both parents, meaning joint custody would be the best case scenario. However, if there is no cooperation between the parents to lower the amount of conflict it can prolong the child's involvement in conflict (Vandewater 1998 :329). This means that periodic review of parenting arrangements is important to ensure the children and teens can stay in touch with both parents while being excluded from all forms of conflict.

## CONCLUSION

In the final analysis of parental conflict and its harmful effect on children and teens throughout their life, much has been found to prove the thesis of this paper. Specifically, the analysis of the ways in which children and teen internalize and externalize their problems, how social relationships develop and the interactions between them and the effects parental conflict has on children and teens as they grow into adults. This paper set out to show that parental conflict has detrimental effects on children and teens and demonstrates that overall, divorce leads to better outcomes for children and teens.

It also supports the concept that divorce is overall better for children and teens as opposed to growing up in conflicted environments. It has also been determined that the government should be involved in ensuring that children's needs are being addressed throughout a divorce. The government can and should have control over the process of divorce regarding the ways in which the children and teens involved are being treated. Parental conflicts cause serious harm to the children and teens involved, and in order to reduce the effects and promote better outcomes for those involved, parents should consider divorce, rather than exposing their children to a home environment full of conflict.

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WRITTEN BY HOLLY L. DOUGLAS, *2ND YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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# Ethical Concerns Regarding the Commodification of Genetics: How the Commercialization of Genetics Alters the Value of Reproduction

The demand for desired traits is not new; the practice can be found dating back to "Neolithic Culture" when humans began domesticating animals and controlling their reproduction to acquire animals with desirable traits (Krishan et al., 2016: 587). The practice of controlling reproduction to obtain particular characteristics is not exclusively for non-human animals but also used for plants and human reproduction. The modification of human reproduction and genetic make-up through technology to select for desired traits is ever-growing. For instance, women who go through fertility treatments such as in vitro fertilization (IVF) can select their sperm or egg donor based on characteristics they desire to be passed on to their offspring; however, this type of technology is not guaranteed to pass specific desired genes and characteristics to their child. Recently the 'cluster regularly interspaced identical short palindromic repeats', otherwise referred to as CRISPR technology, has received a lot of attention due to its promised ability to change strands of DNA (Reardon, 2016). CRISPR-Cas9 technology allows us to re-engineer the genomes of organisms in a way that is cheaper, faster, and more accurate than other genetic modification technologies that are currently available (Kirksey 2016:1). CRISPR enables individuals to edit the somatic cells of an organism – which is editing the cells in an adult – and it can edit germline cells (Kirksey 2016:3-4). Editing cells within an embryo help prevent a parent from genetically passing on diseases and disorders to their child. This can be done by using the Cas9 enzyme and RNA molecule to cut out the flawed DNA strand and replace it with something that is more desirable (Ledford 2016: 156; Cyranoski and Reardon 2015).

This innovative technology has "raised the possibility of tremendous scientific advances – and serious ethical concerns" with the use and commercialization of CRISPR (Ledford 2016:17).

Through analyzing and comparing both the advantages and disadvantages of using CRISPR as a reproductive technology, I will argue that the technology of CRISPR is negative as through commercialization it will promote neo-eugenic regimes further fostering an extremely ableist and an increasingly classist society. Concluding that CRISPR alters the way we view reproduction, from females naturally creating new offspring to artificially making exact copies of genetically perfect humans.

CRISPR has not been commercialized; therefore, we cannot judge the full effect it may have on society (Bubela et al. 2017: 160). However, we do know that the main draw to CRISPR is the ability to modify offspring's genetic characteristics in the embryonic stage (Das et al. 2017: 1346). If a parent that is expecting a child carries a known or deadly genetic disease, the parents would be able to pay to use this technology to reduce the chances of the defect getting passed down to their children and future generations of children or to get rid of the defect entirely (ibid:1349). With this technology, society can avoid disability if members pay a certain price. Thus creating what is termed "designer babies," highlighting children whose genetic traits have been tampered with while they were in the womb (ibid: 1346). The offspring then is described as being designed because the genetic alteration in the zygote stage is not done naturally but, through technology (ibid).

In 2015, an international summit of high profile scientists and ethicists drew a distinction between the use of basic research and clinical application (Bubela et al. 2017: 160). During this summit the scientists and researchers concluded that it would be reckless "to proceed with any clinical use of germline editing unless and until (i) the relevant safety and efficacy issues have been resolved …and (ii) there is broad societal consensus about the appropriateness of the proposed application" (ibid: 160).

WRITTEN BY MADISON WARD, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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Due to this finding, experiments that are done on human embryos are non-viable making the CRISPR technology inefficient (Cyranoski and Reardon 2015: 593). This innovative technology has "raised the possibility of tremendous scientific advances – and serious ethical concerns" with the use and commercialization of CRISPR (Ledford 2016:17).

Due to the restrictions surrounding human embryo use in CRISPR research, I will explain how CRISPR targets female reproduction in mosquitos (Hammond et al. 2016). This research investigates the possibility of genetically targeting three specific genes that allow the female population of anopheles gambiae to carry malaria. Through the micro-injection of the mosquito embryos, the researchers observed a change in the genetics of the population (ibid). CRISPR-Cas9 recognized and cleaved the three targeted genes from these embryos with success (ibid). The modified genetic sequence was transmitted from 94.4% and 99.6% of the population in two trials (ibid). Through this experiment they were successfully able to remove the three targeted genes that were known to carry malaria within the mosquitos to now having meagre rates of malaria being transferred to human through the mosquitos. In changing the embryos of the mosquitos, reproduction was altered from the mere creation of mosquito babies to the construction of genetically "perfect" mosquitos that do not carry malaria and do not run the risk of spreading it to their future generations of offspring.

This experiment can be understood as proof that CRISPR-Cas9 works through the genetic modification of an embryo. Concerning human genetics, similar techniques could be used on human embryos to target specific gene sequences for hair colour, skin tone or other genetic features. If this technology was allowed to be used commercially on humans, CRISPR could target more than just genes that affect a person's appearance. It could be used to target hereditary genes such as those that cause disease and disorders and ultimately come to a cure for many of these issues. This technology would be an advantage as it can repair defective genes thus eliminating disabilities and creating designer babies and people as a result. Through the commercialization of CRISPR, individuals could buy their health and future generations health.

However, with the commodification of genetics, some individuals will be disadvantaged leading to a slippery slope of ethical considerations.

Editing the human embryo and germline has sparked a debate among scientists as for what ethical considerations should be taken into account when thinking about the future effects genetic modification can have on generations to come (Krishan et al. 2016: 587). While it seems that the advantages of CRISPR engineering technologies would outweigh the disadvantages; this is not the case. CRISPR and its commercialization would bring about neo-eugenic movements and cause an even more classist and ableist society, thus resulting in societal harm.

In 1883, Francis Galton coined the term 'eugenics' believing that it would enhance the qualities of the racial stock of human populations (Krishan et al. 598). German fascists picked up this idea of eugenics as it justified their racialized policies and experiments that were conducted throughout the Holocaust (ibid:599). German fascists ended up killing a large portion of Jewish people due to their need to control their own population and eliminate characteristics that were undesirable.

Due to the advances in genetic engineering techniques society has moved away from the post-eugenic era where individuals or groups with medical disabilities were castrated or murdered to improve the racial stock, to a neo-eugenic era where diseases can be eradicated with the possibility that individuals will be "cured or designed even before birth" (ibid). With CRISPR parents can cure genetic defects in their offspring. However, some scholars would argue that as a society we have already been pre-selecting our children. When women are pregnant, they get an amniocentesis test. This test examines the amniotic fluid within the mother's womb. Through an analysis of the amniotic fluid, doctors can search for any genetic abnormalities such as down syndrome and spina bifida. There are eugenic consequences in doing this because many expectant parents whose unborn children test positive for any of the conditions assessed through an amniocentesis test are usually guided towards the termination of their pregnancy by doctors, nurses, family and friends (Krinksey 2016: 9; Ledford 2016:17).

WRITTEN BY MADISON WARD, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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This proves that there is a neo-eugenic movement that is persisting and creating the notion that having a disability is not normal and should not be accepted within society.

With CRISPR technology being commercialized, neo-eugenic means would become more prevalent within society. Once the door opens to genetically modifying somatic cells and embryos – the door will not shut. The technology will at first cure deadly genetic diseases. After a while this technology can grow and as we understand more about genetic codes; commercialization may lead to commodification of genetics and the temptation for people to change more of their genetics. For example, if a parent creates there "designer baby" immune to an auto immune disorder such as ankylosing spondylitis, what would stop them from paying to get their children enhanced or perfect eyesight, or to be beautiful or tall. Consequently, the commercialization of CRISPR can be used to modify genes for personal gain which can cause unfair advantages between classes.

Since the process of editing genetics will be costly, it will be heavily restricted to those who are financially stable within society (Das et al. 2017: 1349). This will lead to a large gap in communities, countries and throughout the world, and those in developing countries where the difference between rich and poor is a stark (ibid). As this continues, those who are poor will be the only people in the world's population who are sick and have a disability.

There are also major ethical concerns with this technology. Those who have the financial ability to protect their children from certain diseases could be seen as providing a moral duty to their child so that they do not live a life of suffering and pain. Those who cannot afford genetic modification may be seen as unethical for their inability to provide their children with this protection. In direct opposition to this, some will condemn gene editing by saying that the babies whose genes are edited have no say in the process, and there is not enough research to say that having genetic mutations do not create beneficial exceptionalities (ibid).

Additionally, this promotes the idea that having a disability lowers a person's worth and should not be seen as acceptable in society.

Kevin Esvelt is also concerned with this idea as he asserts that by giving parents the option of having a child without autism in turn of losing another genetic issue such as the loss of individual creativity (Kirksey 2016: 9). Therefore, it would be more beneficial to eliminate genetic diseases and disorder through existing clinical technologies rather than modifying them. An additional issue is that through the use CRISPR, researchers and those who are getting their genes altered, run the risk of disrupting and damaging many cells (Das et al. 2017: 1349). This is because cells often work in tandem with each other, so by changing one gene line you may also disrupt large signalling pathways leading to cell damage and running the risk of damaging the entire gene pool (ibid).

CRISPR solidifies the notion of neo-eugenics as using the technology can lead to the rise of an elite population who can afford the technology while those that cannot are susceptible to disease. Therefore, disease and disorders will only be among the lower class population promoting classism, and ableism. This also alters the way that we value reproduction because we took something that was meant to be natural, and through new reproductive technologies, there has been a shift to artificially engineering "designer" babies. In doing this, we are commodifying genetics and as a result putting a significant emphasis on creating a perfect class of humans.

In sum, CRISPR Cas9 is a genetic modification technology that re-engineers the human genome of organisms in a way that is cheaper, faster, and more accurate than other genetic modification technologies (Kirksey 2016:1). CRISPR enables individuals to edit the somatic cells of an organism – which is editing the cells in an adult – and it can edit germline cells (Kirksey 2016:3-4). On the surface level, this appears to be beneficial to society because it can eliminate disease and disorders that can be fatal for individuals such as cancer, immune disorders, spina bifida, among others.

WRITTEN BY MADISON WARD, *4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY*

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However, through analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of this technology; I have argued that the serious disadvantages to the commercialization of the is technologies have far outweighed the benefits of the technology as it largely stratifies the population.

This stratification comes from the commodification of genetics and promotes neo-eugenics by restricting the access of the technology to only those who can bear the cost. This restricts diseases and disorders to the 'poor,' which promotes classism and demonstrates that having a disability is not acceptable within society. Therefore, reproduction changes from being natural to the artificial modification of genes to be the most "perfect" human.

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# Taking a Knee To Rise Free: An Analysis of Activism In Sports and Patriotism

Institutionalized racism is a social issue that has been present for a long time in American society and is still present today. This issue leads to a lot of other social problems in America such as police brutality, over-representation of black people in jail, lack of black people achieving higher education, racial profiling, racial stereotyping and many others. In the era of social media and globalization, many people are becoming more engaged in such topics and debates surrounding them have become commonplace.

In the world of sports, police brutality and racial injustice are problems that have been attracting the attention of many players. Due to fame and popularity, many professional black athletes feel that they have a social responsibility to stand up and protest against such issues as well as inform the public. The NBA players Carmelo Anthony and Dwyane Wade use their platform to protest. Some examples of protests are, being active in social media and bringing sneakers that contain messages of equality to the game court. We also have examples of NFL Players such as Colin Kaepernick, Eric Reed and many others that "take a knee" during the national anthem, protesting against racial injustice. Part of the public considers these protests misplaced and anti-patriotic. People that have this opinion believe in the apolitical nature of sport and in the "patriarchal patriotism."

Patriarchal patriotism is explained by Jeffrey Montez de Oca and Stephen Cho Suh (2019) as being uncritical patriotism that refuses to acknowledge the existing social problems and flaws of the state (1). However, research shows that governmental institutions such as the police are mired in institutionalized racism and are responsible for harming the black community. For those athletes, being responsible citizens and "constructive patriots" means being aware and protesting against injustices while starting a debate that is important to have, in order to overcome the issues of racism present in America. Therefore, athlete activism should not be considered misplaced and anti-patriotic, athletes should be allowed to protest against racism and police brutality as they wish, since these social issues affect them and their communities directly.

Police brutality is a reoccurring problem that many black communities face. The social issue that lies behind police brutality cases is the stereotyping of black people as being violent, a danger to the society, and perpetrators of crimes (Baldwin 2018:435). The association the police officers make between black people and crime has made many officers analyse situations in a biased manner, tending to blame the black person for a crime without any concrete evidence. This misjudgement has already taken many innocent black lives, while many of the police officers responsible for these crimes do not suffer appropriate legal consequences. One example that Bridgette Baldwin (2018) brings about police brutality is the case of Eric Garner, stating that "while thousands saw Eric Garner get choked to death, many responded that it was his poor health that killed him" (441). This quote brings up the issue of blaming the death of the black victim on an external factor and not on the officer, and its bias caused by racism. After many cases like this happened, the black community began to feel unsafe since in their interpretation, the police were not serving and protecting their community, causing feelings of frustration and revolt.

Since many American athletes are part of the black community, these issues are brought to their attention leading to them being revolted against such injustices as well. After the case of Trayvon Martin's death, a young black male who was shot for being portraited as suspicious for being black and wearing a dark hoodie, many NBA players started to manifest themselves within the case (Thomas 2018, chapter 2: para. 4). The basketball icon Dwayne Wade gave an interview for The Associated Press explaining how he connected to Martin's case with his own reality: "This situation hit home for me because last Christmas, all my oldest son wanted as a gift was hoodies... I feel like it's necessary that we get past the stereotype of young Black men and especially with our youth" (The Associated Press cited in CBC Sports).

WRITTEN BY JOAO PEDRO ALEXIM

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In an interview in the book "We Matter: Athletes and Activism" by Etan Thomas, Wade points out the absurdity that is shooting someone in these circumstances, "whatever the situation maybe, we all wear hoodies. And for that to be the reason given as a justification-and why this child Trayvon Martin won't be able to experience the fruits of life" (Thomas 2018, chapter 2: para. 64). In this quote, Wade makes the connection to how even his son could be portrayed as a threat for being black and wearing hoodies like Trayvon. As a parent, he worries about the stereotyping of black males and recognizes the danger that this social issue brings to his own son. Basketball stars also have families and are regular people therefore, issues that are happening in the society can hurt them and their loved ones as well. Since these social issues directly affect them, they have the right to protest. They should also be viewed as patriots since they are standing up for a large group of Americans that are constantly suffering because of racism.

Another athlete that felt revolted and worried about issues that racial brutality and racial stereotyping causes is the former San Francisco 49ers quarterback, Colin Kaepernick.
In order to protest against such issues, Kaepernick started to "take a knee" before games while the American national anthem was being played. He did that because in his view America is a country that oppresses black people and therefore, he shouldn't stand for its anthem (Wyche 2016 cited in Oca and Suh 2019: 3).
According to Tom Rorke and Adam Copeland (2016), the protests made by the quarterback had a clear purpose: "The purpose of this is not to resolve the issues, but rather provide fuel for more focused discussion" (94). His protest accomplished its purpose, the topic of racism and police brutality started to be discussed a lot more in academic institutions and in the media after his acts of activism. This proves that athletes can use their platform to inform and warn the population about various prevalent issues.

Racism was not the only debate stimulated by Kaepernick's protest, he was also being heavily criticized by the public and the media. These critiques started to happen because "in some powerful way Kaepernick challenged the conception of what an athlete is supposed to be and how an athlete is supposed to behave" (ibid. 97). In the end Kaepernick was able to bring visibility to the problem of racism while challenging the common understandings of politics and sport in the American society. Those who were criticizing him argued that the role of athletes is not to protest because in their view sport is supposed to be apolitical. The criticism expressed on the topic sparked questions regarding if athletes should protest or not and whether or not these protests are patriotic.

After Kaepernick's started to take a knee, the debate on to what extent athletes should protest became constant and aroused the interest of scholars. In the article, "Policy Point-Counterpoint," the authors Robert BJ Marach and J. Marcos Reynolds (2017) debate the idea of whether or not African American athletes have an obligation to fight against racial injustice. Reynolds expresses his argument where he thinks that "athletes have an obligation to continue this practice, to draw attention, and delimit persisting racial inequities" (5). He justifies his argument by saying that social movements engaged by athletes "caused African Americans to become more conscious of race and express racial pride, and it resulted in increased acts of racial solidarity by black athletes across the country" (6-7) and that "it is in the interest of black athletes to break down racial barriers" (8). In his view, the benefits of protesting bring positive outcomes that outweigh the negative ones and therefore the athletes should keep protesting.

In contrast to Reynolds, Marach argues in favour of the idea that "athletes should be permitted to protest racial injustice, but they are under no obligation to do so" (2). He defends his argument by saying that many times, the career of the athlete is compromised because of his or her protests. This argument is understandable since Colin Kaepernick himself had his career damaged because of his protests and was a free agent until recently. As it can be seen Marach's argument does not support the main focus on the criticism directed at Kaepernick's protests.

WRITTEN BY JOAO PEDRO ALEXIM

# Continued...

The media gives criticism because it misinterprets the real intentions of the protest, and for "patriotic" reasons consider it misplaced and anti-patriotic while trying to take away its importance and relevance. But Marach's argument, that players don't have an obligation to protest, is supported by the fact that the image of athletes who protest become negative because of this misinterpretation of the media, potentially damaging their careers or even making athletes retire earlier. If the media did not give a bad image to the players because of their protests Marach's argument would align with Reynolds since the only reason they are not in accordance is the risk of losing careers. In conclusion, Marach's main argument that opposes athlete activism is not related with protests being misplaced. His concern lies in the media giving athletes a bad image and consequently damaging hard earned careers.

The other topic that became the theme of constant debates was about whether or not these protests were patriotic. In order to debate this topic, it is useful to understand the two types of patriotism that are brought forth by Jeffrey Montez de Oca and Stephen Cho Suh (Oca and Suh 2019), that are called patriarchal and constructive patriotism. Patriarchal patriots are "people opposed to the protests since they hold that institutions of authority protect citizens, and therefore citizens owe them loyalty and deference" (Oca 1). Other scholars such as Robert T. Schatz, Ervin Staub and Howard Lavine (1999) refers to this patriotism as "blind patriotism", referring to it as "as an attachment to country characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism" (151). In contrast, these scholars cited above came up with the concept of constructive patriotism. Constructive patriots do recognize the flaws of the state and believe they "have an ethical obligation to oppose inequities and work on the nation through protest and dissent" (Oca and Suh 2019:1) in order to make society fair. Constructive patriots follow "the idea that patriotism is not one-size fits all and that protest is patriotic by improving the nation is central to CP ethics" (15). For constructive patriots "ignorance harms democracy while knowledge and truth are liberating," (16), and for this reason protesting and informing the public is important.

Patriarchal patriots cannot be considered real patriots that care for the betterment of the nation. For patriarchal patriots, agencies of the state and national symbols, such as police, army, flag and anthem are really important for the nation and should be respected by all citizens. For this reason, when someone kneels while the anthem is being played, patriarchal patriots feel offended and "instead of engaging with a non-white reality, patriarchal patriots instead focused on the threats and the harms they experienced from the protests" (11). Critiques about their country make patriarchal patriots consider that "the players are traitors because they do not properly offer loyalty during the anthem's nationalistic ritual" (ibid). Since the protests are made by "traitors" patriarchal patriots refuse to validate the real motivation behind the protest and ignore the issues of racism and police brutality. Some patriarchal patriots that do recognize the injustices between races in America, criticize the protests but do not give any other alternatives for players to protest, instead they just shut down and try to persecute them. It can be argued that patriarchal patriots, in fact, are not patriotic since they often do not acknowledge the racism that affects many fellow Americans, and when they do, they do not stand up to try solving the issue.

In contrast with patriarchal patriotism, constructive patriotism cares more about sacrifices made for the communities than national symbols valued by patriarchal patriots (15). With his protests Kaepernick challenged the view of patriarchal patriotism by demonstrating that protesting and sacrificing his career for the sake of the black community can bring more social change than standing for an anthem and demonstrating respect toward national symbols. The constructive patriots often criticize the patriarchal patriots for getting more concerned with national symbols than with racism - "People upset with those who kneel seem to be more revolted about black 'disrespect' than black death" (Blow 2017 cited in Oca and Suh 2019). It can be argued that, because constructive patriots are able to recognize social injustices, understand how these issues harm black people, and in order to improve the society, protest against these issues regardless of the risk of suffering negative consequences, makes them real patriots.

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# Continued...

It is also important to recognize that black athletes suffer the consequences of racism daily which gives them not only the right but the obligation to protest.

In conclusion, athletes play an important role in advocating for equal rights and treatment of African Americans as well as bringing awareness to social issues in America. In the case of police brutality affecting predominantly young black males, athletes have been particularly involved, by voicing their opinions through interviews, campaigns and fashion. Their activism on this issue sparks conversations which is an important step in solving the issue of racism and police brutality in America. Even though there are many positive outcomes that follow the athlete's protests, many of the athletes suffer career-damaging consequences for being involved in the issue. These negative consequences are largely caused by the media's coverage of the protests that claim it to be anti-patriotic, causing a nation-wide debate on whether or not "taking a knee" is patriotic or not.

After thorough research, it can be argued that these protests are in fact patriotic because they serve to recognize problems that are going on in society and make statements about it, prioritizing black people's struggles over meaningless national symbols. Further research can be conducted to examine the patriarchal patriots to determine why they find that their national symbols and respect to the flag take priority over innocent black lives being taken. Another area for further research would be to look into a method of athlete activism which would not be perceived as disrespectful by patriarchal patriots. Some limits of research were finding relevant material that related to patriotism and athlete activism. The problem of racism in America is a complicated one that requires further investigation, debate, and action in order to be solved in the future.

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WRITTEN BY JOAO PEDRO ALEXIM

# Spotlight

## EXTRACTS FROM A RESEARCH DIARY, TOKYO, 2019

**WRITTEN BY DAVID MURAKAMI WOOD, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN SOCIOLOGY, AND SURVEILLANCE STUDIES CENTRE.**

### Background

I'm currently in Tokyo as a Fellow of the Japan Foundation to study the security preparations for the Tokyo Olympics, which will take place in the summer of 2020. I've done a fair bit of work before now on so-called 'mega-events' and how they impact the urban societies in which they are held, and how they interact with (both reflecting and influencing) broader social currents. Most of that work was done along with Professor Kiyoshi Abe of Kwansei Gakuin University, a former visitor to the SSC. It resulted in two articles for Urban Studies and a chapter in the excellent Routledge collection, Security Games. Mega-events tend to be crucibles of risk, often acting as test-beds for new forms of security and surveillance practices and technologies which feed into 'best practices' not just for future mega-events but for policing practices more broadly. In that sense they are a homogenizing force, part of a global process of neoliberalization, but they are also quite different in each city and each country in which they occur.

It is highly unlikely, for example, that Tokyo will see the massive protests that gripped Rio de Janeiro in the run-up to the Olympic Games of 2016, or violent policing of the kind that saw whole informal neighbourhoods 'pacified' (to use the militaristic term that the Rio police deploy). Tokyo offers a different combination of social and environmental factors: a high degree of social order, much of which is now technologically-enabled, and at the same time, the certainty that sooner or later, the city will suffer another devastating earthquake, equal to or worse than the one which resulted in huge areas of the city being destroyed in 1923. But it's still the most marginalized who are most negatively affected. My research here involves document collection, interviews and site visits. I have to work quickly as the Fellowship is only for two months, and I have to present some preliminary findings at the Asian Privacy Scholars conference in Singapore at the beginning of December. Here I present excerpts from my research diary, as I visit the site of the soon-to-be-opened National Stadium. ... Getting off the train at Shinanomachi station, I cross over the wide main road, newly resurfaced for the marathon that will, now, not take place here at all. The announcement of the removal of the marathons and long-distance race-walking events to Sapporo, hundreds of miles away on the northern prefecture of Hokkaido, came as a complete surprise to the local community association, whose head I interviewed the week before. Preparations were well-advanced, he said, security not the least of them. They had had meetings, exercises and simulations...



"This is not a marathon course'"

# Continued...

There is a large and obvious police presence on the road that leads to the new national stadium. I don't take pictures of them directly — personal experience, from long before I was an academic when I worked for an activist media organisation taught me that filming police officers has to be done either with permission or very subtly if you don't want unfortunate consequences. For now, I take some pictures of police signage. Both Tokyo Metropolitan Police and the National Police Agency have entirely refused to speak to me on this research trip despite my quasi-official Japan Foundation Fellow status. I wasn't surprised about this. It's an irony of this kind of research that 'security' is often the main reason that organisations will refuse to talk to me about security.

As it turned out, however, the representative of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Olympic Preparation Committee's Security section I interviewed was seconded from police anyway. So, indirectly, I got the police take on things. As far as they are concerned crime and terrorism are only one of four 'security' areas they are concerned about. Earthquakes are by far the most likely major threat, and a neighbourhood earthquake evacuation poster outside the stadium reminds me of that today.



"Evacuation Zone"

The other thing they worry most about is crowd panic; Tokyo doesn't need any real disaster to make people believe something is wrong. The interesting thing about panic is that it needs exactly the opposite kinds of contemporary surveillance-oriented urban design with its pinch-points and funnelling of people down narrow thoroughfares so they can be more easily seen and photographed. No, like dealing with floodwater, it needs wide open spaces, so that people can spread out and not get crammed in together, potentially resulting in people being crushed.
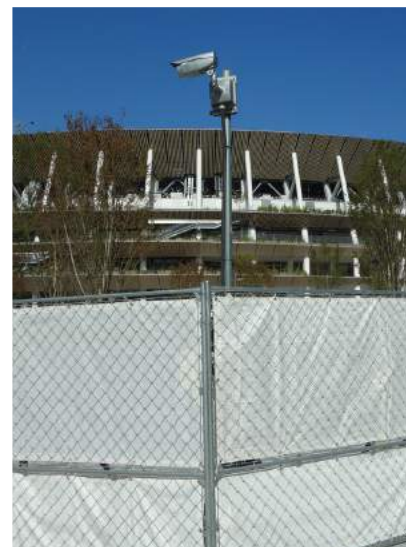
The new stadium is impressive but hard to photograph in its entirety. It has been built on the site of the old 1964 national stadium, squeezed in between the existing roads, part of the 'compact' philosophy of these Olympics, which has been somewhat undermined by the marathon debacle. I walk around cataloguing the mundane security elements from work sign-in sheets to security cameras.



"The mess of security in practice"



"Cameras everywhere"

WRITTEN BY DAVID MURAKAMI WOOD, *ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN SOCIOLOGY, AND SURVEILLANCE STUDIES CENTRE.*

# Continued...

The Police mascot, Pipo-kun, is much in evidence. Almost every organisation in Japan has a mascot and the Tokyo Metropolitan Police are no exception. Pipo-kun has big ears so he can hear everything, he has big eyes so he can see everything, and he has an antenna on top of his head that picks up everything else. What a cute little surveillance creature he is! However, what Pipo-kun is telling us in most of these posters is nothing to do with security cameras — the signs about cameras are much smaller and less obvious — or even the kind of 'If You See Something, Say Something' advice that is now everywhere in London or New York. No, it's about inconsiderately-parked bicycles. To be fair, there are a lot of bicycles in Tokyo...



'Pipo-kun says: "Please don't park your bike here because it might cause inconvenience to someone else"'



'Security cameras in operation here"

The police officers and security guards are much in evidence but on this sunny morning months away from the Olympics itself, they seem relaxed. Two officers laugh and joke at a pedestrian crossing before they eventually return to patrolling. I get shouted at with a loudhailer from a passing police van, but only because I crossed the road at a non-designated place, despite the fact that there was nothing coming in either direction.



"Officers enjoying a chat"



"On patrol"

# Continued...

WRITTEN BY DAVID MURAKAMI WOOD, *ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN SOCIOLOGY, AND SURVEILLANCE STUDIES CENTRE.*

# *Continued...*

In fact there is nothing much happening that indicates risk or concern. Apart from the stadium itself there is nothing spectacular, and since we are still a few weeks away from the official opening — I'll be back for that — no sense of how the public will be able to access the stadium itself. Will there be the kind of blast-proof concrete or steel 'sculptures', those aestheticized barriers that started to appear outside new stadia and corporate HQs in the 1990s? It's clear that not everything is in place yet, particularly when it comes to security. The plan is for what the police call 'the last mile', a scheme to have total video surveillance coverage of the space between train and metro stations and stadia. Part of this also, it seems, involves facial recognition software from NEC, Japan's largest electronics company. I've had two different personal contacts with NEC so far but each of these has so far no resulted in my getting to visit the labs where they develop this technology. I have to keep trying. What is surprising is that the roads have no 'N-System' cameras – these are the world's oldest car number-plate / license-plate recognition cameras, which are on national highways as well as certain strategic locations within Tokyo. I would have thought that this would have been one. Maybe it will be.


"People take pictures of each other"

I amuse myself a little at the new Olympic Museum on the south side of the road opposite the stadium, taking pictures of people taking pictures of the stadium, and posing their dogs with the 1964 Olympic cauldron and so on. There is a particularly stark example of the 'manners posters' that my colleague, Chris from Sheffield University whom I met the other day to exchange research experiences, is studying — this one simply telling rather than persuading — there is to be 'no smoking', 'no bicycles' 'no skateboarding, dancing or sports'... the latter seems particularly ironic given than that sports are rather the point of all this, and that skateboarding will finally be an Olympic sport in 2020.


"No fun"

The obsession with public order has more serious consequences. Between the stadium site and Setagaya station, I come across a triangle of unused land on which there seems to be the remains of an encampment: a tangle of bicycles, an umbrella or two and some other bits and pieces. I've been told that the local government 'moved' homeless people from the area around the stadium, but I hadn't seen much evidence of it until now. The homeless in Japan are in a particularly precarious position when it comes to 'natural' disasters. Many live in the riverbanks and ironically, because they lack evidence of a local address, they are sometimes refused entry to emergency shelters, as happened in Taito-ku, one of Tokyo's 23 wards, when Typhoon Hagibis hit in October. I'll be interviewing someone from a support organisation for homeless people next week.

When I get back on the train at Setagaya, the next station down from Shinanomachi, having done two circuits of the stadium, it's clear that the train and metro stations are all being upgraded, probably as much for crowd-flow reasons as security. Japan Railways' Group Security division is also on my contact list. I wonder whether I've given them enough time to respond and whether I should contact them again... either way, I'll need to come back down here and get some pictures inside the stations. I'll almost certainly get asked to leave eventually, but I will try to be as subtle as possible.


"People lived here"

WRITTEN BY DAVID MURAKAMI WOOD, *ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN SOCIOLOGY, AND SURVEILLANCE STUDIES CENTRE.*

# Advice To My First Year Self

*What I would tell myself*

"If I could go back in time and give one piece of advice to 1st year self, it would be to talk to and connect with my professors! I would encourage anyone, whether you are in 1st or 4th year, to go to a professor's office hours or simply talk to them after lecture. Particularly in sociology, our professors have done research or are currently researching something very interesting and relevant to our world. They're also just rad humans in general. In my experience, my professors have been so helpful for answering any questions I have, or just chatting about their research or other areas of research I'm interested in. The professors also really want you to do well and are more than happy to help you navigate through your studies."

**-AMANDA SCORDA, 4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY STUDENT (BAH)**

"I have a quote on my wall by F. Scott Fitzgerald that begins with "For what its worth; it's never too late or, in my case, too early to be whoever you want to be." It reminds me that it is okay not to have your life figured out and that there's no concrete way to live your life. The sociology department at Queen's offers you various opportunities to learn and grow as a person, so be open to the different opportunities, be confident in yourself and embrace change academically, socially and/or personally."

**-MACKENZIE COOPER, TA - MASTER'S STUDENT**

# Words of Wisdom

*Sociology Survival Guide*

"I now realize cultural capital is everything, so be sure to join the chess team!"

**-ALEX GONZALES, 4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY STUDENT (BAH) AND CERTIFICATE IN LAW**

"I never realized how much we are constantly surveilled in society... make sure to read the terms and conditions!

**-SAMANTHA HELLER, 4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY STUDENT (BAH) AND CERTIFICATE IN BUSINESS**

"Don't skip lectures because some of your profs will refuse to use onQ"

**-ALICIA MORA, 4TH YEAR SOCIOLOGY MINOR**

"Reading Bourdieu makes me want a tall glass of Bordeaux but you should always do your readings anyways"

**-RACHEL ALTER, 4TH YEAR CON-ED STUDENT AND SOCIOLOGY MAJOR**

Are you interested in volunteering for Phenomena? Do you have questions or comments about this year's fall edition? Please contact us at phenomena.queensu@gmail.com.