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Foreword by Professor Michael Orsini

I am honoured to write the foreword for this current issue of the journal. If these submissions are any indication, the study of Canada, in all of its rich multiplicity, is in fine shape.

While the study of Canadian institutions and culture has been rich in terms of approaches and perspectives, the last few decades provide compelling evidence of the need to rethink some of the key concepts that animate the study of Canada. Indigenous perspectives, which challenge non-Indigenous people to revisit founding narratives of Canada, have become prominent as Canadians grapple with the settler-colonial past and present. The legacy of anti-Black racism is a potent reminder of key absences in the collective stories that dot the landscape, stories that have been eclipsed by efforts to romanticize multiculturalism and diversity, and Canada's role as a beacon for difference.

No doubt, the stories we tell about Canada reveal as much about our collective ignorance than about what we know to be true. There are many ways of "knowing" Canada, ways that appreciate the corrosive effects of the structuring features of our institutions on efforts to tackle a range of "wicked" policy problems that are not reducible to one-size-fits-all approaches. Thinking anew about Canada and the field of Canadian studies requires us (in the academy and in the broader public imagination) to be attuned to knowledge that might cause discomfort, that might be unsettling, that might be out of step with dominant forms of knowledge.

The articles in this issue are written by a talented group of students, and cover a range of exciting topics and areas of interest and bring forth critical knowledge that will enrich the conversations about Canada. Together, they present a complex (and complicated picture) of policy continuity and policy change, and a reading of the Canadian political landscape that is brimming with contradiction.

Solutions, not Stigma: Moving Forward with Canada's Response to HIV/AIDS addresses how the HIV pandemic has been experienced disproportionately by members of marginalized communities. This matters, especially, as governments the world over, including in Canada, seek to position HIV as "unexceptional"; the crisis, it would seem, is over. AIDS has presumably been vanquished and now only affects a limited subset of the Canadian population. Far from it, this article makes an important case for reminding us of the need to foreground the experiences of communities with deep, situated knowledge of the virus and its deleterious effects.

The article, ***Progressive Drug Policy & The Opioid Crisis: The Case of Vancouver's Downtown-Eastside***, highlights the persistence of moralizing discourses related to drug use, with a specific focus on an area that has been the site of heightened media and public attention, some of it bordering on the sensational and lurid. While there appeared to be general policy consensus on the benefits of harm reduction, the debate has re-emerged in recent months with Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre's attempt to roll back progress in this domain through a series of rhetorical devices that are not grounded in evidence.

The article on ***Womanhood and the Project of Nation Building*** presents a necessary corrective to narratives of the feminist movement in Canada, specifically its ableist and eugenicist undercurrents. While there are indeed troubling currents of ant-feminist backlash, it is necessary to excavate some of these movement histories to provide a more complex picture of the emergence of feminist action that supported national projects of racial and gender hierarchies.

The legacy of racism continues to define our collective present, with a range of actors working across different institutional spaces challenging models of equality that leave intact persistent inequalities. The university is an important site where redressing this legacy has gained momentum in recent years, even if efforts at promoting Equity, Diversity and Inclusion have sparked important conversations about their limitations. The paper, ***Fostering Diversity in the Classroom: A Defense of Affirmative Action Policies in Canadian Universities***, argues for an approach that recognizes the disproportionate impact of racism on racialized communities, and proposes concrete policy steps to diversify the campus in meaningful ways.

Few can dispute the catalytic role of new forms of communication on Canadian politics, not to mention their impact on key political actors such as political parties. In the article, ***Whipped or watched? Canadian Party Discipline in the Age of Digital Communications,*** the notion of party discipline takes on a new meaning with concerns about the consistent, intrusive surveillance that limits what MPs can say and do. While political parties recognize the power of digital technologies, there are nonetheless important questions raised by the penetration of these technologies in the body politic that redraw the rules of the political game.

Finally, the article on ***Urban Beekeeping in Montreal*** is literally "buzzing" with insights about the environmental challenges associated with urban beekeeping. Beekeeping has been rightly critiqued for its performative aspects with individuals seeking to behave responsibly in a world facing environmental catastrophe. It can also be problematic if not done with sustainability in mind. This article does the work of connecting beekeeping to broader, global and local challenges, where the local space can be both a site of possibility and peril.

Please enjoy the fresh perspectives that animate these pages, and project a bright future for the study of Canada. There is a myriad of issues that drift in and out of the media glare. There is no doubt, however, that the future of Canada depends on attention to the evolving complexity of policy and governance in an age in which affected communities are at once coming together and being driven apart.

Solutions, not Stigma: Moving Forward with Canada's Response to HIV/AIDS

Angelica Voutsinas

Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is a virus that attacks your immune system and is contracted from the spread of bodily fluids, often acquired during unprotected sex[i]. The final stage of HIV, known as acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), can be terminal if not treated properly.[ii] The HIV/AIDS epidemic has had a significant impact on Canadians; over 26,000 Canadians have died from the virus, and approximately 62,050 Canadians currently live with it.[iii] HIV/AIDS disproportionately affects gay, bisexual, and other men who have sex with men (gbMSM), who account for 51.7% of all HIV cases in Canada.[iv] Despite this overrepresentation, the unique experiences of gbMSM with HIV/AIDS are often ignored within policies aimed at addressing this crisis.[v]

How should the Canadian government's past and present failures in addressing the HIV/AIDS epidemic shape their approach to eradicating the virus? This paper will argue that, if gbMSM are ignored in policies addressing HIV/AIDS, Canada will never eradicate the virus, as the unique experiences of gbMSM with HIV/AIDS cannot be captured within a catch-all approach. It will do so through a discussion of the initial governmental ignorance of HIV/AIDS and the subsequent emergence of queer community support in response to the government's negligence. It will then evaluate the current policies implemented by the Canadian government to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Finally, this paper will suggest how the Canadian government can learn from its failures, particularly related to their ignorance of the gbMSM experience with HIV/AIDS, to create a more effective strategy to eradicate the virus.

HIV/AIDS' past: Stigma and government inaction

Following the first reported Canadian case of HIV in 1982, the first decade of the HIV/AIDS crisis in Canada was marked by government inaction.[vi] Given HIV/AIDS' disproportionate effect on gbMSM, rampant homophobia and heterosexism that pervaded 1980s Canadian culture led to its neglect by the Canadian government, where activist Bill Ryan stated that, "governments, ministries, and policy makers chose to ignore HIV as long as it primarily affected gay men."[vii] Even in 1985, when the federal government made its first financial investment into fighting the epidemic, it was not accompanied by any concrete policies, burdening community organizations with working with minimal federal funds to address a growing crisis.[viii] The first government policy addressing the HIV/AIDS epidemic was introduced in 1990 by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and involved prevention tactics based in gbMSM surveillance.[ix] This initial policy marginalized patients' rights, and eventually improved solely as a result of continued community activism.[x]

Since the beginning of the epidemic, queer community organizations, such as AIDS Action Now! and the Canadian AIDS Treatment Information Exchange (CATIE), were on the forefront of fighting HIV/AIDS.[xi] In the early stages of the epidemic, these groups took on AIDS case loads in the face of government inaction, continuing this work when the government refused to do more than provide minimal funding to support their efforts.[xii] Organizations like CATIE were also pivotal in the provision of HIV-based education and treatment information to at-risk communities,

and for lobbying the government to take action.[xiii] Without the work of these organizations, Canada's efforts in combating the HIV/AIDS epidemic would not be as effective as they are today.

HIV/AIDS' Present: Catch-all policies

Policies presented by the federal government to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic have evolved significantly since the 1990s as a result of scientific advances on HIV/AIDS treatment and activism by queer community organizations.[xiv] The centerpiece of Canada's current approach to eradicating HIV/AIDS is the Federal Initiative to Address HIV/AIDS in Canada. According to the Government of Canada, the Initiative's goal of reducing instances of HIV and improving the quality of life for HIV-positive individuals is carried out by federal, provincial, territorial and municipal partnerships. This partnership aims at increasing HIV/AIDS healthcare capacity, addressing barriers of social integration for HIV-positive individuals, while remaining accountable to its delivery partners, such as community organizations.[xv]

This initiative addresses a significant failure of past policies that saw the government leaving the burden of addressing the HIV/AIDS crisis in the hands of community organizations. While this initiative continues to work alongside community organizations, it sees the government taking on significant financial and organizational work, and at a much larger capacity than past policies.[xvi] This initiative has also helped Canada get closer to reaching the UNAIDS' 90-90-90 target, calling for 90% of HIV-positive people knowing their status, 90% of diagnosed people receiving antiretroviral treatment, and 90% of people on treatment achieving viral suppression. Because of the Federal Initiative, Canada stood at an 87-85-94 balance in 2018, which according to UNAIDS, positions the country to eradicate HIV by 2030.[xvii]

Despite its advancements compared to initial policies, the current Federal Initiative lacks reference to a very significant aspect of the HIV/AIDS epidemic: that it disproportionately affects gbMSM. In the initiative, gbMSM were only mentioned once, and only in the context of proposing a recommendation that the government should consider discrete approaches to support gay men in future policies.[xviii] Considering that 51.7% of HIV/AIDS cases in Canada come from the gbMSM community, this lack of consideration in the Federal Initiative is unacceptable.[xix]

HIV/AIDS' Future: Addressing the unique experience of gbMSM

Policies that ignore the unique social experiences of gbMSM with HIV/AIDS have important ramifications. HIV-related prejudice, principally experienced by gbMSM, is empirically associated with decreased HIV-testing rates.[xx] While studying this association, Golub and Gamarel argued that this is due to a phenomenon called anticipated stigma, which explains that gbMSM refrain from regularly testing for HIV, out of fear of the prejudice they might face as an HIV-positive individual.[xxi]

According to Josephine MacIntosh, the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Canada can be eliminated only if the Canadian government does more to reduce HIV/AIDS stigma.[xxii] This is primarily due to the rise of anticipated stigma, which has caused a number of gbMSM to avoid being tested for HIV, despite being an at-risk group that should be tested every 3-6 months, according to the

CDC.[xxiii] If Canada wants to reach and move beyond the UNAIDS' 90-90-90 targets, especially in achieving that 90% of HIV-positive people know their status, it must consider the unique experiences of gbMSM with anticipated HIV stigma. MacIntosh suggests that government policies can do this by including educational programs aimed at spreading awareness about HIV, and ensure those experiencing HIV/AIDS-related discrimination have access to proper legal and human rights services.[xxiv]

Not only is the Canadian government not addressing anticipated stigma, but they are also exasperating the issue through HIV criminalization. The Canadian Coalition to Reform HIV Criminalization (CCRHC) claims that, "Canada has been a global hotspot for HIV criminalization," noting that the precedent made in *R v Cuerrier* allows for the criminalization of HIV-positive individuals if they do not disclose their status in certain circumstances.[xxv] The CCRHC claims that the ambiguity of employing "certain circumstances" has led to the punitive targeting of gbMSM, often targeting HIV-positive individuals whose viral loads are undetectable due to antiretroviral therapy.[xxvi] When gbMSM and other individuals fear punitive criminalization, HIV-testing inevitably decreases for the same reasons as with anticipated stigma. If the government of Canada wants to prevent all forms of HIV stigma - which, according to MacIntosh, is a requirement for the eradication of HIV/AIDS, it must end the unjust practice of HIV criminalization.

Conclusion

Past policies addressing the HIV/AIDS crisis failed in their mistreatment of gbMSM. Present policies fail in their neglect of the unique social experiences of gbMSM with HIV/AIDS. These past and present policy failures share a common theme: their abandonment of gbMSM in policy approaches. Future policies addressing HIV/AIDS must learn from this mistake, if the Canadian government ever hopes to eradicate HIV/AIDS, particularly as it affects HIV-testing rates

Learning from the Canadian government's failures of addressing gbMSM's needs in eradicating the HIV/AIDS epidemic has broader implications past the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The current rise of Monkeypox, which has similarly been labelled as a "gay virus," is seeing stereotyping trends akin to those of the HIV/AIDS crisis. If the Canadian government wants to eradicate both of these viruses, or any others significantly affecting gbMSM that might arise in the future, it must learn from the failures of its HIV/AIDS response.

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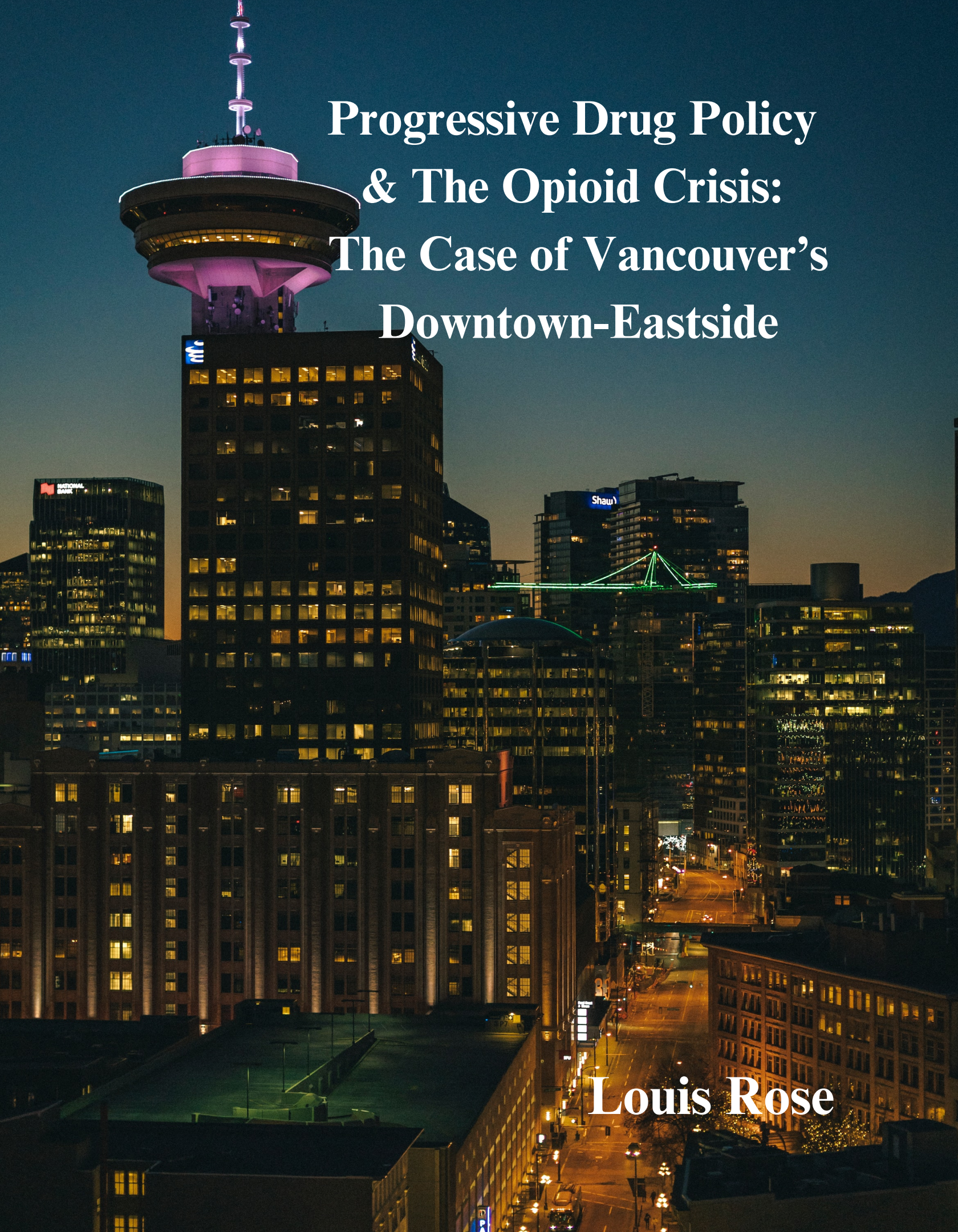

Progressive Drug Policy & The Opioid Crisis: The Case of Vancouver's Downtown-Eastside

Louis Rose

Introduction

Despite taboo, drug usage is surprisingly inherent to many functions of our contemporary society. Whether it be waking up to the smell of brewing coffee or being prescribed a synthetic painkiller for a broken leg, drug usage is part of one's everyday life. Negative connotations of drugs – such as crime, addiction, death – are driving factors to the stigma surrounding drug usage, but it would be unfair to disregard the blurring lines between its benefits and drawbacks. In recent years, drug overdose has been on the rise due to a variety of factors (Belzak & Halverson, 2018). Some may attribute these issues to drug proliferation and the War on Drugs, or even to the over-prescription of synthetic painkillers and the opioid crisis. Nonetheless, there is an ongoing drug overdose crisis, for which current solutions do little to alleviate. Between 2016 and 2022, there were 30,843 opioid toxicity deaths in Canada (Special Advisory Committee on the Epidemic of Opioid Overdoses, 2022). The question remains of what can be done to address illicit drug overdose. In search of answers, it would be worthwhile to examine a case study beset with illicit drug usage and its connotations: Vancouver's Downtown-Eastside (DTES). One of the most promising policy developments originating from the DTES in addressing illicit drug overdose is the implementation of Safe Injection Facilities (SIFs). Despite the promise in research surrounding SIFs, there still exists several challenges – specifically institutional challenges and social barriers – that inhibit their success. This paper will examine the effects of the illicit drug overdose crisis in the context of Vancouver's Downtown-Eastside and analyze the research highlighting progressive harm reduction drug policies that alleviate addiction and overdose rates, while considering the institutional obstacles and social factors that impede the development and implementation of progressive solutions.

Drug Prohibition and the Opioid Crisis

In the early 1970s, U.S. President Richard Nixon placed drug abuse in the crosshairs of law and order (Dufton, 2012). The war on drugs enacted a crime control focused approach towards eradicating drug abuse. The crime control model prioritized efficiency in the process of repressing crime (Packer, 1964); hence, the approach consisted of a zero tolerance stance towards illicit drug markets and relied heavily upon apprehension and incarceration (Jones & Newburn, 2002).

Although, applying the economic concepts of supply and demand in the context of prohibition highlights a problem in the zero-tolerance approach towards drug markets. For a typical good or service, the quantity demanded and quantity supplied in an economic market will equilibrate, as to maintain a specific price and avoid unnecessary surpluses or losses. Both economic variables adjust accordingly in the face of market forces to maintain this equilibrium. External forces, such as government policy, are sometimes needed to regulate supply and demand. Policies, such as taxes, can increase costs and affect the demand for a product; thus, supply must innovate to satisfy demand. For example, an increasing potency in alcoholic or caffeinated products enables more marginal utility or user satisfaction per cost. In the instance of severe government intervention (specifically prohibition) the cost of taxes is replaced with a risk and reward calculus, instituting punishment as the cost (Thornton, 1998). As per the illicit drug market,

there is an incentive to increase potency per product to alleviate the possibility of risk by possession or usage. For instance, understanding the product needed to achieve the same intoxicating effect with something highly potent, such as fentanyl, yields less risk than using heroin, something that possesses a lower potency and requires more product. This is an extreme but accurate example, as the potency of fentanyl is fifty times that of heroin. Nevertheless, what factors could be contributing to consumer demand that necessitate the need for illicitly produced fentanyl to flood illicit drug markets?

In 1995, Purdue Pharmaceuticals introduced Oxycontin and aggressively marketed it as a safe alternative to other prescription painkillers on the market, citing low potential for abuse and addiction. As a result, opioid painkillers became the standard prescription for alleviating pain and Purdue made a fortune in Oxycontin sales. What followed would become the opioid crisis, consisting of rampant over-prescription and opioid abuse in North America. The marketing of Oxycontin would come back to haunt Purdue in the early 2000s, as they would face numerous lawsuits for personal injury claims, incurring a $634 million fine in 2007 (Haffajee & Mello, 2017; Van Zee, 2009). The ramifications of the opioid crisis have caused addiction and overdose rates to be higher than ever before. Since the 1990s, over two hundred thousand Americans have died of opioid-related overdose. Many addicts found themselves turning to illicit substances, such as heroin, to satisfy their needs, as prescription painkillers grow more expensive and are more difficult to acquire (Keefe, 2017; Lyford, 2015). In recent years, the introduction of illicit fentanyl and its analogs have further exacerbated the effects of the opioid crisis, particularly overdose deaths (O'Donnel, Gladden & Seth, 2017). For example, in 2021, 86% of drug overdoses in British Columbia contained fentanyl; a significant increase from 5% of overdoses featuring fentanyl in 2012 (BC Coroner's Service, 2022). Further focusing on British Columbia, the local example of Vancouver's Downtown-Eastside offers an opportunity to examine the effects of the opioid overdose crisis and theorize policy solutions to alleviate the devastating social effects.

The Downtown-Eastside

One of Vancouver's oldest neighbourhoods and once a socio-cultural hub, the DTES is now beset with widespread issues of homelessness, drug use, poverty, and crime. Large demographics inhabiting the DTES are injection drug users, sex workers, and those who are typically either homeless or live in low-income Single Room Occupancies (SROs). Much of the population is also Indigenous (Brethour, 2009). Illicit drug abuse and overdose rates are disproportionately high in the DTES. In 2006, it was reported that about half the overdose deaths in British Columbia occurred in the DTES (British Columbia Medical Association, 2009). Issues plaguing this area have been a focus of municipal policy for decades. In 2001, Vancouver City Council issued a document titled "*Framework For Action: A Four-Pillar Approach to Vancouver's Drug Problems*," which described four pillars that would be the focus of Vancouver's new approach to drug abuse, namely: prevention, treatment, enforcement, and harm reduction (Katic and Fenn, 2014). This doctrine would be foundational to the development of the most progressive

drug policy in 2003. This was the implementation of Insite, North America's first Supervised Injection Facility (SIF).

Progressive Drug Policy: The Case of Insite and SIFs

In 2003, Insite was instituted by Vancouver Coastal Health and the Portland Hotel Society. Here, drug users are offered clean and safe facilities where they are offered regulated injection equipment and are supervised in their decision to engage in injection drug use. In the event of injury or overdose, medical practitioners are available to intervene immediately and provide first aid or call emergency services (Insite – Supervised Consumption Site, 2022). Furthermore, harm reduction resources for rehabilitation, mental health, and general practices are readily available, such as Onsite - a medically facilitated detox facility intaking clients directly from Insite. The legal case of Insite is quite unusual. Given that injection drug use is illegal under federal law, Insite operates under a special exemption to Canada's Controlled Drugs and Substances Act. The exemption was based upon the research opportunity posed per a growing international discourse highlighting the potential for initiatives, such as SIFs, to reduce public drug use and promote harm reduction (Andresen & Boyd, 2010; Wood, Kerr, & Montaner, 2008). Hence, Insite was implemented as a pilot research project into potential alleviations of injection drug use and opioid overdose fatalities. The literature surrounding Insite has shown numerous benefits and no adverse effects (Marshall et al., 2011).

Stemming from professional supervision and providing safe injection equipment, improvements to the health and safety of drug users have been paramount. Perhaps the most significant impact of Insite is the reduction of overdose mortality rates, primarily within the immediate vicinity. Research showed a 35% reduction in fatal overdoses within 500 metres of the facility in comparison to a 9% decline of fatal overdoses in the rest of Vancouver (Marshall et al., 2011). Coupled with previous research indicating Insite did not generate any increases of injection drug use (Kerr et al., 2006), Insite presents immense potential for decreasing fatal overdose rates in illicit opioid use. Additionally, the provision of safe injection equipment has caused a significant reduction in needle sharing, which has been instrumental in curbing the spread of bloodborne diseases, particularly HIV or Hepatitis C (Kerr et al., 2006; Jozaghi & Andresen, 2013). This creates an indirect effect towards addressing overdose mortality by combatting deaths of drug-attributable HIV or Hepatitis C infections, which may not necessarily be considered an illicit drug overdose, but such deaths commonly have correlations with injection drug use (Andresen & Boyd, 2010). It is also worthy to note the scale at which Insite operates. Twelve injection booths are nestled in a community of five thousand injection drug users (Marshall et al., 2011) and in 2019, served 17,0731 visits by 5,111 individuals (Insite User Statistics, 2022).

In addition to the prevention of fatal overdose and spreading disease, Insite's impact indicates a shift towards safer approaches with injection drug usage. Coupled with reductions in needle sharing have been reductions in public injections, aided by the privacy and support offered by Insite. For many users, public injections run the risk of crime or bodily harm, and even death aside from overdose. Testimonies from injection drug users highlight the perpetuating cycle of

users stealing from other users to fulfill their lifestyles, or altercations escalating to that of assault or murder (Jozaghi & Andresen, 2013). Insite's provision of privacy gives drug users an instance of security from arrest and police interactions, where they may face further harassment or violence. This is especially important considering equity for racialized drug users, given much of the DTES' population is Indigenous (Brethour, 2009). As of 2018, it has been reported that British Columbia has the highest rate of police-involved deaths in Canada, with two hotspots being specified and one of them being the DTES (Brend, 2018). It has shown that Insite provides immense amounts of benefits to drug users and the community at large. Additionally, Insite offers more than supervised injections. Insite is connected to other harm reduction resources, one of which is a fentanyl testing service. While only one percent of visitors consented to fentanyl testing during the study period, results showed that 80% of drug samples were tainted with fentanyl (Karamouzian et al., 2018). Although, many clients in the face of a positive drug check opted to reduce their intended consumption and seldom opted to discard tainted drugs. Furthermore, testimonies highlight users carrying extra materials to distribute among the community as a method to spread the word of Insite or delivering them to communities where SIFs are unavailable, in areas such as Surrey or Victoria (Jozaghi & Andresen, 2013). As a result, demand is beginning to crop up in communities with high concentrations of injection drug users, where potential infrastructure could support the implementation of an SFI and alleviate the effects of illicit drug use beyond the DTES.

Considering demand beyond the DTES, something to consider is whether implementing further SIFs is worth the cost. Cost-benefit analyses have sought to address this question. One approach has been to analyze the productivity of Insite from a health or monetary standpoint. The operation costs of Insite have been estimated between 1.5 million to 3 million (CTV News; Health Canada, 2008). Monetary analysis takes the estimated financial benefit of a prevented death or the financial cost of a new HIV infection and compares it to Insite's operation budget. This comparison calculates the total fiscal savings per Insite's operation, and paints a picture of the net social benefits (Andresen & Boyd, 2010). When considering the benefits of reducing needle sharing, proliferating safe injection practices, and increased referrals to methadone treatments, research showed an estimated net savings of $18 million and 1175 life-years over 10 years (Bayoumi & Zaric, 2008). After applying operation costs, it is estimated the net social benefit is $6 million a year. Additionally, operations of Insite average 35 HIV infections and 3 overdose deaths per year (Andresen & Boyd, 2010). Given the health, safety, and monetary benefits of Insite in the DTES, a worthwhile opportunity is possible for larger implementations of SIFs to alleviate the social effects of illicit drug overdoses across Canada. However, there are still significant challenges and barriers that inhibit the development and implementation of SIFs.

Institutional Challenges and Social Barriers

As previously mentioned, Insite's development pivoted around its purpose as a pilot research programme, which enabled its legal exemption (Marshall et al., 2011). Coupled with the legal exemption was a full scientific evaluation into the effectiveness of SIFs, which was to be fully funded by Health Canada for the pilot's 3-year duration period (Wood et al., 2008). This

research would be known as the Scientific Evaluation of Supervised Injecting (SEOSI) with a sample population of over 900 Insite users, with strong statistical representation of the greater DTES community (Wood et al., 2004). Over the next few years, the SEOSI protocol led to a plethora of scientific literature that highlighted the benefits of SIFs, including reductions in overdose fatalities, HIV infections, and public injections. All signs pointed towards renewal of the SEOSI research programme at the end of 2006. However, despite positive recommendations by Health Canada, the request to extend the legal exemption status would be rejected by the Canadian Health Minister (Wood, Tyndall & Montaner, 2006). This rejection came in the aftermath of baseless reports issued by law enforcement agencies urging the federal government to shut down the SIF program (CBC News, 2006). This shift in institutional behaviour toward Insite and SIFs signifies an underlying hesitancy towards developing policies of harm reduction.

After the rejection of renewal by the Canadian Health Minister, researchers were left confused, as the research showed promising results and enabled the likelihood of wider SIF implementations. The federal government's behaviour poses some puzzling trends. Their decision in adjusting the scientific research process conflicts with the production of peer-reviewed research and ultimately underlines the scientific research surrounding harm reduction-based health policy. Rather, the government would make a highly unconventional decision to offer new contracts for SIF research if the report remained unpublished until six months after the investigation and the legal exemption concluded (Wood et al., 2008). The federal government's behaviour comes in tandem with law enforcement reports that offer interpretations disproven by the scientific literature (Wood et al., 2008; CBC News, 2006). Law enforcement stated that following the implementation of Insite, crime rates increased throughout the city; but scientific research associated with SEOSI found no substantial increases in drug or acquisitive crime following the opening of Insite (Wood, Tyndall & Lai, 2006). A consistent desire to discredit or distance institutional authority echoes legacies carried out by the execution of the crime control model when it comes to law enforcement. This coincides with a federal approach recognizing that promoting crime control approaches to criminal justice is one way to garner political support (King & Mauer, 2007). The basis of these institutional challenges to the success of SIFs stem from social understandings and stigmas surrounding the proliferation of drug policy and harm reduction.

The support surrounding the success of SIFs being primarily scientific is inherently unapproachable to the public. Therefore, public support for SIFs is weaker when opposed to federal and authoritative institutions (Wood et al., 2008). This plays into a wider array of social factors that continue to challenge the success of SIFs on a public scale. What SIFs fail to address are the intersectional impacts of how social determinants of health, such as poverty or crime, often perpetuate illicit opioid use. Structural disadvantages, such as access to housing or healthcare, continue to act as barriers for drug users to address their issues rather than temporarily alleviate them (Dasgupta, Beletsky & Ciccarone, 2018). Greater opportunities for employment, housing, and healthcare are instrumental in addressing the opioid crisis beyond overdose fatalities and HIV infections (Greer & Ritter, 2019).

Another social factor to consider is the stigma surrounding drug users. Stigma can be categorized in three ways: public, self and label avoidance (Corrigan & Nieweglowski, 2018).. Public stigma is viewing opioid users as dangerous people who should not be provided for. Self stigma is an individual viewing themselves as immoral and unworthy of support because of their drug use. Label avoidance is perceiving the public discrimination against opioid users and refusing to get help to avoid being labeled. The continued perpetuation of stigma discourages users from seeking assistance, whether it be services for safe drug use or applying for social housing.

Additionally, sensationalized examples continue to stigmatize the proliferation and access of SIFs, with the case of ARCHES in Lethbridge, Alberta. ARCHES opened in 2018 as a response to increasing opioid overdose mortalities and through the COVID-19 pandemic, became the busiest SIF in North America. The Alberta government would reduce – and eventually cease – funding to ARCHES due to an audit indicating misuse and mismanagement of public funding (Fletcher, 2020). Furthermore, an unauthorized "pop-up" SIF opened in Lethbridge, supposedly led by an ARCHES employee. This illegal SIF stirred controversy within the community and jeopardized the safety and protection of opioid users (Gunn, 2020). Case examples such as ARCHES are significant in perpetuating stigma surrounding SIFs and opioid users, as they undermine the benefits posed towards opioid users by no action thereof. The combination of stigma and institutional behaviour – such as police conduct or inconsistent implementation of policy and resources – intersect to exacerbate the challenges inhibiting the access and behaviour of drug users to address their issues, including accessing Insite.

Conclusion

Addressing the illicit opioid crisis is a key issue testing Canada's healthcare and criminal justice institutions. The shortcomings of existing policy and worsening of the crisis continue to leave drastic disproportionate effects on marginalized demographics throughout Canada. The examination of Vancouver's DTES is an important one, as it opens up worthwhile opportunities that could have national implications. Insite's offering of immense benefit and no adverse effects is an immense development in harm reduction policy, a different step forward in comparison to the traditional approach of a crime control model. Although, this is not to say it is flawless. Hesitancy from government and authoritative institutions can be controversial, but they offer insight into some of the broader social challenges that inhibit the success of SIFs. For example, further national factors which may challenge SIF implementations include implications of multi-level governance or infrastructure expansion. This paper only scratches the surface as well. There are considerable motivations for SIFs at an international scale including successful pilot programs, research, and support in countries such as Australia and the Netherlands. Insite represents a step forward, but further work must be done to properly respond to the disproportionate effects plaguing affected communities. Nonetheless, striking a balance between crime control and harm reduction will prove instrumentally productive in alleviating this massive problem.

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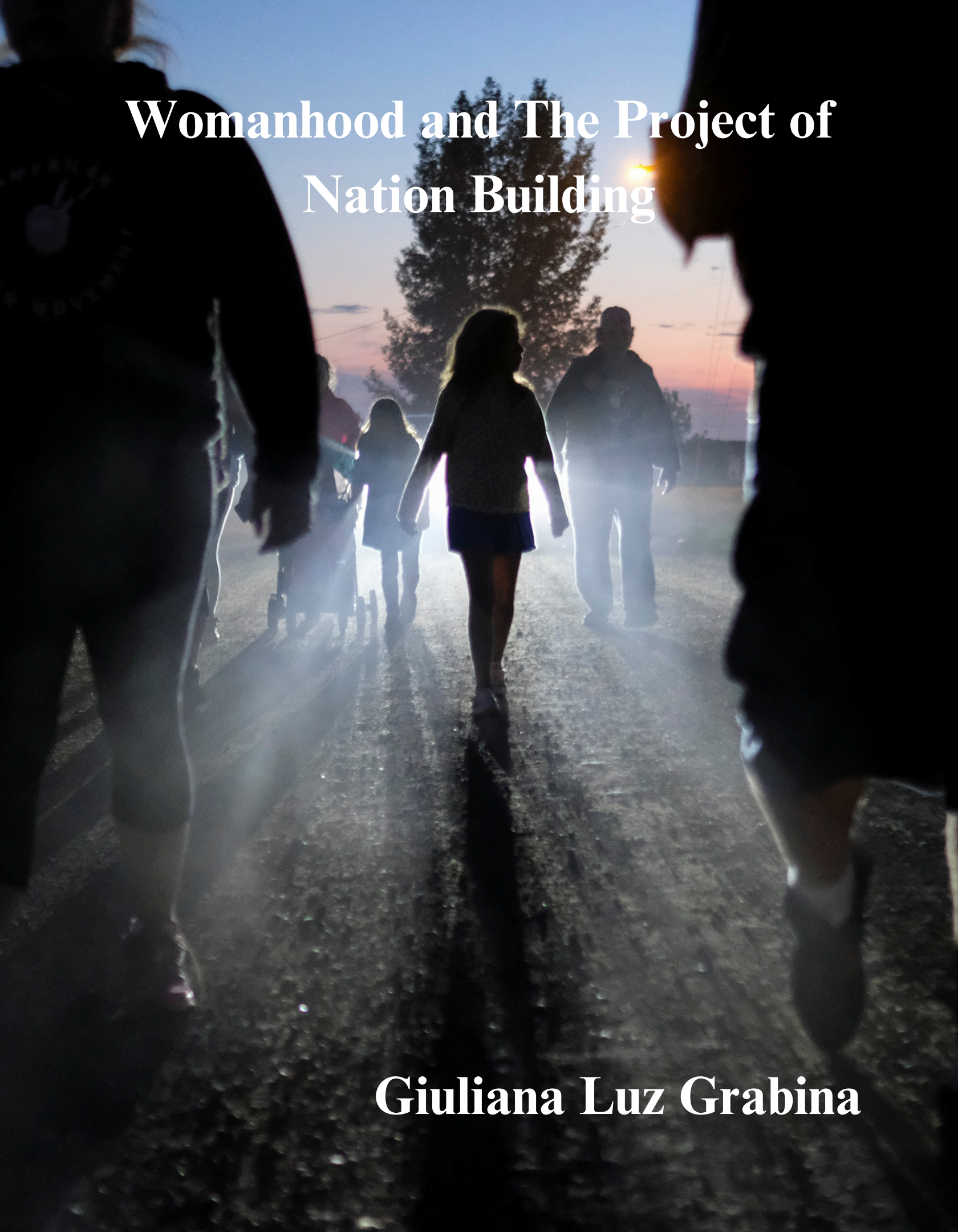

Womanhood and The Project of Nation Building

Giuliana Luz Grabina

Emily Murphy, a prominent Canadian women's rights advocate and member of the "Famous Five" best known for paving the way for Canadian women to become legal persons, played a significant role in spreading a eugenic ideology and campaigning for the adoption of Alberta's Sexual Act of 1928-72; an act which authorized the sterilisation of those deemed unfit. Transnational historian Jane Carey characterises the debate between celebrating the achievements of feminist foremothers and harshly condeming their racist imperial agenda, as exemplified by first-wave feminism's involvement in the promotion of eugenics[i] "as something of a mini 'history wars.'"[ii] Thus, this paper seeks to draw attention to first-wave feminism's centrality in the reformulation of racial and gender hierarchies through the reconceptualization of disability in the late 19th and early 20th century. To illustrate this, I will analyse Emily Murphy's book *The Black Candle* (1922), wherein she expresses stereotypical and prejudicial views of racial and ethnic minorities. As well, an article Murphy published in The Vancouver Sun titled *Sterilisation of The Insane* (1922) wherein, under the pen name of Janey Canuck, she defends forceful sterilisation.[iii] In response to the moral panic common throughout the early 20th century, Murphy, like many Anglo-protestants of her time, blamed the influx of immigrants for all of Canada's 'societal ills', and utilised the drug trade as a vehicle to advocate for a eugenics-based nationalism; a nationalism which emphasised the importance of a Canadian state full of 'ideal citizens.'[iv] By analysing these primary sources, situated in the context of the early women's suffrage movement, I hope to highlight the intersection of first-wave feminism and eugenics-based nationalism which disproportionately targeted Indigenous women, whom only represented 2.5% of the population, but made up more than 25% of all non-consensually sterelized victims.[v]

Murphy's *The Black Candle (1922)*: The Preservation of White Hegemony

Despite that usually, if not always, women in the 19th and early 20th century are represented as passive victims of policies aimed at reproductive control, Emily Murphy's staunch advocacy, aimed at eradicating those deemed 'undesirable',[vi] reveals White bourgeois women's complicity in the social acceptance of controversial technologies of reproductive control such as forced sterilisation. Murphy's *The Black Candle* illustrates how nationalist projects of preserving White hegemony were at the forefront of feminist agendas in the late 19th and early 20th century. In *The Black Candle*, Murphy warns readers of the potential of "half caste" infants born from interacial relationships between White women and East-Asian men, stating that this is a threat to Anglo-saxon supremacy.[vii] As Murphy states, "A man or woman who becomes an addict seeks the company of those who use the drug, and avoids those of their own social status. This explains the amazing phenomenon of an educated gentlewoman, reared in a refined atmosphere, consorting with the lowest classes of yellow and black men. It explains, too, why sometimes a white woman deserts or 'farms out' a half-caste infant, or on rare occasions brings it to the juvenile court for adoption."[viii] This troubling passage, depicting racialized men as a threat, is unfortunately perfectly in line with the 19th-20th century mainstream Canadian fear of "Chinese men as white slave traders and seducers of white women."[ix] As Historian Carmen J. Nielson (2016) notes, "insofar as citizens were defined as protectors of a nation, these threats created an incongruity between racialised male identities and citizen identities, mandating the national subject's whiteness."[x] In other words, during Canada's national identity formation process, to be Canadian came to be defined as being

White. 'Canadian' became synonymous with 'Whiteness', automatically excluding racialized people from the Canadian national identity. Murphy's attitudes in *The Black Candle* parallel the mainstream attitudes Nielson describes. Particularly, the existential worry that "the aliens of colour [will] bring about the degeneration of the white race."[xi] This irrational existential concern is notable when Murphy states, "some of the Negroes coming into Canada—and they are no fiddle-faddle fellows either—have similar[xii] ideas, and one of their greatest writers has boasted how ultimately they will control the white men."[xiii] Then, Murphy goes on to say that, "the yellow race would rule the world. They were too wise, they urged, to attempt to win in battle but would win by wits; would strike at the white race through "dope" and when the time was ripe would command the world."[xiv] Clearly, strong anti-immigration sentiment and low tolerance, if tolerance at all, for racial diversity were common, as the new immigrants were believed to be responsible for Canada's moral degradation. This fear is equally present in Nielson's commentary about a cartoon that contrasts 'White immigration' and 'Oriental immigration'(1907): the image, pictured above, represents Miss Canada holding a closed gate against a multitude of Asian men, while extending a welcoming gesture to White immigrants.[xv] The cartoon symbolises the perceived threat that Asian immigration, or all non-white immigration, posed to Canada's 'racial purity'. Reading through these passages from *The Black Candle*, situated within this period of strong anti non-white immigration sentiment, provides an understanding of how Murphy's racial prejudices later informed her radical eugenist social and legal advocacy.

Murphy's *The Sterilisation of the Insane,* The Vancouver Sun (1922):

Murphy, like many White bourgeois feminists of her time, believed that women had a special role in society as the biological reproducers of culture,[xvi] and thus had a certain responsibility over women constructed as 'feeble-minded.' As very often, this was women's only source of social power, some women fully embraced exerting their control over other women. Murphy's paternalistic language in her defence of sterilisation in The Vancouver Sun (1922) illustrates just that: "no man or woman whose relative is only mildly insane would leave any remedial treatment untried in order to obtain the patient's release from the everlasting seclusion behind asylum walls."[xvii] As the passage demonstrates, Murphy conveniently frames sterilisation as a procedure that is in the patient's best interest; she presents it as the logical next step, or solution, when other 'treatments' fail. Sterilisation, as Murphy sees it, is simply a "release" from "the everlasting seclusion behind asylum walls."[xviii] Murphy goes even further to suggest that if the patient's guardians fail to explore all 'treatment' options,

like sterilisation, then "the responsibility devolves upon the Government"[xix] and "It is to them we must look for protection, not only for the individual, but for the future manhood of the Dominion of Canada."[xx] In other words, the government ought to override the patient's guardians decision, and instead, prioritise, not only what is in the patient's best interest, but ultimately what is in Canada's best interest. As the passages demonstrate, the language Murphy employs is incredibly utilitarian and neo-malthusian; an ideological trend common in the 20th century concerned with keeping the population 'in check' to balance the standards of living. Murphy's concern with Canada's declining living conditions and rising population, which she blames on the influx of immigrants in *The Black Candle* (1922), informs her support of sterilisation. For Murphy, sterilisation is "[an] attempt at salving the human wreckage which has been dumped from foreign lands."[xxi]


TRUE LOVE TRIANGLES

MOST GLAMOROUS THREE-CORNERED ROMANCES OF 1931, TOLD IN SIX COMPLETE STORIES

HOW TRAGEDY ENTERED FAMED AVIATRIX'S DOUBLE ROMANCE

"BROADWAY'S BRIGHTEST STAR" PLAYS LEADING ROLE IN DRAMA OF LIFE

STERILIZATION OF THE INSANE By JANEY CANUCK

BRITAIN'S "BATTLE-WAGONS" PARADE FOR KING

Mothers of Nation: "The Instinct of Womanhood to Serve & Save the Race"

Scholars Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde (2013) define first-wave feminism's negative eugenics, which included the practice of compulsory sterilization, as "the breeding out of certain characteristics in the population."[xxii] Negative eugenics, as opposed to positive eugenics which aimed at increasing the amount of 'desirable characteristics,' aimed at restricting or prohibiting the reproduction of individuals with 'undesirable characteristics.'[xxiii] Negative eugenics were frequently employed as a 'solution' to alleviate poverty, social problems, class, and immigration issues.[xxiv]

Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde theorise that the eugenics cause attracted a lot of women, like Murphy, partially because eugenics research, unlike other domains of scientific research, welcomed women.[xxv] Often, female eugenics researchers would give lectures at various Women's Clubs to attract more women to the cause.[xxvi] The eugenics field stood out from other scientific fields at the time in that many prominent eugenicists, such as Havelock Ellis, were vocal in their support of the feminist cause. According to Ellis, women's liberation was crucial to the development of eugenics, as he believed that endowing greater liberties to women, such as the right to vote, would enable them to focus their efforts and energies more fully on eugenic causes.[xxvii] As Ellis emphasises, "the most vital problem before our civilization today is the problem of motherhood, the question of creating the human beings best fitted for modern life, the practical realisation of a sound eugenics."[xxviii] Thus, Ellis' support for the feminist cause was contingent on women fully accepting and embracing their

social status as 'mothers of the race.' Under the rubric of maternal feminism, a branch of feminism prominent in the 19th-20th century which stressed the value of women's role as mothers and bearers of the future, women were perceived as an integral part of ensuring the continuance and quality of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock.[xxix] Since motherhood was the only social function where women were perceived as being above men, women's role as "guardians of the race" provided them with a new *raison d'être*.[xxx] Many first-wave feminists, like Emily Murphy, maintained that it was their duty to employ their "superior morality" for the good of the race.[xxxi]

The Problematization of Disability: "Carving Out A New Category of Disability"

In *Eugenics, Race and Canada's First-Wave Feminists: Dis/Abling the Debates* (2017), scholar Lykke de la Cour investigates how the first-wave feminist movement reconstituted race through the construct of disability to justify the mass sterilisation of indigenous women whom they saw as a threat to Canada's Anglo-Saxon Protestant hegemony.[xxxii] As Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde note, "the notion of "fitness" became interconnected with race and non-White individuals were [conveniently] lumped into the "unfit" category."[xxxiii] Since European women, particularly those of British descent, were generally considered higher on the evolutionary scale and hence better qualified as mothers, unfit women—those with mental defects—were not considered 'qualified' to mother the race.[xxxiv] The standards which demarcated who did and who did not constitute a physically and mentally 'fit' Canadian subject were heavily based around White, Anglo, bourgeois, and heteronormative ideals.[xxxv] Thus, as Scholar Lykke de la Cour argues, "eugenics put in place a new "reproductive morality," one that reconstructed motherhood as a privilege only afforded to those who fit neatly into the Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock.[xxxvi]

The 'unfit' increasingly appeared as a social problem requiring new ways of technical intervention, vigilance, and management. The eugenics project was, for the most part, a top-down, ethnocentric and technocratic approach, which reduced people to statistical figures to be moved up and down, with the ultimate end of preserving racial purity. The fear of 'racial suicide,' that is, the fear of the extinction or replacement of the Anglo-saxon Protestant stock, became one of the most compelling arguments for the development and social acceptance of eugenic technology. This worry is present in *The Black Candle (1922)*, when Murphy warns of "[the] well-defined propaganda among the aliens of colour to bring about the degeneration of the white race."[xxxvii] Given that individuals of other races were viewed as having greater propensity toward "feeble-mindedness" and as responsible for racial degeneration, it was easy for feminists like Murphy to stress the urgency of sterilising such people.[xxxviii] In this way, the eugenics project can be understood as a continuation of the colonial order.

The Continuation of the Colonial Order: The Destruction of Culture

In *Colonising Racialized Bodies: Examining the Forced Sterilisation of Indigenous Women and the Shameful History of Eugenics in Canada*, Paula Rasmussen (2019) draws a significant connection between the attack on indigenous motherhood and the colonial disposition of indigenous land. Rasmussen argues that since Indigenous women are often considered as their communities' "culture bearers," an attack on Indigenous motherhood can be viewed as an attack the "survival of Indigenous nations, cultures, and traditions for future

generations."[xxxix] Indeed, like Nielson, Rasmussen highlights women's symbolic relation with national identity. In many societies, women represent the community, and thus large-scale gender-based violence, in the form of oppressive reproductive technologies, can be understood as an attack on the community as a whole. As Rasmussen notes, "[l]ike the land itself, the settler state views Indigenous women as what could be—and must be—conquered and controlled as a way to secure and maintain Indigenous dispossession."[xl] Therefore, Rasmussen argues, the gender-based violence against Indigenous women, in the form of non-consensual sterilisation, is both a way to undermine indigenous women and a strategy for the Canadian state to separate Indigenous peoples from their lands, thereby furthering the colonial project.[xli] Moreover, adopting sterilisation as a 'solution' to Canada's declining living conditions "allows the Canadian state to deny responsibility for and [evade] doing something about the deplorable conditions in most Aboriginal communities, conditions which are the direct result of colonisation."[xlii] Indeed, it was more cost-effective for the Canadian state to continue to condone the practice of non-consensual sterilisation than it was to address the underlying structural problems under which Indigenous communities faced disproportionately lower standards of living.[xliii] Although the federal government may no longer be actively enacting legislation promoting the implementation of forced sterilisation, the Canadian state's failure to take accountability has done little to change the circumstances that allow these inhumane practices to persist.[xliv]

Conclusion

As we have seen, Emily Murphy's role in spreading eugenic ideology in *The Black Candle* and campaigning for Alberta's Sexual Act of 1928-72 in *The Sterilisation of the Insane* was successful. In Alberta, under the Sexual Sterilisation Act, which came into effect in 1928 and remained up until 1972, over 2,800 women were sterilised after being declared "defective" and unfit to have children.[xlv] This legislation disproportionately targeted Indigenous women, who, while only representing 2.5% of the population, accounted for more than 25% of all non-consensually sterilised victims.[xlvi] After analysing Murphy's *The Black Candle* and *The Sterilisation of the Insane*, both of which detail prejudicial views against ethnic minorities and blame Canada's declining living conditions on the influx of 'undesirable' immigrants, we can see how these prejudices informed first-wave feminists' support of eugenics. Ultimately, the eugenics cause was, for many White bourgeois feminists, the only scientific field in which they felt welcomed. As 'mothers of the nation', White bourgeois feminists were able to formulate a new racialized model of disability to explicitly target ethnic minorities, such as Indigenous women, whom they saw as a threat to Canada's Anglo-Saxon Protestant hegemony.

[i] Henceforth, when I use the term 'eugenics,' I mean specifically negative eugenics.
[ii] Lykke de la Cour, *Eugenics, Race and Canada's First-Wave Feminists: Dis/Abling the Debates,* 177.
[iii] Henceforth, I will use the terms 'forced/forceful sterilisation' and 'non-consensual sterilisation' interchangeably.
[iv] Ibid.
[v] Paula Rasmussen, *Colonising Racialized Bodies: Examining the Forced Sterilisation of Indigenous Women and the Shameful History of Eugenics in Canada*, 21.
[vi] In this context, 'undesirable' became synonymous with being racialized, that is, non-white.
[vii] Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle*, 17.
[viii] Ibid.
[ix] Carmen J. Nielson, *Erotic Attachment, Identity Formation and the Body Politic: The Woman-as-nation in Canadian Graphic Satire*, 1867–1914, 120.
[x] Ibid.
[xi] Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle*, 186.
[xii] Carmen J. Nielson, *Erotic Attachment, Identity Formation and the Body Politic: The Woman-as-nation in Canadian Graphic Satire*, Figure 11, 122.
[xiii] Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle*, 189.
[xiv] Ibid.
[xv] Carmen J. Nielson, *Erotic Attachment, Identity Formation and the Body Politic: The Woman-as-nation in Canadian Graphic Satire*, 1867–1914, 121.
[xvi] That is, Women played the role of cultural transmitters as well as came to define the nation state.
[xvii] Emily Murphy, *Sterilisation of the Insane*, The Vancouver Sun.
[xviii] Ibid.
[xix] Ibid.
[xx] Emily Murphy, *Sterilisation of the Insane,* The Vancouver Sun.
[xxi] Ibid.
[xxii] Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde, *From Suffrage to Sterilisation: Eugenics and the Women's Movement in 20th Century Alberta,* 105.
[xxiii] Ibid.
[xxiv] Ibid.
[xxv] Ibid.
[xxvi] Ibid.
[xxvii] Ibid.
[xxviii] Ibid.
[xxix] Ibid.
[xxx] By raison d'être, I mean it gave White bourgeois women a new purpose or a new reason to exist.
[xxxi] Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde, *From Suffrage to Sterilisation: Eugenics and the Women's Movement in 20th Century Alberta,*109.
[xxxii] Lykke de la Cour, *Eugenics, Race and Canada's First-Wave Feminists: Dis/Abling the Debates,*176.
[xxxiii] Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde, *From Suffrage to Sterilisation: Eugenics and the Women's Movement in 20th Century Alberta,* 111.
[xxxiv] Ibid.
[xxxv] Lykke de la Cour, *Eugenics, Race and Canada's First-Wave Feminists: Dis/Abling the Debates*, 177.
[xxxvi] Ibid, 185.
[xxxvii] Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle*, 186.
[xxxviii] Erin L. Moss, Henderikus J. Stam, and Diane Kattevilde, *From Suffrage to Sterilisation: Eugenics and the Women's Movement in 20th Century Alberta*, 111.
[xxxix] Paula Rasmussen, *Colonising Racialized Bodies: Examining the Forced Sterilisation of Indigenous Women and the Shameful History of Eugenics in Canada,* 24.
[xl] Ibid.

[xli] Paula Rasmussen, *Colonising Racialized Bodies: Examining the Forced Sterilisation of Indigenous Women and the Shameful History of Eugenics in Canada*, 24.
[xlii] Ibid.
[xliii] Ibid.
[xliv] Ibid.
[xlv] Ibid.
[xlvi] Ibid.

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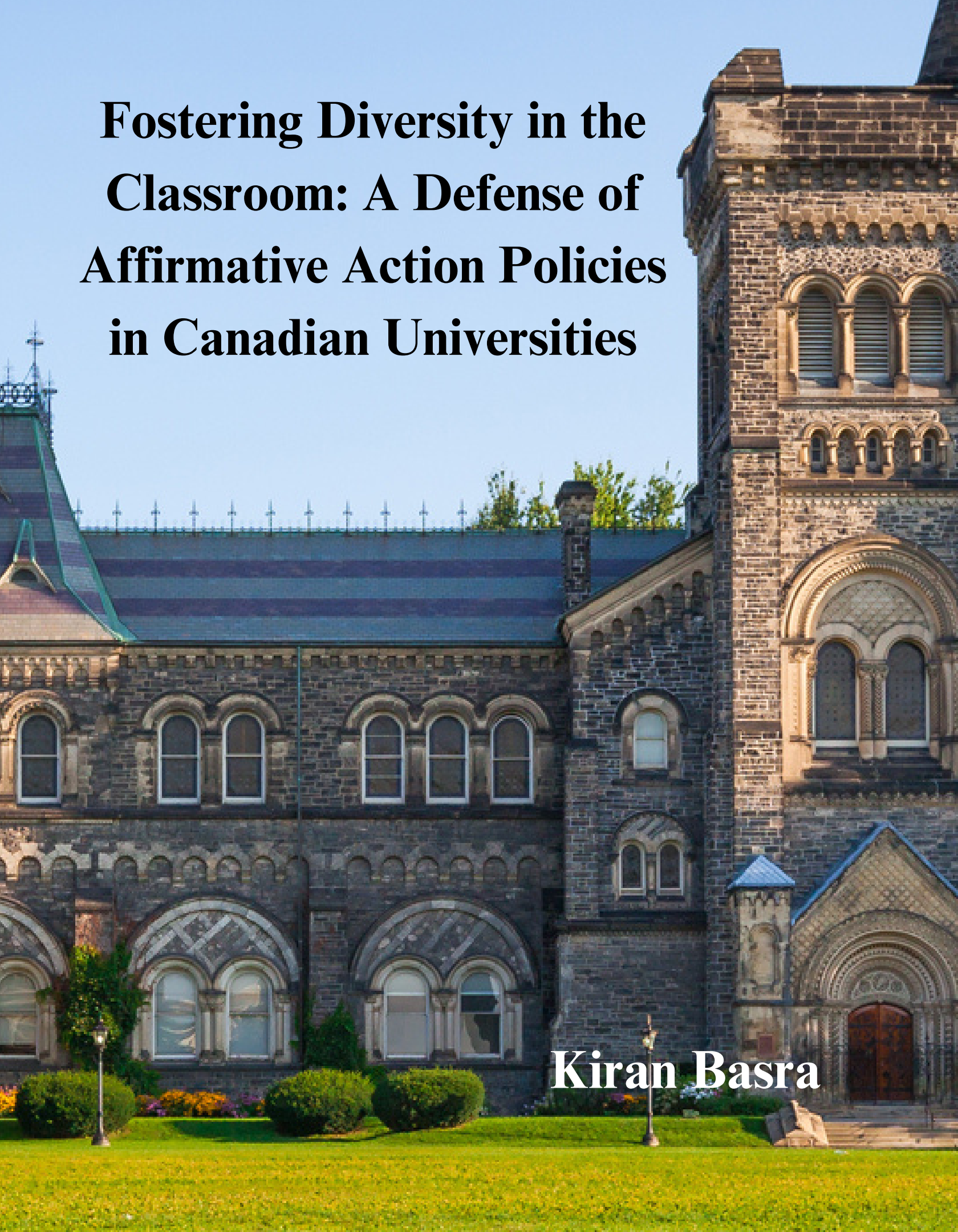
Fostering Diversity in the Classroom: A Defense of Affirmative Action Policies in Canadian Universities



Kiran Basra

Introduction

Residential schools, Japanese internment camps and Chinese Head Tax may have disappeared but institutional racism continues to flourish in Canada's education system. Such racial discrimination is demonstrated by the significant prioritization of white applicants over racialized students in post-secondary opportunities. This has raised the question: should Canadian universities implement affirmative action policies to combat institutional racism?

Affirmative action is the practice of favoring individuals that belong to marginalized social groups. One of the ways this practice is demonstrated is through preferential policies which set quotas to reserve spots for marginalized individuals. Affirmative action quotas can be divided into strong and weak policies. A strong preference policy favours selecting a less qualified minority applicant over a higher qualified non-minority applicant. A weak preference policy supports selecting a minority applicant over an equally qualified non-minority applicant.

This paper will argue that Canadian universities should implement strong affirmative action policies by reserving seats for people of colour. It will begin by examining the historical background that places racialized students at a disadvantage in the education system. Next, it will argue that preferential policies should be implemented because they combat implicit bias, foster a diverse student body, and help racialized students socially mobilize and inspire future generations. It will conclude by responding to a critique of affirmative action policies.

Historical Background of Racialized Students

In order to understand why race should be considered as a contributing factor in the university admissions process, it is important to recognize the historical context that places racialized students at a significant disadvantage in the education system. The effects of racialized projects like segregation, slavery, and the restriction of rights for people of colour have assisted in the process of transfering financial capital from racial minorities to white folks. For example, the use of free black labour for slave owners allowed white families to reap large profits without paying workers. As time passed, these white families have been able to pass on greater wealth to future generations whereas families of racialized communities like black slaves have been trapped in a cyclical process of generational poverty. This has manifested in today's society by bestowing more capital to white individuals than people of colour.

The financial inequity between white and racialized communities has manifested in the education system in two key ways. First, many racialized neighbourhoods in Canada such as Brampton and Surrey receive lower provincial funding for high schools than predominantly white neighbourhoods like Vancouver and Toronto. The greater funding awarded to white districts allows the education system to hire better teachers and resources, giving white students in these neighbourhoods a greater chance of succeeding in school. In contrast, racialized neighbourhoods who suffer from lower funding typically have worse quality infrastructure, minimal educational equipment, and reduced staff, which hinders the potential for students of colour.

Second, even in communities where different races attend the same high school, racial minorities continue to face educational barriers due to financial inequity which places them at a disadvantage compared to their white counterparts in the university admissions process. An acceptance into university today requires strong grades, a plethora of extracurricular commitments, and impressive standardized testing. Many of those who succeed on standardized tests and who exhibit strong grades achieve their academic success with the help of private tutors. This financial burden is more easily taken on by white families who can afford this educational investment, compared to racialized families who have fewer funds to spend on these privileges. Moreover, taking on extracurriculars is a luxury that many racial students cannot afford as they are forced to work extra jobs to financially support themselves and their families. The demanding time commitment of employment limits their opportunities to engage in unpaid activities like extracurricular commitments which are necessary for gaining admission into university. Thus, the effects of racism have allowed white students easier access to academic success and extracurricular involvement, placing them at a better chance of getting into university than racialized students.

This combination of factors has limited the opportunity for people of colour to be accepted into university. Therefore, affirmative action offers a valuable solution to help racialized students overcome barriers imposed by systemic racism and gain a post-secondary education. There are three reasons why implementing preferential policies is beneficial.

Mitigating Implicit Bias

The first reason why Canadian universities should implement affirmative action is to mitigate implicit bias. Implicit bias is the pre-reflective attribution of particular qualities by an individual to a member of some social group. For example, the belief that black customers are worse tippers than white customers is an implicit bias. Since implicit bias is located at the pre-reflective level, they are largely unconscious to the individual who holds them, so they can act on those biases without realizing. As a result, many define themselves as anti-racist despite perpetuating implicit biases about racial minorities. In the education system, there exists a strong implicit bias amongst admissions directors who favour white students over minority students. Even students who share the same quality of application can experience very different outcomes due to race indicators like their name or where they are from. These implicit biases work to allow admissions directors to subconsciously favour white applicants while disfavoring applicants of colour. Therefore, many racial minorities are turned away from the university as a result of the implicit bias held by faculty members. Since implicit bias is hidden it is difficult to regulate, and thus cannot be solved using other metrics like therapy or racial training as individuals will deny that they hold these racist notions. This is why affirmative action provides a unique solution to this problem by limiting the effect that implicit bias has on the application process and granting racialized students acceptance into university.

Philosophers Michael Brownstein and Jennifer Saul explore the consequences of implicit bias in their book “Implicit Bias and Philosophy, Volume 1: Metaphysics and Epistemology”. Brownstein and Saul argue that today’s society has shifted from condoning explicit racism such

as segregative legislation and racist movements like the KKK, to implicit racism which shapes how white individuals perceive people of colour through implicit bias. They argue that this shift towards implicit racism is arguably more dangerous than explicit acts of discrimination as many who foster implicit bias still regard themselves as anti-racist and thus do not reflect on their own wrongdoings. Brownstein and Saul agree that these implicit biases are evident in social behaviours which affect racial minorities. For example, they argue that "implicit racial biases are thought to cause a majority of people to give more favorable evaluations of otherwise identical resumés if those resumés belong to applicants with stereotypically white names (e.g. Emily, Greg) than if they belong to applicants with stereotypically black names (e.g. Jamal, Lakisha)."[i] But how do we know that implicit biases exist if they are hidden? Brownstein and Saul use the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to confirm that implicit biases do exist. In a standard IAT, the subject attempts to sort words or pictures into categories as fast as possible while making minimal errors. The results from the Implicit Association Test have demonstrated that there is an "implicit preference" for white faces over black faces",[ii] as over 40% of participants demonstrated an in-group preference for pictures of people with the same race as them. Therefore, Brownstein and Saul confirm that implicit bias is real and dangerous, so steps must be taken to mitigate its impact on opportunities for racial minorities.

Combating Racial Stereotypes

The second reason why Canadian universities should implement affirmative action is because introducing more people of colour on campus challenges racial stereotypes and fosters a more inclusive student body. As affirmative action increases the number of racialized students, there will be greater interaction between white students and people of colour. This will create a more fruitful classroom that features diverse perspectives on academic issues and a multitude of lived experiences to contribute to the class discussion. As a result, the learning experience of all students will be improved through meaningful conversations about important topics that can only be had with a diverse student body. Moreover, introducing more students of colour on campus challenges implicit bias and racist stereotypes. By interacting with racialized students who study hard, represent their university in athletics, and take on leadership positions around the school, white students are forced to challenge their previously held implicit bias that stereotyped racial students as lazy and stupid. Since most stereotypes are perpetuated in vacuums that offer little critique to these norms, the lack of a diverse student body reaffirms this implicit bias as students are offered no one to challenge their perspective. Thus, affirmative action creates a valuable environment for relationships between white students and racialized students which may not have occurred otherwise. By doing so, the diverse student population serves to eradicate stereotypes that can only permeate without the interaction between these groups. Finally, introducing more racialized students on campus necessitates academic ventures that reflect their lived experience. This includes the creation of departments like Indigenous Studies and Latin American Studies, and courses like Philosophy of Race. By including more diverse groups into the student body through

affirmative action quotas, Canadian universities will challenge stereotypical beliefs and foster a more inclusive society.

W.E.B. Du Bois further explores how education can be used to combat racist beliefs in "The Souls of Black Folk". Du Bois argues that higher education is the path to social change and racial cooperation. He claims that if "we debauch the race thus caught in our talons… what shall save us from national decadence? Only that saner selfishness, which Education teaches, can find the rights of all in the whirl of work."[iii] Here, Du Bois argues that education is the solution to the social problem of racism. Furthermore, Du Bois points out that the segregation of education in the South made training between social groups impossible. He claimed that this separation "is so thorough and deep that it absolutely precludes for the present between the races anything like that sympathetic and effective group-training and leadership of the one by the other, such as the American Negro and all backward peoples must have for effectual progress,"[iv] While segregation may not formally exist today like it did in Du Bois' time, it is clear to see indirect segregation present in Canadian universities today with the low levels of racialized students compared to white folks. Therefore, Du Bois argues that education "must seek the social regeneration of the Negro, and it must help in the solution of problems of race contact and cooperation,"[v] as he believes that the cooperation of different races through education is imperative for progress.

Socially Mobilizing & Inspiring Racialized Students

The third reason why Canadian universities should implement affirmative action is because preferential policies give racialized individuals access to the valuable tool of education which they can use to counteract the effects of racism and promote social mobility. Racism forces many people of colour to lower socioeconomic classes. Without an education, it is difficult for racialized children to break out of poverty as they have no tools to access higher paying jobs. This creates a cycle where people of colour struggle to access a higher quality of life due to financial insecurity and then give birth to children who are condemned to the same fate. Affirmative action policies can intervene in this cyclical process by increasing the amount of racialized students who have access to an education. By obtaining a university degree, racialized students advance their occupational opportunities by gaining access to higher levels of financial compensation that are only accessible through a university degree, such as becoming a professor, lawyer, or teacher. Through gaining access to a financially stable occupation, racialized individuals will be able to socially mobilize and counteract some of the financial consequences of racism which have placed them in a lower financial strata.

Besides accessing higher pay, racialized students will also gain access to influential positions that necessitate a university degree, such as becoming a CEO or politician. In doing so, racial students take on positions that will increase their visibility and representation for minorities. As more minorities succeed in leadership positions, they will be able to counteract racist stereotypes about racial folks being lazy and incompetent. Moreover, having more people of colour in leadership positions will increase the amount of role models for younger generations to look up to. Many young black boys and girls could not imagine being President of the United States until they saw Barack Obama winning his first election in 2009 and decided that they wanted to be just

like him. Barack Obama received extensive post-secondary education including university and law school which allowed him to obtain his career as the first black President. Education therefore played an important role in his ability to become President and inspire future black generations. Therefore, education is a tool that can be used to advance leadership for people of colour in order to inspire younger generations to dream big and follow in their footsteps.

The benefits bestowed to racialized individuals through obtaining an education is emphasized by Paul Taylor in "Race: A Philosophical Introduction." Taylor explores the question of what higher education is for and how it is embedded in the larger social structure. He claims that "schools become mechanisms that society uses to cultivate the human capital that we'll invest in the collective projects that define social life, like our economy, or our systems of law and healthcare."[vi] Thus, Taylor also argues that education is defined as a tool used by society to actualize goals, such as increasing the political voice of certain communities. Therefore, granting these racialized individuals with education enables them as leaders of change in order to actualize those goals for their communities. Taylor also extends on how affirmative action appeals to backward and forward looking arguments. This notion that affirmative action allows racialized individuals to socially mobilize and inspire younger generations is both a backward looking argument and a forward-looking argument. A backward looking argument "involves affirmative action as a way of remedying, compensating for, or blocking the continous affects of some past act, condition, or systemic practice of unjust discrimination."[vii] This argument is backwards looking because it recognizes that people of colour face financial barriers due to systemic racism so it aims to address that through the opportunity for social mobilization. A forwards-looking argument is "a way of bringing into being some valuable future condition, such as greater diversity or inclusion, or the prevention of future discrimination."[viii] This argument is also forward-looking because it gives people of colour a tool to increase their financial security in the future and inspire new generations of racialized leaders to continue fighting against racism.

An Objection

There are several objections to affirmative action, but arguably the strongest critique of all claims that preferential policies do more harm than good because they make racialized students feel inferior to their white classmates. According to this argument, affirmative action forces racialized students to question whether they got accepted into university due to their own merit or as a result of preferential policies. This uncertainty can manifest into imposter syndrome which tells racialized students that they do not deserve their place in the education system. As a result, many racialized students experience mental health issues and an impaired self-esteem due to affirmative action. This critique captures the phenomenology of being a racialized student and feeling like you don't belong anywhere, even in the education system. This argument is one of the strongest oppositions to affirmative action because it does not take on a racist stance which is easy to refute, nor does it place the consequence of preferential policies on white people who are less important. This argument explores the negative consequences of affirmative action towards racialized minorities, which are the most important actor to protect in considering the ramifications

of implementing preferential quotas. Therefore, it is imperative that a strong defense of affirmative action addresses this critique.

First, the argument that all racialized students will assume they do not deserve their spot in university due to affirmative action policies is untrue. In order to understand why this is the case it's important to draw a comparison between affirmative action and nepotism. Like affirmative action, nepotism favours specific students due to their close relationship with faculty members and university professors. As a result, many white students gain access into university institutions because of these nepotistic relationships, not due to their merit. Despite this, white students who receive nepotism do not feel inferior to their peers, nor do they believe they do not deserve their spot in college. Moreover, nepotism does not affect their mental health or make them suffer from imposter syndrome. Therefore, affirmative action, which favors specific students due to their discriminated background, operates in the same discriminatory way as nepotism. If nepotism is identical in its treatment of white students and racialized students, it is unclear why affirmative action specifically could harbor consequences that are absent from nepotism.

Second, even if it is true that some racialized students feel inferior due to affirmative action policies, it is likely that this narrative will change once they witness their accomplishments in university. In order for the feeling of imposter syndrome to remain with the student they must be actively aware of their inferiority compared to their peers. However, as the student of colour flourishes in the classroom, participates on campus, and receives positive feedback for their contributions, they will realize that their effort is similar to their white peers who did not receive admission through affirmative action, and thus they deserve to be here just like them. This realization will allow them to overcome initial feelings of inferiority and believe that regardless of whether their spot was given due to preferential quotas, they are now an equal part of the student body. Moreover, while affirmative action may grant admission, it is hardwork and perseverance that gives students good grades, leadership positions in clubs, and summer internships. Thus, racialized students can no longer blame affirmative action policies on their achievements in university.

Conclusion

Affirmative action is not a unique phenomenon, but it has scarcely been used in postsecondary educations across Canada. Given the historical context that has placed racialized Canadians at a disadvantage in the competition for university admission, it is a valuable tool that should be implemented for three reasons. First, it counteracts the implicit bias of admission processes which disregard racialized folks due to internalized racism that is hard to locate and thus difficult to fix. Second, including more diverse identities in the classrooms counteracts racist stereotypes and fosters an inclusive student body. Finally, affirmative action assists racialized individuals in social mobilization and creating more diverse role models to inspire future generations. While affirmative action can be effective, critics argue that it is dangerous for the self-esteem of racialized students who internalize racial preference as the only reason they are accepted into university. This argument fails because nepotism which discriminates in a similar way does

not project inferiority onto students, and even if students have initial feelings of imposter syndrome this will be overcome once they witness their achievements on campus. Therefore, Canadian universities should implement affirmative action policies in order to combat institutional racism.

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[i] Brownstein, Michael, and Jennifer Mather Saul. *Implicit Bias and Philosophy. First edition, Volume 1, Metaphysics and Epistemology*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 2.
[ii] Ibid, 6.
[iii] Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk.* Myers Education Press, LLC, 2018, 73.
[iv] Ibid, 77.
[v] Ibid, 85.
[vi] Taylor, Paul C. *Race: A Philosophical Introduction*. Polity, 2012, 222.
[vii] Ibid, 222.
[viii] Ibid, 222.

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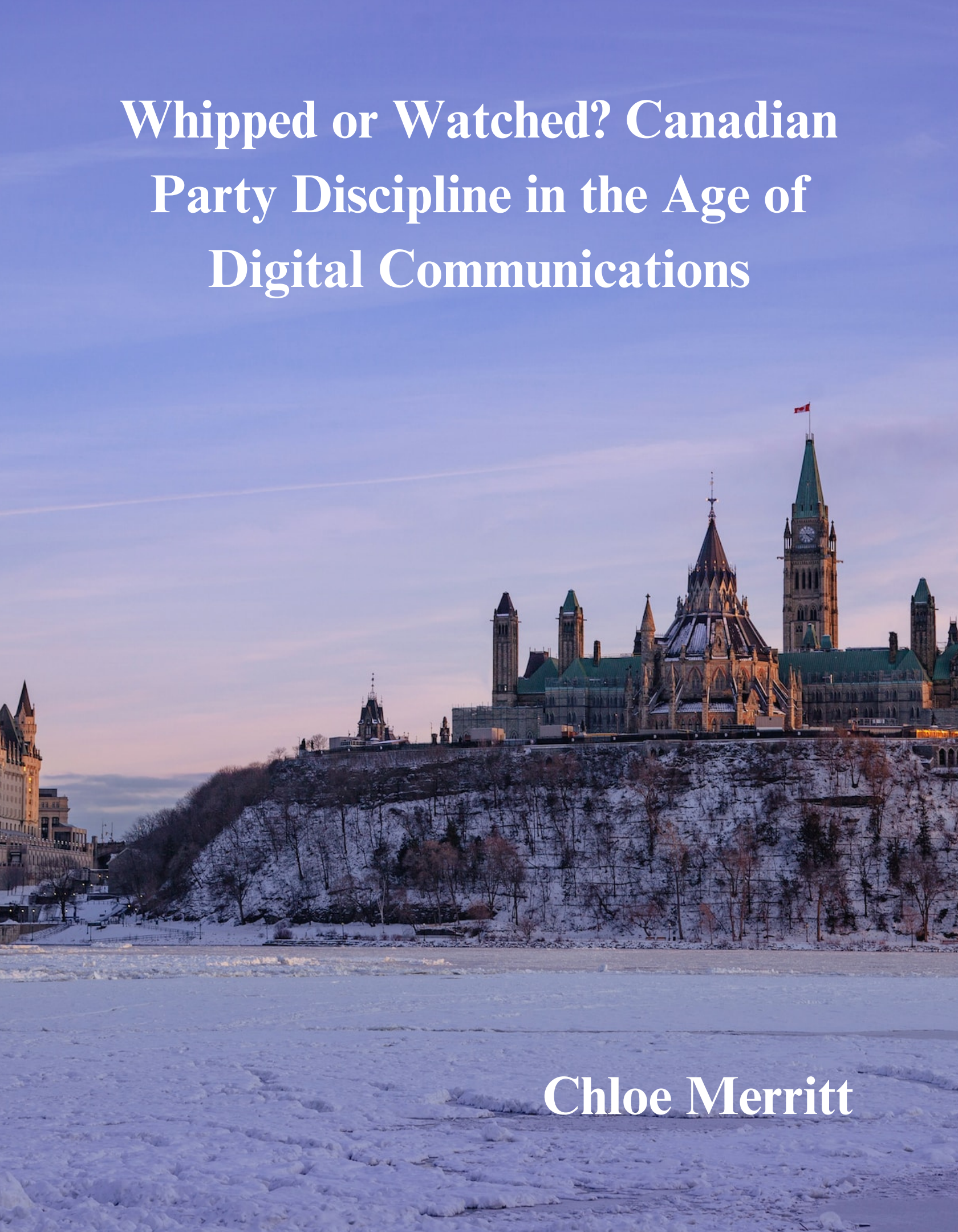
Whipped or Watched? Canadian Party Discipline in the Age of Digital Communications



Chloe Merritt

Introduction

Party discipline is the great lament of many observers of party politics (Docherty 1997, 261 Lewis 2021, 230). Robust literature outlines how political institutions and the culture of political parties puts immense pressure on Canadian parliamentarians to conform to their parties' wishes (Docherty 1997, 261). Less discussed is what happens to intraparty dynamics when parties and their members go online.

This paper aims to add to party discipline research by assessing the impact of digital communications technologies. I argue that the increased visibility of Members of Parliament (MPs) online has exacerbated existing party discipline in Canada. I first outline the absence of literature connecting party discipline with the adoption of digital technologies by Canadian political parties. Given this context, I examine the effect of digital communications on the dynamics between MPs and their parties in both their parliamentary duties in Ottawa and their extra-parliamentary duties in their constituencies and online. I argue that the increased visibility of MPs to the public puts indirect pressure on political parties to ensure conformity. In response, parties have bolstered their monitoring and compliance measures by mobilizing digital technologies.

Two central concepts in my argument are digital communications technologies and surveillance. Political parties have adopted various digital technologies, including data collection and interpretation programs (Small 2016). This paper focuses on communications technologies, including news websites, online videos, and social media. All disseminate information online, opening individuals to surveillance from their networks and the public. For its part, surveillance is "the sustained and targeted collection of personal information" (Trottier 2016, 7, 21). Surveillance may be hierarchical, bureaucratic, and data-driven; it can also be diffused, ad hoc and individual (Trottier 2016, 21). Though parties use various techniques, this paper primarily discusses diffuse interpersonal techniques.

Survey of Literature

There is a distinct lacuna in the research on party politics that accounts for digital communications' role in party discipline. In this section, I contextualize my argument by summarizing the dominant theories of party discipline and digital technology adoption by political parties.

Scholars have criticized Canada's parliamentary and party systems for developing strict party discipline by centralizing power into the executive (Docherty 1997, Godbout 2020). In Canada's Westminster parliamentary system, the prime minister maintains control through the legislature's confidence and can be forced to call an election if bills "core to the government" do not receive a majority of votes (Marland 2020, 15). The confidence convention requires a high degree of unification to remain the governing party and puts considerable pressure on MPs to vote with their party (Johnston 2016, 25). Private members are elected members of parliament who are not cabinet ministers or parliamentary secretaries, holding no additional role in government. Standing rules, which govern who has the privilege to speak and for how long in legislative

sessions, encourage conformity since they limit opportunities for private members to voice dissent (Marland 2020, 15). The confidence convention and standing rules work together to incentivize the ruling party to maintain strict discipline while limiting opportunities for members to voice dissent in parliament.

Canada has rigorous party discipline even when compared with other parliamentary democracies, suggesting institutions alone cannot explain the degree of party discipline observed in Canada (Lewis 2021, 230). Parliamentary rules are exacerbated by a political culture wherein party discipline is normalized, and loyalty is essential to career advancement (Kam 2009, 150). For instance, other parliamentary democracies require a specific motion of no confidence. As previously discussed, in Canada, failing to pass a bill "core to the government" is considered an implicit motion of no confidence. Canadian parties have interpreted all manner of legislation as "core to the government", invoking the confidence convention on a broad range of legislative votes and thus forcing tighter party discipline (Docherty 1997, 34). The broad interpretation of the confidence convention forces tighter party discipline as for MPs in the ruling party, a vote over one piece of legislation transforms into a vote to remain the ruling party. The differences between Canada's confidence convention when compared with other parliamentary democracies demonstrate that the parliamentary system is not a sufficient explanation for strict party discipline in Canada. Rather, political culture also plays a role, exacerbating party discipline. Evidence shows that the opportunity for career advancement correlates with higher conformity in voting, suggesting that MPs toe the party line to maximize their career opportunities (Kam 2009, 102). There are no institutional rules that tie career advancement to voting patterns. Instead, it is the political culture in parliament that encourages strict discipline. As such, Docherty argues that institutions and culture operate in tandem, fostering intense party discipline that restricts MP behaviour (1997, 261).

There are emerging theories to describe the impact of digital technologies, including digital *communications* technologies, on the dynamics of Canadian party politics. In her review of party behaviour online, Tamara Small argues that Canadian party politics have normalized technologies (Small 2016). In contrast to expectations that digital technologies will have a democratizing effect by reducing the barriers to political participation (dubbed the innovation hypothesis), Small suggests that "offline structures and forces will shape political uses of the Internet" (Small 2016, 392). This paper builds on Small's theory by suggesting that digital communications technologies exacerbate party discipline in Canada rather than giving MPs more freedom or a greater voice to dissent. That said, Small notes that "[political science] would certainly benefit from a more complete understanding of digital politics and how Canadian parties engage with digital technologies." So, while the subject has been broached, there has yet to be in depth research into how party politics have changed since digital communications have taken over. This paper is by no means a comprehensive examination of digital communications technologies and could benefit from more research into party use of digital communications for party discipline. Rather, this paper lends credibility to the normalization theory, arguing that digital communications have not had a democratizing effect, but have strengthened party discipline.

In the field of sociology, researchers argue that digital communications technologies have made every Canadian's personal life increasingly visible (Trottier 2016). Sociologists have responded to the exposure of our personal lives online by viewing social media as surveillance, where increasing visibility has consequences on our interpersonal and institutional interactions (Trottier 2016). That is, our personal relationships have been affected by our ability to monitor friends and family online, while our recreational, organizational, and work lives have been shaped by the ability of these institutions to monitor us. Furthermore, surveillance is understood as a mechanism of social control (Trottier 2016, 19). As popularized by Foucault, in the face of surveillance, the observed self-police their behaviour (Trottier 2016, 59-60). MPs are similarly affected; party discipline is strengthened as their parties adopt digital technologies and increased surveillance capacities.

Digital Communications and Party Discipline

This paper aims to contribute to Canadian party politics literature by highlighting how digital communications technologies have become normalized into pre-existing institutional and cultural pressures, exacerbating party discipline. I argue that parties use surveillance to control their members in Ottawa and across the country's constituencies. Though I acknowledge some resistance efforts by MPs, I find that digital communications technologies strengthen party discipline rather than temper it.

In Ottawa

There's an old adage that legislative backbenchers are simply trained seals (Koop et al. 2018, 10). The metaphor may be old, but its repetition reflects the common belief that parties constrain their members' parliamentary responsibilities. In this section, I demonstrate how party discipline is exacerbated by the introduction of digital communications technologies in the legislature.

Digital communications have opened the legislature to greater public scrutiny by making information readily available online. Online accessibility pressures parties to present a unified image while being recorded in the legislature because the public can easily view the videos. In examples from outside Canada, videos of MP Dennis Skinner in the British House of Commons and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in the United States (US) House of Representatives, respectively, have gone viral, highlighting the visibility of the legislature to the public through digital communications. Video of Skinner's "dodgy Dave" comment and his subsequent removal from the legislative session has 13.9 million views (BBC News 2016). On the other hand, Ocasio-Cortez's impassioned speech criticizing Rep. Ted Yoho has 3.2 million views on YouTube and audio from her speech has been used in approximately 8,300 TikTok videos and has attracted several million likes (C SPAN 2020, @ketosurvivor 2020). As demonstrated by their high view counts and ready availability online, both examples indicate that unplanned and planned comments in government have the potential to attract broad public attention online. The viral potential of videos taken within the legislature indicates how digital communications, that is, the distribution

of these videos online, opens the House of Commons up to greater public scrutiny. David Marland argues that online video may have consequences for parties since dissenting votes or disruptive comments may be taken as reflections of the party in power's ability to govern (2020, 1111). To avoid negative portrayals, parties have sought to regulate proceedings in the House of Representatives to the extent that Question period and legislative votes have become highly scripted events (Marland 2020, 67). Digital communications thus pressure parties to tighten discipline by increasing the availability of legislative proceedings, which enforces unity from members while being observed by the public.

In addition to increased visibility, digital communications have also directly facilitated disciplinary efforts. Party whips are non-cabinet members responsible for disciplining MPs to ensure the government has sufficient votes to pass legislation and remain in government (Marland 2020, 7). Whips use digital surveillance to monitor MP attendance and voting in the legislature. For instance, MPs may no longer be able to use the "diplomatic flu" and other tactics to avoid attendance and thus avoid voting against their beliefs (Marland 2020, 251). Digital communications constrain avoidance tactics since party whips can monitor MPs and verify the reasons for their absence; an MP that abstains from a vote for being "sick" but posts on social media or is photographed in their community can be exposed for lying (Marland 2020, 103). Because whips are likely to allow greater leniency to members with legitimate personal reasons for their absence, digital communications pressure MPs to be outgoing as well as loyal party members (Marland 2020, 103). Party leaders have taken on greater roles in caucus meetings, an institution where private members traditionally have greater freedom, to facilitate party discipline in online messaging (Marland 2020, 146). While private members use designated speaking time in caucus meetings to give their leadership feedback, the Prime Minister's Office has recently been known to co-opt cause meetings for their own purposes, by taking up time to to praise MPs who use their online presence to promote the Liberal Party (Marland 2020, 187).As described above, MPs are pressured to conform their behaviour to the expectations of their leadership to maintain their position in the party and achieve career success (Kam 2009). Through their online presence, MPs are increasingly visible to their whips and leaders and so face increasing pressure to demonstrate their loyalty in legislative votes, interpersonal relationships, and caucus meetings. Rewarding MP behaviour online in caucus meetings highlights how digital communications exacerbate the culture of party discipline.

Outside Parliament

One might expect that the physical separation from the party's central office gives members greater independence in their ridings (Koop et al., 2018). In fact, digital communications technologies serve as a window into the extra-parliamentary activities of MPs outside Ottawa. Parties have responded to increased visibility online with "message discipline" (Marland 2020). Message discipline is when party discipline extends beyond voting patterns to include how MPs present themselves and their party in public. Marland argues that parties expect MPs to remain "on the same page" and to act as brand ambassadors (as opposed to policy

developers) to present a cohesive party message online (Marland 2020, 66-68).

Interactions between MPs and constituents are not constrained to their community and are available for public observation nationwide. For example, the news media took up a YouTube video of former Conservative MP, David Wilks, criticizing Harper's omnibus budget bill and explaining party discipline in legislative voting (Fitzpatrick 2012). Wilks' party subsequently pushed him to backtrack his comments and vote in favour of the bill in Parliament (Fitzpatrick 2012). Wilks's candid discussion with his constituents and its consequences for the Conservative Party highlight how information dissemination affects parties. For fear of their own members contradicting their party message, parties must regulate their MPs' speech even outside Ottawa. To prevent scandal, parties proactively investigate candidates in an intense vetting process before campaigns, filtering out candidates based on social media posts and photos, posted long before they intended to run for office (Marland 2020, 40). By ensuring that all electoral candidates reflect the party's values, parties reduce the need to regulate MP behaviour in the future. In other words, parties tighten party unity and discipline by filtering out members who may challenge the hegemony of leadership. Parties are increasingly available to national public scrutiny wherever they operate, including individual conversations with community members. Party discipline is thus encouraged by the public's access to MP behaviour in their constituencies as parties seek to avoid disunity in their online presence.

Digital communications grant the public greater access to parties across the country, but these technologies also allow them to control their members better from afar. Some examples of measures to ensure members comply with message discipline include candidate contracts where candidates are required to give their party access to their social media passwords and dedicated social media accounts parties use to follow candidates and monitor their online behaviour (Marland 2020, 40-41). Largely, accounts may even be run by constituency assistants who advertise their MP's involvement in the community while said representative is absent from their riding (Marland 2020, 63). As discussed previously, the innovation hypothesis suggests that social media will have a democratizing effect. However, I argue that digital communications have been normalized as a surveillance mechanism to discipline the speech of parties' own members. MP behaviour online is thus limited to a centrally planned narrative. Parties also regulate campaigning through digital reporting mechanisms. Candidates must report their campaign activities to their parties, including the number of doors they've knocked on, allowing their parties to manage candidates during elections (Marland 2020, 151-52). Through several mechanisms, parties can regulate MPs' online and offline behaviour in their constituencies. Thus, digital communications facilitate party discipline by enhancing the surveillance capacities of party leadership operating from afar.

Digital communications technologies make MP behaviour more visible to the public and thus more subject to party monitoring and compliance measures. The line between local MPs in their ridings and the national purview of federal parties is blurred, opening party behaviour to public scrutiny. In response, parties implement stricter party discipline using digital communications technologies. They monitor their MPs' behaviour on the ground with reporting

mechanisms and heavily regulate parties' online presence. In their extra-parliamentary responsibilities, MPs are treated as brand ambassadors and are expected to toe the party line in their personal connections with constituents, campaign activities and online communications.

Resistance

Thus far, I have outlined the emerging ways digital communications technologies have enhanced surveillance and the discipline parties can exert on their members. However, MPs have avenues to circumvent and resist party discipline. This section outlines some counter arguments to the normalization hypothesis by highlighting cases of agency by party members, suggesting that party discipline is not absolute.

Even in the face of intense surveillance by the public and their parties, MPs perform essential communications by correcting misrepresentations in the media, reporting their constituents' concerns to their parties, and reporting legislative developments to their constituents (Koop et al. 2018, 175, 206). While these actions are less attention grabbing than dissenting votes in the legislature, they reflect the agency of MPs, regardless of their ties with their party leadership, to advance their own political agenda. Members also develop symbolic representation by building personal connections with people and organizations in their ridings (2018, 176). Essential communications functions and personal connections with their constituents are oft-overlooked activities of representatives where they have considerably more freedom (Koop et al. 2018, 92). In fact, research into campaigns at the constituency level suggests that many are not data-driven and highly professionalized but vary from candidate to candidate despite micromanaging by parties (Belfry Munroe and Munroe 2018, 136). Candidates can have individualized campaigns despite efforts by their parties to exert control. Personalized campaigns suggest that individual MPs play a vital role in addressing their voters with their campaigns and are not only the "trained seals" they are made out to be. Examples of policy development, communications, and personalized campaigns suggest that party discipline is not all-encompassing. Individual members adapt to party discipline by finding opportunities to personalize their activities and exert influence. As a result, party discipline, though enhanced by digital communications technologies, does not encompass all MP activity. Rather, the

Furthermore, some members not only subvert their parties but openly resist discipline efforts. For instance, high-profile former party members Ms. Jody Wilson Raybould P.C., M.P. and Dr. Jane Philpott P.C., M.P. were evicted from the Liberal caucus for standing up to the PMO during the SNC-Lavalin affair in 2019 (Kalvapalle and Connolly 2019). In the SNC-Lavalin affair, Wilson Raybould accused Trudeau of politically interfering with her work as Attorney General, an accusation supported by Philpott but heavily denied by the PMO (Kalvapalle and Connolly 2019). Wilson Raybould and Philpott's resistance indicates that not all members are constrained by the institutions and culture that promote conformity; some MPs are willing to sacrifice their careers to resist party discipline. Outside the legislature, former Liberal MP Celina Caesar-Chavannes challenged her party with social media posts discussing sexism and racism in federal politics, including within the Liberal Party (Marland 2020, 69).

She resisted efforts from senior party members who attempted to discipline her and eventually fell out with the Prime Minister, Liberal leader Justin Trudeau (CBC News 2020). Wilson Raybould, Philpott, and Caesar-Chavannes all broke party discipline, indicating that the parties can be resisted in the legislature and online. While digital communications technologies may enhance parties' discipline efforts, this does not imply that all MPs will obey. However, after their relationships with the Trudeau PMO broke down, all three members became independents, and the Liberal Party responded by tightening ranks (Marland 2020, 343). That Liberals intensified party discipline following the exodus of three sitting MPs from their party reflects the limits on rebuking party discipline. While Raybould, Philpott, and Caesar-Chavannes were technically free to disagree with the PMO and the Liberals, doing so ostracized them from their own party and did not bring about systemic change. Docherty suggests that evicting dissenters from caucus allows parties to strengthen party discipline by replacing rebel MPs with loyal party members (Docherty 1997, 254). In this case, the acts of resistance by Liberal Party members did not create a cascade effect, loosening party discipline, but are probably best characterized as one-off actions as opposed to a significant movement against party discipline.

Conclusion

Thus far, there has been a distinct lacuna in party politics research accounting for the role of digital communications technologies on Canadian party discipline. I have argued that digital communications have been normalized into party politics, whereby they've amplified the institutional and cultural pressures producing strict party discipline in Canada through new surveillance mechanisms. The increasing accessibility of MP behaviour to the public has pushed parties to exert greater control of their members to maintain a cohesive party image. Parties have also used digital communications technologies to expand their ability to monitor MPs. Increased surveillance has allowed parties to enforce uniformity better. The result is that the range of activities available to MPs has narrowed, and party discipline has strengthened. While MPs have adapted to these constraints by acting as representatives in non-traditional ways, and some have openly defied their party's leadership, digital technologies have not had a democratizing effect. Instead, as with other facets of Canadian party politics, online communications have empowered parties and their central leadership over private members.

These findings indicate that reforms designed to relax party discipline substantially must account for the impact of digital communications technologies. While it is outside the scope of this paper to outline possible reforms or methods for their implementation, they must reflect the institutional and cultural forces that produce party discipline and the role of digital technologies in exacerbating these pressures. In this respect, long-standing recommendations to reform institutions are no longer sufficient (Canada 1985). In the age of digital communications, MPs are not just whipped; they are watched.

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Urban Beekeeping in Montreal

Emilie Power

It is easy to live in Montreal for years without actually seeing one, but hidden away on the roofs of downtown highrises and plateau walk-ups are thousands of beehives. These hives are home to the honey bees, who spend the summers visiting plants in gardens all across the city.[i] These hives are sources of honey for people looking for food. These hives are the physical representation of two complete systems, nature and society, coming together as urban beekeeping. While still a relatively recent trend itself, urban beekeeping unfolded out of the long histories of Canadian beekeeping and urban agriculture. As pollinator populations experienced declines over that last couple of decades, honey bees became a contentious symbol for environmental protection. Although urban beekeeping can be done in a sustainable way, it is not inherently beneficial to the earth, which raises concerns when corporations seek to bolster their image with bees. At the same time, beekeeping remains an important, if under-recognized, part of food production in Montreal, both by creating honey and by pollinating crops. This connection grows ever more important as people look to create more just urban food systems through urban agriculture. While care must be taken to prevent profits from overshadowing sustainability, urban beekeeping plays an important role in connecting people to both their food and local environment. Indeed, only by acknowledging and appreciating beekeeping both as a part of the urban ecosystem *and* as a contribution to our food culture, can we make urban beekeeping a socially and environmentally sustainable practise.

Historical Development of Beekeeping in Montreal

The development of urban beekeeping in Montreal today is closely tied to the histories of both beekeeping and urban agriculture in Canada. While both are long histories, beekeeping in Canada can be connected directly with the colonization of the land. The most commonly domesticated bee, *Apis mellifera,* the European honey bee, was brought over from Europe by early colonizers to produce honey. Early accounts of beekeeping in Canada suggest that one of the main concerns was adapting techniques of caring for the bees to harsh winter climates.[ii] However, by the 1890s, beekeepers in Ontario were voicing concerns about honey bee populations being poisoned by chemical insecticides applied to fruit orchards while the trees were in blossom.[iii] Initially, this led to tensions between the two parties, however this eased in the mid 1890s when a series of studies showed that honey bees were in fact providing a service to the farm by pollinating the flowers. By the 1920s, pollination contracts between beekeepers and orchard owners began to appear to both increase fruit production and protect bees from insecticides.[iv] A report from this same period noted that, "Nearly all the honey that is seen in stores in Canadian cities is produced in Canada," highlighting that honey was very much a local food at the time. Local honey production gained importance once again during the second world war, as people looked for an alternative to refined sugar, which became unavailable due to wartime breakdowns in international trade.[v] Following the end of the war, industrial agriculture boomed and beekeeping started industrializing as well.[vi] Although there are still many small-scale beekeepers, today beekeeping is often a travelling operation, primarily geared towards pollinating large industrial croplands and orchards. Although not exactly the superstar of Canadian history, beekeeping has been closely tied to the history of the nation since early colonization and has evolved alongside it.[vii]

Much like the history of beekeeping in Canada, urban agriculture in Montreal has a long history, dating back to early colonial cities. Early in Montreal's history, urban agriculture was extremely common. In 1731, the vast majority of registered agricultural areas were found within the city walls, including personal gardens, large-scale farms and gardens run by religious institutions. As time passed and the city grew, agriculture moved away from urban areas. By the turn of the century, agriculture had mostly become a rural enterprise, although records show that upper class urban dwellers owned many gardens and orchards directly outside the city, with products going directly to urban markets.[viii] While agriculture continued to move away from urban areas throughout the 1800s, in 1890 urban gardening reappeared in Eastern Canada with the Nature-Study movement and the introduction of school gardens.[ix] Urban gardening gained significant importance during both world wars, as citizens were urged to help increase food supply.[x] However, after the wars ended, the Relief Gardens and Victory Gardens plots were generally not maintained and the land was used for other purposes. In the 1970s, many urban gardens were established in Montreal, as the city experienced financial difficulties after the 1973 oil embargo.[xi] The community gardens seen in Montreal today were largely established during this time. Over the last few decades, environmentalism has become more mainstream and there has been a revitalization in interest in alternative agricultural systems, including urban agriculture.[xii] This cultural shift made way for the rise of urban beekeeping in cities across Canada and around the world. While widespread interest in the environment may have driven the popularization of urban beekeeping, it is also concern for the environment that has made it controversial.[xiii]

Beekeeping and Biodiversity

Beekeeping, especially urban beekeeping, is linked in popular knowledge to environmental sustainability. While keeping bees is not inherently good for the environment, it can be done in a sustainable way, but only with a proper understanding of the unique place domestic bees have in the urban ecosystem. A significant environmental concern that is linked to beekeeping is the global decline in pollinator populations, with extensive debate over the role beekeeping plays in this trend. Over the last two decades there have been several international reports documenting declining bee populations, with links drawn to climate change, the spread of invasive species, and chemical usage in agriculture. While a study on environmental news coverage showed that pollinator declines receive only a fraction of the media attention that climate change does, there was consistent documentation of public concern about the issue.[xiv] With increasing public interest, the species that received the most news coverage was the European honey bee.[xv] However, there has been criticism that domesticated bees occupy too much space in the discourse on biodiversity conservation, where natural ecosystems should be in the spotlight. While agriculture can be negatively impacted by environmental problems, it also often contributes to them.[xvi] For this reason it is important to examine these issues through both human and environmental interest lenses.

The pollinator crisis has effected regions all over the world, but urban landscapes have played a unique and unexpected role. The process of building urban infrastructure often comes at

the cost of disrupting or removing natural habitats, so cities are often viewed as having very little biodiversity. However, urban areas serve as refuges for pollinator diversity, likely due to the popularity of decorative flowers and more restrictions on pesticide use. While this is good news for both wild and domesticated bees, there are concerns that increasing populations of domestic honey bees will result in wild bees not having sufficient access to flower resources.[xvii] A 2019 study found that competition for resources did not appear to limit the population of wild bees in Montreal. While the urban ecosystem appears to be stable right now, experts still emphasize that care must be taken if urban beekeeping continues to rise in popularity.[xviii] Gail MacInnis, a pollination scientist at Concordia University noted that, "It's not very ecologically responsible to say, 'yeah we will bring in the bees, but we are not going to start planting more flowers in the city.'" While urban beekeeping can be done in a sustainable way, it requires conscious action by beekeepers, urban planners, and society at large to prevent it from overwhelming natural ecosystems.[xix]

Spreading Environmental Awareness

One of the ways that beekeeping aids in environmental education is by increasing people's emotional attachment to the place they live. In her book *Braiding Sweetgrass*, Robin Wall Kimmerer discusses how settlers tend to treat the land as disposable, as if they are only going to be living there temporarily.[xx] She suggests that people need to have a loving and respectful attachment to the places they live in order to have a sustainable relationship with the environment. This is somewhat difficult to imagine in a city where large portions of the population live in rental housing with annual leases and attachment is often inherently temporary. Despite this, emotional closeness with the city and environment is very much possible. A public orchard in Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue was found to have positive impacts on people's attachment to the place they live.[xxi] As part of the same program, the city has also introduced two rooftop beehives.[xxii] Through programs like this, beekeeping could help people feel emotional attachment to their city and local environment.

Additionally, beekeeping can help educate people on environmental issues is by sparking interest in the urban ecosystem. When people feel connected to the broader system, they have more motivation to help support that system. An Australian study showed that urban beekeepers often became actively involved in efforts to green urban areas. While perhaps initially fuelled by a desire to have a good habitat for honey bees, advocacy for more green spaces can broadly improve urban environmental conditions.[xxiii] Miel Montreal, a cooperative that provides resources and support for urban beekeeping, has embraced this idea that honey bees can be the spark that ignites a broader environmental interest. They state that, "The main objective of urban beekeeping is to sensitize and educate the population on the importance of pollinators and all biodiversity." Conceptualizing beekeeping as being primarily an educational tool instead of primarily an agricultural enterprise is an interesting shift in perspective.[xxiv] It can be particularly relavent to urban communities, because while most urban conservation groups are focused purely on education due to limited wildlife in cities, urban pollinators provide an opportunity for urban conservation efforts to be both direct and meaningful.[xxv]

As the focus of urban beekeeping has shifted away from honey and towards promoting environmental sustainability, large companies started getting rooftop hives. This trend led to concerns that companies were 'bee-washing,' that is trying to create an unsubstantiated environmentally-friendly image through beekeeping. One article noted that while rooftop hives can be a practical way for beekeepers to keep bees in urban areas, many large corporations have set up bee hives seemingly for the sole reason of bolstering their image. This trend can be seen not only in the number of big businesses getting hives, but also in the way commercial urban beekeeping is advertised.[xxvi] Alvéole, the urban beekeeping company that started in Montreal, sells urban beekeeping as a way to boost the ESG (Environmental, Social, and Governance) ratings of their commercial real estate and corporate customers. By raising ESG numbers, companies can become more attractive to investors.[xxvii] However, we have already seen that while urban beekeeping is not necessarily unsustainable, it is certainly not sustainable in and of itself. So although large corporations getting professionally managed rooftop beehives is not itself a problem, using these hives as a green facade could be.

Urban Beekeeping as Agriculture

While the focus of urban beekeeping may have shifted towards environmental education and environmental imagery, it is important to remember that it is still fundamentally an agricultural process that helps us produce our food. If asked to associate Quebec with a natural sweetener, most people would immediately think of maple syrup, not honey, but despite this second place status, honey is an important part of food culture in Montreal. Possibly the most significant example of this is Montreal-style bagels, which get their distinctive taste by being boiled in honey and water before baking. As bagels are one of the most recognizable regional foods in Montreal, honey helps create a regional sense of pride and place.[xxviii] While honey can be consumed for enjoyment, it also is a common component of traditional medicine and there is scientific support for the use of honey in a variety of medical treatments. One healing use for honey is as a cough suppressant and there is evidence that not only is this commonly used in Quebec,[xxix] but consumers would also prefer the honey to be locally sourced. In 2013 a Canadian natural lozenge producer partnered with a Quebec beekeeping cooperative, stating: "the demand for the utilization of the local flora in the Quebec market has been growing since our initial launch in all Jean Coutu stores in December of last year." While perhaps not a food staple, honey is used in diverse ways in food and medicine, both nourishing and providing a sense of place.[xxx]

Beekeeping also contributes to food production through pollination. Crop pollination is one of the main services provided by commercial rural beekeepers, but it can also be important in the city. A pollen analysis of the honey from the rooftop hives at McGill University, showed that over half was from apple trees. This suggests that urban apple trees are being pollinated by domestic honey bees, allowing fruit to grow.[xxxi] Fruit trees and honey bees are a partnership that have been important to the history of beekeeping in Canada and this partnership continues to today, even in downtown Montreal. Bumblebees, while not honey producers, are also important pollinators for food production. The domestication of bumblebees was so highly successful in

increasing tomato production in greenhouses, that older methods of pollination were largely discontinued. This form of beekeeping can also be seen in greenhouses in Montreal.[xxxii] Lufa Farms, an urban agriculture giant in Montreal, keeps small hives of bumblebees in each of their greenhouses to aid in pollination and pest control. Beekeeping has a very real impact on the food grown and consumed in Montreal.[xxxiii]

Connection to Urban Food Security

Urban food production is often suggested as a solution to food insecurity in highly urbanized settings. This is particularly prevalent in literature and policy in developing countries where urban agriculture has been important in improving nutrition, while in North America gardening is often framed as a recreational pastime. This conception on gardening may come from the limited accessibility of urban agriculture. In Montreal, urban agriculture tends to be mostly practised by high income groups, those who do not work, and those who own houses.[xxxiv] However a Montreal study found that significant quantities of produce were produced in urban gardens and suggested that the food production value of urban gardening in undervalued in North America. Another, more theoretical, study found that Montreal would be able to more than fill the demand for fresh produce by all city residents if urban gardening and hydroponic systems were fully developed in all the available areas in the city.[xxxv] While this is a far cry from the current reality of infrastructure in Montreal, it highlights that urban agriculture has potential as a viable alternative food system.[xxxvi]

There are two main approaches to developing urban agriculture systems in the city and both have a close connection to urban beekeeping. The first is through community gardens and community organizations. Urban gardens are extremely popular, with demand far outweighing the availability of plots. These gardens tend to have individual plots, along with group resources, including honey bee hives. An analysis of existing urban gardens found that participants came from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds.[xxxvii] In fact the variation in socioeconomic status of people involved in community gardens tends to directly reflect the variation in neighbourhood.[xxxviii]

This suggests that developing more urban gardens in poorer neighbourhoods would indeed increase the accessibility of fresh vegetables. While by no means a complete solution to food insecurity, the popularity of these programs among all socioeconomic groups should not be dismissed. Several community organizations around Montreal also have collective gardens. Santropol Roulant has a few urban farms in Montreal, as well as an urban beekeeping collective that produces honey. They state that one of the objectives of the beekeeping program is to "connect urbanites to the source of their food." The second approach to developing urban agriculture in Montreal is through commercial rooftop greenhouses.[xxxix] This can be seen through the successful expansion of Lufa Farms over the last decade. While the produce is generally somewhat expensive, the company has approached the issue of food insecurity by providing weekly vegetable baskets to people from lower socio-economic backgrounds on the

recommendation of community groups from around the city. While this approach does not seek to completely open up accessibility, it is still clear that the topic of food insecurity is a concern for those looking to change the urban food system in Montreal.[xl] As urban beekeeping is part of this cultural shift, it is important that ideas of food security are considered as it continues to develop.

Conclusion

The sweetness of honey may not seem substantial, however it is part of several complicated, intertwining histories. While beekeeping, particularly urban beekeeping, are driven by human interests, bees can not be separated from the broader environment. As urban agriculture ecosystems in Montreal continue to evolve, it is important that both the environmental and agricultural aspects of beekeeping are appreciated. Only if profits do not overshadow sustainability can urban beekeeping be embraced as a path to connecting people to their food and environment. Moving forwards, urban beekeeping should be considered in a more holistic way. It not *only* about food or *only* about biodiversity or *only* about education, but rather it is a combination of all these. If Montreal can continue to plant flowers in urban areas, continue to monitor wild bee populations, continue to appreciate honey and urban crops, and continue to fight for food security, urban beekeeping can become a model of environmental and social sustainability.

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