CONVERGENCE

Published by QPIRG McGill and QPIRG Concordia, *Convergence* is a Montréal-based journal that highlights undergraduate and community contributions to social justice research and art.

Convergence is the name we give to an event that unites different people, ideas, and approaches in a common project. As a noun it simultaneously describes the group of students who, together, form the content of this projects — the variety of research and educational approaches, from honours theses to first-person interviews — and the movement between university work and community activism.

In its form as a verb, *Convergence* is a taking-on of injustice: where students, approaches, and ideas encounter political and social problems, where research converges on the powerful territory of academia to insist on alternatives. We hope this small convergence of people and ideas ultimately takes on a life of its own, encouraging and creating space for intellectual work that is geared towards community and committed to fighting for justice.

The sixth edition of *Convergence* brings together texts and art from undergraduate students, artists, and community organizers. Some of the published pieces are drawn from the 2015 Study in Action Conference and the Community-University Research Exchange (CURE) program. Many of the articles respond to issues that directly affect the Montréal and Canadian context, from the casualization of labour at McGill University to the experiences of incarcerated Black Canadians. This edition also highlights an array of incredible artwork from local and international artists, which encompasses illustrations, installations, performance, digital art, and street art.

We extend our gratitude to the contributors of this journal, as well as this year's *Convergence* editorial team.

Convergence

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Josh Pavan and Sheehan Moore

There Is Power in a Union

Building Solidarity Against the Casualization of Labour at McGill

Our union, Association of McGill University Support Employees (AMUSE), is one of a handful at McGill University representing casual workers. We represent non-academic casual workers, which encompass anyone doing fixed-term work. This could include shelving books in the library, doing clerical work in offices, selling books in the bookstore, refereeing an intramural game at the gym, or updating the university website from home. It is easy to think of casuals as people just picking a little flexible work here and there, and that is definitely how some AMUSE positions function. But increasingly, we see that these positions are not just a couple of shifts or an after-school job. In contrast, we find a process of **casualization** happening at McGill, whereby stable, unionized positions are converted into temporary, precarious ones across the university and across different categories of work.

Casualization is on the rise in many post-industrial economies. At McGill, this process is generally understood as originating with the first major unionization efforts in the early 1990s. As certain classes of employees organized and won legally protected rights, the University reorganized its labour force to bypass these gains. While these evasion efforts have been underway for the past two decades, its impact has intensified exponentially in the last few years, as McGill responds to government-issued austerity, which comprises budget crises, university funding cutbacks, and calls for individuals and groups to make sacrifices.

For **non-academic workers**, some of the casual positions they hold at McGill are what would commonly be understood as casual work — picking up a few paid hours on an irregular basis — but increasingly this is no longer the case. In 2013,

under the pretext of budget cuts, McGill offered early retirement packages to unionized permanent staff, reducing membership of the McGill University Non-Academic Certified Association (MUNACA) by 200 people. They froze the hiring of permanent staff while continuing to hire casuals to fill the same workload. Many of these new workers are students in the WorkStudy program, which means their wages are subsidized by a combination of federal and university funding, as part of the University's financial aid program. The vast majority of WorkStudy positions earn under $15 an hour, with no benefits.

Another class of casuals within AMUSE are people working to replace permanent staff who are out on leave, and they often deal with near-total insecurity in their jobs, having to continuously renew their contracts. It's not uncommon for workers to have their contract run out, go a couple days without a job, and then finally get that contract back because the person they're replacing extended their leave. This constant contract renewal is common across the AMUSE membership. Workers could spend years at jobs that they renew every few months. Some are even required to reapply for their jobs each time the contract ends. These casual positions aren't casual in the ways that we usually think. They're positions that McGill has intentionally casualized in order to reduce costs.

A similar pattern exists among the membership of the **McGill research assistants and associates union**. Increasingly, professors and labs hire casual researchers with lower-paid and less-secure positions than regular research staff. Because of austerity-related cuts and re-prioritizing within federal and provincial research funding bodies, those doing the hiring are forced to take on casual research assistants at much lower wages.

WHAT IS CASUALIZATION?

Casualization is the process by which good, well paid, stable jobs are replaced by temporary or precarious jobs. It often includes:

· being paid at a lower rate or being stuck at the bottom of the payscale
· not receiving benefits such as pensions, health plans, or acquired holidays
· short term contracts, inconsistent hours, and constant threat of contract non-renewal

· finding it much more difficult to talk to fellow casual workers and develop a sense of collective identity or labour consciousness from which to organize

This process of casualization circumvents the formal frameworks (such as seniority and job security) that structured most victories gained by organized labour over the past decades.

Across the university, permanent, full-time positions with benefits are turning into short-term contract positions.

Cuts to university budgets — and the corresponding shuffling of funds by McGill to ensure a perpetual budget "crisis" — also impact the working conditions of **teaching assistants (TAs) and invigilators**. Fewer and fewer departments are able to guarantee teaching assistantships, making financial security increasingly unpredictable for new graduate students. Departments have tried to cope with budget cuts by reducing the number of hours they pay teaching assistants and hiring **graders** to make up for the lost time. While TAs are unionized, with a minimum hourly rate and a guaranteed number of hours, graders are not unionized and have no minimums or guarantees. Often, this means that a department pay a grader half or two-thirds of what a TA made for the exact same work.

Course lecturers are also susceptible to McGill's austerity measures: the course lecturers' union is relatively new, and has not yet secured a collective agreement, leaving them particularly vulnerable. Course lecturers work on semester-to-semester contracts with no guarantees for the following term. They are paid $7,800/course, the lowest salary for a course in Quebec, and have no health benefits. While other universities continue to raise those salaries in line with the cost of living, the McGill administration has expressed its intention to freeze course lecturer salary at present rates.

Professors at McGill remain the only non-unionized faculty in the city of Montreal, and the only faculty without any type of collective agreement in all of Canada. As the number of support staff decreases, professors are taking on larger administrative workloads without any recourse. We've heard firsthand about the impact this has on teaching. Professors have less time to meet with students on an individual basis, and with the abolition of small seminars and a reduced student-to-TA ratio, they're resorting to less comprehensive but more easily graded means of assessment. Students are left with fill-in-the-bubble tests rather than thoughtful papers and meaningful feedback.

AUSTERITY'S CHALLENGES TO SOLIDARITY

At McGill, MUNACA, the permanent non-academic staff union, is much older and more organized than AMUSE, largely because their membership holds permanent jobs. Since its certification in 1993, MUNACA has actively fought the casualization of its positions, but the pace and tactics at which casualization happens makes the process difficult to contest. During a 2011 strike held by all MUNACA members, casuals whose positions overlapped heavily with permanent positions were forced to pick up the work, helping to prolong the strike. This put permanent workers in an understandably frustrating position.

The 2011 strike is a great example of the inter-worker tension that can be generated by casualization. In face of austerity, we risk aligning our solidarity vertically rather than horizontally. When the university administration comes out vocally against austerity-driven budget cuts to education, it can be easy to see them as our allies. All the while, austerity drives wedges between other sectors of the community. Experiencing reduction or slowdown in services, students and professors become frustrated with permanent staff. But in fact, the deterioration of service stems from the administration decimating the permanent workforce with early retirement packages, instituting a subsequent hiring freeze, and prompting a dramatic increase to workloads. In turn, it's easy for permanent workers to resent casual employees, whose numbers keep growing even as their own plateau and begin to decline.

So austerity works out well for the university. Tightening the belt on workers, research funding, and services in face of austerity creates a new norm that can endure long past this current wave of cuts — especially as high rates of turnover among students and casual workers impedes long-term collective memory. Like the provincial and federal governments, McGill, the university with the largest endowment-dollar-to-student ratio in Canada, can appeal to a false state of emergency and a fabricated deficit crisis in to make drastic, extremely harmful, and long lasting changes.

CHALLENGES TO ORGANIZING AS CASUAL WORKERS

SPATIAL

Casual workers are spread out across campus or work from home, and often not in contact with other workers with similar working conditions.

TEMPORAL

Most of casuals have short contracts and irregular work hours. By the time union reps find out about new hires and talk to them, those workers could be halfway through their contract.

In the face of such intense turnover, it's important that unions don't limit themselves to informing members of their rights before their contracts end. We need to think actively — as workers — about how to organize with each other, and work — as a union — to offer each other necessary spaces and resources within what is often a very short period of time.

STRUCTURAL

The majority of casual positions on campus are held by students — people for whom flexible, non-permanent positions are ideal. Simply working to make positions more rigid and permanent can pose greater challenges for these employees to find jobs. We need to fight precarious *work*, not precarious *workers*.

MINDSET

Many people in casual positions don't consider themselves workers and don't feel entitled to benefits or better conditions, whether because of their student status, the low-skill nature of the work, or just the feeling that they are lucky to have a job at all.

SOLUTIONS

Casualization is an attack on organized labour that is not easily tackled within the legalized framework that so many unions have come to rely on. And while overcoming casualization is a much bigger task than what happens with one union or one workplace, these are a few strategies that we've tried to put into practice in our organizing work at AMUSE:

I. Organize the unorganized

Employers casualize labour because there is a financial incentive to do so. By organizing previously unorganized workers and winning demands, we reduce this financial incentive. At McGill we've seen this strategy at work in the unionization drives for casual workers, research assistants, and course lecturers. Formal unionization might not be the most applicable form of organizing for all types of work, and we can take lessons from the campaigns to organize fast food workers and taxi drivers for other forms of resistance. But unions are often our most powerful weapon against casualization.

II. Organize internally as well as externally

Organizing isn't just about starting new unions. It's also about organizing workers who are already unionized, providing them with a language and conceptual framework to understand what it's happening to them, providing spaces for workers to meet and discuss, and develop a labour consciousness. At McGill, campus-wide anti-austerity campaigns have been gathering momentum as workers across different classifications come to recognize the economic processes affecting their lives. Another great example of this is the Chicago Teachers Union, who organize classes on neoliberalism and education reform for all its members.

III. Organize around class interests, not just a limited understanding of workplace issues

While this is true for all unions, for campus unions and AMUSE specifically, this means understanding the fight for accessible education as a central part of our analysis. We need to understand growing individual debts as one of the main reasons that so many people are willing to accept near-minimum wage for precarious jobs, and one of the reasons that workers are unwilling to engage in longer, principle-based strikes. Understanding the fight for accessible education as a central part of our work allows us to tackle these issues at their cause, not just their symptoms, while building alliances and relationships across different movements.

IV. Crisis can be an opportunity for the left

In the last several years, there has been much talk about the shock doctrine and the way the Right seizes on crises as moments of opportunity. But really these crises are moments of opportunity for whoever is better organized; that just usually happens to be the Right because it has more money. At McGill, we see one example of the Left capitalizing on crisis. Twenty years ago, the permanent staff union at McGill didn't understand itself as having any common ground with student casuals. Today, the two unions are preparing to merge to become a 4000+ member union, sharing resources and expertise to fight casualization, to fight austerity, and to fight to win. ▼

Mona Luxion

Buying Jets and Cutting Services

Making the Links Between Austerity and Militarism

The groundswell of anti-austerity organizing in Québec over this past year[1] has provided ample opportunity for making links between struggles. It has allowed those of us fighting along different fronts to find a common ground in the budget cuts that make us work harder, make our lives and those of our comrades more precarious, and expose the profit-centric vision of the ruling class. The links between austerity and the struggles of already-marginalized people are fairly apparent, and recent years have seen an increase in discussions that connect the effects of austerity with anti-fossil fuel activism. By contrast, few people seem to be thinking about the relationship between austerity and militarism. I want to argue that these links are essential for understanding the nature of both austerity and militarism, and for combatting their negative impacts.

WHAT IS MILITARISM?

You may wonder why I am using the term *militarism*, rather than discussing the more straightforward issue of the military. For the purposes of this article, I define militarism as *political, social, and/or economic investment in the military as an institution and in the use of state or institutional force more broadly*. As an ideology and a set of social priorities, rather than a single institution, militarism is the force that engenders and supports the country's armed forces: especially the military, but also the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), provincial and local police forces, intelligence-gathering agencies, and their private-sector counterparts.

Militarism relies on and reproduces racism, imperialism, sexism, and ableism, among others, to structure society into those to be defended ("us") and those to be eradicated ("them"), as well as to glorify the use of force as a solution to conflict and authoritarian decision-making as the way to implement it.

WHAT IS AUSTERITY?

In Québec, much is made of the current push for *déficit zéro*, a budgetary policy wherein the budget is "balanced" by cutting social services and increasing user fees, while continuing to give free rein to — and even subsidize — corporate profits.[2] In other words, austerity is a form of expropriation in which wealth is taken from the poor to increase the wealth of the rich. Much of what we're discussing as austerity is the result of the elite and state power no longer trying to sustain a middle class, causing people who had previously occupied a position between exploiter and exploited to lose the protections they/we'd been granted. Austerity is not a new form of capitalism but the expansion of something very familiar for many, many people, particularly for Black and Indigenous communities here, and dispossessed communities throughout the global South.

Anti-austerity organizing has gained traction in part due to the sweeping nature of cuts and attacks, which helps to unify struggles that had sometimes been separate, such as disability justice, migrant rights, anti-/decolonial struggles. Austerity has received attention in large part because it is affecting people who are used to the system working for them, who are now shocked by that security being taken away. That said, a meaningful anti-austerity movement is one that forgoes the goal of returning to "business as usual" for the middle class, and one that instead uses this opportunity to build solidarity across movements and

BACK TO BASICS

Back to Basics, Johnny Forever Nawracaj

equip the array of people affected to more effectively dismantle oppressive systems that reinforce each other through their interconnections.

MAKING THE LINKS

Capitalism, as an economic and political system, relies on the expropriation of some (many) for the enrichment of others — a process that is only possible through force. In Canada, that force takes the form of the military, the paramilitary private sector, the police and the prison industrial complex, as well as the ideologies and myths that support them.

While all sorts of funding are being cut under austerity budgets, military and police budgets remain nearly constant. In addition, police and state powers are expanded though non-financial means — for example, Bill C-51 at the federal level, or Montréal's bylaw P-6[3]. These institutions are necessary for enforcing austerity policies, which exacerbate inequality, globally and locally, either by attacking people directly or by creating an environment of fear and compliance. The decision is as ideological as it is practical: capitalism, militarism, colonialism and imperialism share a belief that might makes right, and that what the powerful own (or covet) is justly theirs to claim and defend at any cost. It's unsurprising that decision-makers catering to the whims of the elite opt to maintain funding for military budgets that will flow into the pockets of aerospace companies and arms manufacturers, while cutting services for those few refugees who manage to escape the countries being bombed.

At McGill University, where Demilitarize McGill has been investigating research funding and priorities, we see the consequence of the budget shifts under austerity. As provincial education budgets are cut, the university is forced, according to its own neoliberal logic, to turn to external sources for funding. It only makes sense for researchers to appeal to sectors that have the most funding: militaries and military contractors, agencies like Public Safety Canada (which includes CSIS and the RCMP[4]) and other institutions that support policing and the prison industrial complex. Other common partners often include pharmaceutical companies and natural resource exploitation industries. Under a neoliberal educational regime, "marketability" now measures the value of research. Consequently, the McGill Research and International Relations office preferentially allocates internal resources to projects that are expected to attract external funding, reinforcing the influence that these external funders have on research priorities. Similarly, the federal social sciences and humanities research funding body, SSHRC, is now giving preferential funding to research that has corporate applications.

It is not just university researchers who are turning to the military as a result of budget cuts. Women's economic standing has historically suffered from the wage gap, and it is now exacerbated by rising costs and diminishing subsidies in education, healthcare, housing, and daycare. Taking advantage of this gendered economic disparity, Montréal's metro stations have been taken over by military recruitment ads that target women. In addition to presenting the military as an economic opportunity for an economically disadvantaged demographic, the ads also present the military as a progressive, emancipatory respite from the sexism of everyday life, featuring pictures of women accompanied by statements like "here, people listen to what I have to say."

In order to make ends meet and achieve the things we want — secure employment, rewarding research topics, social capital — we orient ourselves toward the institutions with the greatest resources. In undercutting support for social services while preserving prisons, the police, and the military, austerity budgets reshape society according to the priorities of the military-industrial-complex.

What are these priorities? Militarism expedites the annihilation of "disobedient" bodies in order to maintain and expand the hold that certain (mostly white/cis/straight/non-disabled/male) people have on wealth and power. The most obvious manifestations of this include research, such as that being done at McGill, to make drones and explosives more efficient and lethal, as well as to improve social media surveillance and racially profile people more effectively. However, the priorities of militarism do not end with technologies of warfare and surveillance. What is prioritized under the logic of militarism — and thus under the logic of austerity — also includes the production of scapegoats and "Others" to attack, and the normalization of compliance and repressive state violence.

Islamophobia, xenophobia, colonialist narratives, military braggadocio, and cop-loving authoritarianism are all reinforced under austerity and militarism. The use of supposedly tight government coffers to fund overwhelming displays of patriotism for the 100th anniversary of World War One and the 150th anniversary of Canadian confederation, the passage of laws that give police officers and immigration officials broad discretionary powers, and the even more explicit criminalization of dissent under Bill C-51 — these all represent different ways in which austerity governments directly legitimize certain narratives and suppress others. Other ways these narratives are reinforced are much more subtle. "Criminals" and "terrorists" become scapegoats for people seeking easy explanations for their experiences of increasing insecurity, even though these conditions actually stem from shrinking economic opportunities.

It is in this context that Concordia University can raid the Muslim Students Association library and remove books for fear that they might incite radicalism. This action garnered outrage but also approval, as Islamophobia and the recourse to force and top-down intervention are normalized across society. Meanwhile, provincial budget cuts force massive reductions in university libraries. The collusion of austerity and militarism has created a situation in which suppressing potentially "dangerous" knowledge is seen as a more important function of a public university than enabling free and liberating access to information, while the production of research for corporate profits continues at an accelerated pace.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR OUR MOVEMENTS?

To recap, I've argued that austerity is a process of capitalist expropriation that relies on cementing the state's monopoly on violence. Further, austerity budgets have embedded military aims and military practices — including hierarchy, coercion, and surveillance — throughout society. Any work to resist austerity, capitalism, or militarism must therefore operate at several levels: confronting both the material and policy manifestations of these ideologies, and the discursive ways they embed themselves in our society, our institutions, and our thinking.

Within Demilitarize McGill, we've realized that it is a constant and very present challenge for us to confront hierarchy, aggressiveness, sexism, and white supremacy/Eurocentrism in the ways that we organize. However, to oppose military collaboration without tackling these systems is like attacking a single head of the mythological Hydra: once cut off, it will quickly grow back, nourished by the strength of the surrounding heads. We must challenge ourselves and each other, practice checking our various privileges and internalized oppressions, and constantly reflect on the position that our organizing occupies within broader systems.

Finally, our resistance needs to recognize austerity as: 1) a part of capitalism 2) a process inseparably tied to policing and attacks on the bodies and selves of (especially) Indigenous and Black people, people of colour, and/or other 'deviants' 3) a local manifestation of a global system of dispossession that profoundly benefits settler Canadians 4) an ideological agent that warps and changes the fabric of our social relations and ideologies. As students and university workers, we should also be conscious of the fact that universities, and especially "elite" universities such as McGill, are particularly central to producing and reproducing the concrete and discursive tools of the military and military-industrial complex.[5]

In solidarity with all the people resisting capitalism, military and police violence throughout time & around the world. See you in the streets and in the struggle. ▼

[1] More about the anti-austerity movement known as Printemps 2015 can be found at printemps2015.org, or at languageanddissent.com.

[2] Though organizing in Québec has focused intensely on the recent provincial budgets, austerity is a world-wide phenomenon, and similar policies have been implemented across the country and in many parts of the world since the 2008 financial crash, if not before.

[3] Bill C-51 is a federal "anti-terrorism" law that broadly criminalizes "activities undermining the security of Canada" while vastly expanding the state's surveillance functions and granting increased discretion to law enforcement officers and agencies. It follows on the heels of several bills that expanded prisons, increased sentences, and criminalized effective forms of protest. Montreal's bylaw P-6 has been applied to make demonstrations more or less illegal within the city, though it is being contested with some success.

[4] The Canadian Security Intelligence Service, CSIS, is Canada's domestic spying/intelligence agency, while the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, or RCMP, is the country's domestic armed force, originally established as an agent of genocide against the Indigenous people(s) of the land Canada occupies.

[5] Like many "elite" universities, McGill's role in reproducing the ruling class manifests itself through a faculty of mostly rich white guys teaching the ideas of mostly rich white guys to a lot of young rich white guys (and young women these days), but also through a long and bloody history of material ties to exploitation. McGill was built on colonial genocide, funded in no small part by the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the dispossession of Indigenous people, home to the infamous MK-Ultra torture experiments, and continues to foster and benefit from formal and informal partnerships with people and institutions who are deeply invested in the exploitation of others to prop up their own power.

Madde Halupka

From Hoodlums and Vagrants to Squeegee Kids and "Ethnic Gangs"

Policing Disorder in Public Space and the Historical Context of Police Brutality in Montréal

Alain Magloire, 2014; Farshad Mohammadi, 2012; Mario Hamel, 2011; Quilem Registre, 2007, Fredy Villenueva, 2007; Mohamed Anas Bennis, 2005. At first glance they read like author-date citations, but each of the names above belongs to a victim of police brutality in Montréal from the past ten years, and they are only six of over sixty police-related deaths in this city since 1987 that are documented by the Coalition contre la répression et les abus policiers (Coalition contre la répression et les abus policiers, 2014). The prevalence of police killings in recent years has drawn attention to a "general pattern" in their victims, who "tend to fit a certain profile of poverty, drug or alcohol intoxication, homelessness or mental health issues or belong to ethnic, religious or social minorities" (Van Vliet 2012). Fredy Villenueva and Mario Hamel respectively represent two populations that are inordinately and brutally victimized in public space by police: racialized youth and homeless people[1].

This paper seeks to make sense of the disproportionate violence faced by members of these marginalized communities at the hands of the Montréal police (SPVM), which manifests at its most extreme in police killings, but is always firmly rooted in racial and social profiling. I suggest that these policing practices are part of a larger, long-standing strategy to maintain order in public space by regulating the presence of undesirable behaviours and populations, premised on preserving power structures to which the visible presence of certain bodies/figures represents a threat. I begin by defining profiling — paying attention to its spatial character — as the entry point to disorder policing, a strategy for keeping order in public space that defines antisocial behaviours and targets specific populations for regulation. Next,

by scrutinizing disorder policing throughout the history of Montréal, I establish that keeping moral order in parks and commercial streets in the nineteenth-century was premised on norms entangled with class, race, and gender. This analysis renders visible the power relations that shaped space according to white heteropatriarchal bourgeois notions of morality and propriety. Then, I will demonstrate that those same normalizing narratives of Montréal's industrial era are carried forward in the current wave of social and racial profiling, through which police selectively enforce policy and laws intended to keep social order in present-day Montréal[2].

POLICE, PROFILING & PUBLIC SPACE

The spatial aspects of profiling and police brutality emerge when we consider that the interactions between racialized youth, homeless people, and police occur largely in public space. In Montréal, police violence is intertwined with profiling (racial, social, political[3]) that overwhelmingly targets these marginalized groups for their mere occupancy of particular spaces — municipal parks, streets/sidewalks, the public transit system, public squares, etc. — and points to a complex of meaning and power that underlies public space. Before delving into the socio-spatial configuration of public space, it is necessary to understand the meaning and processes of profiling that target homeless people and young racialized men, putting them at risk of physical violence in addition to the structural violence that already shapes their daily life. According to the definition given by the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse (CDPDJ) in their 2011 consultation report "Racial Profiling and

Systemic Discrimination of Racialized Youth":

> Racial profiling is any action taken by one or more people in authority with respect to a person or group of persons, for reasons of safety, security, or public order, that is based on actual or presumed membership in a group defined by race, colour, ethnic or national origin, or religion, without factual grounds or reasonable suspicion, that results in the person or group being exposed to differential treatment or scrutiny. Racial profiling includes any action taken by a person in a situation of authority who applies a measure in a disproportionate way to certain segments of the population on the basis, in particular, of their ethnic, national, or religious background, whether actual or presumed (CDPDJ 2012, 3).

This description exemplifies the euphemistic nature of the language of racial and social profiling: it shifts focus away from the overt violence of racism and capitalism to "systemic discrimination," and redirects public conversation toward more palatable issues of "socio-economic status" and "ethnic background." This semantic move is not limited to literature on profiling: race is also notably absent from the intensely racialized issue of street gangs in Montréal.

Symons writes that "race," "ethnicity" and "ethnic origin" "are among the most important variables singled out for attention in literature on street gangs," but in her interviews with members of the SPCUM (now known as the SPVM), the words "race" and "racial" "rarely appear in the discourse of the respondents" — instead, police referred to racialized people with terms like "ethnic group," or "cultural community" (Symons 1999, 127). As the definition illustrates, the use of passive rather than active wording adds to the diluting effect of the euphemisms, such that official literature on profiling makes no reference to the active reality of white supremacy and anti-Blackness, nor to capitalism and anti-homelessness. Consequently, the real motivation for the stereotyping and stigma associated with racialization, poverty and homelessness goes unnamed and unchallenged, and the power structures upholding (and being upheld by) the prejudicial and biased practices of profiling remain intact. That said, definitions and literature on social profiling more readily acknowledge homelessness, perhaps because it is a term that carries far less weight than race and racism in an era of political correctness.

According to a legal opinion issued by the Québec Human Rights Commission in 2009, social profiling describes the systemic discrimination of homeless people in Montréal produced in part by the use of repressive measures by police. It is a phenomenon linked to the criminalization and "judiciarization" of both homelessness itself and various survival strategies used by homeless people, street youth and squeegee kids. Social profiling has received attention since the neighbourhood police system was implemented in 1997 and optimized in 2003, "occasions for the police and city officials to reaffirm their commitment to fight against antisocial behaviour" (Sylvestre 2010, 432). In order to address incivilities, which were "among the highest concerns of citizens representing 'an important source of insecurity'," Montréal authorities adopted a directional statement and added "26 new operational calling codes for a total of 34 to ensure better measurement and monitoring of some pre-selected disorderly incidents by the police" (Sylvestre 2010, 432).

Among the municipal ordinances created to target homelessness is the strategic transformation of public places into municipal parks in order to subject those spaces to police-enforced curfews. For instance, Berri Square, a gathering place for street youths to stay overnight, was transformed into Parc Émilie Gamelin in 1992, in an attempt to evict the disturbing presence of the youths (Sylvestre 2010, 810). More recently, the 2007 change in Ville-Marie's bylaw on the control of dogs and other animals made the presence of a dog in a park a "public nuisance" — homeless people who commonly circulate with dogs were thus prevented from entering parks during the day (Sylvester 2010, 810).

In Montréal, spatialized racial and social profiling in public space is made evident in the police's own documentation of their practices, in addition to an abundance of anecdotal evidence. Records show selective enforcement of antisocial behaviour policy by favouring the use of certain operational codes in neighbourhoods where there are significant homeless populations[4]. Moreover, from 1995 to 2004, there was a 500% increase in the number of statements of offence issued to homeless people in Montréal (Sylvestre 2010, 433). Sylvestre also reports that within "disturbing behaviour," the most frequent cause of police intervention, are disorders linked implicitly and explicitly to homelessness, poverty, and street populations: "Public consumption of alcohol; Presence of prostitutes; Bothering presence of beggars and homeless persons; Presence of squeegees; Spitting, loitering, public urination" (Sylvestre 2010, 812).

Concurrently, the police statistics on the number of times people were stopped by police show a dramatically disproportionate representation of Black people compared to white people (Sylvestre 2010; CDPDJ 2010). According to the figures for 2006-2007, 29.1% of those stopped were Black, even though Black people represented only 7% of the total population of Montréal, which means their overrepresentation was inflated by 4.2 times their actual proportion in the population; further, 17.1% of those arrested were Black (CDPDJ 2010, 11). The spatial character of this inordinate policing is clear from the even greater overrepresentation of Black people stopped by police in boroughs where they are in smallest proportion: the neigbourhoods of Outremont, the Plateau Mont-Royal (South) and Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (CDPDJ 2010, 11). These statistics offer just a glimpse of the extensive documentation of profiling that comes directly from police records of the infractions they have issued for various offences and incivilities, exposing a calculated plan of action to target certain people through the discretional application of antisocial behaviour programs to suppress undesirable behaviour in public space.

DISORDER POLICING IN MONTRÉAL

Maintaining order in public space by regulating the presence of undesirable populations and behaviours is a long-standing strategy. It is premised on preserving power structures to which the visible presence of certain bodies and figures represents a threat. Indeed, the "policing of disorder shows remarkable historical continuity," and in the following section I situate the current policing trends and exclusionary moves on a trajectory that emerged from the social upheaval of nineteenth-century industrialization, when city officials and the police were operating in an intellectual milieu that equated physical environment to the moral state of affairs of that space (Sylvestre 2010, 803; Schmidt 1995).

MORAL ORDER IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY[5]

Drawing on historical examples from commercial streets and public parks, I will show that keeping order in public space presupposed the need to uphold dominant norms and values inscribed there by the local elite, and examine the ways that moral regulation targeted the unwanted, threatening presence of working class men and women as well as street vagrants and vagabonds.

Saint-Henri was a major industrial suburb of Montréal during the second half of the nineteenth century. The municipal management by the local elite of the borough's main commercial street, rue Notre-Dame, came into conflict with the popular social use of the street. Kathleen Lord argues that the development of rue Notre-Dame "reflected the anti-democratic social consequences of capitalist accumulation and liberal ideology in the hands of the male propertied classes who controlled municipal government" (Lord 2005, 17). This local elite, composed of merchants, managers, and contractors, was responsible for designing, promoting, and expanding rue Notre-Dame, "principally through expropriation, civic boosterism, and moral regulation," constructing a public space to serve their private interests "to enrich their businesses, increase their property values," and attract more stores and industries (Lord 2005, 18). The liberal ideology they inscribed in the street — notions of bourgeois propriety and order, class harmony, and prosperity — was disrupted by the volatility of street life, since "the majority of people were concerned with the public space of the street as a site for social interaction and recreation" (Lord 2005, 18).

Street crime in particular presented a dilemma, contravening the bourgeois propriety and order that the street was meant to convey — as well ordered and managed, free of disturbance. Consequently, local elites took efforts to maintain rue Notre-

Dame as they imagined it, targeting undesirable activities and behaviours of working class men and women and vagrant cultures. These activities were subject to social control and moral regulation through the enforcement of local bylaws and police arrests, fines, and imprisonment, but the most frequent cause of arrest, "disturbances of the peace resulting from excessive alcohol consumption," represents a concern with a deeper significance (Lord 2005, 24).

"The tavern," according to Lord, "was a forum for public and collective discussion, especially for male workers who would gather to talk about working conditions and other concerns of the day," and as such, it "represented a threat to the competitive, individualist values of the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisies, and was perceived as a threat to the social order" (Lord 2005, 24). In the name of moral order, authorities cracked down on drinking, limiting tavern licenses and arresting people for drink-related offences in public, thereby cracking down on vagrants and the working class for their disruptive misuse of rue Notre-Dame. Other class-directed police efforts focused "on theft, petty crimes, and incarcerating local jail recidivists who often loitered and screamed on the streets" (Lord 2005, 19).

In addition to class, gender relations shaped the norms of the street. Bourgeois Victorian sexual mores intensified the moral regulation and social control of women based on fears of their sexual misconduct, and the mere presence of women in public space was met with suspicion. Moreover, because "prostitution was viewed as morally repugnant," female sex workers were especially targeted (Lord 2005, 26). Whether or not they were sex workers, most women in public transgressed the liberal ideology that relegated women to the domestic sphere. Pushing street sex workers into brothels on side streets and incarcerating repeat offenders, this strategy of moral regulation literally eliminated and displaced the bodies of working class men and women, vagrants, and sex workers from public space.

The same approach was taken to keeping order in neighbourhood parks as their popularity and proliferation expanded the acres of green space in Montréal from twelve in 1855 to 827 by 1912 (Schmidt 1998, 130). Schmidt elaborates on the entanglement of these industrial-era parks with projects of urban reform and social control, contending that this type of public space developed in a context where the environment was used as a site for moral reform of the urban working classes. During this time, park architects like Frederick Olmsted sought to liberate the urban poor from the constraints of their material conditions by providing them with open spaces (Schmidt 1998, 132). Inevitably, the values inscribed in these spaces — capitalism, patriarchy, female propriety, domestic

harmony, and bourgeois heterosexual morality — reflected the privileged classes who designed them.

According to Schmidt, urban planners constructed parks to be neighbourhood-specific gendered domestic enclaves for families/mothers, embodying a class- and race-specific definition of respectability and directing their use within a narrow set of norms. The elite during this period believed in a cause and effect relationship between physical and moral filth and that neglect of physical state would invite moral chaos. Thus, the presence of two disenfranchised groups in parks represented a particular threat: vagabonds or vagrants, and improper courting couples. By using "public" parks in "private" ways, these figures embodied economic disorder, social unrest, and moral chaos. They were seen as a direct attack on the moral values inscribed in public parks, and had to be removed from these spaces to preserve the moral order (Schmidt 1998, 130). I focus on the figure of the vagrant, whose experience with the tactics employed to keep moral order is especially underwritten by fear.

The vagrant or vagabond was a jobless man who refused or failed to be a good worker for his boss, and who was often incapable of providing for his family. In this way, the figure destabilized the bourgeois harmony inscribed in park spaces, representing an assault on capitalism and patriarchy. With

the support of wealthy tax-payers (or "concerned citizens"), municipal politicians developed a three-step program to keep vagrants out of parks, enforced by police. They ensured that parks remained physically clean, they removed props that encouraged loitering, and they arrested vagrants who lingered in parks (Schmidt 1998, 134).

By eliminating the moral disorder of the vagrant, the park could be preserved as the white bourgeois mother's enclave, and would "not double as the vagabond's actual home, day or night" (Schmidt 1998, 136). Attempts to prevent undesirable populations from using the public space in private ways included closing the parks at night, eliminating park benches and fountains, and dispatching mounted policemen and foot patrolmen to protect bourgeois women and children from vagrants. Disorder policing was motivated by securing public space for privileged figures by removing deviant unsavoury characters.

Public spaces are "sites of continual negotiation, considerable resistance, and social transgression" (Lord 2005, 17). The history of policing disorder in Montréal demonstrates that they have long been sites of contestation between those in power, who construct commercial streets and municipal parks according to their ideology and their interests, and those whose use of these spaces disrupts the dominant view.

SOCIAL ORDER IN CONTEMPORARY MONTRÉAL

Disorder policing today operates on a trajectory that was established in the nineteenth century. The language and mechanisms that keep in order dominant socio-spatial configuration of public space adapt over time with changing social, political, and economic climate, but they fundamentally represents the same narrow interests of power. In this section, I locate elements of historical vagrancy statutes within the contemporary treatment of the homeless and the characterization of racialized youth as street gang members. I attribute contemporary broken window theory to the nineteenth-century thinking that equated physical environment with a moral state of affairs, noting that related processes of urban revanchism and revitalization rely on concepts underlying disorder policing.

FEAR OF VAGRANCY, HOMELESSNESS, AND RACIALIZED STREET GANGS

The nineteenth-century discourse of the vagrant as a contaminating social menace has given way to today's problem of homelessness. The moral discourse of poverty continues to fault the poor, jobless, and homeless for being "inadequate" or "anti" citizens and "failed/flawed" consumers who are difficult for mainstream society to understand, "deemed to have chosen this form of lifestyle" or "having voluntarily removed themselves from the civil order they constitute a problem of disorder" (Schneiderman 2002, 79). Tracing the figure of the vagrant from Foucault's genealogy of discipline and punishment, Schneiderman contends that the "analysis accordingly shifts from the causes of poverty — jobless growth and sustained unemployment — to 'the behaviour of the poor as the problem,' to be regulated by criminal prohibition" (Schneiderman 2002, 79).

While "the ethical rehabilitation of the poor" is one strategic response by dominant classes, the alternative "to banish them from sight," is favoured today by disorder policing, whose harsh measures are considered appropriate because those who refuse to govern themselves as productive citizens "have also refused the offer to become members of our moral community" (Schneiderman 2002, 80). Sylvestre discusses the function of such harsh measures in the context of the renewed popularity of "antisocial behaviour policies and policing practices emphasizing the enforcement of criminal laws and municipal bylaws against disorder" (Sylvestre 2010, 433). Since their implementation in the 1990s, these programs against social disorder have had a dramatic impact "on specific people, namely the homeless and other groups whose activities are performed in public spaces, leading to considerable arrests, fines, removals, incarceration, violence and discrimination" (Sylvestre 2010, 433).

I believe that the fear of vagrants has diffused into the practice of racial profiling at the fundamental stage in which police characterize the "'typical' young person attracted to, or implicated in a street gang" as "a violent and unpredictable, poorly educated, unemployed male between sixteen and twenty-two years of age, who comes from an economically disadvantaged background, and belongs to a minority ethnic group" (Symons 1999, 127).

In this definition, boundaries between criminal profiling and racial profiling become blurred. The description of the highest risk "hardcore" street gangs resonates with the system-subverting discourse on vagrancy, where the most dangerous people are those who defy the hegemonic norms of society: "The hard core represents about 10-15% of the gang membership. These youths are criminally active, immune to rehabilitative influences, and have abandoned any possibility of returning to school or the work force" (Symons 1999, 127). Once more, a group of marginalized people becomes undesirable because they refuse to participate as productive citizens in the market economy and they remove themslevs from the civil order. Because they destabilize hegemonic ideology, their presence in public space is regulated by disorder policing.

Despite the change in economic context from the nineteenth-century industrial city, bourgeois fear of vagrants has persisted in the global capitalist context. Chesnay et al. identify the motivation behind penalizing poverty in neoliberal urban revitalization projects in major cities. Homeless people, they write, present a challenge to established social order by using public space as private space, reinforcing disorder in two ways: "D'une part, le manque d'espace privés de personnes itinérantes témoigne de leur déviance. D'autre part, leur présence dans l'espace public, en renforçant leur visibilité, renforce leur caractère dérangeant et menaçant pour l'ordre public" (Chesnay et al 2014, 3). Just as authorities in nineteenth-century Montréal maintained order with a rigid division between the public and the private, the figure of the homeless person continues embodying disorder by disrupting the prescribed uses of public and private space.

MORAL FILTH, PHYSICAL FILTH: BROKEN WINDOW THEORY AND URBAN REVANCHISM

Similar to the historical maintenance of moral order, which involved eliminating undesirable people exhibiting disturbing behaviour on streets and in parks, today's programs require "that action be taken in response to petty crimes to maintain orderly neigbourhoods and eliminate any signs of disorder, including markings (graffiti or broken glass) and certain acts (loitering, panhandling, ingesting drugs and alcohol) in public places" (Sylvestre 2010, 803). This strategy, influenced by broken window theory, echoes the 19th-century thinking that equated physical environment to the moral state of affairs of that space. The theory holds that physical decay corresponds to moral or social decay: neglect of space invites crime. Montréal authorities today refer to the broken window theory to support a restricted conception of public spaces and local initiatives to control

disorder (Sylvestre 2010, 805). Bellot et al. link social profiling and police programs that are designed to stamp out disorder to the project of preserving the image of a neighbourhood to appeal to outsiders, be they tourists or investors. Restricting access to public space, which includes removing the bodies of racialized youth and homeless people, is necessary for maintaining the desirable image of that space.

Beyond broken window theory, the causal srelationship between physical and moral filth also informs policies of urban revanchism and processes of urban revitalization/renewal and gentrification. Originating in New York City under mayor Giuliani in the 1990s, urban revanchism has become a globalized method of sanitizing space, in which "cleaning up" an urban area requires "cleaning up" the homeless population (Pennington 2014).

Revitalization strategies, on one hand, redevelop and regulate public spaces "in the interest of attracting higher-income populations and catalyzing private-market development" (Pennington 2014). On the other hand, populations seen as threatening in the public sphere — struggling with homelessness, substance abuse, poverty, other forms of social and economic marginalization — are expropriated by way of heavy-handed law enforcement and strict maintenance policies. Specifically examining the context of Québec, Bellot et al. connect processes of urban revitalization with dramatic increases in social profiling,

as police oust homeless people from gentrifying neigbourhoods and intensify the criminalization of poverty and homelessness.

CONCLUSION

When racialized youth and homeless people occupy public space today, they come into conflict with the same power structures that have shaped those spaces for over 150 years. Therefore, public space in Montréal should not be considered sites of sporadic police violence, but as social spaces preconditioned for police brutality, "bounded by normative constraints, laws, modes of interaction, as well as by physical space and time factors, all of which raise issues of access and control" (Lord 2005, 23). By examining the history of industrializing Montréal, where municipal leaders maintained order by regulating behaviour in public space that violated their bourgeois values, I have shown that policing disorder functioned to eliminate the destabilizing influence of certain figures: working class men and women, street vagrants/vagabonds, sex workers, and "improper courting couples."

Veiled in the language of upholding morality, the Montréal elite was fundamentally concerned about the risk these groups posed to systems that preserved their privilege — white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and capitalism — by disrupting

the hegemonic norms inscribed in parks and streets, including white bourgeois decorum and order, female propriety and domesticity, class harmony, and prosperity.

Incivilities and antisocial behaviours defined by authorities and regulated by police in public space today carry forward the same concerns, many of the same inscribed norms, and the same underlying logic of disorder policing[6]. The SPVM's selective enforcement of bylaws and policies, implemented through special programs against disorder, demonstrates what we recognize today as racial, social, and political profiling. Those who benefit most from hegemonic systems of power have attempted to shape public space in ways that align with their interests and inscribe it with values that reflect their control. When undesirable people transgress the norms of public space, they expose the fallibility of those systems, disrupt the coherence and logic that underlies the organization of that space, and generate anxiety. In some interactions between the police and those undesirable people, anxiety turns to fear. When this fear is held by a police officer who also holds a gun, the outcome is unlikely to favour the homeless or racialized body in public space. ▼

[6] The "logic of elimination" is another important assumption that informs the efforts to "civilize" public space, a strategy intrinsic to urban revitalization projects. I would have liked to explore the settler colonialism implicated in policing disorder in Montréal's parks and streets, evident in the homelessness strategy of the *Quartier des grands jardins* Revitalization Project (Pennington, 2014). Pennington presents a compelling analysis of the perpetuation of settler colonialism in planning and gentrification, focusing on the redevelopment of Cabot Square as "cleaning-up" the largely Indigenous homeless people whose use of the park induces anxiety in the general public, and who are "pointed to as symptomatic of disinvestment and the perpetrators of urban decline."

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#ACAB

[1] Police interventions involving people in states of distress, displaying erratic behaviour — whether due to mental illness/health issues or intoxication — often escalate, ending with the use of excessive, sometimes lethal, force by officers. However, since many of these violent incidents occur in private spaces where the police have been called to intervene, and because mental illness and alcohol/substance use are stigmatized in association with homelessness, I do not consider them to be discrete categories of victims of police brutality. Even so, emerging research on mental health profiling of people with perceived mental health disabilities or addictions is worth following (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2014).

[2] To distinguish historical from contemporary disorder policing, I use the term "moral disorder" for industrial-era Montréal, and "social disorder" for the present-day, corresponding to the language used by the proponents of restoring that order.

[3] Beside the fact that it extends beyond the scope of this paper, I decided against including political profiling in my analysis, a topic already receiving plenty of scholarly attention, because it operates differently from the other forms of profiling. For example, the spectacle and upheaval of police repression of protesters, at times resulting in mass arrests, differs from more trivialized cases of profiling based on perceptions of racial/ethnic identity and homelessness, in which excessive force by police is everyday occurrence.

[4] It is very likely that there are also significant patterns in the use of certain operational codes in association with racial profiling in particular neighbourhoods, but I did not discover any research that specifically analyzes police records of statements of offence issued to racialized people or that compares data of infractions based on race to the degree of detail that Sylvestre applies to her work on homelessness and social profiling.

[5] I have distinguished historical "moral" order from contemporary "social" order according the prevalent conceptions of the order central to the different programs of regulation and policing, but I do not attach much significance to the terminology.

Prison "Rehabilitation"

Another Form of Punishment and Control

From the 1970s to the present, prison reform has been centred on the concept of rehabilitation. These reforms try to improve prisons to better rehabilitate incarcerated people, so that they can successfully reintegrate into society upon release. Although well-meaning and quickly adopted by prison administrations, rehabilitative policies actually tend to disguise the harmful and punitive effects of the Canadian penal system. Enthusiasm for rehabilitation has led to a number of measures that are meant to help prisoners. These range from hiring parole officers, building halfway houses, providing life skills programs, and enabling access to postsecondary and vocational study while incarcerated. Nowadays, however, these "rehabilitative" approaches to the penal system are actually just another form of punishment.

In April 1971, a four-day riot broke out at Kingston Penitentiary against overcrowding, cuts to programs, lengthy periods in solitary confinement, very little time out of cells, and a lack of institutional channels to address these issues. The riot resulted in the death of two incarcerated individuals and destroyed most of the prison. The conditions that incarcerated individuals fought against during this riot were not out of the ordinary. When a prison guard did not like an incarcerated individual or deemed that person a troublemaker, beatings, long-term solitary confinement, cutting electricity in the cell and water for the toilet, and flooding the cell were all common sanctions. This riot, and subsequent ones, forced the spotlight on prisons in Canada and paved the way toward a rehabilitative model of incarceration.

Although rehabilitation seems like a step in the right direction, this approach was co-opted to increase the control and surveillance of individuals in prison and on parole. Parole officers are now a mandatory part of the prison experience, regardless of available support systems, and they act as trip-wires for perceived public safety.

The role of parole officers is not to support people on parole in finding jobs, housing, or a support system. Their role is to scrutinize those newly-released from prison to ensure that they do not break any of their parole conditions. These conditions leave people vulnerable to punishment at any sign of perceived "lack of transparency," such as failure to disclose to a parole officer every single purchase, phone call, or intimate detail of a partner or ex-partner's life. Parole conditions can also include mandatory urinalysis, complete non-association with anyone who has a criminal record, and mandatory participation in life skills programs. This constant state of surveillance causes stress, especially since any perceived failure to adhere perfectly to the Correctional Service of Canada's release plan leads to automatic return to prison. The person who was put in place to support you upon release now simply watches you, waiting for you to make the tiniest mistakes.

Halfway houses — group homes often run by the state, complete with cameras, curfews, and round-the-clock staff — were another invention that emerged out of the turn toward rehabilitation. They were originally created for people who had nowhere to go after getting out of prison. These days, however, halfway houses are a mandatory part of many sentences, regardless of need, contradicting their original purpose. The length of mandatory time spent in halfway houses has been consistently increasing over the last decades — now going up from six months to as many as three years, creating a lucrative economy for those who run halfway houses.

Life in halfway houses is tough — residents live in a state of limbo, the illusion of freedom in an environment of constant control. Individuals on parole are forced to interact while in the house, yet they are barred from speaking to each other outside of this setting due to conditions of non-association with anyone possessing a criminal record. Under such conditions, a person on parole has literally fifteen minutes to figure out if someone they are talking to has a criminal record, or risk being thrown back in prison for violating their condition of non-association. The non-association condition also prevents friends who have supported each other inside prison from continuing to see each other. This destroys any social support network that ex-prisoners created with people who, for years, were the only individuals they were allowed to see on a consistent basis.

Furthermore, incarcerated individuals are coerced into attending self-improvement programs such as anger management, Alcoholics or Narcotics Anonymous, and budget management, alongside other services helping with effective job applications, interview preparation, resume writing, and apartment hunting. A prisoner who does not participate in these programs is liable to have visits cut and to be denied recommendation for parole. They might even see their security classification increased and get moved to a higher-security prison that is often farther away from their outside support network, where family or other visitors need to pass extra security clearances just to visit. This coercion makes irrelevant whether people actually want to gain new perspectives and life skills.

Additionally, these mandatory programs are not accessible. Existing programs in Québec are rarely offered in languages other than French, and the waitlist to join any program is long. While on the waiting list, prisoners are ignored by parole officers and are denied parole by the parole board until they have completed the programs. When the "rehabilitative" era first started, programs were run by outside volunteers who went into prison to run workshops in their expertise. These days, program instructors are no longer teachers or specialists in certain fields; they are prison guards who often receive inadequate training. These rehabilitative programs originated from prisoners' demands, but they have ceased to function under any guise of "rehabilitation" after being co-opted by the state. It is just punishment via bureaucracy, instead of physical abuse.

Further, access to any postsecondary education or vocational training has been almost completely eliminated. Individuals now leave prison without the skills to support themselves. In the fall of 2013, the wage that incarcerated individuals earned working inside prison was cut by 30%, going down to an average of $2.10 per day, with a limit on the amount of money they could make every two weeks. With this pay, incarcerated individuals need to save and refrain from buying anything for a long time in order to afford a family visit in a trailer. This low wage also prevents incarcerated individuals from having any financial resources once they leave prison.

The rehabilitative approach has transformed the way power functions inside prisons. Incarcerated individuals are not physically abused as much as they used to be, but the constant surveillance and control leads to psychological harm. Any alleged deviance from the regimented prison routine or accusation thereof, substantiated or not, is documented in a prisoner's file. Ten, twenty, thirty years later, these notes can and will be used to force prisoners into another useless program, deny them parole, and keep them incarcerated. The fear of bureaucratic reprimands and surveillance creates a constant climate of anxiety.

Inside prison, the rehabilitative approach is often considered much worse than the punitive approach by individuals who have experienced both models. When imagining alternatives to mandatory minimum sentencing, solitary confinement, or any other unjust aspect of prison, it is important to remember that the Correctional Service of Canada will always co-opt any reforms and use them to reinforce its hold over incarcerated individuals. To effectively resist these policies, conditions, and the harm caused by them, we need to create solutions that do not involve the Correctional Service of Canada. ▼

QU'EST-CE QUE LE DÉTENU EN MILIEU CARCÉRAL....

Premièrement vous l'admettrez, le détenu est privé de sa liberté, son espace vital est limité à quelques mètres carrés à l'intérieur desquels il est confinée durant la majeure partie de sa peine. Sa volonté et son goût de liberté sont devenu impuissants face à ces murs et ces clôtures de barbelée.

Perte de responsabilité, le détenu est complètement dévalorisé par le seul fait que sa vie est strictement orientée en fonction des ordres qu'il reçoit sans jamais poser de question. Il ne fait qu'obéir comme un automate.

La prison infantilise et insensibilise l'être humain et lui arrache tout bon sentiment, l'amour, l'affection et la tendresse cèdent le pas à la haine, la révolte et la frustration.

Le fléau de l'emprisonnement, sans aucun doute le plus néfaste, transforme radicalement la personnalité de l'individu pour survivre au sein de ce monde dépravé. Le détenue doit présenter l'image d'un homme dur, prêt à se battre dans une pareille jungle ou il faut manger pour ne pas l'être et ou les faibles sont dévorés à la première maladresse.....

C'est la parade des masques.....

Par: Jack Sparrow

The constant slamming of cell doors, steel on steel echoes down the cell block, the sound vibrating through the walls and your body - making you jump every time. Anger, anger.

The screaming and yelling of your fellow con whether out of frustration or despair - those sounds are the banging and slamming of the cell doors that never leave you, burnt in you like a branding iron, leaving you jumpy at every loud sound that you hear. Anger, anger.

The slamming of the peep slot on your cell door so the Nazi can spy on you. The jingling of keys from your captor as it waddles down the hall, the cell blocks, kicking your cell door until you wake up because it can't see you. Anger, anger.

They leave your cell light on day after day, spit in your food, refuse you toilet paper. Anger, anger.

No shower again today, no one-hour mandatory exercise walk for whatever reason they chose to give. Anger, anger.

Loneliness, despair, frustration, hurt, helplessness, no one listens, called a liar, even when you're right — you're wrong, act out. Anger, anger. Pax per Bellum.

Guard, I have a request: can you shut off my light? Can I have a shower or some clean sheets or clothes? - I AM HUNGRY - RESPONSE - Fuck you, shut up, or I have no time. Anger, anger.

When you do get a walk, you are seven or eight guys, and your situation: three or four days or more goes by they have no news - they call the prison, worried to be told stories, he doesn't want to talk to you, or that it's not their problem, he will call you when he feels like it. Anger, anger.

The lights, non-stop noise, small portions of food, lack of exercise and sleep leaves you with headaches everyday. Then the nurse comes by or the veterinarian asks, "Do you need anything?" "An aspirin please." "You have to buy them at the canteen - I can't give you anything." Anger, anger.

A month goes by, a psychologist slides the slot open and says, "You okay?" You answer, "Ahhh, yes." Then he slams the slot closed and leaves. Evaluation: he is okay to stay in the hole. They take 30% of the slave wages they give you to go towards your food — and the portions are even smaller and the food is not fit to serve farm animals — the worst I have seen in thirty-seven years inside. Read the menu, it reads nice, tastes like shit. Anger, anger.

Count you like diamonds, feed you like pigs. The non-stop abuse of authority runs rampant through the prison system. Stand up for yourself or question authority, you are labelled a trouble maker and have no respect for authority. Then punishment. Anger, anger.

Almost all trades and programs given by a professional are not longer in existence. Anger, anger.

Maisons d'Arrêt are gone to us. Psychological follow-ups are no longer offered to us. Medical services are poor as always - they say if you don't like the service, don't come here. Anger, anger.

Boundless, Swarm

Maria Elena Stoodley and Kai Alexander Thomas
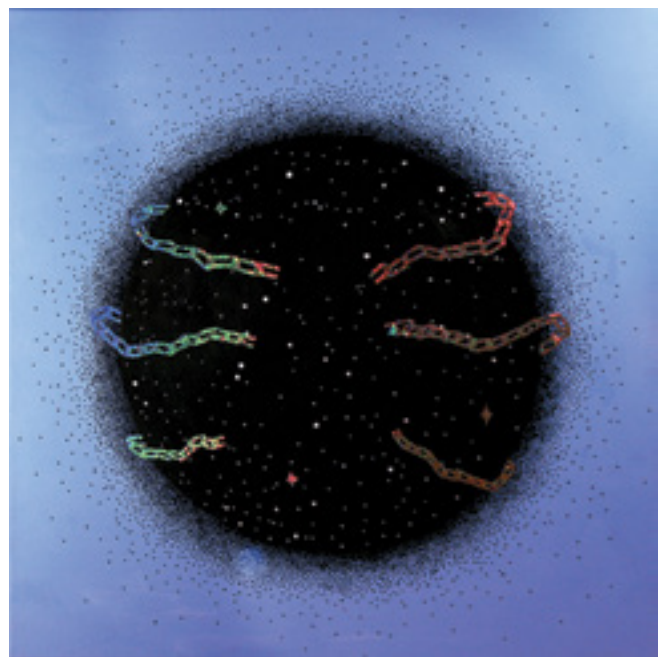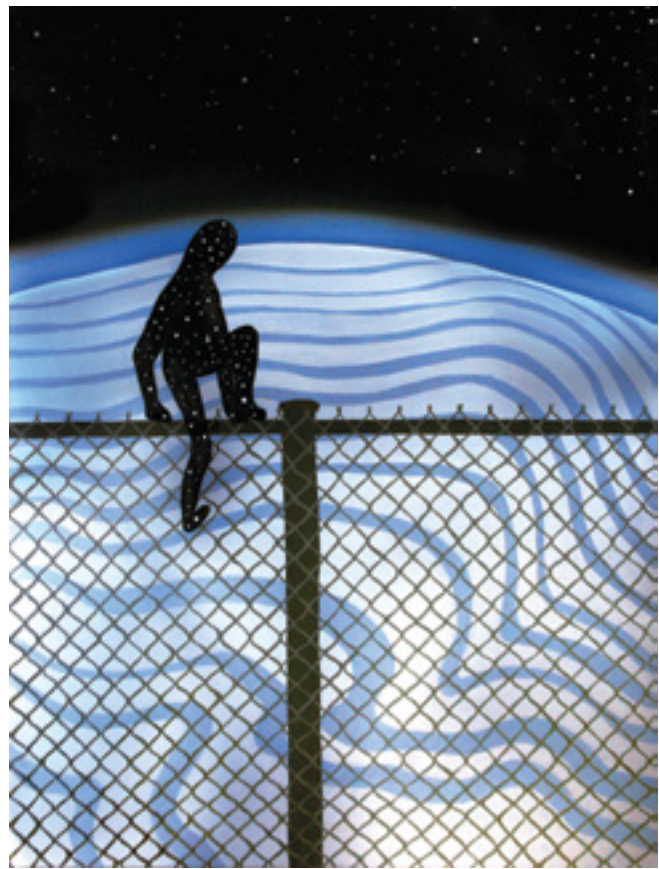
Talk to Me

Black Voices on the Canadian Prison System

Talk to Me" is an effort to amplify the voices of Black people who have been incarcerated in Canada. The silence that surrounds incarceration — the unspoken shame and violence, the stories untold — is a toxic wound that profoundly affects everyone in society. Our work centers the experiences and stories of Black people because we are intimately involved in Black communities, and because these experiences, like those of other minority groups in this nation, so often neglected and ignored, are crucial for understanding and improving this society.

Black people, along with Indigenous people, are the two most overrepresented demographics in Canadian prisons. This can't be dissociated from our history and experience as a community. Some say that when a loved one is serving time, all of their loved ones are doing time as well, emotionally. As members of the Black community, we don't know what the future has in store for us, but we know that we need to work towards liberation and pass our stories onto future generations. Working on stories about incarceration breaks a taboo that divides our community. This is a project in history-making, written by the ones who live it.

We are creative human beings, full time students, workers. We began "Talk to Me" in our spare time, collaborating with networks such as Dare Every Soul To Achieve (DESTA) to locate and record the testimonies of formerly, or currently incarcerated, people. We contextualized these interviews with research on statistics and demographics, which are transformed into a short radio-art piece that aired on community radio and workshops about incarceration. We are now in the process of expanding the pool of participants and the scope of our research in order to create a more comprehensive audio and written document to help with educating, mobilizing, and organizing around incarceration in Canada.

We interviewed seven participants in person or by phone. Some are formerly incarcerated and some are currently still in prison. The participants have experiences across provincial and federal prisons. We decided to create a sound collage of their answers to similar questions, as a way to offer a variety of perspectives on the same topics.

This project has been ongoing since fall 2014. The sound collage makes up the first part of our project, representing the connection we developed with the participants, who spoke at length about specific topics that interested them. These topics include: the justice systems and its flaws, the conditions of Black people inside prisons, the impact of incarceration on the community outside of prisons, and recommendations for improving existing conditions.

The second part of our project will take the form of a podcast. We want to air the testimonies that we collected on community radio stations and on a website displaying different conversations.

On the next two pages is the transcript of an abbreviated version of the sound art piece.

KAI: The recording of these stories took place on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehá:ka. The Kanien'kehá:ka are the keepers of the eastern door of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The island called Montreal is known as Tiotia:ke in the language of the Kanien'kehá:ka and it has historically been a meeting place for other Indigenous nations including the Algonquin peoples.

ELENA: How would you say that prison has impacted your life?

PARTICIPANT 1: Modern concentration camps for Blacks. (chuckles)

PARTICIPANT 2: It's a big block on life.

P1: Population control.

P3: You have to be strong mentally in order to endure the things that go on in here.

P2: What's that saying? "Out of sight, out of mind". Yea, when you're in jail you feel that the most though.

P3: The police's tactics is to keep the person in jail.

P1: They control our life basically, like they're robots.

P4: You don't have nothing: no clothes, nothing. Nobody to come visit you, no letters.

P5: What is prison to me? A waste of life.

K: Black inmates are one of the fastest growing sub-populations in federal "corrections." Over the past 10 years, the number of federally incarcerated Black "inmates" has increased by 80%. Black "inmates" now account for 9.5% of the incarcerated population, while comprising just 2.9% of the general Canadian population.

(music)

E: All of the statistics included in this piece come from the 2012/2013 annual report of the Correctional Investigator, Howard Sapers[1].

AUTOMATED VOICE: Bell Canada, you have a collect call from...

P2: Hello.

AUTOMATED VOICE: You may press 1 to accept the charges, press 2 to refuse the charges, or answer the following question with only yes, or —

E: Can you talk about the reality of being a Black person —

P4: Oh man!

E: ...in Québec... yea.

P2: You know, like I like to say, Québec is not meant for Black people.

P1: I can't really speak for Canada, cuz' I've just been in Québec. I could walk down the street, and the police is just gonna pass by me, and they're gonna watch me, just cuz I'm Black. Their main intention is to find a reason — or create a reason — to put us in the jail and get us off the streets, when I'm just tryna get a regular education like everybody else. Also in Québec here, it's worse, cuz there's a lot of profiling going on in this city and it's harder for us to live.

E: Numerous examples of stereotyping were also reported by Black "inmates," primarily in terms of being categorized as gang members, a troublemakers, drug-dealers, or womanizers.

Automated voice: This call is from a federal prison.

P3: It seems to me that if you Black, and you go out wit' a stripper, or a dancer, automatically, you labeled as a pimp. That's a stereotype they have goin' on. The police's tactics is to keep the person in jail, and while they in jail, they go and interview they wife or they mistress, or they woman, and say a lot of negative things about that person to get the person from outside to turn against the guy that's in jail. The stereotype they have goin' on is either you're a drug-dealer, or a pimp. That's the way they view a Black man in Montreal. So when a guy is arguing with his girlfriend — it could be a regular domestic violence, or a simple voie de fait — and they will escalate it into pimpin'. At the same time, you have the white guy, he goes out with a stripper — they get into a fight. It don't go no further than "domestic violence," it doesn't go any further than voie de fait. It stays there.

P4: See right now, the range that I come in — right here, right now — I come in this range. And now that I came in this range, they put me as a gang member — a blue gang member. But if a white guy comes in this range, they won't put him as a blue gang member, they just leave him like that. But why do I gotta' be a gang member? You know what I mean? Sometimes you come across guards, and you don't speak French — as much as you try hard to speak French — and you arguin', or whatever, and they'll just turn around and tell you: "I don't even speak English." And just leave — leave you like that. And then they'll just transfer

you around. Like me, I been all over. All over, you know. And I'm frustrated, I'm angry, that's true man — I'm a young dude in here, you know? And I ain't seen daylight, you know? They know that, but they don't care...They don't care, man. They'll tell you: "Go there, or else we'll put you in the hole." I'm like, all right.

P5: I would say it's in a good way, a lot of people wanted us to do better for ourselves cuz they knew how the neighbourhood was in the early 90s when I was growing up. They knew about the gang violence, the drugs, all these typa things. They didn't want me in that, and they knew that it was easy to get in that cuz that's all this heat growin' up. So...tryda stay away from it, but eventually most men, here, got caught up.

E: Is it something you could say, from what you know, and from what you saw, is it a process that starts really young?

P5: Yeah it starts young.

E: It starts young.

P5: I don't know one at this day and age starting into crime, you know? Unless you just stupid and never learned from what you heard back then. You never started young and now you're tryna do something now you're not gonna have that street knowledge — you're gonna get locked up faster.

E: When we're saying young, what would you say...

P5: Around 11 and 12. To the early 20s.

P3: I guess, you know, we still linger and hold on to slavery. You know — to our background, to our past. So, even when somebody is not really looking bad at us, our guard is already up — that they might be thinking that way about us.

K: Half of the Black population in federal "corrections" were incarcerated for schedule 1, violent offences, and nearly 1/5 for schedule 2, drug offences. As a group, Black "inmates" are no more violent than any other identifiable group. But on average, Black "inmates" are no more likely to be serving a sentence for a violent offence than the general "inmate" population.

E: You don't have to explain if you don't want to, the experience in prison, but could you tell us how it's impacted your life?

P4: I just wanna say something. Like, you know, sometimes when you come up in here these places, you can't be the same nice guy that you are normally. You gotta be something else too.

P2: If you're inside and you're not readin' and you're not keepin' up on your own with certain things, well, it does slow you down — it does make you less intelligent. And, it's unfortunate, in provincial jails, there's not a real big educational system goin'

on here. As in, where I am right now, if you're in the S ranges, there's no school for you, there's no therapy for you, there's no nothing — you just sit there and you wait til' you get your time.

P6: Besides that I just find it a big waste o' time: it's nasty in there, it's like, dirty. The vents are all filled with lint.

P4: You know sometimes you see a couple of young guys in there, they end up getting 25 to life for first degree murder — and the guy's the same age as you... It makes you think differently about life, and what you want to do, if you ever come out.

P3: Like, right now, they just called us in — we have to lock in for the next 45 minutes.

K: Ok, is there anything you want to share with us, or any questions you have for us?

P7: I don't have any questions, but I just want to say thank you for giving me the chance to be heard.

E: Oh, thank you so much. You're giving us a lot, and we'll keep contact.

K: Yeah.

E: Hello? ▼

Samiha Sharif

Islamophobia

Comparisons Across the Western World

Multiculturalism, the idea that people from different cultures can coexist, was intended to encourage migration from developing countries to developed countries in Western Europe, North America, Scandinavia and Australia. However, multiculturalism failed to protect Muslim immigrants from discrimination after Islam became visible in the wake of terrorist attacks such as 9/11 and the bombings in London and Bali. For Islamophobic violence to become acceptable in a political climate that also trumpets multiculturalism, certain notions had to become legitimate. Over the past decades, Muslim identities have been homogenized and othered through negative portrayals in the media which, inadvertently, later justified legislations authorizing unlawful detention, police brutality, racial profiling, and severe surveillance by the police. As a result, Muslims have faced structural barriers in accessing resources or job opportunities as well as severe verbal abuse, physical abuse, and threats. Additionally, they are also subjected to psychological discrimination with states negating their identities as both Muslims and citizens of the Western world.

The Western world and white settler communities have intentionally targeted white-only immigration to build their countries. In the United States, the *Naturalization Act* of 1790 specified that only white people could become American citizens. Further requirements for entry and naturalization that affected Middle Easterners included the creation of 'barred zones' in the *Immigration Act* of 1917. This law specifically prohibited "immigrants from India, Siam, Arabia, Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Afghanistan, New Guinea, Borneo, Java, Ceylon, Sumatra, Celebes, and parts of Russian Turkestan

and Siberia" (Love 2006, 406). Additionally, individuals from these communities faced widespread racism and discrimination, which included voter intimidation and, in some extreme cases, lynching. However, over the course of the twentieth century, a desperate need for labour came to trump the white settler ideal and multiculturalism became a tool to invite people of colour to the Western world. In Australia, for example, the "White Australia" policy disintegrated in the 1960s. By 1981, 20.7% of Australia's population were born overseas and almost 20% of those born in Australia had at least one parent born overseas (Poynting & Mason 2006, 368). While new multicultural attitudes and policies in the late 20th century led to greater levels of immigration, the governments of Western nations did not successfully integrate these immigrants into society. By the time the Twin Towers were attacked in September 11, 2001, the stage was set for Islamophobia — multiculturalism was already struggling as racism, xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments were surfacing.

HOMOGENIZING OF IDENTITIES

The homogenizing of Muslims was articulated in Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, which put forth a theory that people's cultural and religious identities will be the principal source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. Huntington argued that civilizational conflicts are particularly prevalent between Muslims and non-Muslims due to the "bloody borders" between Islamic and non-Islamic civilizations. This division between Muslims and non-Muslims is further elaborated in Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which critiques Orientalism and its

cultural exemplifications, the West's patronizing insights and fictional representations of "the East." According to Said, Western imperialism employs stereotypes to generalize and exoticize the multitude of identities in the Middle East, marking all of them as a homogenized foreign mass.

NEGATIVE PORTRAYALS IN THE MEDIA

The homogenization articulated by Huntington and critiqued by Said has been propagated by a biased media, which reinforce stereotypes of the Muslim world. In a Federation of Student Islamic Societies survey, 90% of the Muslim student participants said that the media image of Muslims needs changing, suggesting more portrayals of "mainstream" Muslims, more sense of fairness, less use of "loose" terms such as "Islamic extremist," and more Muslims getting involved in the media. British Muslims for Secular Democracy quoted a report released by the Mayor of London, which found that in the course of one week in 2006, over 90% of British media articles that discussed Islam and Muslims were negative (Gilby et al., 2011).

In a report compiled in 1998, Hvitdfelt showed that more than 85% of the news coverage associated directly or indirectly with Islam and Muslims broadcasted by national Swedish television was negative (Larsson 2010, 40). In study conducted by Kunst et al., all participants except one had experienced negative portrayals of Muslims in the media (Kunst et al. 2011, 524). After the Iran hostage crisis, when televised Iranian revolutionaries held American citizens hostage for months, the "oil sheik" stereotype began to give way to the "terrorist" stereotype. As a result, the word "terrorist" became widely identified with Middle Easterners by the 1980s. As methodically documented by Jack Shaheen, the "racialized image of fanatical, inhuman terrorists was reinforced again and again in popular culture caricatures seen in big-budget Hollywood films like Iron Eagle, True Lies and The Siege, along with many others in the 1980s and 1990s" (Love 2006, 410).

OTHERING MUSLIMS

Stereotyping and generalization, aided by hateful portrayals of Muslims in the media, have led to an othering of Muslims. *Othering* implies reducing complex, intersectional identities to simplified stereotypes. This leads to an "us versus them" mentality, wherein Muslims in the Western world have their identities up for scrutiny. Ethnic targeting and racial profiling are justified by othering the communities concerned and racializing so-called security threats. In the United Kingdom (U.K.), there was a shift from mainly identifying people based on origin to identification along religious lines: from Asian Other to Muslim Other (Poynting & Mason 2006, 365). These ideas perpetuate a radicalized frame of reporting on terrorism. A simplified and othered Muslim culture is used to explain complex events, overlooking and excluding alternative social, economic, and political explanations for conflict and violence. Accordingly, people started considering 9/11 an attack on Western democracy and its values, with Islam as the polarizing alternative. While maintaining that Islam was not the enemy, British Opposition Leader Iain Duncan Smith told the Conservative Party conference in October 2001:

> When civilization is attacked, civilized nations must spring to each other's defense. The terrorists who attacked America also have us in their sights. Not because of what we in Britain have done but because of what we and America stand for. Britain and the United States have become the enemy because we are beacons of democracy and champions of freedom" (Poynting & Mason 2006, 372).

This is a clear example of "us versus them" rhetoric, depicting being Muslim as being by default against the principles of the Western world without room for a distinction between Muslims and terrorists.

STATE SANCTIONED ISLAMOPHOBIA

In the aftermath of 9/11, the United Nations Security Council adopted *Resolution 1368* (September 2001) and *Resolution 1373* (September 2001), defining terrorist attacks as threats to international peace and security. *Resolution 1373*, accepted under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, instructed all states to commence measures with a view of defeating international terrorism with special focus on the financing of terrorism. All states were duty-bound to implement the requirements of this resolution within their domestic legal systems, and were asked to submit reports to the newly established Counter-terrorism Committee (Rehman, 2005: 231-232). The British response to *Resolution 1373* was to further consolidate its laws through by adopting the *Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act* (2001). This Act dehumanized the Muslim male. Within the Act, an allegedly radicalized Muslim male is not innocent until proven guilty, but rather guilty by until proven innocent. This left them vulnerable to unaccountable physical and psychological violence at the hands of the police.

As a result, Muslims in Britain began to face disproportionate "stop and search" targeting from the police. From 2002 to 2003 the stop-and-search of Asian people — a category which also includes Hindus and Sikhs and other non-Muslims, together comprising 45.3% of the Asian or British Asian population — increased by 285% and from 2003 to 2004, the number increased by 40% to almost 30,000 (Poynting & Mason, 2006, 373). Other steps taken by the government included completely banning sixteen Islamic organizations and, in December 2001, rushing through parliament the controversial "Anti-Terrorism" legislation, the *Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act* (2001). This legislation comprised far-reaching measures that were criticized by civil libertarians as "draconian and as undermining basic democratic rights" (Poynting & Mason 2006, 373).

In the United States, the *Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act* was signed into law. This policy empowered the federal government to label any organization a "terrorist" organization and allowed the use of clandestine evidence in detention hearings and trials. The U.S. *Patriot Act*, an acronym for "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism," was submitted several days after the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Poynting & Mason 2006, 373). It was prepared by the Department of Justice to significantly increase the powers of federal agencies to conduct searches, use electronic surveillance to interrupt communications both nationally and internationally, and to arrest suspected terrorists. President George W. Bush authorized the *Patriot Act* into law four days after it was presented to the House and Senate. Similarly, the Liberal government of Canada passed the Canadian *Anti-Terrorism Act* in response to 9/11. Accordingly, the bill received Royal Assent on December 18, 2001, as Bill C-36. It expanded the powers of government and institutions within the Canadian security establishment to respond to the threat of terrorism.

CONSEQUENCES

As a result of this discrimination, the Muslim community faces structural barriers to accessing resources or job opportunities, verbal and often physical abuse, and threats from anti-Islam individuals. The institutionalized Islamophobia enacted by the state via police brutality, surveillance, profiling, and suspicion perpetuates and authroizes such violence.

In face of the State's legalized assault, harassment and vilification of Muslims as enemies in the war on terror, citizens feel justified to personally attack Muslims as a way of performing patriotic duty (Poynting & Mason, 2006, 379).

Another imperative aspect of routine, everyday anti-Muslim hate crime is anonymous telephone, email, and postal threats of harm and death. Reportedly, since 9/11, hundreds of such threats have been received by British Muslim organizations, most of which have their headquarters in London (Githens-mazer & Lambert, 2010). Additionally, one of the most debilitating and least discussed impacts of Islamophobia is the psychological discrimination against Muslim identities. Young Muslims in the West are taught that their religion is contrary to the values of Western democracies, and they are scrutinized with suspicion in the "us versus them" game. It is psychologically debilitating to have identities invalidated and questioned, and the resulting identity crisis brings severe emotional distress for Muslim youths. Zlatko Skrbis describes this as "gradations" of acceptance available to marginalized communited within the formal citizenship discourse, who experience a tension between what he calls the "formal" and "social" status of citizenship (Poynting & Mason 2006, 367).

CONCLUSION

Islamophobia today is a state sanctioned practice enmeshed with immigration policies that were created to favour white migrants. Migrant people of colour and multicultural rhetorics only arose to satiate desperate needs for labour supply in developed countries. The discrimination against Muslims has been enacted by a process of homogenizing their identities, "othering" them in a manner that depicts Muslim culture and practices as antagonistic to the Western way of life, and promoting negative portrayals in the media that inadvertently led to legalized and institutionalized Islamophobia — passing legislation for unlawful detention, racial profiling, severe surveillance and violence by the police in all these regions. ▼

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Molly Swain

Racing/Erasing a People

The Role and Consequences of Racialized Métis Legal Identity

Ultimately, the Supreme Court of Canada's racialized definition of Métis makes it virtually impossible to recognize Métis peoplehood.[1]

There is much at stake in the politics of recognition for Indigenous peoples in Canada. For the Métis, the lack of official Indian Status, the lack of access to the benefits of the Indian Act and related legislation, and the continuing legacy of the Scrip system and post-North West Resistance dispossession have all contributed to ongoing marginalization both within Canadian society and within Aboriginal politics and policies. Definitions of the individuals and communities who can claim Métis-ness vary greatly. As Canadian courts move forward in settling claims related to Métis title, rights, and interest in the wake of the inclusion of Métis as an Aboriginal people in the *Constitution Act* (1982), defining who is Métis and who is not becomes more urgent.

In this paper, I will first explore Chris Andersen's critique of the racialization of the Métis as mixed race in order to analyze three cases: *R v. Powley* (2003), *Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada* (2013), and *Daniels v. Canada* (2013). Second, I will analyze the definition of Métis employed in Powley and the "Powley Test" that was developed to determine individual claims to Métis rights. I will highlight interrelated themes of "distinctiveness" and "mixedness," which will frame the analysis of the latter two cases. Third, I will apply a similar critical framework to *Manitoba Metis Federation v. Canada*. Finally, I will explore how *Daniels v. Canada* seeks to frame the definition of Métis. Ultimately, I will demonstrate that legal definitions of Métis,

which operate through a racial logic rather than a foundation of peoplehood, cannot lead to a legally coherent structure for determining Métis identity that respects their existence as one of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

Andersen establishes that the mobilization of race in legislative definitions of Métis mirror and reinscribe popular understandings of "Métis-as-mixed," which operate through racist logics inherited from 18th and 19th century administrative categorization systems. These systems, which include the term *Indian*, have been naturalized through legislation to authenticate Indian and White identities at the expense of the Métis, and have "produced a register of images that emphasize a severely limited, isolated, and de-contextualized range of the realities of historical and contemporary Indigeneity" (Andersen 2014, 32-33). Further, Andersen argues that treating Métis cultural hybridity as a function of racialization fundamentally ignores the power differences inherent in the colonial relationship, and the fact that all Indigenous nations are blended with other Indigenous nations as well as, through intermarriage, with settlers (Andersen 2014, 37). Andersen contends that defining Métis through these racialized frameworks prevents a full acknowledgement of their status as an Aboriginal people. This translates into law that directly affects the Métis in specific ways, some of which are described below.

R. V. POWLEY

R v. Powley represented a major shift in how Aboriginal law applies to Métis peoples. For the first time since its enshrinement in the *Constitution Act*, the s. 35 Aboriginal rights clause was

applied to protect Métis practices. (Constitution Act 1982. s. 35(1)) In the case, the Métis are were defined as follows:

> The term "Métis" in s. 35 does not encompass all individuals with mixed Indian and European heritage; rather, it refers to distinctive peoples who, in addition to their mixed ancestry, developed their own customs, way of life, and recognizable group identity separate from their Indian or Inuit and European forebears (R v. Powley para. 10).

This definition of Métis does not require an individual to have any link to a historical self-identifying Métis community to bring fourth a legal case as a Métis (Andersen 2014, 65).[2] Instead, the concept of "distinctiveness" is centered — in essence, any group of racially mixed Indigenous people who have a separate group identity from their neighbours may claim to be a Métis community, regardless of where they live and whether their ancestors identified as Métis. No other Aboriginal group is required to prove their distinctiveness from other Aboriginals or Europeans. An Indian, for example, would not have to declare separateness from the Inuit as an essential part of what defines them as Cree. *Powley* does state that this definition of Métis should not be considered a comprehensive one, although subsequent rulings have failed to elaborate upon it in any significant way.

Powley also created a new test to determine how Métis Aboriginal rights should be defined. The test is a modification of the *Van Der Peet* test that accounts for what *Powley* describes as the Métis communities' "*distinctive* existence" (emphasis mine) as having "post-contact but pre-control," origins (R v. Powley, para. 37). While this description is clearly accurate, it is also vague and undefined. As Andersen says, "Many communities sprung up in the wake of intruding political economies; that does not make them Métis" (Andersen 2014, 53). The term "Métis community" itself is similarly vague, being defined as "a group of Métis with a distinctive collective identity, living together in the same geographical area and sharing a common way of life" (R v. Powley, para. 12). As discussed in greater detail below, this definition is steeped in racial undertones that erase the historical and contemporary realities of Métis communities, and have the potential to undermine Métis legal and political peoplehood.

There is much more that could be unpacked from *Powley*'s definitions of what constitutes Métis identity and Métis community. However, the key themes of "distinctiveness" and "mixedness" come into play in *Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada*.

MANITOBA MÉTIS FEDERATION V. CANADA

The *Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada* (*MMF*) case was not concerned with Aboriginal rights. Rather, it explored whether there was a fiduciary duty on the part of the federal government to protect the Métis' Aboriginal interest in the lands and scrip granted to Métis children as part of the *Manitoba Act* (1870). There is no centralized definition of the term Métis or Métis community, even in determining whether the Federation had legal standing. The first mention of the Métis, however, tacitly defines

them via their mixedness: they are "the descendants of unions between white traders and explorers and Aboriginal women" (MMF, para. 2). *MMF* places much less emphasis on supposed Métis distinctiveness than does *Powley*. In deciding whether Aboriginal interest was present in the case, *MMF* determined that the interest was not an Aboriginal one because the land was not held in common. *MMF* justified this decision partially through *Powley*'s assertion that there exists a constitutional affirmation to protect those Aboriginal customs that are integral and distinctive, and that this affirmation extends to the Métis, who are themselves distinct from Europeans and Indians (MMF, para. 53).

In claiming that the Métis did do not have a "*distinctly* Aboriginal" (emphasis mine) interest in the land, *MMF* positions them under racialized logics: they, their culture, and their practices are Aboriginal, unless they look too familiarly European, in which case their interests and rights are not Aboriginal ones (MMF, para. 53). As such, *MMF* represents a paradox: if the Métis are an Aboriginal group whose very identity has been premised on distinctiveness, and if their distinctive Aboriginal relationship to the land is constitutionally affirmed, and if Aboriginal law requires that Aboriginal land be held communally, and if the Métis in the Red River Settlement core[3] did not hold land communally, where does that leave the Métis? And for that matter, Aboriginal law?

MMF demonstrates that, in defining the Métis as mixed, racial logics overtake cultural "distinctiveness," in that the Métis are shoehorned into existing Aboriginal law tenants that do not reflect their Aboriginal history and reality. Furthermore, doing so may weaken their legal position, rendering them in effect "not-quite-Aboriginal-enough" when they don't conform to homogenizing notions (in the legal system and elsewhere) of Aboriginal "authenticity."

DANIELS V. CANADA

Daniels v. Canada set out to determine if Métis and Non-Status Indians are categorically Indian under s.91 (24) of the *Constitution Act*. While *Daniels* introduces the Métis as "people of mixed European and native ancestry," it explicitly acknowledges that the Métis was not the only Indigenous group that was experiencing mixing (Daniels v. Canada, para. 22). It also distances itself from racializing Aboriginal identity on bases of "racial/blood purity," explicitly stating, "Racial stereotyping is not a proper basis for constitutional interpretation" (Daniels v. Canada, para. 119, 538). Instead, *Daniels* defines Métis and Non-Status Indians using the same criteria: "A group of native people who maintained a strong affinity for their Indian heritage without possessing Indian status. Their '"Indian-ness"' [sic] was based on self-identification and group recognition"(Daniels v. Canada, para. 117).

In moving away from mixedness as the essential criterion for defining the Métis, *Daniels* is able to recognize their Aboriginality, while also recognizing their heterogeneity, and indeed the heterogeneity of Indians. Its extensive "Historical Evidence"

JUSTICE FOR ALL
WOODLANDS SURVIVORS

Demolition Ceremony – Woodlands, Kerri Flannigan

section establishes that the distinctions between Métis and Indian are, at best, legal and administrative, with little basis in either the history or relationships of Indigenous peoples with the Canadian government (Daniels v. Canada, Section IX — Historical Evidence). In grounding its definition in the Indian-ness and peoplehood of the Métis, it avoids the paradox of *MMF*, while upholding the affirmative obligations of s. 35.

Of the three cases, *Daniels'* definition of Métis provides the strongest basis for legislation: based on peoplehood, rather than race. While it does not provide concrete definitions based on membership or community, Daniels has the potential to shift legal and mainstream understandings of Métis away from racial logics, which undermine their claim to authentic Aboriginality, and towards future legislative efforts that, instead of emphasizing what they are not, can begin to determine who they are. As Andersen states in reference to the need to provide counterbalance to racialized historical narratives of Métis identity, "Scales balance metaphorically as well as literally, and peoplehood offers a more powerful and just fulcrum than the racialized alternatives" (Andersen 2014, 209). ▼

[1] Chris Andersen, Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood (UBC Press, 2014), 130.

[2] However, to claim a Métis right under s. 35 an individual does require a connection to a historical Métis community. R v. Powley, para. 34.

[3] An area broadly considered the "Métis Homeland" and a group so undeniably Métis that its identity was never questioned or subject to debate.

Andersen, Chris. Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood. UBC Press, 2014.

Constitution Act, 1982.

Daniels v. Canada (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development) (T.D.), 2013 FCT 295, [2013] 4 F.C. 550.

Manitoba Metis Federation Inc. v. Canada (Attorney General), 2013 SCC 14, [2013] 1 S.C.R. 623.

R. v. Powley, [2003] 2 S.C.R. 207, 2003 SCC 43.

Clare Heggie

Allyship in Environmental Movements

Lessons from Clayoqout Sound and Athlii Gwaii

T he concept of *allyship* within the context of social justice work has been defined by different groups for different purposes. The Anti-Oppression Network defines allyship as "an active, consistent, and arduous practice of unlearning and re-evaluating, in which a person of privilege seeks to operate in solidarity with a marginalized group of people" (Anti-Oppression Network 2011). Mia McKenzie explains that allyship is:

> ...not supposed to be about your feelings. It's not supposed to be a way of glorifying yourself at the expense of the folks you claim to be an ally to. It's not supposed to be a performance. It's supposed to be a way of living your life that doesn't reinforce the same oppressive behaviors [you're] claiming to be against (McKenzie 2013).

Lynn Gehl, an Algonquin Anishinaabe-kwe, states, "If alliance seekers cannot stand behind 'my' needs as an Indigenous woman, I want nothing to do with 'your' need for an alliance" (Gehl 2013).

Working within these definitions of allyship, this paper will evaluate whether environmental movements have effectively honored Indigenous interests and engaged as allies. By examining the outcomes of protests at Clayoqout Sound and Athlii Gwaii, I argue that the climate movement must stand with Indigenous rights movements. Environmental degradation and colonial dispossession are irrevocably connected, and thus all environmental resistance should first and foremost operate as solidarity movements to Indigenous struggles.

CLAYOQUOT SOUND

Clayoquot Sound is on the traditional territories of the Hesquiaht, Ahousaht and Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, which are all part of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nations on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Competing interests between tourism, logging, environmentalists, and First Nations came to a head in 1984, when the company MacMillan-Bloedel began logging Meares Island even though their proposal had been rejected by Ahousaht leaders. Ongoing protests first erupted at Clayoquot Sound in the mid 1980s, and peaked in the summer of 1993. With the participation of prominent environmental organizations, the protests successfully drove out the logging companies, secured First Nations control over local logging tenures, and led a large part of Clayoquot Sound to be designated as a UNESCO biosphere reserve.

Without devaluing the significant gains won by these protests, it is important to examine the movement more critically. Analyzing the protests at Clayoquot Sound, Sandilands suspects that "The struggle to 'save' the landscape is not so much about freeing the resident ecological and social communities to negotiate multiple possible futures as it is about imposing a particular view of the landscape on precisely these communities" (Sandilands 2003, 2). The publicity campaigns to save Clayoqout Sound rested on a wilderness discourse, that the area must be saved so that future generations could enjoy the area in its pristine state. In order to gain support for their cause, mainstream environmental groups strategically constructed Clayoquot Sound as an uninhabited space. In his landmark essay "The Trouble with Wilderness," William Cronon explains that constructing

Decolonize Feminism, R.I.S.E.

wilderness space for mass consumption requires that the land appear uninhabited. This erases Indigenous peoples who see the land as a home: "They were forced to go elsewhere, with the result that tourists could safely enjoy the illusion that they were seeing their nation in its pristine, original state."(Cronon 1996, 79).
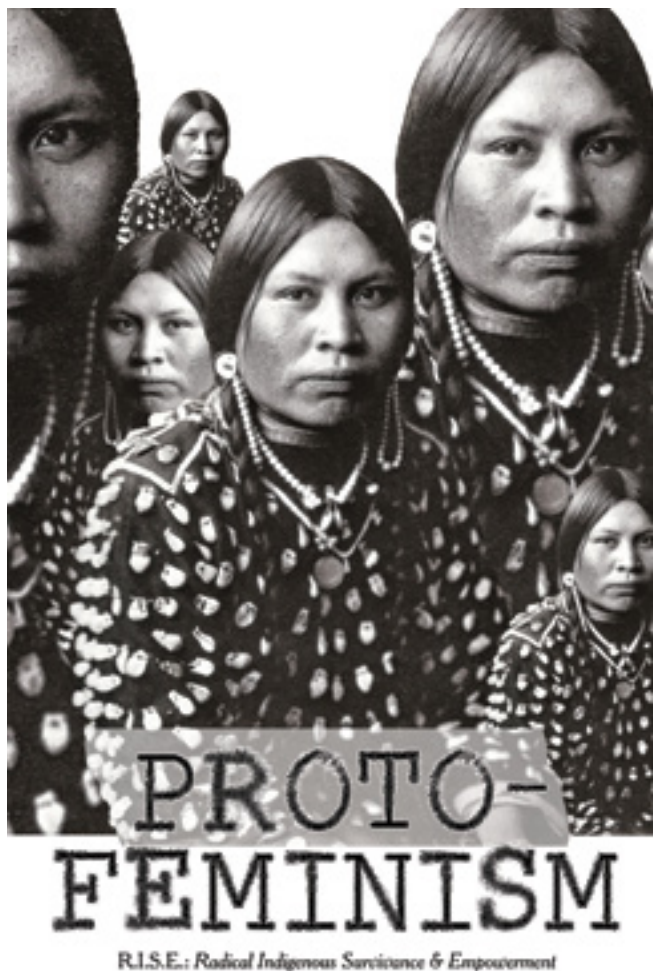
While many Clayoquot Sound organizers and environmental protesters did act in solidarity with local Indigenous communities, the movement as a whole, as the result of their framing narrative, was not an ally to Indigenous people. They saw First Nations groups as one of many stakeholders rather than rightful owners of the land upon which protesters were projecting their own ideas of proper environmentalism. The 1991 British Colombia (B.C.) Task Force on Native Forestry found that, "Native voices — if heard at all — have often been incorporated as simply one among many special interests within a system of forest management founded on productions of colonial space" (Braun 2002, 31). The Clayoquot protests brought global attention to the B.C. environmental movement and the protection of Canadian temperate rainforests. However, in presenting the conflict as solely one of environmentalists vs. logging, mainstream environmental groups failed to address Indigenous rights and priorities, such as land title and First

Nations groups' interest in locally controlled logging. The protests were an environmental movement first, and a solidarity effort only as an afterthought.

ATHLII GWAII

During roughly the same period as the Clayoqout Protests, another conflict was unfolding on B.C.'s North Coast, related to logging on a biologically and culturally significant area of Haida Gwaii, known to the Haida as Gwaii Haanas. While a 1985 logging blockade on Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island) was the most public direct action, the struggle unfolded over decades of direct action and lobbying. Ultimately, the struggle helped to catalyze the establishment of the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) and the official registration of a comprehensive Haida land claim. In this case, environmentalist interests in protecting Gwaii Haanas as a wilderness area became linked with the Haida claim. Action taken by the Haida people and residents of Haida Gwaii resulted in the protection of the contested area as Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site in 1993, to be co-managed by the CHN and Parks Canada. In 1997, stemming from actions taken to protect Gwaii Haanas, the B.C. Court of

PROTO-
FEMINISM

R.I.S.E.: *Radical Indigenous Sarviance & Empowerment*

an acknowledgement that environmental issues and resource protection are intertwined with title.

LESSONS LEARNED AND LOOKING FORWARD

As defined previously, allyship is "An active, consistent, and arduous practice of unlearning and re-evaluating, in which a person of privilege seeks to operate in solidarity with a marginalized group of people." Mainstream environmental movements typically operate from a place of privilege and should ask for whom they are fighting and, if they are aligning with Indigenous interests, to what end. Do the efforts of mainstream environmental movements only benefit their own goals, or are they coming from a place of solidarity? A critical comparison of major environmental movements presented in this paper raises other questions about the role of resistance in bringing about meaningful change. What is the "correct" way to protect the environment? Is wilderness tourism a better use of land than locally managed industry? Is it true that "the saving of Clayoquot did not fundamentally challenge the logic of global capitalism" (Sandilands 2003, 24)? In the case of Haida Gwaii and the collaborative land use planning approach, how much progressive change can occur within a system dictated by the federal government? Is collaborative ecosystem management a viable way to protect the environment, or do the "the persistent relations of domination [limit] the potential for alternative knowledge, values and rationality to influence outcomes through the planning process"? (Takeda and Røpke 2010, 187). While these questions cannot be answered easily, they draw attention to the complexity of environmental movements in Canada.

Environmental resistance must undermine the power inequalities and capitalist systems that have led to environmental degradation, rather than simply reframe them. As a settler on this land and an environmentalist, I will continue to work on and question my role as an ally to Indigenous movements. ▼

Appeal ruled that Tree Farm License (TFL) 39 — the largest TFL on the island – was "encumbered by title — however, only once title was proven" (Takeda and Røpke 2010, 181). In 2001, the CHN and the Province of BC officially signed a co-management land use planning agreement.

Athlii Gwaii and the creation of Gwaii Haanas differed from the Clayoquot Sound protests in the focus on title. The dominant discourse in the Clayoquot protests did not emphasize title and the environmental idea of what should be protected did not include opportunities for the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes to earn a livelihood from their land. As Sandilands explains: "Only uses of the land that are already approved in wilderness view are natural, and any person who crosses the line beyond this narrow notion of tradition… is not acting like a 'real Native' anymore…" (Sandilands 2003, 22). However, Gwaii Hanaas and the land use planning process are not without flaws. The structural power relations recreated in the decision-making process must be addressed. Even still, the outcome challenges the industry vs. environment dichotomy that erased Indigenous interests in the Clayoquot Sound protests. The resulting collaborative management process has also allowed for a more meaningful inclusion of Indigenous perspective and

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Amal Kenshil

Should I or Shouldn't I?

Conflict Between Moving to a Culturally Mixed Neighbourhood and Fear of Being a Gentrifier

As an immigrant woman of colour who spent most of my life between the U.K. and Canada, living in predominantly white cities and neighbourhoods, I have always found it exciting to spend time in a predominantly immigrant/people of colour (POC) neighbourhood. The way I grew up, transatlantic, it was always taught to us POCs that the marker of "making it" as immigrants was no longer living in so-called immigrant or ethnic neighbourhoods — it was by living in whiteness that one can be considered successful. Although I have only ever felt safe in these "exotic" cultural centers and they have helped me to understand the internalized othering that POC experience, I had never lived in a predominantly POC neighbourhood growing up. And this is what brings me to the decision to move to the Parc-Extension neighbourhood of Montréal.

As an immigrant, third/fourth culture kid who has lived in predominantly white neighbourhoods across the UK and Canada, I've always felt like someone without a home. The oppressive power of white supremacy and never having been around first generation immigrants until much later in life has caused a lot of trauma. A sense of always being an outsider has been something that many POC experience, and it has been made worse by the systematic, political, and media calls for "integration" and "assimilation" into whiteness in the UK and in Canada. For me, Parc-Extension comes close to feeling like home — I don't have to go far for the ingredients I'm used to having in my kitchen and I don't feel like the only POC in a store, at the bus stop, or in the park. Parc-Extension is also a source of nostalgia in its resemblance to Rusholme, a similar neighbourhood in Manchester, England.

As children, my family and I took regular weekend trips to Rusholme to eat at well-priced Halal restaurants serving food from North Africa, South Asia, Ethiopia, and the West Indies. Rusholme was not as important for us as it was for our mother, who was able to find there the ingredients she needed to cook Libyan food. It was also a place of discovery for her. New foods, new ways of cooking, chatting with people, and being part of a neighbourhood street celebration were firsthand ways to experience other cultures without feeling unwelcome — unlike how she felt walking around in Salford, Cheadle, Blackpool or Chelmsford, all towns where we were always the only non-white and immigrant family. For my siblings and me, going to Rusholme used to make us sad because the trauma of immigration and the toll of blatant racist harassment in classrooms, workplaces, and the streets were evident in the Brown and Black faces we saw there. Rusholme was a haven but also a place to process that trauma, which made going there difficult. Even though my mother noticed the neighbourhood's ambivalent effects on my siblings and me, it remained a place she needed to visit.

After spending time in Libya and the U.K., my family and I moved back to Canada, to the prairies. Not having access to the type of places we frequented in Libya and the U.K. deeply affected all of us. We sought out people of colour, and South Asian and West Indian restaurants became sanctuaries from the intense whiteness of our lives. After moving to Montreal, Parc-Extension became a similar refuge for me.

My household consists of women of colour from various backgrounds, histories, and reasons for being in Montréal. Being in Parc-Extension seems like the natural progression for us. It is not a rejection of white Québec or Canada, but a response to

incessant questions regarding my origin when I meet people in the Mile End or the Plateau. It is a response to the exhaustion of having to navigate white spaces and relationships, which leave me feeling drained. I need to make a home for myself, and so far I have found this to be a family-friendly place, a place where new immigrants learn about Montréal and Canada together and share conversations with people from all over the world.

My desire to live in Parc-Extension is marked by the nostalgia for adolescent days spent on Wilmslow Road in Rusholme. Once, my mother learned about Diwali and came home to tell us with a small tray of colourful sweets. Rusholme was the place where she could process the trauma of being exiled from a home country that was hostile to her because of her husband's politics, and the trauma of living in a racist U.K. that was hostile to her because of her hijab and accent.

Parc-Extension is similar to Rusholme in another respect. Like many low-income neighbourhoods in urban centres, Rusholme has started experiencing gentrification after years of neglect endured by longterm immigrant POC residents. Even before my family left England in 1999, Rusholme was beginning to change. The representation of this area shifted from being a high crime area to the place where one could find "real kebabs" and an "authentic experience." Whatever those are. The same image has been portrayed of Parc-Extension in Montréal. For a long time, it was seen as "the immigrant neighbourhood," "the poor neighbourhood," but in recent years it has been touted as the place to go for an other-worldly experience. Authentic food, sari shops, and exotic looking people speaking exotic tongues are cited to represent Parc-Extension as non-white and foreign. These days, the neighbourhood is touted as a place of novel experience for white people, rather than a place where immigrants have been living, working, and raising children for decades.

Paradoxically, the very social and cultural mix of the neighbourhood that have made it a hot spot is coming under threat from this new-found popularity. Immigrant residents are at the risk of being priced out of the neighbourhood due to the recent arrival of artists, creatives, and students who are being priced out of the Plateau and the Mile End, as well as due to the looming expansion of the Université de Montréal (UdeM) campus nearby. Real-estate speculation seems to be the next phase for an area that had long been isolated, where a fence has separated this neighbourhood from its wealthy neighbor, Town of Mont-Royal (TMR), and was only connected to Jarry Park via a footbridge in the 1960s.

While I feel at home in this predominantly POC neighbourhood, my urban planning background helps me understand that my relocation there as a student is part of the gentrification process that displaces and disenfranchises working class residents of an area that is now considered multi-ethnic, exotic, exciting and inexpensive. Issues of housing, gentrification, and displacement comprise a significant part of the urban planning program at Concordia, where I am a student. This has me thinking a lot about my role in the transformations that Parc-Extension is undergoing.

From Ferguson to Palestine, Nidal El Khairy

As a woman of colour, I need to find places where I am not the odd one out. I want to live in a place where I will not be strange, exotic, ethnic, and constantly interrogated about my heritage. As a fellow immigrant of colour, I feel that I fit into the neighbourhood, but as a student and a temporary resident, I feel like I am just another gentrifier. Immigrants and POC need spaces that make us feel safe, and the thought of middle class, white 'creatives' moving to Parc-Extension worries me. This is a conflict I must continuously contend with as an immigrant with limited means, but also as a student who can contribute to the loss of that very space I need. I hope that the borough and city will keep the neighbourhood affordable and welcoming for those who currently call it home and will call it home in the future. ▼

Shariss Ostrager, Rabab Wali, Lara Schwarz,
Nisrine el Amiri, Zarin Tasnim Haque, Chris Ricci

A Community Study of the Existing Food System in Parc-Extension

McGill University Faculty Supervisor: Julia Freeman
Client: Justice Alimentaire Montréal

The food system is a structure within society with powerful impact on the lives and well-being of all citizens (Billings & Cabbil 2011). Often embedded within the food system are inequalities that directly and indirectly affect individuals, particularly minority groups and disadvantaged segments of the population (Morland et al. 2002). These inequalities may be attributed to the presence of structural racism, "a system of societal structures that produces and reproduces cumulative, durable, race-based inequalities" (Grassroots Policy Project 2011, 4). Structural racism is established by normalizing and legitimizing historical, cultural, institutional, and interpersonal dynamics that advantage the dominant group while disadvantaging people of colour (Lawrence & Keleher 2004). This phenomenon creates systemic inequalities that can be realized as disparities in access and availability of quality food sources across different minority groups, as well as in the social and economic exclusion of those groups.

Insufficient access to food may lead to significant impacts on physical health, financial health, and the education of individuals, among other consequences. As such, the objective of this research is to investigate the presence of structural racism in the food system in Parc-Extension, one of the most ethnically and economically diverse boroughs of Montréal.

Such an investigation may be done by inspecting food deserts, "socially deprived areas within cities that have poor access to food retailers," which are a common manifestation of structural racism in the food system (Apparicio et al. 2007).

Food desert studies commonly measure physical barriers and geographic distances within a region to identify structural racism in the food system (Morton & Blanchard 2007; Bertrand, Therien & Cloutier 2008; Morland, et al. 2002; Zenk Schulz, Israel et al. 2005; Cummins & Macintyre 1999; Moore & Diez Roux 2006; Donkin, Dowler, Stevenson et al. 1999; Sparks, Bania & Leete 2009). However, we believe that food access is much more nuanced than geographic proximity to food alone. As such, we expanded our investigation beyond geographic proximity by using "access to healthy, affordable, and desired foods" as a proxy for structural racism.

In order to explore manifestations of structural racism in Parc-Extension's food system, barriers to access were investigated at both the systemic and consumer levels through focus groups and system dynamics modeling, respectively. At the systemic level, we explored obstacles within the food system that impede access to healthy, affordable, and desired foods. This provided a better understanding about the inner workings and issues of the food system, as well as the identified linkages between them. At the consumer level, we investigated consumer experience in terms of obtaining healthy, affordable, and desired foods. This allowed us to examine barriers that exist at an individual level. With respect to our consumer experience investigation, we hypothesized that there are factors beyond geographic proximity that hinder individuals' access to healthy, affordable, and desired foods, and that some of these factors may be attributable to structural racism. With respect to our systemic investigation, we hypothesized that stakeholders would reveal cause-and-effect relationships that they were not previously aware of.
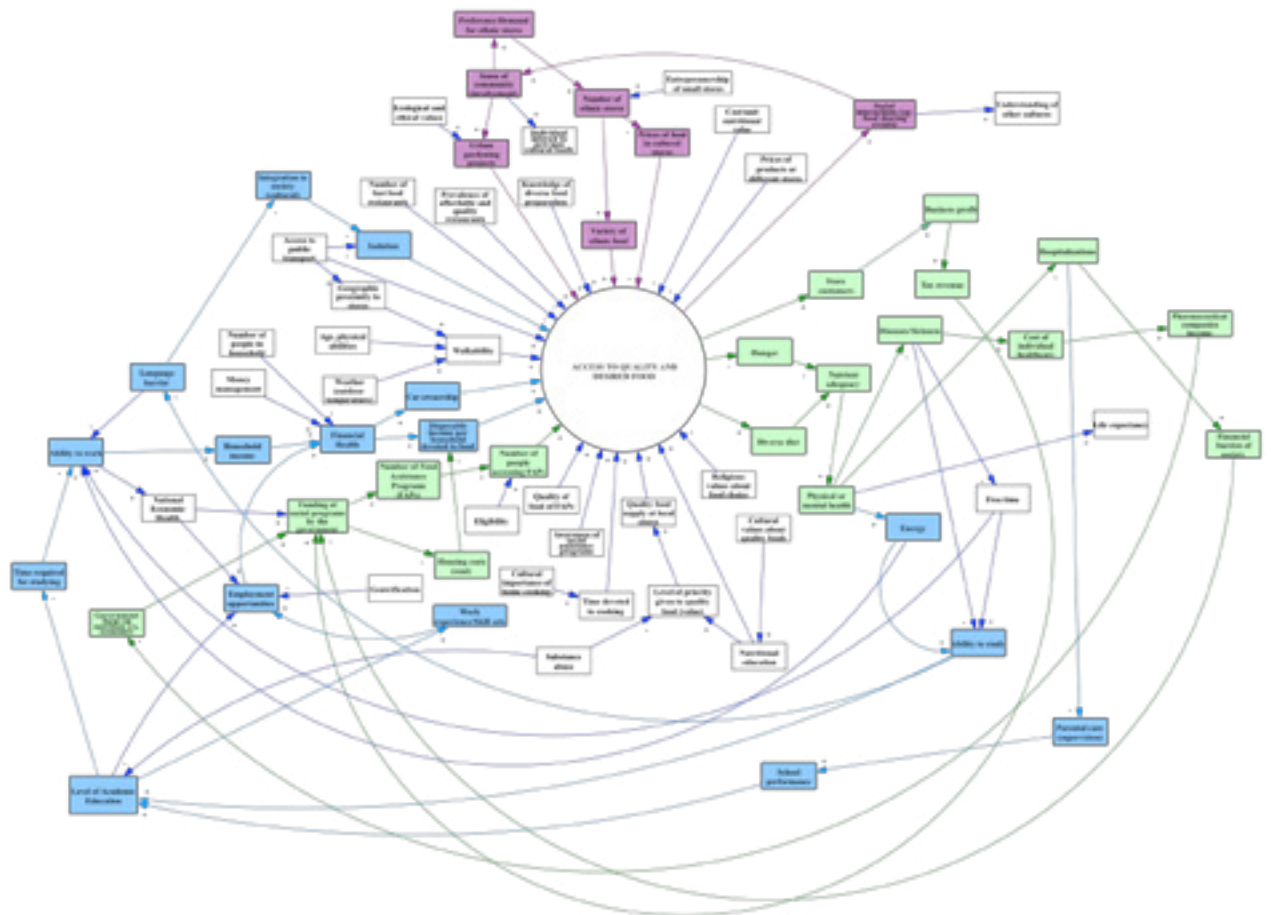
Figure 1: Integrated model of the Parc-Extension food system

METHODOLOGY

Systems Dynamics Modeling was used to investigate issues of food access in Parc-Extension and Montréal in order to create a model of the food system. Systems Dynamics was adapted by Julien Malard from a business modeling tool to an environmental science modeling tool, a McGill University PhD candidate in Bioresource Engineering. Stakeholders with varied roles in the Parc-Extension food system — who are all in a position to provide food — were interviewed and asked to identify the influences and outcomes of "access to quality and desired foods." Ultimately, six interviews were conducted with the following stakeholders: a local women's group social intervention liaison, a Jean-Talon market vendor, a local store owner, a food assistance program director, a finance officer of a youth organization in Parc-Extension, and a food justice group associate. Using the computer program, Vensim, the information provided by all stakeholders was combined to create one final model of the Parc-Extension food system. This model was then used to reveal gaps in the current food system and to identify potential points of intervention.

In addition to Systems Dynamics Modeling, we also obtained primary data from the consumer, rather than provider, perspective through focus groups about food access with small groups of people in Parc Extension. The focus groups explored people's perceptions, experiences, and emotional responses with respect to food access in Parc-Extension. Thanks to the client of our project, Justice Alimentaire Montréal, we were able to offer focus group participants a free lunch or snacks in exchange for their time. Ultimately, we conducted five focus groups with a total of 20 participants of various ethnicities at the following locations: Afrique au Feminin, William Hingston Cafeteria, Cafe Frappe, Local Community Services Center (CLSC), and Resource Action Alimentation (RAA). In order to get an idea of the demographics of our participants, we provided them with a basic questionnaire and a consent form to fill out before starting each focus group. Focus groups were conducted in both French and English and were recorded. After the data was transcribed, a content analysis was performed to look for patterns of responses between respondents.
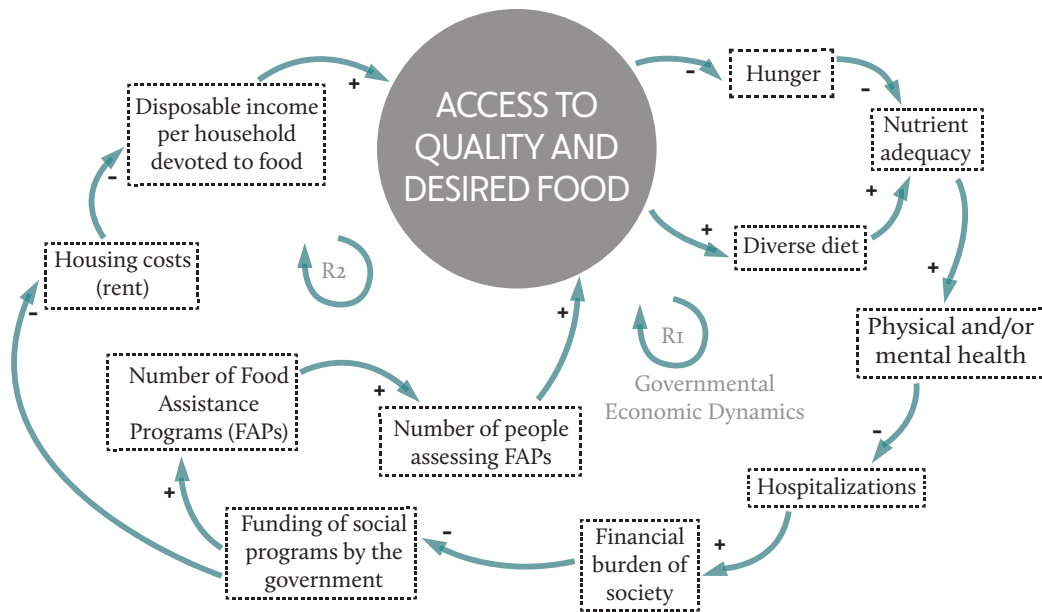
Figure 2: R1/R2, Governmental Economic Dynamics loop

RESULTS/ANALYSIS

Method 1: System Dynamics

The final System Dynamics model (*figure 1*) shows various interconnected and complex relationships. Since food is such a central aspect of individual and societal well-being, many of the factors influencing access are also intimately connected with other systems within society, such as the economic, education, and healthcare systems. Further, many variables could still expand well beyond the causes and impacts that were identified by stakeholders.

Within this complete model, 10 feedback loops were identified: one balancing loop and nine reinforcing loops. A balancing loop indicates a negative feedback relationship (denoted by a "-") in which an increase in one variable leads to a decrease in another. A reinforcing loop indicates a positive feedback relationship (denoted by a "+") in which an increase in one variable causes an increase in another. This analysis will focus on three loops in particular, which manifest themselves at three different levels of the food system: governmental, community, and individual.

As shown in *figure 2* above, stakeholders identified a reinforcing feedback loop at the governmental level. This loop illustrates health and economic systems function in relation to food access. Stakeholders indicated that increased access to quality and desired foods leads to better health. An increase in health then results in less hospitalization, which decreases the financial burden on society, and allows the government to have more funds to invest in social assistance programs. This translates to more

food assistance programs and, ultimately, better access to food. It is important to note that one stakeholder mentioned the influence of eligibility conditions on access to food assistance programs. While the eligibility variable exists outside of this particular loop, it directly influences the number of people accessing food assistance programs, which ultimately affects access to quality and desired foods.

As indicated by stakeholders in *figure 3* below, an increase in access to quality and desired food predicts beneficial social

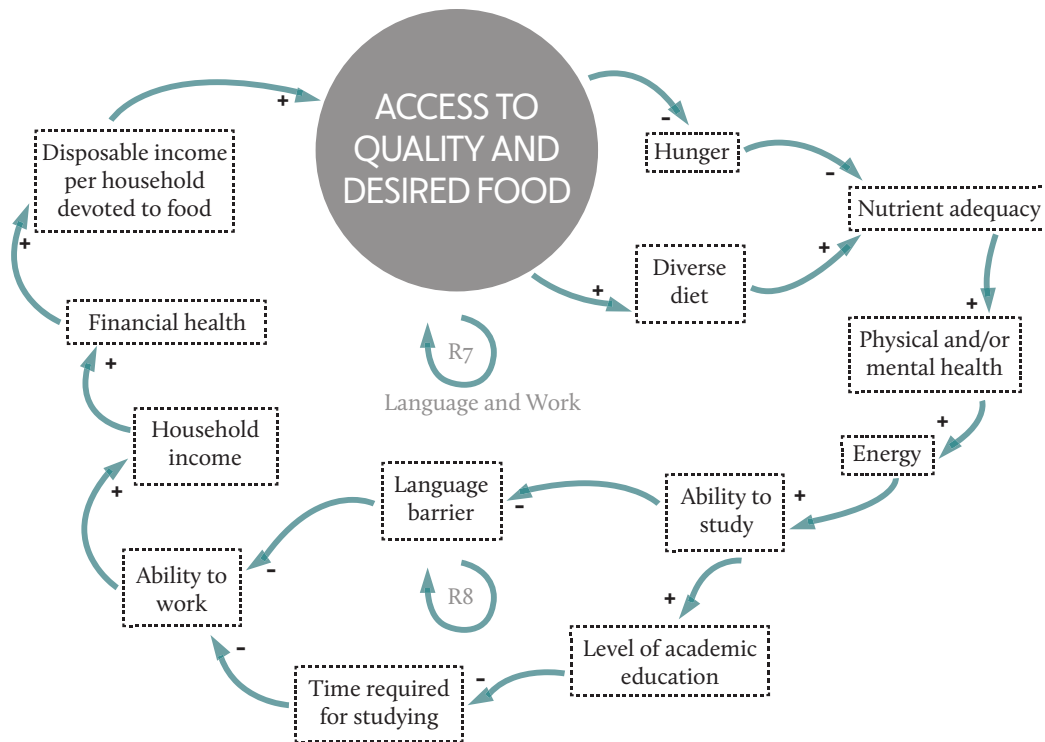*Figure 3: R5, Community Influence on Stores loop*

outcomes that reinforce food access. Increased access results in an increase in social interactions within the community via a variety of neighborhood events. Typical of Parc-Extension are food-sharing events at local food assistance organizations, which are intended to increase residents' knowledge of diverse foods and their preparation as a way of increasing food access. Stakeholders explained that the increased social interaction from these events leads to a stronger sense of community, as relationships are formed between residents during these events. Additionally, consumers form relationships with local storeowners at these events, and thus feel more inclined to support these individuals' stores over large chains. This increases the preference and demand for local ethnic stores, which increases the number of these stores, eventually causing a decrease in food prices and increase in the variety of foods available. Both of these factors then lead to greater access to food.

At the individual level, factors such as language and ability to work were prominent in Parc-Extension, especially as it is such a hub for different ethnic groups, many of which low income. *Figure 4* demonstrates that poor access to quality and desired foods leads to poor health, which results in less energy and a decrease in studying abilities. This is particularly relevant for immigrants in Parc-Extension, specifically those who speak neither French nor English, or who speak English but not French, as many work positions in Montréal require individuals to be bilingual. Furthermore, the ability to study influences the level of academic education and determines how much studying is required for immigrants to work in certain fields. This is

complicated by the fact that degrees from other countries are mostly not recognized in Canada. In this reinforcing loop, this inability to work eventually leads to poor financial health and reduced disposable income for food, resulting in reduced overall access to food.

METHOD 2: FOCUS GROUPS

Figure 5 and *Figure 6* on the next page illustrate the responses to our demographic questionnaire for consumers. All questions were optional and ethnicity was self-identified. We had participants from a range of economic backgrounds, and all those who chose to share their income had a monthly income under $4,000.

Our investigation revealed that Parc-Extension is a "food hub," containing many specialized ethnic food stores, although certain traditional or organic products are not accessible. Food quality and the sense of community were prominent topics in both our focus group discussions and interviews. It was also found that while products sold at small local stores were cheaper than the items in supermarkets, food was not always very fresh, and consumers often had to make concessions on either quality or price. This affected people's shopping habits, as it meant they were more likely to shop frequently in order to obtain food items that either did not expire or could be consumed quickly. Furthermore, our results showed that even people with cars preferred to use public transportation or to walk, as most stores were in close proximity. Naturally, the price of food also played a significant
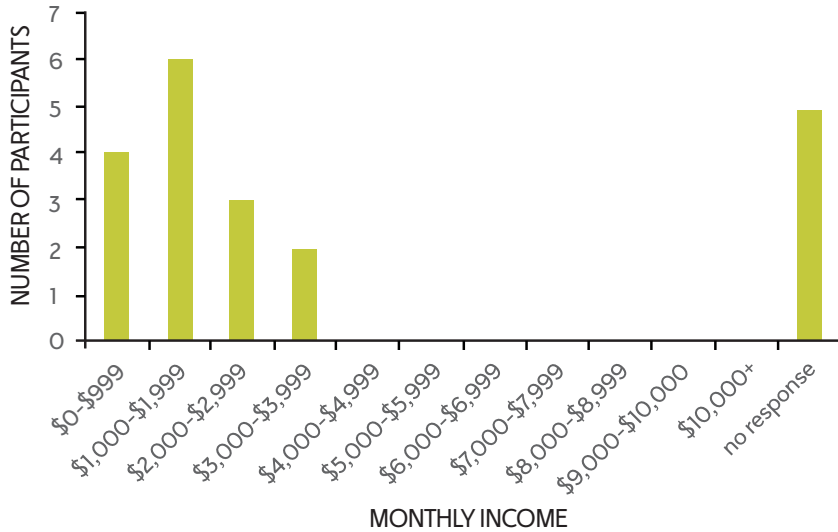
Figure 5: Monthly income of focus group participants
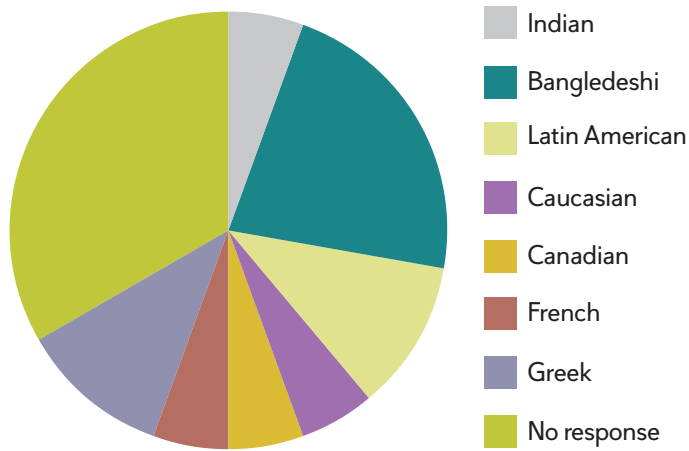
SELF-REPORTED ETHNICITY

- Indian
- Bangledeshi
- Latin American
- Caucasian
- Canadian
- French
- Greek
- No response

Figure 6: Self-identified ethnicity of focus group participants

Transport:
Car improves access

Seasonality:
not mentioned

Quality:
Better quality in local stores

- *Language barriers*
- *Recognition of Degrees*
- *Community*

Transport:
Convenience of walking
Car not necessary

Seasonality:
hinders access

Quality:
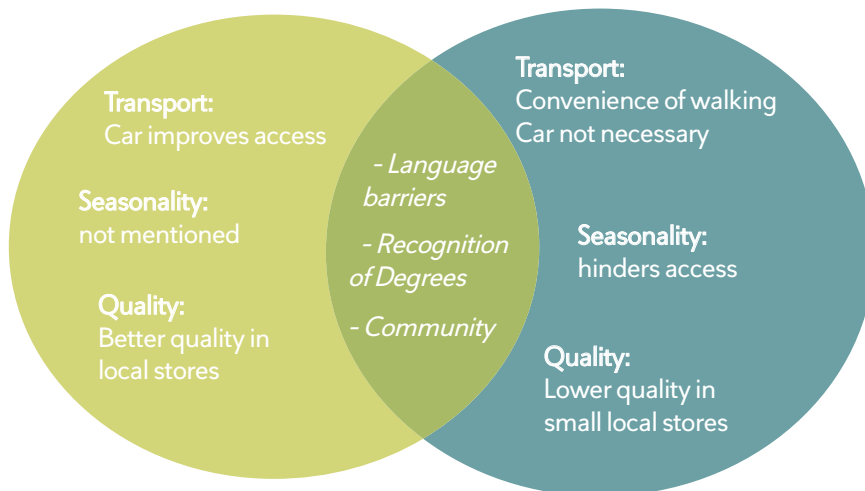Lower quality in small local stores

Figure 7: Points of intersection and differentiation of findings between the two study methods

role in access and consumption. Food constitutes a large part of individual expenses; as such, participants remarked that earning more money enables them to spend more money on food.

Although seasonality was not a planned topic of the discussion, it was mentioned in all focus groups as a factor that hinders access, especially to people in the lower income brackets. Since Montréal experiences extreme and variable weather patterns, seasonality can have a huge effect on food access. Participants discussed the effect of winter on their food choice, expenses, and transportation for grocery shopping.

Beyond the most heavily discussed topics, additional points, such as the difficulty of obtaining documentation and degree recognition for immigrants, were brought up in focus group discussions. Participants explained that those who lack documentation or proof of a living address are unable to benefit from food assistance programs. Individuals also mentioned language barriers. Ultimately, however, when asked about their overall level of satisfaction with food access in Parc-Extension, participants generally indicated that they were satisfied with the availability and accessibility of food.

LINKING FINDINGS BETWEEN METHODS

After analyzing data, there were several points of intersection and differentiation between the focus groups and System Dynamics methods. One topic discussed by both stakeholders and consumers was the language barrier that immigrants face in gaining employment and in communicating with storeowners. Additionally, stakeholders and consumers identified the limited recognition of foreign diplomas and the consequent difficulty in obtaining employment and disposable income as a barrier to food. Further, the strong sense of community in Parc-Extension was apparent in the data from both methods.

Despite the congruent findings of the two methods, some findings between them also contradicted each other and represent a disjunction between the point of view of stakeholders — those in positions to provide food — and consumers' wants and needs. For example, while consumers remarked that the neighbourhood is very walkable and car ownership is unnecessary, stakeholders regarded cars as a means of increasing food access. While system-level stakeholders believed that frequenting small local grocery stores results in decreased prices and increased access to quality and desired foods, consumers commented that quality and/or freshness must sometimes be sacrificed for the low prices at these local stores. Finally, while focus group participants consistently mentioned the issue of seasonality as a hindrance to food access, stakeholders did not mention this issue.

DISCUSSION

Parc-Extension is by no means a food desert; in fact, it was described as a "food oasis" by a focus group participant. Though geography is not a barrier to food access in Parc-Extension, by looking beyond geographic barriers to food access, our research revealed several other barriers to accessing healthy, affordable, and desired foods.

From our findings, we identified subgroups of Parc-Extension's population that are particularly vulnerable in the food system. Due to financial constraints, low-income immigrants were identified as the most vulnerable group in terms of food access. This is consistent with other studies that identified low-income, visible minority, and inner-city populations as those groups most at risk of poor food access (Smoyer-Tomic, Spence & Amrhein 2006; Hendrickson, Smith & Eikenberry 2006; Jiao, Moudon, Ulmer et al. 2012; Thomas 2010; Dutko, Ploeg & Farrigan 2012). Further, some immigrants struggle to fulfill eligibility criteria for food assistance programs. The inability to provide identifying information, such as a permanent address, was mentioned in both methods as a factor that hinders food access. This inability may partly follow from the requirement that individuals have lived in Canada for at least two years in order to apply for public housing. Additionally, waitlists for public housing favour Canadian-born residents over immigrants, which further delays the waiting period to obtain public housing (Ross 2013).

In addition to problems with food assistance program eligibility, another significant barrier to food access in Parc-Extension is foreign degree recognition. Published research supports the claims of our study participants, indicating that misrecognition of foreign degrees is a large issue for immigrants (Girard and Bauder 2007; Basran and Li 1998; Li 2001; Mata 1999; Najm 2001; Thompson 2000). This suggests that structural racism exists as a barrier to immigrants, and that changing policies that prevent immigrants from joining the workforce could reduce the harmful effects of this barrier.

Although not conclusive, our findings revealed two main areas in which structural racism operates: eligibility for food assistance programs and foreign degree recognition.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Taking into account criticisms and suggestions from the System Dynamics interviews and focus group discussions, we developed some policy recommendations that could increase accessibility to food in Parc-Extension. They pertain to the following topics: recognition of foreign degrees, seasonality, and eligibility for food assistance programs.

Research on Canadian immigration laws in 1999 suggests that stakeholders were attempting to improve the recognition of non-accreditation of immigrant professionals (Mata 1999). However, later research on this topic in 2003 indicates that immigrants continue to face difficulties gaining access to work in advanced-degree occupations in Canada (Reitz 2003). More recent research on this issue has shown an increase in efforts to alleviate this problem (Bloemraad 2012). Nonetheless, as our research shows, the issue remains. We suggest revising policies pertaining to the recognition of foreign degrees to allow immigrants to

enter the workforce and establish their lives with less delay. Fundamental governmental changes to recognize foreign degrees would not only benefit the immigrant population, but would also be a positive contribution for the Canadian economy. However, further research should be performed on this topic to determine how best to implement such a policy.

To combat the seasonal barriers to food access that Parc-Extension faces, we recommend establishing a community greenhouse. This draws on existent community bonds and strengthen the feeling of community in Parc-Extension while alleviating the stress related to food accessibility in the wintertime, as identified by our focus groups. Participants positively mentioned urban gardening as a way to produce food in the spring and summer, and a greenhouse would enable residents to continue gardening in the wintertime. New passive solar technologies enable greenhouses to be affordable during the winter, suggesting the viability of such a project (CURA 2013). ▼

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A NOTE FROM THE WRITERS

This paper is an abridged version of a larger report. Readers interested in more information may contact the authors to request the full report.

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Making Our Movements and Spaces Accessible for Children and Parents/Caregivers

The Montreal Childcare Collective has been offering childcare at community events since 2004, in response to parents/caregivers and kids frequently being overlooked in a number of different contexts. The collective wants to challenge communities and organizations to consider childcare as being fundamental to making the work they do accessible to parents/caregivers and children, as well as being a contribution towards creating long-lasting and intergenerational radical movements. Here are some ideas from the collective for making events and spaces more parent/caregiver and kid friendly.

1. Always offer childcare

Make including childcare an integral part of your organizing, not something that you tack on as an afterthought. Don't wait for parents/caregivers to ask for childcare — include it as part of all events regardless of whether you think parents/caregivers will be there. Make sure to publicize that childcare will be offered on your promotional materials because if it's not publicized, parents/caregivers will probably assume it won't be available. Be prepared to offer childcare not only at public events, but also at your collective meetings so that parents/caregivers can participate there, too.

2. Create a space for kids

At talks, meetings, film screenings, or any other structured event, make sure to have a separate room for childcare. Some parents/caregivers may have trouble fully engaging in the event if their children are in the corner of the room even if there are other people watching them. Have available toys and games that are aimed at kids of different ages. If possible, try to have extra diapers and wipes on hand. Make sure to take into account the safety of the childcare space. Is there a first-aid kit in the childcare supplies or near where childcare will be happening? Are there any breakable objects, wires, or electrical cords? Are there places that children can hide or get stuck? Does the space have doors or clearly defined boundaries or could kids easily wander away? Are staircases or balconies properly blocked off? Try to find a space close enough to the main event that parents can easily check on their kids, but isolated enough that kids can make noise without disturbing the event too much.

3. Make your whole event space kid-friendly

Just because a childcare space is offered doesn't mean that kids are going to want to be in it or stay in it — work to make kids welcome everywhere. You can do this by leaving a few toys in all the event rooms and making announcements welcoming parents/caregivers and kids. Having toys and games available takes the burden off of parents/caregivers, and allows them to pay attention and participate in an event even if their kids do not want to (or cannot) stay in a childcare space. Parents/caregivers are all too often shamed for their kids making noise, so let everyone know that children's noises are welcome. If you're worried about impeding other people's ability to hear, set up a sound system so that speaker can be heard over kids' noises. For longer events, include a quiet relaxation room if at all possible — this can be a great place for anyone looking for some downtime, and also a great place for parents/caregivers with napping babies to relax.

Brenda

Lavonne

Be attentive to the times that your events are scheduled. Events that start in the late evenings or early mornings can be hard for parents/caregivers and kids to attend. Try to stick to the time that your event is scheduled. Parents/caregivers may plan attending an event around their children's naps, food schedule, or babysitters' schedules, so delaying the event start time by half an hour may mean that parents/caregivers aren't able to stay.

4. Always offer food

Parents are much more likely able to attend an event if they don't have to plan a meal for their kids at the same time. Try to offer foods that can be picked up with hands and don't require using cutlery, food that is less likely to be a choking hazard, things that aren't too spicy, and avoid the most common allergens (especially peanuts, nuts, and eggs).

5. Make your event interesting for kids

Think about how kids can engage in the content or goals of your event, as opposed to just keeping them off to the side. Including visuals, pictures or short movies can help with keeping the attention of kids (as well as adults). Hands-on workshops like zine making, making collages, banner painting, button making and silkscreening can be great for kids. Also consider having kid-centered workshops or, if your event is discussion-based, include ways that allow kids to share their opinions as well. Consider organizing a kids' meeting that creates space for discussing some of the same topics discussed at the adults' meeting on more kid-appropriate terms. Create space for kids to share their thoughts and experiences.

6. Distribute the childcare work

In our movements, like in our society more broadly, childcare work is done disproportionately by women, especially women of colour and low-income women. So encourage men in your collectives to step up and take on doing some of this work. Also encourage people to help with childcare even if they don't have prior experience, perhaps pair people who don't have childcare experience with those who do. The best way to get more comfortable hanging out with kids is spending more time with them.

7. Pay your childcare providers

Childcare in is often underappreciated and undervalued, so if your group has any financial resources, consider putting some money aside in your budget as a stipend for childcare providers. Be aware of the distribution of work (as mentioned above) and prioritize paying women, especially women of colour and low-income women, for providing childcare.

Cindy

All these considerations can make events more accessible for everyone, not just kids and parents/caregivers. Elevators and ramps are really helpful for parents with strollers, and can be necessary for people who use wheelchairs or have limited mobility. Sound systems and visual aids can help a lot of people hear and understand what is being said at an event, whether or not there are babies gurgling in the background. All these things overlap, so strategies for including parents/caregivers and kids can make events not only more accessible, but also more engaging, interesting, and enjoyable. ▼

For more information about the Montreal Childcare Collective, check out our website:
www.childcarecollective.wordpress.com

To get in touch with the Childcare Collective, email us at:
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Nicole Spadotto

Equality-Promoting Models of Parental Leave

Achieving Equality of Freedom

As society moves further into the twenty-first century, gender equality has been pushed to the forefront of public consciousness. Division of labour, equal opportunity in employment, and equal income for the same occupation have all been debated extensively, with results that continue to push society into an increasingly egalitarian model. In certain situations, however, achieving perfect equality between men and women still remains contentious — as does the definition of equality. In the case of parental leave, for example, the meaning of equality and whether it is possible to achieve remain uncertain. Existing proposals for models of parental leave all strive toward balancing the family's right to choose the most advantageous course of action for themselves while also promoting gender equality.

There are two dominant models for thinking about parental leave. The model that is put into practice most often is the Equality-Impending model, wherein the state provides support to dual income families in a way that promotes gender inequality. For example, several caregiving compensations are available exclusively to mothers, while other models provide unpaid leave to families — which, in heteronormative families, are almost always used by mothers rather than fathers.[1]

Though having the mother stay home to care for her children may make more sense for individual family units, this model reinforces societal stereotypes of gender inequality within the family unit, thus promoting an agenda of gender division in unpaid labour.

Conversely, strong gender egalitarianism has gained momentum as way to think about division of household labour. This framework is driven by idea that division of childcare is unaffected by gender. Caregiving roles are no longer gender-dependent, and this model eliminates all forms of preconceived gendered norms dictating the types of jobs that men and women should be doing. Unequal division of unpaid labour — including childcare — based on gender is thus eradicated. Instead, the labour would be divided fairly, often equally, and uninfluenced by normative societal beliefs. The parental leave model that follows from the strong egalitarian line of thought is "Radical Equality-Promoting Leave," or "Linked Leave," wherein the amount of leave the mother takes is linked to the amount of leave the father takes — thus, each partner's parental leave is contingent upon the other's. This model creates an inflexible incentive for fathers to take parental leave alongside mothers, promoting strong gender egalitarianism for the unpaid labour of childcare. Though the Radical Equality-Promoting Leave encourages strong gender egalitarianism, it negates the freedom of each individual family unit to make choices about parental leave based on the specific economical, social, and personal needs of that family. Thus, a debate is incited about whether preserving the individual freedom of the familial unit is important even in the face of gender inequality, or whether promoting gender equality is important, even as the freedom to choose is taken away from the family.

Harry Brighouse and Erik Olin Wright are proponents of strong gender egalitarian models of parental leave and of providing hard incentives for men to participate in childcare even at the expense of restricting the choices of the familial unit. Caregiving models that reinforce societal gendered stereotypes of women as caregivers hinders the progress of all women in the workforce (Okin and Wright 363). A society that promotes gendered caretaking normalizes the unpaid labour for women,

creates expectations of gender-based behaviour, and reinforces the rigid identity of women as caregivers. Without employing strategies of gender egalitarianism, preconceived social beliefs will never be debunked, and women will be caught in their role of caretaker regardless of personal desires (Okin and Wright 364). Conversely, Equality-Promoting models of parental leave encourage the world to flourish — neither men nor women flourish under parental leave models that neglect to promote caregiving equality, since men do too little and women do too much (Brighouse and Wright, 360).

The argument for Equality-Promoting Parental Leave can be grounded in the idea of fair and equal opportunity as developed by Rawls in The Two Principles of Justice. Rawls sets up a thought experiment where participants are behind a "veil of ignorance" that obscures their race, gender, class, and other social positions. Rawls then imagines the type of social system that people would construct under this condition of ignorance, which he argues is the system with the greatest equal liberty and opportunity for all (Rawls, 124). Drawing on Rawls' ideas, Equality-Promoting Parental Leave allows both genders to achieve equal liberty, as both are given the same time at home with their child as well as the same timeframe to return to the workforce. Equality of opportunity is also granted, as each spouse has the same opportunity to spend time with their child and the same opportunity to return to the workforce — all in equal timeframe.

Susan Moller Okin develops Rawls' Principles of Justice for the family unit. Okin argues that the family is a basic structure on which society is composed and also the first place where a sense of justice is initially developed in children. Thus, the familial unit should accord with Rawls' principles of justice in order to both encourage and mirror justice in broader social structures (Okin 243-245). Under Rawls' rationale, justice cannot be partial to specific people — fair equality of opportunity is violated if one group is limited or negatively affected by the social arrangement, like women under government-endorsed unequal leave models (Okin 237). Encouraging gendered structures of the family encourages gendered structures within society, promoting systematic and sexist disadvantage (Okin 238, 244).

In this regard, unequal parental leave initiatives pressure women into unpaid labour — labour that is not recognized under institutions of freedom and equality in modern society (Okin 244; 234). Thus, although women and men are formally equal under law and in the public sphere, women are disproportionately affected by exploitative unpaid labour in the domestic sphere (Okin 234). A model wherein men and women share both public *and* domestic work (including Parental Leave and early childcare) is necessary for equality within the family (Okin 240). Since equality within the private sphere of the family is difficult to monitor by public means, incentive-based models like the Equality-Promoting Parental Leave promotes justice within the family, convey just ideas of equality to children, and extends these principles into broader social structures.

Although Equality-Promoting Parental Leave models encourage gender equality within the household, they face

criticism for violating individual choice, as outlined by Anca Gheaus and Ingrid Robeyns (Gheaus and Robeyns 174). The Equality-Promoting model links one parent's leave time with the amount of time another parent takes. This makes one person's choice dependent on the will of another person, which has adverse effects for individual autonomy (Gheaus and Robeyns 177). Gheaus and Robeyns argue that the model fosters unfairness for people outside of traditional family structures, such as single parents, and that the model gives men too much power over women, as this model makes women's decisions contingent upon those of men (Gheaus and Robeyns 176; 178).

Other repercussions can stem from this model. Because childcare ultimately needs to be given by *someone*, women could be forced completely out of work to take care of children if their male partners do not want to take leave. Alternately, parents might turn to people outside of the family to raise their children, which undermines the early parent-child bond (Gheaus and Robeyns 180). Further, the implementation of this policy could provoke anti-feminist sentiments: people who object to government interference in the private sphere would also turn their backs against efforts to promote gender equality in the family (Gheaus and Robeyns 182).

Libertarian philosopher Robert Nozick posits that government interference, especially in the face of disrupting preferences of family members, is unjust (Nozick 56). The non-Equality-Promoting models of Parental Leave offer room for choice — even though women disproportionately take parental leaves to take care of children under this model, a man could take parental leave if he so wished. The fact that women disproportionately take parental leave indicates their preferences to stay home with their children, and men's preferences to to continue engaging in their position of employment after childbirth. If the gendered patterns of parental leaves reveals respective preferences from each member of the parental unit, then institutions have no right to interfere in their choices. Interfering in the avowed preferences of others explicitly interferes in Nozick's theory of justice (Nozick 61).

These debates reveal the impasse that often prevents debates about parental leave from productively moving forward. Non-Equality-Promoting models of parental leave undermine gender egalitarianism, while implementing Equality-Promoting models seem to compromise individual choice. However, I want to show that criticisms against Equality-Promoting models are misguided and overstate the types of state intervention required by those models.

If every parent, regardless of gender, is required to take leave, it follows that every father will take leave. To say the father would be disadvantaged in seeking cooperate job promotions or disadvantaged economically by taking the leave is irrelevant, as every father would be put in the same position. Thus, if every father drops out of the workforce for a period of time — and this leave is understood as a rite of passage in a man's life — then fathers are not any more disadvantaged. The interference in the lives of the father is minimal, because every father will have to

drop out of the workforce for a period, leveling the economic and promotional playing field.

Further, having a child is itself a choice. If a parental unit does not want to compromise a chance at a promotion or greater economic gain, they can employ birth control or, in the case of unintentional pregnancy, seek an abortion. Proponents of gender impeding models of parental leave assert that the choice to not have a child is a disadvantage to the potential mother, who may want a child but cannot because of her husband's desire to value work before family. The decision, however, is made as a couple, fostering equal dialogue between members of the family. In this case, a father who places work over his family after childbirth would be a negative influence on the familial unit. Though the model could place greater limitation on when a couple has children, it also encourages families to be economically and professionally stable before choosing to have a family, since both parents will take leave only when they can afford to do so.

Though there are clear benefits to implementing Equality-Promoting models of parental leave, libertarians continue to assert that the model does not ensure full liberty. Indeed, if men and women are both mandated to take parental leave, they are likely to be more cognizant of when they have a child. However, this freedom of choosing when to have a child, so championed by libertarians, is linked to the freedom of men to stay at their jobs. Non-Equality-Promoting models of parental care guaranteeing freedom, even as they are denying equality, are in fact privileging men's freedom over women's. Since women will almost always end up staying home due to economical and societal conventions, the freedom of women as a class is compromised by non-egalitarian models, even when individual mothers prefer to take parental leave and stay home. Non-egalitarian models guarantee unlimited freedom for men while negating women's freedom. Though Equality-Promoting models places some limitation on the freedom of families, the limitations and new freedoms associated with these models target men and women equally, and also affect all fathers in the same way.

Equality-Promoting models of parental care still need to account for parental outliers — including same-sex couples, single parents, and separating parents. However, at least for heteronormative couples, the model is effective in guaranteeing equal rights and equal freedoms for every party involved. Other models are not only unequal in treatment of sexes but also grant freedoms in an unequal manner, thus undermining the concept of liberty. As such, the Equality-Promoting model of parental leave offers benefit for society, allowing values of equality and justice to stem from the familial unit into broader structures of society and diminishing gendered ideas surrounding unpaid labour and childcare. ▼

[1] For the purposes of this paper, I will assume that the family unit is heteronormative. The dynamics of parental care shift in homosexual parental units due to the fact that gender equality within the family no longer becomes a pervasive issue (since genders are the same) as it is in heternormative familial units.

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Artwork

Decolonize Feminism Poster Series
R.I.S.E
paper, ink, and wheatpaste

Free digital download high resolution posters that are a part of an ongoing "Decolonize Feminism" poster project initiated by R.I.S.E.: Radical Indigenous Survivance & Empowerment in 2014. The poster series highlights Indigenous women as prominent figures in the mainstream feminist movement, while appropriating images of Indigenous women that have created a romanticized, sexualized, and stereotyped perspective of the Indigenous body in post-colonial Native america. Lastly, it deconstructs the flag of the U.S. and re-contextualizes it in a mock Native design. These posters are inspired by an essay, "Indigenous Feminism Without Apology," written by Andrea Smith. In the piece she challenges the mainstream white, liberal feminist movement and posits what would the movement would look like if one were to re-center the movement around the struggles of women of colour?

R.I.S.E.: Radical Indigenous Survivance & Empowerment is an Indigenous founded & operated artist/activist/warrior collective. R.I.S.E is dedicated to the education, dissemination, & perseverance of Indigenous art & culture. (http://burymyart.tumblr.com)

Back to Basics
Johnny Forever
digital still

A reminder to work heavily against (white, middle class, colonial) willful ignorance around police and state violence. Inspired by the collage works of Avram Finkelstein.

Johnny Forever Nawracaj is a Polish-born multidisciplinary artist currently based in Montréal.

maintenance/d'entretien
Kandis Friesen
Photos by Martin Dufrasne and Genevieve Masse
site-specific erased drawing (water, soap, brush, buckets, rags)

This piece is a continuation of a series of drawing-based interventions in which I clean public and arts-related spaces. Viewing the accumulation of dirt as a sort of collective drawing process, the work affirms this collaborative drawing through the act of erasing (cleaning) it, bringing questions of labour, collectivity, property, use, and occupation of public space to the surface. Viewed within my wider practice of drawing as an expanded form, maintenance/d'entretien elaborates on the context and value of labour (both artistic and other), and the materiality of borders within the city. In these particular locations, in and around what is now branded the Quartier des spectacles, the work considered the ways in which development and gentrification displace low-income communities and marginalized ways of occupying public space, using cleanliness as a kind of border itself.

Kandis Friesen is an artist and cultural worker based in Montréal. Working from an interdisciplinary approach to both drawing and moving image, her practice looks to mark-making and gesture, the legibility of labour, and the role of document and archive in constructions of public memory. Her work has been exhibited and screened both nationally and internationally, and her video works are distributed by the feminist artist-run video centre GIV.

Boundless
Swarm
acrylic on canvas, holographic adhesive paper

These works are part of a larger collection of art pieces under the name "Boundless", which were first presented at Swarm's first solo show in January 2015. Within the context of the nature of the universe, these images are an expression of the personal, unseen emotions and feelings behind the work for social change. Collectively, as a series, they are also an expression of love and understanding for the universe, a theme that is dominant in Swarm's work. The entire series was created with acrylic paint on canvas as well as occasional holographic adhesive paper.

Swarm is a mixed POC street artist and multidisciplinary artist who centres her work around naturally-occurring patterns on Earth and throughout the universe. Swarm uses these patterns, and those that she derives from them, to convey a deep understanding and appreciation of "nature," a word that is watered down in today's settler-colonial society. Whether it be cracks in the road or veins on a leaf, these patterns occur naturally everywhere. Swarm admires them for how they are arbitrary by nature while imitating each other, following a pattern. Swarm uses these patterns to spread the message that this miracle of life is not only worth celebrating, but also worth protecting.

Demolition Ceremony – Woodlands
Kerri Flannigan
ink on paper

In New Westminster, B.C., October 18, 2011, former residents of Woodlands Institution and their supporters gathered to witness and speak to the demolition of the institution's last remaining structure. The structure represents one of the last and most imposing physical reminders of the Woodlands institution, which confined and segregated people with disabilities from 1878 until 1996. Hundreds of reports of abuse have emerged from the facility. The demolition honoured the wishes of former residents, who continued to be

traumatized by the site of the institutional remains.

Former residents and community members cheered as the last remnants of the institution were brought down. The site has been transformed into a public garden alongside a memorial to the survivors of the institution.

Drawing from Kerri Flannigan, whose great-aunt, Kathleen Flannigan, was a former resident at Woodlands. Text compiled from Inclusion B.C., Woodlands Demolition Ceremony Speech by Faith Bodnar and a Globe and Mail article by Laura Kane entitled "Ex-residents cheer as former B.C. residential school is torn down."

Kerri Flannigan is a Victoria based interdisciplinary artist, originally from Deep River, Ontario. Through drawing, writing, projection, and installation, Flannigan explores methods of experimental narrative; Grounded in both personal history and indepth research, her work examines the histories of small towns, coming of age memoirs and family histories. Flannigan has shown locally and internationally, including ARTSPACE (Peterborough, Ontario) and was a past recipient of a CALQ Multidisciplinary Arts Grant (2011) and Best English Zine award at the Montréal Expozine Awards (2013).

From Ferguson to Palestine
Nidal El Khairy
ink on paper, digital colouring

Nidal El Khairy is an illustrator living in Amman, Jordan. After completing a Bachelor's in Fine Arts from the University of Massachusetts at Lowell, he moved to Montréal, Canada, where he spent four and half years. He was also active in several grass-roots organizations, such as the Coalition Against the Deportation of Palestinian refugees, Solidarity Across Boarders, No One is Illegal and participated in group shows such as the Artists Against the Israeli Occupation, in both Montréal and Tokyo. He also had exhibitions in Caracas and Amman. He's also an illustrator for on line publications such as Electronic Intifada and Jadaliyya.

Easy Riders
Pascha Marrow
masking tape, charcoal, acrylic, graphite, marker, ink, gesso on paper

A series of drawings inspired by photo images from Easyrider Magazine's "Ol' Lady of the Year" contest. Each drawing becomes a new representation of each of the female contestants that submitted a photo for this annual competition.

Working class women who participate actively in male-centric hobbies or sexualized spectacle (e.g. motorcycling, pin-ups, pornography) are often popularly consumed as "tragic." They are prescribed very little agency or worth by the interconnected dominating discourses of classism, sexism, and racism. It is important to me to honour the complexity of sexual representation. The fluctuating and

multiplicit experience of oppression and empowerment inherent to most participation in any sexualized image.

These drawings work to generate a sense of female gender multiplicity and personhood fictions about these contestants. Their imagined identities are embellished while their photo representations remain absent - withheld from public scrutiny or gaze. In relation to normative male-generated female representation, their characters become untouchable heroes.

Pascha Marrow is a queer visual artist and photographer based in Montréal, Canada. Their work is largely portrait-based, focusing on post-internet pop culture consumerism and its relationship to representation and oppression.

Unite Against Austerity Posters
LOKI (illustrations by Laura Sirois)
digital poster

Visual identity and poster series designed as a mobilisation tool against Canada's increasingly violent austerity politics. The graphic elements of the series were modular allowing groups to create their own unique materials while maintaining a strong, unified aesthetic.

LOKI is a graphic design studio based in Montréal focused on social change through visual production.

Consensus Did Not Form
Artivistic Collective
neon

About a decade ago, Artivistic came into this world as a transdisciplinary event that aimed to bring together artists, academics, and activists, around specific themes or questions "beyond critique." Between 2004 and 2009, four iterations were organized as it grew into a large scale international three-day event. After the fourth event, which burned out everyone, Artivistic entered a "transition phase" during which the collective was offered the opportunity for self-reflection, resulting in the practical concept of "promiscuous infrastructures" and an exhibition, in 2012.

Around that time, the configuration of the collective found itself to be mainly queer POC. About a year later, Artivistic published with friends the first issue of "Represent: Fuck White Supremacy." More recently, while brainstorming about the collective's next move, the concept of "postlife" emerged. As part of this ongoing process, the collective will be killing its website, dissolving its non-profit organization, and closing its bank account.

Inspired by our ancestors, our afrofuturist friends, and some popstars, we are inventing ways to support each other in becoming and being awesome and dangerous together. #Postlife is not death, quite the opposite. Actually, it is institutional death and decolonization for collective liberation — over amazing food and drinks, good tunes, and with style. Happiness, no pressure. Like it's post to be.

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UNITE AGAINST AUSTERITY

Austerity sacrifices the common good for corporate profits by weakening environmental regulations, denying workers' rights, and by cutting social programs. It tells us there is no money, despite years of economic growth. Together, students, unionized workers, indigenous communities and families can stop this agenda.

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Contributors

Madde Halupka completed their degree in human geography and gender studies in 2015. They are interested in the ways dominant ideology is embedded in physical space; being a white settler motivates them to contribute to decolonization by disrupting the national narratives that overwrite landscapes and justify violence.

Clare Heggie is in her final year at McGill studying geography and Indigenous studies. She spent the past eight months living and learning on Haida Gwaii and is most interested in how resource management can be decolonized and used to empower small communities.

Amal Kenshil is a student in Concordia's Urban Planning programme and a member of Missing Justice. She has an interest in critical race theory and environmental racism particularly in the context of colonialism.

Mona Luxion's introduction to the anti-war movement came as a teenager in Chicago mobilizing against the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Today, e organizes with Demilitarize McGill, a campaign that works to interrupt McGill University's history of military collaboration, in between working on eir dissertation and making food with friends.

The Montréal Childcare Collective is a group of folks who offer childcare for grassroots community organizations and events and aim to allow caregivers and kids to shape social movements. To volunteer/request childcare for your group email us at childcarecollective@riseup.net

Shariss Ostrager, **Rabab Wali**, **Zarin Tasnim Haque**, **Nisrine El Amiri**, **Lara Schwarz** and **Christopher Ricci** are recent graduates of McGill University's Environment program. They conducted this research for their senior research project for the course, Environment 401: Environmental Research, under the supervision of Dr. Julia Freeman. Although they plan to pursue various different careers, they were brought together to work on this project because of their common interest in public health.

Josh Pavan and **Sheehan Moore** are organizers and outreach workers at the Association of McGill University Support Employees (AMUSE), the union that represents non-academic casual workers at McGill.

Samiha Sharif is an immigrant settler woman of colour studying International Development and Psychology at McGill University. She is very interested in the politics of identities and rather curious about ways communities can support each other to engender a process of healing to encourage an environment of community care.

A writer by nature and a journeyer by choice, **Nicole Spadotto** is in her third year at McGill University, studying Political Science, English Media, and Anthropology. Her 6am mornings are spent engaging in athletics, her 11pm evenings are spent documenting the nuances of all she loves, and the in-between is spent continuously gaining new knowledge (over several large cups of strong black coffee). Future plans include social justice law and global journalism, areas she's explored through passionate involvement in diversity campaigns, not-for-profits, and various publications; but her greatest ambition is to bring a little joy to everyone she meets.

Maria Elena Stoodley is both an performing artist and a community worker. Her field of expression is centered in sound art and she includes her views on black realities in her work.

Molly Swain is an otipêmsiw-iskwêw from traditional Niitsitapi territory, co-founder of the Indigenous Women and Two-Spirit Harm Reduction Coalition, labour organizer, co-host of a nerdy Indigenous feminist sci-fi podcast, and recent graduate from McGill.

The Termite Collective is a group of creative and concerned people who want to expose the increasingly repressive nature of prison through writing, workshops, political parody, and criminal cabaret.

Kai Alexander Thomas works as a community history researcher and farmer. His written and audio projects are an important outlet for creation, inspiration, and radical story-sharing.

STUDY IN ACTION

Study in Action is an undergraduate conference designed to link students and community activism. It is held in March every year and is organized by a collective through QPIRG Concordia and QPIRG-McGill.

In its mission, Study in Action seeks to foster ties between undergraduate students and the broader Montréal community in order to strengthen the spirit of social and environmental justice, promote undergraduate research, and emphasize links between the two. Study in Action provides an opportunity for students and people outside the academic community to come together to work on and discuss approaches to social justice, while creating a forum to highlight undergraduate research. The conference is a forum for students to present and engage in meaningful academic work that will benefit their communities as well as their academic experience and careers. Panel presentations showcasing undergraduate research provide students with the opportunity to present and develop their university work and direct its application to community issues.

http://qpirgconcordia.org/studyinaction/

ART IN ACTION

Art in Action is affiliated with Study in Action. Art in Action highlights creative student and community contributions related to social and environmental justice issues through diverse mediums including: drawing, painting, photography, performance, film & video, installation, music, spoken word, zine, collage, water colour, poster, and print.

COMMUNITY-UNIVERSITY RESEARCH EXCHANGE (CURE)

Community-University Research Exchange (CURE) is a database by which students can integrate their academic research with the work of local movements and activist organizations. Through the administrative infrastructures already in place at McGill and Concordia University, students may complete a CURE research project as an independent study course, internship, or thesis advised by a departmental professor, or as a term project for an upper-level class. By connecting students to non-profit community groups with limited resources, CURE hopes to encourage and support academic research that is socially relevant.

CURE operates on the principle that the university is an institution which maintains systems of privilege and oppression around race, class, and neocolonialism. By redirecting resources to groups and individuals in need of theory, information, and the energy to supply them, CURE encourages students to acknowledge their institutional advantage, and convert it into a useful tool for political action. By allowing students both to engage in anti-oppressive academic research, and to work with local movements for social change, CURE is an initiative that hopes to make rubble of the walls which enclose academic privilege.

http://curemontreal.org/

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