

Canadian Content



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Letter from the Editors

We are pleased to present the fifth volume of *Canadian Content*, a collection of essays we feel best represents the high quality of undergraduate academic work being done at McGill on the study of Canada.

Being an interdisciplinary department, Canadian Studies offers us the chance to study Canadian issues through a variety of lenses. In order to respect distinctions between departments and disciplines, we have avoided standardizing citation formats. Regardless of the citation style used, Works Cited lists can be found following each essay and we have tried our best to make them as uniform as possible.

Every year we receive more submissions than we could possibly publish. We would like to thank each contributor – including those whose work is not included here – for adding to an engaging and ongoing dialogue about Canada’s past, present, and future. We spent much time debating the merits of each essay submitted and were delighted by the high level and variety of submissions received.

This year we noticed a preponderance of essays on the subject of multiculturalism. As Elliot Holzman points out in his essay on multiculturalism and religious identity, it has been over 40 years since Pierre Elliot Trudeau first announced the policy in Parliament. Clearly cross-cultural exchanges and the politics of ethnicity and immigration are topics that engage students to this day. We hope this volume offers a rich palette of perspectives on the subject. Additional essays on topics such as health care policy and the environmental impacts of convenience food, among others, make persuasive arguments on some of the most important social and economic problems Canada faces today.

We would like to thank the Arts Undergraduate Society as well as the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada for their consistent financial support. We would also like to thank our editorial board (all members of CSAUS, the Canadian Studies Association of Undergraduate Students) for their hard work this semester.

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Introduction

Claire Campbell

Claire Campbell is the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada Eakin Visiting Fellow for Winter 2013. She wishes to thank Alec, Brendan, Colleen, Katherine and Michael for the wonderful discussions this semester.

Introduction

This semester, as the Eakin Visiting Fellow with the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, I've been staying at Place des Arts. The fastest route to McGill is to just head west along Maisonneuve or Sherbrooke, but every morning, I've headed in the opposite direction.

I walk a block east to Main, now more commonly called St. Laurent, the historic centre line of the city. Then down through Chinatown, thinking about the various immigrant communities that have claimed pieces of Montreal. At the intersection of St. Urbain, St. Antoine, and Place d'Armes I stop, for here to me is both the mystery and the marvel of Ville Marie. Across the street is the modern Palais des Congrès, typical of late twentieth century attempts to redefine and rejuvenate a downtown core. (Unfortunately, so too was the Autoroute Ville-Marie, behind me.) Just above, the glorious brick architecture of Rue St. Jacques recalls the era when St. James Street represented the commercial and arguably the political headquarters of an expanding Canada, and of the dominance of Scots-Anglophone Montrealers.

Above that in turn stands the breathtaking Notre Dame, a reminder of the Catholic soul of seventeenth-century New France, and the statue of Maisonneuve a reminder of those the French found here. And then I look down, because I am standing not only at the foot of a hill, but above a river: la petite rivière, now buried beneath St. Antoine but which, like several other rivers in the city, still runs beneath the pavement. All of that in a tiny section – a block, really – of Canada's second largest city.

I teach environmental history, which I think of as a kind of imaginative archaeology, moving across time in space, between elements of nature and elements of human history, that recreates the past in three dimensions. The past is never far away here; the sloping topography below Place d'Armes reminds us that even if la petite rivière is out of sight, it still shapes our Montreal, and so it should not be out of mind. (The flooding of the McGill campus this winter from the McTavish Reservoir was a rather more dramatic reminder of the lessons of the past, to wit: don't forget what was built above you when you build downhill from a nineteenth-century reservoir.)

Our sense of what Canada was and is has long been shaped by the land and sea, from distinct but interconnected aboriginal territories to contemporary debates over the extraction of timber, water and oil. Is this how we envision Canada's future, as well? The life of the university should not be thought of as apart from questions

about citizenship and the country's direction, but rather, entwined with, answering to, and enriching them daily. History, geography, political science, the arts, and the natural sciences all view our relationship to the land differently – but whether as territory, resource, or inspiration, our experience as Canadians is profoundly coloured by and inextricably linked to the environment we have occupied and transformed.

Canadian Studies is particularly well-suited to addressing this, the heart of the Canadian experience. It asks us to make the same kinds of imaginative leaps and connections, between disciplinary models and bodies of knowledge, between academic discussion and the issues and places that pervade our lives as citizens. And between parts of the Canadian experience, past and present. We may sometimes feel overwhelmed by the environmental and cultural diversity in this country, but we should never feel defeated by it, and we should always continue to work to find connections, patterns, a sense of a larger whole.

Here too the environment is absolutely central. First, Canadian Studies invites us to embrace the challenge of Canadian geographic diversity by drawing comparisons between different regions. To speculate on what the LaChine Canal might tell us about postindustrial strategies in Cape Breton, or how the Plan Nord fits into a pattern of southern ideas about the north, or how the terroir tourism of the Eastern Townships appears in the Okanagan and the Annapolis Valleys.

And second, Canadian Studies asks us to engage in the public and political debates about environmental futures as well as research about the environmental past. It reminds us of the need to supply contemporary political debates with historical context, and to look for where artifacts of our historical choices – like a buried *petite rivière* – continue to surface in our lives. As my students in CANS 405 discovered this year, it also means identifying competing claims to particular places, from Dominion Square to Mount Royal, to see how different groups become invested symbolically and materially in different areas of Canada.

In the papers assembled in this issue of *Canadian Content*, I see these challenges taken up by these emerging scholars. While we in Canadian Studies often struggle to articulate the distinctive contributions and *raison d'être* of our field within academia and beyond, it is clear that these authors understand its purpose, its potential, and its capacity for diverse approaches. The essays are ambitious in scope, unafraid of investigating issues on a national scale, whether addressing the “disjointed” yet invaluable tier of home health care or measuring the change in religious practices as part of immigrant adaptation to Canada. There is a particular interest in conceiving of Canada in terms of space – not the sweeping space of the

north of nationalist myth, but the concrete but constructed spaces of moral, legal, or economic regulation, access, and privilege, whether the moral gaze of reformers or the geography of healthy food security. (There is a notable interest among these students in urban Canada, historical and contemporary, which is not surprising – it is the Canada they know best – but it does point to a need for more environmental study about the urban landscape.) And equally important, they use academic training to engage directly with questions facing policy-makers and the public alike: how the rights and well-being of Canadian citizens intersect with elements of racial, cultural, and economic difference and (in)justice. They and the editors of *Canadian Content* are to be commended.

Remaking the Canadian Mosaic

**From Multiculturalism to Multifaithism and Why Debates Over
Religious Identity Will Dominate the 21st Century**

Elliot Holzman

Remaking the Canadian Mosaic: From Multiculturalism to Multifaithism and Why Debates Over Religious Identity Will Dominate the 21st Century

It has been over 40 years since Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau announced the “Implementation of a Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework”¹ in the House of Commons, but the greatest debates over Canadian multiculturalism are still to come. Phillip Connor, a noted scholar on the sociology of religion in Canada, laments that “much research focuses on the economic and linguistic adaptation of immigrants to their new societies, [however] it is rare to find research that studies the religious adaptation of immigrants at a national level.”² With the increased influx of immigrants from non-Judeo-Christian backgrounds to North America, there is a renewed interest in the intersection of religiosity and migration. The number of ethnographies on the topic of immigrant religiosity has risen in the last decade, and migration scholars are increasingly interested in religion as an explanatory vehicle for social integration among immigrant groups in Canada and the United States.³ In 2001, Statistics Canada concluded “immigrants remain faithful to their religion, and even increase their devotion, because it eases their transition to Canada, offers them comfort and provides a support group.”⁴

This paper will challenge the assumption that religiosity increases among recent immigrants by engaging in a broader debate over the role of religiosity in Canada’s multicultural landscape. In addition, I evaluate the challenges arising in the interaction between religious groups and the secular state. I pose the following questions: What changes or fluctuations in immigrant religiosity occur throughout adaptation to Canada, and do these potential changes differ according to the form or measure of religiosity? Is Canadian multiculturalism a help or a hindrance to these processes? In order to consider these questions, this essay will explore the trajectory of Canada’s demographic landscape in the context of evolving multicultural policies as well as the scholarly debate as to whether religiosity increases or decreases among recent immigrant groups. Next, I proceed to the second question: whether secularism acts as a barrier to social integration of religious immigrants and whether multiculturalism needs to be reimagined. First, I argue that religios-

1 Parliament of Canada, House of Commons Debates, 3rd session, 28th Parliament, Volume 8, 8 October 1971, Ottawa: Queen’s Printer.

2 Phillip Connor, “Immigrant Religiosity in Canada: Multiple Trajectories,” *International Migration & Integration* 10 (2009): 160.

3 H. R. Ebaugh, “Religion and the new immigrants,” as found in M. Dillon (Ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

4 T. Mori, “Asian immigrants alter Canada’s faith picture,” *Christian Century*, 12 January 17, 2001.

ity, as measured with traditional indicators, decreases among immigrants in Canada. Second generation immigrants tend to be more selective in their religiosity, representing a negotiation between their religious heritage and a desire to fit into prevailing secular norms in Canadian society. Finally, institutionalized multiculturalism is not consistent with the rapidly changing religious landscape in Canada, causing harm to the integration of religious immigrants.

The Crisis of Tolerance: From Multiculturalism to Reasonable Accommodation

British Protestantism and French Catholicism together formed a strong bi-religious identity in Canada from the Treaty of Paris (1763) until the early 1900s. Bramadat and Seljak state that by the interwar period, Canada had become a more religiously plural society following the influx of non-French Catholics (Irish in the 19th century, Italians, Ukrainians, and Central Europeans by the 1920s), and a small minority of Eastern Orthodox and Jewish immigrants.⁵ However, in recent decades, a decline in religiosity at an individual level has led to a greater number of Canadians claiming no religious affiliation and for those with a religious affiliation, claiming less formal ties to religious institutions.⁶

National debate over Francophone-Anglophone biculturalism in the 1960s resulted in “a policy of multiculturalism, formulated to address concerns among some immigrant groups about the difficulties associated with cultural assimilation.”⁷ Reitz et al. note that the vast majority of immigrants at the time were of European origin. The emphasis was on cultural retention, as religious fault lines were less relevant due to a common Judeo-Christian heritage. However, by 1962, the government abandoned the practice of preferring immigrants from European countries, opening the door to those from the Caribbean, South America, Africa and Asia. In 1967, the federal government implemented the Points System in order to attract skilled immigrants to Canada. Phillip Connor argues that with the loosening of restrictions on the origin of immigrants, Canada has become a global representation of the world’s religions.⁸ In the 2006 Canadian Census, it was found that 20% of Canada’s population was foreign-born, with Muslims, Sikhs,

5 P. Bramadat and D. Seljak, “Chartering the New Terrain: Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada,” as found in P. Bramadat & D. Seljak (Eds.), *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

6 P. Beyer, “Religious vitality in Canada: The Complementarity of Religious Market and Secularization Perspectives,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36(2), 272–287.

7 Jeffrey Reitz et al., “Religion, Religiosity, and the Social Integration of Immigrant Ethnic Groups in Canada,” Paper presented at the University of Toronto, March 15, 2008, 4-5.

8 Connor, 161.

Buddhists, and Hindus now composing approximately 7% of the total population.⁹

The social integration of certain religious immigrant groups has become a focal point of in national debate over the successes and failures of Canada's multi-cultural policies. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, academics have paid the greatest attention to Muslims, Reitz et al. summarize the debate:

The question is whether certain religious minorities have values, beliefs or practices that are difficult to integrate into Canadian society because they clash with Canadian ideas about gender equality or secularism in public institutions, or because they promote involvement in international religious conflicts that may be played out within Canada.¹⁰

Using Muslims as an example, Reitz et al. argue that the debate over multiculturalism boils down to two recurring arguments. The first argument revolves around the status of women in Islam: both Boyd and Khan argue that critics view the religiosity of Muslim immigrants as incompatible with Canadian commitments to gender equality. For instance, the Ontario Superior Court explicitly rejected the use of Sharia Law because of concerns that women are unfairly treated in Islamic jurisprudence.¹¹ The second argument challenges governmental recognition of religious preferences in education as running counter to the prevailing secularism in Canadian public life.¹² During the 2007 Ontario election, the Progressive Conservatives' proposal to fund public schools for religions other than Roman Catholicism was widely criticized, with opinion polls showing that upwards of 70% of Ontarians opposed an extension of funds to other religious schools.¹³

Although concerns about the integration of Muslims have been voiced in debates over publicly funded religious schools in Ontario, the rejection of Sharia Law, and the media frenzy surrounding the Shafia family's trial for honour killings in 2012, the most overt example is found in the town of Hérouxville, Québec. Hérouxville residents adopted a 'life standards' code in 2007 that banned female circumcision, stoning, and immolation among other acts.¹⁴ Gada Mahrouse notes

9 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and figures 2006 immigration overview: Permanent residents." <<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2006/permanent/01.asp>> (accessed April 9, 2012.)

10 Reitz et al., 5.

11 Marion Boyd, "Religion-Based Alternative Dispute Resolution: A Challenge to Multiculturalism," as found in K. Banting, T.J. Courchene, and F.L. Seidle (eds), *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition, and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, (Montréal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 465- 473.

12 Reitz et al., 6.

13 Strategic Counsel, "The Race for Queen's Park: Wave 2," <http://www.thestrategiccounsel.com/our_news/polls/2007-09> (accessed April 1, 2012.)

14 Gada Mahrouse, "'Reasonable Accommodation' in Québec: The Limits of Participation and Dialogue," *Race and Class* 52 (2010), 86.

that, despite being an almost entirely French-Canadian population, a municipal councillor from the town demanded that the Québec Premier declare a state of emergency in order to protect Québec culture from non-Christian beliefs and practices.¹⁵ The Québec government responded by establishing the Bouchard-Taylor Commission to investigate the ‘reasonable accommodation’ of immigrants. Although the report received mixed results from the public, it shed light on a critical flaw of Canada’s multiculturalism policies: the failure to reconcile a growing gulf between religious groups, including the religiosity of recent immigrants and prevailing notions of secularism. These examples above demonstrate that religion is central to sociological discussions of integration and the spectre of Huntington’s ‘clash of civilizations’ is moving away from the margins and into the main fray of national debates over Canadian identity.¹⁶

Does Religiosity Increase or Decrease During the Migratory Event?

The underlying assumption in the research is that religiosity tends to be higher among recent immigrants than native-born Canadians. Moreover, these recent immigrants will have difficulty integrating into a society that is more secular than they are. This observation is statistically supported and well documented as Clark and Schellenberg note: “It seems that incoming migrant cohorts keep Canada from total decline in religious activity. In a recent study, immigrants on the aggregate are found to have a higher religiosity than Canadian-born residents.”¹⁷ This section will begin to answer the first research question: whether immigrant religiosity fluctuates throughout adaptation to Canada.

Phillip Connor argues, “regarding the trajectory of immigrant religiosity during the first few years of immigrant adaptation, empirical evidence does not agree.”¹⁸ On one hand, theory suggests that immigrant religiosity increases after the migratory event as the involvement in local religious networks helps to mediate the adaptation process.¹⁹ The salience of religion among new immigrants has been identified since the 19th century: Alexis de Tocqueville’s, *Democracy in America*, highlights the importance of voluntary religious associations to the fabric of American society. Herberg’s classic text, *Protestant, Catholic, and Jew*, shows that religious affiliation is often the sole character trait that does not change among immigrants as they adapt to a new society.²⁰ Although immigration in the last 40

15 Ibid.

16 Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?,” *Foreign Affairs* 72(3), 22-49.

17 W. Clark and G. Schellenberg, “Who’s Religious?” *Canadian Social Trends* 11(8), 2–9.

18 Connor, 162.

19 C. Hirschman, “The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant groups in the United States,” *International Migration Review* 38 (2004): 1206–34.

20 W. Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1960).

years has extended beyond Christianity and Judaism, the underlying logic applies to other religious communities.

On the other hand, some empirical evidence has shown that religiosity actually decreases among immigrants after the migratory event. Wuthnow and Christiano examined migrants who moved around the United States in the 1970s and found that, with each additional migration, members of most religious groups were less likely to be involved in a local religious community.²¹ Furthermore, using data obtained from the Enquête sur l'établissement des nouveaux immigrants (ENI), Connor argues that immigrant religious participation declines during the first three years of settlement in the host society.²²

The discrepancy between theory and empirical evidence can be explained by methodological limitations present in studies that find increased religiosity in new immigrants. Connor identifies four main limitations with studies conducted on immigrant religiosity. Firstly, researchers often limit their sampling pool to immigrants who are members of religious congregations, without taking into account immigrants who are religious but who are not members of a congregation. Secondly, researchers in the 1970s and 1980s had inadequate access to immigrant panel data at a national level. As a result, there was a lack of data on the fluctuations observed over time as immigrants settle in Canada. Thirdly, empirical data is often drawn from the United States, limiting the application of these findings to countries with different societal contexts. Fourthly, researchers have often used indicators like religious service attendance as the primary example of religiosity, which neglects a wide array of other avenues through which immigrants can express their religious identity.

Using data from a national sample of 6,940 recent immigrants from an array of backgrounds, Connor traced the fluctuations of immigrant religiosity over a four-year span from 2000 to 2004.²³ Connor concluded that “although the ethnographic literature provides a sense of increasing religiosity among immigrants throughout the settlement process while the quantitative literature generally provides evidence for decline,” both functions operate simultaneously.²⁴ He discovered that while religious group membership rises in the years after immigration, religious participation declines over time among immigrants. He argues that the increase-decrease debate results from researchers using different indicators. Schol-

21 R. Wuthnow & K. Christiano, “The Effects of Residential Migration on Church Attendance in the United States,” as found in R. Wuthnow (Ed.), *The Religious Dimension: New directions in Quantitative Research*, (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

22 Phillip Connor, “Increase or Decrease? The Impact of the International Migratory Event on Immigrant Religious Participation,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47 (2008).

23 Connor (2009), 163.

24 Ibid., 171.

ars who were on the ‘increase’ side often used religious volunteerism as a measure of religiosity, which Connor found to have increased in the years after migration. On the other side, ‘decrease’ scholars used ‘habitual religious activity’ as an indicator of religiosity, which Connor found to have decreased over time.

Hirschman argues that a rise in religious group membership among recent immigrants is explained by the social capital immigrants accumulate by tapping into these religious networks. He identifies the three R’s – refuge, respect, and resources – as the primary reasoning behind increased religious group membership. Religious organizations can aid immigrants in finding housing, employment, education, and medical services. Thus, the fluctuations in religiosity that tend to support those scholars who believe that there is an increase in overall religiosity among immigrants may be a temporary phenomenon that is balanced out by a general decline once immigrants are settled. Building on recent studies in the United States, Connor reconciles these seemingly contradictory findings by concluding that “immigrants are more selective in their religious activity over time.”²⁵

In an earlier study of immigrant religiosity in Québec, Connor found that “there is a decrease in religious participation among immigrants upon their arrival to the new society.”²⁶ He notes that his research into religiosity among immigrants in Québec may prove that context, the third prong of criticisms leveled at the way migration scholars measure immigrant religiosity, is a mitigating factor in his analysis. The results of the Quiet Revolution and the aggressive secularization of Québec society was something of a North American anomaly, specifically pace of change. Connor notes that a selection bias could hamper the legitimacy of his results, insofar as immigrants who are seeking a more secular environment may choose Québec over other Canadian provinces. Furthermore, a mimicking effect could be underway, whereby immigrant groups become more secular because of the prevailing secular culture that they immerse themselves into. However, this analysis is problematic because it assumes a unidirectional or deterministic approach: could it also be possible that the influence of religious immigrant groups has an effect on Québec society and render it less secular as opposed to the other way around?

The debate over the increase or decrease in religiosity among new immigrant communities boils down to disparities between the types of measurements used to assess religiosity. From a theological point of view, it appears that ‘decline’ scholars, such as Phillip Connor, Hirschman, and Wuthnow and Christiano are accurate. Studies demonstrate that immigrants become more selective in their religious participation over time, although this does not mean that they abandon their religious affiliation. In contrast, the studies done by ‘increase’ scholars seem to sug-

25 Connor (2009), 173.

26 Connor (2008), 253.

gest that religiosity, defined in more emotional, cultural, and functional ways, is actually increasing. The fluctuations in religiosity suggest that religious affiliation is increasingly moving away from a literal reading of ancient scriptures towards a more nuanced balance between the desire to maintain kinship and community networks, yet integrate into a society that tends to be more secular and dismissive of pious practices.

Is Secularism A New Religion? Christianity's Afterglow in Canadian Society

The second research question in this paper seeks to understand the effect that Canada's official policy of multiculturalism has had on immigrant religiosity. David Seljak argues that the recent debates over the role of multiculturalism in the acculturation of immigrants revolve around a misconception about the separation of church and state in Canada.²⁷ Canadians assume that there is an institutional separation of religious views and the state apparatus, as is the case in the United States. Unlike the American example of a clear constitutional clause that prohibits the founding of an established national church, Canada's Constitution Act, 1867 actually requires some provincial governments to fund Roman Catholic schools, an arrangement that is unheard of in other developed countries.²⁸

Seljak identifies three distinct periods in church-state relations in Canada, and argues that the country may be on the precipice of a fourth. The first phase was during colonial era when European colonists, namely the French and the British, brought Christianity to North America. After Confederation, there was the creation of a "pluralist establishment" of mainline Protestant churches in English Canada (Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Baptist/Methodism) and the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. Finally, after World War Two, Seljak argues that a third phase increases consensus around the separation of church and state and the secularization of society. The secularization of Canadian society after World War Two is statistically supported as the number of Canadians who have no religious affiliation has increased from 0.5% in 1961 to 16.2% in 2001, and figures on church attendance demonstrated a systemic drop across denominations from 83% after World War Two to 23% during the 1990s.²⁹ Despite the de-Christianization of visible aspects of Canadian public life, Seljak argues that Canadian secularism is "residually Christian."³⁰ This Christian Afterglow mirrors what studies by Holtmann and Nason-Clark found when examining second generation Hindus.³¹ In

27 David Seljak, "Secularization and the Separation of Church and State in Canada," *Canadian Diversity* (2008), 6.

28 Constitution Act, 1867.

29 M. Noll, "What happened to Christian Canada?" *History* 75(2).

30 Seljak, 11.

31 C. Holtmann and Nancy Nason-Clark. "Preparing for Life: Gender, Religiosity, and Education Among Second Generation Hindus in Canada," *Religion and Gender* 2 (2012).

many ways, public opinion data shows that Canadians are more comfortable with Christian imagery, such as public displays of crucifixes or the use of the word 'God' in the national anthem and Canadian Constitution, but are uneasy with public displays of other non-Christian religions.

What are the consequences for multiculturalism? The abstraction that has been cultivated in Canadian society of the supposed separation of church and state may serve as a barrier in achieving the goals of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) and a broader challenge to integrate religious immigrants whose values may differ greatly from other segments of Canadian society. On the surface, the myth of a wall between church and state may breed intolerance and discrimination: seeing as religiosity is often linked with an ethnic identity among immigrants, it is inevitable that such an approach will marginalize members of ethno-religious immigrant groups. Below the surface, a closed secularism could dissuade immigrants groups from participating in public life or public discussions about religiosity because for many of them, religious identity is intertwined with ethnic identity.

At the outset of this paper, I suggested that the greatest debates over Canadian multiculturalism are still to come. The social debates of the last decade show that fault lines between groups are increasingly along religious lines, although through the lens of misconstrued multicultural policies. The title of this section, 'Is Secularism a Religion?' could have just as accurately been labeled, 'Is Multiculturalism a Religion?' The consensus around the desire to maintain Canadian multiculturalism as it has traditionally been conceived is so persistent that we have failed to understand that the policies are treating the wrong problem. The major issue in our society is over religious accommodation, and not cultural recognition. This essay's title suggested that Canada is witnessing a profound change in church-state relations: Seljak infers that Canada is entering a fourth stage in this relationship that is dominated by multifaithism. Multifaithism is a new term in the literature on religiosity and migration and refers to a concerted effort by governments to recognize the pressing need for increased dialogue between different faith groups in order to build a more durable future for immigrant Canadians.

Seljak argues that new multicultural policies should harness public dialogue by creating national interfaith networks. He believes that these networks could foster a greater understanding of religious diversity by "facilitating communication and cooperation between government departments and public institutions and faith communities on an ongoing basis and negotiating conflicts between adherents of religious groups..."³² It is becoming increasingly clear that ignoring religion, or refusing to confront the persistence of religion in Canadian society, has run its course and has led to dangerous generalizations about the nature of our multicultural heritage. Our desire to cling to an ahistorical reading of the sepa-

32 Holtmann and Nason-Clark, 19.

ration of church and state leads to injustices and discrimination. In fact, as new religious groups, like Muslims and Hindus, are swept to the margins and forced to privatize their pious practices and beliefs, there is an increased likelihood that Ghettoization, polarization, and radicalization will emerge as they are removed from public discourse.

Conclusion: The Remaking of the Canadian Mosaic

This paper sought to answer two fundamental questions about the intersection of religiosity and migration. First I challenged the assumption that religiosity increases among immigrants upon arrival in Canada. On the one hand, religiosity, if measured by traditional indicators such as church attendance, prayer frequency, and pious practices, decreases as immigrants move to Canada. It is still unclear whether this drop is a result of a change in lifestyle brought on by factors such as employment, family care, and an adjustment to Canadian society, which makes participation in religious worship more of a time constraint or whether the prevailing secular norms in Canada dissuades immigrants from exhibiting their religiosity. However, indicators such as religious volunteerism and affiliation tend to increase as religious groups provide support networks for new immigrants and act as a gatekeeper between the country of origin and the current country of residence. Moreover, selectivity in pious practices represents an immigrant's or second-generation immigrant's attempt to negotiate between their heritage and the prevailing secular norms in Canadian society: a desire to fit in to their new surroundings causes second generation immigrants to constantly pivot between different aspects of their religious upbringing.

The second question asked whether the existence of institutionalized multiculturalism in Canada has been a help or a hindrance to the refashioning of religiosity among immigrants in Canada. The issue with multiculturalism is that it has failed to keep up with the changing religious landscape of Canada, as the issues faced in the 21st century vary from the problems of the late 1960s. The concerted effort to remove religiosity from public life, the myth of a separation between church and state, and the residual effects of lingering Christianity on our society's vision of the secular state, have created an impasse when dealing with contentious issues surrounding religious accommodation. As issues of religious accommodation will inevitably continue to dominate narratives on multiculturalism, it is imperative that we recognize the failure of multiculturalism to address the problems of the present, and reimagine the Canadian mosaic as a public dialogue among different faiths. For far too long, our policies have existed as a vertical dissemination of values from the "secular" state to faith groups, but the future of multiculturalism will depend on a more horizontal, round table discussion that places the government as a player, rather than an umpire, among competing interests.

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Negotiating Post-Immigrant Identity

**Immigration and Citizenship in Sara Angelucci's
*Everything in My Father's Waller/Everything in My Wallet***

Elisa Pentillä

Negotiating Post-Immigrant Identity: Immigration and Citizenship in Sara Angelucci's *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*

In today's modern, globalized world, in which people move across borders and seas with ease, individuals who are children or grandchildren of immigrants frequently deal with questions of culture, heritage and identity in their daily lives. It is therefore not surprising that there is an increasing number of artists, from various backgrounds, who draw on their own experiences as Canadians of hyphenated identities and bring these types of issues to their work. Sara Angelucci daughter of Italian parents who immigrated to Canada in the mid 1950s, explores such themes of identity and belonging in her work. I will examine how her photo installation, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet* (2005) (figs. 1-10) constructs two distinct identities: that of her immigrant father and that of his second-generation Canadian daughter. What foremost arises from her work is how, over generations, the process of immigration results in changes to identity: despite being part of the same family unit, the first and second generations belong to two very different cultural spheres. Furthermore, the experiences of the first "immigrant" generation are much reflected in the identity of the second, "post-immigrant" generation. This reflected identity is regarded by the post-immigrant individual as "both reassuring and discomfiting... familiar alongside the unknown."¹ Thus, on the surface, the work is a recollection of personal family history, but also reveals a complex post-immigrant experience characterized by questions relating to immigration, citizenship, belonging, and cultural identity. In speaking about the work of Angelucci, I have used the term "post-immigrant experience" in order to describe the space that Angelucci occupies as the daughter of Italian immigrant parents. The post-immigrant experience describes the comparison process any second-generation Canadian person conducts between his or her experiences and those of the first-generation immigrant parents.

I prefer the term "post-immigrant" as a foundation for analyzing Angelucci's work because it, more than the term "second-generation," illustrates the cultural baggage that second-generation Canadians inherit from their parents. Thus, in thinking about the issues and questions that stem from Angelucci's work as well as the significance of Angelucci taking on the project of *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*, it is essential we keep in mind her cultural background, and identity as located "in-between"² two cultures. The term "post-

1 Jurakik and Madill, "Somewhere In Between," Cambridge, ON: Cambridge Galleries, 2006. Exhibition catalogue.

2 Art Star 3 Video Art Biennale, Curated by Erik Martinson. Ottawa: Saw Gallery, 2007. Exhibition catalogue. http://www.sara-angelucci.ca/articles/pdf/erik_martinson.pdf.

immigrant” allows us to fully assess the complexity of her autobiographical work; it is therefore distinguished from the descriptive terms, “first-generation” and “second-generation,” which will also be used throughout this paper.

Hybridity is a critical theoretical component of the term “post-immigrant.” I adopt an approach to cultural hybridity introduced by Homi K. Bhabha (mostly theorized within colonial studies, but also applicable to studies of cultural hybridity as the result of migration). According to Bhabha, an understanding of the modern world necessitates we: “focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These ‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity...”³

Relating this to a migration context, we can see that cultural hybridity is not a result of stasis, but rather the result of active “moments” or “processes”—immigration, for example—in which cultural differences are felt by post-immigrants. The in-between space corresponds to one occupied by the post-immigrant who inhabits a space in which two cultures co-exist: the ‘native’ culture of the parent-immigrant, and the culture of the present society in which they live. Furthermore, tying this back to the post-immigrant experience enables us to focus on the processes that occur in this realm of cultural plurality. Translating between two cultures results in a cultural hybridity that affects the post-immigrant experience. If we define identity as being formed during interaction with others⁴ the hybrid, Angelucci’s post-immigrant identity arises from time spent with her parents as well as time spent with so-called “native Canadians.” In relation to Angelucci’s work, this notion of cultural hybridity as a part of post-immigrant identity is useful because it allows us to consider her work as highlighting tensions between competing identities, as well as issues of immigration and citizenship.

Angelucci’s *Everything in My Father’s Wallet/Everything in My Wallet* comprises 96 color photographs (10 x 10 inches each) of objects found in her wallet and in the wallet of her late father. It also includes a 15 x 15 inch color photograph of each wallet. The contents of each wallet are grouped together in a grid (figs. 1 and 2), and the two groups are installed side by side as echoing grids. Objects found in the father’s wallet include, among other items, a membership card of the United Steelworkers of America (fig. 4), a hunting permit (fig. 8), old photographs (figs. 3 and 6), and a citizenship card (fig. 7). Sara’s wallet includes an Alumni card from the University of Guelph (fig. 10), a photography shop receipt from developing film (fig. 9), and an *Aéroplan* card (fig. 5). The relationship between the two groups of photographed objects reveals shifts in identity relating to class, culture, and education.⁵

3 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994,) 1-2.

4 Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 15.

5 *Revolutionizing Cultural Identity – Photography and the Changing Face of*

The notion of identity in Angelucci's work stems from the collection of concrete, personal objects found in the wallets, which, "as individual as fingerprints or dental records,"⁶ allow the viewer to inhabit the intimate space of the wallet-owners and examine their identities. The objects reveal aspects of the artist and her father's respective identities, in terms of their occupations and interests: the father's wallet presents a view of an individual who enjoys the outdoors and works in a steel factory (like many other immigrants who arrived to North America after World War II). Sara's wallet, on the other hand, shows a rather different way of life: she is a frequent flyer, educated in the University of Guelph, and practices photography.⁷ These two ways of life seem to be far removed from each other, but this distance can be explained by attending to relevant questions of immigration and the post-immigration experience.

In addition to just illustrating the interests and occupations of their owners, the objects from Angelucci's and her father's wallets are also indexes of the realities of citizenship and immigration in the lives of the two subjects. The notion of an index—as a marker or trace of what was—⁸ is particularly relevant to Angelucci's work, since the objects are indeed indexes of people's backgrounds. Angelucci's father's Canadian citizenship card is an index of his newly acquired citizenship and signals his right to stay in the country permanently. The citizenship card is thus an index of the Canadian bureaucratic process, which Angelucci's father would have had to go through in order to achieve a legitimate, permanent status in the country. His "Steel Workers of America" Union Card indicates his participation as a recent immigrant in the Canadian economy and therefore acts as an index of his identity as a working class man.

The old photographs of family and friends found in the wallet, which are reminiscent of Italy, show how the father—despite his new Canadian citizenship—is still firmly attached to his country of origin. The photographs act as indexes of life in Italy. They are visual memories of the land that the Angelucci family left behind in order to immigrate to Canada. The photographic medium ever fortifies this reading, as the photograph has a unique tie to the past and "remains a vessel for storage and retrieval of memory."⁹ The photographs in the father's wallet act as physical fingerprints¹⁰ of a past life in Italy, which the new immigrant keeps with him. The

Immigration. Curated by Claude Baillargeon. Exhibition catalogue. (Oakland (MI): Oakland University Press, 2008,) 4.

6 Robert Reid, "Photos explore shifting identities of immigrants," Waterloo Region Record, (Waterloo: Section E, April 15, 2006.)

7 Jurakik and Madill.

8 Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics in Art History," *The Art Bulletin* LXXIII, no. 2 (June 1991: 174-208), 189.

9 Jurakic and Madill.

10 Especially the analog photograph, developed through a process in which the negative is created in the camera through a physical marking of the film by the subject

photographs are thus as strongly connected to the father's immigrant identity as the other objects (for example, the citizenship card), since unlike the others, they signal the country of origin of Angelucci's family.

On the other hand, the objects in Sara's wallet reveal aspects of her Canadian identity and her life as an educated artist. Her Faculty card from the University of Guelph indicates that she has been educated in Canada. The card is an index of academic achievements, but more importantly of the opportunities that she, as a child of immigrants, was able to take advantage of. Furthermore, the receipt for developing film signals her position as a professional artist—a very different professional orientation from that of her father. Compared to her father, who took up work in the Steelworker's Union, Sara's choice of an artistic career signals not only the greater variety of possible and professions available to her, but also a move away from the working-class background of her father.¹¹ Her Air Canada Frequent Flyer card further develops the emerging image of an economically stable way of life that differs greatly from the one her father experienced. Overall, we can note how objects attached specifically to Italy are missing from Sara's wallet. The Alumni and Aéroplan cards take the place of the photographs that attached her father to his home country. Her various membership cards firmly root her in Canada, as well as to the possibilities of a Canadian education, which would have been out of reach for an adult immigrant in the 1950s.

This is not to say that the change in identity from one generation to another is as straightforward as the objects may seem to imply. I suggest that in addition to mapping out the generational shifts in identity between her and her father, Angelucci explores her complex identity resulting from the post-immigrant experience. Even though the objects in her father's wallet belong to him, they also belong to Angelucci's life, because they give her a glimpse of her familial background. They unwrap her family history and heritage, which is a past less visible in the contents of her own wallet. Angelucci herself notes:

Something remains which unquestionably binds me to this other place. I am grounded here, but I am a product of their cultural suspension. Therefore, I am also, to a certain degree, suspended. I am placed in the role of translator; literally, and figuratively I remain there, always translating from one culture to another. They have earned a better life for themselves and for us, their children. But, there was a price to pay. There was pain in their chosen exile. The experience and understanding of this suffering is also part of my inheritance.¹²

This statement highlights how my previous observations about the indexical and the light that reflects from them, carries an often-felt "objective" or "real" connection to the subject.

11 Baillargeon, 17.

12 Art Star 3 Video Art Biennale.

relationship between the wallet objects and either the immigrant or the first generation Canadian experience are further tied to an understanding of the post-immigrant experience. This experience exists as a state of being held “in-between”¹³ cultures and geographical locations, and is the space in which cultural hybridity arises. Thus, a first-generation immigrant’s challenges in many cases transfer to the second-generation Canadian’s identity conception through experiences of “translating” between cultures and collective (family-centered) feelings of hyphenated identity. Both generations feel Italian-Canadian instead of “completely Canadian”. Viewing the two groups of objects side-by-side, it can be seen how Sara’s identity is revealed to be in fact very much that of a hyphenated Canadian, who navigates between her Italian and Canadian identities in a way that eludes simple categorization.¹⁴

Also, as Angelucci notes in her statement, the inevitable shifts in identity and citizenship of the first generation enable the second-generation’s Canadian experience, but not without sacrifice. The first generation immigrant must leave his or her country of origin in order to make a new life in Canada possible. The old photographs are again relevant to thinking about how the immigrant generation negotiates the shift from the familiar to the unfamiliar country of destination. Angelucci’s father literally carries his home country with him at all times—in the photos of his parents, his wife as a young woman, and an army friend.¹⁵ The family history and heritage that are passed on to the second generation are thus affected by this sense of dislocation and loss that characterizes the immigration experience. In this sense, both generations feel diasporic,¹⁶ in a way, because their movement from Italy to Canada is marked by the loss of home and lifestyle. Angelucci’s post-immigrant identity is located somewhere in between Italy and Canada, in the memory and legacy of the losses of the previous generation. With her work, Angelucci not only “unravels the threads of how we identify with a place, the national, cultural, family and personal memories that define identity,”¹⁷ but shows how even though an identification with a heritage identity is not always visible, it is always present. *Everything in My Father’s Wallet/Everything in My Wallet* negotiates ways of dealing

13 Which, very fittingly, also appears in the title “Somewhere In Between” of Angelucci’s exhibition that has toured in Cambridge Galleries in 2006 and in St Mary’s University Art Gallery in 2009 (http://www.sara-angelucci.ca/sara_angelucci_cv.pdf). *Everything in My Father’s Wallet/Everything in My Wallet* was featured along other photographic art based on her family photographs in this exhibition.

14 Carl E. James, *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Race, Ethnicity and Culture*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2010), 85.

15 Baillargeon, 17.

16 Lily Cho, “The Turn to Diaspora,” *Topia: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 17 (Spring 2007: 11-30), 21.

17 Karen Henry, *Of Landscape and Light*, Exhibition brochure, (Richmond, BC: Richmond Art Gallery, 2007). http://www.sara-angelucci.ca/articles/pdf/karen_henry.pdf.

with “the loss and trauma of cultural displacement.”¹⁸

The two grids of wallet contents, displayed side by side, are what bring to light the cultural hybridity of the artist’s post-immigration experience, which would not be visible in her wallet alone. This hybridity is located between the two sets of photographed objects: without the other, one set cannot declare the changes and processes, or the movement of people by which cultural differences are mediated and a new identities are formed. Whereas hybridity only claims identification and negotiation of cultural plurality within a given identity, it is the notion of the diaspora that is needed to assess the loss and legacy that appears central to the post-immigrant experience. The diasporic nature of the post-immigrant experience appears only when the two sets of index-objects are analyzed side by side. For example, the absence of the old Italian photographs from Sara’s wallet appear only when her father’s wallet’s contents are displayed beside hers. The in-between space—what is essentially created by the knowledge of a family tie between the two identities depicted—acts thus as the critical space in which the hybrid and diasporic post-immigrant identity is created.

These photographs have been featured in several exhibitions between 2005 and 2011, most recently in the exhibition *Revolutionizing Cultural Identity: Photography and the Changing Face of Immigration* at the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Halifax, during the summer of 2011. It is particularly interesting to think about the work in relation to this exhibition at this specific location, since Pier 21 is very much like Ellis Island in New York, a link between “the old world of Europe”¹⁹ and Canada’s East Coast. Pier 21 is also the place where Angelucci’s parents first landed in Canada, and Halifax was, according to Angelucci, the place that incited her thinking of her family’s immigration history. She writes, “I realized we had all landed in Halifax—me from Ontario and them from Italy—and I really began to think about the immigration experience.”²⁰ It was thus highly appropriate to exhibit the work in the Canadian Museum of Immigration, not just because of the subject matter that deals with issues surrounding immigration, identity and cultural changes, but also because of this personal connection between the Angelucci family and Halifax. Seeing the work in this context, Angelucci’s investigation of her post-immigrant identity becomes also an inquiry into the process of immigration as a transformative moment in the history of her family, negotiating her heritage through a vividly personal set of objects.

18 Art Star 3 Video Art Biennale.

19 Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography’s Visual Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2000), 40.

20 Joanne Shuttleworth, “Mining for answers: Elora exhibit explores immigration experience, family history,” Review of Mining the Family Archive by Sara Angelucci, (*Guelph Mercury*, January 11, 2008), B1.

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Figures



Figure 1. Sara Angelucci,
*Everything in
My Father's Wallet/Everything in
My Wallet*, 2005. Photography,
10x10 inches each. Installation
view of *Everything in
My Father's Wallet*.



Figure 2. Sara Angelucci,
*Everything in My Father's
Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*.
Installation view of *Everything in
My Wallet*.



Figure 3. Sara Angelucci, *Everything
in My Father's Wallet/Everything in
My Wallet*. Detail.

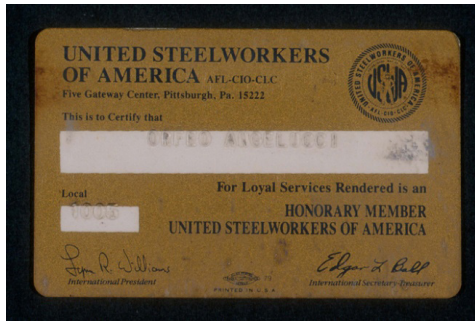


Figure 4. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail.



Figure 5. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail.



Figure 6. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail.

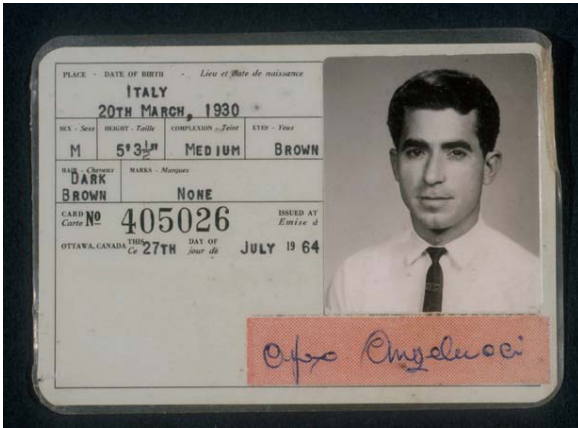


Figure 7. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail.



Figure 8. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail

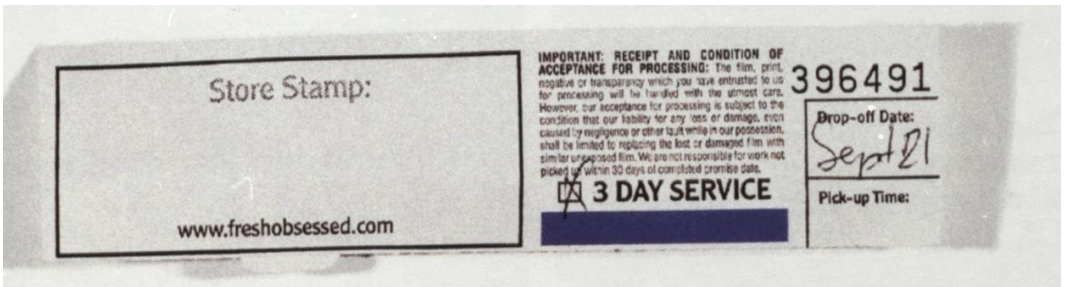


Figure 9. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail.

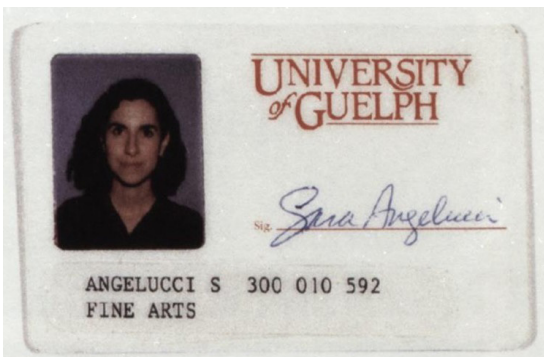


Figure 10. Sara Angelucci, *Everything in My Father's Wallet/Everything in My Wallet*. Detail

**A Geo-Spatial Analysis of Police Shooting
Deaths in Major Canadian Metropolitan
Areas, 1996-1997**

Andreea Mogosanu

A Geo-Spatial Analysis of Police Shooting Deaths in Major Canadian Metropolitan Areas, 1996-1997¹

Canadian law enforcement is meant to protect the country's population from violent crimes such as assault and murder. When police officers are the ones committing these crimes, however, it is viewed by some as a death sentence without a trial (Pedicelli 1998). In Montreal there are annual protests calling for justice for the victims of police killings and assaults, many of whom are visible minorities. Indeed, research on cities in the United States has found a positive correlation between rates of visible minorities in a city and police killings (Kane 2002). Higher levels of inequality, poverty, crime and divorce were also associated with higher levels of police killings (Jacobs and O'Brien 1998; Chamlin 1989). However, there has been little research on the topic of police killings in a Canadian context, and none dealing with Canada's three largest metropolitan areas.

Although they are highly interdependent, Canadian and American cities differ substantially. The higher availability of weapons, more pronounced inequality, and a larger proportion of visible minorities in the United States all have the potential to exacerbate the number of police killings. Canada's emphasis on multiculturalism immigration policies - as opposed to the US 'melting pot' - also have the potential to lead to more accepting attitudes towards ethnic minorities and thus a lower rate of police killings of visible minorities.

This study aims to provide readers with an understanding of police killings in Canada from 1996-1997 by examining the location of these incidents, and by comparing results within and across metropolitan areas. A geo-spatial analysis provides a visual representation of data, making it easier to see potential relationships between police shooting deaths and various social characteristics, such as population density, unemployment rates, proportion of visible minorities, proportion of low-income families, and proportions of lone parents.

Literature Review

There has been very little research on killings by police officers in a Canadian context. One of the main reasons for this is the lack of official data on the subject. Wortley (2006) notes that there is an "informal ban" on the publication of any information attempting to analyze criminal justice statistics by racial background whereas, in the United States, data collection is centralized and available through official sources, allowing researchers to examine the impact of the above factors

¹ This research paper was completed as part of a seminar-level course with Professor Eran Shor. The data was collected mainly as part of my research assistantship with Professor Jason Carmichael, who generously allowed me to use the data for the purposes of this paper.

in determining police killings at both state and city-level. He adds that although studies have looked at different racial patterns of police surveillance practices, pre-trial outcomes, and criminal sentencing in Canada, only a few studies have looked directly at police killings.

The first study to examine this issue was conducted by Pedicelli (1998), who compiled data on police killings in Toronto and Montreal between 1994-1997 using newspaper reports. Her findings reveal the significant impact of race: despite making up only 2% of Montreal's population at the time, almost half (45%) of the victims of police killings were Black. A similar pattern was found for Toronto. Pedicelli also examined the justifications provided by police, the outcomes of judicial inquiry, and the techniques used by police officials deflect concerns about race.

Another significant study on the use of police force is Wortley's 2006 Report to the Ipperwash Inquiry. His findings, relying on data over a period of 5 years from Ontario's Special Investigations Unit², also highlight the importance of race, as Aboriginals and African Canadians are overrepresented in cases of police violence and as victims of police killings (Wortley 2006).

While valuable, the studies above analyze only the relationship between incidents of police violence and victims' race. Research on killings by police officers in the American context has addressed numerous other variables, including economic factors, population density, crime rates, and social integration.

Empirical research in the American context has identified the significant impact of visible minority population (in numbers as well as proportion of population) on police killings. Higher spending on police enforcement by local police departments was also found to impact rates of police killings (Chamlin 1989, Jacobs and O'Brien 1998, Kane 2002). Jacobs and Britt (1979) examined economic inequality and concluded that higher levels of economic inequality were linked with higher levels of use of force by police officers. While many studies have tried to determine which of the above factors is more important in influencing rates of police killings, Jacobs and O'Brien (1998) scrutinized the interaction of race and economic inequality, finding that increased economic disparity between races was associated with increased incidents of police killings.

A higher population density was also found to be associated with higher rates of use of force by police officers (Jacobs and Britt 1979; Jacobs and O'Brien 1998). Findings on the impact of crime rates on police killings, however, are mixed (Chamlin 1989). There is some evidence of the impact of social disintegration – measured through rates of divorce or of lone parents - though others have claimed that these findings are simplistic (Chamlin 1989; Jacobs and O'Brien 1998).

2 The SIU is responsible for investigating incidents of police use of force in Ontario. It is an independent, citizen-run organization, although many of their investigators come from police backgrounds.

Overall, research on the topic of police killings in the American context has identified the positive correlative impact of race, economic inequality, density, and social disintegration on rates of police killings of civilians. This study aims to contribute to research on police shooting deaths by examining the impact of the factors above in the Canadian context.

Methodology

As mentioned above, there are no official statistics collected for police killings in Canada. Cases for this study were collected using Canadian Newsstand, an online repository of more than 300 Canadian newspaper articles dating as far back as the late 1970s. Because the search terms ('police AND (kill OR killing)') generated a large amount of data, only two years were selected: 1996 and 1997. Since prior research indicated the majority of police killings occur in large metropolitan areas, data was collected solely for the census metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

It is important to note that the cases included in this study are solely cases of police shooting deaths. For example, the case of Nelson Herreault in Montreal, for which the interaction of pepper spray and prior cocaine consumption were cited as the cause of death, is not included in my study. In-custody deaths for 1996-1997 took mainly the form of suicides, although it is considered the responsibility of police officers to make sure the victim does not have access to any object with which they might harm themselves.

The independent variables selected are consistent with those shown to play an important role in impacting police killings in the United States. The data were collected from the CHASS website of the University of Toronto, which provides data from the 1996 Canadian census, organized by census tract. For each census tract, information on population density per square kilometer, the unemployment rate, the proportion of visible minorities, proportion of families with income below the Low Income Cut-Off rate, and the proportion of lone parents was collected and analyzed. Data on the proportion of visible minorities was calculated by dividing the number of visible minorities by census tract population. The census tract proportion of lone parent families was determined by dividing the number of lone parent families by the total number of private households.

Calculating the proportion of families with income below the LICO depends on family size and total population of the area under study. According to the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD 1997), LICO for a family of four in an urban area in 1996 was \$32,328 CAD. The rate above was chosen because families of five persons or more constituted at most 11,65% of a CMA's population. Data on family income was only available for census families of two or more, and income categories were divided mainly along tens of thousands..

Data was organized by census tract rather than at the city level, allowing for cross-city patterns to arise. Considering the low number of cases of police shooting deaths, it is not possible to analyze relationship using a multivariate regression analysis. Instead, the data are visually represented using ArcGIS so as to illustrate the relationship amongst several variables.

Findings

Maps containing data on population density, unemployment rate, proportion of visible minorities, proportion of families living below LICO, and the proportion of lone parent families by CMA were magnified to permit a better view of the census tracts where police shooting deaths occurred, with very minimal loss of data. Data on the average value of each variable across CMAs are available in Appendix B. In total, there were 15 cases of police shooting deaths from 1996 to 1997. Four of the cases occurred in Montreal, three in Vancouver, and eight in Toronto.

Overall, there does not seem to be a relationship between police shooting deaths and census tract population density: fatal incidents were just as likely to occur in areas of low as those with high population density. Furthermore, the city with the highest density of the three in 1996, Montreal, did not have the highest proportion of police shooting deaths.

There does, however, seem to be some relationship between a census tract's unemployment rate and incidents of police killings. All but 4 cases of police shooting deaths occurred in census tracts for which the unemployment rate was higher than 10.22%. However, it is worth noting that Montreal, for which the mean unemployment rate was 2% higher than Toronto, had only half the former's number of police shooting deaths.

In terms of proportion of visible minorities, it is true that the city with the highest rate of visible minorities, Toronto with 31,38%, also had the highest rates of police shooting deaths. However, Vancouver had almost the same rate of visible minorities, at 30,82%, but had less than half the number of police shooting deaths. In terms of census tracts, police shooting deaths occurred mainly in areas in which the population of visible minorities was at or below the mean. However, this differed in Toronto, where 5 of the 8 cases of police shootings occurred in areas of above-average concentration of visible minorities.

Incidents of police shooting deaths were more likely to happen in census tracts that had an above-average concentration of low-income families. Ten of the 15 incidents occurred in areas where at least 28% of families were low-income. This sits just above the mean concentration for all three census metropolitan areas. The relationship, however, does not hold by city as Montreal, the city with the highest rate of sub-LICO families at 30,66%, had only half the incidence of police shooting deaths as compared with Toronto, the city with the lowest rate of sub-LICO families.

The importance of social disintegration, as measured by the proportion of lone-parent families per census tract, bears little relationship with incidents of police shooting deaths in my sample. The majority (12 out of 15) of police shooting cases occurred in areas where the proportion of lone parents ranged from 12.00% to 22.00%, while the mean proportion of lone parent families by CMA ranged from 13,93% in Vancouver to 17,42% in Montreal. Furthermore, although Toronto has the highest number of police shooting deaths, its average population of lone parents was 15,53%, much lower than Montreal.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most surprising finding is how few cases of police shooting deaths - and even killings by police officers more in general - there actually were in 1996-1997.³ This reveals two problematic aspects of the study. First, there is no certainty any of the relationships above are significant, and, if so, how strongly they are associated. Secondly, there are some important variables that could not be considered, or for which there could be better measurements. For example, rates of mobility could significantly impact our measure of social disorganization. Income is also not necessarily the best measure for poverty: ownership and value of residence are also potential ways of measuring more stable, long-lasting forms of poverty. Another potentially important variable is crime rates, as areas with higher crime rates in the United States might see increased police shooting deaths (Chamlin 1989). Unfortunately, data collected on this topic by police is subject to a high level of selection bias (Chambliss 1994). This creates a chicken and egg problem: did higher crime rates come before more intensive surveillance of areas or vice versa?

Overall, the findings suggest that, for the limited data above, there is no relationship between police shooting deaths and population density or social disorganization, in contrast to much American research. The strongest determinants of police shooting deaths in my study were census tract unemployment rate and proportion of families with income below LICO. It is important to note these differences held across census tracts within Canada but were not impacted by differences between cities. This indicates the importance of the variables above in impacting police shooting death rates in the greater Canadian context, and that these rates are not simply the result of organizational or other city-level factors.

This study also represents a new way of looking at police killings. Most studies, even within the American context, examine data at the state or city level. According to Jacobs and O'Brien (1998), this has an important impact on findings for many studies looking at a small number of cities, as the importance of local organizational factors is most pronounced but often ignored. While my study does not consider

³ Wortley (2006) notes that within a ten-year period, the city of Chicago

40 (population 3 million) had 372 cases of deadly police shooting.

the organizational factors impacting policing, the analysis of data by census tracts reveals the impact of structural factors versus city-level factors, as evidenced in the analysis above. The visual representation using ArcGIS also allowed for the study of potential relationships within a highly limited number of cases.

Despite the limitations above, this study constitutes an exploratory foray into the potential factors impacting police shooting deaths in Canada. It suggests potential differences as well as similarities with the American context. The use of spatial analysis at the census tract level is also helpful in the analysis of data, allowing us to distinguish to some degree the relative impact of CMA vs. Canada-wide factors. If the data presented above are indeed found to be significant, they could serve to enrich our understanding of police killings in Canada and provide the impetus for further research.

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Appendix: Police Shooting Deaths in Montreal

1.1 Birds's Eye View of Montreal Police Shooting Deaths, 1996-1997



1.2 Zoom-in on Montreal Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (census tracts highlighted)



1.3 1996 Census Tract Population Density (per sq. km) and Montreal Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997



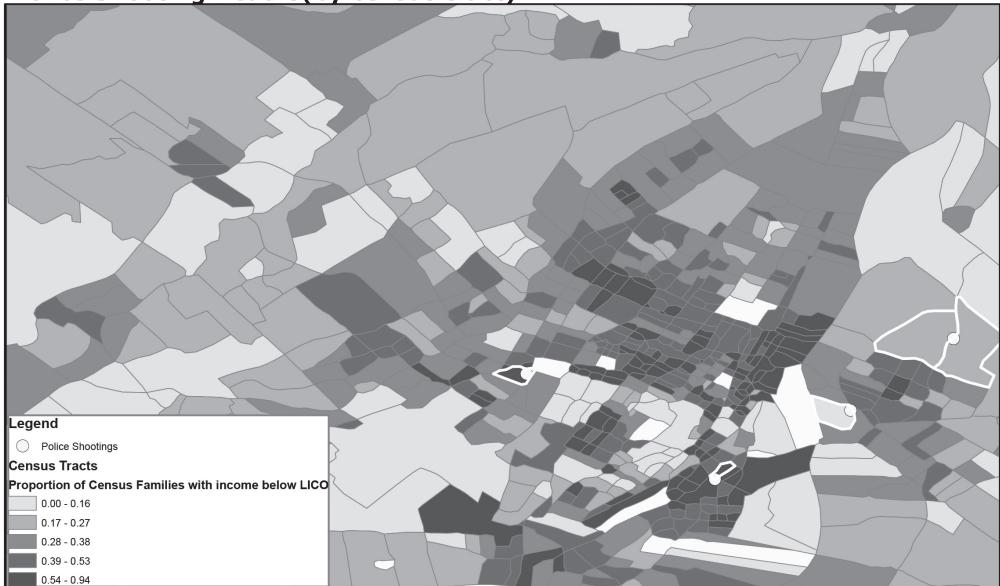
1.4 1996 Unemployment Rate and Montreal Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (by census tract)



1.5 1996 Proportion of Visible Minority Population and Montreal Police Shooting Deaths (by census tract)



1.6 1996 Proportion of Census Families with Income Below LICO and Montreal Police Shooting Deaths (by census tract)



1.7 1996 Proportion of Lone Parent Families and Montreal Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (by census tract)

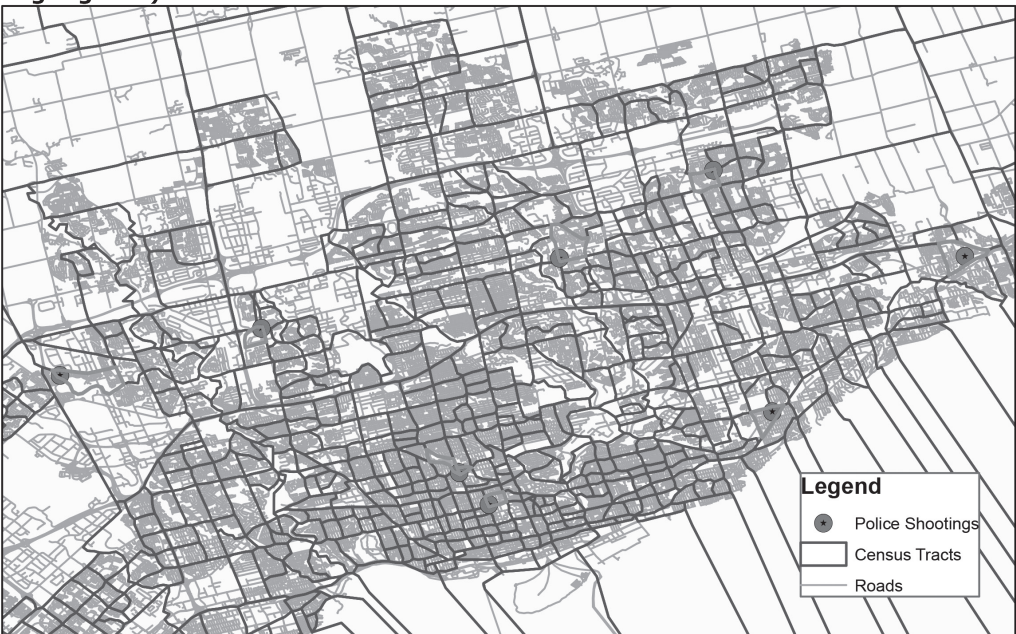


Appendix: Police Shooting Deaths in Toronto

2.1 Birds's Eye View of Toronto Police Shooting Deaths, 1996-1997



2.2 Zoom-in on Toronto Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (census tracts highlighted)



2.3 1996 Census Tract Population Density (per sq. km) and Toronto Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997



2.4 1996 Unemployment Rate and Toronto Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (by census tract)



2.5 1996 Proportion of Visible Minority Population and Toronto Police Shooting Deaths (by census tract)



2.6 1996 Proportion of Census Families with Income Below LICO and Toronto Police Shooting Deaths (by census tract)



1.7 1996 Proportion of Lone Parent Families and Toronto Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (by census tract)



Appendix: Police Shooting Deaths in Vancouver

3.1 Birds's Eye View of Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths, 1996-1997



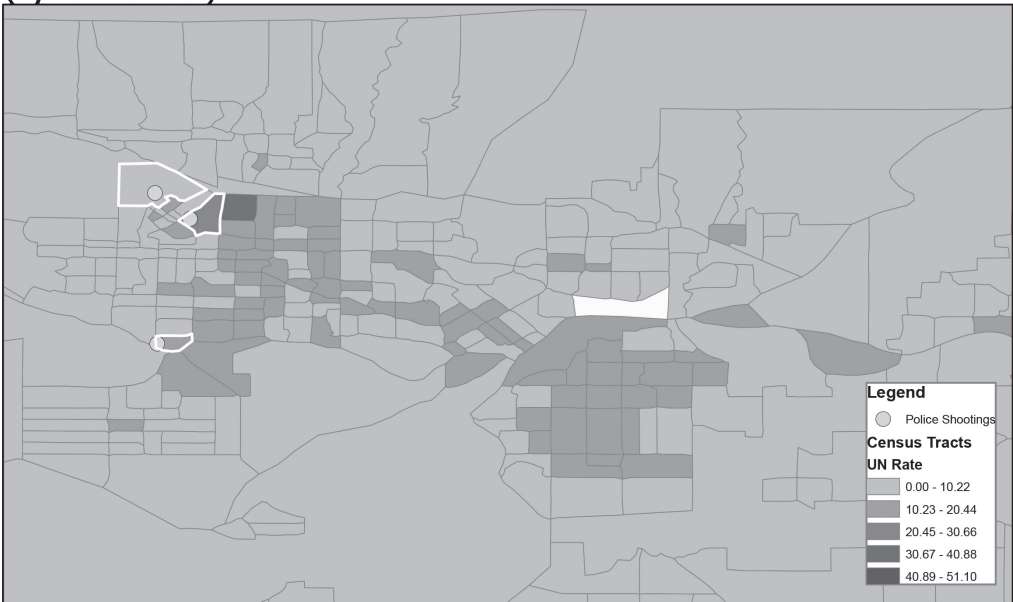
3.2 Zoom-in on Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (census tracts)



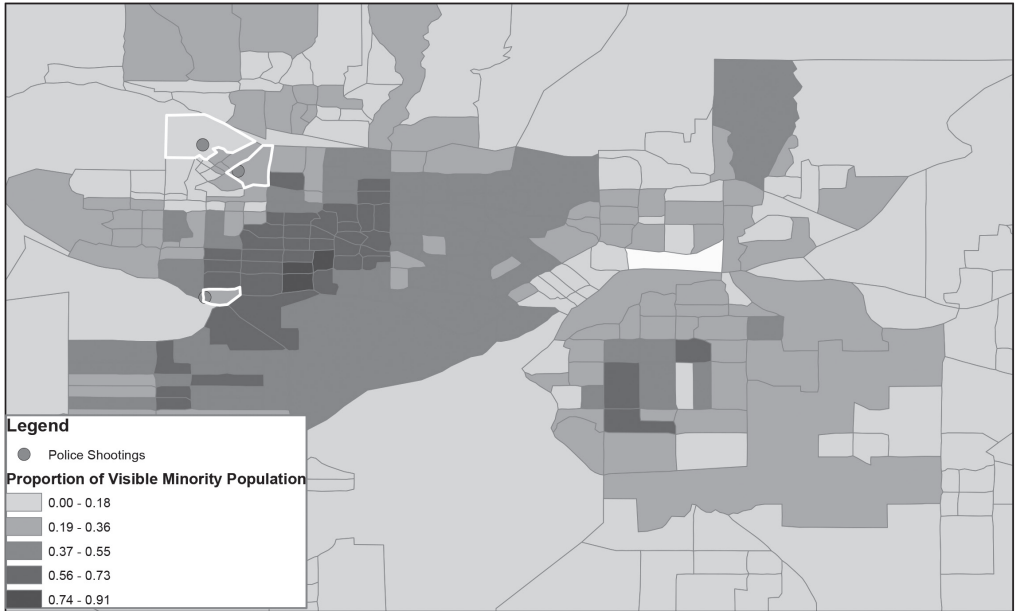
3.3 1996 Census Tract Population Density (per sq. km) and Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997



3.4 1996 Unemployment Rate and Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (by census tract)



3.5 1996 Proportion of Visible Minority Population and Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths (by census tract)



3.6 1996 Proportion of Census Families with Income Below LICO and Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths (by census tract)



3.7 1996 Proportion of Lone Parent Families and Vancouver Police Shooting Deaths 1996-1997 (by census tract)



Briefing Memo

Informal Caregivers in Provincial/Territorial Home-Care Systems

Colleen Morawetz

Briefing Memo: Informal Caregivers in Provincial/Territorial Home-Care Systems

Introduction and Definition of a Problem

Home-care was identified as an “extended service” under the Canada Health Act in 1984.¹ As such, it is expected that all provinces and territories provide some sort of publicly funded home-care to their constituencies but, unlike the “insured services” of the Act, any transfer payments to fund home-care are not tied to the Act’s five principles of public administration, comprehensiveness, universality, portability, and accessibility.²

Each province and territory, between 1970 (Ontario) and 2003 (Nunavut), developed a unique system of home-care,³ each funded differently and providing different “baskets of services”.⁴ Between provinces, home-care is administered differently, has different eligibility requirements,⁵ and draws from a provincially-designated definition of what is “required”.⁶ Definitions of publicly-funded home-care are complicated by the fact that much care occurs in private settings, with informal caregivers.

Certain attempts to standardize these systems have been made. They have been complicated by several broad institutional realities: home-care being both a “health” and a “social” service,⁷ the federal government being limited in its jurisdictional power (and thus, spending abilities) due to the nature of the Canada Health Act,⁸ and the lack of consistent definition as to what home-care is in the first place. The Canadian Home Care Association defined it in 2004 as “an array of services, provided in the home and community setting, that encompass health promotion and teaching, curative intervention, end-of-life care, rehabilitation, support and maintenance, social adaptation and integration, and support for the

1 Canada Health Act, 1984. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-6/> (Nov 2012).

2 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada: From the Margins to the Mainstream*, 2009. http://www.cha.ca/documents/Home_Care_in_Canada_From_the_Margins_to_the_Mainstream_web.pdf. 17.

3 *Ibid.*, 24.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Roy J. Romanow, “Building on Values: the Future of Healthcare in Canada.” Final Report 2002. publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/CP32-85-2002E.pdf. (Nov 2012), 174.

6 *Ibid.*, 173.

7 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 10.

8 *Ibid.*, 18.

informal caregiver.”⁹ This definition of home-care (encompassing community care) is exceedingly broad, identifying an enormous range of both health and social services. In attempts to standardize this range of services, both the Romanow and the Kirby Commissions of 2002 identified potential improvements for home-care.¹⁰ Romanow’s commission, in particular, highlighted the need for a new Home-Care Transfer to address issues related to rising demand.¹¹ However, their suggestions were criticized as focusing on the short-term and acute care aspects of home-care, while ignoring the issues of such groups as the elderly and the physically or mentally disabled.¹²

There have been serious attempts by the federal government, despite limited jurisdictional power, to establish pan-Canadian standards regarding home-care services. Perhaps the most effective and far-reaching of these services is the Compassionate Care Benefit (CCB), which emerged on the political scene in 2004 as a contributory fund under Employment Insurance to compensate caregiving members of the work force.¹³ This EI fund - recognizing the need to compensate informal caregivers in a national program - is supplemented by several tax credits (dating back to 1997), including the most recent Family Caregiver Tax Credit.¹⁴ This new credit has expanded the definition of those caregivers who can claim the deduction; in addition, the \$10,000 limit on the expenses a taxpayer can claim under the Medical Expense Tax Credit (with regards to a medically dependent relative) has been removed.¹⁵ Thus, one of the most prominent efforts made by the federal government vis-à-vis home-care is the development of national monetary support structures.

The question arises: why does the federal government feel there is a need to remunerate informal caregivers through a nationally administered program? Who are these caregivers, and why is it important to have a standard approach?

In Health Canada’s 2004 report on caring for someone with a mental illness, a caregiver is defined as one who “provides unpaid care in their own home or in the recipient’s home to a family member, friend, or neighbour who has been diagnosed

9 Canadian Home Care Association, <http://www.cdnhomecare.ca/content.php?sec=0>, 2004, (Nov 2012), 9.

10 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 33.

11 Romanow, *Building on Values*, 65.

12 *Ibid.*, 34.

13 Service Canada. “CPP Disability - Summary - Service Canada,” <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/isp/cpp/summary.shtml>, (Nov 2012).

14 Health Canada, “Home Care Services: Developing a Planning and Evaluation Tool for the Health Care System - Health Canada Fact Sheet 2012-01,” http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/ahc-asc/media/nr-cp/_2012/2012-10bk-eng.php, 2012 (Nov 2012).

15 Department of Finance Canada, “Archived-Government Provides New Relief to Caregivers,” www.fin.gc.ca/n12/12-018-eng.asp. (Nov 2012).

with a mental illness.”¹⁶ The report continues with a detailed profile of this kind of caregiver (which is useful to a more general analysis, as those diagnosed with a mental illness represent a substantial percentage of those receiving home-care), identifying, crucially, that “47% of caregivers have been providing on-going care for an extended period (at least 5 years), and most describe the condition for which care is required as something that is long-term.”¹⁷

Janice Keefe’s 2011 report looks specifically at the caregivers of an aging population. She defines informal caregivers as “family members, friends or neighbours, most frequently women, who provide unpaid care to a person who needs support due to a disability, illness or other difficulty, sometimes for extended periods.”¹⁸ The 2007 Statistics Canada General Social Survey estimated that “2.7 million Canadians aged 45 and older provided care to an older person with a long-term health condition or physical limitation in the previous twelve months,” and that 57% of these caregivers were women.¹⁹ The strain put on these people is difficult to measure; however, Keefe notes that across all jurisdictions they “bear substantial costs - economic, social, physical or psychological.”²⁰ She continues, “They are likely to incur out-of-pocket expenses and significant lifetime income losses, and they commonly experience stress, social isolation and guilt. Such personal costs can negatively impact the caregivers’ economic security, health and well-being.”²¹

In addressing the needs of caregivers, Keefe looks to the macro-economic context, arguing that “working conditions” must be improved if the supply of caregivers hopes to keep up with increasing demand, as Canada’s population continues to age. “Key in this regard,” she argues, “are compensation levels, education, training and clear quality assurance accountability structures.”²² Keefe holds that this further institutionalization and recognition of caregivers as an integral piece of the health-care system would help “reduce the need for formal care, delay institutionalization and relieve the cost pressure on the long-term care and health-care systems.”²³ This need for caregiver support goes far beyond remuneration of short-term acute care, and reflects a desire to have home-care be a more integrated and developed piece of the health-care puzzle.

16 Health Canada, “Informal/Family Caregivers in Canada Caring for Someone with a Mental Illness [prepared for Health Canada, 2004],” <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hcs-sss/pubs/home-domicile/2004-mental-care-soins/index-eng.php>, (Nov 2012).

17 Ibid.

18 Janice Keefe, *Supporting Caregivers and Caregiving in an Aging Canada*, (Montreal, Que.: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2011,) 1.

19 Statistics Canada.

20 Keefe, 1.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Keefe, 1.

Thus, institutions such as governments, research bodies, and advocacy organizations (such as the Canadian Caregiver Coalition) all agree that informal caregivers are valuable and must be compensated in some way for their personal and economic sacrifices. The question is, how should this compensation be carried out? Is the national system under EI sufficient? Or are there other ways in which caregivers can be more effectively recognized? In the next section, I will outline some diverging policy options.

Policy Proposals

I will now analyze the current system of remuneration for informal caregivers in more detail, and then move on to a brief international comparison and a concrete suggestion for the Canadian context.

The way in which informal caregivers are monetarily compensated currently falls into two categories: through tax deductions, and through Employment Insurance.²⁴ As Keefe notes, “There are five credits and deductions that caregivers can access: the caregiver tax credit, the infirm dependant tax credit, the transfer of a personal credit, the disability tax credit transferred from a dependant, and the medical expenses tax credit.”²⁵ These tax credits are now joined by the Family Caregiver Tax Credit “that will provide tax relief for caregivers of infirm dependent relatives, including spouses, common-law partners and minor children.” This credit will supplement one of the five existing credits, and eligible caregivers cannot claim more than one in each fiscal year.²⁶

The CCB, under EI, is “paid to people who have to be away from work temporarily to provide care or support to a family member who is gravely ill and who has a significant risk of death within 26 weeks (six months).”²⁷ Eligible people may claim a maximum of six weeks of Compassionate Care Benefits (up to 55 percent of earnings, capped at \$468 per week in 2011)²⁸ for either “arranging for third-party care for the family member, providing that care him or herself, or providing psychological or emotional support.”²⁹ The definition of “family” in terms of EI benefits, was expanded in 2011 to include people “like a family member.”³⁰

This system has several strengths. First, it aims to connect caregiver support to employment – an important connection because caregivers often face serious economic losses as a result of caregiving, and many have to reduce work hours or

24 Keefe, 17.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Service Canada, “Employment Insurance Compassionate Care Benefits,” <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/sc/ei/benefits/compassionate.shtml>, (Nov 2012).

28 Janice Keefe, *Supporting Caregivers and Caregiving in an Aging Canada*, 20.

29 Service Canada, “Employment Insurance Compassionate Care Benefits.”

30 Keefe, 21.

take a leave of absence. Self-employed people who register for the EI program are also eligible for benefits.³¹ Furthermore, the CCB is compatible with provincial and territorial labour codes, thus providing job protection for workers who take time off in order to care for family members.³² Keefe notes that this policy is “oriented to a continued productive labour force”, and as such, its purpose is to “maintain the attachment of caregivers to the labour market when a family member contracts a catastrophic illness.”³³ Furthermore, anyone who pays into the EI fund is eligible for this leave at any time, provided they meet the requirements. The tax deductibles can, in theory, further compensate caregivers or people living with dependants, even if they do not take a leave of absence from work.

However, there are several glaring deficiencies within these programs as well. Keefe notes that the tax deductibles system is flawed in that deductions only provide a few hundred dollars a year, and therefore “do not adequately compensate the financial losses associated with caregiving.”³⁴ Furthermore, caregivers can only claim one benefit per year, and “those with no or low income — often women caregivers — do not have sufficient income to receive any financial support through these credits.”³⁵

The CCB also faces serious criticism regarding its low take-up rate, its eligibility criteria (access hinges upon working a certain number of hours, among other criteria), low awareness of the program, labour market trends (people being unwilling to take long leaves of absence), its lagging behind changing family dynamics, and its homogenization of the unique dying process.³⁶

The current dual system of federal compensation, then, has arisen from the desire to support informal caregivers through a national program. This system is supported by most actors in the health-care system, at least nominally – the idea of monetarily supporting informal caregivers in a standardized manner is considered important. However, the system could be greatly improved, both in terms of how financial compensation is provided and in coordination of extra-monetary services.

Australia provides an inspiring comparison in terms of how caregivers are recognized and supported. According to the Canadian Healthcare Association, “Australia offers educational, moral and financial support plus respite relief to caregivers.”³⁷ Furthermore, there are Commonwealth Carer Resource Centres in each capital city, coordinating such initiatives as the Carer Education and

31 Service Canada, “Employment Insurance Compassionate Care Benefits.”

32 Ibid.

33 Keefe, 21.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., 17.

36 Ibid., 22.

37 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 70.

Workplace Training Project and the National Dementia Behaviour Advisory Service.³⁸ While specialized services such as these exist in Canada, they are usually run through disease-specific and charitable organizations³⁹ – another example of the patchwork support systems available in Canadian home-care. Furthermore, universal allowance supplemented by a means-tested support system for lower-income caregivers ensure that no one falls through the cracks of remuneration as they are caring for someone in need of long-term care.⁴⁰ However, as Keefe notes, this kind of direct remuneration (as opposed to simply obtaining benefits or tax breaks) is controversial in public policy literature, as it raises concerns such as that of the commodification of family care.⁴¹

The Australian system includes a national strategy for assuring that caregivers can access the support they need –in terms of both direct monetary support as well as training and integrated education services. In Canada, unfortunately, the home-care support patchwork is more susceptible to gaps in the provision of support services to caregivers. Therefore, one policy goal might be to try to emulate Australia’s method of caregiver compensation; however, coordination between the provinces and the federal government is harder to achieve in Canada.⁴² The Canadian Healthcare Association (in their 2009 report), as well as some independent researchers, advocate for the administration of the CCB to be redirected from EI and into the Canadian and Quebec Pension Plans.⁴³ This would alleviate some of the more glaring issues with the CCB . If this change were to happen, eligibility would be broadened beyond those in paid non-contractual employment and those who work full time.⁴⁴ Rather, any contributor of the CPP/QPP would be eligible to receive benefits if they could demonstrate how they care for a dependant, similarly to how the CPP already incorporates a disability benefit (“available to people who have made enough contributions to the CPP, and whose disability prevents them from working at any job on a regular basis.”)⁴⁵

Furthermore, with this change, the current timeframe of six weeks could be expanded, as those receiving benefits could continue to do so even without taking a leave of absence from work (which is allowed only on very rigid conditions under EI).⁴⁶ Finally, this system could incorporate a clause allowing caregivers leaving the

38 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 70.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Keefe, 18.

42 Ibid., 20.

43 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 80.

44 Ibid.

45 Service Canada, “CPP Disability – Summary,” <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/isp/cpp/summary.shtml> (Nov 2012).

46 Keefe, 22.

formal labour force to continue contributing to the CPP, a provision that is currently available to parents who take time off to look after children.⁴⁷ Thus, anyone taking an extended leave of absence (over the timeframe that the EI system allows) would be able to still contribute to the public pension, allowing more future financial stability in caregivers' lives. This policy change could stand alone, but would ideally be combined with a means-tested allowance (as in Australia) for non-contributors to the CPP to also receive adequate benefits.

Therefore, one policy option would to keep the current system of compensation that the federal government already has in place, perhaps with augmented tax benefits. Another is to reconfigure access to benefits by informal caregivers (this option might also include slight reforms to the tax benefit system, including being made "refundable and distributed on a quarterly basis similar to the child tax benefit").⁴⁸ Of course, various hybrid reforms could be made as well, including incorporating the "pension dropout clauses"⁴⁹ for the CPP even without a shift away from funding the CCB through EI.

Policy Analysis

As examined above, the Compassionate Care Benefit system has some clear strengths. It is self-financing through the contributory EI, and it represents a huge leap in the right direction for compensating informal caregivers. However, there are clear deficiencies in the system as well. As presented above, this policy debate could occur on two levels: first, on the direct financing of benefits for caregivers, and second, on the more global scope of caregiver support services (leading to a more integrated network of support).

Looking at the first, more concrete suggestion, the switch from providing benefits under the EI to under the CPP/QPP would be accompanied by significant institutional hurdles and bureaucratic "growing pains". However, organizations such as the Canadian Healthcare Association do not foresee crippling philosophical opposition to this shift. Payment would still be made through a self-financing fund, and it would be more universal, increase accessibility, and allow even out-of-work caregivers to keep up their contributions to the pension fund.⁵⁰ However, taking the benefits out from EI must be accompanied by the provision that provincial labour codes will not be affected; i.e. that employment cannot be terminated for short-term caregiver leaves (a provision that would keep caregivers' connection to employment, one of the goals of the CCB). There are obviously many structural hurdles to reformulating this program, but another critical gain would be increased accessibility

47 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 80.

48 Keefe, 18.

49 Ibid.

50 The Canadian Healthcare Association, *Home Care in Canada*, 80.

to benefits for those with long-term caregiver needs, as opposed to only those who fall under the strict timeframe of six weeks. Furthermore, the hope is that there would be a higher visibility of the program if it is presented as analogous to the with the aim that more people could benefit from it.

The economic cost of the switch would not be significant in the long run, as the CPP is also a long-term contributory fund, and more people on a leave of absence would be eligible to continue contributing. For the healthcare system as a whole, any move to strengthen and support the role of the informal caregiver is a move to strengthen home-care as a whole – and thus, to “dehospitalize” Canadian health-care. Particularly in the case of long-term needs, home-care is generally preferable and more cost-effective than hospital and institutional care.⁵¹

Analysis

It is clear that the disjointed system of home-care in Canada suffers from serious issues. The concrete proposal outlined above, regarding a shift in the method of remuneration of informal caregivers, is one small aspect of addressing these problems. A criticism to the argument presented above, then, is that shifting some benefits for informal caregivers will not bring about substantive improvement for the accessibility and delivery of home-care. However, it is important to remember that millions of Canadians are caring for disabled and sick people at home, and these actors are as much a part of the Canadian health-care model as professionals who provide publicly-insured services – especially since home-care is publicly covered, to a varying extent, in every jurisdiction. Thus, when people are being cared for at home, it is the responsibility of federal and provincial governments to make sure that they are recognized in the most universal and effective way possible.

However, the question remains as to whether thinking about monetary terms is sufficient. As Keefe, the Canadian Healthcare Association, and other voices such as the Canadian Caregiver Coalition argue, we must continue to coordinate support programs for caregivers under a national umbrella, as in Australia (whether governmentally or non-governmentally administered).⁵² However, this option requires serious interprovincial coordination making it more plausible to first achieve a shift in the compensation method and the potential implementation of a means-tested supplement before looking at more global issues surrounding support systems. Hopefully the future of the home-care policy lens (the initial planning stages of which were announced in early 2012)⁵³ will lead Canadian provinces down a path of more integrated services.

Thus, the importance of a national program of compensation that has not

51 Romanow, 177.

52 The Canadian Healthcare Association, 81; Keefe, 1.

53 Health Canada, 2012.

been debated on its fundamental idea helps it to establish some degree of parity across the thirteen provincial and territorial jurisdictions. However, the current system can be improved quite substantially by providing monetary compensation through the Canada/Quebec Pension Plans as opposed to Employment Insurance.

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Middle Class Rhetoric and Working Class Reality

**Discourses on Female Prostitution
in Early Twentieth-Century Montréal**

Matthew Chung

Middle-Class Rhetoric and Working-Class Reality: Discourses on Female Prostitution in Early Twentieth-Century Montréal

Introduction

From the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War, Montréal's red-light district grew with the industrializing city. The emergence and persistence of this locale associated with prostitution was condemned by a reformist coalition of civic and moral authorities known as the Committee of Sixteen. Formed in 1918 and acting in accord with parallel reformist campaigns in other Canadian cities, the Committee of Sixteen sought to impose their moral viewpoint upon society by having institutional prostitution suppressed.

Poststructuralist thought has informed historical works on the regulation of morals and prostitution, in particular because it examines representations and deconstructs discourses.¹ In his writings on sexuality, Foucault has conceived of the female body as a locus of morals and discourses, a theory that pertains to the construction of prostitution by reformers². As Andrée Lévesque observes, the Foucaultian notion of the archaeology of knowledge also applies: if reformist discourse was composed by silencing prostitutes' voices, then the imperative of the historian is to restore that voice.³

Moral viewpoints and the lived experience of individuals are ultimately one and the same. Andrée Lévesque notes that "la réalité vécue par les prostituées est intimement liée à l'image entretenue par tous ceux et celles qui se proposaient de les contrôler. Discours et expérience sont inscrits ensemble dans la matérialité de l'époque et du milieu."⁴ While the origins of prostitution in Montréal lie in the experience of women facing limited options of employment, the Committee failed to acknowledge the economic imperatives that compelled individuals into the trade. This limited construction partly accounts for the deficiencies of Committee's rhetoric in altering the reality of prostitution in Montréal.

A similar failing echoes through the historiography. Philippa Levine insists that historians must avoid the distinction between prostitution and other forms of employment, or else perpetuate the same constructions of early-twentieth century

1 E.I. Hart, *Wake Up! Montreal! Commercialized Vice and its Contributories* (Montréal, 1919), 68.

2 Joan Sangster, "Introduction to Regulating Girls and Women," In *Moral Regulation and Governance in Canada: History, Context and Critical Issues*, ed. Amanda Glasbeek (Toronto, 2006): 38.

3 Andrée Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939* (Toronto, 1994), 17.

4 Lévesque, *Résistance et Transgression* (Montréal, 1995), 14-15.

reformers.⁵ As Danielle Lacasse observes, one strain of feminist theory, which views prostitution as a free choice and prostitutes in turn as autonomous actors, provides a means for historians to reconceptualize prostitution and to impart agency to the individuals involved.⁶ The exchange of sexual services is thus conceived as a rational economic act. Nonetheless this theoretical framework is also limited in that it is essentially ahistorical and requires substantiation. Thus Lacasse writes, “l’histoire permet de mieux cerner toute la complexité du phénomène de la prostitution en tenant compte des rapports spécifiques existant entre [la prostituée] et les changements sociaux”.⁷

The Formation of the Committee of Sixteen

At the turn of the century, elements of the middle class in Montreal were anxious about the apparent collapse of the moral order. Industrialization seemed to have resulted in a decline in moral values, and in the creation of a number of problems of vice, including sexual licence. This particular vice, largely associated with the lower classes, was thought to undermine labour discipline and ultimately to threaten the middle class with a “moral contagion”.⁸ Moreover, reformers were concerned that the enforcement of laws regarding prostitution and vice at large was inconsistent. A de facto toleration by the police reflected the tenets of social conservatism, which sought minimal intrusion sufficient for the semblance of social control.⁹ The toleration of prostitution also allowed the police to draw upon a network of informants, for example, to convict other individuals of maintaining illegal drinking establishments.¹⁰ Nonetheless, as noted by John McLaren, the passage of the Temperance Act in 1878 had established a precedent for those middle-class reformers who sought legislative solutions for other problems of vice¹¹.

The impetus for the formation of a coalition of moral reformers in Montréal ultimately came from without. Moral reformers were influenced by the American progressive wave, which reached its crest with a number of inquiries into moral ruination in urban milieux. The publication of an American report on the state of vice in Montréal in 1917 resulted in the formation of the Committee of Sixteen.¹² This

5 Philippa Levine, “Women and Prostitution: Metaphor, Reality, History,” *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d’histoire* 28 (1993): 493.

6 Danielle Lacasse, *La prostitution féminine à Montréal, 1945-1970* (Montréal, 1994), 19.

7 Ibid, 23.

8 John McLaren, *Recalculating the Wages of Sin: The Social and Legal Construction of Prostitution in Canada, 1850-1920* (Winnipeg, 1995), 5.

9 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 129.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid, 12.

12 The Committee of Sixteen. “Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal” (Montréal, 1918), 13.

reformist coalition sought to redress the toleration of prostitution on the part of the authorities. The Committee decried “a problem of almost insuperable difficulty in combatting Commercialized Vice here, which is due to that long established attitude of toleration”.¹³ Toleration and public opinion were associated with one another: “An easy-going policy of toleration has existed here either because the public is ignorant of the conditions or because it believes definitely that toleration is the only or best method”.¹⁴ Thus, during its eight years of existence, the Committee would attempt to sensitize public opinion to the abolition of commercialized vice. However, its reports were informed by a purely moral and social construction of prostitution. The Committee’s ignorance of incentives on the ground partly accounts for the failure of the Committee to alter the reality of commercialised vice in Montréal.

The Construction of Prostitution by the Committee of Sixteen

At the turn of the century, the middle class of Montréal was inclined to the notion that the moral order was resisted by external forces. The appearance of immigrants associated with moral contagion in the city added to pre-existing anxieties about the effects of industrialization and urbanization.¹⁵ Middle-class reformers were also conditioned by a popular genre of literature that fictionalized “sensationalist and often lurid accounts of innocent maidenly virtue defiled by the wiles of male exploiters, typically with eastern European accents or oriental features”.¹⁶ In reaction to the apparent existence of a white slave trade, moral reformers sought to strike at its source but in turn, only perpetuated the myth.

Evanston Hart, a member of the Committee of Sixteen, decried the operation in Montréal of “a large, secret syndicate, operating both in Europe and America, for the procuring of girls and young women for immoral purposes”.¹⁷ The white slave trade in the city apparently led “to the homes of the rich as well as to the poor, to the high as well as the low, to the well-governed Westmount as well as to the tolerated area”.¹⁸ But most troubling to Hart was that recruiters in the white slave trade were to be found beyond the red-light district and “in our squares, in the neighborhood of our large hotels, stations, and military barracks, searching for their prey”.¹⁹

The myth of the ‘white slave trade’ was one aspect of the moral construction of prostitution by the Committee of Sixteen. As will be subsequently discussed, the myth was problematic given that it assumed female passivity with its descriptions

13 The Committee of Sixteen. “Some Facts Regarding Toleration, Regulation, Segregation, and Repression of Commercialized Vice” (Montréal, 1919), 14-15.

14 The Committee of Sixteen. “Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal,” 40.

15 McLaren, *Recalculating the Wages of Sin*, 27.

16 *Ibid*, 35.

17 Hart, 29.

18 *Ibid*, 32-33.

19 Hart, 33.

of the menace of male recruiters.²⁰ John McLaren notes that the term ‘white slavery’ connoted varying assumptions of prostitution and the means to address it. When employed by male reformers, who constituted a majority of the Committee, the meaning only served to obscure the more immediate social and economic context of prostitution.²¹ Moreover, this rhetoric also only obscured (I think) the identities of those who profited from prostitution. The foreign male recruiters of the white slavery were largely imaginary given that most individuals who ran brothels were women from the same social milieu of the prostitute herself.²²

In addition to moral contagion, the transmission of venereal disease and thus contagion in its primary sense was constructed in relation to prostitution. In the course of the First World War, anxiety about venereal disease had emerged once it became public knowledge that a number of soldiers were infected.²³ The Committee of Sixteen ultimately attributed “the existence of prostitution” to “the consequent prevalence and spread of venereal diseases.”²⁴ Furthermore, moral and corporal ailments were one and the same within their discourse. Hart rhetorically asked, “What is the result of this organized immorality in our community? One direct result is disease, hideous, loathsome, and deadly. In an alarming degree it is spreading.”²⁵

Inspired by the Foucaultian conception of power as exercised through the construction of knowledge, feminist theory has examined how expert opinion serves to pathologize individuals.²⁶ The reports of moral reformers were informed by scientific and medical evidence, which together formed the semblance of an epidemic of venereal disease. Nonetheless, that this evidence and its interpretation by expert and reformist opinion were influenced by moral considerations is without question in retrospect. Andrée Lévesque states that public health officials in daily contact with the ravages of venereal disease had the tendency to exaggerate.²⁷ Similarly, John McLaren concludes that these experts failed “to separate the scientific and the moral and were not beyond manipulating the statistics to demonstrate that contagion had reached epidemic proportions.”²⁸ Like the myth of ‘white slavery’, the association of prostitution with venereal disease represented a second moral construct by the Committee of Sixteen.

20 McLaren, “Chasing the Evil: Moral Fervour and the Evolution of Canada’s Prostitution Laws, 1867-1917,” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 1 (1986): 144.

21 McLaren, *Recalculating the Wages of Sin*, 25.

22 McLaren, “Chasing the Evil,” 138.

23 McLaren, *Recalculating the Wages of Sin*, 45.

24 The Committee of Sixteen, “Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal,” 9.

25 Hart, 34.

26 Sangster, 37.

27 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 126.

28 McLaren, “Chasing the Evil,” 35.

Finally, medical and mental hygiene were linked within a medico-moral rhetoric that verged on eugenic discourse. Moral reformers located the origins of vice in the moral insufficiency of the lower classes. The apparent disorder of feeble-mindedness was in turn conceived as hereditary and inherent to these lower classes. Hart, of the Committee of Sixteen, claimed in regard to female immorality, “that fully fifty per cent of the girls who go wrong are feeble-minded,” thus linking a predisposition for sexual deviance to inheritance.²⁹ Moreover, in order to prevent the moral ruination of the middle class by those individuals of inferior breeding, reformers argued for the suppression of prostitution, the ultimate source of the contagion of feeble-mindedness.

The fundamental problem of this discourse of feeble-mindedness was not that it represented yet another moral construct but that it located the origins of prostitution in the individual female of the lower classes. The Committee of Sixteen failed to acknowledge the economic imperatives that compelled women into the trade. Indeed, prostitution lay in the economic and social structure of Montréal, specifically the limited options for female employment.

The Economic Imperatives of Prostitution in Montréal

Philippa Levine has asked just why did women become prostitutes.³⁰ The explanation advanced by Evanston Hart of the Committee of Sixteen drew upon the constructs of the white slave trade and the feeble-mindedness of working-class females. The Committee of Sixteen conceded that it had not “analyzed [...] material as to occupation, wages, living conditions”.³¹ The Committee did at times make reference to the material conditions of the lower classes. Hart acknowledged that “many girls sell themselves through direct or indirect economic stress—their wages are shamefully small and they love to dress and want to look pretty”³². However, Andrée Lévesque observes, “les analyses des réformateurs et des réformatrices, si elles mentionnent les conditions matérielles qui prédisposent à la prostitution, ne mettent pas en cause les structures sociales et économiques,” as evidenced by this discourse.³³

John McLaren objects to the portrayal of working-class prostitutes by moral reformers as passive victims. He concludes that “they were individuals who had been toughened by the realities and demands of working class life, and who were well aware of what they were doing and why”³⁴. In line with contemporary feminist theory, he thus conceives of the entry into prostitution as a rational choice. Andrée

29 Hart, 47.

30 Levine, 493.

31 The Committee of Sixteen, “Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal,” 33.

32 Hart, 50.

33 Lévesque, *Résistance et Transgression*, 114.

34 McLaren, “Chasing the Evil,” 138.

Lévesque describes the economic and social structures of Montréal which served to limit the possibilities of working-class females. Employment as a domestic servant or a sweatshop worker, amongst the few lines of work open to unskilled women, only afforded pittance. Given their recurrent experience of economic necessity, prostitution, with its promise to make incomes several times larger, represented a practical option for many working-class women. Thus Lévesque draws a similar conclusion, “they did not think long and hard before entering the trade but often hoped only to land themselves in a temporary and lucrative line of trade.”³⁵

Nonetheless these accounts are limited in that they are not substantiated by primary sources. The retrieval of sources represents one methodological problem inherent to historical inquiry into prostitution across time and space³⁶. Lévesque states that, “as objects of public discussion and repressive policies, the prostitutes of the period are known to us only at second hand, through intermediaries,” which is manifest in the excerpt by Evanston Hart quoted at length above.³⁷ Prostitutes thus appear as voiceless individuals in official documents. Consider the subjective picture of a prostitute in her arrest warrant, “woman, brown hair, rather tall, medium build, 20-25 years old”³⁸. The imperative for the conscientious historian is consequently to restore the voice to the voiceless.

It would seem that *The Maimie Papers* represents the source which best embodies the consciousness of working-class prostitutes in Montréal at the turn of the century. Ruth Rosen suggests that these papers maintain a certain authenticity by contrast with other purposed memoirs of the time, often written as moralistic tracts by reformers.³⁹ The source is a collection of letters written by Maimie Pitzner to Fanny Quincy Howe between 1910 and 1922 in an effort by Howe, a Philadelphia social worker, to prevent the return of Maimie to prostitution. Rosen states that, “Maimie, like most working-class women was forced to choose her means from a position of socially constructed powerlessness.”⁴⁰ Despite the fact that Maimie lived the latter part of her life in Montréal as a reformed prostitute, she contemplated a return to the trade. She once wrote: “My trouble is that I am a ‘working girl’ who has lived like a ‘lady’—and it’s hard to curb my desires and live as the working girl should.”⁴¹ Maimie decried the limited options of female employment as a “salesperson, waitress, worker (physical) of any sort in a shop [...] there is nothing else but housework”⁴². She questioned the wages paid by respectable lines of work in

35 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 121.

36 Levine, 479.

37 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 113.

38 Ibid, 16.

39 Ruth Rosen, “Introduction,” in *The Maimie Papers* (Old Westbury, NY, 1977),

xiv.

40 Ibid., xxv.

41 Rosen, *The Maimie Papers*, 141.

42 Ibid, 294.

stating, “I could, just by phoning, spend an afternoon with some congenial person and in the end have more than a week’s worth could pay me”.⁴³ Thus the economic imperatives that compelled working-class women into prostitution in Montréal are rendered more comprehensible in light of The Maimie Papers.

That the lived experience of working-class prostitutes deviated from the promise to earn higher incomes must also be considered by the historian. Andrée Lévesque writes, “the expenses connected with this mode of life, however, always exceeded the income”.⁴⁴ Her statement is manifest in the reports of the Committee of Sixteen despite their bias as second-hand accounts. It rightly concluded that “there is nothing in the ‘life’ for the girl, —the madam and the pimp getting all the profit”.⁴⁵

Conclusion

Having disbanded eight years after its initial report, “du Comité des Seize, on n’entend guère d’échos une fois les audiences terminées”.⁴⁶ Andrée Lévesque concludes that the rhetoric of the Committee of Sixteen ultimately failed to alter the reality of prostitution in Montréal.⁴⁷ The Committee constructed prostitution as a moral issue and disregarded the social and economic structures that compelled females into the trade. A further shortcoming of the Committee was that it applied middle-class framework to working-class problems. That many working-class girls left domestic service in middle-class homes because of its inherent demands and sexual abuse to take up prostitution was lost on these moral reformers⁴⁸. If prostitution did portend moral ruination, social convention kept the middle-class away from the lower orders.

Foucault wrote that powerful discourses have a tendency to occasion their own discourses of resistance⁴⁹. The question how the Committee of Sixteen came to disregard the larger social and economic structures of Montréal thus emerges. Some female voices had existed within the coalition of middle-class reformers. These women had demonstrated a sensitivity to the social and economic privation, which led many into prostitution⁵⁰. However, as previously discussed, reformist discourse became increasingly dominated by the male belief that the causes of prostitution

43 Rosen, *The Maimie Papers*, 12.

44 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 123.

45 The Committee of Sixteen, “Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal,” 27.

46 Lévesque, “Éteindre le Red Light : les réformateurs et la prostitution à Montréal entre 1865 et 1925” *Urban History Review/Revue d’histoire urbaine* 17 (1989): 198.

47 Lévesque, *Résistance et transgression*, 114.

48 McLaren, “Chasing the Evil,” 153.

49 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: 1978), 92-97.

50 McLaren, *Recalculating the Wages of Sin*, 53.

lay only in external forces and in the moral insufficiency of the lower classes.

In the end, the ideology of the law in action was that of the police and the magistracy⁵¹. The rhetoric of white slavery and moral contagion promulgated by middle-class reformers did not resonate with the police, nor did it move the legislature. Toleration thus prevailed, ensuring the continuity of the trade in Montréal.

51 Ibid, 61.

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Generation None?

A Critique of Contemporary Multiculturalism in Canada

Amar Nijhawan

Generation None?

A Critique of Contemporary Multiculturalism in Canada

Introduction

The image of a multicultural mosaic is often evoked to capture the diversity of symbols and concepts that define Canada. In 2006, out of 31 million Canadians, only 10 million ethnically identified themselves as “Canadian”. The remaining facets of the population, categorized themselves into various groups, including over 5 million self-identified visible minorities.¹ As a result of Canada’s diverse demographic composition, multicultural policy has become a government priority in the last few decades. In this paper, I argue that, while such policy is intended to facilitate the integration of immigrant communities, to reduce discrimination and to promote tolerance and coexistence, the effect of government sanctioned multicultural policy is more divisive than inclusive in practice. By systematically categorizing facets of the population through the framework of government policy, multiculturalism tends to homogenize and marginalize people of ‘ethnic’ background. Official multiculturalism is especially problematic when it is applied to visible minorities: inefficient policy, ineffective equity programs, and racialized language all contribute to the omnipresent “glass ceiling” which particularly obstructs first and second generation immigrant Canadian youth. I intend to trace the formation of multiculturalism policy in Canada and to evaluate its effect on ethnic groups and individuals in Canada. I do this by examining the history of official multiculturalism policy, and its common critiques. I then apply the same analysis to the experiences of second generation minority populations in Canada today - taking the South Asian population as a focus.- for an exploration of the lived realities of such policy implementation.

The Formation of Multiculturalism in Canada

Does multiculturalism policy reflect an originally multiethnic Canada, or did such diversity only emerge as a result of official government policy? Often viewed as a country of two linguistic nations, multiculturalism policy was intended to establish a government-led recognition of the ‘other ethnics’ found within the framework of the ‘two founding peoples’. The 1969 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism under Lester B. Pearson was established within the context of increased immigration to Canada, predominantly from Ukraine and Germany.² The Commission sought to:

1 Statistics Canada, “2006 Census: Ethnic Origin and Visible Minorities.” <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/rt-td/eth-eng.cfm>.

2 Auggie Fleras, *Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity*, 80 (Scarborough: Nelson, 1992), 294.

... inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the *two founding races*, taking into account the contribution made by the *other ethnic groups* to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution...³

According to the Commission, the two founding peoples, English and French, played an “undisputed role” in the formation of the country.⁴ The English and French were considered the dominant groups in the Canadian sphere, consequentially creating a categorized “Other” for those who did not fit the bicultural label. Ethnic “Others” were afforded full rights of participation in the state based on willingness to integrate linguistically and culturally into Anglophone and Francophone environments, while maintaining the ability to preserve their culture within the framework of their “minority” group.⁵ While not classifiable as visible minorities, Ukrainian and German groups actively lobbied against the conclusions of this Commission. These groups understood the Commission to reify the concept that some Canadians were more deserving than others, and rejected the notion of Canada as composed of “two founding nations.”⁶ A proposed alternative was a description that highlighted the contribution of “other ethnics” to the cultural enrichment and composition of the country through a symbolic multicultural order.⁷ The demands to implement this sort of measure were intensified by the Government’s need to suppress budding Quebecois nationalism in the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution.⁸

The surge in Quebecois nationalism, coupled with the decline of a common “British” national identity, provided the popular ideological framework of Canada as an egalitarian multicultural mosaic, as opposed to a “bicultural partnership of nations.”⁹ This response to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was subsequently articulated by the Liberal government in the form of an official multiculturalism policy. On October 8 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau rose in Parliament and declared his government’s desire to “embrace multiculturalism within a bilingual framework”, with the intention of creating a Canada in which all citizens would be equal and amalgamated within a

3 Government of Canada. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, “Part 1 Chapter I – Part 2 Chapter IV.” <http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/pco-bcp/commissions->

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Fleras, 294.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid, 230.

9 Ibid, 233.

common territory without having to fear for their distinct cultural identities.¹⁰ Initial concepts of multiculturalism were not meant to celebrate and preserve cultural differences, but rather to eliminate exclusionary practices.¹¹ However, the focus of official multiculturalism shifted by the 1980s to reflect the concerns of visible minorities about racialized barriers and access in society. The emphasis on ethnicity and identity was discarded in exchange for a commitment to equity, social justice, and institutional inclusiveness.¹² Following the entrenchment of multicultural rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1985, the concept of multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society became a commonly accepted principle. Canada became the first country in the world to interpret multiculturalism at the highest level of federal-constitutional decision making through the passage of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 and the subsequent establishment of the Department of Heritage, Immigration and Citizenship.

Analysis and Interpretation: Common Critiques of Policy

Official multiculturalism policy is received and interpreted through various lenses and methods; there is no clear consensus on the meaning of the term ‘multicultural’. Multiculturalism policy claims to commit to building Canada as an egalitarian and inclusive society, however, early aspects of policy used to regulate ethnic groups in Canada were designed, formulated and administered without significant public contribution from members of minority groups themselves. Himmani Bannerji states that the emergence of multiculturalism-based legislation in the 1970s served solely as a liberal democratic slogan designed to manage social contradictions and conflicts in the context of a divided French-English Canada.¹³ This apparent disconnect is made evident in certain critiques of the policy which highlight the racialization of multicultural policy and the simplification of cultures.

The term “ethnic” denotes one’s concepts of culture, language, and religion, and is often used to classify Canadian cultural groups of immigrant origin.¹⁴ Various theorists, including Neil Bissoondath, understand the commonly employed terminology in government-sanctioned multicultural discourse to fall into racialized categorizations. Bissoondath argues that the usage of the term “ethnic” has become

10 Government of Canada. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 233.

11 Ibid, 295.

12 Ibid.

13 Himmani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, (Toronto: Canadian Scholar’s Press, 2000), 45.

14 Joanna Rummens, “An Interdisciplinary Overview of Canadian Research on Identity,” Department of Canadian Heritage, 2001.

synonymous with “foreign”, “exotic” or “visible”.¹⁵ He refers to an example in which the black communities of Nova Scotia, who have lived in the country for as long as many white Canadians, would be classified as “ethnic” within the framework of multicultural discourse.¹⁶ As opposed to being considered ethnically Canadian, given their linguistic patterns and migratory history, these populations would still be categorized within the same framework as ‘new Canadians’. In an attempt to reduce racism and create a more accessible society, official multiculturalism policy creates a racialized barrier through which visible minorities, despite their residency status and citizenship, are categorized as a secondary group.

The racialization of citizenship implies a “colour line”. Sherene Razack exemplifies this concept within the framework of the Sharia debate in Ontario, which resulted from the proposition to allow Islamic faith-based law within households. The negative response to this initiative by society and by policy makers was rooted in the fear that faith-based arbitration could entrench the patriarchal and conservative elements of Islam in law.¹⁷ In their concern to curtail these elements, Canadian feminists and activists (both Muslim and non-Muslim) developed rhetorical frameworks in which the secular-versus-religious divide functioned as a colour line, “marking the difference between the white, modern, enlightened West and people of colour, in particular, Muslims.”¹⁸ Razack argues that in a post-9/11 world, anti-terrorism actions have stigmatized Muslims and other groups of colour.¹⁹ These actions are justified within the framework of national security and basic human rights; however they tend to create a problematic dichotomy between an uncivilized “East” and a civilized “West”, and a Huntington-esque argument for the fundamental incompatibility between cultures. Multiculturalism policy regulating the categorization and conduct of citizens produces a normative citizen who, according to Razack “is unconnected to a [Canadian] community, and a figure who achieved definition only in comparison to racial Others, the latter presumed to be trapped in the pre-modern by virtue of their particularistic tendencies.”²⁰

Additionally, multiculturalism policy reifies the cultural separation of communities. The increased “ghettoization” and clustering of similarly oriented ethnic communities throughout Canada hinders ethnic integration into a wider, more diverse Canadian polity. While according to official statements multiculturalism is

15 Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Penguin, 1994), 141.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Sherene Razack, *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 146.

18 *Ibid.*, 148.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*, 150.

intended to open closed ethnic communities, one need only travel around the Greater Toronto Area to fully understand the levels of self-imposed cultural segregation that exists. A study conducted in 2004 examines the policy implications of spatial and social segregation by choice. The study concludes that, while economic factors such as income and housing opportunities predetermine ethnic and immigrant Canadian settlement patterns more than discriminatory practices, residential segregation poses barriers to integration within a “mainstream society and economy”.²¹ In this sense, such cultural barriers create inherent restrictions for minority Canadians wishing to enter positions of authority outside of their communities. On September 28th, 2011, The Honourable Vivienne Poy raised this issue in the first Senate Debate of the 41st Parliament:

“Visible minorities are severely under-represented in positions of leadership, in both the public and the private sectors. We lack diversity in our House of Commons, partly because of unequal seat distributions between rural ridings and urban ridings, where most visible minorities live.”²²

At the time of the debate, only 10 percent of the House of Commons was comprised of visible minorities, and their ridings were predominately the aforementioned culturally restricted communities.²³ The cultural manipulation of politics is a non-partisan phenomenon employed by all parties, regardless of their political ideology. Politicians such as Nina Grewal (Conservative MP: Fleetwood-Port Kells, British Columbia), Wai Young (Conservative MP: Vancouver South), and Ruby Dhalla (Former Liberal MP: Brampton-Springdale) are all examples of candidates who campaigned and won in ridings where the majority people shared their ethnic background.

Another major critique of multicultural policy is that, in its attempt to preserve culture, it homogenizes and oversimplifies it. Bissoondath elaborates on this notion, emphasizing the fact that culture is a “living, breathing, multi-faceted entity in constant evolution”.²⁴ In spite of this, the public face of Canadian multiculturalism is reduced to festivals where the focus is on predominantly tokenistic aspects of culture such as exotic dances and foods that are (quite literally)

21 Mohammad Qadeer, “Ethnic Segregation in a Multicultural City: The Case of Toronto, Canada,” Ceris Working Paper Series, 6 (2004).

22 Canada. Parliament. Senate. Debates, 41st Parliament, 1st Session, September 28th, 2011, vol. 148, No.14, (http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/Sen/Chamber/411/Debates/014db_2011-09-28-e.htm#3)

23 Ibid.

24 Bissoondath, 76.

easy to digest.²⁵ Bissoondath suggests that this approach commodifies culture into something that can be packaged, bought, and easily forgotten, ultimately devaluing it. “A traditional dance performed on a stage is not a people’s cultural life, but an aspect of it removed from context, shaped and packaged to give a voyeuristic pleasure.”²⁶ This packaged simplification of culture is often manipulated for political means, as exemplified in the campaigns of Canadian politicians. In the 2011 federal and provincial elections, both Liberal and Conservative candidates held rallies featuring prominent Indian film actors in constituencies of the GTA with predominantly South Asian populations.²⁷ Ultimately, the exhibitionist and “easy-to-navigate” multiculturalism that exists in our “mosaic” overlooks the complexity, depth and scope of the individuals and histories that constitute culture. By offering simplistic representations of culture to Canadian society, multicultural initiatives preserve stereotypes and result in social divisiveness.

Generation “One” in the South Asian Community

The racialization of policy and the simplification of culture results in the homogenization of groups that multiculturalism is intended to aid. An important example can be found in the generational divide between the formation of multiculturalism policy and the contemporary demographic it affects. Multiculturalism policy was conceived in response to the influx of immigrants into Canada, most of whom attained permanent residency and citizenship. Multiculturalism policy is now applied to a new group of Canadians, a second and third generation of Canadians, popularly termed as “Generation One”. “Generation One” represents a new generation of Canadian citizens, united by cultural distinctions and their common Canadian nationality. However, being subsumed within a framework of common citizenship poses difficulties within implicit cultural barriers, reified by seemingly inclusive legislation.

In 2001, of 917,000 South Asians in Canada, 40.4% were under the age of 24.²⁸ This number has grown over the years, and is reflective of a growing and evolving demographic. If one expected multiculturalism policy to have its effect in a linear fashion, this generation should by now have been incorporated into the ideal multicultural Canadian framework: one that promotes diversity, but ultimately fosters a sense of national unity. A recent CBC documentary evaluating the nature

25 Bissoondath, 76.

26 Ibid, 77.

27 Steven Chasse, “The Harpers go Bollywood in GTA battleground.” *The Globe and Mail*, April 8, 2011. Also see Bryan Durham, “Anil Kapoor Thrilled on McGuinty Win,” *The Times of India*, October 9, 2011.

28 Kelly Tran, “South Asians in Canada: Unity Through Diversity,” *Canadian Social Trends* (2005).

of first and second generation Canadian youth exposes evidence to the contrary: today's "Generation One" youth are more ambivalent and do not feel a sense of belonging in Canada; this is especially the case amongst visible minorities.²⁹ While the documentary focuses on a variety of sociological factors influencing this trend, the wider analysis of policy implications presented in this paper provides further reasoning.

Speaking personally, I wish to suggest that, if multiculturalism policy today appears dated, it is because it is being applied to second and third generation Canadians who should be afforded equal rights of citizenship, and who should not be treated as policy exceptions. The homogenization of culture creates a persistent focus on some ancestral "homeland", ultimately hindering integration and loyalty within the framework of a diverse Canadian citizenry. The emphasis on a static and non-adaptable form of culture through the formulations of strong ethnic communities limits the scope of possibilities that individuals, especially visible-minority youth, understand as achievable. The "glass ceiling" limiting professional and societal integration for their parents continues to affect visible-minority youth in Canada. Take for example, the Canadian-born son of Indian immigrant parents in Brampton - who, we might imagine, overcame racial and societal adversity to make a decent living as workers in the regional automotive industry, and, despite federal policies and unrecognized university degrees, fundamentally understood that they would never fully advance in their white-dominated professional lives – is less likely to experience the diversity that Canadian policy makers promise. Instead they may restrict themselves to the confines of their cultural enclave. While it is detrimental to make homogenizations of the experiences of all immigrant populations, this feeling of inherent restriction is something that crosses socio-economic boundaries.

If Canada is to continue with an official policy of multiculturalism, it must be reflective of the evolving demographic and nature of Canada. According to the Department of Heritage, Immigration and Citizenship, the official objectives of contemporary multiculturalism policy revolved around financial support for developing groups which have expressed "a desire to be helped and grow and contribute to Canada".³⁰ This involves assisting members to overcome barriers in Canadian society and promoting ethnic interchange between groups by providing grants to groups who exhibit needs and cultural development programs which promote equitable media representation and the acquisition of ancestral languages, histories, and museums.³¹ Effective multiculturalism policy should shift away from

29 Generation One. Documentary. CBC: The National, February 7, 2011.

30 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 2010-2011." <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/multi-report2011/index.asp>.

31 Ibid.

financially supporting tokenistic aspects of culture through fairs and museums, and instead promote complex forms of ethnic interchange through outreach to culturally restricted communities. It should promote sustainability within communities by focusing on self-definition and the multiplicity of perspectives a culture can possess, as opposed to providing grants to communities that meet the criteria of “culture” prescribed by the Government. Ethnic histories should be taught by people within the community concerned, and political parties should encourage members of visible minorities to campaign in regions in which they are not the cultural majority.

Most importantly, a continuing dialogue needs to be maintained by youth representatives of cultural communities and policy makers. This will enable informed policy decisions not rooted in static definitions of cultural and Canadian identity. While, increasingly, trends of transnational citizenship are over-riding notions of national homogeneity in Western countries, the multivalent concepts of “culture”, “citizenship” and “identity” within the Canadian framework need to be adequately addressed in order to ensure effective equality and unity in the country.

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Images of Canada



Edge of the Carcross
Desert, YT
-Matthew Chan



Bay of Fundy
-Alex Nevitte





View from Jacques
Cartier bridge,
Berries at
Jean-Talon Market,
Montreal, Quebec
-Madeleine Cummings





Vancouver, 2010
-Jerry Lee



Dorchester Square-
Place du Canada
-Alec Angle



View from Midnight
Dome, near Dawson
City, YT
-Matthew Chan



Is Multiculturalism Really Alive in Canada?

A Qualitative Case Study of Chinese Workers in Montreal's Chinatown

Victoria Yang

Is Multiculturalism Really Alive in Canada?

A Qualitative Case Study of Chinese Workers in Montreal's Chinatown

Canada is known for its multiculturalism specifically as being the first nation to adopt and implement a multicultural model. Prior to this policy's introduction, the prevailing approach among all Western nations was an assimilation model, whereby immigrants were expected to incorporate themselves completely into the dominant culture as soon as possible (Mann, 2012). Canada's multicultural policies, officially described in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, instead encouraged immigrants retain their cultures, and allowed for a new national culture (Mann, 2012). Some argue these policies have emphasized ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, as well as provided a sense of security, self-confidence, and pride (Canadian Multiculturalism, 2012). The multiculturalist model assumes that all citizens can integrate into their society whilst keeping their own identity.

The supportive and accepting prospects of multiculturalism policy have been attractive for new immigrants (Balakrishnan & Gyimah, 2003). This is reflected in numerous studies as well as the Canadian census. With a growth rate of 5.9%, Canada's population is currently growing faster than that of any other G8 nation (Press, 2012). Since the nation's fertility rate is below replacement at only 2.1, the growth in nearly every corner of Canada is fuelled primarily by immigration (Boswell, 2012; Cohen, 2012). In fact, it is projected that by 2031, immigration will account for more than 80% of Canada's overall population growth.

With immigration showing no signs of slowing down, it becomes increasingly important to determine if Canada's multiculturalism policy is fulfilling immigrants' needs. Literature has shown ambivalence on this issue, with both proponents who affirm the persistence of multiculturalism's livelihood (Shakir, 2011; O'Connor, 2012; Kymlicka, 1998) as well as critics who call the ideal a myth (Stoffman, 2004; Potter, 2010; Ali, 2008) being prevalent and vocal. As ethnic enclaves within cities (sometimes even forming their own suburban cities) expand and proliferate, this resembles neighborhood segregation. This paper seeks to understand through in-depth interviews with workers of one such enclave, how residents perceive the success of Canada's multiculturalism policy their own position, as individuals, along with that of their enclave's neighborhood within Canadian society at large.

Literature Review

Over 600 newcomers per day arrived in Canada since 2006, and many of them settled into neighborhoods with ethnic enclaves—in other words, neighborhoods where more than 30% of the population are visible minorities (Hoffer, 2012).

An example to demonstrate their rampant growth: in 1981 there were only 6 such neighborhoods; today, that number has skyrocketed to over 260 within Canada. As well, these neighborhoods have evolved from urban corners of big cities, such as the various Chinatowns, to sprawling ‘Chinlands’—suburban cities in itself that are self-contained, such as Richmond (Hoffer, 2012). However, does this exemplify the spirit of multiculturalism?

Before addressing that question, it is first important to uncover the reason and motives behind these separated communities of not only residency, but also vibrant hubs of businesses and employment centres. Two possibilities of their formation have been proposed: first, that they are proactively constructed by in-group members to preserve aspects of their ethnic culture (such as language, customs, etc), and second, that such arrangements are forced upon these ethnic groups (Balakrishnan & Gyimah, 2003), either due to economic reasons, or power dynamics. Comparatively, the former would be more positive and exhibit the cultural diversity of Canada, whereas the latter would implicate the promotion of discrimination and prejudice, in addition to possibly the development of ghettos or hindrance of diversity. Underlying these two views are the underpinnings of three different theoretical outlooks.

The first theory has its basis in conflict theory as formulated by Marx, who said there was a constant clash among the different classes in society, and that conflict is an inherent and fundamental part of society (Marx et al., 1998). Extrapolating this concept to ethnic relations within a given nation or society would involve equating racial and ethnic conflict to a form of class conflict. In other words, the hypothesis argues that ethnic segregation is largely a reflection of social-class differences among the various ethnic groups (Logan, 1978). Since many among ethnic groups in Canada are considerably lower or weaker in terms of their socio-economic background, language proficiency, and educational and occupational skills, this impacts the social class these immigrants belong to, and consequently the neighborhood they reside in (Balakrishnan & Gyimah, 2003; Iceland & Scopilliti, 2008). Thus, as immigrants generally lack economic and social capital resources, they are forced to live in the poorer areas of the city, often in the urban core, and perpetuating an image of racial segregation.

However, this theory also stipulates that as certain ethnic members integrate into the country’s occupational and industrial structure, ethnic residential segregation decreases as these members move out of the neighborhood. However, many instances of current events and examinations of case studies have demonstrated otherwise. For instance, a study on Chinese residents in New York City’s Chinatown found many other factors such as convenience and the existence of a kinship network to be important, which suggested many Chinese voluntarily opted to stay within their enclaves (Zhou & Logan, 1991). Walks & Bourne’s (2006) study found

that ghettoization is not a factor in Canadian cities and that a high degree of racial concentration is not necessarily associated with greater neighborhood poverty. By contrast, wealthier members of minority groups are able to self-select into higher-status 'ethnic communities.' A final example would be Richmond in British Columbia, which is occupied by an extremely high concentration of Chinese—in fact approximately 50% of the population have Chinese origins (Richmond 2006 Census, 2008). Many of these Chinese were in fact, extremely successful and wealthy, but instead of moving out of the neighborhood, they chose to stay. In effect, they drove up housing prices by an unprecedented amount through purchasing luxurious and expensive houses in the area (Cooper, 2012; Yu & Donville, 2011). A review of existing literature has also found numerous research studies demonstrating the persistence of residential segregation despite controlling for social class and status (Balakrishnan & Gyimah, 2003). As a result, this theory has been largely discredited among those in the field.

The second commonly referred to theory of racial segregation is developed from symbolic interactionism, which emphasizes the importance of the role of social interaction. In this case, particularly at interest is the result when two people or groups of people from different ethnicities come in contact with one another. The ethnic-identity hypothesis postulates that those of the same ethnic ancestry desire to live in proximity so that social interaction among in-group members can be maximized (Balakrishnan & Gyimah, 2003). This way, institutional completeness is developed, and cultural norms, values, traditions, language and social kinship networks can be maintained (Driedger & Church, 1974). Of the three theories discussed in this paper, this is the only one that suggests residential segregation is actually due to voluntary decisions, and the in-group's own preferences. Some studies in the literature have found support for this theory. For instance Peach (2012) concluded that although many neighborhoods with high ethnic concentrations may be 'ghetto' or pervasive of low quality housing and socio-economic status, often these factors do not deter ethnic members from staying within these areas. Instead, high levels of concentration are sometimes used to an ethnicity's advantage for abilities such as electing a Member of Parliament that represents their interests.. As a result, such segregation is not so much avoidance or even conflict with the 'other,' as much as support of one's own.

One last theory for explaining racial neighborhood segregation is critical race theory, which emphasizes the dynamics of power within relations between different ethnic groups. Supposedly, current legislation legally guarantees equal opportunity and rights for all regardless of one's ethnicity, and as Canada's current legal tradition includes multiculturalism, every citizen should respect the culture of every other individual. However, critical race theorists argue that although formal institutional discrimination may be behind us, discrimination itself still ex-

ists more covertly and in a different form, and are nonetheless still pervasive. For instance, a study by Bonilla-Silva (2003) on the Detroit Area found central features of the colour-blind ideology that describes frameworks majority groups use to deny the existence of discrimination (Ferber, 2012), such as abstract liberalism, naturalizing racial and ethnic phenomena, attributing racism to cultural differences, and downplaying discrimination in affecting minorities' life chances. Another study by Poteat & Spanierman (2012) among college students supports the notion that color-blind racial attitudes exist, which often leads to the effects of dominance and authoritarianism on modern racist attitudes. In addition, the notion of white privilege also ties into this theory, defined as "an invisible package of unearned assets" (McIntosh, 1989) which confers a myriad of social advantages and benefits that come with being a member of the dominant group (Emily, 2012).

The implications this theory has on ethnic neighborhood segregation is that rather than the situation being due solely to the minority group's own choosing or because of disadvantages that result in lower socioeconomic status, a third moderating factor is responsible. As these minorities perceive discrimination and sense they fail to "belong" in their greater community, this not only accounts for their oftentimes marginalized employment opportunities (Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991), but also mediates their perceived need to huddle within a more exclusive enclave.

Regardless of which theoretical approach is correct, such residential segregation can be problematic as it reduces residents' economic, social and political integration into the wider society. Nevertheless, being able to pinpoint the explanation or root of the cause allows for more effective policy implications. The studies mentioned above were largely conducted within the scope of the United States, confined to ethnic relations between blacks and whites, or used only empirical methods to test their hypotheses. In this study, the purpose is to examine how members of a certain ethnic minority group actively working within their enclave perceive their work experience and interactions with "outsiders," or majority group members in their larger community. This study was conducted in Montreal, one of the three most ethnically diverse cities in Canada, through interviews that are able to paint much more nuanced, subjective, and personal picture.

Methodology

Background information

Neighborhoods of ethnic enclaves are commonplace enough in Montreal, with Little Italy, the Latin Quartier (or Latin Quarter), and Chinatown all being relatively close to the downtown core. Reasons the Chinese selected were twofold. First, the Chinese constitute a clear visible minority, and are identifiable for being 'non-white.' For both research and ethnographic purposes, thereby it is unlikely

that members of this group will mistaken to be part of the dominant group—by the researcher(s), in-group members, and out-group members of the ethnicity. Second, because the ethnic group is among one of the top most populous within the nation (Statistics Canada 2006), it is interesting to hear from their perspective and engage in their opinions.

As Chinatown is not necessarily a residential neighborhood but more of a commercial centre of Chinese culture, businesses, and products, only Chinese workers will be interviewed. However, as Chinatown still represents an ethnic enclave, its inhabitants can provide valuable insights on neighborhood segregation at work in the area. The participants in the study will not be merely visitors or customers passing through Chinatown, but workers who are active participants in the region's economy.

Procedure

With a three-member research team, we agreed to make each researcher responsible for conducting two interviews. In addition, the group came to a consensus that for the first interview, the group as a whole would approach workers at businesses together. Approaching workers and gathering participants was extremely difficult, as not only did a language barrier often exist—many were limited to basic English, workers were also conflicted by time constraints and work com-

Participants

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of the participant pool

| | Gender | Age Range | Highest Level of Education | Relationship Status | Current Occupation | Neighbourhood living in |
|------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| PK1 | Female | 30-33 | Some college/ university | Single | Sales | Near Guy-Concordia |
| PK2 | Male | 18-21 | CEGEP graduate | Single | Waiter | Atwater |
| CM1 | Male | 22-25 | Some college/ university | Single | Student/ part-time waiter | Downtown |
| CM2 | Female | 30-33 | College/ University degree | Single | Tourist guide and agent | Notre-Dame-de Grace |
| VY1 | Male | 22-25 | Some college/ university | In an exclusive relationship -together for 1.5 years -partner: Chinese ethnicity | Waiter | Brossard |
| VY2 | Female | 30-33 | Vocational/ Technical Certification | Married -together for 5 years -partner: Chinese | Real estate assistant | Brossard |

mitments. Since interviewees would be participating on a voluntary basis with no reimbursement, they often found no inherent need, or extrinsic motive to take part. Workers were also understandably unwilling to conduct interviews during their shifts, and many managers or bosses, upon hearing our request, flat out ordered their workers to decline and get back to work, despite our offers to schedule for a later, more convenient time.

As the three of us approached each business methodically on St. Laurent Boulevard and then de la Gauchetiere streets, we took turns asking first if the worker was Chinese before introducing ourselves and our project, and finally invited him/her to participate. It was a mid-afternoon on Sunday when we started, and by the time we finally secured our first three interviews for the following week, it was already evening. After the first round of interviews, the research team revised some questions in an attempt to receive more in-depth observations on certain topics. Each member of the research team then found workers individually for the second interviews.

Our sample population consisted of six part-time or full-time employees currently working in Montreal's Chinatown. All participants identified as being ethnically Chinese. Gender was equally distributed: three were male, three were female. All participants were between the ages of 18 to 33 years old. Interestingly, all three females were within the 30-33 years old range, while two males were aged between 22-25 years and one between 18-21 years old. PK1 is a full-time salesperson at a clothing shop. Although currently not in school, she has completed some college/university and resides in the Guy-Concordia neighborhood. PK2 lives by Atwater, and is currently studying in his CEGEP program while waiting tables part-time at a restaurant in Chinatown. Similarly CM1, a recent immigrant from China living downtown also studies at a nearby university while simultaneously working two part-time waiting jobs. One of the restaurants he works for is located in Chinatown. CM2, who works as a tour guide and travel agent, completed her college/university degree in France but now lives in the NDG neighborhood. VY1, also a student and part-time worker in Chinatown, resides in Brossard. A second generation Chinese, he is one of two participants currently in a relationship. His partner's ethnicity is also Chinese. Finally, having lived in Montreal only since becoming a teenager, VY2 was unable to complete CEGEP due to financial constraints, but has since attained a real estate certificate. She currently works part-time at a real estate office in Chinatown. The Brossard resident works full-time at a Chinese restaurant outside of Chinatown. Her spouse is also of Chinese descent. Despite the narrow age range of all participants, their diverse characteristics—including workplace environment, years since immigration, individuals' residential neighborhoods, and their level of education—offer an assorted mix of insights and reflections that is beneficial to addressing the research question at hand.

The Interviews

Interviews were conducted either at the participant's workplace, or at another nearby facility in Chinatown. Prior to the interviews, the participants were told about the consent forms, which permitted the interview to be audio recorded. An emphasis was placed on the participant's right to stop the interview at anytime and to choose not to answer certain questions if he or she felt uncomfortable. Upon signing the consent forms, they were asked to then complete a brief demographic survey—of which the relevant information is summarized in the table above—before starting the interview.

Results

Discrimination

Experiences of discrimination, ranging from a large array of social circumstances, appear to be prevalent among all interviewees. Having perhaps experienced discrimination as Chinese Montrealers, the interviewees often had cautious or tense attitudes towards Montreal's majority group—arbitrarily labelled as “Caucasians.” Although at times this discrimination might not necessarily be plainly visible, CM2 claims, “you can feel it.” Other instances however, illustrate a much more explicit problem.

Language emerged as one underlying issue that drives misunderstanding and aversion by some locals of this ethnic group.

“When I was learning French here in UQAM...if you don't speak in French, so if you ask questions, they're not going to give you a good attitude...I [registered] for the course so I went to a director so he, she told me that if you don't speak in French with me, I'll not help you to register course.”

Thus, even whilst PK1 was evidently working to learn and improve upon her French abilities, she was met with hostility from the school director and an un-supportive learning environment. VY1 agreed, saying that because many Chinese workers are not fully fluent in French, locals make derogatory comments against them or “purposely [are given] a hard time if...they cannot speak French.” Many participants also admit to changing their language depending on whom they are addressing. All seem to concur that when speaking to Caucasians, they would use French “to be safe,” or to demonstrate respect, despite greater fluency and higher comfort levels in English or Chinese. In fact, VY1 claims that due to the discrimination, “if you cannot speak French...the only place [one] can work is...[in Chinatown].” Language also provides a basis for discrimination in daily life as well.

For instance, VY2 recounted a recent episode in which she accompanied an aunt who did not speak English to the airport. She felt that the representatives were extremely impolite and impatient towards them, and described their attitudes as being “so very rude.” In addition, she recalled two other offensive, blatantly discriminatory episodes:

“I’m walking on the streets, and there’s an old Quebecker who asks me to go back to my country. I do...nothing! I’m just only walking on the street!...and one time I was in the elevators with my friends and we spoke Chinese...the other peoples ...ask us to speak French here...because here is a French city...4 to 5 times the people here tell me to go back to my country.”

This pattern of discrimination transcends the issue of language barriers. PK2 described how instances of discrimination he experienced throughout high-school “really bothered [him],” leading him to “quit in 5th grade.” Initially, he attributed the discriminatory behaviour to immaturity—“they were only secondary school students so they don’t care.” For instance, when he was introducing himself on his first day of class, “half the class laughed.” Later on in high school, another classmate “put painting on [his] face.” However, as he ventured to search for workplaces, he discovered that discrimination was much in fact deeply ingrained within Quebec society. For instance, he claimed that local employers “don’t want Asian employees,” explaining that a friend who was able to get hired was kept as a busboy but “cannot be [a] waiter.” PK1 agrees, saying that even if Chinese people and locals are working at the same place outside of Chinatown, the Chinese worker still gets paid less. Similarly, VY1 has experienced discrimination in various aspects of his life despite being born and raised in Montreal. Although he lives in Brossard, he avoids the neighbourhood for the most part as he feels that there the Chinese are “not part of the society:”

“At night, usually people will come and pick fights with you, especially if you are at public places...see you’re Chinese and pick fights with you... Many of my friends have been in a fight... it could be at a Tim Hortons, for all you know... it’s the Caucasians calling out to the—to us saying oh, stupid Chinese...”

These situations have made him feel unsafe, leading to his habit of driving to places—which in turn has introduced him to further discrimination on the road where Caucasian drivers “often swear at [him].” He and PK2 both say that many Caucasians believe Chinatown is “not a place that is necessary to tip,” and end up “paying for [their] food and that’s it.” PK2 went further to assert that “we [waiters] are also people, not servants...slaves.” In fact, discrimination has also influenced VY1’s ca-

reer goals. He originally aspired to become a juvenile probation officer, but even his advisor “suggested [he] pursue another program” because “Asians usually can’t get a job” in the field or command respect.

Efforts to Integrate

Despite the discrimination discussed above and the barriers these workers faced, all of the interviewees discussed instances where they tried, and genuinely wanted to be accepted into the dominant and local Montreal community. CM1, a recent immigrant, consistently keeps trying to take advantage of every opportunity possible to learn French and English. The fact that working in Chinatown hinders these opportunities due to the dominance of Chinese seems to frustrate him, as he lists it as a disadvantage of his current job:

“... so many Chinese people coming to eat... there is less chance to communicate with foreign people, practice like French and English... cause... you need to be making like foreign friends. So if you’re working here you’re always seeing like Chinese people...”

He proceeds by explaining how for new students like him, “it’s better to try... working with people who speak English.” Similarly, VY2 also mentioned her resolve to improve her language abilities, so that it would be “more easy to communicate with others” and consider herself a Canadian. In fact, all workers expressed desires to eventually move their work out of Chinatown, often citing factors such as convenience, for the pay, or the lack of other options as their reason for working there currently. Many workers have also tried to engage in the local Quebecois culture, either by making non-Chinese friends or by trying other foods. For instance, CM1 “[loves] to try like, the not Chinese food, like here pizza and hamburger.” PK1 describes a friendship with a “[French-speaking] local” and they go to bars and restaurants outside Chinatown together. She says that she is very open to different cultures and wants to actively dispel the image of “Chinese people...always [being] in their own group.” These instances refute the assumption that the Chinese are committed to being a contained, homogenous community. Rather, many would in fact, like to become more involved in their surrounding community.

This characteristic is also evident when discussing hypothetical children they may have in the future, and how integrated within the community these informants would want their children to be. As literature has found that parents often live out their dreams and fulfil their own needs through their children (Pushy Parents, 2009), their responses can be considered a good indicator or reflection of their own desires. Nearly all informants uniformly agreed that they wanted their children to be well integrated in the Montreal community: “to learn English,

French, to take [the] culture here.” When CM2 was asked about this, she quickly exclaimed that she wanted her kids “to be Canadian!” and that “Canadian is better.” Similarly, CM1 resolutely said, “I don’t want like my child to be all Chinese.” However, VY1 exhibited some reservations:

“It depends... it really depends... on by then how the society evolves or the reverse... if it keeps going downwards, I do not want them... to hang out too much with the Caucasians... it’s hard to tell if people are becoming more open to other cultures or... becoming just more and more racist...”

This again demonstrates how the dimension of discrimination can play a large factor in creating resentment among the Chinese population.

In addition to these sentiments, it is also interesting to note that these workers also generally discouraged the thought of having their children become involved or working in Chinatown. For instance, CM1 responded, “not a good idea,” while VY2 “prefers if he/she [works] outside of Chinatown in the other areas.” Even VY1, who was ambivalent about having his child interact with Caucasians, was not conducive to the idea of his children working in Chinatown, explaining that “it means that they would be only locked within the Chinese society.”

Through the interviews, it was also found that Chinatown in fact, is not so homogenous nor as cohesive as one might imagine. Nearly all respondents agreed that Chinatown was far from being a cohesive community, with many factors stratifying workers into different factions. For instance, VY1 felt that the dynamic of ethnicities were in fact 40% Chinese and 60% Vietnamese, while others noted a significant Korean presence. PK2 rejects the notion of cohesiveness, citing “not really... because of the age,” and goes on to explain that because most workers were “40 years old or older,” the younger workers often separate into their own networks within their workplace. CM1 indicated he barely interacted with his co-workers, while VY2 and PK1 both have a lack of co-workers at their respective workplaces. In addition, the exact locale where workers originated from also creates a divide:

“China is a big country and people come from different parts. So they basically have same background but in meanwhile, you know North people and South people differ for different things.”

In addition, PK2 also described the clash between Taiwan and mainland Chinese as present in Chinatown, where for instance, “a few Chinese press... attack another press” while the Taiwanese “attack [the] Chinese Communist Party” and promote a religion that is “illegal in mainland.”

Most striking, however, was the fact that many of the participants, even immigrants, seemed rather unattached to Chinese culture itself. None of the interviewees have participated in any of the cultural activities that occur in Chinatown,

yet all except one identified themselves as primarily Chinese (over Canadian). For instance, CM1 says that although Chinatown does celebrate some festivals, he has “never been part of it... we don’t have interest to come here...” PK2 does not seem to celebrate Chinese holidays in general, claiming “I don’t really focus on culture... I don’t see [a] very important culture thing...” On the other hand, VY1 said, “I’m not good with cultural events... I don’t keep track of that much, really.” However, as he continued, his exasperation became apparent: “To me, Chinatown... it’s just a place where I always go to because of work. Not anything else usually. I don’t see it... I get fed up with it, kind of, you know? I just get tired of it.”

The idea that Chinatown was merely a place where the interviewees came to work seemed to resonate among many of the other workers as well. CM1 echoed the sentiment, saying, “I just go here and work and I go back downtown”.

Kinship, Network, and Sense of Belonging

Yet despite the lack of a cohesive community and many workers’ inclinations to become more integrated within the greater Montreal community, so many still find themselves working in Chinatown. From the interviews conducted, it was found that this was most often due to a combination of the convenient availability of a job and lack of elsewhere, and the social environment and friendly atmosphere it offers.

For PK1, who works alone in a clothing shop, life can be rather lonely, as she “does not think [she has] any friends for going out,” and at times it might be three days before she interacts with other people. However, the fact that Chinatown provides an environment that connects Chinese people who share the “same problems as [her]” makes her feel that “Chinese people... really take care of Chinese people.” VY2 agreed, saying that “everyone gets along” and that it is “very easy to get to know each other” and make friends in Chinatown. For CM1, again, Chinatown is a place where it is easy to “meet new people.” PK2 and VY1 describe a close friendship network among their co-workers, where they “hang out often... and have drinks [together] after... work.” Even workers from different businesses who do not know each other often bring coffee, cake or bread and exchange warm greetings. Furthermore, Chinatown also provides a safe space for these workers, as “people who came here, they... must like Chinese culture...” PK1 asks a hypothetical question:

“the local people... who came to [the] store, or who came to Chinatown... they must like Chinese culture and Chinese stuff and Chinese clothing. They will not come here to Chinatown to discriminate Chinese people, right?”

CM2 corroborates this by saying that the customers he serves in Chinatown

are generally very friendly. On the other hand, with pervasive discrimination especially at workplaces in the rest of the city as described under discrimination CM2 sums it up: “it’s more easy for us to be employed here.”

Discussion & Conclusion

The findings in this study of 6 Chinese workers in Chinatown are fourfold: 1) discrimination is indeed still alive and well; 2) these Chinese workers have attempted and in fact still desire to integrate into the greater Montreal community; 3) contrary to popular opinion, Chinatown actually is neither a homogenous nor a cohesive community where culture is definitely not central to its functioning; and finally; 4) that Chinatown provides a relative (though not perfect) safeguard for the hostility and discrimination that exists outside, as well as a conducive and amicable environment for its workers.

Referring back to the three theories proposed in the literature review, I will start by addressing and further refuting the first theory, which presupposes that the overriding cause of ethnic enclaves’ existence is primarily due to socio-economic and linguistic differences. Besides the fact that all the informants were able to complete the interview in comprehensible English, VY1 was born in Montreal and spoke completely fluent French and English, while CM2 studied and attained her degree in France which would have required advanced French language abilities. In addition, all were well-educated, with three participants in the process of attaining their CEGEP or university degrees, one with a real estate certificate, and one with an undergraduate diploma. Further, many lived in moderately affluent neighborhoods, such as Brossard and NDG, demonstrating they were not of low socio-economic status. Yet all still worked within the Chinatown neighborhood despite having ambitions of leaving and finding work elsewhere. Relating this back to the rest of Canada, Chui et al.’s (2005) article show that although nearly 50% of the Chinese population in Canada have attained a trades, college or university diploma, three-quarters of the nation’s Chinese population still reside in enclaves in Toronto and Vancouver. Thus, while many Chinese-Canadians have equal linguistic abilities and socio-economic status to non-Chinese Canadians, the majority continue to live in ethnic enclaves.

Looking at the perspectives of these Chinese workers would suggest that the second theory, which postulates that ethnic members are voluntarily and actively choosing to preserve the fabrics of their culture, does not hold either. None of the workers participated in cultural activities in Chinatown, and most only celebrated the main holidays (ie. Chinese New Year, Mid-Autumn Festival) by merely eating a meal or moon cake with their friends or family. Even those who were relatively recent immigrants were unenthusiastic about events that occurred in the neighbourhood. The Chinese language exists almost as a pre-requisite to becoming a worker

in Chinatown, as PK2 pointed out, rather than a characteristic that fosters a sense of community in the region. All workers except one have no established friendships with other workers in Chinatown outside of their own workplace. Workers often try to escape from the enclave by interacting with locals, improving their language skills, and engaging in higher education. Although to an extent Chinese cultural norms (such as spitting on the streets, gossiping, or speaking excessively loudly) still persist, but they are instead looked down upon or consciously controlled. All these factors together constitute evidence to disprove the theory of racial segregation.

This study's data perfectly illustrates critical race theory. Discrimination persists and affects nearly all elements of the participants' lives, from being humiliated at school and taunted while walking on the streets, to deterring long-term career goals. Even personal safety can be malaffected. Due to a lack of work opportunities elsewhere, many Chinese people are confined to working within Chinatown, which all informants describe as being dirty and old. Because of the lack of acceptance among locals, or "Caucasians" who dominate the larger community, many turn to Chinatown for establishing friendships and social support networks. It should be noted that this does not seem to be voluntary, but rather the product of marginalization and a lack of choice. Although most customers and visitors in Chinatown are considerably less hostile and more benevolent, blatant acts of discrimination such as nonconformity to proper tipping standards still exist. In addition, Chinese workers feel the need to be cautious, and exceptionally friendly to such customers, including going out of their way to speak in French, "just to be safe."

It should also be emphasized that there were only two interviewees who were in romantic relationships, and both also opted towards ethnically Chinese partners. Another remarkable characteristic all participants in this study shared was that their entire social network, including their best friends, was comprised entirely of Chinese people as well. This pattern held even for the two who were born in Montreal or studied for five years in France. The fact that half of the sample population lives in Brossard or the Guy-Concordia area, both of which are blossoming Chinese ethnic enclaves themselves, cannot be missed—and this neighborhood characteristic was acknowledged by those respondents during the interviews. Although these factors may initially be interpreted that the Chinese are creating exclusive in-group cliques and thus discriminating towards their out-group equals, this view should be reconsidered. In light of VY1's account of Chinese people being sought out in public places, taunted, and physically assaulted, this pattern is completely understandable. The evidence can also account for the findings of a study by Walton (2012) that found only a well-known association between higher education and better health is only applicable when Asians lived in an Asian ethnic

neighborhoods. Perhaps the availability and accessibility of these kinship networks in ethnic neighborhoods play a role in facilitating greater well-being, which Asians in non-Asian neighborhoods lack due to isolation or hostility.

There are some notable limitations within this study, the principal one being problems sample population. Notwithstanding the fact that our sample size was rather small to begin with, we utilized convenience sampling due to difficulties we experienced with the recruitment process; we interviewed anyone who agreed to participate rather than choosing individuals that represented a more balanced and representative profile. In effect, we ended up with a sample that was heavily skewed on the younger side. There is a definite possibility, then, that our data reveals only a small portion of what is undeniably a large and diverse pool of experiences and perspectives. Nevertheless, the second theory would still be problematic even without these sampling problems. Another justified criticism of our research methods could argue that Montreal's Chinatown is not necessarily representative of the city's Chinese population as a whole, as it does not involve a suburb with residential neighbourhoods inhabited dominantly by Chinese or other ethnic groups. However, the majority of existing ethnic enclaves are still characterized by flourishing businesses, recreational centres, and an overhaul of restaurants. Entire suburbs characterized by dense networks of a certain ethnic group are relatively recent phenomena. Nonetheless, it may also be difficult to apply this research to Chinatowns in other Canadian cities. As this is a pilot case study, the nature of the study does not allow for such a large-scale undertaking.

This study offers support for critical race theory, while at the same time refuting two theories often used to explain the neighborhood segregation that occurs between various ethnic groups. More specifically, this study finds that the constant presence of discrimination limits Chinese workers' opportunities and hinders their ability to fully participate in the larger community. Extrapolating this finding to the rest of Canada, and taking in to consideration both the variety and large numbers of immigrants in Canada—particularly those of visible minorities—there seems to be a pressing problem. Canada is not living up to its legacy nor its reputation, and multiculturalism is not working here. Especially considering the fact that the influx of immigrants is projected to be consistently and continually growing in the near future years as Canada has become increasingly dependent on them, it is crucial to make genuine efforts to help integrate them into our society and assist them in surpassing barriers to becoming active and engaged citizens. Ethnic segregation, particularly in this case, is distinct from multiculturalism. Many Chinese workers in Chinatown do not perceive security, self-confidence, nor do they take pride in being Chinese, and they are working in the locale not to retain or preserve their culture. Finally, rather than cross-cultural understanding and harmony, there exists instead an avoidance or even on occasions a clashing between the Chinese

and the dominant ethnic group. To answer the question posed initially at the beginning of this paper: no, this is the complete opposite of what Canada defines multiculturalism to be.

Future research in this field should first and foremost seek out more diverse and representative samples that involve workers from different age groups and occupational sectors. Research should also examine different ethnic enclaves throughout Canada in order to determine if the patterns we observed occur across ethnic groups. In addition, research examining the contrast between visible minorities and less-visible ethnic minorities that are less visibly evident among the majority group should be conducted to tease out whether visibility matters. Finally, larger populations of enclaves equivalent to “Chinalands” such as Richmond or Markham can be explored, again to uncover whether the same pattern is retained among residents and/or workers in these areas.

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Conquest, Gender, and Death

Tourism Landscapes at Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century

Ayla Morland

Conquest, Gender, and Death: Tourism Landscapes at Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century

Visual and written depictions of Niagara Falls have traditionally focused on the natural beauty of the Falls and their surrounding landscape. The site, however, has a complex history of development as a tourist attraction. Indeed, upon further examination, these depictions contain important representations of how certain social and cultural aspects of different time periods were played out at Niagara Falls. The numerous stunts performed at Niagara Falls through the nineteenth century, for example, created such an attractive and sensational culture around the site that “visiting the Falls became one of the primary rituals of democratic life.”¹ The many ways in which tourists experienced Niagara Falls during the nineteenth century reveal the complex interaction between humans and nature, and the implications of gender and death at Niagara Falls.

I begin with a discussion of the complexities of representation and place arising from one specific depiction of Niagara Falls: a photograph. George E. Curtis’ 1876 photograph of Maria Spelterini crossing the falls represented the human conquest of Niagara Falls and challenged prevailing gender norms. I then show that the idea of death was an integral part of the experience of Niagara Falls, and that it was highly significant in attracting tourists to the Falls.

Conquest of Nature

Since the late seventeenth century, many artists and writers have tried to capture the visual and emotional impact of the now-famous Niagara Falls. The numerous images and descriptions of Niagara contributed to its rapid transformation into a popular tourist attraction.² For most visitors, “the [F]alls were a symbol of the New World, sublime [because] they symbolized the primitive danger and mystery long associated with the North American wilderness.”³ Despite its wild beauty, however, Niagara Falls also represented a challenge to be overcome. In this sense, it remains a prime example of the “human struggle for mastery over nature.”⁴ This

1 John F. Sears, “Doing’ Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

2 Elizabeth McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 7-36.

3 Patricia Jasen, “Taming Niagara,” in *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 1995), 30.

4 Patrick V. McGreevy, *Imagining Niagara: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 147.

dynamic is present in George E. Curtis' 1876 photograph (see Fig.1), to which we now turn our attention.

The image features Maria Spelterini, an Italian tightrope walker who dazzled her audience with a colourful costume that included a "Canadian twist: her feet were encased in Niagara fruit belt peach baskets as she made her way across the wire."⁵ Spelterini is in the foreground of the photograph, while the Niagara Railroad Suspension Bridge is in the immediate background. In the more distant background, we see the Falls.⁶ Three elements in the photograph suggest the human conquest of nature: the bridge, Spelterini, and the Falls themselves. However, within this human conquest there remains a difficult and confusing tension between maintaining the wild beauty of Niagara Falls, and simultaneously harnessing its power as a resource.



Figure 1. Curtis, George. *Maria Spelterini Crossing from the U.S. Side to Canada with her Feet in Baskets*. 1876. General Photograph Collection, Niagara Falls Public Library.

5 Karen Dubinsky, "'The pleasure is exquisite but violent': the imaginary geography of Niagara Falls in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 71

6 George E. Curtis, *Maria Spelterini Crossing from the U.S. Side to Canada with Her Feet in Baskets*, 1876, General Photograph Collection, Niagara Falls Public Library, accessed January 24, 2012, <http://www.nflibrary.ca/nfplindex/show.asp?id=89317&b=1>.

When it was completed in 1855, the Niagara Railroad Suspension Bridge was “the first successful railway suspension bridge in the world.”⁷ As plans were made for the construction of a permanent bridge across the Niagara gorge, it was decided that a suspension bridge was the only option; the current, depth and ice flows of the river precluded the erection of support piers.⁸ Built by John Roebling, an engineer who had emigrated from Germany to the United States, the bridge was a double-decker with a second level underneath the railway tracks for the crossing of carriages and pedestrians.⁹ The widely celebrated bridge was considered a triumph and “immediately became as much a tourist attraction as the Falls.”¹⁰

Roebling was but one of many engineers and entrepreneurs “who, in the late nineteenth century, envisioned the fall’s [sic] industrial and economic potential as limitless.”¹¹ Before the development of hydroelectric power at the Falls, the bridge was considered the ultimate form of mechanical dominance and human conquest in the wild territory of Niagara. It was “an icon of the technological sublime...representing Roebling’s engineering triumph literally *over* the Falls.”¹²

The representation of the suspension bridge in the photograph conveys this triumph. With the great cataract cascading in the background, the bridge maintains a place of dominance in the picture. With its central position at the very top of the photograph, and the lower level full of spectators, the bridge appears to defy nature. Moreover, the bridge stretches across the gorge with an air of grace and solidity as the strong current of the river rushes far below. The presence of so many spectators on the bridge is symbolic of human confidence in its construction. Indeed, it appears that some people are so comfortable on the bridge that they are taking the risk of sitting on the railings, probably in order to get a better view of the tightrope spectacle. The spectacle, of course, complements the achievement, not only because it contributed to Niagara Falls becoming “a fashionable and desirable tourist resort in the early and mid-nineteenth century,”¹³ but also because “human conquest of Niagara would not be complete...until people had actually tested themselves individually against its dangers and won.”¹⁴

The second element of the photograph, Maria Spelterini crossing the gorge

7 McKinsey, 253.

8 McKinsey, 253; Gordon Donaldson, *Niagara!: The Eternal Circus* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1979), 142.

9 Donaldson, 143 and 146.

10 McKinsey, 254.

11 McGreevy, 5.

12 McKinsey, 256 (emphasis in original).

13 Dubinsky, 72.

14 McKinsey, 258.

on a tightrope with her feet in baskets, also represents human conquest over Niagara Falls, but perhaps on a more literal level than the suspension bridge. Spelterini was not the first person to cross the river on a tightrope,¹⁵ but the image is nevertheless stunning. Spelterini's crossings at Niagara in 1876 were considered the "grand finale" of the tightrope craze.¹⁶ Indeed, "after Maria, the air above the gorge had been well and truly conquered."¹⁷

This daredevil atmosphere and the idea of risking one's life against the Falls was quite popular in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Tightrope walkers competed fiercely at Niagara, prompting the creation of a variety of new tricks. Many swimmers attempted to cross the turbulent river, while others designed vessels made to run the rapids. These developments resulted in the barrel craze in 1886. Again, many tested their barrels against the rapids, while others decided to go over the Falls themselves. Some of these voyages were successful; many were fatal, but all had the goal of human triumph over the Falls.¹⁸

A final element of the photograph, the Falls, remain in the very distant background, upstream and partly hidden from view. This is noteworthy, as many visual depictions of Niagara Falls take the waterfall itself as the main point of focus.¹⁹ In this particular photograph, the focus on the Falls has been replaced by the human elements of Niagara; the suspension bridge and Spelterini. These two elements combine to create a strong sense of human conquest at Niagara, and they overshadow the Falls in the photograph. However, the bridge and the tightrope walker were not seen as the pinnacle of human mastery over nature. Rather, "the hydroelectric development of Niagara in the late 1890s seemed to be a sort of capstone on humanity's victory over nature. The process of increasing human control over nature was finally turned on this last stronghold of natural power."²⁰ The challenge of taming the wild Niagara territory had been met. It is therefore true, as McGreevy observes, that "Niagara has no pure, natural meaning unrelated to 'human nature,'" and that "whatever meanings it has, have emerged through human involvement with the place."²¹

However, despite the obvious human mastery of nature at Niagara Falls, there still remained a need for its wild beauty, which continued to be its main attraction. For example, "throughout the nineteenth century and well into the

15 Donaldson, 161-162. The first person to cross Niagara Falls on a tightrope was the Frenchman, Jean François Gravelet, known as Blondin, in 1859.

16 Donaldson, 172.

17 Ibid., 173.

18 McKinsey, 261-262.

19 See, for example, the many paintings throughout McKinsey.

20 McGreevy, 106.

21 Ibid., 157-158.

twentieth, travellers described Niagara Falls as nature's highest expression."²² The romantic value of a pure, powerful and untainted nature continued to sustain the tourism industry at Niagara.²³ Thus, a difficult tension arises at Niagara between the desire to harness the power of the Falls, and the simultaneous need to maintain its wild beauty. An unstable boundary is created between "the seemingly exhaustless yearning for the extraordinary" and "the countervailing yearning for stability [that] has inspired a largely successful movement to control the [F]alls for human purposes."²⁴ This boundary helps to illustrate a dichotomy between nature and culture. The two collide at Niagara Falls in such a way that it is challenging to differentiate them. Perhaps the wild nature of the Falls inspired the culture developments surrounding it. Yet, as this culture expanded to include industrial and commercial values, the nature of the Falls was drastically changed to the point that it became a cultural icon as much as a natural one.²⁵

Challenging Gender

In Curtis' photograph, Maria Spelterini appears to defy nature. The fact that she was the first woman to walk across the Niagara gorge²⁶ heightens the symbolic importance of her gender. Not only did her performance show that a woman could imitate the male stunt performers at Niagara Falls, it also allowed Spelterini to renegotiate her gender, social and cultural identities. The visual impact of the photograph and the idea of Spelterini as being on display for entertainment purposes are quite evident. However, her performance on the tightrope also challenged the gender norms and conventions of the nineteenth century.

The relationship between gender, nature, and national identity (especially in the colonial context) has often been discussed by placing men in a position of power, thereby disavowing the agency of women.²⁷ According to Eva Mackey, men were placed in a position that was "more developed and civilized, and therefore more distant from nature". Women, by contrast, were "closer to nature, less developed, and therefore inferior."²⁸ However, in the 1876 photograph, Spelterini appears to confront this imposed female position. She is distanced from nature as she towers above the gorge and appears to be much larger than the cataract upstream.

22 McGreevy, 71.

23 Jasen, 53.

24 McGreevy, "Preface," xii.

25 Jasen, 30.

26 Donaldson, 172.

27 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Routledge, 1995), 30.

28 Eva Mackey, "'Death by Landscape': Race, Nature, and Gender in Canadian

124 Nationalist Mythology," *Canadian Woman Studies* 20, no. 2 (2000): 125.

In addition, her position in the foreground of the photograph draws the viewer's attention and focus to her, and away from the more 'masculine' conquest of the Falls presented by the suspension bridge. Spelterini's performance at Niagara Falls defied gender categories as she asserted herself as an individual woman dissociated from nature.

As an individual tightrope walker, Spelterini travelled the world and performed for a variety of audiences. She performed several times at Niagara Falls through the month of July, 1876. Spelterini developed quite a following throughout her career: her proposed crossings of the Niagara gorge were reported as "the great sensation of the present day in the amusement world."²⁹ Furthermore, there were even excursions organized in Ontario to take the train to Niagara Falls in order to witness Spelterini perform.³⁰ Different railroads organized special train schedules for her first crossings.³¹ The reporting and special arrangements are important because they indicate that Spelterini was recognized as a talented and daring female performer.

Anne McClintock has argued that "women are figured as property belonging to men and hence as lying, by definition, outside the male contests over land, money and political power."³² These male contests can be expanded to include the human conquest over nature, which in the nineteenth century was seen to be a predominantly masculine endeavour. The masculinity of this human conquest is perhaps most obvious at Niagara Falls because the waters were traditionally "gazed upon as a specifically female icon."³³ Furthermore, Dubinsky has been argued that "women domesticate nature, while men eroticize and therefore conquer it."³⁴ Thus, Blondin, as the first male tightrope walker to cross the Falls, was the first to conquer this natural "female" site. However, Spelterini maintains an important position within the history of aerial stunts performed at the Falls. She did not domesticate nature, nor did she simply become a part of the Niagara landscape. In this sense, her performance was a defiance of the landscape and of female exclusion from male contests and conquests.

Spelterini's costume helped bring an erotic significance to her performance, further emphasizing her 'conquest' of Niagara Falls. In the nineteenth century, "the

29 Yesterday at Niagara Falls: Stories from the Past, "A Lady to Cross the River on a Single Rope," July 1, 1876, Maria Spelterini at Niagara, accessed April 10, 2012, http://www.niagarafontier.com/history_story.html.

30 *The Gazette* (Montreal), "Excursion to Niagara," July 20, 1876, 3.

31 *New York Times*, "Niagara Falls. The Islands in the Vicinity - A Female Blondin," June 29, 1876, sec. 7, accessed April 10, 2012, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

32 McClintock, 31.

33 Dubinsky, 74.

34 Dubinsky, 81.

exposure of a female body shape in a closely fitted costume,”³⁵ likely aroused simultaneous feelings of shock, excitement and disapproval in the spectators watching a performance. The costumes of female trapeze artists and other aerial performers “were unbelievably short for the time, either flared or contoured at the top of the thighs, and often had frills and ribbons.”³⁶ In the 1876 photograph, Spelterini’s arms and legs are exposed, and her costume has been described as consisting of flesh-coloured tights, a scarlet tunic and a sea-green bodice.³⁷ Her aerial costume would have been constructed to allow a certain amount of mobility, compared to the more popular ‘bustle,’ a rigid frame which protruded backwards, encased the body, and limited mobility. Spelterini’s costume represents her freedom of choice and her mobility as a performer. She is not restrained by restrictive undergarments, nor by a dress with long sleeves and a full-length skirt. She is on display for the many spectators gathered on the bridge, yet this display is not only for entertainment purposes. Spelterini is also demonstrating her power as a female performer to freely choose and to freely move. Her flamboyant costume and physical ability challenged nineteenth century gender norms of women as restrained, reserved, and modest in public. Moreover, “a body’s spatial suspension seemed to facilitate cultural suspension of identity.”³⁸ In this way, through her “performance of femininity”³⁹ Spelterini was able to literally elevate herself above the social regulation and gender stereotyping of the nineteenth century.

Landscape of Death

The last section of this essay will focus on how death, danger, and terror were integral parts of the Niagara Falls experience in the nineteenth century and a significant attraction for tourists. Indeed, “at the beginning of the nineteenth century Niagara was truly a wilderness, and tourists had, if they liked, the opportunity to experience real danger (and sublime terror) during their exploration of the [F]alls.”⁴⁰ Even as the “true wilderness” of Niagara Falls was overshadowed by the development of tourism throughout the century, which “transformed the Falls into a commodity to be consumed,”⁴¹ the death metaphor of Niagara’s landscape was reflected in the created human landscapes, in the stunts performed, and in the

35 Peta Tait, *Circus Bodies: Cultural Identity in Aerial Performance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 20.

36 Ibid.

37 Donaldson, 172-173.

38 Tait, 36.

39 Ibid., 37.

40 Jasen, 34.

41 Sears, 18.

wider cultural context of the site.⁴²

The thrilling aspects of Niagara Falls and its sense of danger were highlighted through the construction and development of tourist infrastructure and excursions around the site in the nineteenth century. One of the first proprietors to emphasize the terrifying aspect of the Niagara Falls experience was William Forsyth. Forsyth arranged for a shipload of live animals to be pushed over the Horseshoe Falls on 8 September, 1827.⁴³ A large crowd of spectators had gathered and, among gasps and cries of approval, they witnessed the boat dive over the Falls and “shatter on the rocks below with a crash heard above the thunder of the water.”⁴⁴ This organized stunt speaks to Niagara tourists’ fascination with death and with the natural power of the Falls. The deaths of the animals appear to have been blamed on the Falls rather than on any business endeavour or exploitation. Indeed, this tourist-attracting stunt was advertised as a trial of the animals against the Falls. A printed broadsheet advertisement described it in the following manner: “Should the animals be young and hardy and *possessed of great muscular power and joining their fate* with that of the Vessel, remain on board until she reaches the water below, there is a great possibility that many of them will *have performed the terrible jaunt, unhurt!*”⁴⁵ The carnage caused by this stunt exemplified the destructive power of the Falls and the idea of death being an integral and attractive part of the Niagara tourist experience.

Many other tourist attractions that emphasized danger were also developed during this period. The wooden Terrapin Tower was built on the rocks off of Goat Island, on the American side of the Falls, in 1833. The tower, placed on the brink of the Horseshoe Falls, became an immediate success. The bridges and walkways over the rocks that had to be crossed in order to reach the tower, in addition to the actual climb in the tower, were advertised as a dangerous journey but many tourists rose to the task. Ironically, the Terrapin Tower became unsafe and was torn down in 1873.⁴⁶

Furthermore, during the construction of the first suspension bridge at Niagara, which officially opened on 1 August, 1848, tourists were offered rides in an ornate iron basket. This basket was originally intended to carry workers across the Niagara gorge as they built the bridge. A small footbridge was subsequently installed beside the basket cable and promoters charged tourists twenty-five cents for one round trip. This new tourist experience, on a “narrow, shaky platform, open to

42 McGreevy, 41 and 52.

43 Donaldson, 117-118.

44 Ibid., 120.

45 Ibid., 119 (emphasis in original).

46 Donaldson, 153.

the winds and dwarfed by the torrent below, became the new thrill.”⁴⁷ The dangers of Niagara Falls were widely promoted, and the tourists who paid for them were “buying sensation.”⁴⁸ These tourists were able to come close to death and to brave the dangers of the powerful cataract and its surrounding landscape, thus heightening the sense of having survived a trip to the wild Falls of Niagara.

John Sears has argued that “accidents and rescues also contributed to the site’s sense of danger and excitement.”⁴⁹ One such accident occurred in August, 1876. Hermann Weigel, who was visiting the Falls with his wife, fell over the edge of a sheer cliff and was instantly killed as he struck the sharp rocks on the river bank eighty feet below. As the news of the accident spread, the bank of the “frightful precipice” became crowded with people. A patrolman embarked on a “dangerous trip down that precipice” in order to retrieve Weigel’s body, while “above him stood the [crowd] with bated breath, expecting every minute to see him dashed to pieces on the rocks.”⁵⁰ This incident is a telling example of how “people who imagine death with bone-chilling horror may still be attracted to it. Indeed, if it is someone else’s death, it may arouse as much curiosity as fear.”⁵¹

The many stunts performed at Niagara Falls during the nineteenth century also reinforced the metaphor of death in Niagara’s tourist landscape. Sam Patch performed the first human stunt at the Falls when he jumped feet first into the gorge from a platform between the American and Canadian waterfalls in 1829.⁵² The stunts continued as numerous performers, seeking fame and fortune, tested themselves against the Niagara wilderness through a variety of acts. As previously mentioned, the Niagara tightrope craze began with Blondin’s first crossing on 30 June, 1859. His performances contained obvious elements of danger and death as each show included shocking moments of planned terror for the audience when it appeared very likely that he would fall. Blondin crossed the Niagara gorge several times and his high-wire acts were very popular. He performed backward somersaults on the rope, walked on stilts, pushed a wheelbarrow, wore a bag over his head, and even carried his manager across.⁵³ Several reporters and writers believed that a secret appeal of Blondin’s tightrope spectacles was the audience’s expectation that he would fall to his death.⁵⁴

47 Donaldson, 144-145.

48 Sears, 19.

49 Ibid., 23.

50 *New York Times*, “Killed at Niagara,” August 17, 1876, 3, accessed April 14, 2012, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

51 McGreevy, 57.

52 Donaldson, 122.

53 Ibid., 162-164.

54 McGreevy, 92; Donaldson, 161.

In the wider cultural context of Niagara Falls, the tourist attraction of the site was related to a romantic fascination with death. Nineteenth century tourists were entranced by the cataract's deadly potential.⁵⁵ For example, in the early 1830s during a visit to the Falls, Harriet Beecher stated that: "I felt as if I could have *gone over* with the waters; it would be so beautiful a death; there would be no fear in it. I felt the rock tremble under me with a sort of joy. I was so maddened that I could have gone too, if it had gone."⁵⁶ The various tourist attractions and infrastructure developed at Niagara, including the numerous human stunts performed at the site, all emphasized the terrifying beauty of the Falls.

Conclusion

Niagara Falls tourism in the nineteenth century revolved around ideas about the human conquest over nature, the challenging of traditional gender roles through performance, and a fascination with death. These three processes clashed at Niagara as a strong and profitable tourism industry developed around the site. There was a need to overcome the Falls and its perils, yet those same risks attracted many tourists to Niagara throughout the nineteenth century. The 1876 photograph of Maria Spelterini by George E. Curtis represents this human conquest over Niagara Falls. However, human mastery over nature is not a simple process, and there remains a tension between Niagara-as-beautiful, and Niagara-as-useful. The clash between nature and culture remains, and this clash is evident at the waterfalls of Niagara.

55 McGreevy, 58; Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 45-46.

56 Donaldson, 126 (emphasis in original).

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Perception Versus Reality

Canada's Red Scare and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919

Stephen Reimer

Perception Versus Reality: Canada's Red Scare and The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919

The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik ideology in general appear to have had a significant impact on the post WWI labour movements in Canada, particularly the Winnipeg General Strike. The purpose of this paper is to prove that such links between the Russian Revolution and the strike in Canada were formed almost exclusively on the false grounds of Red Scare hysteria. To degrade the legitimacy of the Winnipeg General Strike with "Bolshevist" labels is an injustice that will be righted in these pages.

Leon Trotsky and Maclean's Magazine: Canada's Red Scare

After Nicholas II of Russia abdicated in March of 1917, Leon Trotsky immediately began to arrange for his return to Russia from his exile in New York City.¹ He boarded a Norwegian freighter on 27 March 1917 that was bound for Petrograd. However, British authorities noted his departure and worked to prevent his return to Russia, since they knew that socialist leaders such as Trotsky had the intention to remove Russian forces from the eastern front.² This would serve as a damaging blow to the Allied forces in their battle against the Germans. When the freighter stopped in Halifax, Trotsky was taken from the ship and detained first in the Citadel, then at a prisoner-of-war camp in Amherst, Nova Scotia.³ He was released after a month of confinement due to external pressures from Russia, since he was in fact a citizen of an allied country and had been traveling with legal passports and visas. It is clear that releasing Trotsky contributed to the realization of a weakened Allied front.⁴ The Russian Revolution, and Russia's consequent withdrawal from the war, did most certainly prove to be detrimental to the Allies' military power in WWI.⁵ Nonetheless, the detainment of Leon Trotsky in Canada, a symbolic permeation of Bolshevik ideology into the fabric of Canadian society, contributed greatly to what would be known as Canada's Red Scare.

The Red Scare was a time where the social stability in Canada was so precarious that there was fear that it could fall into the hands of the rising communists in Russia, since the revolution there had caused for Bolshevik ideology to spread across the rest of Europe after WWI. This ideology had already gained a toehold in

1 Daniel Francis, *Seeing Reds: The Red Scare of 1918-1919, Canada's First War on Terror* (Arsenal Pulp Press, 2011), 23-24.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

Canada through left-winged labour movements.⁶ The end of WWI was not a time for celebration of peace in Canada. The Red Scare generated enough animosity towards Bolshevik ideology that Canadians were forced to remain “on guard” in order to prevent their country from falling into the hands of a secret force bent on disrupting social and economic order.

Maclean’s magazine was at the fore of delivering Red Scare propaganda to the Canadian public in 1919. In the January issue of the magazine, Thomas Fraser published an article, “Is Bolshevism Brewing in Canada?” which perpetuated the idea that Canada was indeed not immune to the Bolshevik movement that was spreading across the globe.⁷ Fraser implored that at this time, the Bolshevik threat was limited to propaganda in the form of a climate of preparation for the inevitable red revolution in Canada. He also alluded to Canada’s changing population demographics as a source for concern, saying that the war had wiped out much of Canada’s “good old Anglo-Saxon stock” and had been replaced by foreigners (mostly eastern Europeans) who were sympathetic to Bolshevik ideology. This theme of “imported Bolshevism” in the form of immigrants from eastern Europe would be perpetuated throughout the duration of the Red Scare.

In June of 1919, John Bayne Maclean himself published an article in the magazine that openly criticized the decision made by Allied officials to release Trotsky from his Nova Scotian internment camp.⁸ In his article, “Why Did We Let Trotsky Go?” he made the claim that by allowing Trotsky to leave Canada and return to Russia, the Russian Revolution and consequent lengthening of the war was due to the invaluable role Trotsky played in the revolution. However, he also claimed that Trotsky had organized groups of revolutionaries in Toronto and Ottawa that were ready to take over the country. It is now generally understood that this was in fact a lie and that no such revolutionary groups existed in Canada at Trotsky’s hands. However, the important aspect of this article was its ability to tag a familiar Bolshevik-associated name to the situation in Canada. The idea that a proven to be successful revolutionary had planted the seeds of a Bolshevik uprising in Canada would be more than sufficient to add fuel to the Red Scare fire.

If Fraser was correct, and that the beginnings of the Canadian Bolshevik Revolution were rooted in propaganda, then it is apparent that various Canadian interest groups were doing the same thing to combat this “threat.” In 1920, the Canadian Reconstruction Association published a pamphlet titled *Bolshevism, the Lesson for Canada*, which outlined many of the seemingly outrageous practices

6 Francis, 74-76.

7 Thomas Fraser, “Is Bolshevism Brewing in Canada?” in *Maclean’s Magazine*, January 1919.

8 John B. Maclean, “Why Did We Let Trotsky Go?” in *Maclean’s Magazine*, June 1919.

of the Communist government in Russia and warned that the same could happen in Canada if Bolshevik activists and sympathizers were permitted to further their agendas.⁹ Under the title “The True Meaning of Bolshevism”, numerous reforms that would take place under a Soviet-style government are listed, including “...the establishment of a dictatorship”, “the confiscation of the entire estate of all decedents”, “the establishment of universal compulsory labour” and “the inauguration of a reign of fear, terrorism, and violence.”¹⁰ Special attention is also given to the future of the current banking system once Bolshevik rule is established. The article argues that the funds in the savings accounts of all depositors who are members of the capitalist class or bourgeoisie would be jeopardized (taken by the government).¹¹ These propaganda pamphlets used sensationalism to force the Canadian public into perceiving and digesting Bolshevism in a specific way. The threat of losing all of one’s possessions and rights was the method by which interest groups chose to influence people and prevent the rise of more Bolshevik sympathizers.

Despite how widely various forms of propaganda were accepted, there was little truth rooted in them. Sheer fear of the unknown propelled a rise of anti-Bolshevist propaganda, which aimed to teach Canadians the importance of protecting their national interests and freedoms. The Red Scare had a significant impact on Canada after WWI, and the labour disputes that would follow the war indicate fears of an impending “Red Revolution”. The most significant of these labour movements that seemed to carry with them an air of Bolshevism was the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

The Winnipeg General Strike 1919

Before discussing and analyzing the strike in detail, it is important first to understand the necessary conditions from which the Winnipeg General Strike was synthesized. As previously stated, the end of WWI did not bring about an era of peace, but rather, an era of apprehensive behavior. The traditional values and confidence that Canada carried into the war had been shattered by nearly four years of long, drawn-out battle that seemed to produce little change in Canadian society. Group of Seven artist Fred Varley used his art to portray this kind of ambivalence or sense of loss in post war Canada. His painting, “For What?” depicts a cartload of corpses being dumped into a make-shift grave. This image captures the impression that such deaths may have been in vain, since the war that was the cause of their death may have also been pointless. While Canadian society reached a point where

9 Canadian Reconstruction Association, “Bolshevism, the Lesson for Canada.” Canadian Reconstruction Association, 1920.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

traditional way of life and social order had seemed to fail them, questions began to arise as to what direction Canadian policy would take. This era provided an opportunity for dramatic social change in Canada and it would be the Canadian soldiers returning from the battlefields of Europe who would most dramatically grasp this opportunity to make a lasting difference on Canadian society.



Many Canadian soldiers were disappointed to find that the Canada they had left before the war no longer existed. During the war, many of the occupations that the veterans had left had been filled by migrant workers who had done quite well financially during the war years. The notion that these immigrants had actually gained more than they had sacrificed during the war created additional animosity in the veterans who greatly wanted to get back to work and restore their lives to some level of normalcy.¹² However, it would become apparent that the time of struggle had not ended with the end of the war. The city of Winnipeg was divided economically along a north-south line, with those who were wealthy and powerful inhabiting the “south side of the tracks” and the impoverished working-class people mostly inhabiting the north side.¹³ To most returning veterans, the horrid

12 Andy Blicq and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Bloody Saturday: The Winnipeg General Strike,” Toronto: CBC Learning, 2007.

13 Blicq and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

economic situation in Winnipeg was dismal enough to look hopefully at the labour victories of the recent Russian Revolution.¹⁴ With a great income disparity between those who controlled capital and those who were unable to find work, the stage was set for union leaders to act on the increasingly popular left-winged ideologies that had been successful in Russia. However, as this paper will argue, these union leaders had no intention of establishing a Soviet-style labour government in Winnipeg.

A general strike was called in Winnipeg after the city's unions voted 11 000 in favor of a strike to 500 against. On 15 May 1919, the strike began, with an aim to combat the plethora of social issues that were negatively affecting the underprivileged members of Winnipeg society.¹⁵ Over 30 000 workers walked off the job, with two thirds of them not belonging to a union, therefore having no protection or support during the strike. Those who opposed the strike, mostly the affluent Winnipeggers who lived on the south side of the city, formed a secret committee called "The Committee of 1000" which was lead by A.J. Andrews (the Federal Justice Department's eyes and ears in Winnipeg).¹⁶

In order to ensure that striking workers has access to essential good and services (like milk and bread), the strike committee established a system of permit cards whereby goods could be be delivered without harassment. The balance of power had shifted and now the strike committee was making decisions and taking actions that would be expected of the municipal government. The Committee of 1000 viewed this as the establishment of a Bolshevik provisional government and from there, built a case against the strike. The committee utilized the "importation of Bolshevik ideology" argument to call for the deportation of so called "enemy aliens" from eastern Europe. In Parliament on 26 May 1919, MP Ernest Lapointe of Winnipeg spoke to the inaccuracy of this claim, "It is not true that the labour leaders at Winnipeg [...] are foreigners or Bolshevists. [...] the committees are composed of almost exclusively British-born citizens [...] Why Mr. Speaker, do you think if the Winnipeg strikers were foreigners or Bolshevists that they would have succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the returned soldiers?"¹⁷ However, it is important to understand that the members of the Committee of 1000 were the ones who had the most influence in the federal government.

The Committee of 1000 and the upper classes of Winnipeg at large turned to the federal government out of fear that the kind of events that had transpired against the bourgeois in the Russian Revolution would happen in Winnipeg. They

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Canada, House of Commons Debates (26 May 1919), p. 3014 (Mr. Lapointe,

were convinced that the general strike was a communist uprising.¹⁸ Winnipeg Mayor Charles Gray banned further strike-related parades and fired the city's police officers who supported their unions. The police officers were replaced with an impromptu constable force known as the "Specials", comprised mostly of club wielding veterans who opposed the strike. The Specials would lead an aggressive attack on a group of strikers assembled at the corner of Portage Ave. and Main St. in downtown Winnipeg on 10 June 1919. On 16 June 1919, the RNWMP arrested the main strike leaders and raided the city's labour halls, taking the names of strikers and threatening immigrant strikers with deportation.¹⁹ With Ottawa's permission, A.J. Andrews himself would conduct the prosecution against the strike leaders, something that would now be considered to be a gross conflict of interests. Strikers decide to protest the arrests with a public march on 21 June 1919, a day that would be come to be known as Bloody Saturday.

At half past two on 21 June 1919, an estimated 20 000 strikers assembled in front of city hall to take part in a peaceful parade.²⁰ A street car traveling down main street was toppled by strikers and set ablaze. Soon, the RNWMP and Specials arrived on the scene at Mayor Gray's request, taking passes at the enraged crowds on horseback. Many strikers threw bottles and bricks at the police, and on their third pass, the police drew their guns. One striker would later be quoted as saying, "They thought they could stop us, but we will show them who are the masters of the streets of Winnipeg."²¹ Shots were heard and many of the strikers fled into the alleyways off Main St., but they were trapped and beaten by the Specials.²² Two men were killed during Bloody Saturday and numerous strikers were injured. Many were immigrants who feared that going to a hospital to treat their wounds would be a red flag that they had been a part of the riot, thus subjecting them to deportation. The Canadian military then came in and the occupation of Winnipeg began.

The Winnipeg General Strike ended soon after the violent events of Bloody Saturday on 26 June, 1919.²³ A.J. Andrews succeeds in charging many of the strike leaders with attempting to overthrow the government. After the strike, many of the workers had to face the consequences of their decision to strike. Many workers were blacklisted and had little hope of securing employment in the future. Robert Durward was a postal worker who walked off the job during the Winnipeg General Strike and he said that he was fired enthusiastically in addition to being placed on

18 Blicq and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

19 Ibid.

20 Special Dispatch to the Globe, "Sharp Clash in Winnipeg; Mounted Police in Charge Through Mobs on Main St," in The Globe, 23 June 1919,1,4.

21 Ibid.

22 Blicq and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

23 Ibid.

a list of “Reds” generated by the Winnipeg postmaster that was sent to Ottawa.²⁴ The men on this list were “not be rehired under any circumstances.”²⁵ Some argue that the strike could still be considered a success, despite its being crushed by the federal government. Durward remained confident, even during an interview held on 15 May 1969, that the labour unions of Winnipeg benefitted greatly from the Winnipeg General Strike.

A Bolshevik Revolution? Perception Versus Reality

Today, it is widely accepted that despite what people in 1919, especially the more affluent Winnipeggers who lived on the south side of the city perceived, the Winnipeg General Strike was not an attempted Bolshevik Revolution. It is reasonable to assume that the Bolshevik labels of the Winnipeg General Strike were in fact merely a product of Red Scare hysteria and that the strike did not have any direct or significant link with the Russian Revolution. The revolution in Russia may have acted as an inspirational rallying point under which like-minded strikers were sympathetic, but their own strike in Winnipeg was certainly not an attempted reconstruction of this kind of communist take-over in Canada. In his history of the Winnipeg General Strike, D.C. Masters asks the great controversial question: “did the small group of socialist leaders deliberately precipitate the strike in order to establish a soviet form of government?”²⁶ To some living on the south side of the tracks in 1919 Winnipeg, their perceptions might say yes. To the Committee of 1000, it was perceived that the establishment of a permit card system in order for people to receive necessary goods was indeed an intention to establish a provisional Bolshevik government in Winnipeg.

Although the strike committee in Winnipeg was forced to take over some functions of government in order to sustain the strikers, this was done in a very impromptu and unplanned way. The strike itself was not pre-meditated and lacked intensive planning, due to the workers’ intense desire to fight immediately for things like fairer wages and collective bargaining rights.²⁷ In addition, the strike leaders desired to maintain a philosophy of inaction during the strike, but this was not respected by many of the impatient veterans who wanted to protest in the streets. One of the strike’s most influential leaders, Bob Russell, spoke in an interview to this lack of continuity of ideals or solidarity between the leaders and strikers.²⁸ It illustrates how the small group of socialist leaders had no intention to establish a soviet government, for if they had, they would have had a more commanding pres-

24 Blicq and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

25 Ibid.

26 Donald C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (University of Toronto Press, 1973), 129.

27 Ibid., 130.

28 Blicq and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

ence over their underlings. The strike committee's peaceful policy, that remained intact throughout the strike, never encouraged strikers to become violent or to participate in riots.²⁹ Decisions to do such things were made entirely by individual strikers.

Accusations by the Committee of 1000 that the strike leaders were actually undesirable aliens who were importing socialist ideology is another indicator that this labeling of the strike as a Bolshevik revolution was more of a product of the Red Scare than of legitimate reason. In a moment in history where rationality had arguably taken a back seat, branding the strike leaders as Bolshevik-enthused foreigners was the simplest way for Winnipeg's affluent to solidify the face of their enemy, which would then allow them to protect their interests by focusing their attack. Considering the types of propaganda that were circulating around Canada at the time, it is understandable that those prosperous Winnipeg citizens living on the south end would fear being targeted in any sort of Bolshevik uprising. The pamphlet distributed by the Canadian Reconstruction Association was also powerful in perpetuating this fear, especially when it included threats that a Bolshevik government would seize the estates of people like those living in Winnipeg's south end.³⁰ This kind of Red Scare hysteria forced Winnipeg's affluent citizens and the members of the Committee of 1000 to overreact in an attempt to protect their lifestyle and immediately assume that the strike was an attempt to seize and nationalize their property.

Although the Russian Revolution was not a concrete model for what the labour movement in Winnipeg wanted to achieve in Canada, it is undeniable that the victories for labour in Soviet Russia were undoubtedly a point of sympathy for the strikers in Winnipeg. Strike leader Fred Dixon is given credit for coining the events of 21 June 1919 as "Bloody Saturday." Perhaps the intention of this title was to pay homage to Russia's "Bloody Sunday", which was a decisive moment in their own revolution.³¹ On a Sunday afternoon in December 1918, at the Walker Theatre in downtown Winnipeg, the first major strike meeting was called and three resolutions were agreed upon. One such resolution was the call for all Allied forces fighting for the "White Army" in the Russian Civil War to end their inappropriate intervention immediately.³² There is not historical evidence that this act of solidarity was more than a supportive gesture, rather than a signal that these assembled workers had the intention to stage their own Bolshevik revolution.

Perhaps the most telling moment of the Winnipeg General Strike was the trial of strike leader Bob Russell, the crown prosecutor for which was Commit-

29 Masters, 131.

30 Canadian Reconstruction Association, "Bolshevism, the Lesson for Canada." Canadian Reconstruction Association, 1920.

31 Francis, 9.

32 Ibid., 92.

tee of 1000 leader A.J. Andrews. It was here that the most blatant debate over the strike's intent was laid out. The focus of this trial in particular was whether the strike had been a Bolshevik conspiracy "or a legitimate dispute over wages and collective bargaining."³³ During the trial, A.J. Andrews stated that he would prove the former to be true, and that Russell had the intention all along of establishing a Bolshevik order in Canada by means of the general strike.

Wallis Walter Lefeaux was an assistant to the defense council during the trial of Bob Russell.³⁴ In a personal essay that was published in 1921, he describes how "specters of 'Bolshevism' and the 'Red Terror' were raised by the Chief Council for the Crown [Andrews] in his addresses to the juries."³⁵ In response to a claim made by Andrews, that Russell was poisoning the minds of Canadian workers to bring about a situation similar to that in Russia by means of general strikes, Lefeaux noted in a footnote that "the Russian Soviet government was not brought about by general strikes [...]. Perhaps one should not blame, but pity Chief Crown Counsel for his childlike faith in the morning newspaper. His ignorance does not appear to be much more than that of the average man."³⁶ Lefeaux would travel to Russia in order to better understand both Bolshevism as it existed in Russia and the conditions by which it was synthesized there. He writes about the status of women and children, the nature of the economy and the quality of education in Russia, among other topics, and notes that the system appeared functional.³⁷ Lefeaux attributes Russia's late departure from feudalism (in the mid 19th century), the incompetent 1905 Constituent Assembly and the incredible demands and discontent of the working class that was now too great to be constrained by anything other than a Proletariat led government as conditions in Russia that sparked their revolution. Lefeaux concludes that the Winnipeg General Strike could not be anything similar to a Bolshevik conspiracy, that the true Bolshevik cause had no connection with the Winnipeg cases. He says, "Bolshevism and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia were the natural result of conditions in Russia."³⁸

The Winnipeg General Strike was a decisive moment in Canadian labour history. A passionate working force came together to fight for workers' rights at a time when they felt society had wronged them. However, the hard line set by the federal government crushed this strike in the climatic and deadly conclusion of Bloody Saturday, leading many to believe that little had been achieved by the strike. However, many credit the Winnipeg General Strike as a lost battle, but also

33 Masters, 120.

34 Ibid., 117.

35 W.W. Lefeaux and Canadian Workers Defense League, Winnipeg, London, "Moscow: A Study of Bolshevism," (Canadian Workers Defense League, 1921), 5.

36 Ibid., 7.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., 77.

as an important and beneficial moment in Canada's broader labour struggle. When placed in the context of Canada's Red Scare, it is understandable that reality was often difficult to extract from perception. The Red Scare was the ideal background upon which the Winnipeg General Strike could be cast as an impending socialist takeover of both the city and the country. Being able to separate the perception of the time with the facts of reality that have become available, it is clear that the strike was a worker's struggle for collective bargaining, and not an attempted reconstruction of the Russian Revolution in Canada.

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The High Price of a Fast Life

**Convenience Food Through the Lens of a
Health-Environment-Time Use Nexus**

Bianca Ponziani

The High Price of a Fast Life: Convenience Food Through the Lens of a Health-Environment-Time Use Nexus

Note to Readers: The following article is an abridged undergraduate honours thesis. Please contact the author for a complete version.

Theoretical Overview: Who Killed Meal Preparation at Home?

Successional Versus Durational Time Orientation

Time can be conceived as either successional or durational, and in 1984, Paul Fraisse concluded that these orientations are learned. Someone who is duration-oriented allocates time to “various tasks in discrete units in a purposive and rational way to maximize satisfaction” (Davies and Madran 1997). In contrast, someone who is succession-oriented will prioritize events themselves rather than the amount of time spent on each event (Dobson and Ness 2009). Suzanne Dobson and Mitchell Ness applied this theory to evaluate meal preparation patterns and modern versus traditional food-preparation roles. They uncovered a negative association between a durational perspective of time and the enjoyment of cooking, and a positive association between a successional orientation to time and traditional roles of shopping and meal preparation. Moreover, time-pressured people tend to purchase fewer items at the grocery store than planned, spend less time deciding what to purchase, and eat out more often (2009).

Convenience Reigns

Understanding consumers as spenders of time rather than money is useful in developed and emerging economies, where residents are becoming more affluent and time is increasingly viewed as limited (Davies 1997). Evaluating the time required to make or use a purchase has begun to supersede the importance of its price, especially in Western societies where a durational conception of time dominates. “Clock time,” a term equating money and time as quantifiable resources, generates the need for time-saving strategies such as “undertaking activities simultaneously rather than sequentially,” reallocating sleep and leisure time, purchasing convenience foods, buying in bulk, and relying on pre-cooked and pre-processed foods (Davies 1997). Such trends, while once disapproved of and tempered by the notion that women who neglect homemade cooking necessarily neglect their families, are now viewed as norms that are compatible with the greater number of average hours worked per week (see Figure 2.0) (Gust 2011).

tion rate, from 41.9% of women in 1976 to 57.9% in 2011, has redefined the historically female role of food shopping and cooking (Statistics Canada 2012). From the consumer's perspective, food consumption distills into the following stages: "planning and shopping, storage and preparation of products, consumption itself, and cleaning up and disposal of remains" (Candel 2001). A number of convenience strategies have been implemented for consumers at each of these stages. In a qualitative pre-study, Candel and colleagues found that consumers who had been asked to reflect upon the convenience of food consumption most commonly began by addressing the preparation stage as the most time and energy consuming (2001).

Today, Canadian households spend over 27% more on food purchases at restaurants than in 1997, and households with children spend even more (Statistics Canada 2006). Food is the fourth largest household expenditure for Canadian consumers, 30% of which is spent on food services (Statistics Canada 2006). The fast-food industry encompasses restaurants, cafeterias, street vendors, caterers, and drink places, and in 2004 alone garnered CAD\$37 billion in sales (Statistics Canada 2006). Since 1992, the amount of money Canadians spend on food prepared outside the home has grown at a faster rate than disposable income (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2009). This statistic reflects the decline of full-service restaurant sittings, which according to a 2005 Canada-specific *Euromonitor International* report, dropped from 95% in 2001 to 87% in 2004. Furthermore, there has been a decline of meals prepared and consumed at home: in 2003, one quarter of Canadian families ate a homemade meal from scratch every day, compared to half of families in 1992 (Oliveira 2010; Industry Canada 2003).

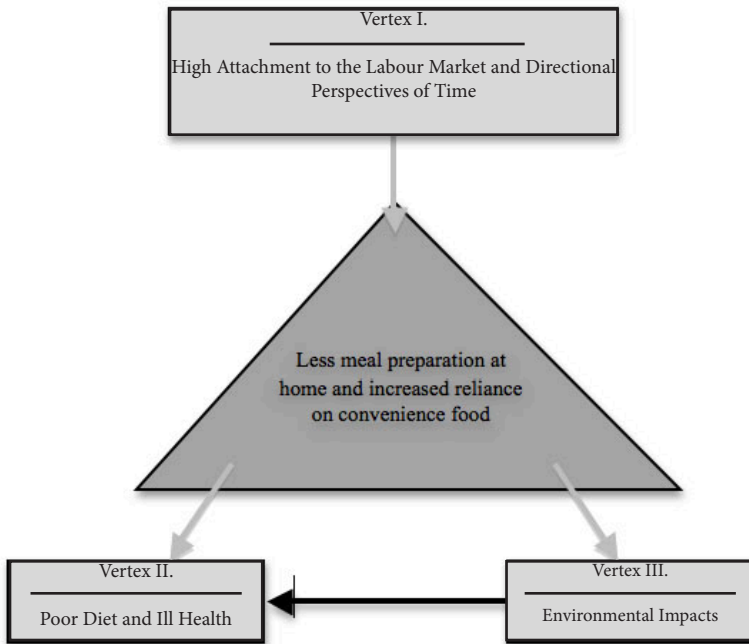
Framing Meal Preparation Within a Health-Environment-Time Use Nexus

The link between diet and human health is increasingly studied, yet the causal role of time stress and the resultant impacts on the environment, both of which condition this link, are often overlooked. An enormous amount of natural resources is required to process and distribute food for eventual consumption. Fuel is used to till land and sow crops, both of which require the manufacturing and application of pesticides and fertilizers. In the commercial stage, energy is used to wash, package, and transport food (Statistics Canada 2009). When these processes are repeated time and again on an industrial scale, their environmental impacts are magnified (Duchin 2005).

The causes and effects described above can be conceived of in a health-environment-time use nexus, each vertex of which is examined through the lens of meal preparation (see Figure 1.0). Broadly, the convenience foods on which Canadians rely as a result of their high attachment to the labour market and deroutinized lifestyles are typically not part of a healthy diet, and may contribute to environmental

degradation that can secondarily impair human health (as represented by the black arrow in Figure 1.0).

Figure 1.0. The health-environment-time use nexus examined through the lens of meal preparation and convenience food.



Time Use and Meal Preparation: Vertex I in Figure 1.0

The concept of role overload is defined as the degree to which the energy and time demanded by a person's different roles (in a family or economic system) is perceived to exceed time and energy resources. The greater role overload that an individual experiences, the more of a burden obligatory activities become, and the higher that person's tendency will be to seek convenience to expedite these activities (Candel 2001). Role theory more generally describes social structures' impact on behaviour, and is an important psychographic variable to bear in mind when analyzing why Canadians spend varying amounts of time on meal preparation (Candel 2001). Role overload is negatively associated with time spent preparing meals if an individual attributes this time stress to internal causes (e.g. overextending oneself to

meet expectations), rather than to external causes that they cannot control (e.g. too few hours in the day) (Candel 2001). It is unsurprising then that several empirical studies (such as Bauer et al. 2012; Devine et al. 2006; Candel 2001) report that, after adjusting for socio-demographics, mothers employed full-time prepare fewer family meals, are less encouraging of their adolescents' healthy eating habits, spend less time preparing food, and consume fewer fruits and vegetables than mothers who are not employed or are employed part-time. These studies also found that both mothers and fathers who experience high work-life stress experience less healthy family food environments and consume more convenience food (Candel 2001).

In recent years, given the global economic recession and high unemployment rates, parents may feel pressure to devote more time to their jobs in order to maintain employment (Devine et al. 2006). Rather than diminishing the importance of parental employment, this fact highlights the need for public policies that reduce parents' work-life stress.

Other research reveals that meals requiring longer preparation and cooking times are appreciated more than cold foods or snacks that must, or simply can, be prepared faster (Waterhouse et al. 2005). This enjoyment is very physical, in terms of appetite before the meal, enjoyment of the meal itself, and subsequent satiety (Waterhouse et al. 2005). Jim Waterhouse and colleagues found that the common practice for night-shift workers to snack rather than eat a balanced, cooked meal results in less positive responses to food (2005). In contrast, given the absence of a work schedule (the case for full-time workers on their days off, or for retired subjects), appetite is most likely to dictate all aspects of food intake; otherwise, work schedules take precedence (Waterhouse et al. 2005). This suggests that attachment to the labour market and the social connotation of a meal—namely, its enjoyment with family or friends—are important factors in food enjoyment. Individuals who devote time and care to preparing meals are more likely to appreciate the food they consume, yet time-pressured Canadians increasingly depend on industrially prepared food in the form of ready-to-eat or semi-prepared meals (Statistics Canada 2006).

Members of the Slow Food movement, founded by Carlo Petrini in 1986, are concerned that fast-paced consumption and production of food homogenizes flavour, erodes food variety, and, in standardizing taste, erodes culture ("Interview: Carlo Petrini Talks to the Ecologist 2004). Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada's Long-Range Consumer Outlook report remarks that the notion of "smaller quantities of very well prepared, high quality, fresh food" is influencing Canadians' attitudes towards food consumption (2011). However, for those working one or more jobs and who are primarily responsible for feeding their family, respecting the tenets of the Slow Food philosophy is not always practical (Power 2004).

Health as a Time Share: Vertex II in Figure 1.0

Dependence on convenience food is linked to modern-day time constraints: in a qualitative consumer research study commissioned by Health Canada, lack of time was the most frequently cited obstacle to healthy eating (Industry Canada 2011). As a director of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's *Healthy Eating Research* program, Mary Story et al. uncovered a link between consumption of healthful food and family meals at home (2002). Specifically, the team linked family dinners with a lower intake of fried food, soft drinks, saturated and trans fat, and a high intake of fruits, vegetables, fibre, and micronutrients. In 1997, 79% of adolescents cited "eating dinner at home" as their preferred activity with parents, despite its infrequent occurrence (Gust 2011). Busy or conflicting schedules most commonly explain this paradox (Story et al. 2002).

Today, both at-home and away-from-home meals have lower fat content than they did two decades ago, when both were comprised of about 41% fat energy (French et al. 2001). However, the gain of reduced fat intake may very well slow or reverse given that take-out meals account now for over 38% of an American child's caloric intake, up from 2% in 1970 (French et al. 2001). In fact, the average percentage of fat energy in food has declined more for homemade foods (now comprised of about 31% fat energy) than for away-from-home foods (comprised of over 38% fat energy) (French et al. 2001). This is just one indication that the content and preparation processes of ready-to-eat meals generally results in a less nutritious meal than the equivalent prepared at home. Furthermore, eating minimally processed foods is associated with a decreased risk of diet-related disease, such as diabetes, cardiovascular disease and cancer (Lea 2005).

Since they do not prioritize expediency, full-service restaurants may offer more nutritious alternatives to fast food. However, control over the ingredients, types of oil, and unseen additives that are ultimately consumed is relinquished when food is prepared on an industrial scale by a third party: some of the same health concerns associated with convenience foods are therefore still pertinent.

Nutritional content aside, homemade meals are generally consumed in smaller portions than meals outside the home, while portion sizes have increased in both ready-to-eat products and at restaurants (French et al. 2001). Supersized meals have led people to underestimate portion sizes on the whole, even for daily meals consumed at home (French et al. 2001). This is partly due to the 1000% consumption increase of high-fructose corn syrup (HFCS) since 1967. HFCS now constitutes 40% of caloric sweeteners in food and beverages, and may promote overconsumption through a mechanism that decreases the release of insulin and leptin, hormones that inhibit food intake and regulate satiety (O'Kane 2012).

A growing strand of literature has linked increased caloric intake, especially amongst children, to maternal employment (Rodgers 2011). Research has shown

that this happens through various channels: firstly, women who work away from home have less time to spend on meal preparation and hence are more likely to rely on processed foods, take-out, and restaurant meals that have poorer nutritional content and larger portion sizes (Rodgers 2011). Secondly, the longer women work outside the home, the less they are able to supervise the quality and quantity of their children's food intake and activity level. Children are more likely to opt for higher-calorie snacks and exercise less in their mothers' absence (Rodgers 2011). American time use data reveals that the decreased time mothers spend cooking for, playing with, or bathing their child is only partially compensated for by additional time input by their partners (Rodgers 2011). Finally, the opportunity cost of maternal employment is especially high during a child's first year of life, during which a mother may wean her baby off breastfeeding earlier than she otherwise would in order to return to work or in order to work longer hours (Rodgers 2011).

Again, the effects of maternal employment on food preparation are not delineated to rebuke female employment. In fact, working mothers who gain a higher income may as a result be able to afford more expensive, nutritious food items and extra-curricular athletic activities for both herself and her children. Higher income is also associated with a higher level of education, which has a positive impact on knowledge of nutrition and healthy behaviour (Rodgers 2011).

The Ecology of Meal Preparation: Vertex III in Figure 1.0

While the negative health consequences of convenience food are frequently discussed, academics remarkably do not treat its environmental impacts—an oversight of also media and politicians (Carolan 2011). This is partly due to the assumption that environmental concerns lie with the individual, rather than food system organization (Carolan 2011). The first wave of oil crises in the 1970s put the question of how to reduce energy use on the global public agenda. This popularized the study of ecological impacts of final consumption, and especially of food (Tukker et al. 2010).

Though ready-made meals require less labour during food preparation, this labour is not so much lost as it is reallocated. The resources required to produce convenient food items should not be overlooked (Gust 2011). In fact, ready-made meals require additional stages of product transformation and vending that entails packaging, retail space, water, energy, and other natural resources (Sonesson et al. 2005). These resources are used around the clock in fast food establishments that remain open 24 hours a day.

Whether during transport, processing, or in supermarkets, nearly half of all food produced worldwide is wasted, and a third of food purchased by consumers is discarded (Carolan 2011). Canadians factor into this figure: the average single-family Toronto dwelling throws away about 275 kilos of food each year; the city's

taxpayers must then contribute almost CAD\$10 million per year to dispose of food that has not been composted (“Help End Food Waste”). Nationwide, Canadians are producing more residential waste—a 6.8% increase between 2000 and 2002—four-fifths of which is dumped into landfills (Statistics Canada 2005). These waste management programs cost the federal government more than CAD\$1.5 billion annually (Statistics Canada 2005). Waste is compounded in commercial food establishments that produce about 150,000 pounds of garbage per year, most of which ends up in landfills (“Don’t Let Your Food Go to Waste” 2012).

The situation is deteriorating: since 1975, per capita food waste has increased 50% (Bloom 2010). Decades ago, baby boomer children of the 1970s were required to finish everything on their plates; their parents had experienced food shortages and were savvy in the ways of using leftovers. Moreover, the era’s typically large families meant meals had to be well planned, eschewing the need for last-minute convenience meals (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011). Baby boomer adults of today have less economic imperative to be thrifty in the kitchen. Consequently, baby boomers have “not been the best model for food economy in the household” (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011). Today’s smaller families eat out frequently, and when eating at home, different family members will eat different meals (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011). This irregularity leads to weak overall meal planning and promotes less rigid food patterns (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011).

According to Statistics Canada, 61% of restaurant meals in 2004 were consumed elsewhere, up from 53% in 1994 (2004, 2006). Much of the waste produced by take-out and delivery food operations therefore stems from packaging that allows for food portability. These patterns are actually telltale of Canadians’ relationship with fresh food: researchers with the Tucson Garbage Project—a sociological study that investigates household waste in Tucson, Arizona—found that the more evidence of prepared foods in a household’s garbage, the more likely that household is to waste fresh food (Bloom 2010). Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada explains this correlation by describing the widespread phenomenon of shoppers who purchase fresh food items at the grocery store in attempt to offset their high rate of eating out, which they recognize as unhealthy (2011). Canadians will load their shopping carts with fresh food that mostly goes uneaten because somehow, simply having nutritious foods in one’s refrigerator assuages parents that they are “at least providing healthy options for their children,” even if these items are ultimately left to spoil (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011).

The culture of food waste is deep-rooted: even at full-service restaurants, 17% of each dish is left uneaten, totaling half a pound of waste per meal, including waste by both the kitchen staff and consumers (Nestle and Young 2002; Bloom 2010). This is partly induced by exaggerated portions, or the result of patrons dis-

liking some component of their meal (Nestle and Young 2002). Oversized portions on oversized plates—over 36% larger than plates used in 1960—prompt overeating (Bloom 2010). Humans eat based on external signals, such as how much food remains on their plate, more willingly than on internal cues such as satiety (Bloom 2010). Food inherently demands energy and resources to produce and process (Lea 2005). Excessive calorie intake, then, is excessive use of the environment.

The sight of plenty excites humans, a biological remnant of prehistory when access to food was irregular (Bloom 2010). Accordingly, food waste prevails across sectors where consumer impression counts and plenty is displayed. Caterers, for instance, are asked to prepare more food than needed to signal their clients' wealth and good hospitality. Catering companies will also prepare 10% to 15% more food than clients have ordered to ensure it does not run out, which would both sully their professional reputation and embarrass the event host (Bloom 2010). Most of this food is eventually discarded, and even if the catering company's over-preparation is a chronic financial loss, the alternative is too great a business risk (Bloom 2010).

Why Care About Waste?

Waste of any kind raises ethical concerns, not least because malnutrition affects millions around the world. Wasted food is not environmentally benign, but rather represents a loss of the resources required to grow, ship, and produce this food. Forests are destroyed, energy and water resources depleted, and “nearly one tenth of the West's greenhouse gas emissions are released” to grow food that will never be eaten (Stuart 2009).

A common misconception is that organic litter will quickly decompose if discarded on a pile of earth or in a landfill, rendering food waste an environmentally neutral act (Carolan 2011). In fact, food decomposition releases greenhouse gases, specifically methane, into the atmosphere. In Canada, landfills are responsible for about 20% of annual national methane emissions (“Help End Food Waste”). As the ninth largest source of greenhouse gas, methane is not the gravest environmental issue—but food waste is more feasible to reduce than it is to keep planes out of the sky and cars off the road, both of which are substantial emitters of greenhouse gases.

Leachate is one of the risks of overflowing landfills, namely a precipitate containing toxic dissolved or suspended material accumulated during its percolation through landfill waste. The clay landfill liners that currently prevent this undesirable sludge from seeping into groundwater will not last forever (Bloom 2010). Leachate from a pesticide waste dump contaminated the potable water of Hardeman County, Tennessee, and was subsequently associated with liver dysfunction of Hardeman County residents (Meyer 1983). Other studies associate leachate with reports of chronic bronchitis and other respiratory illness, skin-related issues, and red, itchy eyes (Hertzman et al. 1987). This example illustrates why, in the long run, human

health will suffer from the excess production, consumption, and waste that characterizes convenience food today (secondary effects that are represented by the black arrow in Figure 1.0).

Consumers Are Empowered at Home

About 40% of all fish, fruits and vegetables that Canadians purchase are imported, traded as a commodity like any other product on the international market (Statistics Canada 2009). Food systems are no longer local and most major food brands have an international presence: their goods are manufactured in select locations and subsequently shipped worldwide. Accordingly, processed food is seldom “local” to those who consume it.

Food sourced less than 100 km away is trending at upper-scale, full-service restaurants (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2007). However, locally sourced ingredients are rare on fast-food menus and virtually absent in commercial frozen food aisles. Moreover, Canadians have new tastes for out-of-season, non-native foods that require long-distance shipping, often by airfreight (Carolan 2011).

The term “food miles” is a proxy measure for the average distance food travels “from paddock to plate;” the average item travels 1,500 miles before it is eaten or thrown away (O’Kane 2012; Bloom 2010; Black 2008). Environmentally-minded public awareness campaigns advocate for local food consumption due to its reduced environmental impact relative to imported goods. Even in academia, studies published by researchers such as Niels Jungbluth and Faye Duchin reveal that the food chain’s greatest environmental impacts arise from fresh food flown in from another country (2000; 2005).

Grocery stores will typically promote food grown in-province, a purchasing power afforded only to customers who select fresh ingredients with which to cook at home. Even healthy pre-packaged foods, such as chopped mushrooms or prepared salads, are seldom local to the consumer. The freedom to choose local food is also an opportunity for consumers to curb the environmental impacts of their consumption patterns. Canadians who are increasingly occupied with work and other time-intensive activities that facilitate and define an active, industrialized economy are not only outsourcing meal preparation, but also the prerogative to decide whether their food patterns are ecologically responsible.

Nevertheless, the way food is produced, stored, and prepared is of greater importance than food miles. In fact, most greenhouse gas emissions associated with food are generated in their production phase (Carolan 2011). For instance, the food system altogether produces between roughly 18% to 30% of greenhouse gas emissions in industrialized nations comparable to Canada: within this figure, 31% results from food production, and an additional 15% from food transportation (Schmidt Rivera et al. 2012; Sonesson et al. 2005). Discussion now shifts to the energy re-

sources associated with food production.

Energy Use of Ready-to-Eat Meals

Due to economies of scale, heating industrial-scale quantities of food is more energy-efficient than heating isolated repasts in the home (Sonesson et al. 2005). Nonetheless, the superfluous volume of commercially processed food and its associated processes render ready-to-eat meals more energy-intensive overall than their homemade equivalents (Sonesson et al. 2005). Rather, the only eco-efficiency edge of ready-to-eat meals over homemade meals is material efficiency, rather than energy efficiency (Saarinen et al. 2012). After all, convenience food must be kept refrigerated or frozen for longer periods of time, contain ingredients that would otherwise be sold individually sans packaging, and are often reheated before consumption. These consumer-oriented processes require energy and exhaust other natural resources.

Convenience Food Packaging

The food system requires a large proportion of the world's total manufactured packaging (Sonesson et al. 2005). The current trend to package food items in single servings represents the food industry's attempt at added convenience for busy consumers who eat on the go. The rise of individual packaging, however, generates even more waste because they prevent the customer from determining their own serving size. Consequently, "half-eaten granola bars, microwavable fettucine, or hamburgers" are either tossed or consumed by people even if they feel full (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011).

Ready-made food is typically served in throwaway Styrofoam or plastic containers and consumed with disposable plastic utensils. Some studies (Grasselli et al. 2010; Holtcamp 2012) reveal that these packaging materials contain obesogens, a term defined in 2006 by Bruce Blumberg as "dietary, pharmaceutical, and industrial compounds that may alter metabolic processes and predispose some people to gain weight" (Grün and Blumberg 2006). Bisphenol A (BPA), notably found in the lining of some canned foods, is one of the most publicized obesogens (Cao et al. 2010). According to Frederick vom Saal, who has studied BPA for the past 15 years, this compound "reduces the number of fat cells but programs them to incorporate more fat, so there are fewer but very large fat cells" (Holtcamp 2012). In animals, he explains, BPA exposure produces the outcomes observed in humans with low birth weight, including increased abdominal fat and glucose intolerance, that predisposes them to weight gain and diabetes (Holtcamp 2012; Thayer 2012). Similarly, negative obesogen effects were found by Scott Mabury, a University of Toronto chemist researching the carcinogenic and endocrine-disrupting effects of polyfluoroalkyl phosphoric acids (PAPs) that are used to manufacture waxy wrapping for food

items such as hamburgers and the interior lining of microwavable popcorn bags (D'Eon and Mabury 2007).

Time-pressured Canadians who rely on pre-prepared meals may be exposing themselves to obesogens found in convenience food packaging. In addition to those mentioned above, they include perfluorooctanoic acid (PFOA), a potential endocrine disruptor found in microwavable food items, benzophenone, 4-methylbenzophenone, and isopropylthioxanthone (Holtcamp 2012). Some of these components are used to manufacture packaging ink. The media popularized isopropylthioxanthone when in 2005, Italian authorities alerted the European Commission that the compound had migrated into infant formula distributed in Italy, France, Portugal and Spain via the product's cardboard packaging ink (Bennetti et al. 2008). The likelihood and scope of this public health issue could have possibly been minimized were mothers not required to wean their infants off breast milk in order to return to work soon after giving birth, which obliges them to feed their infants baby formula as a substitute. While this incident is one amongst singular others, it is indicative of humans' diminished control over compounds to which they are exposed, particularly via food and food packaging when meal preparation is outsourced as a result of time stress. Altogether, the packaging requirements of commercial food items make home cooking the healthier and more ecologically sensible choice (Sonesson et al. 2005).

Life-Cycle Assessments

Life-cycle assessments (LCAs) are the main way researchers have answered the need to evaluate the total environmental impact of food items. LCA studies take into account food system flows into the environment at all stages, beginning with material extraction from nature, to assembly, distribution, and end-of-life product management (either disposal, reuse, recycling, or recovery) (Foster et al. 2006). The LCA methodology considers effects on all environmental media—air, water, and land—with notable exclusions such as biodiversity and at-home reheating of commercially processed food. LCAs provide a more complete story of a food item's environmental impact than when only one stage of its production or consumption is evaluated (such as the water resources required for homemade versus industrially-made meals) (Carolan 2011). However, Dr. Merja Saarinen and colleagues of Agri-food Research Finland raise concerns that LCAs are too narrowly based for public interpretation, and may even be misleading, since popular media will typically refer to the climate impact of a particular food on a per unit weight basis without taking into account its nutritional value per unit (2012).

Annika Carlsson-Kanyama and Mireille Faist undertook one of the earliest LCA studies in 2000 regarding household consumption (Duchin 2005). In addition to demonstrating a greater environmental impact of animal relative to plant-based

foods, and greenhouse relative to open-air cultivation of crops, they showed that canned or frozen produce, relative to their fresh equivalents, are more environmentally degenerative specifically due to their higher energy use (Carlsson-Kanyama and Faist 2000). Since then, the LCA has been more broadly developed and operationalized, though it is still a tool used most prolifically by Scandinavian, and particularly Swedish, researchers (Foster et al. 2012).

While most environmentally conscious literature focuses on food production, Merja Saarinen and her Finnish research team emphasize that ingredients ultimately determine a meal's total environmental impact (2012). This holds true for ready-made-meals: depending on their components (vegetarian versus meat-based options), some are more environmentally impactful than others. The climate impact of ready-made meals is generally higher than their corresponding homemade form in all production phases save for agriculture (Saarinen et al. 2012). Since homemade meals on average have more food variety than ready-made meals, farming-related resources (such as cropland, water, pesticides, etc...) required to grow these assorted ingredients cumulatively represent a more disruptive environmental effect.

To confirm whether Canadian food patterns parallel the trends discussed for each vertex of the health-environment-time use nexus, Statistics Canada's General Social Surveys on time use will be analyzed in the following section through the lens of meal preparation and grocery shopping.

Statistical Analysis and Results

The General Social Survey on Time Use

The General Social Survey (GSS) is a sociological survey administered by Statistics Canada that collects national socioeconomic and demographic data. Since the GSS originated in 1985, it has served two purposes: to monitor social trends, and to provide "information on specific social policy issues of current or emerging interest" (Statistics Canada 2011). Each survey focuses on one of five core topics (commuting to work, labour, society and community, time use, or unpaid work) (Statistics Canada 2011). In 1999, the sample size of the survey increased from 10,000 to 25,000 voluntary respondents selected by *Random Digit Dialing*: all of which are over the age of fifteen, and live in one of Canada's ten provinces (Statistics Canada 2011). The following research is solely based on the GSS on Time Use, conducted approximately quinquennially (once every five years). To date, there have been a total of five GSS surveys on time use: Cycle 2 in 1986, Cycle 7 in 1992, Cycle 12 in 1998, Cycle 19 in 2005, and Cycle 24 in 2010.

GSS Variables Selected for Analysis

In each GSS on Time Use, I have considered two variables: meal preparation 157

and grocery shopping. The former—coded as DUR10(1)(1.0) depending on the survey cycle, and henceforth referred to as DUR101—asks how many minutes, on the day of their interview, respondents spent preparing meals. The latter—coded as DUR30(1)(1.0) depending on the survey cycle, henceforth referred to as DUR301—asks how many minutes respondents spent grocery shopping, at the market, or at a convenience store on the day they were interviewed. Data for grocery shopping are only available from 1992 onwards, a common fact for many of the most specific variables, since GSS questions have become increasingly detailed in recent years. In the 1986 cycle, DUR301 was phrased more broadly and included shopping for everyday goods such as gas, clothing, and purchases made on the Internet, which is why I exclude it for Cycle 2. All graphs that present DUR301 data will therefore start at 1992.

Why Consider Meal Preparation at Home?

I chose to analyze the variable coded DUR101, the time Canadians allocate to meal preparation, because of all of the GSS' food-related variables, it is the single most telling of Canadians' changing patterns in the kitchen. Since it is known that overall caloric intake has increased by over 15% since 1974, mostly from greater carbohydrate consumption, a decrease in the amount of time Canadians spend cooking will mean they are consuming calories in some other way; it will not mean that Canadians are eating less food overall (French et al. 2001; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2004). Given the preceding discussion about convenience food, if GSS data reveal that Canadians are cooking less, it will most likely indicate that more and more food is being prepared by third parties and consumed away from home. Supporting this inference are the growing sales of “higher-value produce, value added or fresh cut” products that constitute over 22% of grocery store sales (Bloom 2010). These three terms refer to semi-prepared products such as pre-washed and pre-cut vegetables (most commonly washed lettuce, peeled garlic, and sliced mushrooms) and store-bought, ready-made side dishes that reduce total meal prep time (Bloom 2010). Nowadays, convenience foods are so accessible that Canadians can afford to forego the unpaid domestic work of cooking. Given the sum of these food trends, I hypothesize that Canadians are spending fewer minutes per day preparing meals at home. I expect the trend to be evident from 1986 through to 2010, especially since respondents have decreasing leisure time—especially parents of young children and individuals employed full-time (see Figure 2.0) (Stalker 2011).

H1: Since 1986, Canadians are spending fewer minutes per day preparing home-made meals.

Figure 2.0. On average, Canadians are working more hours per week since 1992.



Source: *Canadian General Social Surveys on Time Use* (Statistics Canada, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005, 2010)

Why Consider Shopping Patterns?

DUR301 data for grocery shopping was selected for investigation because informed consumers who are concerned about, or are able to prioritize health, will minimize their intake of processed food and purchase separate, fresh ingredients that take more time to find, select, and bag while at the store (Florkowski et al. 2000). Selecting individual food articles, frequenting different specialty stores for meats and cheeses, and interacting with store representatives to request cuts of fresh fish, for instance, are more time-intensive tasks than purchasing convenience foods such as ready-made meals in the frozen food aisle, or obtaining ready-to-eat food from self-service buffet islands. In this way, I hypothesize that Canadians spend less time grocery shopping today than in 1992, given their priority for convenience in a progressively deroutinized lifestyle. Bearing in mind the reduced likelihood that respondents are cooking at home, it makes sense that they would have less need to spend time at the grocery store to purchase a variety of fresh ingredients.

The DUR301 survey question asks not only about respondents' grocery store and market frequentation but also about the time they spend at convenience stores. While this may seem like a caveat, since convenience stores are not conventional locations to purchase fresh food ingredients, Canada's 25,000 plus convenience stores

are now competing with national chains to deliver fresh produce to offset declining tobacco and gasoline sales, which are their sector staples (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2010). This holistic connotation of the convenience store should be borne in mind when interpreting the results that follow.

H2: Canadians make shorter average grocery store trips today than in 1992.

Methodology

Outliers that could skew identifiable data trends have been eliminated for both DUR301 and DUR101 using the standard score (z-score) method based on the Empirical Rule that states that 99.7% of the data should be within three standard deviations from the mean (Schröder 1997). The criterion for a univariate outlier was set to fall beyond a standard score range of ± 3.29 (Schröder 1997). Eliminated cases were always reports of above-average time spent grocery shopping or preparing meals, rather than below-average reports, and consistently represented a negligible exclusion rate of 0.01-0.02%. It is notable that in 1986, none of the 5,509 respondents with valid data points for DUR101 reported spending less than 2 minutes on meal preparation per day. In contrast, for all subsequent cycles, not spending any time on meal preparation was the single most common response.

The average Canadian shops for groceries about twice weekly, and therefore reports of zero minutes for DUR301 from 1992 to 2010 have been excluded, since these respondents did not grocery shop the day of the survey and not all Canadians do so everyday (EnviroNics Research Group 2008). Including reports of zero minutes would distort the mean time Canadians spend shopping for food, a number that needs to be accurate to derive changing patterns of cooking with fresh ingredients. As a result, a greater number of cases were eliminated for DUR301 than for DUR101, however this was still a negligible exclusion rate of 0.02%.

The standard deviation is indeed high relative to the dataset mean, which indicates that both variables have a positive skew and outliers on the higher side of the value spectrum. This is also evident given that both DUR101 and DUR301 have a natural bound of zero.

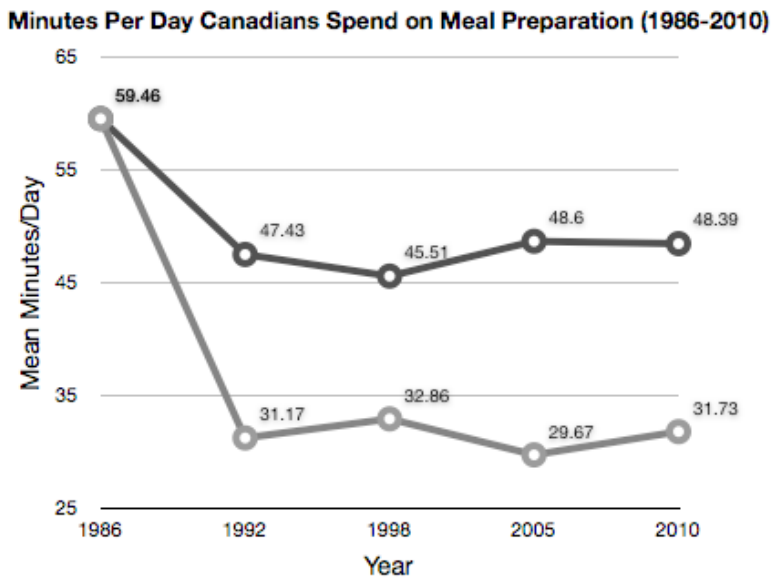
The dataset's median value is interviewees' most commonly provided response, and is most likely a rounded approximation of the true time respondents spent on an activity since durations are typically conceived of in quarter or half-hour blocks. Accordingly, I have considered data means rather than their median values.

The Changing Patterns of Meal Preparation and Grocery Shopping in Canada

To obtain a clearer picture of how DUR301 and DUR101 act, their mean values were derived both including and excluding respondents' reports of zero minutes spent on each activity. Canadians' reports of spending zero minutes preparing

meals on the day of their Statistics Canada interview were secondarily excluded because some people prepare food in bulk and freeze it for consumption later in the week. This is a timesaving strategy for those who are too time-stressed to cook daily. Therefore, in order to reconcile the confounding fact that Canadians who do prepare meals in advance might not have been interviewed on a day that they cooked in bulk, DUR301 data were considered with and without reports of zero minutes. The same maximum cut-off value for outliers was maintained in both scenarios including and excluding reports of 0 minutes. Figure 3.0 illustrates the comparison of these DUR301 means.

Figure 3.0. The changing average time Canadians spend on meal preparation per day since 1986, including and excluding reports of zero minutes.



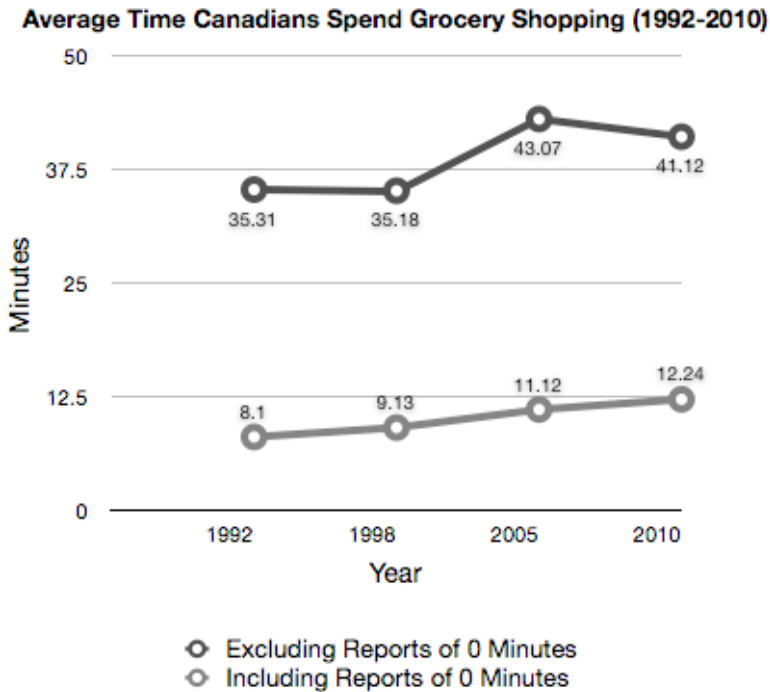
Source: Canadian General Social Surveys on Time Use (Statistics Canada, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005, 2010)

Both scenarios illustrated in Figure 3.0 reveal that Canadians are spending less time preparing meals since 1986. There is a more marked decrease in the average time spent on meal preparation when reports of zero minutes per day are included: a 27.73 minute decline from 1986 to 2010, versus an 11.07 minute decline when disregarding respondents who did not spend any time preparing food at home. The most marked decline in time spent preparing meals occurred between 1986 and 1992, as is the case for all the figures below. Evidently, the data including reports of zero minutes have a lower average, since the large number of zeroes lowers the

mean. However, when considering data from only 1992 onwards, the declining trend is still stronger where reports of zero minutes are included: this indicates that more and more Canadians are not spending any time preparing meals everyday. These results support my hypothesis that Canadians spend a decreasing amount of time on meal preparation.

In the same vein, reports of zero minutes spent grocery shopping were secondarily included in order to observe the changing frequency of Canadians reporting that they did not grocery shop on the day of their GSS interview. Just as for DUR101, the same maximum value criterion for classifying outliers was maintained. Results are graphed in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. The changing average time Canadians spend grocery shopping since 1992, including and excluding reports of zero minutes.



Source: Canadian General Social Surveys on Time Use (Statistics Canada, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005, 2010)

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162 When both including and excluding reports of zero minutes spent grocery shopping, Canadians are unmistakably spending more time shopping for food overall. The mean is lower when reports of zero minutes are included in the analysis, since these values deflate the average. Even so, the trend of spending more time

shopping for groceries is more consistent in the latter scenario (illustrated in Figure 3.1 in light grey), which indicates that since 1992, there are more Canadians who are purchasing food at grocery stores, markets, or convenience stores on a daily basis. Furthermore, amongst respondents who have always spent time grocery shopping, their average length of stay at a supermarket has increased by about six to eight minutes from 1992, an indiscernible jump if one were to examine, in isolation, the trend line including reports of zero minutes. These results imply rejecting my hypothesis, H2, that Canadians are now spending less time at the grocery store; the discussion that follows will elucidate which factors I overlooked in making my prediction.

Ascertaining True Changes Over Time

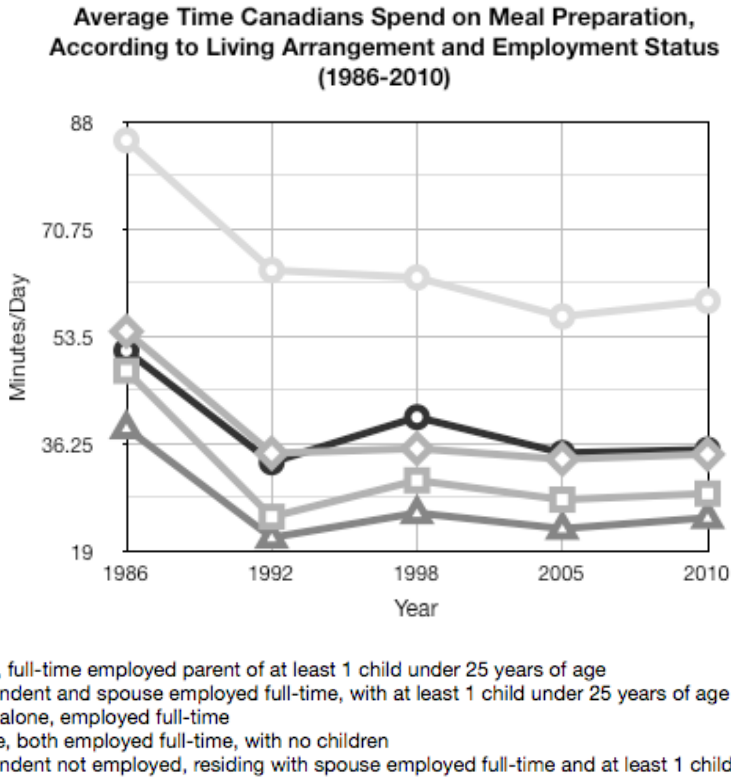
To ascertain whether the decrease and increase for DUR101 and DUR301, respectively, represent true changes over time, the 95% confidence intervals for their means have been calculated. The confidence intervals (figures not included due to space restrictions) display enough of a range to denote significant differences in the means from 1986/1992 through 2010 for both DUR301 and DUR101. Furthermore, since the intervals have narrow ranges (the largest being ± 1.23 minutes, for the 1986 DUR101 data points), I am confident that effects far from the displayed ranges have been ruled out and the estimate of the true μ is rather precise. The statistical analysis that follows (according to GSS socio-demographic data) therefore has reasonable power to show significant results, owing in part to the large number of GSS respondents (Davies and Crombie 2009).

DUR101 and DUR301 According to Living Arrangement

To better understand the driving factors behind Canadians' food-consumption patterns, DUR101 and DUR301 have been analyzed according household make-up. To obtain data points for the "couple, both employed full-time, with no children" category of respondents in 1986, a category that was not a possible response in first GSS on Time Use cycle, the proxy category "couple with child over 25" was used.

Respondents' employment statuses have been controlled specifically for Canadians employed full-time in order to define the habits of the most time-pressed Canadians. To put their results into perspective, responses of stay-at-home parents whose spouses work full-time have been plotted on the same graphs and serve as a visual benchmark. Reports provided by part-time workers have been excluded because it is not possible to derive whether these individuals work more than one part-time job that together total an equivalent or a greater number of hours worked by a respondent employed full-time. This was also the rationale for considering part-time versus full-time respondents strictly in terms of total hours worked per week, figures that are not reprinted here.

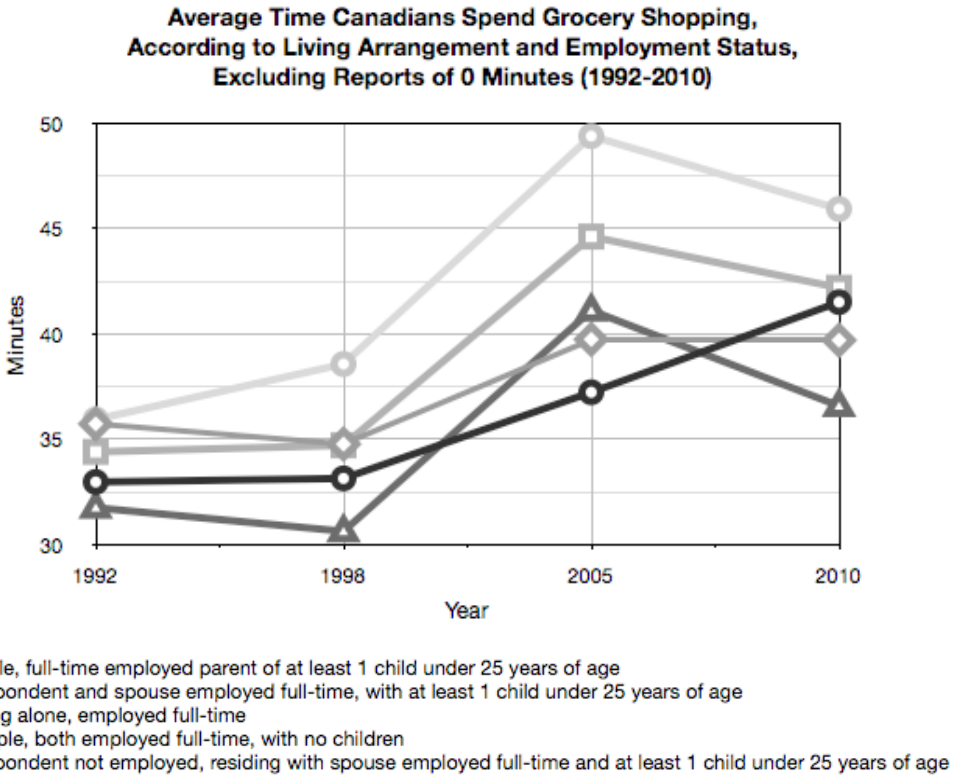
Figure 4.0. Notwithstanding their household living arrangement, the average time Canadians spend preparing meals has declined since 1986.



Source: *Canadian General Social Surveys on Time Use* (Statistics Canada, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005, 2010).

Respondents who do not work but take care of their young child(ren) spend the longest time preparing meals. Nonetheless, this segment still spends less and less time on doing so, meaning that neither employment nor living arrangement can wholly explain the declining trend. On the other hand, respondents who live alone spend the shortest amount of time preparing meals. The sample's three segments that have at least 1 child under the age of 25 constantly spend the most time preparing food at home. While the most marked decline occurred between 1986 and 1992, the rate of declining time allocated to meal preparation has slowed, and since 2005, has generally stabilized. It appears that having a spouse in the household has little effect on the time spent preparing meals.

Figure 4.1. Canadians representing various household arrangements are spending more time overall shopping for groceries.



Source: Canadian General Social Surveys on Time Use (Statistics Canada, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005, 2010)

Regardless of living arrangement, households are spending more time purchasing food. Respondents who are not employed, but whose spouses work full-time (quite plausibly stay-at-home parents), are decreasingly responsible for inflating the average time Canadians spend at grocery stores. This may be due to the decreasing number of households wherein just one partner is not employed, relative to the number of households wherein both adults are employed full-time (Bloom 2010). As with meal preparation, of all household categories, respondents who do not work but take care of their children spend the longest time grocery shopping. All the same, all categories that include children feature at the higher end of the spectrum of time spent shopping for food.

Unfailingly, and quite interestingly, those categories of respondents who spend the least amount of time preparing food at home spend an equivalent amount of time *more* at the grocery store (compare Figures 4.0 and 4.1).

DUR101 and DUR301 According to Income

Since launching in 1986, the GSS has consistently included a question regarding households' cumulative yearly incomes. In order to standardize this data for graphical representation, GSS responses have been categorized into five income brackets; a salary of CAD\$100,000 or more is a possible answer choice only as of 1998. The figures for the average time Canadians spend preparing meals and grocery shopping according to their income are not pictured due to space constraints. Overall, Canadian households today spend less time preparing meals than in 1986, no matter their total annual income.

Upon excluding reports of zero minutes (data not pictured), households of all incomes are spending less time preparing meals until 2005, when the trend begins to reverse. The exception is households in the top 20% income bracket, who are spending increasingly more time cooking since 1998. On the contrary, when including all cases, the trend towards longer meal preparation begins one cycle later, in 2010. Until 2005, all income brackets save for households earning in the highest income bracket spend fewer minutes per day preparing meals. Remarkably, when both including and excluding reports of zero minutes, households earning in the lowest 20% quintile spend the most amount of time preparing meals in 1986, and the least amount of time in 2010. In terms of food patterns, the gap between lowest-income households versus mid-income households is widening. Comparing data excluding and including reports of zero minutes in 2005, households earning the lowest annual incomes were least likely of all brackets to report not spending any time preparing meals the day of their interview, since they are less varied vis-à-vis one another when the dataset includes reports of zero minutes.

Canadians are spending more time shopping for food since 1992 irrespective of their annual household income. The increase is least pronounced for households earning the highest 20% of incomes. Compared with data including reports of zero minutes (figure not pictured), there is progressively less variation in survey reports upon excluding reports of zero minutes, which tells that those who do in fact grocery shop are all spending about the same amount of time in grocery stores regardless of their income. Households in the highest and lowest income quintiles are the most likely to report that they did not go grocery shopping the day of their GSS interview. The following section will now address the implications of each of the DUR101 and DUR301 trends described above.

Discussion

Explaining Less Meal Preparation and Longer Time Spent Shopping for Food as Concurrent Trends

Taken together, Canadians are spending less time preparing meals and more time grocery shopping. Rather than purchasing individual, fresh ingredients during a greater number of longer supermarket “stock-up” trips, Canadians are likely passing by stores more frequently for quick pick-ups of ready-made meals (2008). Evidence of Canadians’ decreasing time spent on meal preparation supports this deduction. If respondents were spending more time selecting a variety of fresh food ingredients to cook at home (regardless of whether or not this includes healthy, “higher-value produce”), an increase in the amount of time spent on meal preparation would be expected, unlike DUR101 data illustrate. It takes more time to wash, cut or peel, assemble, and finally cook these ingredients than it does to microwave or defrost a prepared meal. Accordingly, Canadians’ decreasing time in the kitchen is a sign that respondents are not at the grocery store purchasing whole, raw ingredients to cook with later on, but rather prepared meals or side dishes from an in-store deli, freezer, or self-service buffet. Alternatively, individuals are picking up semi-prepared products that reduce total cooking time by virtue of requiring only re-heating or being pre-cut and pre-washed.

As highlighted in the literature above, these items require more packaging, are generally less nutritious, and rob consumers of the power to determine their desired portion size, the quality and geographic source of ingredients, and whether additives are used in the food preparation or preservation process. Ultimately, they directly impact both Canadians’ health and natural environment. Convenience foods also encourage overconsumption and abundance, both promoted by the grocery store culture described next.

Grocery Store Culture

Both fresh and processed foods are commodities traded as any other good, within and across national borders (O’Kane 2012). This merchandise is primarily sold at the modern supermarket, which just one generation ago stocked about 800 items but today carries over 46,852 different articles (Goodall et al. 2005; Bloom 2010). It is difficult for grocery stores to keep such a wide selection of products fresh. Shoppers do not want to buy produce that they believe is leftover; they want items that sit in “full, brimming bins” (Bloom 2010). In the interest of sales, grocery stores oblige by telling employees to avoid empty shelf spots at all costs, and in doing so reinforce a culture of abundance (Bloom 2010). At the end of the day, surplus inevitably remains. Waste accompanies abundance, both of which are phenomena

that define today's food culture and that are aggravated by the growing popularity of fresh, prepared food (Bloom 2010).

Convenience stores, whose patronage is included in the GSS variable coded DUR301, waste 26% of their edible products, the highest percentage of waste in the food sector. The rise of ready-to-eat meals has exacerbated this environmental concern because their lack of preservatives means shorter shelf lives. Even though Canadians have been welcoming convenience into their kitchens since the early 20th century, the volume of convenience food items found in grocery stores today is astounding (Bloom 2010). Fresh pre-cut or prepared foods have also brought more "best before date" casualties: for instance, loose heads of lettuce are not marked with an expiration date, unlike pre-washed and bagged salad mixes.

Grocery stores' disposal of expired food is actually a secondary inventory cull: over 30% of fruits and vegetables do not even make it onto the shelves of North American supermarkets because they do not meet consumers' aesthetic standards ("Help End Food Waste"). Grocers will not display imperfect produce in order to "satisfy their and consumers' obsession with freshness" (Bloom 2010). From along the agri-food chain, supermarkets have the most power over "earlier" purveyors, seeing as they select the processors and farmers with whom to work (Stuart 2009). For instance, produce harvesters in America are paid on a "piece-rate" basis, according to the number of cartons they pack: to keep with the same example, they will not select lettuce heads that are the wrong shape or size, since they know their crop must pass random inspections (Bloom 2010). These exacting demands introduce great inefficiency into the food system.

Relating this discussion to time use, grocery stores accommodate consumers' time stress, opening early and closing late, or operating twenty-four hours a day (Ahuja et al. 1998). They also stock an array of non-food options, from basics such as toiletries and cleaning products, to clothing and in-house pharmacies. As a result, consumers are patronizing supermarkets for more than just fresh food. In fact, given high competition in the sector, extensive food courts sporting buffet-style salad bars and Chinese-inspired dishes are becoming the rule rather than the exception, particularly among high-end supermarkets (Park and Capps 1997). The extent of their prepared offerings makes some supermarkets look and feel like restaurants, and they have in fact appropriated some market share from full-service food establishments (Statistics Canada 2006). In 2008, 95% of American supermarkets offered fresh, prepared food for takeout—23% even had a sushi station (Bloom 2010). The increasing normalization of take-out food and frozen dinners is a contributing factor. Most supermarkets' bright, mood-enhancing lighting and windowless halls ensure shoppers are not distracted by weather changes or the time they spend in the grocery store—either shopping or eating (Bloom 2010).

The grocery store's changing face also helps to explain the increasing time Ca-

nadians spend at grocery stores: it is common for crowds of people to enjoy samples of brand-name food products, and more often than not, purchase what they have just sampled (Lewis 2005). The typical grocery store has also expanded, now ranging from 6,000 to 12,000 square feet, which is a large amount of space that takes longer for patrons to cover in order to find everything on their grocery list. During the entire shopping experience, consumers are on the receiving end of “atmospherics,” a series of tailored environmental cues to influence people during their retail shopping experience, as studied by environmental psychologists since 1974 (Lewis 2005). Involving the buyer at various stages in their supermarket trip makes it more likely they will enjoy themselves and stay longer, maximizing probability of purchase (Lewis 2005).

Who's Behind the Front Door Impacts What's Behind the Refrigerator Door: Living Arrangements and Time Use

It may be unsurprising that respondents who live alone spend the shortest amount of time preparing meals. They are not expected to cook for anyone else in their household, nor can they share daily meals with somebody as a social event, which, echoing the 2005 study by Waterhouse and his research team, is an important factor to maximize food enjoyment. These facts taken together minimize the incentive for Canadians living alone to invest time in food preparation. This promotes a durational perspective of time and, in turn, on-the-go meals rather than meals as occasions in and of themselves.

GSS data reveal that the sample's three respondent segments that have at least 1 child under the age of 25 at home constantly spend the longest time preparing food. A traditional sit-down, family dinner may still be something these parents strive to provide for their children. Their kids' inability to cook for themselves, and recognition that the most nutritious food is typically consumed at home, motivates parents to slow down at the end of the day to prepare meals (Rodgers 2011). Strengthening this inference is the fact that having a spouse in the household has little effect on the time allocated to meal preparation.

Unfailingly, respondents who spend the least amount of time preparing food at home spend an equivalent amount of time *more* at the grocery store—that is to say, in GSS cycles wherein households' time allocation to meal preparation drops, those same households spend longer shopping for groceries in that corresponding cycle, and vice versa (compare corresponding years in Figures 4.0 and 4.1). Conjecturing somewhat to explain this, it is likely that the more often respondents are at the grocery store, the more they grab ready-made meals eaten there, on the go, or at their place of employment, which nullifies the need to cook at home. Respondents who in fact reported zero minutes grocery shopping on the day of their GSS interview might actually spend longer preparing meals at home with ingredients they pur-

chased during their more infrequent supermarket stock-up trip.

Interviewees with children feature at the higher end of the spectrum of time spent shopping for food (Figure 4.1). Since a wide selection of supermarket products is marketed specifically to youth, kids routinely ask their parents whether they can add these items to their shopping cart, which may result in time-consuming debate should they be denied (Ahuja et al. 1998). The greater the number of children, the more individual attention they will require. Particularly in households headed by a single parent, more so than in two-parent homes, children participate in selecting the items their mothers or fathers purchase (Ahuja et al. 1998). Single parents often do not have a choice but to bring their kids grocery shopping, as no one may be available to look after them in the meanwhile (Ahuja et al. 1998). All these factors play a role in prolonging grocery-shopping trips for households with young children, as Figure 4.1 illustrates. It may also explain why respondents with more young children spend the longest time grocery shopping and preparing meals, as revealed by analysis that is not included due to space constraints. In terms of meal preparation, households with more children plausibly spend longer cooking because young children and infants are more commonly neophobic eaters, have specific dietary needs, and are likely to display the picky eating behaviour prevalent during childhood (Shim et al. 2011). This requires parents to take additional time to prepare tailored meals for them, separate from the food consumed by other family members.

The consistently longer grocery shopping trips by couples who live without children (upon including reports of zero minutes) is likely explained by their full-time employment status: since both household managers have stringent time constraints, two-income households are more prone to purchase prepared meals, which are increasingly found at supermarkets (Park and Capps 1997).

Elucidating Employment's Impact on Food-Related Activities

Waterhouse and colleagues, introduced in the theoretical overview, discovered that on weekends, employed subjects ate more like those that are not employed (2005). Other studies reveal similar impacts of occupation on meal patterns (de Castro 2002; Minors et al. 1998; Monk et al. 1997). Women's increasing workforce participation compounds this fact, since being employed full-time reduces their available time for the customarily female role of meal preparation (French et al. 2001). Being female had a "uniformly positive and significant" impact on the amount of time spent on meal preparation, which reflects the traditional gender division for household tasks (Florkowski et al. 2000). When returning home from work, women are also occupied with childcare, cleaning the home, running errands, and accompanying children to various after-school activities. In fact, having a child under the age of five is the second largest factor for decreased leisure time, ranking just below the effect of full-time employment (Stalker 2011). In more recent cycles, Statistics

Canada has included these variables in their GSS time use surveys. With just a few hours at the end of the day for these assorted responsibilities, it is little wonder that time saving meal preparation strategies are increasingly welcome in the kitchen.

Canadians also want to minimize the total time they spend consuming a meal unless it is an occasion—hence the growing popularity of snacking on the go (Bowlers 2000; Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2009). According to a prognostic Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada report, by the year 2020 Canadians will be more disconnected from food preparation than ever before (2009). Meal planning will be shorter and sporadic, and snacking will replace whole meals (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2009). The more intimate an individual is with the process of growing fresh food, the less likely they are to squander it (Bloom 2010). Due to full-time employment and growing urban centres, most Canadians do not develop a connection with fresh foods that would encourage them to waste less of it, via tending to a vegetable garden or through regular cooking (Bloom 2010). In turn, this detachment creates a mental gap between individuals and the biological sources of their food, and facilitates a food system “of an environmentally degenerative character” (Svenfelt and Carlsson-Kanyama 2010). In fact, very recent research by Katherine Bauer and colleagues from Temple University’s Department of Public Health links employment demands with subjects’ lower intake of nutritious food and a greater likelihood to dine or take out, specifically due to high work-family stress that is not conducive to a “healthful family food environment” (2012). In addition to encouraging the general population to reconnect with the foods they consume, Professor Gabrielle O’Kane of the University of Canberra’s Faculty of Healthcalls for health professionals to develop an understanding of the food system’s environmental and health effects, since population health risks often arise from man-made transformations of natural systems (2012). This is the case for industrial-scale preparation of meals-on-the-go, demanded by a growing population working more than ever before.

To provide historical perspective, in 1900, 21% of American women were employed, and the average woman spent 44 hours per week on meal preparation. By 1950, 29% of females were working, and women were spending just under 20 hours preparing meals per week. The change becomes starker in 1999, when 60% of women are part of the workforce and they spend fewer than 10 hours preparing food per week (French et al. 2001). More precisely, for married women with husbands and at least one child under 18 years of age, employment jumped from 45% in 1975 to 71% in 1999 (French et al. 2001). In view of these facts, the influence of employment—and particularly of female employment—on both DUR101 and DUR301 was explored (figures not included due to space restrictions). Sure enough, varying employment statuses do shape meal preparation and grocery shopping duration.

Canadian women who work less than 30 hours per week spend at least seven

minutes more per day on meal preparation than their counterparts working over 30 hours per week. This can be attributed to their increased leisure time that provides an opportunity to rejuvenate after a day of paid labour (should they work at all) and prepare wholesome food for themselves and quite possibly their families. The discrepancy between the two groups is in fact growing, as a result of women working less than 30 hours per week spending more time preparing meals, and women working full-time spending less time doing so.

Conversely, the variation gap between the two groups' grocery shopping patterns is slight and generally narrowing since 1998. This can be attributed to the changing grocery shopping experience. As supermarkets offer a greater selection of ready-made meals, they are drawing in working women who are able to pick up pre-made, hot meal options to bring home for dinner or grab on their weekday lunch hour. At the same time though, women working fewer hours per week can benefit from other supermarket features that keep them there longer, such as dining in the cafeteria-style hall with their children, shopping for clothing, and enjoying samples. Furthermore, these women are still able to fulfill their traditional role of meal preparation, but also take advantage of convenience foods by selecting pre-cut, pre-washed fresh foods to be later assembled and cooked—additional time that full-time workers may not have. The latter group's reduced opportunity to reproduce and refresh themselves also means less time to prepare for the following day of work, take care of their children, and complete other non-paid domestic tasks. Moreover, due to prevailing gender roles, females are still primarily taking care of domestic work, resulting in a “double-burden” of labour (Stalker 2011). Logically then, the time both groups spend grocery shopping is likely on par for different reasons: a greater number of quick pick-up meal trips (sometimes more than once per day) for Canadian women employed full-time, versus less frequent but longer shopping trips for females working less than 30 hours per week.

Household Income and Time Use

Income is a determinant factor in food patterns, but more precisely, is associated with the types of food consumed rather than its quantity. Grocery store purchases by high-income households are less energy dense than those bought by their low-income counterparts (i.e., a greater quantity of fruits and vegetables than of high-fat foods) (French et al. 2001). A recently published article looking at food items sold at major retail supermarket chains found that nutrient density is negatively associated with energy density, and positively associated with cost (Monsivais et al. 2012). This was also confirmed in a study involving 12 work sites that showed that price reductions of 10%, 25%, and 50% on healthier, low-fat vending machine snacks increased their sales by 9%, 39%, and 93% respectively (Story et al. 2000).

Just as men and women frequent grocery stores at more or less equivalent rates,

their bills total about the same: CAD\$141.83 for women versus CAD\$134.83 for men's stock-up trips, and for quick trips, CAD\$34.21 for women versus CAD\$31.30 for men (Enviro-nics Research Group 2008). Higher incomes are linked with consumer expectations for quality and convenience, and disposable income allows these households to eat out more often, "making restaurants viable competitors" for grocery retailers (Kumar 2008). This fact is illustrated in Figures 5.0 and 5.1, wherein the top two income brackets spend the least amount of time preparing meals. This may also be explained by the ability for respondents with more financial capital to hire outside help to cook for their children while they are occupied at their places of employment. In support of this supposition, a study by Jens Bonke, a Danish Economics Professor at the University of Copenhagen who research time use, shows that higher-income households spend more money on convenience foods irrespective of their amount of "free time" (1992). A separate study from 1980 also observed a positive effect of family income on expenditures of prepared foods in the United States (Redman 1980). This points to the increasing legitimacy of pre- and partly prepared meals and signifies "yet another phase in the cycle of normalization of more extensive commoditization in the field of food" (Bonke 1992).

As households allocate an increasing amount of time to wage-earning activities, their opportunity cost of time becomes more of an issue (Florkowski et al. 2000). This parallels Gary Becker's oft-cited time allocation theory that the amount of time a household spends on meal preparation is commensurate with how it values alternate uses of that time (1965; Florkowski et al. 2000). If the substitution effect dominates when income increases, then the theory predicts that the time households spend on meal preparation will decline (Florkowski et al. 2000). In fact, previous empirical research has established that in mature market economies, the same effect applies to other nonmarket activities such as cleaning or laundry (Bloch 1973; Gramm 1974; Gronau 1977).

Accordingly, consumers may value disposable time enough to outsource meal preparation, a fact reflected in the GSS data. Considering the results from a financial angle, the increasing proportion of total food spending on away-from-home foods also confirms this contention: 25% in 1970, 40% in 1995, and in 2010, about 53% of total food dollars (French et al. 2001). The more income a household earns, the more capital they have to spend on prepared foods or services that obviate the need for their "labour, time and culinary skill" (Florkowski et al. 2000). Strikingly however, if observing from cycle to cycle and only from 1992 onwards, high-income households are spending slightly more time on meal preparation. This could be the result of their greater education level and ensuing understanding of homemade meals as the most nutritious. This is evident in an Australian study of high-income and low-income parents: the latter were more likely to evaluate their children's eating patterns using technical language to refer to the nutritional value of their food

and its potential health risks (Power 2004). Low-income families, on the other hand, invariably spoke about their children's growth and overall stamina (e.g., ability to play) as indicators of overall health (Power 2004).

Regardless of their target market, most grocery stores offer a variety of price options by carrying different product categories, such as national brands, a store brand, etc... that appeal to all income brackets (Ahuja et al. 1998). Consumers are increasingly receptive to private label brands, which cost 20-40% less than national brands but generate as much as 13% higher profit margins (Kumar 2008). Grocery stores' accessibility to all income brackets helps explain the little variation in time respondents spend grocery shopping, irrespective of their household income (of course, considering only interviewees who went grocery shopping the day they were surveyed). In other words, those who do grocery shop are all spending about the same amount of time doing so regardless of their income—there is something in the supermarket for Canadians of all socioeconomic backgrounds.

Just a few decades ago, households that earned the least annual income spent the most time preparing meals, since eating out was likely a more expensive, fine dining experience. Nowadays, convenience food is easily accessible and sometimes cheaper than cooking at home, which clarifies why households earning in the lowest 20% income bracket spent the least or second least amount of time preparing meals in 2010 (more or less on par with households earning in the highest 20% income bracket). With abounding access to cheap, fast food, increasing reliance on convenience foods portends greater environmental impacts, especially for affluent households (Tukker et al. 2010). Intensive demands on agriculture, pressure on landfills, and waste are untenable by-products of convenience foods. The systems that facilitate outsourcing meals, as they are organized and managed today, are unsustainable. Consuming industrially prepared meals is generally healthier for humans, and in the long run, its negative environmental effects will harm human health all the more.

Global Trends and Policy Interventions

This undergraduate honours thesis comes at time when nutrition fascinates popular media and academic research alike. The public is progressively more aware of diet's impact on health—if Canadians come to recognize the time to prepare meals at home as a health priority, it will be put on the public policy and public health agenda. The result may be labour union demands for more work-hour flexibility, or the option to work from home certain days of the week (Bauer et al. 2012). Promising strategies found to alleviate parents' work-life stress (see Martin and Sanders 2003 and Moen, Kelly and Tranby 2011) even include behavioural interventions such as skill-building sessions for parents regarding food purchasing and preparation, and stress management (Bauer et al. 2012). The environment stands to benefit

from interventions that will improve families' healthful eating opportunities, since they will reduce consumer waste, overconsumption, and the intensive use of natural resources required for convenience food production and their retail operations. Ecology and consumption go hand in hand.

However, even if Canadians increasingly turn to healthful, plant-based meals, environmental rehabilitation is not ensured. Instead, the food industry will likely respond to market demand in kind: offering healthy, ready-made meals that are marketed as nutritious alternatives to fast food without sacrificing convenience. In fact, individuals may justify eating out more because they can access healthy options.

This emerging trend is already apparent with the rise of diet-related frozen dinners and ready-to-eat vegetarian, vegan, and gluten-free foods (Gust 2011). These are more wholesome than typical take-out fare, and of the same quality expected in a "fancy French bistro" (Gust 2011). In August of 2012 for instance, Lola Rosa, originally a restaurant in the downtown Montreal area marketed as an earthy, vegetarian eatery to sit and savour handmade food, opened a take-out Lola Rosa Xpress counter in the McGill University student cafeteria. The enterprise is now making the wholesome food associated with a successional orientation of time available to those whose time stress requires that they develop a durational conception of time. Even though control of one's food is still relinquished to a third party, healthy convenience food assuages some of the health concerns associated with eating out. However, the popularization of healthy prepared food does not allay the root causes of the environmental impact of prepared food more generally. A discussion about mitigating the ecological consequences of convenience food can only be had if the changing ways in which Canadians allocate their time are simultaneously addressed. If time is not available, any type of environmentally conscious consumer is going to find it difficult to adhere to their scruples—and the time cost of preparing food is huge.

Canadians' post-modern value-shift towards "terroir" food (a term that refers to local food in a more cultural sense) is characteristic of a later stage of economic development (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2007). In Canada, the glamour of frozen meals is waning: they are no longer "the perfect answer for all occasions," as the Scotts brand of TV dinners publicized in a 1963 magazine advertisement (Gust 2011). Elsewhere though, as a result of globalization, the high-in-fat, high-in-sugar American diet continues to replace developing nations' traditional starchy, high-fibre staples (O'Kane 2012). This so-called "westernization" of the food system has reduced global per capita rice consumption, increased per capita consumption of wheat and wheat-based products, promulgated a wider range of food groups and high-protein, energy-dense diets, and popularized fast food and beverages (Pingali 2004). The nutrition transition, contextualized in a health-environment-time use nexus, has been accompanied by the rise of chronic disease and obesity epidemics

that are typically the purview of developed economies. Strategies for dietary change must therefore be global in scope (Duchin 2005). Evaluated from the environment vertex of this nexus, universal supplies of prepared food will “continue to constitute a significant environmental burden in the future” that will only deteriorate with developing countries’ rapid population growth (Sonesson et al. 2005). The way in which developed societies are organized—wherein an enormous amount of resources is required to process, package, transport and store prepared food—generates environmental damage that will come to bear on both industry and consumers to reduce waste (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 2011). Innovations in the convenience food sector will soon demand higher social responsibilities as consumers continue to purchase easy-to-carry, single-portion microwavable meals. Calderón et al., for instance, call for industry to integrate ecodesign attributes in food packaging that reduce food and packaging waste (2010). Meanwhile, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada accredit higher energy costs as a policy intervention capable of changing “consumer attitude regarding food waste” (2012). Any policy intervention, however, should not sidestep the need to “foster fundamental changes in consumption practices” that will lower overall production levels and reduce environmental impact (Tukker et al. 2010).

As GSS data reveal, Canadians have less time to be stewards of themselves, let alone of the environment. This frenzy should not be mistaken for efficiency (“Interview: Carlo Petrini Talks to the Ecologist” 2004). This need not imply ecological ruin or their poor health. Canadians can continue taking advantage of convenience food if the products’ environmental impacts are tempered by policies that simultaneously address nutrition and time stress, specifically as it relates to the labour market. Otherwise, as it is managed today, the increasing reliance on prepared food is unhealthy and unsustainable.

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