Proceedings of
the 6th Annual
Thompson Rivers University

Undergraduate Student Research and Innovation Conference

Kamloops, BC | April 2011

Proceedings of
the 6th Annual
Thompson Rivers University

Undergraduate Student Research and Innovation Conference

Kamloops, BC | April 2011

Acknowledgments

Contents

Introduction

This introduction offers the reader not only an overview of the contents that follow but also a glance at the evolution and impact of the conference from which those contents emanated. Context is important, and never more so than when a conference was shaped by so many behind-the-scenes forces.

The Sixth Annual Thompson Rivers University Undergraduate Conference, which took place April 1 and 2, 2011, saw even greater and deeper participation than past conferences. One hundred and nine students displayed their research through seventy-seven posters, and seventy-eight students delivered sixty-three papers (including one via Skype, a conference first). Less visible but equally significant were the scores of students who shared their expertise by performing in several one-act, student-directed plays, creating a dessert buffet, and displaying their creations in an exhibition in the TRU gallery. Student involvement at both the organizing and implementation levels also increased: integral members of the organizing committee included an academic service learning student receiving hands-on experience, Interdisciplinary Studies majors who incorporated conference study into their graduation requirements, and dedicated volunteers, including an International student and a student returning to school after retiring from the work force. A book sale was among the innovations of the student contingency; in fact, the practice of awarding the book sale proceeds to the student club who contributes the most volunteer hours has now become a conference mainstay. In addition, our volunteer coordinator ensured that over a dozen more students practiced their volunteer skills and learned new ones. When the audience members, as

One hundred and nine students displayed their research through seventy-seven posters, and seventy- eight students delivered sixty-three papers (including one via Skype, a conference first).

well as the faculty and administrative moderators, and adjudicators, are taken into account, it is clear that the conference had a considerable quantitative impact on our campus.

The quality of the impact was evident in both the constant conference "buzz" and the positive feedback. It is also reflected in these proceedings. The disciplines of the writers – English, Canadian Studies, Sociology, Theatre, Visual Art, Psychology, Business, Tourism Management, and Interdisciplinary Studies – indicate the breadth of impact. What these articles share, though, is as striking as their diversity. Each writer, while adhering to disciplinary conventions, evinces a clear passion for the subject matter. Apparent in the articles are a clear sense of justice and a desire to improve societies. Whether focused on Kamloops or Kashmir, these writers impart an inspirational belief that the world can become a better place.

Improved quality of life at the local level is the focus of two papers. Bonnie Klohn's case study is a qualitative assessment of the sustainability of the community gardens located throughout the city. After conducting 24 interviews with garden users and relevant administrators, Klohn concludes that, although social connections among the gardeners were "infrequent and rarely deep," agricultural sustainability was enhanced, as were the satisfaction levels of the users. Klohn, who provides specific suggestions for further research, recommends greater education of community gardeners about the effect of gardening on carbon emission reduction. Skylar Nakazawa presents a case for adding a technical program to the TRU Theatre Department's offering by comparing the university's theatre offerings with those of selected post-secondary institutions across Canada. Both papers evince an activist spirit, and both writers perceive the relationship between community and the larger world as two-way.

National and continental concerns are the primary focus of three papers. Kimberly Main's examination of Canada's protection of its claims to Arctic sovereignty between 1917 and 2009 focuses on its "rather lenient" approach to U.S. challenges to those claims, and predicts continued vigilance as the federal government engages in the delicate balance between exercising sovereignty and maintaining positive relations with the superpower. The power of collaborative research is evident in the work of John Bottcher, Seth Gehring, Marlene Irausek, Nicole Saat, and Parth Vyas on discrimination in the workplace, originally prepared for an Introductory Organizational Behaviour course. The students provide an overview of the various types of discrimination that occur in the contemporary workplace, and, while acknowledging the effectiveness of recent legislation by the Canadian government to end workplace discrimination, maintain that society as a whole has an obligation to "make a conscious effort to end discrimination and close the gap that separates so many people." Stereotyping is also the subject of Aaron Ledoux's paper, though this time it's being approached from the perspective of a senior-level Aboriginal Literature class: Ledoux analyzes the use of the "pan-Indian" concept in works by Anishnaabe playwright Drew Hayden Taylor and Spokane/Coeur d'Alene short story writer Sherman Alexie. While he recognizes the limitations of the stereotype, Ledoux argues that these writers illustrate the positive value it can have in promoting cross- cultural interest and cultural preservation through their contemporary characters who productively engage with the generalized historical image. Within a country, and across a continent, these papers make clear, societal improvement rests upon the efforts of both the individual and the governing bodies.

Collectively, the remaining papers present a spectrum of global concerns – from youth deviancy to political instability. Nicholas Beauchesne argues for a formalized movement – at the policy level – to support the efforts of youth involved in musical sub cultures. Community-supported, accessible venues would, he argues, assist in identity formation, enhance social capital, and "limit exposure to criminologically deviant activity" in the youth demographic. Harmony Raine examines the self-portraitures of four female visual artists – Frida Kahlo, Hannah Wilke, Jo Spence, and Catherine Opie – that reveal their creators' physical or emotional pain and concludes that their work succeeds not only in communicating that pain but also in producing a two-fold negation of the male gaze. Lauren Barrett evaluates two suggestions emerging from critiques of the external validity of the mock trial studies that forensic researchers rely on (because study of live trials entails a host of legal issues) when they investigate jury phenomena. Barrett examined 224

recent studies using mock trials and concluded that researchers' cautions against overuse of college students in the simulations did not perceptibly impact the research community; nor did their reservations about trial simulation designs that condense material effect a change in practice. Jasim Khan studies the effects of geopolitical instability in the Kashmir Valley on tourism, the environment, and, indeed, the socio-cultural integrity of the region. Khan recommends "a strategic framework to crisis management and mitigation" further study of the ramifications of the instability and, of course, "an honest effort to resolve" the situation. Measured yet passionate, these scholars' responses to global concerns have much to offer the reader.

The qualitative and quantitative engagement of Thompson Rivers University students in the 2011 Undergraduate Conference is both a source of pride to the organizing committee and an example to future participants. We are also proud to offer both print and online versions of the proceedings this year in the hope that more hearts and minds will be exposed to this important research.

Ginny Ratsoy
Associate Professor of English
Thompson Rivers University

Kamloops community gardens: a form of sustainability in an urban environment

Bonnie Klohn

Abstract

In light of increasing public concerns about sustainability, climate change and food issues, this paper looks at the experience of community gardeners in Kamloops and how their gardens may represent a form of sustainability in the city. Community gardeners reported that the act of producing food in an urban environment does ameliorate sustainability because of the reduced distance that produce travels, the organic cultivation practices, the education children receive related to growing food, the personal satisfaction gardeners experience, and finally, because of the appreciation of living green space in the city. Education on environmental considerations, and programming to support social connections in the gardeners did not exist in Kamloops at the time this research was done, however, there seemed to be a need for it.

Introduction

Although the concept of sustainability has been around for decades to help combat some of these global challenges that face us, the principles and objectives of sustainability as they apply to urban planning and development are fairly recent.

Opportunities for food production within urban boundaries are often limited. However, the growing popularity of farmers markets, urban agricultural groups and community gardens across North America suggests there is a growing desire for civic agriculture. In a recent presentation and workshop in Kamloops on Public Produce, May 4th and 5th 2011, Darrin Nordahl, a landscape architect and community planner in Davenport, Iowa, shared examples of municipal food growing efforts in public spaces in the United States. One of the themes that emerged from the workshop was the need to educate and re-acquaint the public with the relationship between food and agriculture.

Along with the need for public education on where food is coming from, all cities have complex issues dealing with population growth, economic development, resource use and urban sprawl (see Daniels, 2009; Antrop, 2003; Benton-Short and Rennie-Short, 2008, Eaton et al. 2007). There are also external considerations such as global warming, economic and political cycles, and market forces affecting planning and development priorities of city administrators. Although the concept of sustainability has been around for decades to help combat some of these global challenges that face us, the principles and objectives of sustainability as they apply to urban planning and development are fairly recent.

In this research, qualitative data gathered from gardeners and administrators involved in Kamloops community gardens was examined to see whether the gardens are a form of sustainability in the city. Social sustainability emerged as the key facet of benefits related to sustainability for gardeners. This can include the beautification of a neighbourhood, the contribution to a better living environment for local residents, and increased environmental awareness.

Sustainability considerations

Sustainability is a term that is talked about everywhere from mainstream media to the most reputable academic journals. The definition of sustainability most often adheres to the 1987 Bruntland definition whereas, "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Bruntland, 1987, p. 43). A variation and perhaps more specific view of sustainability is the triple bottom line (Elkington, 1994). Economic, social and environmental sustainability are all given equal weight in this concept usually represented as a venn diagram. Community gardens do contribute to each component of the triple bottom line, so environmental, social and economic sustainability will be discussed in this section, however, the research findings hone in on the role social sustainability has in gardeners' experiences.

Since 2007, when two major reports on the potential disastrous effects of climate change were published, more attention has been focused on carbon emissions (Stern, 2007; IPCC, 2007). In the Stern report, *The Economics of Climate Change,* agriculture is mentioned numerous times because there is such a high risk for food losses and damages in a serious climate-change scenario, and also because agriculture plays a key role in contributing to emissions levels (Stern, 2007).

In Canada, industrial agriculture carbon emissions have reached 13% of our total emissions. Each year 57, 000 kt of CO_2 are attributed to our current agricultural practices (Environment Canada, 2008). A large portion of transportation, which makes up 26% (200,000 kt CO_2) of GHG emissions is used for transporting food, which in Canada travels 3,333 miles to get to its consumption destination (Bentley and Barker, 2005). Research suggests this is 25% farther than twenty-eight years ago (Halweil, 2004). While community gardens may seem like insignificant contributions to urban, rural and food system sustainability, there are many unsung benefits that can help move society towards a more sustainable future. Community gardens can help reduce the amount of food shipped into the cities (Mougeot- 2006). They often use non-fossil fuel-based manure, compost and fertilizer (ibid). Producing *and* using resources right inside the city significantly reduces the carbon footprint (ibid.). It has also been recognized that community gardens have an important role for reducing food miles and the subsequent green-house gas emissions they cause (Low et al, 2005). Thus, community gardens contribute greatly to environmental sustainability.

A further benefit of planting gardens in cities is the feeling of connectedness that comes with green space in an urban environment. The literature shows that a large percentage of urban dwellers feel uneducated, insignificant, and unsure of where to start to make a positive impact on the environment (Low et al., 2005; Tjallingii, 2000; Breuste et al, 1998). Many people living in cities have the perception that cities are totally separate from nature (Benton-Short and Rennie-Short, 2008; Spirn, 1985). As Nordahl emphasized in his presentation in Kamloops, education and contact with nature is perhaps community garden's greatest contribution to sustainability. Community gardens are very aesthetically pleasing, making it easier for not only the community garden users to appreciate nature in the city, but all passers-by (Breuste et al, 1998). This can help bridge the urban/nature gap even for those who have not yet considered it. All gardens are subject to weather patterns, seasons, pests, climate change, and atmospheric pollutants as are areas outside the city. Yet for many city dwellers, community gardens can be their only regular reminder of what is happening to nature in terms of climate. It can lead to a greater understanding of the natural forces that affect our ability to grow food. This affects both environmental and social sustainability.

Evidently, community gardens connect people to nature in a city. They can also connect people to each other. Often, urban gardens are used as a tool to incorporate marginalized groups, giving a sense of purpose as well as food to many people who struggle with low incomes, racial marginalization and disabilities (van Veenhuizen, 2006). They also allow immigrants to grow types of produce that are difficult to buy in Canada, but which grow well here. This can contribute to their sense of belonging, cultural preservation, and even spiritual fulfillment (Baker and Huh, 2003). Programs that support this type of work create an increased quality of life for not only the participants, but also for those who interact with them as a result of the agricultural spaces they share (van Veenhuizen, 2006).

Not only does planning green space in a city help to increase environmental sustainability but community gardens can also provide increased economic sustainability for cities. Environmental economists, Lerner and Poole (quoted in De Sousa, 2002) found that "greening projects in the US tend to reduce costs related to urban sprawl and infrastructure provision; attract investment, raise property values and invigorate local economies; boost tourism; preserve farmland; prevent flood damage; and safeguard environmental quality generally" (p. 184).

Finally, personal finance and food security have been found to be drivers of community gardens. In the United States the average person spends about

$70 on a 600 square-foot garden. These gardens will, on average, yield 300 pounds of produce worth about $600 (Mellott, 2009). One indicator that people are acting on financial motivations to start gardening are the seed sales during the financial crunch in 2008. American plant and seed sales the following year were up 6% and Burpee Seed Co has found that while flower sales have remained stagnant, vegetable sales are up 20% (ibid).

Scope

Community gardens have existed in Kamloops since 1984. Although there are now several new driving forces for implementing gardens, many of the motivators for planning them in a city are the same. Interior Community Services (ICS), in partnership with the City of Kamloops, is the primary administrative body for the community gardens in Kamloops, and has been for a number of years. However, there are gardens that exist outside the organization of ICS. Six gardeners who had plots at a garden owned and operated by Sahali Fellowship Church and two people who coordinated a school district garden at an elementary school were interviewed. The rest of the interviewees were involved in ICS-run gardens. Here is a summary of the number, age, location and size of ICS gardens in Kamloops:

Garden	Start Date	Location	Plots	Number of Gardeners
Crestline Garden	1984	750 Crestline Street (Brocklehurst)	41	35
Sahali Garden	1999	Access on Garibaldi Drive (Sahali)	37	Wait-list
Peterson Creek	1984	Just past 515 Columbia Street (Downtown)	11	6 people on the 2011 wait-list
Mt. Paul Garden	2001	140 Laburnum Street (North Shore)	11 normally, however this year the garden is being used collectively by a group of low income residents who live nearby. The Community Kitchen program is involved in this project as well.	
River Street Garden	2010	1200 block River Street (Downtown)	43	7 people on the 2011 wait-list
Glenfair Garden	2011	The end of Glenfair Street, by Peterson Creek (Downtown)	38 wheelchair accessible raised bed plots	32

Methodology

In order to gather data about community gardens in Kamloops, interviews with people who understand how the gardens are being used were conducted between August 2009 and August 2010. Twenty interviews with twenty-four people were conducted. The participants in the interviews were 60% community-garden users and 40% administrators in roles related to community gardens. Two of the community gardeners interviewed had publicly advocated for community gardens and two other gardeners were part of a group that had a collective plot and donated the food grown to the food bank. The gardeners and the administrators were asked the same list of questions[1]. The questions pertained to the benefits and challenges of the community gardens, the interviewee's role in community gardens, what they were growing and their thoughts on how a community garden contributes to the local community. The interviews were typically about twenty minutes long. Incidentally, 75% of the community gardeners who were interviewed had only been gardening for one year. This is not an accurate representation of the ratio of first-year gardeners in community gardens, which is the reason it is important to acknowledge that this research may give a more accurate picture of the experience of a first-year community gardener in Kamloops rather than an overall view. After transcribing the interviews, we analyzed the participants' answers by looking at the key words and themes that emerged. Each individual's answer was plotted on a grid and from that, themes about community gardens surfaced.

Benefits and Challenges in Kamloops Community Gardens

When asked about the benefits of community gardens the clearest views highlighted were that community gardens increased community camaraderie, allowed people to know where their food was coming from, helped to educate children, and provided physical activity. Gardeners and administrators both mentioned knowing where food was coming from, educating children and physical activity; however, there was a marked gap in the responses related to community camaraderie. While administrators seemed to be well-versed in the potential for community gardens to connect people, very few community gardeners reported having many, if any, meaningful social connections in the gardens. One gardener, who has had a plot for four years in the community garden in Kamloops with the lowest turn-over rates, did report making plans frequently outside the garden with some fellow gardeners. However, the vast majority of community gardeners reported having made connection only briefly with neighbouring gardeners, or not at all. This may be because of the unusually high number of first-year

community gardeners interviewed or because of a lack of support for social get-togethers or other programs to share knowledge, produce, or seeds.

The principal challenges that the gardeners and administrators reported were weeding problems, water and theft. There were many anecdotal accounts of plot neighbours arguing or losing productive capacity in the garden because of the spread of weeds from a nearby unruly plot. Watering was mentioned as a challenge, both in terms of making sure that the proper watering facilities were in place before developing a new community garden, and in terms of gardening maintenance in our hot, dry climate. Gardeners found it challenging to keep up with the required watering in the summer, and frustrating in the spring if the weather was too cold and wet for their delicate seedlings.

Overall, responses to the benefits and challenges of community gardens can be categorized into five themes: food, individual benefits and challenges, community benefits and challenges, health and the experience inside the gardens. These five themes came out of our key-word analysis of all the participants' answers. These themes are also useful because they allow us to easily evaluate the sustainability aspect of the gardens. The themes contribute to the knowledge of what is generally working well and what types of things could use additional programming or co-ordination to enhance the gardener's experience.

Benefits of community garden *food*

Interviewees reported many more benefits than challenges associated with the food that is produced in the garden. The benefits they received from their produce were increased food security, a supported inflow of household food consumption at a low cost, and reduced transportation of food. Participants also noted that the food was much

Overall, responses to the benefits and challenges of community gardens can be categorized into five themes: food, individual benefits and challenges, community benefits and challenges, health and the experience inside the gardens.

fresher and tastier than produce from the grocery store. The only challenge related to food was a lack of storage space for keeping vegetables over the winter.

Benefits and challenges experienced *individually*

Individual benefits of community gardens included having access to land despite renting or living in an apartment, satisfaction and pride associated with growing food, money saved on the grocery bill[2] and finally, helping inactive people (retired or otherwise) become more active. Most of the challenges that individuals experienced relate to inter-personal arguments with fellow gardeners and wait-lists to get a plot in a downtown garden. For students and full-time workers, finding enough time to properly care for a garden was difficult.

Community shared benefits and challenges

The entire community is affected in many ways. To begin with the food bank benefits from groups gardening with the express intent of donating their food, or from other individuals who choose to donate their excess produce. Other community benefits are: raising general awareness about seasonality, growing food and eating locally, being able to share food amongst neighbours, adding to the gardener's feeling of giving back to the community, increased community safety because of the extra people in and around gardens, and creating more community food self-sufficiency. Often children were viewed as the key benefactors of community gardens because of the quality time gardening provides parents and because of the educational component of watching food grow.

A community also has collective problems pertaining to a garden that must be dealt with.

Theft, demand for public or private land for gardens, administrative costs of running a community garden and public buy-in for garden projects are barriers that communities must face collectively. Theft was an interesting theme in the interviews. Although five out of the twenty-four people interviewed mentioned theft as a challenge, none of them actually reported having things stolen from them. It was more of an answer in response to what *might* be a challenge. However, a few administrators reported that theft indeed does occur, with a fairly high frequency.

The impact of community gardens on *health*

The theme of health came up because of interviewees' comments on the importance of reducing pesticide in their diet, using gardening as a stress outlet, and of course, the added physical activity for participants in community gardens. However, health concerns were also raised because some gardeners found that their plot neighbours were using pesticides on their food, and there was a risk of cross-contamination of the chemicals. Since 2010, all community gardens in Kamloops are mandated to be organic, so artificial pesticides and fertilizers should no longer be a health concern.

The experience *inside community gardens*

Finally, there were many comments about what the actual garden itself represented to the people using it. For some it meant a venue to "get away" or get their hand in the dirt. Others appreciated the aesthetic value of a garden in the city, or found it to be a good way to appreciate nature in the urban environment. Using the garden as a sort of spiritual practice was talked about. Despite the fact that there seemed to be little actual verbal information-sharing between gardeners, many people said that being able to just look and see what other people were doing, when they were planting, and how they were arranging their plants was a great learning experience. Although the gardens seemed to be greatly revered as a haven in the city, there were still problems mentioned that the people using them felt needed to be addressed. Concerns included plants overlapping and spilling on to other plots, composting organization and regulations, regular watering, access to tools, waste removal, people abandoning plots and finally, accessing the actual gardens for those without vehicles who had a plot away from their neighbourhood. Many of these issues are simply a matter of co-ordination, governance and planning, which are theoretically easy to solve, however, reports from current administrators reveal that the budgets are stretched to the limit already.

Discussion

Analyzing the comments from research participants on the challenges and benefits of community gardens provides a greater understanding of how community gardens function in Kamloops, and in what ways they may be able to function better. The primary themes found in this research show that Kamloops community gardeners do enhance agricultural sustainability as they grow food closer to home, use organic gardening practices, and teach children and other adults about growing food. They also clearly reported a feeling of satisfaction because of their actions. The community gardeners recognized the contributions their green spaces made towards a better urban environment and select gardeners had a direct and urgent need for the financial benefits of growing food in a plot. These findings show that community gardens do function, as the literature would suggest, as a form of sustainability in Kamloops.

However, there is still potential for improving community gardens' role in contributing to sustainability in Kamloops. Reducing carbon emissions was not mentioned as a benefit or reason for people to start gardening, although there was mention of reducing food miles and preserving agricultural knowledge of manual, small-scale food-production methods. Education on this topic may help people have a greater sense of purpose while gardening, as well as perhaps rethink some of their gardening-related actions, such as walking instead of driving to get to the garden. Social connections between gardeners were infrequent and rarely deep. Interestingly, social connections were not widely mentioned in the literature as a benefit of community gardens either, and in Kamloops, there seemed to be a gap in terms of an ideal social setting in a garden, and the reality.

Conclusion

Although there were some things that could be improved in Kamloops community gardens, such as implementing programs to increase social connections in the gardens and sustainability education, the net result is that community gardens contribute significantly to sustainability. To understand how community garden planning should move to capitalize on the benefits and eliminate the major challenges will require further studies. A best practices report on community garden programming in other small cities could be very beneficial to find out how to help close social and educational gaps. For gardens that are experiencing wait-lists, a report on ways to increase access to land and garden space, without creating new gardens would allow gardening to expand using a cost-efficient model. Programs

such as backyard sharing or public produce initiatives in other cities should be documented and applied to the individual needs of a small semi-arid city like Kamloops. Finally, looking at how community gardens contribute to a gardener's sense of place and interviewing more passers-by to see if they also benefit from the presence of gardens in their area would be useful. ●

Sources

Antrop, M. (2003). Why landscapes of the past are important for the future. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 70, 21-34.

Baker, L., Huh, J. (2003) Rich harvest: The cultural and agricultural diversity of Canada's largest city is reflected in the bounty produced each year by community gardens. *Alternatives Journal, 29*(1), 21- 25.

Bentley S., and Barker, R. (2005). Fighting Global Warming at the Farmers Market. *Food Share Research Action Report* (2nd ed.). Kamloops: Foodshare.

Benton-Short, L., and Rennie Short, J. (2008). *Cities and Nature*. London; New York: Routledge.

Breuste, J., Feldman, H., and Ohlman, O. (eds.). (1998). *Urban Ecology.* New York, NY: Sringer- Verlag Telos.

Bruntland Report (1987) Towards Sustainable Development. *Our Common Future*, 43-66. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 43.

Buttel, F. (1997). Some observations on agro-food change and the future of agriculture sustainability movements. In D. Goodman and M. Watts (eds), *Globalizing Food: Agrarian Questions and Global Restructuring* (344-65). London: Routledge.

Daniels, T. (2009). A trail across time: American environmental planning from city beautiful to sustainability. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 75(2), 178-192.

De Sousa, C. (2003). Turning Brownfields into green spaces in the city of Toronto.

Eaton, R. L., Hammond, G. P., Laurie, J. (2007). Footprints on the landscape: An environmental appraisal of urban and rural living in the developed world. *Landscape and Urban Planning,* 83, 13-28.

Elkington, J. (1997) *Cannibals with Forks: Triple Bottom Line of 21st Century Business*. London: Capstone Publishing Ltd. Frederick, W.C.

Environment Canada, (2008, December 1). National inventory report, 1990-2005: Greenhouse gas sources and sinks in Canada. Retrieved January 10, 2010: http://www.ec.gc.ca/pdb/ghg/inventory_report/2005_report/ta8_2_eng.cfm

Halwiel, B. (2004). *Eat Here: Reclaiming Homegrown Pleasures in a Global Supermarket.* New York: WorldWatch Norton & Company.

IPCC, (2007). Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth AssessmentIPCC, 2007: Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [Solomon, S., D. Qin, M. Manning, Z. Chen, M. Marquis, K.B. Averyt, M.Tignor and H.L. Miller (eds.)]. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.

Lerner, S., Poole, W. (1999). The Economic Benefits of Parks and Open Space. *The Trust for Public Land.* Washington.

Low, N., Gleeson, B., Green, R., and Radovic, D. (2005). *The Green City: Sustainable Homes Sustainable Suburbs.* Sydney : University of New South Wales Press.

Mayer. H., and Knox D.L. (2006). Slow Cities; Sustainable places in a fast World. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28: 321 334.

Mellot, K. (2009, April 12). Growing trend: Financial slump prompts gardening craze. *The Tribune Democrat.* Accessed July 1st 2009: http://www.tribune-democrat.com/local/local_story_102234607.html

Mougeot, L., J., A. (2006). *Growing Better Cities: Urban Agriculture For Sustainable Development.* Ottawa: International Development Research Center.

Ontario Farm Animal Council. (2007). *The Real Dirt on Farming.* Information Brochure. Ontario: The Ontario Farm Animal Council.

Spirn, A. W. (1985) Urban Nature and Human Design: Renewing the Great Tradition. *Journal of Planning, Education and Research* 5: 475-495.

Statistics Canada. (May 16 2006). Farms classified by total farm capital. Table 7.3-1 and 7.3-5. Retrieved August 31st, 2009: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/95-629-x/2007000/4182411-eng.htm

Stern, N. (2007). *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review.* Cambridge,. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tjallingii, S. P. (2000). Ecology on the edge: Landscape and ecology between town and country. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 48, 103-119.

van Veenhuizen, R. (2006). *Cities Farming for the Future: Urban Agriculture for Green and Productive Cities.* Netherlands: IDCR Books.

Endnotes

[1] Interview Questions
1) How long have you been involved with community gardens in Kamloops?
2) What role does your community garden play in your life? In your community?
3) What was your initial reason for getting involved? Have your reasons changed over time?
4) What are the benefits of community gardens? (social, environmental, economic)
5) What are some of the challenges associated with community gardens?
6) How does governance play a role in the success of community gardens?

[2] Financial reasons for gardening were mentioned as a major factor by one of our research participants, a single mother of two and a food-bank client. Although we were able to interview this one person who used the garden as financial aid for bringing food to her family, we also got the information that people in poverty often suffer from food insecurity because of a very low-paying job, or a physical handicap, or because they are busy looking for work. It is extremely difficult for people in those scenarios to find time to supplement their food consumption by gardening.

Technical Programs across Canada and Why TRU Needs to Establish One

Skylar Nakazawa

Abstract

One supports the arts through the clothes one wears, the music one listens to, the pictures on one's wall, and the home one lives in, so why not support the development of a program that emphasizes all those aspects? Thompson Rivers University needs a technical theatre program to better prepare its students for future practices. This would benefit the students themselves by teaching them transferable life and work skills. It would benefit the community by raising participation and opportunity for the arts. And it would benefit the university by raising its standards to meet those of other Canadian colleges and universities across the country. Technical theatre is not just for the benefit of the performing arts; once the politics and stigmas are put aside one can more closely examine the overarching benefits.

A technical program at TRU would raise support for the arts while bettering the university and the lives of its students.

DID YOU REALIZE THAT YOU ARE being cheated? It is not just you, it is all of us. The student body, campus, and community are all being cheated because TRU does not have a technical theatre program. Thompson Rivers University, formally University College of the Cariboo, allowed the start of the Actors Workshop Theatre. Compared to other Universities we have adequate facilities but are understaffed and offer limited course selection for a degree program. The students are cheated, the community is not being supported, and the university is falling behind. We need to create a technical theatre program at TRU to better round our students for their future practices. A technical program at TRU would raise support for the arts while bettering the university and the lives of its students.

A technical program would only add to the arts. Technicians and technical elements support and help to enhance actors' performances. It would better round actors by teaching them further knowledge and respect for what goes on behind the scenes, which is the basis for a mutually reciprocal relationship and team work. But it does not have to stop with actors. They have skills to help any speaker, event, or performer. It would help to produce more and better directors, playwrights, set designers, lighting designers, costumers, stage managers, dramaturgies, technicians, technical directors, mentors etc. It would allow us to produce larger shows and more technically complex ones. We would be able to pay more attention to detail. In turn we would attract larger audiences and expose more people to the performing arts and the creative process. The larger the audiences the more publicity for the theatre and in return the university. You support the arts by the clothes you wear, the music you listen to, the pictures on your wall, the homes you

live in, and the television and movies you watch. So, why not support a program that exemplifies all of those?

The university is behind in the performing arts compared to other universities. Yes, we have a Bachelor of Arts degree program but we offer the most limited course selection of Canadian Universities and the lowest number of professors for technical fields. UFV, University of the Fraser Valley only offers an associate arts degree but offers fourteen technical courses separate from their performance courses and has six professors with various technical expertise.

Universities with Undergraduate and Graduate Programs	Degree	Technical Theatre Courses	Technical Faculty
University of Alberta	BFA Stage management, Technical Theatre Production, and Theatre Design; BA Drama, Drama Honours/combined BEd, MA Drama; MFA Directing, Theatre Design, Theatre Practise, Voice Pedagogy	37	15 9 Tech staff
University British Columbia	BA Theatre; BFA design and production; MA Theatre; MFA Directing, Design; Certificate in Design, Technology; PhD	43	5 teachers 4 staff
University of Ottawa	BA honours Specialization; MFA Directing; MA Theatre Theory, Dramaturgy	47	6
University of Victoria	BA Honours; MA Theatre History; MFA Directing, Design	40-50	13
Simon Fraser University	BFA Production and Design, MFA	5	6
University of Toronto	BA honours specialization, Master of Arts, PhD.	42	8
York University	BA, BA Honours; BFA Production; MFA Directing, Playwright; MA Theatre Studies; PhD Theatre Studies	35	11

Figure 1. Universities with Undergraduate and Graduate Programs

Universities with Undergraduate Programs	Degree	Technical Theatre Courses	Technical Faculty
Thompson Rivers University	Bachelor of Arts	4	1
Dalhousie	BA honours in Scenography and tech scenography, costume diploma	50+	12
University of British Columbia Okanagan	BFA Interdisciplinary Studies	0	1
Concordia University	BFA theatre design, BA theatre specialization	30	7
University of the Fraser Valley	Associates Art Degree	14	6

Figure 2. Universities with Undergraduate Programs

Schools with Technical Theatre Specific Training	Degree	Technical Theatre Courses	Technical Faculty
Red Deer College	Technical production diploma	15	8
Sheridan	Advanced diploma	60	17
Capilano Universities	Technical theatre diploma	21	10
Douglas College	Technical theatre diploma	19	6

Figure 3. Schools with Technical Theatre Specific Training

With statistics like those shown above, how can TRU be expected to compete? As the only university in the province outside of the lower mainland to offer technical theatre training, the creation of a technical program would raise enrolment numbers and be able to start competing with other universities. There are hundreds of students that move to the coast and across Canada because they cannot take the program they want in their region. The politics of funding for the arts should be put aside so that the bigger picture can be examined. When a student comes to TRU or any university for a program they tell their friends and family about that program. They even take them on tours and sometimes move their family just so they can attend that university. That is all free publicity for the university. Prospective students are more willing to study at universities where they know people and can get honest opinions about staff, programs, and the overall quality. And that does not mean they will only attract

other technical theatre students but those who are interested in other disciplines. The influx of people benefits the arts, the university and also the community including local businesses. The standard of course material and opportunities would be higher and better prepare our students from their future careers.

The skills learned from technical theatre are transferable and applicable to many aspects of life and many diverse careers. These skills include: organization, safety procedures, proper handling of equipment, people skills, team work, construction and with that, the use of power tools, care of equipment, carpentry- ever wanted to build your own porch or a tree house for when you have kids?; costuming- allows you to work on films, cultural celebrations, heritage houses, as a seamstress, one could make clothes they like and fit properly or one could make the best Halloween costume instead of buying one. Make up- films, television, fashion shows, magazines, consultants, covering scars or acne, entertaining a kid while babysitting, do that as a favour for a friend's wedding instead of buying a gift, or lend out your skills to training exercises for first responders And those are just a few of the many, many ways the skills can transfer.

The skills we would learn in a technical program are not just theatre skills. Yes they make you better prepared and qualified but they also prepare you for your daily life.

When looking at the arts it is important to maintain the flexibility to change ones opinion. Allow programs and departments to grow before letting politics dictate the usefulness of a program. A technical theatre program at TRU would only benefit the arts, only benefit the university, and only benefit the students. ●

Work Cited

Academic Faculty. 2009. Dept. of Theatre 13 January 2012. Trinity Western University http://www.twu.ca/academics/faculty/profiles/?group=theatre&view=list&sort=lastname.

A.J. Peter Froehlich. 2010 Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 13 January 2012. http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/faculty/froehlich.html.

Bachelor of Arts-Major in Art and Design 2010. Dept. of Theatre., Trinity Western University. 13 January 2012. http://www.twu.ca/academics/samc/programs/ba-art.html.

Bhagwati, Sandeep. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012. http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/sandeep-bhagwati.php.

Blight, Kate. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012. http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/part-time/kate-bligh.php.

Boucher, Raymond Marius. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012. http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/raymond-marius-boucher.php.

Brennan, Kit. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012. http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/kit-brennan.php.

Cappelluto, Ana. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012. http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/ana-cappelluto.php.

Couture, Elizabeth. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012. http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/part-time/couture-elisabeth.php.

Daniel Mroz. 2010 Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 13 January 2012. http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/faculty/mroz.html.

Denise Kenney, B.A., B. Ed., M.F.A.". 2011 Dept. of Theatre., UBCO. 13 January 2012. http://www.ubc.ca/okanagan/creative/faculty/denisekenney.html.

Department of Theatre Home Page. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 20 November 2010. http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/.

Design. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., UVIC. 13 January 2012. http://finearts.uvic.ca/theatre/specialties/design/.

Directing. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., UVIC. 13 January 2012. http://finearts.uvic.ca/theatre/specialties/directing/.

Faculty. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., York University. 13 January 2012. http://www.yorku.ca/finearts/theatre/fac.htm .

Faculty & Staff. 2011. Dept. of Performing Arts., Red Deer College. 13 January 2012. http://www.rdc.ab.ca/academic_departments/performing_arts/technical_production/faculty_staff/Pages/default.aspx.

Faculty and Staff. 2011. Dept. of Theatre., U of Toronto. 13 January 2012. http://www.uc.utoronto.ca/content/view/344/2041/.

Faculty of Fine Arts Home Page. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 20 November 2010. http://theatre.concordia.ca/.

Film and Theatre Home Page. 2010. Dept. of Film and Theatre., U of British Columbia. 20 November 2010. http://www.theatre.ubc.ca/index.shtml.

Fine Arts Timetable and Course Outlines. 2010. 13 January 2012. http://vanilla.finearts.yorku.ca/fineartscourses/course_manager.php.

Full-time. 2012 Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/.

Hamilton, Carrie. Red Deer College. 6 December 2010.

Jean Stephane Roy. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/faculty/jsroy.html.

Joel Beddows. 2010 Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/faculty/beddows.html.

Kevin Orr. 2010 Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/faculty/orr.html.

Kirkley, Bruce. University of the Fraser Valley. 30 November 2010.

Konrad, Angela. Trinity Western University. 29 November 2010.

Margaret Coderre-Williams. 2010 Dept. of Theatre., U of Ottawa. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.theatre.uottawa.ca/eng/faculty/coderre.html.

Miller, Joel. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/sandeep-bhagwati.php.

Mongerson, Eric. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/eric-mongerson.php.

Neil Cadger, B.A., M.F.A.. 2011. Dept. of Theatre., UBCO. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.ubc.ca/okanagan/creative/faculty/necadger.html.

Neuerburg-Debzer, Ursula. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/ursula-neuerburg-denzer.php.

Performance/Theatre. 2011. Dept. of Theatre., UBCO.
    http://www.ubc.ca/okanagan/creative/options/theatre.html.

Perley, Susan. Capilano University. 1 December 2010.

Price, John. University of Alberta. 3 December 2010.

Production & Management. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., UVIC. 13 January 2012.
    http://finearts.uvic.ca/theatre/specialties/production_management/.

Reid, Robert (Chair). 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/robert-reid.php.

SAMC Theatre Home Page. 2010. Dept. of the School of Arts., Trinity Western University.
    20 November 2010. http://www.twu.ca/academics/samc/theatre/theatre-home.html.

Staff. 2009. Dept. of Technical Production for Theatre and Live Events., Sheridan College.
    13 January 2012. www.sheridancollege.ca/News and Events/Theatre Sheridan/Staff
    and Contacts.aspx.

Sussman, Mark. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://theatre.concordia.ca/people/faculty/full-time/mark-sussman.php.

Theatre. 2012. Dept. of Theatre., Concordia University. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.concordia.ca/programs-and-courses/undergraduate-programs/a-z-
    subject-list/bfa_theatre.php.

Theatre – Bachelor of Fine Arts and Bachelor of Arts. 2010. Dept. of Theatre.,
    Trinity Western University. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.twu.ca/academics/samc/programs/ba-theatre.html.

Theatre Courses. 2011. Dept. of Theatre., UVIC. 13 January 2012.
    http://web.uvic.ca/calendar2011/CDs/THEA/CTs.html.

Theatre at UBC. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.theatre.ubc.ca/programs_admissions.shtml.

Theatre Studies Home Page. 2010. Dept. of Arts., Red Deer College. 20 November 2010.
    http://www.rdc.ab.ca/academic_calendar/program_course_listing/certificate_ and_
    diploma_programs/Pages/theatre_studies.aspx.

Timmermans, Bert. University of Victoria. 29 November 2010.

Trojanowska, Tamara. University of Toronto. 28 November 2010.

Virginie Magnat, Ph.D. 2011 Dept. of Theatre., UBCO. 13 January 2012.
    http://www.ubc.ca/okanagan/creative/faculty/virginiemagnat.html.

York Fine Arts Home Page. 2010. Dept. of Theatre., York University. 20 November 2010.
    http://www.yorku.ca/finearts/theatre/.

Nine Decades of American Influence on Canada's Arctic Sovereignty

Kimberly Main

Abstract

With the change in the Arctic climate and the advancement in technology, exploration of the Arctic is becoming easier. The promise of oil, mineral deposits, and potentially easier shipping lanes has five countries vying for control of the Arctic. Concerns over Canada's Arctic sovereignty have increased in recent years. This paper seeks to place Canada's response to current events in historical context especially in regards to the effects of Canadian-American relations. For almost a century, Canada has feared a threat in the Arctic. The RCMP, military, and Inuit have all been used to keep foreigners out, regardless of the effects to those who were stationed there. In fact, the human cost has been high. Canada does have a history of disregarding its citizens' rights in favour of protecting Arctic sovereignty. Some examples of these are discussed, including the High Arctic Relocation. How Canada responds to threats to its sovereignty reflects the implications of past decisions, but it is also in a way that is uniquely Canadian. Except for some small occurrences, Canada's approach to defending the Arctic is rather reactionary. Canada's protection of its Arctic sovereignty is rather lenient when dealing with America especially when it could harm economic and security relations. Canada is still dealing with the effects of its Cold War position and its unequal, and sometimes strained, relationship with the United States, despite the almost twenty years since the conclusion of the Cold War.

In the period from 1922 to 1933, Canada used mostly RCMP officers, and some Native guides, to defend the Arctic, but in the 1950s, the government decided that relocating the Inuit would do just as well.

ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY HAS LONG BEEN an issue for Canada. The concern has ebbed and flowed during the many decades, but Canada always comes back to state that it has sovereignty over the Arctic. The government has used many resources over the years to assert its sovereignty. There are five major claimants to Arctic sovereignty: "Canada, Denmark (via Greenland), Russia, Norway, and the United States" (Gunitskiy 263). Relations with the United States have significantly influenced Canada's claims over the Arctic. This is partly related to Canada's rising economic dependency on America. Between the years of 1917 and 2009, Canada has declined in its protection of its own Arctic sovereignty, except in instances where protecting its own sovereignty was also seen as protecting American safety.

The first dispute which resulted in any action began in 1917, and it led to the Muskox Patrol. In 1917, the Canadian government amended the Northwest Game Act, and "the killing [of] muskoxen was prohibited except for Native inhabitants, and for them only to prevent starvation" (Schledermann 102). This amendment was put into effect because American and European explorers were travelling throughout the High Arctic and were heavily dependent on the muskox for sustenance (Schledermann 102). Instead of causing an international dispute, the government changed the Northwest Game Act in an attempt to reduce foreigners in Canadian waters. The changes to the act were not only about the muskox: for some years previous, several explorers had been charting and navigating through High Arctic waters, some of them claiming the land for their respective countries, and these explorers were highly dependent on the muskox (101). However, the Canadian government ceased to worry about sovereignty after changing the act.

The first person known to break this law was Knud Rasmussen (a Danish citizen) who, in simple terms, told the Canadian government to mind its own business (102). The government sent RCMP officers, as they had previously threatened to do, and some Native guides into the High Arctic. "For 11 years, between 1922 and 1933," the RCMP and "their Native assistants had served to safeguard Canadian sovereignty against claims by foreigners to the High Arctic islands" (Schledermann 101). Schledermann states that "detachment duties included long sled patrols to ensure that Canadians could claim to have set foot on the High Arctic islands" (104). It ended up being a difficult task to carry out, wrought with exertion and loss of life. The mission was finally abandoned in 1933. In going to these lengths, Canada made its point that it would protect its sovereignty, no matter how small the grievance. This was one of the first times Canada had actually done any enforcement, and it should therefore be seen as an assertion of its sovereignty. The Americans were isolationists at the time, and they were mostly obedient to the wishes of Canada. In the period from 1922 to 1933, Canada used mostly RCMP officers, and some Native guides, to defend the Arctic, but in the 1950s, the government decided that relocating the Inuit would do just as well. However, Canadian Arctic sovereignty would become more important as the Second World War ended. As a government report stated, the Arctic had now become "if not an asset, at least a liability" (qtd. in Royal 53).

In a move that was strategic as well as paternalistic, the government relocated Inuit people from areas of Northern Quebec and into the High Arctic (Royal 55). I believe the government saw it as a prime opportunity to accomplish two goals at once. They could use their authority to relocate the Inuit out of what must have been misguided concern. They may have wanted the Inuit to return to their ancestral homes in the High Arctic. In a press release, "Apology for Inuit High Arctic Relocation," from Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), it states that the government decided to relocate several families "due to deteriorating traditional harvesting, health, and social conditions" in the community in which they lived. However, this was misguided at best for, as Schledermann states, the "lands had not been occupied by Inuit for several hundred years" (103). The Inuit surely must have lost some of the skills and resources that they had many centuries previously because they had relocated to more temperate and populated places. The government was also able to claim that the lands that they were sending the Inuit to were their ancestral lands. The Royal Commission report states that the group in charge of the relocation was the Eastern Arctic Patrol (55). As stated by the commission, "one of

the principal purposes of the Patrol was the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty" (55).

This was particularly timely as the Cold War was well underway in 1950. Located geographically between the two superpowers, Canada feared that if the United States and the Soviet Union started launching weapons at each other over the Arctic, any of them could fall in the middle. The largest concern was with Soviets flying over. As Gunitskiy states, "the Arctic acquired a new strategic importance during the Cold War" (264). This is because, as he says, "the Great Circle Route provided the shortest direct path between North America and the Soviet Union, acting as a superpower corridor for long-range bombers and submarines" (264). Although there was the DEW line and other early warning systems, nothing could be quite as effective as having feet on the ground. To the government of Canada, having the Inuit and a few RCMP officers relocated to the High Arctic was much more cost effective than sending in a large number of military personnel. As well, they could easily claim it was in the Inuits' best interest and no one would think differently.

While the needs of international security were important, they were at the expense of the Inuit people. Like residential schools, the relocation of the Inuit was detrimental and deeply affected their lives even after they returned from the High Arctic. It took until 1994 for the Royal Commission to publish its findings on the relocation. Even within it, there is evidence that the government still did not believe it was wrong in relocating the Inuit. The introduction states that the "relocatees have asserted for many years that they were treated unjustly" (Royal 1). The onus was thus put onto the Inuit to prove that they were treated unfairly. It would take until 18 August 2010 for an apology to be made; however, it still retained some of the arguments that the relocation was in the Inuits' best interest (AANDC). This type of mentality is not only paternalistic, but it relates to the issue of Arctic sovereignty. The government was willing to treat its citizens poorly to advance its claims of Arctic sovereignty. The need for Arctic sovereignty, as I have mentioned, was particularly pushed by the Cold War and Canada's relationship with the United States. The American need for security forced Canada into asserting sovereignty to prove that Canada was loyal to the international alliances of the time.

As was stated previously, the Arctic became very important in the Cold War. Not only was the Canadian High Arctic important strategically, but so, too, were other parts of the Arctic. Gunitskiy states, "The Denmark Strait and the Norwegian Sea, outlets for open ocean vessels of the Soviet

Northern Fleet, were both NATO frontlines"
(264). Likewise, an undefended Arctic could give
Soviet forces easier access to North American
targets. As well, Gunitskiy writes that there were
advantages to having submarines go through the
Arctic: they were less detectable both acoustically
and thermally (264). The relationship between the
NATO countries seemed only to extend to claiming
Arctic sovereignty to prevent Soviet use. As soon
as the Cold War ended, the countries "freed from
the shackles of bipolar unity," as Gunitskiy puts
it, started to make counterclaims about Arctic
sovereignty (264-5).

Even before the end of the Cold War, the
United States started to take liberties with
Canadian Arctic sovereignty. According to
Nathaniel Caldwell, in 1985, the American ship
USCGC *Polar Sea* did just that (56). It was not
a secret nor was the *Polar Sea* trying to avoid
detection. Prior to this incident, federal funding
was reduced for Arctic protection, and only the
environmental concerns were being addressed
(Caldwell 56). Caldwell states that some aerial
surveillance was taking place, but it would do no
good when the Americans disregarded it. Caldwell
asked scathingly, "What use was surveillance in
sovereignty protection, when the intruder being
watched tells you when and where he is going
to violate your sovereignty, and when there
are Canadian observers on board the intruder
to carefully note and assist in the violation?"
(56). The Americans assured Canada that their
voyage through the Northwest Passage "was in
no way a challenge to Canada's legal position"
(Caldwell 57). However, according to Caldwell,
although they did warn Canada that they would
be travelling through Canadian waters, they did
not request permission (57). In effect, it was a
sort of non-threatening challenge, a test to see

what Canada would do when its sovereignty was challenged. Canada responded weakly.

According to a Gallup poll, although a majority of Canadian citizens who knew of the incident favoured Ottawa's position, the government still did very little to protect its sovereignty (Robb A18). Canada's response was limited to what it should do for the future. Canada adopted "straight baselines" for which under the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) Canada did not qualify (Caldwell 58). Canada drew baselines around the outermost areas of the Arctic and enclosed all the water as its own which did not provide for "transit passage[s]" (58-9). This can be considered rather bold of Canada, and, therefore, Canada was finally asserting itself in terms of sovereignty.

Another plan was to build heavy-duty icebreakers. According to Caldwell, their presence in the Arctic was to be just as effective as the RCMP's presence was in the 1920s (58). Canada also issued the 1987 White Paper that was to address "the maritime defences of Canada [which] had been seriously neglected" (Caldwell 58). According to Doran, "Canada [had] plans to purchase between 8 to 10 nuclear-powered submarines to operate under the ice pack" (100). Doran states the American response was that Canada would most definitely be bankrupted and could not "support such a submarine fleet" (100). Canada did set out to build a $500 million "Polar 8" icebreaker (Caldwell 58). However, on 20 February 1990, as reported by the *Edmonton Journal*, the government scrapped plans to build the icebreaker due to budget overruns and estimates that predicted it would cost at least $180 million more than originally thought (A3). The Coast Guard did upgrade the "rusting Louis S. St. Laurent" for $100 million (Aubry A6). Aubry states that at the time the Coast Guard had "six

other smaller ice breakers" (A6). Finally, in 1994, the government decided to buy "four almost-new British diesel-electric submarines for $1 billion – the cost of building just one of them," according to the *Kingston Whig-Standard* (5). All of these purchases and upgrades were mainly catalyzed by the *Polar Sea's* adventure into Canada. When the intrusion first occurred, the Americans believed that Canada simply could not have a decent navy, and in part they were correct as almost ten years after the incident Canada did not have any nuclear submarines, and what it did have was second-hand or retrofitted. Therefore, America felt it could do whatever it wanted, including intruding on Canadian waters.

The United States has good motivation for infringing on Canada's sovereignty because it would be beneficial for both their security and economy. As stated by Gunitskiy, it is estimated that the "seabed may contain the world's last great reserve of metals and hydrocarbons. The Arctic contains proven reserves of oil and gas, tin, manganese, gold, nickel, lead, platinum, diamonds and fish" (263). All these resources are highly profitable and some countries may be willing to bend the rules (which are rather weak to begin with) so that they may profit. Important particularly for Americans is that the ice cover is melting, and this would allow for travel in the Northwest Passage, which, according to Gunitskiy, "could potentially cut a journey from Europe to Asia by 2,500 miles," and which could then be used for the cheaper commercial transport of goods (261). As well, of the five countries with disputes over Arctic sovereignty, only the United States has not signed the UNCLOS agreement. The agreement is also non-binding, and so if they were to sign it, they could legally disregard its rulings (Gunitskiy 267).

Not being bound to the decisions is important, as fear of Russia returning to Cold War tactics has been building, especially in the last few years. Gunitskiy writes, "In August 2007, a Russian submarine surprised the world by planting the country's flag on the Arctic seabed" (261). This is similar to the surprise Canada got about illegal muskox killings in the 1920s. Prime Minister Stephen Harper quickly responded to Russian actions. These actions coincided with a plan for a military base to be built, and for several "Arctic patrol vessels" to be constructed (Gunitskiy 266). As well, Operation Nanook took place. It consisted of "sending two surface ships, a submarine and 700 personnel into military maneuvers [sic] along the Canadian Arctic" (Gunitskiy 266). This was to reassert Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, and it was most likely to recover from the surprise that the flag planting presented. In response to the event, the then Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay said, "We established a long time ago that these are Canadian

waters and this is Canadian property" (Russia plants flag). Participating in the third modern Operation Nanook which had a similar agenda as the previous ones, Harper stated that "the strategic importance of Canada's Arctic is heightened as never before" (Arctic of 'strategic importance' to Canada). In the post-9/11 world, having a suspicious (and in the Americans' eyes, bordering on dangerous) submarine travelling through waters one claims as one's own is not conducive to promoting an image of securing one's borders. I also suspect that Harper decided to carry out the military exercise to assure the Americans that Canada had the ability to protect the Arctic. Otherwise, the Americans might decide that they should take up the responsibility themselves and intrude into Canadian waters once more. The United States has asserted for many years that the Northwest Passage is in international waters, and they have the right to use it, despite Canada's claims to the contrary (Gunitskiy 261). After the terrorist attacks, Canada has helped with the war effort because it does not want to become one of the United States' enemies.

Harper has stated that he will maintain Canadian Arctic sovereignty, but his actions towards the largest threat, the United States, show otherwise. As quoted in the *Ottawa Citizen* on Sept. 16, 2009, Prime Minister Stephen Harper said he would "enforce Canadian law in our territory" before he went to the White House, "amid a dispute with the United States over fishing rights in the Beaufort Sea" (A6). The boundary of the Beaufort Sea is controversial, according to the article, because Canada claims its rights from those Britain relinquished, and America claims its rights from those transferred from Russia when they purchased Alaska (A6). The article states that Harper would not guarantee that he would discuss the dispute with President Obama when he visited. It is reasonable to assume that a nation's leader who is dedicated to preserving that country's sovereignty would have as a high priority discussion of a dispute with the leader of the nation with whom it has the dispute. In other words, if Harper were as committed to maintain sovereignty as he has stated, he would have the disagreement over territory as one of his most important points of discussion. The *Ottawa Citizen* does state that Canada had just two weeks previously started diplomatic proceedings over the issue; however, there was no other explanation in other newspapers explaining why the issue would not be brought up (A6). I believe that Harper did not want to displease President Obama, as there might be too much to lose if the U.S. was turned against Canada (that is, in the shape of a Buy America-type plan). According to another *Ottawa Citizen* article, this one from Nov. 19, 2009, the G7 finance

ministers would have their meeting in Iqaluit. According to the article, it was the "second time in six months the government has put the political spotlight on the community" (A9). In a way, the government is enforcing sovereignty by more subtle measures. Instead of having a large military display, which they did some months before, they were showing the world that the Arctic is Canada's by having an international meeting there. The Canadian government decided to imply sovereignty rather than make outright claims. Canada cannot afford to be too loud or there may be repercussions that will negatively affect Canada.

A tenuous relationship marks Canada's enforcement of Arctic sovereignty with America. From the beginning, Arctic sovereignty has been far more reactionary than proactive. Starting in the 1920s, Canada has tried to assert dominance over the Arctic, only to find out that one country or another has already violated its laws. In trying to enforce the laws, Canada is also aware of how the United States may react. This has resulted in an attempt to actively protect Canadian Arctic sovereignty, except in cases where the United States would also benefit. In the 1920s, the United States was isolationist so there was little concern about how they would react. However, Knud Rasmussen did ignore the law, and Canada eventually reacted to the flagrant abuse. The relocation of the Inuit served the dual purpose of protecting sovereignty while having free guards during the Cold War. The Cold War demanded countries take sides, and Canada was forced to defend itself, as well as America, over the Arctic terrain. Canada did not want to be in that position, but, as an ally of the United States, Canada was expected to defend the Arctic. When an American ship travelled without permission through Canadian waters, all Canada did was threaten

Harper has stated that he will maintain Canadian Arctic sovereignty, but his actions towards the largest threat, the United States, show otherwise.

and then say it was committed to buying some nuclear submarines, which did not happen. In a way, the United States expects that Canada will not hold firm to assertions of sovereignty, especially when America is involved. Because Canada is so dependent on America, displeasing the United States could have major ramifications for the Canadian economy as well as its international status. This connection between economy and sovereignty has only grown since the 1920s, when America started to emerge from its isolationism. With the Russian flag planted on the Arctic floor, Canada was reacting again to a threat to sovereignty but also to a possible enemy country. That is, if Russia were truly a threat, Canada, or the United States, could have been subjected to a major ammunition bombardment. Canada will continue to be vigilant in its relationship with its temperamental neighbour as long as there is too much to lose by falling from the United States' good graces. ●

Works Cited

"Arctic of 'strategic importance' to Canada: PM." *CBC News*. 19 Aug. 2009. 22 Oct. 2011. < http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2009/08/19/harper-nanook-arctic-north-sovereignty414.html>.

Aubry, Jack. "AUDIT '90; icebreaker's crushing cost; Ship's refit doubles in cost and work time." *Ottawa Citizen*. 31 Oct. 1990, Canadian Newsstand Complete, ProQuest. Web. 9 Oct. 1990.

Boswell, Randy. "Our territory, our law, PM says of Beaufort; PM refuses to commit to discussing dispute with U.S. president." *Ottawa Citizen.* 16 Sept. 2009, Canadian Newsstand Complete, ProQuest. Web. 22 Nov. 2009.

Caldwell, Nathaniel French. *Arctic Leverage: Canadian Sovereignty and Security*. New York: Praeger, 1990. Print.

Canada. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. "Backgrounder-Apology for Inuit High Arctic Relocation." *Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada.* 15 Sept. 2010. 27 Oct. 2011. <http://ainc-inac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015426>.

Doran, C.F. "Canadian relations with the United States." *Current History* 87.527 (1988): 97-100,131. *Academic Search Complete*. EBSCO., Periodicals Archive Online. Web. 25 Nov. 2009.

Dowd, Allan. "G7 finance ministers head to Iqaluit -- in February; 'Yes, it's very cold.' Flaherty admits of town where government wants to assert Arctic sovereignty." *Ottawa Citizen*. 19 Nov. 2009, Canadian Newsstand Complete, ProQuest. Web. 22 Nov. 2009.

Gunitskiy, Vsevolod. "On Thin Ice: Water Rights and Resource Disputes in the Arctic Ocean." *Journal of International Affairs* 61.2 (2008): 261-271. *Academic Search Complete*. EBSCO. Web. 22 Nov. 2009.

Robb, Jim. "Only bare majority of Canadians aware of Polar Sea voyage: poll." *Ottawa Citizen*. 29 Oct. 1985. Canadian Newsstand Complete, ProQuest. Web. 9 Oct. 2011.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *The High Arctic Relocation: A report on the 1953-55 Relocation*. Ottawa: Canadian Communication Group Publishing, 1994. Print.

"Russia plants flag staking claim to Arctic region." *CBC News*. 2 August 2007. 26 Oct. 2011. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2007/08/02/russia-arctic.html>.

Schledermann, Peter. "The Muskox Patrol: High Arctic Sovereignty Revisited." *Arctic* 56.1 (2003): 101-106. *Academic Search Complete*. EBSCO. Web. 22 Nov. 2009.

"Sinking of icebreaker defended; Wilson cites rising costs." *Edmonton Journal.* 2 Mar. 1990. Canadian Newsstand Complete, ProQuest. Web. 9 Oct. 2011.

"Sub purchase is 'a good deal.'" *Kingston Whig-Standard.* 5 Dec. 1994. Canadian Newsstand Complete, ProQuest. Web. 22 Oct. 2011.

Discrimination in the Workplace: Bias Based on Age, Cultural Differences, Gender, Sexuality and Social Status

John Bottcher, Seth Gehring,
Marlene Irausek, Nicole Saat,
and Parth Vyas

Abstract

Discrimination in the workplace is a widespread problem cast across cultures, age groups, and nations. An understanding must be gained about discrimination before it can be eliminated. Five forms of bias common to a workplace environment are age, culture, gender, sexuality and social status. All of these factors are a plague in today's concept of globalization that negatively affect people's daily productivity. This paper focuses on the above-listed forms of discrimination through examples, statistics, and discussion. We also examine how discrimination appears in organizations, and how to take this new understanding to a higher level – change, acceptance and future progress – which will hopefully lead to an improvement in today's workplace.

IF YOU WORKED FOR A COMPANY that would not hire the elderly, made racist jokes against co-workers, underpaid women, excluded gays, and demeaned the poor, would you stay? Discrimination is defined as "unfair treatment of a person, racial group, minority, etc… based on prejudice" (Discrimination, 2010). It is a serious barrier to the growth of an organization, a country, and a culture. Age, culture, gender, sexual orientation, and social status are a few of the many forms of discrimination that organizations try to disband. Some might believe that, with increased globalization and interaction between different peoples around the world, discrimination would not be as much of a problem today. To the contrary, statistics show that it is an ever-present problem that plagues workplaces around the world. In 2006 alone, over 75,000 cases of discrimination were brought to courts in the US. Monetary damages awarded to plaintiffs for race-based discrimination cases increased from 61.4 to 84.4 million dollars, gender-based cases increased from 99.1 to 129.3 million, and age-based cases increased from 51.5 to 93.6 million (Figure 1). Sexual harassment-based cases decreased slightly from 48.8 to 48.4 million.

	2006	2010
Race	61.4	84.4
Gender	99.1	129.3
Age	51.5	93.6
Sexual Harassment	48.8	48.4

Figure 1 - Amounts of settlements in America in 2006 and 2010. These numbers are represented in millions of dollars. (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011)

Far from being a diminishing issue in society today, overall, discrimination is becoming an ever-increasing problem. Only when there is awareness of these prejudices will they start to be refuted.

Age

Age discrimination in today's workplace is a critical issue. In society, people need to be able to work for a living in order to survive and stay in the workplace. Age discrimination is a widespread barrier to work and is largely invisible in the marketplace. This discrimination can be directed toward elderly people as well as young people. However, people think more about discrimination against "mature age" workers (ages 45 and above).

A term often used for age discrimination is ageism. Ageism is described as "a process of systematic stereotyping of, and discriminat[ing] against people"(Broderick, 2010, p. 2), simply because they are older. It is thought in business that all people of the same age are the same. Age discrimination occurs when a stereotype is placed on someone of a particular age group without thinking about their personal qualities. Ageism promotes the "ideal of youth" because of society's fascination with being "vital and young" (Broderick, 2010, p. 2). Some people are not conscious about being ageist.

There are two types of age discrimination: direct and indirect. "Direct age discrimination takes place when a person treats another person less favourably than he or she would treat a person of a different age"(Broderick, 2010, p. 8). For example, an advertisement for a job specifying that the applicant should be under 35 is direct age discrimination. "Indirect age discrimination takes place when a person, without necessarily intending or meaning to discriminate against anyone, imposes an unreasonable condition, requirement or practice on another person that has the effect of disadvantaging him or her because of the age" (Broderick, 2010, p. 8). One example of indirect age discrimination is a job posting that specifically describes a certain amount of prior work experience.

Managers use age discrimination most extensively when they are deciding who to hire. Mature age workers can be seen as less efficient, less easily trained, and less valuable than younger people. Older people are also thought to have more difficulties adapting. Sometimes, these people are not offered training opportunities or promotions that younger employees receive because they are perceived to be less valuable for the organization. One of the biggest problems for older workers is to return to the work-force if they have already left.

There can also be age-based bullying and harassment against older and younger workers from co-workers. These co-workers may think the older or younger workers do not perform as well because of their advanced age, or because they lack experience, in the case of younger workers.

The impacts of age discrimination can be economic, social and psychological. Bullied workers do not feel accepted in their work

environment and feel that their performance will worsen. These people are likely to quit their jobs. If they do, it is difficult for them to find a new job due to their older age. This can also lead to depression because these people do not have the possibility anymore to work and earn money for themselves.

Governments in Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia are encouraging people to delay their retirement from work. This is being done through changing legislation, by raising the age at which one is eligible for a pension, by eliminating pensions that encourage early retirement and by measures to encourage people into, or back into, the work-force (Loretto, Vickerstaff, White, 2007, p. 205). To solve or to improve the current situation, employers as well as employees should be aware of their rights. By raising awareness of this problem and combating unlawful age discrimination, it will be easier to generate jobs for age-restricted workers. Legislation on its own is unlikely to change the employment culture (Loretto et al., 2007, p. 207); it is not only about knowing one's rights but also about individual action to make use of them.

Cultural Differences

The discrimination of culture and religion in the workplace is common in this modern time of globalization. Some employers still have different views about employing someone from different religions or cultures, but they need to understand that it is necessary to learn to adjust to people from different religions and cultures.

Religious discrimination is unfair treatment of a person based on their beliefs, customs, rituals, dress, or other ideals. Every different religion has its own cultural beliefs and customs. Since the beginning of globalization, the world has been facing religious discrimination, especially in workplaces. "The majority of religious discrimination cases arise in the employment sphere over issues of religious dress and the observance of religious holidays" (Joanis, 2001, p. 3). For instance, in the Islamic religion, women are supposed to cover their heads at all times, even in the workplace. This has caused trouble for them in the past due to workplace dress codes and safety regulations.

In the late 20th century, many Sikh people paid fines because they were wearing turbans, and so they could not wear helmets while riding motorcycles. Some of them filed cases in court. However, lack of concern for religion in law in the past caused them to lose their cases. People from the Sikh religion feel discriminated against due to not being able to carry a kirpan (a religious knife) with them on airplanes.

In the workplace, other individuals have been excluded for refusing to remove their turbans for work requirements. For example, in 1985,

Mr. K.S. Bhinder was fired from his job as an electrician with the Canadian National Railway for not wearing a hard hat because of his turban. He filed a case, but the court ruled against him under the "bona fide occupational requirement" (Joanis, 2001, p. 5). This is one of many examples of religious discrimination.

Employees from different religions have their own holidays when they are not supposed to go to work. Therefore, it is necessary for an employer to understand what these days mean to these individuals. "Religious Discrimination complaints most commonly arise when employees lose their jobs after they refuse, for religious reasons, to work on certain days. This scenario represents the highest number of religious discrimination cases" (Joanis, 2001, p. 8). Also, employees' religions may dictate that they are supposed to follow a certain dress code. These incidents of discrimination will dissuade workers from moving to foreign countries, which will ultimately result in less globalization.

The following statistics from the US help highlight the discrimination that occurs in the workplace between "white" and "non-white"(minority) people.

WORKFORCE METRICS		
Discrimination in recruiting		
Recruiting process for pairs of white and minority test candidates applying for waiter/waitress positions at high-end Manhattan restaurants, 2009		
	White testers	Minority testers
Interview granted	81.4%	60.5%
Avg. time kept waiting	8.2 min.	10.3 min
Interviewer shook hand	85.7%	74.2%
Interview held without interruptions	82.1%	77.4%
Avg. interview length	11.1 min.	9.2 min.
Job duties explained in detail	40.7%	16.7%
Potential earnings explained in detail	44%	29%
Key information volunteered	74.1%	59.3%
Information given on next steps	81.2%	62.9%
No probing of work experience	40.7%	20.7%
No probing of knowledge	75.9%	66.6%
Job described more favorably	27.8%	11.1%
Job offered	48.6%	38.5%
Better days/shifts discussed	44%	0%
Better job offer	25%	0%
Interviewed closed with "welcome aboard comments"	67.9%	48.4%

Note: Forty-three paired-comparison hiring tests in upscale Manhattan restaurants
Source: Bendick and Egan Economic Consultants Inc.

The Canadian Government is now considering religious and cultural factors in the judicial system because of past religious cases. The government has changed the "Human Rights Law", which has helped mitigate the number of religious discrimination cases. Ultimately, society as a whole is responsible for religious discrimination prevention.

Gender

One of the most common forms of workplace discrimination in Canada is gender discrimination, otherwise known as sex discrimination. Gender discrimination is defined as unfair or unequal treatment of individuals because of gender prejudice. Gender discrimination reveals itself in a variety of ways. It affects both males and females in varying fields of work. Gender discrimination, as explained by Brian Welle of Harvard University and Madeline E. Heilman of New York University, comes in two forms: formal discrimination and informal discrimination(Welle and Heilman, 2007).

Formal discrimination relates to organizational-level features of employment. This can result in lower pay, denied promotions, and an increase or decrease in job tasks and responsibilities. Most of these changes come from management, targeted at an individual employees or groups of employees. According to the latest poll published by Statistics Canada in 2001, on average, women earn 68.3% less than men (Drolet, 2001, p. 27). This difference in salary steadily declines with age because a younger worker overall has less experience in the workforce, and is on a "more even playing field".

Informal discrimination targets personal and social characteristics. A worker may be excluded from workplace relationships and out-of-work social interactions: this could even lead to sexual harassment. This discrimination is along the same lines as grade school bullying but could be taken

to a whole new level. In 1994, over 2 million women in Canada experienced some form of sexual harassment in their workplace (Johnson, 1994, p. 2). This behaviour is not only against the law, but it is degrading and a widespread issue affecting all ages and ethnicities.

Many jobs are based on either masculine or feminine skills. However, this does not mean that a female or male cannot perform the task. Among daycare occupations, there may be a higher demand for feminine attributes (sympathy, care and nurturing), whereas a management position may need more masculine attributes (aggression, strength and determination). A first impression of being either male or female can cause initial discrimination when the job leans toward either masculinity or femininity.

Canada as a whole has been trying to move forward to remove these problems of gender discrimination from the workplace as well as everyday life. Canada is one of 23 United Nations (UN) groups in the "Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women", and Canada was one of the first nations to sign "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" through the UN (CEDAW, 2010). There is still a long way to move toward complete equality, but Canada is one of the nations that have moved closest to this nearly impossible achievement.

Sexuality

In the 21st century, organizations are facing another big issue with respect to discrimination in the workplace: homosexuality. For the last couple of years, the declared homosexual population has grown at an exponential rate. Many workplaces have been segregated for discriminating against homosexual society. An example of this issue is in the movie "Philadelphia" that was produced in 1993. In this movie, Tom Hanks acts as a homosexual person in an organization. The harassment starts when he confesses in front of his co-workers that he is homosexual. They rejected his promotion, and later his co-workers harassed him, laughing at his interests and verbally insulting him.

Another example of this subject is the exclusion of gay people in the army. This law started in 1992 when Bill Clinton was president of the United States. This law started because military enlistees were, and still are, considered "good soldier[s], which means: being aggressive, violent and unemotional" (Bowling et al., 2005, p. 414). The belief arose that, if someone was less "manly" than the description above, it would affect the performance of the brave soldier.

Homosexuals are misunderstood by a large portion of society. There is a belief that homosexual men and women can only work in certain environments. Thus, men only work in occupations that women also work in, such as hair styling or fashion design. In reality, homosexual males do

not lack the skills that men have -- they are just as capable of performing any task that men can do. The difference is that, because their feminine side may be more developed than that of heterosexual males, they use it for their own benefit. Some people may also believe that homosexual women work in areas that are not typically female roles, such as construction workers or in vocational occupations. In the more gender-neutral society that has evolved, this cannot be the case, as many women work in these fields, whether homosexual or otherwise.

The world is changing, and as the world evolves, so does humanity. Being different does not have to be bad. The workplace will always be diverse, and until people start thinking outside the box and accepting different lifestyles and views, the workplace will not grow. Accepting sexual differences in the workplace will decrease discrimination against homosexuals.

Social Status

Social status has been a source of discrimination. Individuals have always shown preference for people who could benefit them, rather than people who they thought were inferior or did not like. It is no different today in the world of businesses, major corporations and conglomerates, in which everyone struggles to find their own niche.

Differences in social status can be based on a number of reasons: feelings of superiority, age, gender, race, economic standing, education and chances of reciprocity. Discrimination based on gender and age both stem from traditional beliefs: men being the head of the household, thus commanding a higher social status than women, and age (representing wisdom), thus commanding more social respect. Discrimination based on race often engages a minority group who the majority of society looks down on and considers inferior to themselves. All of these factors contribute to segregating people into supposedly different categories who view each other as either above, equal to, or below those around them.

The most common representation of social discrimination is reciprocity, as people of high social status or standing are often in a better position to provide benefits to those who they favour. This is often generated by the hierarchical structure of most organizations. Employees are more apt to show respect to those from whom they can receive more benefits than to those of equal social status, or those who are ranked below them. Society also often expects more from people of higher social status, which alters the way we treat these higher ranked people and judge them in what they do, and how they do it.

Although many believe that all men are equal, there is undeniably discrimination that occurs, not only in organizational settings, but in everyday life. It segregates people into different social status groups, and causes more social discrimination.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that we would like to believe that everyone receives fair and equal treatment in the workplace today, we can see that discrimination is still a major problem. Technology and travel is going to increase the problems of discrimination, as people from all over the globe interact with others who are different from themselves, and have other world perspectives, beliefs and customs.

Canada is trying to reduce workplace discrimination. In 2011, the Canadian government delegated 4.5 million dollars towards a discriminatory prevention program (Treasury Board of Canada, 2011, p.232). This program "raise[s] awareness, understanding and acceptance of human rights, and form[s] supportive partnerships with stakeholders to prevent discrimination by sharing the Commission's expertise and other organizations' best practices" (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2010a). Another step for Canada relates to the Employment Equity Act, a legal act ensuring companies comply with creating jobs for four designated groups. These groups are "women, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, and visible minorities" (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2010b). The act includes company-compliant audits and monetary penalties when discrimination occurs. This act and other programs across Canada will help eliminate discrimination in its most blatant forms.

Discrimination is a global issue that affects all ages, ethnicities, genders, sexual preferences, and social statuses in society. We must continue to make a conscious effort to end discrimination and bring to a close the gap that separates so many people. ●

Discrimination is a global issue that affects all ages, ethnicities, genders, sexual preferences, and social statuses in society. We must continue to make a conscious effort to end discrimination and bring to a close the gap that separates so many people.

References

Bowling, K. et al. (2005). Analyzing questions that cannot be asked of respondents who cannot respond. *Armed Forces & Society*, *31*(3), 411-437.

Broderick, E. (2010). *Age discrimination – Exposing the hidden barrier for mature age workers*. Retrieved from http://www.hreoc.gov.au/age/hiddenbarrier/index.html

Canadian Human Rights Commission. (2010a). *Discrimination prevention program*. Retrieved from http://www.chrc-ccdp.ca/preventing_discrimination/discrimination_program_prevention-eng.aspx

Canadian Human Rights Commission. (2010b). *Employment Equity Act*. Retrieved from http://www.chrc-ccdp.ca/employment_equity/default-eng.aspx

CEDAW: Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. (2010). Retrieved from http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/index.htm

Discrimination. (2010). Retrieved from http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/discrimination

Drolet, M. (2001). *The persistent gap: New evidence on the Canadian gender wage gap*,. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/bsolc/olc-cel/olc-cel?catno=11F0019M2001157&lang=eng

Joanis, S. (2001). *Human rights law in BC: Religious discrimination*. Prepared by the Canadian human rights reporter for the British Columbia Human Rights Commission. Retrieved fromhttp://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs/350450/hrlawreligion.pdf

Johnson, H. (Winter 1994). Work-related sexual harassment. *Perspectives on labour and income*, *6*(4) (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 75-001E), Article 1.Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/studies-etudes/75-001/archive/e-pdf/1561-eng.pdf

Loretto, W., Vickerstaff, S., & White, P. (2007). *The future for older workers - New perspectives*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Treasury Board of Canada (2011). *The government expenditure plan and the main estimates 2011-12*. Retrieved from http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/est-pre/20112012/me-bpd/docs/me-bpd-eng.pdf

Welle, B. & Heilman, M. E. (2007). Managing social and ethical issues in organizations (Chapter 7). United States of America: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Work Exposed Blog. (2009). *Workplace discrimination in recruiting statistics*. Retrieved from http://workexposedblog.com/2009/07/06/workplace-discrimination-in-recruiting-statistics/

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2011). Retrieved from http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/race.cfm/sex.cfm/adea.cfm/sexual_harassment.cfm

Saving What Is Left:
The Cultural Value of the Pan-Indian in Post-Colonial Literature

Aaron Ledoux

Abstract

My article is based upon a paper that I originally composed for ENGL 4470, Aboriginal Literature, and concerns the portrayal of Aboriginal people in post-colonial literature. In their creation of this type of literature, many authors are susceptible to the common fallacy of the "pan-Indian" figure, which arises from a failure to recognize that the North American Aboriginal is not from a single culture, but rather a group of cultures, each with its own unique traits and traditions.

Traditionally, this figure is looked upon as a negative stereotype, one which threatens the authenticity of Aboriginal cultures. While I do not necessarily reject this view, my paper investigates how the pan-Indian figure entails some positive traits that facilitate cultural understanding. Specifically, I examine the positive use of this figure in *The Berlin Blues* by Drew Hayden Taylor, and in one of the stories in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* by Sherman Alexie.

The consolidation of what remains of Aboriginal cultures into a single popular image allows for two important phenomena: the first of these is the romanticizing of an Aboriginal image among non-native cultures. Secondly, the pan-Indian figure allows Aboriginal individuals to retain the spirit and pride of their culture, even if it is at the expense of accuracy. The overall premise that I intend to establish is that we must be cautious in our criticisms of the literary portrayals of Aboriginals, because even a stereotypical image can serve as a valuable means of cultural preservation.

While the use of the pan-Indian figure can be examined in terms of how it is used by both Aboriginals and non-Natives, it is important to bear in mind that it owes its conception to a predominantly non-Native perspective.

ABORIGINAL CULTURES IN NORTH AMERICA have faced marginalization and misunderstanding since their initial experiences of colonization, and stereotypical portrayals of Aboriginal cultures through literature have contributed extensively to this problem. Specifically, the "pan-Indian" figure has threatened each of these cultures by combining and diluting their traits into a single stereotype. However, many individuals, especially in the academic realm, are in pursuit of post-colonial views of North America and its people. Therefore, the pan-Indian has become a useful means of understanding Aboriginal existence in North America, regardless of the inaccuracies that it entails. *The Berlin Blues* by Drew Hayden Taylor and *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* by Sherman Alexie serve as prominent examples of this transition in representations of the pan-Indian. The two works are considerably different in terms of narrative structure: one follows a carefully developed plot, while the other is composed of seemingly disjointed episodes. However, if one looks beyond these apparent differences, a thematic connection is apparent. Specifically, both of these works portray the distance between the contemporary Aboriginal individual, and the traditional, often generalized image of Aboriginal cultures. However, both works also present this engagement with the pan-Indian figure in a context that is not necessarily negative. *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* uses this romanticized concept as a means of allowing the Aboriginal characters to find strength in their culture, while *The Berlin Blues* highlights an attempt among non-native interests to fully experience the Aboriginal perspective. The characters in both works explore the pan-Indian as a means of interaction with traditional Aboriginal culture, and thereby demonstrate the concept's communicative power, regardless of its inaccuracies.

Before the value of the pan-Indian as a positive figure can be determined, the question of exactly what the pan-Indian is must be addressed. The pan-Indian owes most of its composition to the assumptions of the non-Native population, and as Hartmut Lutz mentions in *Approaches: Essays in Native North American Culture*, it is evident that "the most prominent features of the white man's Indian are duality and functionality, both following theories of social distance formation" (49). This social distance is crucial in determining the attitude which precedes the construction of these stereotypes. Lutz attributes the construction of negative images to social closeness, while romantic images are constructed from a distant perspective. Given that the characters who envision the pan-Indian image in *The Berlin Blues* are from a different continent, Lutz's theory regarding the role of social distance certainly appears to be valid. Obviously, the characters in Sherman Alexie's episodes in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* cannot be applied to Lutz's position, since they lead the paradoxical existence of trying to fulfill stereotypes of their traditional selves.

While the use of the pan-Indian figure can be examined in terms of how it is used by both Aboriginals and non-Natives, it is important to bear in mind that it owes its conception to a predominantly non-Native perspective. In her article "Says Who: Colonialism, Identity and Defining Indigenous Literature," Katerie Damm observes that these stereotypes have become so prevalent that it has become difficult for both Aboriginal and non-Native individuals to escape the implications of such stereotypes. In terms of how Aboriginals perceive their traditional image, Damm recognizes the crucial problem that Aboriginal cultural identities have "been constructed and defined by Others to the extent that at times we too no longer know who we are. The resulting confusion, uncertainty, low self-esteem and/or need to assert control over our identity are just some of the damaging effects of colonization" (11). Aboriginal people have had their land and culture colonized to a point where even their perceptions of themselves are questionable, and Damm recognizes that the process of reclaiming these Aboriginal identities has proven to be a daunting task. Stereotypes have diluted and combined the remaining fragments of the many unique Aboriginal cultures in North America to a point where they have been condensed into the generalized image of a "White Man's Indian" (Damm 14). Therefore, the stereotypical pan-Indian in its original conception is recognized as a considerable threat to the authenticity and diversity of Aboriginal cultures.

Damm's objections to the pan-Indian image are representative of the growing concerns of many Aboriginal populations as they strive to retain

the uniqueness of their cultural identities. These fears are not only present in literary criticisms such as Damm's, but also in Aboriginal literature itself. For example, in *The Truth about Stories* Thomas King reflects on the contrast between the constructed image and the authentic image of an "Indian." He describes the phenomenon of a "dressed up" Indian, one who has "dressed up in a manner to substantiate the cultural lie that had trapped us, and we did so with a passion" (45). In light of this description, the pan-Indian image is harmful because it facilitates the acceptance of "Indian" stereotypes among both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal individuals.

Although King puts forth some rigid criticisms of the pan-Indian stereotype, he has also been quoted as an advocate for its communicative potential. In "Pan-Indian Potentialities," Arnold E. Davidson, Priscilla L. Walton and Jennifer Andrews discuss the pan-Indian in a more positive light, and they make a case for the pan-Indian's positive traits by presenting King's consideration of the pan-Indian as "a 'powerful tool' which acknowledges post-contact interaction with non-natives, yet focuses on the experience of contemporary Natives" (288). Therefore, the pan-Indian not only acts as a means of communicating with a non-Native audience, but also allows Aboriginal people to evaluate and understand their own survival in the modern world. Kateri Damm contributes to this perspective with her claim that "these bonds are powerful and can unite people ... in a way that treaties and government negotiations never have. Perhaps this is because Indigenous peoples share an understanding that we have been and still are forced to conform to other peoples' images of us" (15). Therefore, in addition to the pan-Indian figure's ability to provide context for understanding Aboriginal cultures in a post-contact era, it is also an effective symbol for this movement towards cultural unity and preservation. It is at this point that the cultural value of texts such as those written by Drew Hayden Taylor and Sherman Alexie becomes readily apparent. The cultural interaction in *The Berlin Blues* demonstrates how the pan-Indian figure has become a means of bridging the vast cultural gap between Aboriginal and non-Native cultures, while *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* demonstrates how the figure has generated a sense of cultural pride and unity among Aboriginal people in the modern world. The pan-Indian has become a construct which romanticizes and immortalizes the spirit of Aboriginal existence, even if it does so at the expense of historical accuracy.

The power of communication is possibly one of the greatest virtues that the pan-Indian concept possesses. When Davidson, Walton and Andrews speak of Thomas King's treatment of the subject in his work, they commend him for allowing "readers a productive, relatively painless way to engage in the self – as well as social criticism necessary to promote understanding

and improve communication between Natives and non-Natives" (289). Therefore, contrary to the grim message of confusion and loss of self-esteem that Damm initially refers to, Davidson, Walton and Andrews speak of the pan-Indian as a concept that is capable of reversing some of the damage caused by colonization. We live in a society in which Aboriginal people are trying to regain their cultural image, and the non-Aboriginal population has displayed a growing desire to understand this image. As both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals strive to re-establish Aboriginal identities as a vital component of our North American identity, their endeavours are often hindered by pain and cultural distances. Literature has an inherent capacity for humour and satire, and more importantly, the ability to generate empathy in a reader, and is therefore an effective means of bringing cultures together.

The pan-Indian has become a construct which romanticizes and immortalizes the spirit of Aboriginal existence, even if it does so at the expense of historical accuracy.

Drew Hayden Taylor's *The Berlin Blues* effectively portrays and addresses the desire among non-Native individuals to understand Aboriginal cultures. *The Berlin Blues* is significant in that it presents a direct commentary on the interaction between Native and non-Native cultures. Drew Hayden Taylor presents a pair of German characters named Birget and Reinhart, who are unaware of the distinctions between each unique Aboriginal culture. *The Berlin Blues* focuses on characters from the Anishnaabe culture, and while many traits are shared between this group and other Aboriginal cultures, Birget and Reinhart mistakenly apply *every* Aboriginal cultural trait to the Anishnaabe people, thus highlighting the essence of the pan-Indian stereotype. Davidson, Walton and Andrews' belief that the concept is a means of interaction is reflected by Birget's claim that "you see, there is a *great* interest in our country for Native People" (Taylor 18), and it also appears to reinforce Lutz's theory regarding the relevance of social distance. Birget and Reinhart may be

mistaken in their construction of the Aboriginal image, but this image serves a great respect and enthusiasm for Aboriginal cultures. In the case of these two characters, the pan-Indian stereotype arises from a very positive set of intentions, regardless of the blatant inaccuracies. Granted, the pair also has some capitalistic intentions, but Taylor has nonetheless shown the possibilities of interaction among Native and non-Native cultures through romanticized imagery.

The Berlin Blues is very explicit in its critique of the pan-Indian. The proposed theme park in the play, "OjibwayWorld," could be argued as Taylor's ultimate symbol for the concept. It is a humorously inaccurate combination of stereotypes, from the large dream catcher, to the International Longhouse of Pancakes (Taylor 28). However, one must bear in mind that the Germans' misunderstanding of specific Aboriginal cultures is not a product of spite, but instead a product of enthusiasm. This is evident in their seemingly desperate attempts to extract Aboriginal tradition from even the most trivial of situations. An unforgettable example of this occurs when one of the Aboriginal characters, named Trailer, has frozen vegetables in his drink instead of ice, and Birgit inquires "is this a common Otter Lake practice?" to which he replies "Oh sure. I saw it bitten on a piece of birchbark once" (Taylor 44). The plot is filled with obvious stereotypes, but these stereotypes are the positive kind that Lutz would argue to be a product of the vast social distance between the two groups. *The Berlin Blues* examines the pan-Indian figure through satire, but this humorous approach is no less effective in reinforcing the potential value of the figure.

The fact that *The Berlin Blues* highlights an interaction between Aboriginal and German cultures is not accidental. While many non-Native cultures have romanticized the various

images associated with Aboriginal cultures, Germany has an especially strong tradition of "Indianthusiasm" that Hartmut Lutz has commented on extensively. In *Approaches: Essays in Native North American Studies and Literatures*, Lutz claims that "Germany's traditional love for Indians has become an important aspect of our everyday culture – observable in both East and West Germany, even after forty years of political and cultural separation" (68). Therefore, Lutz's account appears to confirm that *The Berlin Blues* expresses a valid cultural theme. The pan-Indian concept is so powerful that it is even capable of creating solidarity in German culture, through their almost universal love for this figure.

The German characters in *The Berlin Blues*, Birget and Reinhart, are not completely fictional. In fact, one could argue that they are drawn from the well-established tradition of German interest in indigenous cultures. Lutz draws attention to the fact that "traditionally, Germans have often professed to feel emotionally closer to North American Indians than to any other non-European peoples" (13), and this raises the possibility that the German characters in Taylor's play closely identify themselves with the Anishnaabe characters. Furthermore, it is entirely possible that the relationship between the Native and non-Native characters in *The Berlin Blues* is even more profound than Drew Hayden Taylor realizes. He portrays the German interest in the pan-Indian in relation to their economic plans, but Lutz's text suggests that this interest could have a much more profound basis. In any case, the play serves as a confirmation of the communicative power that Thomas King has attributed to the pan-Indian.

Drew Hayden Taylor's play clearly addresses the pan-Indian as a European individual's means of romanticizing the Aboriginal image, but the manner in which this concept functions *within* Aboriginal cultures remains to be seen. At this point, the stories in Sherman Alexie's *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* are worthy of examination, because they are first-hand glimpses into the lives of Aboriginal people as they attempt to retain their traditional cultural identities in a modern context. Alexie makes no attempt to directly address the pan-Indian concept in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, but the characters that he constructs spend much of their time attempting to make contact with fleeting stereotypical images of traditional Aboriginal cultures. In other words, Alexie does not attempt to construct Cherokee or Sioux figures, but instead constructs characters that are simply "Aboriginal." This generalized means of portrayal seems to confirm King's argument that the pan-Indian is "simply a reality of contemporary life" (Davidson et al. 288), a reality which is accepted even among Aboriginal people. The episode in Alexie's collection which arguably

reflects this ideology most strongly is "A Drug Called Tradition." This particular story vividly illustrates a group of young men who wish to find their true Aboriginal identities, but are inhibited by the cultural barriers of the modern word.

Fortunately, Alexie is able to offer a means of overcoming these barriers. The protagonist, Victor, has a "new drug" that allows the group to envision heroic, traditional Aboriginal images (Alexie 13). It is important to recognize the symbolic connection that arises in this scenario: the reader is presented with a set of characters who are simply using a hallucinogenic substance, but this drug is capable of summoning a romantic image of Aboriginal existence that mirrors the pan-Indian stereotype. Victor vividly describes how their perceptions are altered: "Thomas looked around the car. Hell, he looked around our world and then poked his head through the same hole in the wall into another world. A better world" (14). It is in this better world that Thomas sees Victor in a pan-Indian image. He says "I can see you. God, you're beautiful. You've got braids and you're stealing a horse" (14), and thereby envisions an image that fails to embody a specific Aboriginal culture, but instead contains the stereotypes that constitute the pan-Indian image. Hartmut Lutz has referred to a dichotomy in the stereotypical perception of Aboriginals, which divides them into the positive "noble savage" category, and the negative "red devil" category (49), and the image that Victor assumes through Thomas's altered perception arguably reflects both images. He is heroic, but he is also a thief. No attempt is made to draw ties to a specific Aboriginal culture in these visions; it is all undifferentiated "tradition."

Victor becomes absorbed in the romance of this pan-Indian image, and finds himself in touch with a figure who is not culturally specific, but rather a mesh of every Aboriginal individual. As he narrates this vision, Victor tells the reader that "*they're all gone, my tribe is gone.* Those blankets they gave us, infected with smallpox, have killed us. I'm the last, the very last, and I'm sick too" (Alexie 17). Though he physically remains in a contemporary context, Victor is experiencing the historical plight of his ancestors firsthand. As the vision develops further, a number of romanticized Aboriginal traits appear. He declares, "I will dance the Ghost Dance. I'll bring them back. Can you hear the drums? I can hear them ... I dance one step and my sister rises from the ash. I dance another and a buffalo crashes down from the sky onto a log cabin in Nebraska" (17). Close examination of this vision fails to reveal a specific culture, and yet it entails traits which reflect the experiences of various Aboriginal traditions. The validity of this imagery is not important; it is the *connection* that matters. Therefore, Victor's experience is one which

confirms Davidson, Walton and Andrews' premise that the pan-Indian image is a powerful tool of cultural understanding.

The communicative power of the pan-Indian between traditional and contemporary contexts is demonstrated through the allegorical connections in "A Drug Called Tradition." Alexie reveals this connection when the young men's "dance" is actually a pan-Indian fantasy that occurs as Junior recklessly spins his car through empty fields (17). There are limitless ways to interpret this metaphoric connection between the romanticized image of tribal dancing and the rather humorous image of the car spinning. However, the theme which is especially evident is the premise that the political and cultural reality of Aboriginal people has been altered, arguably for the worse, but the spirit of tradition remains. The survival of this spirit transcends the traits which separate Aboriginal cultures, and therefore the diluted nature of the pan-Indian is not as threatening as most would think. Alexie seems to advocate the preservation of this spirit by any means necessary, even if tradition is now just a "drug" (12).

Obviously, *The Berlin Blues* and *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* have communicated their respective interpretations of the pan-Indian theme through differing narrative styles. The former follows a narrative which reveals non-Native ignorance of the richness and diversity of the many Aboriginal cultures in North America, while the latter constructs its narrative through stories of characters that grasp desperately for their traditional cultural identities, but find images which are stereotypical at best. However, these two works are unified thematically by their portrayals of a thirst for cultural understanding, even if they consider it from contrasting perspectives. In their pursuit of this common theme, both texts effectively employ the pan-Indian concept, and in

In their pursuit of this common theme, both texts effectively employ the pan-Indian concept, and in both cases this figure succeeds in bridging a gap between cultures.

both cases this figure succeeds in bridging a gap between cultures. Whether it is a product of "Indianthusiasm" by non-Native interests, or an attempt to revive tradition among Aboriginal people in a modern context, use of the pan-Indian figure is a vital means of communicating with the essence of Aboriginal cultures. It is a vital means of assisting the endeavours of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal individuals as they explore post-colonial ideologies in North America. The pan-Indian stereotype serves as a reminder of the damage that Aboriginal cultures have suffered, while effectively consolidating and immortalizing the Aboriginal traits and values that have survived. ●

Works Cited

Alexi, Sherman. *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*. New York: Grove, 2005.

Damm, Kateri. "Says Who: Colonialism, Identity and Defining Indigenous Literature" in *Looking at the Words of our People*. Ed. Jeannette Armstrong. Penticton, British Columbia: Theytus, 1993.

Davidson, Arnold E, Priscilla L. Walton, and Jennifer Andrews. "Pan-Indian Potentialities." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*. 39.2 (Spring 2006) 288-290: *EBSCO Host*. November 1, 2010.

King, Thomas. *The Truth about Stories: A Native Narrative.* Toronto, Ontario: House of Anansi, 2003.

Lutz, Hartmut. *Approaches: Essays in Native North American Studies and Literatures*. Augsburg, Germany: Wifsner, 2002.

Taylor, Drew Hayden. *The Berlin Blues*. Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks, 2009.

The Question of Youth Sovereignty – A Knowledge Synthesis of the Sociocultural Politics of Identity Formation and Musical Literacy

Nicholas Beauchesne

Abstract

Young people consider music and musical participation integral to their identity formation: music matters. Listening to and creating music provides youth with a constructive way of venting sociocultural angst while creating lasting bonds with their peers. Musical participation is recognized for its political and pedagogical utility; it shapes ideologies and changes policies. This research demonstrates the pluralistic and democratic importance of live musical performance and participation by weighing the potential social benefits against the potential social costs of supporting youth music culture at a local level. Given that young musical subcultures and "neo-tribes" exist, this research argues that there should be a movement to engage, encourage, foster, and support their practices. Policy makers risk forcing youth into underground venues where safety and legality cannot be guaranteed should they fail to engage with young people on their terms in an arena where they can experience sovereignty over their own existence. The methodological framework of this author's research consists of a knowledge synthesis that examines the politics of music, youth agency through art, and the alienation that is grounded in youths' perceived lack of voice. This research is intended to inform policy makers of the universality concerning youth angst both as a criminologically deviant mechanism and as a fundamental component of the dominant sociocultural-political framework. This conference submission is an excerpt from the full report entitled "The Question of Youth Sovereignty – A Knowledge Synthesis of the Sociocultural Politics of Identity Formation and Musical Literacy," which can be found on the Research, Innovation, and Grad Studies section of the TRU website at http://www.tru.ca/__shared/assets/nbeauchesne24590.pdf

MUSIC IS AN IMPORTANT CULTURAL
ELEMENT in the lives of young people (Leming,
1987, p.364). Music makes them happy and it
serves as a distraction from their problems while
providing them with a means of releasing tension
and boredom (Arnett, 1995, p.521; Council on
Communications and Media, 2009, p. 1488). The
love of music is so universal that the Council on
Communications and Media has acknowledged
that "listening to popular music is considered
by society to be a part of growing up" (2009,
p.1488). Other researchers have further claimed
that young people simply cannot be understood
without seriously considering the role that music
plays in their daily lives (Martino et al., 2006,
p.431). In short, music matters (Street, 2003, p.119;
Soper, 2010, p. 364). Music and music culture
are tools used not only by the state, but also by
subjects seeking empowerment: during the 1930s
and 1940s, the Soviets and the Nazis financed
state bands in order to maintain military morale,
reinforce party doctrine, and punctuate daily
rituals; during the 1960s, music and protest were
linked during the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and
the U.K. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; in
the mid 1990s, a coalition of musicians supported
an event known as "Rock the Vote" with the goal
of increasing youth participation in elections in the
U.K.; and to this day, campaign themes are used
by politicians and oppositional groups to charge
their rallies with excitement and energy (Street,
2003). Given the historical acknowledgment of
the power of music as a tool of both oppression
and resistance, how, then, can this power be
constructively used to create solidarity within a
community today? What are the social benefits
versus the social harms involved in the process of
empowering young people through this visceral
and seductive art form?

Traditional authority figures tend to view the
centrality of music in the lives of young people

with a critical eye because of the associations between music-centric lifestyles and forms of deviant activity. Although these criticisms are certainly warranted, I argue that there should be a movement to engage, encourage, foster and support the rituals and practices of young people involved in musical subcultures and neo-tribes[1]. Although participation in these groups can result in exposure to argued deviance, I posit that the establishment and maintenance of community-backed, publicly-accessible music venues will help limit youth exposure to criminologically deviant activity and grant more cultural capital to these young music fans as they attempt to navigate a world replete with sex, drugs, and violence. Through the establishment and support of community-backed venues, the negative byproducts of a music-based lifestyle can be averted, while the positive community-building aspects can be promoted through an active socialization process: young people can be taught to critically engage with the messages presented to them in the media rather than be sheltered from this inescapable force. While certain types of music indeed contain themes of conspicuous drug use, risky sexual behaviors, and violence, researchers caution against interpreting these themes as causative factors in deviant youth behavior (Leming, 1987, p.379; Binder, 1993, p.766; Tanner et al., 2009, p.696). A more nuanced approach acknowledges these correlations, but addresses the deeper underlying risk factors that draw youth toward controversial genres in the first place: alienation, anomie, depression, and poor family relationships (Binder, 1993, p.766; Lacourse et al. 2001, p.322; Council on Communications and Media, 2009, p.1490; Tanner et al. 2009, p.713). This research project—in its complete form— is a seminal review of literature that addresses how the influential power of music may be constructively utilized to create the presence of positive socialization in developing and at-risk youth.

It has been estimated that the average youth listens to between 1.5 to 2.5 hours of music per day (Martino et al., 2006, p.430). It should come as no surprise, then, that music plays a significant role in the cultural and sexual socialization of children and adolescents (Council on Communications and Media, 2009, p.1488). Music is a tool through which young people create identities, form friendships, and learn about society, sex, gender roles, and normative social expectations (Council on Communications and Media, 2009, p.1488; Tanner et al., 2009, p.695; Martino et al., 2006, p.431). In addition, Rentfrow, McDonald, and Oldmeadow have shown that young people believe that their taste in music more effectively communicates their identities than their taste in clothing, movies, or other hobbies (2009, p.330). Indeed, Soper goes as far as to say that some young people believe that their preferred musical styles are as integral to their identity formation as their ethnicity and even their religion (2010, p.363).

It is clearly important to understand why young people listen to the music they do because it helps them differentiate themselves from other individuals and groups (Rentfrow et al., 2009, p.330). For example, young people use social networking sites like MySpace and Facebook to situate themselves within a community of like-minded people by showcasing their hobbies and interests. Predictably, musical preferences are commonly displayed on the profile pages of young users of these social networking sites (p.329). When young people display their musical tastes in this manner, they effectively place themselves into a particular social category or group (p.330). This public display of musical allegiance is the online equivalent of walking down the street while sporting a Mohawk haircut in order to observe who frowns in disdain and who winks in recognition. Young people relate to and emulate the stereotypes embedded within specific music genres. For instance, particular genres of music can be associated with particular social characteristics such as race, ethnicity, class, gender, and age: young people can reaffirm their social identities in relation to these characteristics by aligning themselves with the music and fashions that represent these genres (p.340). Thus, individuals observe and interpret events in their social environment and construct their personal realities based on these interpretations in a continual process that Leming refers to as "meaning making" (1987, p.368). When young people undergo the meaning-making process, they strategically build their social alliances by using displays of their musical tastes as facilitating mechanisms (Taylor, 2008, p.655).

Researchers Lacourse, Claes, and Villeneuve have equated adolescents' preoccupations with music with the desire for autonomy: by joining musical subcultures or neo-tribes, young people seek to distance themselves from the family unit and find their place in an alternative social system operating within their peer group (2001, p. 323). These alternative social systems at work within subcultures and neo-tribes serve as political mechanisms of adolescent socialization (Pfaff, 2009, p.171). Thus, young people construct their world view in relation to others who share their beliefs, and the very consumption of popular music can itself be seen as an act of defiance or a ritual of resistance that distances young people from others who do not share their world views or belief systems (Street, 2003, p.121). To young people, then, music is more than mere escapism: it is a platform through which they can express oppositional attitudes and form strong social bonds within their peer groups (Council on Communications and Media, 2009, p.1488).

When we consider the social benefits versus the social harms involved in the process of empowering young people through the seductive art form

known as music, mounting evidence sharply demonstrates that most risks linked to the consumption of oppositional forms of music have underlying causes in other social arenas. Indeed, the Council on Communications and Media has alleged that some music genres, including rock, rap, and heavy metal, have been found to revolve around topics such as "sexual promiscuity, death, homicide, suicide, and substance abuse..." as well as "messages of violence, racism, homophobia, and hatred toward women" (2009, 1489). However, Tanner et al. caution us about interpreting apparent links between this lyrical subject matter and increased violence, delinquency, substance abuse, and unsafe sexual activity resulting from young people's exposure to controversial forms of music. They affirm that previous attempts to establish these links have been contradictory and inconclusive (2009, p.696). Binder's study on media depictions of harm in heavy metal and rap music further demonstrates that the explanatory frames used to portray a causal relationship between music and teen suicide, sex, violence, and explicit lyrics often make no reference to "such existential conditions as teens' feelings of hopelessness or powerlessness, or to material concerns like diminishing economic prospects" (1993, p.766). In a similar vein, Leming suggests that youth alienation is a more probable cause of drug and alcohol abuse, whereby this alienation simultaneously manifests itself in two forms: drug use and musical preference (1987, p.367). Instead of blaming rap, heavy metal, punk, and rave subcultures or neo-tribes for their supposed creation of social ills, we should consider the role that the music venue plays in facilitating healthy intergroup, political, and sexual socialization, and consider the importance of educating young people in a manner that helps them think critically about the music they consume. This approach has the potential to be more effective than banning certain styles of music

This research project—in its complete form— is a seminal review of literature that addresses how the influential power of music may be constructively utilized to create the presence of positive socialization in developing and at-risk youth.

or forbidding youth from accessing them; Arnett and Leblanc warn that parental or institutional attempts to impose restrictions on the music and related lifestyles that their children consume or participate in are not likely to be heeded by determined adolescents (Arnett, 1995, p.527; Leblanc, 2000, p.230). It might therefore be more productive to turn our attention to the socialization process and consider how the music venue can be positively employed in facilitating this process.

Firstly, the music venue is a site where agents of socialization can encourage children to appreciate and critically evaluate music from a wide variety of genres at a young age. This form of musical socialization can help children relate to other people and become more tolerant of their ideas. For example, some studies have noted the utility of rap music as a tool for fostering intergenerational and interracial understanding (Binder, 1993, p.763; Sullivan, 2003, p.617). The devalued rap and heavy metal music genres represent the lower classes and these genres symbolically further divide these class associations by race—heavy metal is associated with whites and rap is associated with blacks, even if this binary is not necessarily the reality. By showing tolerance for these devalued genres, we show tolerance for the less fortunate and the hardships they endure. Furthermore, music venues are spaces where these marginalized groups can express their feelings of discontent with the political process from which they feel excluded (Pfaff, 2009, p.168).

Secondly, the venue can be seen as a place of rehearsal for political participation among those dissatisfied with conventional modes of representation. For example, Moore argues that local music scenes are important sites of independent cultural production where "resistance and empowerment" can manifest through an organized expression of "dissenting viewpoints about critical social issues" (Moore, 2007, 439).

Additionally, local scenes inspire a "do-it-yourself ethic" that encourages activity over passivity: people are encouraged to "form their own bands, create independent record labels, and publish or write for low-budget 'fanzines'" (Moore, 2007, p. 439). With this in mind, we should encourage musicians and their fans to occupy a space where the power of music can be harnessed for the advancement of positive social change either through calls for direct political action or simply the providing of mere relief from the machinations of dominant political institutions. The freeing of art and culture from the control of these institutions is part of the process that produces a critical public (Street et al., 2008, p.276).

Thirdly, the music venue is a place where participants can interact in order to discover and perform their sociosexual identities through "sexy dancing, kissing and clothed physical contact" (Taylor, 2008, p.658). While parents might not be comfortable with the idea of their adolescent children experimenting with their sexuality at music venues, there is the advantage of being able to provide some degree of supervision if these "games" occur at known locations. If youth musical subcultures and neo-tribes are permitted to explore sexuality in a controlled environment, healthy sociosexual development can occur. The focus should not be on outright prevention through isolation and repression, but on harm reduction. If we do not engage these young people and provide them with a safe place to experiment with their sexuality, we invite such disasters as the 2010 sexual assault in Maple Ridge, where a 16-year-old girl was drugged and gang raped in full view of her peers at an underground rave in a rural area: this incident was digitally recorded and uploaded to the internet, where it spread virally (CBC News, 2010). This horrific incident raises the question: could this tragedy have been prevented by the existence of a safer venue that tolerated rave parties?

Venues are ultimately important to young people because they allow them to let off steam and make friends. Tanner et al. note that participation in peer-driven cultural pursuits such as partying and the formation of high school rock bands may produce positive long-term dividends through friendships and contacts (Tanner et al., 2008, p.123). The Council on Communications and Media encourages agents of socialization to become "familiar with the role of music in the lives of children and adolescents and identify music preferences of [adolescents] as clues to emotional conflict or problems" (Council on Communications and Media, 2009, p. 1491). While the Council's recommendation is indeed sound, I must reiterate that specific music genres aren't the issue; these genres merely signify underlying sociocultural-political angst that listeners may harbor. Engendering a trusting atmosphere in the home and establishing open dialogues with teens about issues that affect their lives might be more constructive than banning

certain types of music from the home or the stage. Either way, parent-child communication is extremely important.

While the Council recommends that parents take an "active role" in monitoring (and possibly screening) their children's musical tastes, I propose taking their suggestion a step further (2009 p.1491). Parents should take their children to their first rock concert or hip hop show. If a 13-year-old sees—for the first time—an activity deemed questionable by his or her parent, that parent has a chance to respond and influence how his or her child is affected by the experience. Sex, drugs, and violence exist: at some point in a child's life, he or she will encounter these things. But, for those children initially more interested in the music than the drugs and the sex, what are they to do if there is not a safe and stable venue in their community where they can go to fulfill their musical curiosities? Based on the evidence presented in my full report (available at http://www.tru.ca/__shared/assets/nbeauchesne24590.pdf), the social benefits available to young people who are passionately involved in music-based lifestyles outweigh the risks if they are carefully managed. Politicians and youth advocates alike should seriously consider the importance of ensuring the continued existence of a publicly funded venue where young people can safely interact with one another, experience live performances, and be inspired to themselves create independent cultural products. If policy makers do not take the initiative and provide such a space to the young people in their community, they run the risk of encouraging all of the possible social harms—and none of the possible social benefits—that music culture brings. ●

References

Arnett, J.J. (1995). Adolescents' uses of media for self-socialization. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 24(5): 519-533.

Binder, A. (1993). Constructing racial rhetoric—Media depictions of harm in heavy-metal and rap music. *American Sociological Review* 58(6): 753-767.

CBC News. (2010). Child porn charges laid in B.C. rave rape. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2010/09/29/bc-rave-rape-child-porn-charges.html

Council on Communications and Media. (2009). Policy statement—Impact of music, music lyrics, and music videos on children and youth. *Pediatrics* 124(5): 1488-1494.

Lacourse, E., Claes, M., & Villeneuve, M. (2001). Heavy metal music and adolescent suicidal risk. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 30(3): 321-332.

Leblanc, L. (2000). *Pretty in punk: Girls' gender resistance in a boys' subculture*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Leming, J.S. (1987). Rock-music and the socialization of moral values in early adolescence. *Youth and Society* 18(4): 363-383.

Martino, S.C., Collins, R.L., Elliott, M.N., Strachman, A., Kanouse, D.E., & Berry, S.H. (2006). Exposure to degrading versus nondegrading music lyrics and sexual behavior among youth. *Pediatrics* 118(2): E430-E441.

Moore, R. (2007). Friends don't let friends listen to corporate rock: Punk as a field of cultural production. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36(4). 438-474.

Pfaff, N. (2009). Youth culture as a context of political learning: How young people politicize amongst each other. *Young* 17(2): 167-189.

Rentfrow, P.J., McDonald, J.A., & Oldmeadow, J.A. (2009). You are what you listen to: Young people's stereotypes about music fans. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 12(3): 329-344.

Soper, C. (2010). Rock and roll will never die: Using music to engage students in the study of political science. *Political Science and Politics* 43(2): 363-367.

Street, J., Hague, S., & Savigny, H. (2008). Playing to the crowd: The role of music and musicians in political participation. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10(2): 269-285.

Street, J. (2003). 'Fight the power': The politics of music and the music of politics. *Government and Opposition* 38(1): 113-130.

Sullivan, R.E. (2003). Rap and race - It's got a nice beat, but what about the message?. *Journal of Black Studies* 33(5): 605-622.

Tanner, J., Asbridge, M., & Wortley, S. (2009). Listening to rap: Cultures of crime, cultures of resistance. *Social Forces* 88(2): 693-722.

Tanner, J., Asbridge, M., & Wortley, S. (2008). Our favourite melodies: Musical consumption and teenage lifestyles. *The British Journal of Sociology* 59(1): 117-144.

Taylor, J. (2008). The queerest of the queer: sexuality, politics and music on the Brisbane scene. *Continuum—Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 22(5): 651-665.

Endnotes

1   Neo-tribe: a contemporary form of western social organization that is "often elective and based around consumption practices," in which people move between small and temporary groups that are bound by shared lifestyles, values, and aesthetics (Riley et al., 2010, p.348). Neo-tribes differ from traditional tribes because people tend to shift between varieties of neo-tribes throughout the course of their daily lives (Riley et al., 2010, p.348). Neo-tribes most differ from subcultures because they do not demand permanent commitment to an alternative lifestyle.

Art and Trauma: Women's Self-Portraiture as the Language of Pain

Harmony Ráine

Figure 1: Harmony Ráine. *Self-Portrait: habeas corpus* 2011
(Courtesy of the artist)

It is not sufficient for mastering the trauma to construct a narrative of it: one must (physically, publicly) say or write (or paint or film) the narrative and others must see or hear it, in order for one's survival as an autonomous self to be complete (Meyers 29).

It is indisputable
that women's
representation by
men in art and visual
culture has been
an ongoing, highly
problematic issue
for feminists, and
that this has been
the motivation for
many women artists
to begin claiming
ownership of their
own representations.

THE POWER OF SELF-REPRESENTATION, particularly for women, cannot be underestimated as a means of articulating pain, negating an objectifying gaze, and reclaiming agency. When artists like Frida Kahlo, Hannah Wilke, Jo Spence, and Catherine Opie exposed their personal pain and vulnerabilities publicly through self-representation, they posed unprecedented, forthright challenges to the male gaze[1] by purposefully denying culturally imposed standards of beauty, youth, health, able-bodiedness, gender, femininity, and sexuality to which women are expected to conform. Furthermore, they illustrated that when women are able to express their pain, other traumas, repressed inequities and oppressions (either personal or collective) may be revealed, addressed and rectified – often leading to catharsis and healing. These artists exemplify the power of women's self portraiture as a language that effectively articulates the unspeakable nature of pain and has wide-ranging implications for the exposure and redress of oppressions[2] of many types.

Women have historically been oppressed by patriarchy and social systems in which they are marginalized and often victimized; thus, the female subject has been traditionally constituted as subordinate to the dominant male.[3] Furthermore, the consistent subjugation of women in society has been grossly exacerbated by art history's objectifying male gaze along with its traditional power relationship of subject/object dominance. It is indisputable that women's representation by men in art and visual culture has been an ongoing, highly problematic issue for feminists, and that this has been the motivation for many women artists to begin claiming ownership of their own representations. By becoming both subject and object of their own images through autobiographical works such as performance,

self-portraiture, and performative self-portraits, women have begun to "successfully redress some former inequalities within the system of power that authorizes certain representations while blocking, prohibiting and invalidating others" (Owens in Broude and Garrard: 1992, 488). Thus, it is reasonable to theorize that part of this compensatory process has entailed the purposeful embodiment and public exposure, by many women artists, of their illnesses, disabilities, non-heterosexuality, ageing, victimhood, pain, and trauma as a resolute act of resistance against the disempowering male gaze.

> The victim who is able to articulate the situation of the
> victim has ceased to be a victim; he, or she, has become a
> threat (Baldwin in Wells 402).

While it is vital to the recovery of trauma survivors to be able to communicate their pain, it is almost impossible to articulate suffering verbally.[4] Art, however, has proven an effective language by which to express pain; and art history is replete with images that depict pain in numerous forms under a variety of circumstances.[5] As women artists have become increasingly politicized by feminism, they have sought artistic strategies by which to communicate their pain, overcome marginalization and oppression, and reclaim their agency. Toward this end, performance and self-portraiture have become key elements of feminist art practice because of their "potential for the enactment of agency" (Wark, 31).[6] Feminist author Jayne Wark also informs that women artists often use performance and other means of self-representation "as a cathartic means to deal with traumatic experiences and to challenge the conventional roles imposed upon them" (56). It seems most logical, therefore, that the gendered, female body provides a natural site upon which an incisive study of the body, pain, and oppression finds its most likely point of convergence.[7]

> "I wish I could explain to you my suffering minute
> by minute"(Frida Kahlo).[8]

When Mexican artist Frida Kahlo (1907-1954) began painting self-portraits in which she depicted herself footless, headless, pierced, cut open, and bleeding, her sole intention was to create a visual narrative of her pain. The victim of a near-fatal bus crash at the age of 18 in which her torso was impaled by a steel rail – her spine, pelvis, right leg and foot crushed (Ciabattari 20), Kahlo underwent more thirty surgeries ending with the amputation of her right leg, had a number of miscarriages and therapeutic

abortions that left her unable to bear children, and endured a lifetime of pain (20). Kahlo also experienced emotional trauma as a result of her husband Diego Rivera's multiple infidelities, which included an affair with Kahlo's own sister.

Throughout her adult life, Kahlo created dozens of self- portraits in which she created visual narratives of her trauma, each time confronting viewers with an unsettling and dispassionate gaze. Kahlo's purposeful decision to keep her own, personal reactions to her physical and emotional pain concealed from her viewers is critical to the understanding of her work as her staunch refusal to be depicted and perceived as a victim. *Broken Column* 1944 represents the injuries to Kahlo's spine as well as her painful treatments and surgical interventions in the aftermath of her accident (see http://www.tate.org.uk/modern/exhibitions/kahlo/brokencolumn.shtm). *Henry Ford Hospital*, 1932, is the graphic portrayal of Kahlo's miscarriage while she was living in Detroit (see http://www.tate.org.uk/modern/exhibitions/kahlo/henryfordhospital.shtm). The work depicts Kahlo "attached by visible strings (physical and emotional ties) to her unborn fetus, and to her pelvis which had been fractured in [the] accident that made it impossible for her ever to bear children" (Orenstein in Garber 44).

Where Kahlo's art did not represent physical trauma, "vivid symbols of pain in love" (Herrera in Garber 46) and her emotional distress are evident. *Diego on My Mind* 1943 (in which Kahlo inserted a portrait of her husband into the forehead of a painting of her own face) is just one example of Kahlo's unrequited devotion for Rivera, her unfaithful partner.

Kahlo dared to express in her art "the full truth of [her] biological experience" (Orenstein in Garber 44). Through her many penetrating self-portraits, this pioneering artist demonstrated the acceptance of her life circumstances, created an authentic and "enduring myth of self" (Ciabattari 20), and conveyed that she was not a passive victim.

Hannah Wilke's (1940-1993) political agenda had always been to create art that exposed women as oppressed within the dominant culture. The artist had been using her own nude body in her art since the 1970s, employing "'the rhetoric of the pose' in order to undo the Western dichotomy between creating the viewing subject and viewed object by conflating the two" (Klein 119). Wilke's *Starification Object Series* exhibits an obvious concern for women's pain, both physical and as a metaphor for emotional trauma and social oppression. In these works, Wilke made clever use of parody[9] in order to enact poses and gestures that replicated those typically found in glamour and fashion magazines as a critique of cultural norms that impose unattainable standards of beauty upon women.[10] Because Wilke was deemed beautiful by the socio-cultural norms of her time, however, she was

Figure 2: Hannah Wilke from
S.O.S Starification Object Series 1974
(Larry Qualls Archives, ARTstor Digital
Library, www.artstor.org)

Figure 3: Hannah Wilke *Intra-Venus #4* (diptych) July 26 & February 19, 1992
(Larry Qualls Archives, ARTstor Digital Library, www.artstor.org)

Figure 4: Hannah Wilke *Intra Venus* (diptych) June 15, 1992 and January 30, 1992. *(Larry Qualls Archives*, ARTstor Digital Library. www.artstor.org)

condemned by critics and curators as narcissistic and the seriousness of her work was largely overlooked (Skelly).

When she was diagnosed with lymphoma in the late 1980s, Wilke's impulse was to document her corporeal experiences. In partnership with her husband Donald Goddard, the artist produced a series of large-scale performative self-portraits entitled *Intra-Venus (*1991-1992). For this series, "Wilke [assumed] the whole array of stereotypical poses she [had] always assumed" (Isaak 223), this time confronting viewers with a nude body that was bruised, bloated from steroid treatments, scarred by chemotherapy and a failed bone marrow transplant, and bald. Wilke's trademark use of parody, this time with an almost palpable urgency, presented a far more serious challenge to society's stereotypical views of women along with its socially imposed codes of beauty and femininity.

Negative reactions against Wilke and her art changed dramatically following the posthumous release of *Intra-Venus*. According to curator and critic Amelia Jones, "after the exhibition of *Intra-Venus* in New York in 1994, art critics and other artists began to describe Wilke as transgressive; something she was rarely called when she was alive" (in Skelly). Most importantly, *Intra-Venus* now informs a broader study of Wilke's artistic practice. When examined in the context of an entire body of work, the final

series does not simply represent a profound conceptual shift on the part of an artist faced with a life-threatening illness. Rather, it recontextualizes Wilke's earlier performative self-portraits as part of a "continuous and coherent project" (Wacks 106) that demonstrates her ongoing concern for women's oppression and pain.

Similarly, British photographer Jo Spence's breast cancer was not only the impetus for a body of creative work, but also formed the basis of a collaborative project with clinical psychologist Rosy Martin that would later become known as phototherapy (Dennett 26). Following her diagnosis in 1982, Spence (1934-1992) began to create a series of "visual illness diaries" (Dennett 11), in which she took performative self-portraits "not only for her own immediate use as self-therapy and personal documentation, but also consciously constructed for future use as critical campaign material for the women's and disability movements" (11).

Following a lumpectomy, Spence undertook a holistic approach to managing her health, opting for Traditional Chinese Medicine in conjunction with phototherapy (using photography to heal) rather than submitting to chemotherapy and radiation.

In her series, *A Picture of Health?*, the artist not only responded to her feelings about her own cancer, but also used photography as an outlet for her research about the disease and its treatment, conventional medicine, the power dynamics of the doctor/patient relationship, and the role of the health care institution in the infantilization of patients. *Dated Self-Portrait*, 1984, depicts the artist's nude, headless torso and left breast bearing the scars and deformity of her lumpectomy. In her hands, Spence holds a commemorative placard displaying the date: "15 Oct. 1984." This work represents Spence's opinion of Western culture's obsession with the breast as an object of desire and, in her case, as a possession to be placed in the hands of the medical institution. In *Exiled* (undated), only the lower half of Spence's face appears, and is masked. Again nude from the waist up, the word "MONSTER" is scrawled onto Spence's chest, conveying the artist's belief that there is a "monstrification of (cancer) patients in public discourse" (Zarzyka 181).

Long before becoming ill, Spence had been engaging with "discourses of feminism and socialism" (Dykstra in Bell 12), and she had clearly expressed concerns for the ways in which "the female body is differentially produced and disciplined by various photographic genres – medical, ethnographic, policy, documentary realist, journalist, advertising, high art, surrealist, and so forth" (Grigsby in Bell 12). As a result of her medical treatments, Spence became interested in gaining an understanding of how she was "constructed as the object of medical theory and how [she] could move [herself] into being its subject" (Grover 38).These interrogations led Spence to create work that

was more intensely about the de-marginalization of women with illnesses and disabilities within a system that values health and perfection. In all of her work, Spence remained "committed to [examining] the personal as political… and aimed to uncover the elisions that had silenced or marginalised our experiences, for example as working class women [or] as someone living with cancer" (Martin 41).

American photographer Catherine Opie's (1961-) work is also firmly rooted in the tradition of socially concerned photography (Dykstra 130). Although the artist has worked with numerous types of subject matter within her specialty of documentary photography, her attention turned toward representing "the queer community" (artforum.com) and depicting herself within that culture after she came out as a lesbian in 1982. Through self-portraiture, Opie utilizes the physical pain of freshly inflicted injuries to her own body as a metaphor for the emotional pain and trauma of being cast as marginalized *other.*

Opie's self-portraits "engage the history of painting, couching their political content in the formal beauty of older art traditions" (72). The artist uses familiar and appealing aesthetics as a formal language with which to "seduce [viewers] into considering work that they might not normally want to look at" (72). *Self-Portrait/Cutting* (1993) is both a purposeful challenge to the classic, idealized female nude as seen from behind and a reflection of Opie's emotional trauma. "Carved into the flesh of Opie's back, and still weeping blood, is a stick-figure drawing of two women holding hands" (Dykstra 132) standing in front of their little house, while a puffy cumulus cloud floats by (Blessing 15). The scene is symbolic of the artist's "yearning for domestic bliss, which seemed so elusive after her recently failed relationship" (15).

For *Self-Portrait/Pervert* (1994) Opie faces the camera nude from the waist up, but this time the

word *pervert* has been freshly incised into her chest in ornate letters. Donning a tight, black leather hood and with dozens of evenly spaced needles piercing each arm (73), Opie positions herself as a strong, warrior hero – despite society's negative judgement of her. Although this work fulfills Opie's personal agenda (in rejecting the label assigned to her), she has also described the very uncomfortable self-portrait as "an anguished reaction to the AIDS epidemic, as well as a cry against the 'normalizing' of gay and lesbian communities" (Dykstra 32).[11]

In contrast to *Pervert, Self-Portrait/Nursing* (2004), depicts a tender moment between Opie and her breastfeeding son. Although the work is formally and compositionally connected to her previous self-portraits (a classical re-enactment of art history's *Madonna with child* pose) it does not represent physical anguish. The piece is, nonetheless, a very political account of the kind of prejudice and discrimination Opie has faced. In this image, "the word 'pervert' is still visible as a ghostly but permanent scar" (32) embedded in Opie's flesh. In response to the release of the photograph, the artist related that she faced criticism as a mother who is a lesbian, as an older mother, and for breastfeeding a child who appeared too old to be nursing at the time (Blessing 258-259).

Opie's self-portraits are among her most challenging works, exposing at once a self-assured yet vulnerable woman (Dykstra 32). The artist compels viewers subversively through her careful use of body language rather than with a traditional gaze; and "by refusing to grant the camera access to her face she [avoids] showing any direct emotional response to the trials her body [is] going through" (Blessing 73). These pictures not only provide an outlet for Opie's private emotions, but are also public reminders of "how the politics of gender and sexual orientation can filter into individual lives" (73).

Self-representation and the investigation of self-portraiture by women artists have achieved a "necessary and important stage in the deconstruction of cultural and gendered identity" (Betterton 167). Still, author Whitney Chadwick reminds women that they "do not possess unmediated access to [their] own bodies – that our understanding and conceptualization of the body is structured by discourses from those of art to medicine and law" (282). It is vital, therefore, that women artists not only control their own images, but also acknowledge the important precedents of "earlier generations of women artists who addressed the interaction of gender, class, artistic conventions, and milieux in representations of the female body" (282).

The brutally honest images of women who dare to reveal themselves as having physical or emotional pain, a disability, missing primary signifiers of femininity such as a breast or hair[12] (as in self-portraiture by women who

have undergone mastectomies or chemotherapy), or who reject a constructed gender code or sexual identity altogether, not only provide a visual language that effectively communicates pain, but also doubly negate an objectifying male gaze.[13] Amelia Jones (2002) describes this feminist strategy as "fatally [crossing] the wires that conventionally power the male gaze, confusing the domains of spectatorial desire" (960). Self-portrait works by artists like Kahlo, Wilke, Spence, and Opie not only exemplify this approach, but also expose the existence of other objectifying gazes such as the *medical gaze,* first described by French philosopher Michel Foucault.[14]

Figure 5: Harmony Ráine *Self-Portrait: Watched 2011.* (Courtesy of the artist)

Jones urges women artists to "embody the female subject publicly in order to politicize [their] personal experiences" (in Klein 118). My own artistic practice has been greatly influenced by the courage and groundbreaking work of many pioneering feminist artists, and my work is continually reinforced and validated through the study of historical and contemporary feminist theory, its strategies, and artistic methodologies.[15] Women artists who take control of their own representations and use their disabilities, illnesses, trauma, pain, or other marginalized aspects of their identities publicly in order to challenge and subvert a disempowering gaze not only create a visual language by which to articulate their pain and reclaim their agency, but also provide society with a powerful lens with which it may examine its own many ills. ●

Works Cited

Alexander, Bryant Keith. "Performance Ethnography: The Re-enacting and Inciting of Culture." In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd ed., edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. New York: Sage, 2005.

Bell, Susan E. "Photo Images: Jo Spence's Narratives of Living with Illness." *Health: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Social Study of Health, Illness and Medicine* 6, no. 1 (2002): 5–30.

Betterton, Rosemary. *An Intimate Distance: Women, Artists and the Body.* London; New York: Routledge, 1997.

Blessing, Jennifer, Organizer. *Catherine Opie: American Photographer*. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2008.

Chadwick, Whitney. *Women, Art, and Society.* 3rd ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 2002.

Ciabattari, Jane. "The Wages of Pain." *The Threepenny Review* 16 (Winter 1984): 20-21.

Dennett, Terry. "The Wounded Photographer: the Genesis of Jo Spence's Camera Therapy." *Afterimage* 29, no. 3 (November 2001): 26.

---. "Jo Spence's Camera Therapy: Personal Therapeutic Photography as a Response to Adversity." *European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counselling* 11, no. 1 (March 2009): 7–19.

Dykstra, Jean. "Opie: The Community of Difference." *Art in America* 96, no. 11 (December 2008): 128-135.

Felluga, Dino. "Modules on Hutcheon: On Parody." *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory*. Date of last update January 31, 2011. Accessed October 14, 2011. <www.purdue.edu/ guidetotheory/postmodernism/modules/hutcheonparody.html.>

Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of the Clinic.* London, UK: Tavistock Publications, 1973.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed;* Trans. by Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Continuum, 1989.

Garber, Elizabeth. "Art Critics on Frida Kahlo: A Comparison of Feminist and Non-Feminist Voices." *Art Education* 45, no. 2 (March 1992): 42-48.

Grover, Jan Zita and Jo Spence. "Sharing the Wounds": Jan Zita Grover Interviews Jo Spence." *The Women's Review of Books* 7, no. 10/11, Women Changing in a Changing World (July 1990): 38-39.

Herrera, Hayden. *Frida: A Biography of Frida Kahlo.* New York: Harper & Row, 1983.

Horowitz, Maryanne Cline. "Aristotle and Woman." *Journal of the History of Biology* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1976): 183-213.

Isaak, Jo Anna. *Feminism and Contemporary Art: The Revolutionary Power of Women's Laughter.* London; New York: Routledge, 1996.

Jones, Amelia. "The 'Eternal Return': Self Portrait Photography as a Technology of Embodiment." *Signs* 27, no. 4 (Summer 2002): 947-978.

Klein, Jennie. "Keeping up with the Jones's." *Performing Arts Journal* 21, no. 2 (May 1999): 116-121.

Kleinman, Arthur, Veena Das and Margaret Lock, Eds. *Social Suffering.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.

Literature, Arts, and Medicine Database. Accessed October 17, 2011. <http://litmed.med.nyu.edu/Keyword?action=listann&id=54.>

Martin, Rosy. "Inhabiting the Image: Photography, Therapy and Re-enactment Phototherapy." *European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counselling* 11, no. 1, (March 2009): 35–49.

Meyers, Diana Tietjens, Ed. *Feminists Rethink the Self.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Mill, John Stuart. "The Subjection of Women" (1869) in *Three Essays.* London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Qualls, Larry. "Hannah Wilke - Intra Venus (diptych) June 15, 1992 and January 30, 1992*." Larry Qualls Archive.* Photograph. ARTstor Digital Library. <http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.tru.ca/library/welcome.html#3| search|6|All20Collections3A20hannah20wilke|Filtered20Search||| type3D3626kw3Dhannah20wilke26geoIds3D26clsIds3D26id3 Dall26bDate3D26eDate3D26dExact3D3126prGeoId3D||17|.>

---. "Hannah Wilke - Intra-Venus #4 (diptych) July 26 & February 19, 1992." *Larry Qualls Archive.* Photograph. ARTstor Digital Library. <http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.tru. ca/library/welcome.html#3|search|6|All20Collections3A20hannah20wilke| Filtered20Search|||type3D3626kw3Dhannah20wilke26geoIds3D26clsIds3D26id3 Dall26bDate3D26eDate3D26dExact3D3126prGeoId3D||11|.>

---. "Hannah Wilke - S.O.S. Starification Object Series, 1974." *Larry Qualls Archive.* Photograph. ARTstor Digital Library. <http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.tru.ca/library/welcome.html#3| search|6|All20Collections3A20hannah20wilke|Filtered20Search||| type3D3626kw3Dhannah20wilke26geoIds3D26clsIds3D26id3Dall26b Date3D26eDate3D26dExact3D3126prGeoId3D. l20Collections3A20hannah20wilke|Filt ered20Search||| type3D3626kw3Dhannah20wilke26geoIds3D26clsIds3D 26id3Dall26bDate3D26eDate3D26dExact3D3126prGeoId3D.>

Raine, Harmony. *Self-Portrait: habeas corpus.* Photograph. 2011.

---. *Self-Portrait: Watched*. Photograph. 2011.

Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Skelly, Julia. "Mas(k/t)ectomies: Losing a Breast (and Hair) in Hannah Wilke's Body Art." *Thirdspace: a Journal of Feminist Theory & Culture* 7, no. 1 (Summer 2007). <www. thirdspace.ca/journal/article/viewArticle/skelly/48.>

Sturken, Marita and Lisa Cartwright. *Practices of Looking: an Introduction to Visual Culture.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Wacks, Debra. Review: "Naked Truths: Hannah Wilke in Copenhagen." Reviewed work(s): *Hannah Wilke: A Retrospective* by Saundra Goldman, Alfred M. Fischer, and Laura Cottingham. *Art Journal* 58, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 104-106.

Wark, Jayne. *Radical Gestures: Feminism and Performance Art in North America.* Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

Wells, Liz, Ed. *The Photography Reader.* London; New York: Routledge, 2003.

Zarzycka, Marta Joanna. *Body as Crisis: Representation of Pain in Visual Arts.* 2007. Accessed December 10, 2010. <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/ dissertations/2007-0625-201222/index.htm.>

Notes

[1] A central critical principle of feminist and other postmodern theory of the past decade has been the concept of the 'male gaze,' first described by Laura Mulvey in her ground-breaking article of 1973 (See Mulvey, Laura. *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1989). Mulvey describes the 'gaze' as a phenomenon by which males "assert their power through the privileged and, in linguistic terms, the 'subject' position of looking, while females are the passive, powerless objects of their controlling gaze" (Broude and Garrard: 1992, 7).

[2] Until the nineteenth century, the word trauma was only used to describe physical wounds causing pain and suffering. The term has now been extended "to include cognitive-emotional states that cause psychological and existential pain and suffering" (Young in Kleinman, et al. 246). Oppression is also a form of pain and suffering and Paulo Friere defines oppression as "any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person" (40). Critical theorist Elyse Pineau states furthermore: "inequities in power and privilege have a physical impact on our bodies" (in Alexander 425).

[3] These notions have been accepted and documented throughout history; for example, Aristotle described women as castrated males and "legitimized the patriarchy as the proper form of government for the family" (see Horowitz, 184-187). Later, philosopher John Stuart Mill pointed out: "the subjection of women to men [is] a universal custom" (Mill, 441). Mill explained, furthermore, that such hierarchies persist because "most men, despite lip service to equality, are reluctant to give up this 'natural' order of things in which their advantages are so great" (ibid.). One must also keep in mind that art – as an institution – reflects and follows the ideologies of other social institutions. In The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History, Broude and Garrard describe the female body as historically "defined and devalued by men and consigned by them to a lower order of being" (5).

[4] Cultural critic Elaine Scarry informs "pain does not simply resist language, but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language" (4).

[5] Some of these themes include abandonment, aging, death and dying, depression, grief, loneliness, mental illness, mourning, pain, poverty, suicide, surgery, catastrophes and natural disasters, chronic illness and disease, disability, trauma, torture, sexual practices, Christianity and martyrdom, violence, rape, the Holocaust, and war.

[6] Wark defines agency as "the condition of being in action; that is, one who has agency in contrast to one who is acted upon" (31).

[7] See Woolf in Chadwick 406-407 and Braidotti in Wark 167-168.

[8] Herrera 1983, 65.

[9] According to Linda Hutcheon, parody refers to "citing a convention only to make fun of it" (www.cla.purdue.edu/english/theory/postmodernism/modules/hutcheonparody. html). Cultural theorists Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright add that parody is only successful when a viewer is "familiar with many different texts, and… will enjoy the activity of guessing references and getting the joke (269).

[10] The *Starification* to which Wilke refers is a play on words alluding firstly to her own Jewish roots, secondly to scarification rituals endured by females across numerous cultures, and thirdly to cosmetic surgeries popular in Western society.

11 Not only was the S&M subculture unwelcome within the more mainstream lesbian community (Dykstra 132), but the piece was also made in reaction to the "fuss around the Mapplethorpe show" (Blessing 16) and "what was happening in the country around Jesse Helms… and perversion" (73).

12 According to Western culture; see Skelly.

13 The first negation of the male gaze occurs when women self-represent (resisting objectification). The second negation occurs when the code of femininity is denied through the depiction of illness, disability, ageing, non-normative gender or sexuality, asymmetry, or some other physical imperfection.

14 The medical gaze, according to Foucault, reflected "a glance at a silent body… [and] non-reciprocal situation" (xvi) between physician and patient; relied instead upon silence in which things may "surface to the observing gaze without disturbing them with discourse" (ibid.). The patient was observed in the same way "we observe the stars or a laboratory experiment (ibid.). Even more dehumanizing was the belief that "if one wishes to know the illness from which he is suffering, one must subtract the individual" (15).

15 These methodologies include self-representation with the intent of doubly negating an objectifying gaze, as well as other strategies such as collage in the tradition Hannah Höch – which is "another way of refusing the image of woman as a transcendent object of art and the male gaze" (Nochlin 29).

Jury Simulation Methodology: Exploring Issues in External Validity

Lauren Barrett

Abstract

Due to the legal restrictions regarding the use of jurors as research participants, forensic researchers rely on mock trial simulations when investigating jury phenomena. Throughout the years of jury research, many critiques have been published questioning the external validity of these mock trial studies. The present study evaluates two of these critical suggestions: use of externally valid samples and use of ecologically valid trial simulations. This study examines the chronological frequency (from 1998-2010) of student and non-student populations in order to demonstrate sampling trends by experimenters. This study also reviews the chronological frequency of different types of simulations (i.e. videotaped trial re-enactment) over the same period. These trends are discussed in terms of external validity.

If legal psychology is to continue to advance and provide insight for the justice system, then there must be room for criticism of present research designs, thus allowing for progress in the future.

INVESTIGATIONS INTO JURY decision-making began in the 1950s with the Chicago Jury Project (Bornstein, 1999; Salerno & Diamond, 2010; MacCoun, 1989). Since then, research on the jury decision-making process has continued and is a frequently debated topic in experimental psychology. In 1977 *Law and Human Behavior*, the first journal dedicated to the area of psychology and the law, debuted a plethora of jury simulation research on a variety of topics (Bornstein, 1999). Bornstein (1999) explained that using live trials causes a multitude of legal problems so most researchers must rely on laboratory simulations as part of their design. Experimental findings should be valid and able to generalize to the real world in order to have an effect (for improvement or change) on judicial proceedings (Diamond, 1997; Bornstein, 1999).

As jury research started to increase, in 1979 *Law and Human Behavior* specialized its pages for jury methodology critiques and reviews. Within the issues printed that year, numerous researchers raised concerns about external validity strength, while also calling for better methods of simulation replication. One of these critiques (Weiten & Diamond, 1979) highlighted six major problems in jury simulation research, all of which pose a threat to external validity. The present study addresses two of these main issues: the use of inadequate sampling populations and trial simulation designs (explanations to follow). Weiten and Diamond (1979) argued that past researchers relied too heavily on college students in their participant samples. These authors also indicated that the mock trial simulation designs offered few similarities to actual trial procedures. Since Weiten and Diamond's (1979) critique, many other academics have criticized these two aspects of external validity. The purpose of this study

is to first identify suggestions in past critiques for both of these two main issues. Next, a review of subsequent jury decision-making experiments/ studies from 1998 to 2010 was conducted to determine if there were any chronological trends or changes in methodology that occurred as a result of these suggestions and/or criticisms.

Chronological Table of Jury Simulations

In 1999, Bornstein documented the chronological trends of one journal, *Law and Human Behavior*, over a twenty-year period. Bornstein used this compilation as a "sample" of research experiments from the available literature for his argument. To determine if methodological suggested improvements have been applied to recent jury simulation designs, the present study obtained 224 studies using mock trials from 1998 – 2010 and applied the same sampling principle as Bornstein (1999). Most of the mock trial experiments were retrieved through an online university database for specific journals, *Law and Human Behavior* and *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. The present study reviews these relatively recent studies to determine if there are new trends in regards to participant sampling and trial simulation material.

Background

Science is self-correcting; research is constantly evolving and altering new theories to replace old ideas. This self-corrective process is essential not only to the development of psychological research, but also to the scientific method (Stanovich, 2010). If legal psychology is to continue to advance and provide insight for the justice system, then there must be room for criticism of present research designs, thus allowing for progress in the future. This progression holds true for methodological issues. The flaws in research designs should not be viewed as obstacles, but as opportunities to improve upon past research. Peer critiques are an important part of science and any criticism offered should be considered. The present review discusses the importance of this corrective process while also realizing that some criticisms surpass the present methodological limits and applications.

Since that critical volume of *Law and Human Behavior* many researchers discussed recurring methodological issues (Diamond, 1997; Bornstein, 1999) within current experiments. The validity issue regarding both the use of student samples and methodological design simulations have undergone multiple re-evaluations. This critical process of questioning and re-questioning is a necessary part of science.

External Validity

External validity is explained as the experiment's ability to generalize and replicate across research settings (Breau & Brook, 2007). External validity includes the issue of sampling, that is, can the results of the sample be generalized to other samples or to the populations. Another form of external validity is ecological validity, which is the extent to which the conditions of the experimental setting permit generalization of the results to real life settings (Breau & Brook, 2007). The issues of subject sampling and trial simulations are potential methodological problems that affect external validity.

Sampling the Population

Many applied researchers pay special attention to where they draw their samples. The participants within a sample ultimately need to represent, or generalize to, the majority population. Stanovich (2010) refers to the criticism of experimenters utilizing students as participants as the "College Sophomore" problem, though he believes this criticism is flawed and based on a lack of knowledge of the goals of science. The College Sophomore issue exists for legal psychologists and other areas of psychology, as well.

In their review, Weiten and Diamond (1979) identified several threats to external validity. They first discussed the predominant use of college students as research participants. Although the authors only looked at 10 years of research they found that only six out of 83 studies used non-student participants. They argued that students are not representative of the population that most jurors are solicited from. Miller et al. (1983) agreed with Weiten and Diamond (1979) and suggested that college students have different demographics than typical jury members such as: education level, age, and more liberal attitudes. They also noted that students probably have more knowledge of research designs and might vary in their expectations of a study when involved in an experiment. These variables are potential confounds for the generalisability of legal research. Interestingly, Miller et al. (1983) admitted that students, in past research, actually tended to side or agree with the defendant. Therefore, any significant result finding prejudicial effects against defendants while testing students would probably be magnified within other populations, including typical jury members. If this implication is true, then using students as participants in legal studies may not necessarily be problematic. The authors of these two articles concluded that more caution is needed with sampling participants and future experimenters should attempt to choose more representative populations (Weiten & Diamond, 1979; Miller et al., 1983).

Since these critiques and others (Vidmar, 1979), two articles were published almost 20 years later that re-evaluated the subject pool dilemma. Diamond (1997) acknowledged that since the special methodology issue in *Law and Human Behavior*, many experimenters attempted to improve the external validity of their studies. Diamond (1997) re-investigated all six of the original methodological issues presented by Weiten and Diamond (1979) and documented any improvements.

Diamond (1997) continued to see the "college sophomore problem" as a legitimate issue that could confound ecological validity. Diamond stated that there are differences between students and non-students in terms of demographics and advised future researchers to use students in preliminary research and then replicate the study with a more representative sample.

Two year later, Bornstein (1999) provided interesting evidence that diminished the sampling population criticism. Bornstein reviewed multiple studies comparing student to non-student populations. He concluded that experiments tended to find no significant differences between the two populations except in a few instances (see Bornstein, 1999 for a list) and also noted minimal interactions with other variables. Bornstein also investigated the usage of college students as research subjects in articles published in *Law and Human Behavior*. He reported that experimenters were actually using students more often since Weiten and Diamond's (1979) original critique. Although Bornstein (1999) agreed with Diamond's (1997) suggestion for the continued use of college students in staged research or in the earlier phases of research, he asserted that the "college sophomore problem" is still perceived as a threat to external validity by many.

The present review found trends similar to Bornstein's findings in 1999. In the present study,

The issues of subject sampling and trial simulations are potential methodological problems that affect external validity.

as previously mentioned, 224 experiments were reviewed to determine the frequency of participant samples employed in studies since 1999. As shown in Figure 1, between 1998 and 2010 there was a greater frequency of use of student samples than non-student samples: 68% of studies (1998-2010) used a student-only population. It appears that Diamond's suggestion of utilizing student samples for only early phases of research did not impact the research community. In fact, the only declared "Stage" research design was from a study done by Diamond (see Schklar & Diamond, 1999).
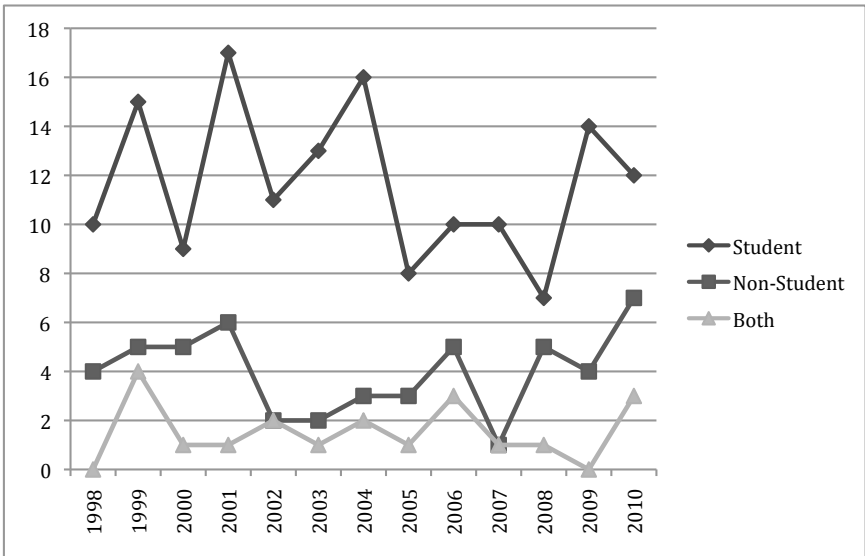

Figure 1. Chronological trends of the types of sampling populations used from 1998 to 2010 in jury research.

Design and Trial Media (Presentation Medium)

Research designs can impact experimental results. Some researchers argue that mock trials in jury simulations are not recreations of true courtroom procedures (Weiten & Diamond, 1979), and thus are lacking in external validity. As mentioned, researchers have little access to real jurors or actual courtroom proceedings and often the experimenter is forced to create a mock trial situation.

Weiten and Diamond (1979) argued that trials are elaborate and complex processes that far exceed current simulations. They explained that many studies use written trial summaries that fall far short of legal procedures. These authors argued that as the trial presentation medium simplifies (i.e. from a video of a trial to a written case summary) much of the information

being conveyed to mock jurors is lost. Weiten and Diamond (1979) proposed that the expression of the information could affect the participant's decision. These problems threaten the external validity of a jury simulation (Weiten & Diamond, 1979).

Miller et al. (1983) strongly agreed with Weiten and Diamond's (1979) arguments. They were critical of the potential information loss within differing experimental designs and argued that the complexity of the situation is also diminished. Miller and his research team (1983) suggested that simplified versions of a trial, like written summaries, lose the social complexity and extraneous variables found in a courtroom setting. They argued that there is a certain involvedness that is always present in jury situations that does not translate in less complex simulation designs. Overall, the less complex trial simulations leave out important legal and social qualities, which could affect juror decisions and verdicts. Both Weiten and Diamond (1979) and Miller et al. (1983) urged future researchers to use more complex and realistic mock trials.

Although Diamond (1997) was less concerned than others about the loss of information, she was concerned that condensed versions of trials could magnify certain variables. Diamond (1997) explained that stereotypes might be more pronounced in a summary, as the manipulation is often more salient in a short description. The author warned that these manipulation exaggerations are an issue that researchers need to take into account when creating their jury simulations. Diamond (1997) admitted that some condensed designs were suitable depending on the variable in question. However, Diamond's (1997) final suggestions pushed for future experimenters to use more elaborate methodological designs (i.e. videotapes or live trials perhaps) in their simulations.

Bornstein (1999) analyzed past experiments that investigated simulation methods and compared various presentation media. The author argued that this area of research has been neglected in comparison to other critiques of methodological problems (i.e. subject pool). In the studies Bornstein reviewed, there were few significant differences between the various types of presentation media. Bornstein explained that as the mock trial simulations become more complex (i.e. a videotaped trial) there should be a difference in the number of guilty verdicts as compared to a simple mock trial (i.e. a short written summary). He reported that studies that did find significant results had conflicting findings; the guilty verdicts either increased or decreased with more trial complexity. The author also chronologically charted the use and change of presentation media throughout 20 years of legal research and found that researchers had not been changing their simple methods to more complex ones. In contrast to past criticisms, Bornstein (1999) argued that

since there are no significant differences between types of mock trial stimuli, this issue may not be problematic in the future. He did suggest however, that when researchers are looking to make recommendations to the justice system, they should attempt to maintain good face validity and use more realistic simulations to enhance external validity.

As shown in Figure 2, the present study determined usage trends of the various trial presentation media since Bornstein's (1999) analysis. Interestingly, after 1997 the use of videotaped mock trials seemed to decline. From 1998 to 2010, written trial summaries became the dominant design choice. Videotaped methods are the second frequently used media, but their use has not increased in recent years. Despite suggestions by some, simple condensed trial summaries have become more popular within the last 10 years of jury research.
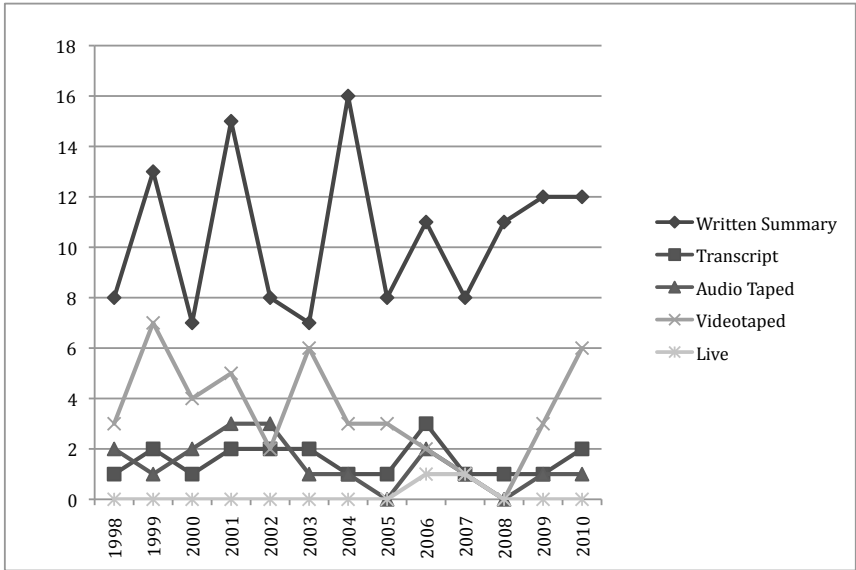

Figure 2. Chronological trends of the types of simulations used by researchers from 1998 to 2010 in jury research.

Discussion

The use of undergraduate students and trial simulation methods are two potential threats to external validity. These criticisms are not new to researchers; in fact, these problems have been examined over the years (Weiten & Diamond, 1979; Vidmar, 1979; Miller et al., 1983; Diamond, 1997; Bornstein, 1999). Despite these criticisms, researchers continue to use similar samples and methodology as did past researchers. However, this lack of change in methodology does not necessarily impact the value of the results.

The present review demonstrated the chronological trends of sampling participants and trial simulation designs. Throughout the past decade, researchers predominantly used college students in their studies. Also, condensed mock trial stimuli continued to be the most frequently employed simulation method in jury research. There are several explanations as to why not all of the proposed methodological improvements have been applied. Three of these explanations are: the concept of basic versus applied research, converging evidence, and the barriers to conducting research on the legal system.

Applied versus Basic Research

Psychologists need to consider the goals of their studies (see Stanovich, 2007). Researchers need to determine whether the results of an experiment are intended to be applied to a real life problem. Basic research is conducted in order to further develop ideas and build/test theories. Findings from applied research are intended to be used in direct applications. Basic and applied studies are very different in purpose and, therefore, experiments posed for each category can vary in what is methodologically acceptable.

Basic research is often conducted in the earlier phases of a research problem. Solid research begins with rigorously designed studies. Experiments must be strong in internal validity. That is, the strength of internal validity is determined by the extent to which the variations in the measured variable are directly impacted by variations in the manipulated variable. An important first step in research is to design a study with strong internal validity. In order to achieve internal validity variables are isolated and this is more easily achieved with less complex trial simulations. Once a relationship between variables is established, then more realistic and complex trial material can be employed. It is at this stage that researchers try to determine if the findings can be generalized (external validity) to more real life situations and other populations.

Convenience sampling populations (i.e., college students) and basic trial simulation designs both cause a threat to external validity. Potentially

a simple mock trial testing college students could be vastly dissimilar to a real jury. This design framework does not support the intentions of applied research but could be an excellent starting point for basic research. Psychological researchers cannot make applications to real world settings without first developing sound theories that explain human phenomena. Logically then, tested theories must precede application, implying that initially internal validity is of greater importance than external validity. Simple designs using college students may lack external validity, but if these studies have strong internal validity, then the findings from these studies can offer support to existing or developing theories. Once researchers develop theories of jury behaviour, psychologists can then develop complex, life-like simulations to further support their theories. This foundation for theory building also uses converging evidence to further the research process.

Converging Evidence

Design flaws are inevitable in all scientific research. Although a perfect design is nearly impossible to obtain, concepts in psychological theory can allow researchers to draw conclusions despite imperfections (Stanovich, 2007). The concept of converging evidence helps combine results from numerous studies to construct a complete idea (see Stanovich, 2007). Researchers employ various designs and operationally define variables differently. However, if a strong pattern of results emerge when examining the evidence across many experiments, then there is converging evidence to support a theory. Converging evidence permits theorists to integrate findings despite minor design flaws in individual studies. This concept demonstrates how science is a corrective process and is important to remember when criticizing research methodology.

The suggestions made by Weiten and Diamond (1979), Bornstein (1999) and Diamond (1997) are valuable contributions to legal research. However, their proposals do not always take the previously mentioned concepts into account. Mock jury research prior to 1980 was scarce and served as a starting point in designing experimental simulations. Despite the issues of external validity in past research, the findings in these studies should not be discounted. Findings from past studies can meld with similar results from more recent experiments or more externally valid experiments. Designs that build on each other will improve with each replication. Weaknesses in each design will balance with strengths from related research, which allows researchers to draw conclusions based on converging evidence.

Limitations and Externally Valid Designs

Critics of jury research also need to consider how realistic their suggestions might be in practice. If those working in the legal system are committed to examining objectively issues regarding jury decision-making with externally valid designs, then there needs to be cooperation with researchers. In addition, there are time and cost restraints to conducting more externally valid trial studies. Students are easier to recruit and more accessible than citizens from the community.

Conclusion

Researchers are faced with some difficult barriers when trying to improve external validity. Regardless of these issues, none of the previously mentioned setbacks are an excuse for poorly conducted research. Given these restraints, researchers should recognize the limitations of their studies and point out the issue of generalizability of their findings. Legal experts may need to be educated on the difference between internal and external validity. A study with good internal validity is still valid; however, the results need to be supported with more externally valid designs, which are not necessarily as internally valid. In conclusion, despite criticisms regarding weak externally valid trial research designs, there has been little change in recent research practice (i.e. methodology and sampling). The lack of change in recent designs is in part due to the emphasis on early stage research and restraints on researchers. ●

References

Bornstein, B. H. (1999). The ecological validity of jury simulations: Is the jury still out? *Law and Human Behavior, 23*, 75-91.

Breau, D. L., & Brook, B. (2007). "Mock" mock juries: A field experiment on the ecological validity of jury simulations [Electronic version]. *Law & Psychology Review, 31*, 77-92.

Diamond, S. S. (1997). Illuminations and shadows from jury simulations. *Law and Human Behavior, 21*, 561-571.

MacCoun, R. J. (1989). Experimental research on jury decision-making [Electronic version]. *Science, 244*, 1046-1050.

Miller, G. R., Fontes, N. E., Boster, F. J., & Sunnafrank, M. J. (1983). Methodological issues in legal communication research: What can trial simulations tell us? *Communication Monographs, 50*, 33-46. doi:10.1080/03637758309390152

Salerno, J. M., & Diamond, S. S. (2010). The promise of a cognitive perspective on jury deliberation. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 17*, 174-179. doi:10.3758/PBR.17.2.174

Schklar, J., & Diamond, S. S. (1999). Juror reactions to DNA evidence: errors and expectancies. *Law and Human Behavior, 23*, 159-184. doi:10.1023/A:1022368801333

Stanovich, K. E. (2010). *How to think straight about psychology* (9th edition). Pearson Education, Inc.: Boston.

Vidmar, N. (1979). The other issues in jury simulation research: A commentary with particular reference to defendant character studies [Electronic version]. *Law and Human Behavior, 3*, 95-106.

Weiten, W., & Diamond, S. S. (1979). A critical review of the jury simulation paradigm: A case of defendant characteristics. *Law and Human Behavior, 3*, 71-93. doi:10.1007/BF01039149.

Get Well Soon:
Exploring the Impact of Geopolitical Instability on Tourism in the Indian Administered Kashmir Valley

Jasim Khan

Abstract

Tourism, the world's largest industry, is quite vulnerable to external threats. Among many of these threats, the negative impacts of natural disasters, wars, terrorism, geopolitical conflicts, cultural conflicts, riots, crime, communicable diseases and other health concerns have proven to be quite serious for the industry. The impact of political turmoil, in particular, on tourism destinations has been witnessed as anything from the subtle to devastating. Kashmir, a once thriving tourism destination, has been devastated by a terrible geopolitical conflict that is now over six decades old. This geopolitical conflict has completely decimated the image and operation of the tourism industry in the region. Once one of Asia's top tourism destinations, Kashmir has now become synonymous with political conflict and unrest. This paper presents a discussion on the impacts of political conflict and geopolitical instability on the tourism industry in the Kashmir Valley region (located in the Indian Administered State of Jammu and Kashmir). The paper reveals that geopolitical instability has caused profound economic impacts on the tourism industry of the Kashmir Valley. A threat to the environmental and socio-cultural integrity of this once famed tourism destination is also found.

Kashmir – An Overview

KASHMIR, A ONCE THRIVING TOURISM DESTINATION, has been devastated by a terrible geopolitical conflict that is now over six decades old. This geopolitical conflict has completely decimated the image and operation of the tourism industry in the region. Once one of Asia's top tourism destinations (Reuters Video, 2009), Kashmir has now become synonymous with political conflict and unrest. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to discuss the impacts of the political conflict and geopolitical instability on the tourism industry in the Kashmir Valley.

Kashmir is located in the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent (See *Figure 1* below). It is a disputed territory, claimed by both India and Pakistan, with some areas also claimed by China. The local majority favors total restoration of independence (Lawson, 2010). The commonly used name *Kashmir* is a broad geographic classification for the area that includes the Indian-administered state of Jammu and Kashmir (the Kashmir Valley, Jammu, and Ladakh), the Pakistani-administered Kashmir (Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan), and the Chinese-administered regions of Aksai Chin and the Trans-Karakoram Tract. This paper focuses only on
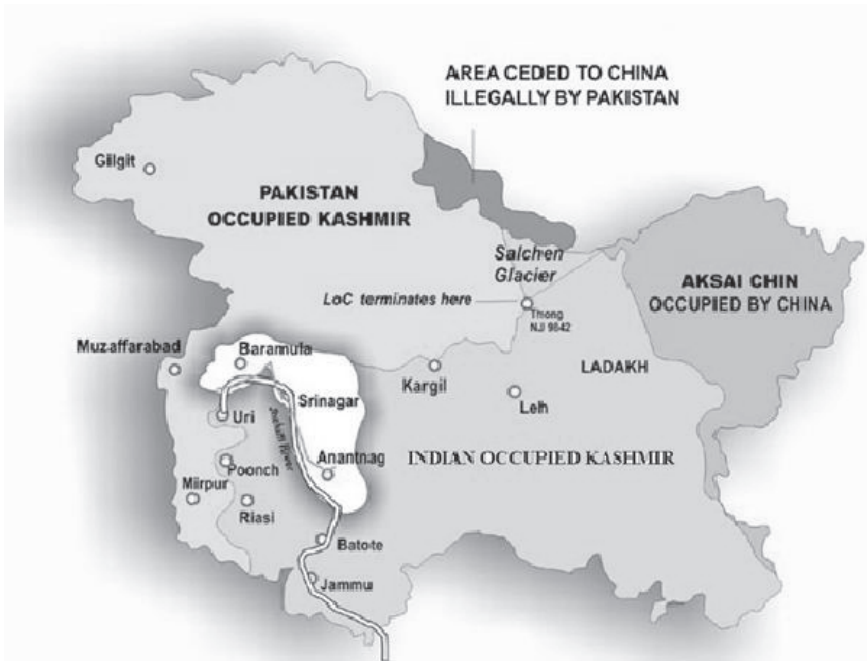

Figure 1. Kashmir Map (Panun Kashmir, 2010).

the *Kashmir Valley* region of the Indian Administered State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). However, the term 'Kashmir' only or 'Kashmir Valley' will be used interchangeably, starting from the section titled "Impacts on Tourism."

Cradled in the lap of the Himalayas, on the ancient Silk Route, Kashmir has been the centre of a great civilization, well known for its natural beauty, resources and cultural treasures. Tourism has flourished in the region for centuries. Famed for its peoples' hospitality and "a great wealth of geographical, anthropological, historical and cultural tourist attractions," Kashmir has inspired travelers for centuries (Chauhan, 2007, p. 4). It has been bestowed with many titles such as "Paradise on Earth," "Switzerland of Asia," etc., for its fascinating natural beauty. Kashmir's history as a tourism destination dates back to its very existence. Even the earliest accounts available, from the period of the Emperor Ashoka to the Moghuls, provide evidence of Kashmir's tourism. The Moghuls cherished Kashmir and their love for the region is kept alive to this date in the lavish spring-fed gardens, libraries, and forts that they built. Attracting emperors and common men alike, Kashmir, an all-season destination, reached its tourism zenith becoming one of Asia's top tourism destinations. The Kashmir Valley along with Ladakh attracted millions of tourists annually until the late 1980s when the serious repercussions of the geopolitical conflict devastated the tourism industry (ReutersVideo, 2009).

Geopolitical Instability

Originally, the Kashmir geopolitical conflict started in the year 1947. Back then, Kashmir was a sovereign, independent kingdom ruled by Hindu King Maharaja Hari Singh with a Muslim majority population. The Maharaja was unpopular amongst the people and an internal revolution for democracy was taking shape. As the British were leaving India, Kashmir was given an option, like the other princely states were, to join either India or the newly formed Pakistan, based on religious and cultural affiliations. However, the Maharaja refrained from a decision and preferred to remain independent. Unfortunately, in October 1947, Pakistan attacked Kashmir by sending its tribal forces angered by the massacre of thousands of Muslims in the Jammu region and in the name of liberating the Kashmiri people from the unpopular Maharaja. Not having an army of his own, the Maharaja asked for help from India. India accepted the Maharaja's plea for help but under the condition that the Maharaja sign an Instrument of Accession, a document allowing a limited merger of Kashmir with the Union of India. Under duress, the Maharaja accepted the offer and Indian forces engaged in a battle with the

Pakistani invaders. The then newly formed United Nations immediately intervened into the issue and called for a complete cease-fire between the two parties. A cease-fire line, known as the Line of Control (LOC), divided the region into the Pakistani and the Indian-administered Kashmir and remains today. Neither side has withdrawn its forces from the region (Kashmiri-Canadian Council, 2011).

Since then, the United Nations has passed twenty-three resolutions on this issue, most important of which is the call for a total plebiscite and the need for allowing the people of Kashmir the right to self-determination and to choose whether they wanted to be with India, Pakistan, or remain independent. It is extremely important to mention that India explicitly promised and guaranteed this right to the people of Kashmir. The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, in many statements, promised this; one of such was his statement to the Indian Parliament on June 16, 1948, where he said that:

If after a proper plebiscite the people of Kashmir said, "We do not want to be with India," we are committed to accept it even though it might pain us. (Rosenstein, 2008, p. 3)

However, these promises were never kept. India maintained the stance that Pakistan be the first to remove its forces from the region so that an action would take place. As the promises and resolutions were ignored diplomatically, the situation became increasingly complicated leading to extreme tensions which eventually resulted in two wars in 1965 and 1971. Further complicating things, India also went to war with China in 1962 and Pakistan acceded parts of its controlled Kashmir to China. From the late 1940s to the late 1970s, apart from the wars, India sought to further legitimize its occupation of the region and gradually eroded the autonomy of the region. During this period, the Indian-administered portion, about three-fourths of the total region, came to be established as the state of Jammu and Kashmir while Pakistan controlled the remaining portion and termed it as Azad ('Free') Kashmir. While India kept placing self-appointed governments, it was the rigged elections of the 1980s that caused a serious discontent and alienation in the local population, especially the youth (Kashmiri-Canadian Council, 2011).

Following this began the most unfortunate period of the conflict. In a mass uprising, hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris took to the streets to protest the ignoring of their democratic rights by the government of India and to demand their right to self-determination, which had been promised to them not only by India but also by the international community. This mass uprising was met by tremendous and barbaric force by the Indian state.

Hundreds of thousands of Army soldiers were sent to Kashmir to crush the popular movement by all means including, but not limited to, arrest, torture, killings, rape, etc. This led to a very serious consequence as the subjugated local youth began a violent liberation movement against the Indian Armed Forces. As they were supported by Pakistan in their endeavors, hundreds of Kashmiri youth infiltrated into Pakistan, returning as trained armed rebels. While the local population viewed these youth as freedom fighters, they were nothing but terrorists for the Indian Armed Forces. Obviously, the worst was to follow as terrorism from both sides was unleashed on the innocent civilian population. The so-called peaceful 'Paradise on Earth' soon became the Valley of tears, death and destruction. Within two decades, close to 100,000 people were killed; millions more were injured or dismembered. More than 10,000 people are still missing and unaccounted for while thousands of others still languish in torture camps and jails. Thousands of cases of rape, one of the highest ratios of orphans, and some of the worst human rights violations and sexual abuses in the world have been and continue to be reported from the region (Kashmiri-Canadian Council, 2011).

During the year 1990, in order to curb the mass uprising, the Indian forces placed a five-month-long curfew, which combined with all the political upheavals and a rash of terrorist incidents in the following years completely decimated the tourism industry of the region. The industry was grounded from a visitation of thousands of tourists annually to virtually none in the years to follow. Sad but not surprising, the impacts of this violent phase of the geopolitical conflict left devastating blows on the Kashmiri tourism industry from which it hasn't been able to recover.

The so-called peaceful 'Paradise on Earth' soon became the Valley of tears, death and destruction. Within two decades, close to 100,000 people were killed; millions more were injured or dismembered.

Impacts on Tourism

As mentioned above, during the initial years of the geopolitical conflict tourism continued to prosper and grow until the late 1980s, when the violent period of the conflict began. Tourism came to a virtual standstill as the most violent and politically charged phase of the geopolitical conflict took hold. But beyond all the political rhetoric, it is the human suffering that is always the most tragic part of the conflict. In addition to the loss of human life, the conflict has affected every single aspect of life. It has particularly devastated the economy, including important industries such as tourism.

Economic

Tourism has been known as the backbone of the Kashmiri economy. Nizamuddin (2008) quoted G.M. Bhat, the Head of the Economics Department at University of Kashmir, confirming that "tourism is one of the major activities for stimulating the state's economy. About 45% of the state's population is directly or indirectly connected with this activity, subscribing about 25% of the state's domestic gross product. An estimated Rs 6,515 crores (US$ 1,543,108) is annually generated from tourism"(p. 3). Soundararajan & Rajan (2006) point out that in 1989-90, "seventy percent of the population of the Kashmir Valley was dependent upon tourism" (p. 14). Noted Kashmiri businessman Mohammad Amin Tramboo has similar thoughts as he explains that the "tourism industry is still the most important economic industry in Kashmir. Being the backbone of the economic prosperity of the State, it contributes largely to the overall development and better standard of living of the people both directly and indirectly." He adds that, "the political conflict

has always given severe setback not only to the tourism industry but also frustrated the promotional programs, impacted the progress, retarded the growth and defeated the very purpose of progress and prosperity of the State" (Tramboo, 2010, personal communication).

Thus, it should be no surprise that the geopolitical instability has had crippling effects on the tourism industry of the region. "It is estimated that the state lost 27 million tourists from 1989 to 2002 [alone], leading to a tourism revenue loss of US$ 3.6 billion" (Mahapatra, 2009, p. 25). According to Dipankar Sengupta, Reader in the Department of Economics at the University of Jammu, "tourist arrivals that had numbered over 700,000 in 1988 and over a half-million in 1989 fell to little over ten thousand in 1990" (2008, p. 22). Sengupta adds that "Kashmir Valley tourism was not to witness a return to six figures until 1998, when it barely crossed a hundred thousand" (2008, p. 22).

In continuation with the aforementioned chronological account of the geopolitical conflict, by the year 1998, dramatic decreases were witnessed in the number of terrorist incidents as most of the militants were either killed or arrested by the Indian Army. In 1999, India and Pakistan participated in a brief war in the Kargil region, which impacted the tourism industry yet again. Although the human rights violations always continued, compared to the earlier years relative peace began to set in the next decade. However, the situation has always remained pretty volatile and frequent cycles of violence and instability continue to be the norm. Today, Kashmir still remains the centre of an intractable political situation and a nuclear hotspot with disruptive cycles of political unrest.

The last three years in particular presented difficult challenges for the already bruised tourism industry, as unexpected serious downturns occurred due to political upheaval. As major political instabilities were again witnessed in the main summer season of each year, doubts about the vulnerability of Kashmir tourism were reconfirmed. The unexpected slump in the tourist inflow to the valley was witnessed due to the Amarnath Land Row Agitation that lasted for 87 days during the peak tourist season of 2008. In the following year, rumors by the Army about the existence of Taliban in Kashmir followed by the shocking incident of gang-rape and murder of two young Kashmiri women in the Shopian area by Indian army soldiers led to months of protests causing a serious decrease in tourist arrivals. A summary of the projected and actual arrivals for the last three years is provided in the following chart:

Tourist Arrivals in Kashmir (2008 – 2011)

Year	Projected Arrivals	Actual Arrivals
2008-2009	1.2 million	415,078
2009-2010	1.5 million	302,628
2010-2011	1.8 million	300,000

(Tramboo, 2010, personal communication)

The year 2010, up to the month of May, witnessed an amazing number of tourists arriving in Kashmir, raising the industry's hopes. By then, close to 300,000 tourists had arrived in Kashmir and the 'million' mark was expected to be crossed by the end of the season. Unfortunately, the gruesome murder of a 17-year-old boy by the Indian forces led to a series of mass protests, which were met with further force resulting in the death of over 120 civilians in a matter of just a few weeks. The period of immense unrest unfolded again with weeks of curfew shattering the tourism industry's hopes for yet another summer season. Hotel occupancies dropped from an average normal of 90% in May 2010 to 30% by June and an astonishing 0% by September 2010. Within the first week of the May 2010 unrest itself, 60% cancellations in bookings were witnessed by most hotels (Tramboo, 2010, personal communication). Thus, the geopolitical instability continues to impact tourism and further break this so-called backbone industry of the Kashmiri economy. With each year of unrest, the economic well-being of the people connected with the trade is also shattered. In the year 2010 alone, 60,000 tourism workers were rendered unemployed due to the political unrest (Tramboo, 2010, personal communication).

Hotels, the primary stakeholders at any tourism destination, are often the worst hit. The Kashmiri hotel industry has been particularly victimized. In the capital city of Srinagar, 3,500 hotels with 25,000 rooms had zero occupancy by the peak of the 2010 unrest, resulting in a loss of billions of rupees. Hotel debt has hampered not only plans for growth but also threatened the very existence of many such operations. After the 2010 unrest, 300 tourism businesses had to go insolvent and many others were brought to the verge of closing. With allied sectors, the losses estimated by the tourism industry for 2010 were a whopping ten billion rupees. It is losses like this that have brought the Jammu and Kashmir State's annual deficit to 220 billion rupees ($4.8 billion) (Hussain, 2010). In the hopes of attracting the maximum number of tourists, the Year 2010-11 was declared "Visit J & K Year" by the J & K Tourism Department; however, not much success was achieved in this regard (Tramboo, 2010, personal communication).

Tourism, by its very nature, is an interdependent industry that relies upon other sectors of the economy for its proper functioning. It also equally passes down its benefits, though, to other sectors of the economy through the multiplier effect. Well-established and functioning infrastructure is critical to tourism prosperity. In the conflict-devastated economy of Kashmir, irreversible damages to infrastructure have also had an impact on functioning of the tourism industry. "From 1989 to 2002 [alone], some 1,151 government buildings, 643 educational buildings, 11 hospitals, 337 bridges, 10, 729 private houses and 1, 953 shops have been gutted in about 5,268 attacks" (Mahapatra, 2009, p. 25). This enormous damage has been valued at "approximately 4 billion Indian rupees (INR) until December 1996 alone" (p. 25). Tourism infrastructure such as hotels, tourist welcome centers, bus stops, etc. also witnessed many damages. The primary gateway to the state, the Srinagar International Airport itself, has had at least three major terrorist attacks.

In terms of the intraregional competitive advantage, "the other regions of the state, Jammu and Ladakh" were not only "less affected" but also gained in popularity (Sengupta, 2008, p. 23). In the Jammu region, "tourist arrivals . . . rose from two million to over four million in the 1990s" while the arrival numbers in Ladakh region "never fell precipitously as in" the Kashmir Valley (p. 23). Due to relative peace and stability, Ladakh was also able to avoid international travel advisories and warnings. Although most foreign tourism-generating countries such as the United States and United Kingdom advised against all non-essential travel to Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh was explicitly noted as an exception. Though beneficial for the state overall, Ladakh's competitive advantage due to stability has sometimes become the source of intraregional envy and a belief that the local government is discriminatory in

its regional developmental plans. On the other hand, lower margin market segments that came to replace the usual demographic of visitors did not prove so profitable for the Jammu region. The majority of Jammu's pilgrimage tourism arrivals "came from a lower economic stratum and the amounts that they spent reflected this characteristic" (Sengupta, 2008, p. 23). Although the arrivals "crossed six million in 2006, tourism generated only Rs 450 crores (approximately $110 million) for the region, a modest sum given the absolute numbers involved" (p. 23).

While there have been intraregional benefits, the perception of Kashmir, the whole state, as an unsafe tourism destination is more prevalent and valid than ever (Chauhan, 2007). Even if there is a significant decrease in the instabilities, it would take years if not decades to overcome this negative perception. Sonmez (1998) points out that images linger on, especially the negative images that travelers hold in their minds about tourism destinations. Neighboring destinations such as Himachal Pradesh have greatly benefited from the political unrest in Kashmir. Though having similar tourism products, Himachal Pradesh has been successfully able to alienate itself from the unrest in Kashmir and used this to its full advantage.

It is important to mention now that the tourist arrivals in the past five years to Kashmir have only been domestic tourists from India while foreign arrivals are still almost non-existent. The reason for this is mostly a better awareness in the domestic market segments about the real risks, as opposed to the perceived risks in the case of international visitors. Sonmez (1998) also argued that as the 'generalization effect' for the entire region takes over the foreign traveler's perception, it is quite often very difficult to remove such negative impressions. Authors such as Paraskevas (2007), Beirman, (2002) and Mansfeld (1999), on the other hand, suggest and recommend focusing on

domestic market segments as they have the potential to be faster sources of revenue, and act as a balancing economic mechanism for filling temporary gaps and tourist arrival vacuums.

Overall, the economic impacts of the geopolitical instability in Kashmir have been quite profound and unfortunate. Apart from the obvious economic impacts, the overall sustainability of Kashmir as a tourism destination has also come under threat.

Environmental

As noted above, no aspect of life in Kashmir and its existence as a tourism destination has been spared from the negative impacts of the terrible geopolitical conflict. While the economic impacts are a little more obvious and quantitatively inclined, other key issues such as the environment have been seriously overlooked. It is understandable that in the region where the personal safety and security of not only the tourists but also the residents is in serious danger, such issues get sidelined. However, it is crucial to mention the negative impacts on the environment of Kashmir. Over the past two decades, pollution has become widespread. The major waterways such as rivers, lakes and streams are threatened by grave contamination and water pollution. World-famous water bodies such as the Dal and Wular Lakes are almost on the verge of becoming cesspools "from unchecked pollution; even worse, the Dal Lake has shrunk alarmingly from 25 square kilometres to just 11 over the years" (Nizamuddin, 2008, p. 7). Deforestation along with soil, noise, and other types of pollution has reached alarming rates. The current government has placed no priority or regard for this serious condition of the environment in Kashmir.

Most natural areas have exceeded their carrying capacities. Wildlife, such as the famous Hangul Deer, amongst many others, are in a grim situation, right on the brink of extinction. Effects of global climate change are also being noticed in Kashmir such as a catastrophic rate of glacial water melting. While the geopolitical conflict continues, if left unchecked, the environment of Kashmir is headed for a far worse disaster.

On the socio-cultural front, along with the loss and damages to infrastructure, a tremendous amount of rich cultural, historical, architectural, and anthropological treasures have been lost during the conflict. Important monuments and cultural attractions are either damaged or poorly maintained while others lie in utter ruin. A quick example of this is the burning of the "700-year-old shrine of the great Sufi saint, Shiekh Nooruddin Noorani" (Nizamuddin, 2008, p.8). "The shrine, a symbol of cultural integrity famous for its grandeur and unique architecture [was] completely

destroyed in a gun battle" (p. 8). Acculturation and widespread cultural loss is fairly obvious. It is alleged that the Indian government maintains a pathetic attitude towards the native language Kashmiri. Kashmir Valley is the only region in India where the local language is not taught in schools. A majority of the natural, historical, and cultural attractions remain inaccessible to the local people, strictly guarded and occupied by the Indian Army. Most historical objects have been transferred to museums in other parts of India. Overall, regrettable impacts of the geopolitical conflict can be seen on the socio-cultural fabric of the Kashmiri society.

Role of the Media

Of course, this discussion would be incomplete without the mention of the role of media in destination image-building and perception of tourists about a particular destination. "Given the media's predisposition to cover conflict and crisis and its tendency to magnify them," even minor incidents and instabilities are portrayed seriously (Beirman, 2002, p. 171); this often leads to quick and direct damage for the tourism industry. While it is by no means an argument that the media should stop reporting the truth or the occurrences accurately, a balance between the freedom of press and disproportionate reporting needs to be achieved. In the absence of content control and an inherent bias of certain media organizations, incidents are often sensationalized making it quite difficult, if not impossible, for the local tourism industry to provide some sort of damage control or crisis management (Beirman, 2002, p. 171).

It is also important to acknowledge the fact that in the past two decades of the geopolitical conflict, there have been very few incidents directly targeting tourists. Even those isolated incidents have been contested by the local population and alleged to be conspired and planned so as to defame the freedom struggle. Whatever the truth is, it is no consolation for travelers. Whether the attacks are directed at them or they just become innocent victims, tourists are just concerned with the amount of risk involved at the destination; thus, it is not just important but absolutely essential to provide guaranteed safety and security in order to receive continued patronage of visitors. "Political violence is bad news for a country's tourism, even if no tourist ever becomes physically harmed or killed," says Neumayer (2004, p. 281). "No international tourist would willingly like to go to a violent land, however beautiful" (HubPages, 2010, p. 15).

Conclusion

Thus, to conclude the above discussion, it is well known that geopolitical instabilities can have serious impacts on tourism destinations. An example of such a scenario is the Himalayan region of Kashmir in South Asia, which was the focus of this paper. The paper revealed that geopolitical instability has caused profound economic impacts on the tourism industry of the Kashmir Valley. The paper also found a threat to the environmental and socio-cultural integrity of this once-famed tourism destination.

While the importance of peace and stability as a prerequisite to the prosperity of the tourism industry cannot be underestimated, the question remains, however, how to manage places with prolonged unrest such as Kashmir. Perhaps a strategic framework of crisis management and mitigation combined with an honest effort to resolve the geopolitical crisis might lead to recovery and future prosperity. It would be appropriate to acknowledge that this paper is by no means an exhaustive or an all-encompassing work but instead is a humble beginning towards understanding the impacts of the geopolitical instability in Indian-administered Kashmir. There is good scope for future research as each of the impact sections (economic and sustainability) can be explored further in great detail. Also, the need for a destination-specific crisis management framework for Kashmir is now easily identifiable. To end, perhaps the best last word would be a sincere hope and prayer that the geopolitical instability in Kashmir comes to an immediate end and the region is fortunate again to witness peace and prosperity, not just in its tourism industry but in every walk of life. ●

Perhaps a strategic framework to crisis management and mitigation combined with an honest effort to resolve the geopolitical crisis might lead to recovery and future prosperity.

References

Beirman, D. (2002). Marketing of tourism destinations during a prolonged crisis: Israel and the Middle East. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 8(2), 167. Retrieved from EBSCO*host*.

Chauhan, V. (2007). Safety and security perceptions of tourists visiting Kashmir, India. *Advances in Hospitality and Leisure*, 3, 3-17.

HubPages. (2010). Conflict in Kashmir valley: Why foreign tourists are avoiding Kashmir travel. Retrieved from http://hubpages.com/hub/Conflict-In-Kashmir-Valley-Why-Foreign-Tourists-Are-Avoiding-Kashmir-Travel

Hussain, B. (2010). Conflict in economy: Unrest and Kashmir's financial system. Retrieved from http://www.thecommentfactory.com/conflict-in-economy-unrest-and-kashmir%E2%80%99s-financial-system-3571/

Kashmiri-Canadian Council. (2011). Kashmir: An Introduction. Retrieved from http://www.kashmiri-cc.ca/

Lawson, A. (2010). 'First' Kashmir survey produces 'startling' results. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10161171

Mahapatra, D. A. (2009). *Symbiosis of peace and development in Kashmir: An imperative for conflict transformation.* Retrieved from http://operationspaix.net/IMG/pdf/ACCORD_SymbiosisPeaceDevelopmentKashmir.pdf

Mansfeld, Y. (1999). Cycles of war, terror, and peace: Determinants and management of crisis and recovery of the Israeli tourism industry. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38(1), 30. Retrieved from EBSCOhost.

Neumayer, E. (2004). The impact of political violence on tourism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 48*(2), 259-281. Retrieved from Hospitality & Tourism Complete database.

Nizamuddin, K. (2008). *Kashmir's tourism suffers when conflict erupts*. Retrieved from http://www.thewip.net/contributors/2008/08/kashmir_tourism_suffers_when_c.html

Paraskevas, A., & Arendell, B. (2007). A strategic framework for terrorism prevention and mitigation in tourism destinations. *Tourism Management*, 28(6), 1560-1573. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2007.02.012

Panun Kashmir. (2010). *Kashmir-Map.* Retrieved from http://www.panunkashmir.in/kashmir-map.php

Pizam, A. (1999). A comprehensive approach to classifying acts of crime and violence at tourism destinations. *Journal of Travel Research, 38*(1), 5. Retrieved from Hospitality & Tourism Complete database.

Reuters Video. (2009, July 10). *Kashmir tourism on the rise.* Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GgeN5T9MOF8

Rosenstein, M. A. (2008). *Swords and Ploughshares: The future of Kashmir.* Retrieved from http://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/15112/TheFutureofKashmir.pdf?sequence=2

Sengupta, D. (2008). *Policy making in a terrorist economy.* Retrieved from http://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/15112/TheFutureofKashmir.pdf?sequence=2

Sonmez, S. F. (1998). Tourism, terrorism, and political instability. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(2), 416. Retrieved from Hospitality & Tourism Complete database.

Soundararajan, R., & Rajan, M. P. (2006). *Impact of terrorism on Jammu and Kashmir tourism.* New Delhi, India: Gyan Books.

THOMPSON RIVERS ![shield] UNIVERSITY