THE SOCIETY

SOCIOLOGY & CRIMINOLOGY UNDERGRADUATE REVIEW

VOLUME 02 | 2017

The Society:

Sociology & Criminology
Undergraduate Review

Volume 02 | 2017

Editorial Board

SOCIOLOGY & CRIMINOLOGY **SOCIETY**

The Society: Sociology & Criminology Undergraduate Review
Volume 02 | 2017
scs@utmsu.ca

University of Toronto Mississauga
3359 Mississauga Rd
Mississauga, Ontario
L5L 1C6

Sponsors:
Sociology & Criminology Society

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment

Dear readers,

We are pleased to present you with the second volume of The Society: Sociology & Criminology Undergraduate review journal. “The Society” showcases and acknowledges the exceptional scholarly contributions of undergraduate students in the Sociology and Criminology programs at the University of Toronto - Mississauga. “The Society” features work that addresses a range of themes relative to our social settings.

We would like to thank and acknowledge all who have contributed generously to the establishment of this journal.

We thank the editors who devoted time and effort to edit our journals. The editors are a crucial component to maintaining The Society’s high degree of academic prowess, and without them we would not have been able to reach such a high degree of expertise.

Additionally, we would like to thank the members of the Sociology Department who have assisted with the execution of The Society over the past year, notably Dr. Jayne Baker and Dr. Nathan Innocente. With their guidance, we have carefully selected a handful of articles out of a much larger pool that we believe best demonstrate and exemplify The Society’s sociological and criminological emphasis.

Lastly, and significantly, we would like to extend our fullest gratitude to the journal’s authors, as well as to everyone who submitted pieces for publication. It is because of you that The Society’s legacy will continue on for future generations of UTM students to enjoy, and we thank you for your contributions to this edition.

We hope that you enjoy navigating this journal and reading some of the best works that our Sociology and Criminology Undergraduate students have to offer.

The 'United Students Against Sweatshops' (USAS) Movement: Framing the Sweatshop Problem

by Maja Petrovic

ABSTRACT

Social movements are a growing aspect of our social lives, and they vary considerably. This article focuses on the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) movement, which addresses the crucial issue of sweatshops and worker oppression around the world. The paper introduces a new study which seeks to explore how the members of this movement use a strategy known as "framing" in order to emphasize their grievances and mobilize support and participation. Based on an analysis of various primary sources, it is argued that the USAS movement and its members frame 'the sweatshop problem' in a way that justifies placing significant blame on large companies and corporations. This highlights a lack of acknowledgement, on behalf of the movement, in regards to broader economic and political structures, which not only allow, but also induce, a need for sweatshops, such as consumer demand or weak third-world economies. Furthermore, although consumers are not framed as being even partially responsible for 'the sweatshop problem,' they are portrayed as a crucial solution for influencing change. Thus, the framing of the issue is conducted in a way that mobilizes supporters by emphasizing the importance of public action, largely by appealing to individuals' emotions.

INTRODUCTION

Social movements are a growing aspect of our social lives, and they vary considerably. This paper focuses on one particular movement, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), which works to address the global issue of sweatshops and worker oppression (USAS 2016). Specifically, this study explores the ways in which USAS members employ the "framing" strategy in order to emphasize their grievances and mobilize public support and participation (Edwards 2014; Snow and Soule 2010).

Based on an analysis of various sources, it will be argued that the USAS movement and its members frame 'the sweatshop problem' in a way that justifies placing significant blame on large companies and corporations. Furthermore, as a means of mobilizing support, the movement and its members also frame the issue in a way that emphasizes the importance of public action, largely appealing to individuals' emotions.

The paper begins with a profile of the USAS movement itself. The social significance of the study is then explained, followed by a brief review of existing literature on the topic. The current study is then outlined, with the discussion of the findings and an application to two major theories (Cultural Framing and Transnational Activism), which are used to explain the results. The paper concludes with an overview of the findings, discussions of the limitations, and suggestions for future research (Edwards 2014).

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

The USAS movement is particularly intriguing to study given its reliance on "student power" and the "leverage" of students in battling against complex, global and deeply-rooted political injustices as well as the powerful corporate bodies that perpetuate them. It is especially interesting to explore how student activists attempt to mobilize the public in order to facilitate large-scale political and social change in a time when it has become more difficult for activists, and even states, to counter the acts of large corporations (USAS 2016; Danaher and Mark 2003; Featherstone 2002; Mandle 2000).[1]

Also, given the spread of neo-liberal ideals, as explained by Dominiguez (2009), not only have large businesses and corporations become subject to very few limitations and restrictions, but students have "let go" of collective powers, as they have increasingly focused on their own individual freedom and powers (p.125). [2] Thus, studying contemporary cases of university students, or youth in general, who have engaged in organized, collective action against the wrongdoings of large, unrestricted economic actors is especially important to informing the study of social movements. Certainly, one could argue that the potential achievements of this student movement are significant in that they may inspire both students and non-students around the world to tackle similar issues and ultimately produce comparable positive changes elsewhere.

In relation to this current project, a study by Greenberg and Knight (2004) analyzed how American newspapers "problematized" and framed the sweatshop problem (p.151); the study found that newspapers consistently framed the sweatshop issue in a way that emphasized the role of consumers (Micheletti and Stolle 2007; Greenberg and Knight 2004). Micheletti (2007) also concluded that anti-sweatshop movements value consumers, as they are often assumed to be the "countervailing power to corporations" (p. 166). Interestingly, consumer mobilization is deemed the solution to the problem that is portrayed as being caused by corporations, even though today's consumers' demand for inexpensive yet fashionable apparel with "maximum choice," as opposed to corporations' desire for high profits, has been the driving force allowing for the persistence of sweatshops (Micheletti and Stolle 2007; Greenberg and Knight 2004).[3]

However, unlike the study by Greenberg and Knight (2004), this current study focuses on exploring the framing strategies used by USAS members within their own work. In other words, only sources that have been created by USAS members, as opposed to third-party sources, will be analyzed. This is based on the idea that third party sources (i.e. news media) and social movement activists tend to frame issues differently in order to portray a particular message that appeals to their individual, and often unique, interests.

MOVEMENT PROFILE: UNITED STUDENTS AGAINST SWEATSHOPS (USAS)

[1] Recently, governments have increasingly felt inclined to give into corporate demands, while union movements have simultaneously become weaker (Mandle 2000).

[2] Neoliberalism is a growing and dominant political-economic ideology which promotes minimal government intervention, particularly in economic matters, while productivity and progress in social, political and economic aspects of life are achieved through free-market and free trade practices (Dominiguez 2009).

[3] In other words, consumers are not being asked to change their ways, but are instead being asked to join movements in an attempt to force corporations to change their ways, notwithstanding the fact that consumers may be a large part of the problem.

The United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) is an American (nation-wide), student-led movement, associated with the general anti-sweatshop movement category. Its existence was sparked upon the disclosure of "shocking labour conditions" within the clothing/apparel industry (USAS 2016; Dominiguez 2009; Esbenshade 2008; Krupat 2002; Featherstone 2002; Mandle 2000: 95). According to Featherstone (2002), numerous anti-corporate campaigns, against companies such as Guess Jeans and Nike, had inspired the rage, anger and frustration among youth. Despite attempts by the United States government at controlling the concerned public, a sense of "new labour consciousness" was growing on U.S. campuses, as students realized their potential impact in "anti-sweatshop politics" (Featherstone 2002: 10- 11).

USAS was spearheaded in 1998 by a group of students whose research revealed a link between their universities' apparel and sweatshop labour (USAS Manual 2016; Dominiguez 2009; Featherstone 2002; Krupat 2002). Its leadership and membership consist entirely of students, or youth in general, mainly from university campuses from all over the United States (USAS Manual 2016; Dominiguez 2009; Featherstone 2002; Krupat 2002). According to Featherstone (2002), there are nearly 200 American colleges and universities associated with the USAS movement. It is considered to be one of the largest "student-led grassroots organizations" in the entire country (Dominiguez 2009: 129).[4]

Those who participate in the USAS movement are motivated to join by certain "mobilizing grievances," which seem to be the horrendous and inhumane working conditions that some workers around the world are required to endure, with poverty-level wages, harassment, discrimination, verbal and sexual abuse, and suppression of employee organization (Snow and Soule 2010: Chapter 2; Danaher and Mark 2003; Armbruster-Sandoval 2005; Mandle 2000). Thus, the ultimate goal of this "anti-corporate activist organization" movement is to eliminate sweatshop labour and employee oppression, promote and protect workers' rights, and ensure the respectful treatment of workers, particularly in Asia and Latin America (USAS 2016; USAS Manual 2016; Dominiguez 2009: 134; Krupat 2002; Featherstone 2002). In broader terms, their goal is to achieve social and economic justice in a way that restores global democracy by limiting the dangerous powers of large, global corporations, who are their main targets (in addition to universities) (Powell and Zwolinski 2012; Danaher and Mark 2003; Krupat 2002).[5]

Furthermore, "contextual conditions" such as political opportunity and availability of resources are crucial factors affecting this movement (Snow and Soule 2010: Chapter 3). The movement is situated in the United States, where the political opportunity window for action is much wider, and political opportunity structures are much more 'open,' than in certain countries where sweatshops are situated and the workers are aggrieved. This allows the movement to be relatively more influential, as they attempt to reform policies and regulations on behalf of sweatshop workers, who are not only situated in countries were political structures are 'closed,' but who do not even have the right to unionize or pursue collective action (Snow and Soule 2010; Armbruster-Sandoval 2005).[6]

---

[4] Because it is a student movement, during the recruitment of new members, the leaders often emphasize the importance of managing time effectively between school and extra-curricular activities (Dominiguez 2009). They acknowledge that students must balance, and thus they emphasize the fact that their involvement does not have to be too extensive yet can still be meaningful (Dominiguez 2009).

[5] The university is a "corporate actor" as well, according to Featherstone (2002: 31).

[6] Although, as Esbenshade (2008) notes, social movements (especially those orchestrated by the nation's youth) in the Western world still face certain barriers, such as economic and political leverage, opposition from stakeholders, and legal constraints.

In terms of resources, USAS seems to primarily rely on "material, human, cultural and socio-organizational" resources, as outlined by Snow and Soule (2010: Chapter 3). The support and labour of other students and youth is crucial, along with monetary donations from community supporters and fundraisers (Dominiguez 2009). Furthermore, the use of the Internet and online networks are beneficial resources for the promotion of the movement. Additionally, the formal networks they create with both national and international bodies help the movement grow and prosper as an influential body (Snow and Soule 2010: Chapter 3).

Furthermore, USAS engages in a variety of tactics, from protests, sit-ins and strikes, to sweatshop fashion shows, street theater, and candle vigils (USAS Manual 2016). They are also known to set up a "clothesline" where clothing made in other countries is put on display with pictures of the working conditions within which the garment was made (USAS Manual 2016: 29). The innovation and creativity is clear in terms of tactics and strategies in this movement.

Overall, the goal of the movement is to induce change by increasing the accountability and responsibility among corporations and amending regulations to allow for higher wages and collective bargaining rights (USAS 2016; Danaher and Mark 2003; Dominiguez 2009; Ambruster-Sandoval 2005; Krupat 2002: 113; Mandle 2000). The underlying belief is that all workers, regardless of where they live, should be earning a decent, life-sustaining wage, while possessing the "collective bargaining" rights required to protect their rights and induce change when needed (USAS 2016; Esbenshade 2008; Krupat 2002; Mandle 2000: 99).

DATA AND METHODS

In order to explore the outlined research question, conclusions will be based on findings from a primary source analysis. Primary sources that will be considered include: USAS social networking profiles/sites (i.e. Facebook, Twitter), the official USAS website (www.usas.org), and any articles written by USAS members. Articles from The Daily Bruin (University of Washington), The Daily Bruin (University of California), The Scarlet & Black (Grinnell College Newspaper), The Georgetown Voice (Georgetown University) and the Nike "Just Do the Right Thing" web page, all of which were created by USAS members from various universities, will be considered.

The thesis will be tested through a process of qualitative data analysis; in particular, a "narrative analysis" of a "representative text" will be conducted on the chosen "movement-produced material" (Edwards 2014: 95). Furthermore, content analysis will be used to inform the way in which the movement frames the relevant issues in order to emphasize its grievances and gain public support. In addition, the behaviours of the movement, such as the publication and promotion of certain events, messages, and campaigns, will be observed as well.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

By analyzing social media accounts, including the Facebook page, titled "United Students Against Sweatshops," the USAS Twitter account (@USAS), and various articles written by USAS members, a number of themes appear. For one, in order to emphasize their grievances, attack is heavily directed at large corporations, who are portrayed as

being responsible for the sweatshop problem through extensive and repetitive mention of all their wrongdoings. Secondly, to mobilize support, the USAS social media accounts tend to highlight the role of student and consumer action against corporations in inducing positive change. Lastly, appeals to the emotions of the public are commonly used to both emphasize grievances and mobilize participants.

1) Attack Against Corporations

Based on the USAS social media accounts and articles, the majority of the posts tend to frame 'the sweatshop problem' as being caused by the wrongdoings of major corporations; thus, the movement tends to encourage some sort of attack against corporate actions.

For example, a post from March 2016 on the USAS Facebook page (2016) claimed that students from Virginia Tech are "running out of patience" with Nike, and that "it's time to take action" against them. The post claims that the students "won't stop until Nike is held accountable" (USAS Facebook 2016). Another post on the Facebook page claims that "outrage over Nike's labor practices is building," while another shows a photo of a former Nike worker, claiming that he had been "subject to harassment" and "fought to receive unpaid wages," while Nike "ignored" his demands (USAS Facebook 2016). In the same post, the movement highlights that such experiences are "just one of thousands" that prove "Nike can't be trusted" (USAS Facebook 2016). In fact, a number of posts repeat the claim that "Nike can't be trusted" (USAS Facebook 2016; USAS 2016). A post attacking Staples is also present on the Facebook page, with the title "Students Against Staples," claiming that Staples has entered a "shady, back-door deal" with the Postal Service and is providing low-wage, non-union work to employees (USAS Facebook 2016). USAS Twitter comments also portray a similar attitude, with quotes such as "enough is enough" in regards to the actions of large corporations (USAS Twitter 2016). From such posts, it is clear that the movement is attempting to portray a negative image around certain companies, particularly Nike.

The movement's social media accounts also frequently posted links to certain websites and articles created by its members, which were also analyzed in order to discover some of the underlying framing techniques.

The page titled "Garment Worker Solidarity" on the USAS official website notes that the USAS movement believes that "reckless business practices" are the "root causes" of sweatshops (USAS 2016). They state that the movement is currently "targeting" Nike, while providing details about their suggested wrongdoings (USAS 2016). Again, the lack of trust in the company is mentioned.

Furthermore, nearly each article frames the issue as a fight against certain corporations who engage in the exploitation of workers (Cobb and Nerkar 2016; Lukianchikov 2016; Ruse 2016; USAS 2016 – Nike Project; Ly 2015). They tend to use phrases like "campaign against," "petition against," and "strike back" against major companies or corporations – including Nike and Adidas (Lukianchikov 2016; Ruse 2016; Ly 2015). Furthermore, the articles tend to mainly emphasize what companies are doing wrong, as opposed to outlining certain problems with consumer behaviour which may perpetuate the existence of sweatshops. For instance, Lukianchikov (2016) provides a detailed diagram outlining all of the labour violations conducted on behalf of Adidas, warning the public not to "dare do business with Nike at this time" (Lukianchikov 2016). Likewise, the "Nike Do the Right Thing Project" on behalf of USAS is devoted to listing the violations committed on behalf of Nike; the onus is placed entirely on Nike, with phrases such as "the choice is up to Nike now" and "Nike, just do the right thing" (USAS 2016 –

Nike Project). However, as outlined by Cobb and Nerkar (2016), Nike is not the only corporation to "come under fire" for how it treats its workers by the movement.

2) Role of Participants – Emotional Appeal

Not surprisingly, given the title of the movement, the social media accounts tend to emphasize student and general involvement. However, they frame student involvement in a way that demonstrates and showcases their ability to make a difference and influence change. Furthermore, there seems to be an attempt to appeal to the emotions of the public in order to induce their participation.

Naturally, this theme appeared to be most prevalent on the Twitter and Facebook accounts, both being frequently-used public portals. Continuous successes on behalf of the work, events, and other initiatives hosted by the movement are posted, highlighted, and repeated. Many posts seem to spread the news about a particular campaign being launched, a "powerful" speech being given, a "demanding" protest/march in Detroit and Pittsburgh taking place, national conferences being organized, and so on (USAS Twitter 2016; USAS Facebook 2016). Also, phrases such as "VICTORY!" or "we will win" are used to portray the value of public participation and USAS initiatives on Twitter (USAS Twitter 2016). The Facebook account has similar posts as well, with photos and links, and phrases such as "SUCCESS!" or "We just won!" (USAS Facebook 2016). Likewise, the movement repeats phrases such as "global labor solidarity is the only way forward!" (USAS Facebook 2016).

The articles that were analyzed presented the issue along the lines of this theme as well. For instance, Cobb and Nerkar (2016) cite a professor that claims "student involvement is essential" in addressing the discussed issue. The article goes on to list and explain the numerous events that the movement has held and their various achievements, claiming that these successes act as an "indication of the potential power" of "student action" in not only spreading awareness, but also influencing positive transformations (Cobb and Nerkar 2016). Cobb and Nerkar (2016) also devote a section of their article to explaining the importance, strength, and impact of student action. As another USAS article states, support from the students is what is needed to "hold [their] campuses accountable" (Ruse 2016).

However, in addition to highlighting the potential for success on behalf of supporter participation, the movement also attempts to appeal to the emotions of the public in order to motivate action. To do so, many of their posts and events highlight the horrible conditions in which sweatshop workers suffer. For instance, a post on the USAS Facebook (2016) page includes a photo of a previous Nike sweatshop worker form Thailand, with the phrase "[…] 1,100 coworkers were subject to harassment and fought to receive unpaid wages" (USAS Facebook 2016). This personal-level post includes a link to a USAS web page, titled "Nike: Just Do The Right Thing, a project of United Students Against Sweatshops" (2016) (https://nikesweatshopssite.wordpress.com), which further discusses the various issues which would aggrieve the general public and motivate them to support the movement and take action. The web page cites issues such as "violence towards women," "factory fires," and "unpaid wages," perhaps in an attempt to emphasize the responsibility large corporations and provide reasons for immediate action (USAS 2016 – Nike Project). It seems as if the USAS movement is attempting to appeal to individuals' moral and ethical values in order to persuade and motivate action, particularly through the emphasis of "human rights and labour violations" (USAS 2016 – Nike Project).

DISCUSSION

The above findings mirror the conclusions reached by various scholars, who argue that USAS places considerable blame on large corporations, while framing consumer action as the ultimate solution. However, this may be problematic largely because corporations may not be entirely at fault (Greenberg and Knight 2014; Mayer 2007). Mayer (2007) argues that one needs to distinguish between "discretionary and structural exploitation" (p.605); discretionary exploitation can be deemed unacceptable and problematic; however, as Mayer (2007) argues, most sweatshops exist under "structural exploitation," meaning that the structure of the current global economy or even consumers' demands also heavily contribute to the perpetuation of sweatshop labour (Mayer 2007; also discussed by Greenberg and Knight 2004). Micheletti and Stolle (2007) add that the exploitation may not even be within the scope of corporations' responsibility. Thus, companies may realize that "taking unfair advantage" of workers may not only be the "right thing to do," but this may actually be the "lesser evil" (Mayer 2007: 605). Obviously, exploitation is wrong; however, it may sometimes be "mutually beneficial" or "harmless" (Mayer 2007: 606).[7] Therefore as Mayer (2007) attempts to argue, it might not be justified for corporations to be held entirely liable.

It appears that the USAS movement tends to intentionally and strategically ignore economic and political factors which impact the presence of sweatshops, while continuing to assume that corporations exploit workers in "discretionary ways," (Micheletti and Stolle 2007; Mayer 2007: 617; Greenfield and Knight 2004).[8] Although 'the sweatshop problem' has repeatedly been observed as a "collective obligation," anti-sweatshop movements still persist to blame large companies and encourage consumer attack (Mayer 2007: 605).

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Various theories may be used to explain the above findings, including "cultural framing" and "transnational activism" theories (Edwards 2014; Snow and Soule 2010).

Cultural Framing

As Edwards (2014) explains, the concept of a cultural "frame," was introduced by Erving Goffman, and is defined as an "interpretative schemata" that attempts to "simplify and condense" the complex world (Snow and Benford 1992 as cited in Edwards 2014: 93). In the broader sense, framing involves the process of attaching meaning to a situation or issue by associating it with a "culturally available frame" (Edwards 2014: 93); thus, these meanings are not natural or automatic, but are rather created through "interpretive processes" (Snow and Soule 2010: Chapter 2). According to Ferree and Merill (2000, as cited in Edwards 2014), "frames tell us how to think about things," which is essentially what USAS members have attempted to do (p.94). The movement has framed 'the sweatshop problem' in a way that makes the public think of it as being caused by large corporations, who should therefore be blamed and attacked until they alter their ways.

---

[7] Sweatshop workers, in the end, are better off than those who are entirely unemployed, as some corporations may argue (Mayer 2007).

[8] If minimum wages are set by a government, then multinational corporations will simply move elsewhere, leaving the people of that particular country jobless while simultaneously damaging the country's economy (Mayer 2007).

Furthermore, as Edwards explains, social movements tend to incorporate a "rhetoric of change" (Edwards 2014) – in other words, they emphasize that supporters can act to make a difference, and they should do so "now" (p.94). USAS has clearly highlighted the benefit of public action in addressing the cause, and how future action can be beneficial in inducing change.

Lastly, their use of "collective action frames" provide a diagnosis and prognosis of the situation; in other words, social movement activists promote a particular interpretation of what the issue is, who caused it, what should be done and for which reasons (Edwards 2014: 94; Greenberg and Knight 2014; Snow and Soule 2010). Often times, the public relies on the movement's "dissemination" of 'the sweatshop problem' in order to form their understandings, opinions and reactions to it (Greenberg and Knight 2014: 155). It is clear that USAS members employ this particular strategy; USAS tends to frame the sweatshop problem in a way that places blame on the wrongdoings of corporations (diagnosis), encourages and emphasizes the participation of the public as the solution (prognosis), and uses emotional appeal to motivate action (motivation) (Edwards 2014).

Furthermore, Edwards (2014) adds that "collective action frames" must be "logical, convincing, and culturally resonant" (p.95). As Snow and Soule (2010) explain, framing is dependent on the cultural context of the time. In today's neo-liberal context ruled by privatization and deregulation, powerful corporations have become major targets. In addition, human rights are deemed crucial, and so collective action or protest against larger and more powerful bodies are not uncommon (Dominiguez 2009; Ambruster- Sandoval 2005). This context may help explain why USAS frames the issue in the way it does. As Micheletti and Stolle (2007) argue, anti-sweatshop movements have succeeded in framing the issue in a way that adheres to the Western democratic culture of anti-corporate rule in order to convince consumers that they must take action to put an end to corporate domination (Featherstone 2002).

However, Powell and Zwolinski (2012) argue that corporations also engage in counter-framing, particularly by outlining how existing global and national economic conditions seem to justify the need for sweatshops. Thus, Mandle (2000) suggests that, in order for the movement to improve working and living conditions of sweatshop workers, they must advocate for the economic development of a country, given that the more developed the country, the greater the chances of workers' wages increasing (Mandle 2000). Perhaps this may shift the blame from corporations onto different targets, such as governments, contributing to a new framing technique.

Transnational Activism

Secondly, although USAS is a national movement, with partnerships all over America, it has a specific transnational aspect to it, thus exemplifying "transnational activism" (Tarrow 2006 as cited in Edwards 2014: 151). The official USAS website claims that they think the only way to put an end to sweatshops is to do it on a 'transnational scale.' The movement is based on addressing broader social, economic and political issues on a global scale by targeting the problem of sweatshops within the non-Western world. Furthermore, Cavanagh (1997) adds that in order for a labour or anti-sweatshop movement to become successful, it is now almost mandatory that they form coalitions, not only across different sectors, but across national borders (as cited in Mandle 2000: 96). In fact, this has become a major strategy of anti-sweatshop movements. They hope to create a "community of interests" not only with non-unionized sweatshop workers from around the world, but also with various powerful and influential actors that will allow for the development of an

international alliance dedicated towards eliminating sweatshops around the world (Mandle 2000: 98).

CONCLUSION

Overall, based on the findings, a number of conclusions can be drawn. For one, it is clear that the USAS movement is very much concerned with placing blame on, and triggering attack against, various corporations for their perpetuation of sweatshop labour. This signals a lack of acknowledgement, on behalf of the movement, of the role of broader economic and political structures, which not only allow, but also induce, a need for sweatshops (i.e. consumer demand, weak third-world economies) (Greenberg and Knight 2014; Mayer 2007). Secondly, although consumers are not framed as even partially responsible for 'the sweatshop problem,' they are portrayed as a crucial solution for influencing change.

Because only a small sample of USAS-produced materials was assessed, future studies may benefit from incorporating a much larger sample into the analysis in order to achieve more informative results. Future studies may also further inform the study of social movements by exploring, analyzing and comparing the framing strategies used on behalf of other student-based movements. Nonetheless, the current study may be a significant contribution to the literature regarding how movements, particularly student movements, work towards emphasizing their particular grievances and mobilizing public support – two of the most important aspects underlying social movements.

REFERENCES

Armbruster-Sandoval, Ralph. 2005. "Workers of the World Unite? The Contemporary Anti Sweatshop Movement and the Struggle for Social Justice in the Americas." *Work and Occupations* 32 (4): 464-485.

Danaher, Kevin and Jason Mark. 2003. "Insurrection: Citizen Challenges to Corporate Power."New York: Routledge.

Dominiguez, Rachel. 2009. "U.S College Student Activism in an Era of Neoliberalism: A Qualitative Study of Students Against Sweatshops." *The Australian Educational Researcher* 36(3): 125- 138.

Edwards, Gemma. 2014. *Social Movements and Protest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Esbenshade, Jill. 2008. "Going Up Against the Global Economy: New Developments in the Anti-Sweatshops Movement." *Critical Sociology* 34(3): 453-470.

Featherstone, Liza. 2002. "Students Against Sweatshops: The Making of a Movement." London; New York: Verso.

Greenberg, Josh and Graham Knight. "Framing Sweatshops: Nike, Global Production, and the American News Media." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 1(2): 151-175.

Krupat, Kitty. 2002. "Rethinking the Sweatshop: A Conversation about United Students against Sweatshops (USAS) with Charles Eaton, Marion Traub-Werner, and Evelyn Zepeda" *International Labor and Working-Class History* 61: 112-127.

Mandle, Jay, R. 2000. "The Student Anti-Sweatshop Movement: Limits and Potential." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 570(1): 92-103.

Mayer, Robert. 2007. "Sweatshops, Exploitation, and Moral Responsibility." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 38(4): 605-619.

Micheletti, Michele and Deitlind Stolle. 2007. "Mobilizing Consumers to Take Responsibility for Global Social Justice." *The Annals of the American Academy* 611: 157-175.

Powell, Benjamin and Matt Zwolinski. 2012. "The Ethical and Economic Case Against Sweatshop Labor: A Critical Assessment." *Journal Of Business Ethnics* 107(4): 449 472.

Snow, David A. and Sarah A. Soule. 2010. *A Primer on Social Movements*. New York: WW Norton & Company.

Primary Sources:

Cobb, Caitlyn and Santul Nerkar. 2016. "In Foul Trouble: Unlacing Georgetown's Relationship with Nike." *The Georgetown Voice*. Accessed March 19, 2016. http://georgetownvoice.com/2016/02/29/81060/

Lukianchikov, Aanastasia. 2016. "Anastasia Lukianchikov: UCLA Athletics Must Examine Brand Accountability In Apparel Deals." *The Daily Bruin, The University of California*. Accessed March 19, 2016. http://dailybruin.com/2016/01/08/anastasia-lukianchikov-uclaathletics-must-examine-brand-accountability-in-apparel-deals/

Ly, Yemas. 2015. United Students Against Sweatshops Take on Nike." *The Daily of the University of Washington*. Accessed March 19, 2016. Web.

Ruse, Veronica. 2016. "Students Protest Nike Labour Practices." *The Scarlet & Black Grinnell College Newspaper*. Accessed March 19, 2016. Web.

United Students Against Sweatshops. "Campus Organizing Manual." Accessed March 18, 2016. PDF. http://www.campusactivism.org/server-new/uploads/ Campus_ Org_ Manual-05.pdf

United Students Against Sweatshops. 2016. "Former Nike Worker Joins Global Labor Leaders At United Nations." *Nike: Just Do The Right Thing – A Project of United Students Against Sweatshops*. Accessed March 20, 2016. https://nikesweatshopssite.wordpress.com/2016/03/16/ former-nike-worker-joins-global-labor-leaders-at-united-nations/

United Students Against Sweatshops. 2016. Official Website. Accessed March 18-20, 2016. http://usas.org

Barriers to Re-entry and Reintegration: Understanding the 'Ins' and 'Outs'

by Kurtis J. Samchee

ABSTRACT

This essay is concerned with the barriers to re-entry and reintegration female prisoners face upon release. It critically examines how parole conditions structure re-entry and the overarching implications of a criminal record on this process. I argue that it is not possible to fully understand these barriers without the context of incarceration itself, namely, the psychological and behavioural alterations that prisoners undergo while in prison. This essay consists of two parts. Part one discusses these alterations with reference to Gresham Sykes' 'pains of imprisonment' and Erving Goffman's 'total institutions'. I claim that prison exposure causes inmates to adopt an 'insider' self that is often carried back into the community. In the second part of this essay, I turn to the social complications ex-inmates must overcome in order to successfully reintegrate. My argument here is that their 'insider self', in conjunction with the mark of a criminal record, can, and often does, exacerbate these social complications. I pay particular attention to three aspects: employment, housing, and addiction and substance abuse. Finally, I will conclude with some brief remarks on the complexity of this issue.

Almost all prisoners receiving a carceral sentence will return back to society at some point. In order to prevent what some scholars refer to as the 'revolving door' of recidivism (Padfield and Maruna 2006; Harrison 2001), correctional institutions must prioritize the successful transition of ex-prisoners back into the community. As an independent tribunal, the Parole Board of Canada (2016b) acts on behalf of these institutions in an attempt to facilitate the "timely reintegration of offenders as law-abiding citizens." Parole thus serves as a critical gateway for an inmate's successful re-entry[9]. The purpose of this essay will be to identify and critically evaluate the barriers that female ex-prisoners face upon the release from prison. It is important to note at the outset that the current discussion largely ignores the specific challenges marginalized and minority groups are subject to. My objective here, is, instead, to provide a generalized account of the difficulties women face as a whole. Furthermore, I will examine how parole conditions structure re-entry and the implications of a criminal record on the re-entry process. I argue that it is not possible to fully understand these barriers without the context of incarceration itself, namely, the psychological and behavioural alterations that prisoners undergo while in prison. This essay consists of two parts. Part one discusses these alterations with reference to Gresham Sykes' 'pains of imprisonment' and Erving Goffman's 'total institutions'. I claim that the

[9] see (Justice Laws Website 2017) for a comprehensive review of Canada's consolidated Act on corrections and conditional release.

experience of prison causes inmates to adopt an 'insider' self that is often carried back into the community. In the second part of this essay, I turn to the social complications ex-inmates must overcome in order to successfully reintegrate. My argument here is that their 'insider self', in conjunction with the mark of a criminal record, can, and often does, exacerbate these social complications. I pay particular attention to three aspects: employment, housing, and addiction and substance abuse. Finally, I will conclude with some brief remarks on the complexity of this issue.

FROM THE OUTSIDE IN: THE PENAL TRANSFORMATION

Pains of Imprisonment

To understand what conditions ex-offenders face upon re-entry, it is critical to first contextualize imprisonment itself. Sykes (1958) identified what he described as the *pains of imprisonment* and outlined five critical aspects related to deprivation. First, Sykes identifies the deprivation of liberty. Prisoners are not only confined to the general premises of the penal institution but may even be further limited to an isolation cell for up to 23 hours a day[10]. Thus, the loss of liberty applies to both the confinement *to* and *within* the penal institution. Additionally, prisoners are almost completely cut off from any social ties they have outside the prison which, as we shall see, is especially troublesome for mothers. Second, prisoners are deprived of goods and services. Although it is true that the prisoner's basic survival needs must be met (e.g., food, clothing, water, shelter, medical care, etc.), the standards of living established within prison are considerably less qualitative than in the free world (Kennedy 2013; Schept 2013; Bosworth 1999). This calls for the psychologically demanding task of having to readjust existing standards to fit those established by the penal institution. Third, Sykes identified that prisoners are faced with the loss of heterosexual relationships. Most often denied access to conjugal visits, prisoners must face the psychological ruin caused not only by involuntary celibacy but the anxieties inflicted on their femininity (see Bosworth 1999). It is sometimes the case that the combination of these factors translates into temporary homosexual relations or even valid lesbian, bisexual, or queer identities (Hensley, Tweksbury, and Koscheski 2001; Koscheski and Hensley 2001) which, as Sears (2010) argues, complicates matters of sexual agency. The fourth deprivation Sykes identified in relation to the pains of imprisonment is the deprivation of autonomy. Prisoners no longer have a 'voice' and are forced to comply with the institution's regime (i.e., subject to *mandatory* programming and/or medication, see Kilty 2012; Hannah-Moffat 1995) or be inflicted with the denial of parole, hence an increase in the overall time spent in prison. Lastly, prisoners are faced with the deprivation of security. Not only are prisoners subject to physical and sexual violence from other inmates but in some extreme cases, this may even include the correctional officers themselves (Rembert and Henderson 2014). Taken together, these deprivations cause prison to be a *painful* and traumatic experience for women. What is more, 'returning captives' (Hagan and Coleman 2001:352) are forced to deal with the consequences of this exposure that lasts well beyond their initial sentence.

[10] see Haney (2008; 2003) on 'supermax' prisons, also Sapers (2007) on the criminal investigation of Ms. Ashley Smith.

Identity Dissociation

From another perspective, Goffman (1961) identified how institutions that serve to isolate, enclose, and control all aspects of the participant's life can have profound effects on self-identification. Acting as a totalitarian institution, the central feature is the breakdown of barriers between major spheres of life—namely, sleep, work, and play. Individuals are brought together in the same place, are treated alike, and being under the same authority, are required to conduct these spheres in close proximity with one another (Esposito 2015). Further, the phasing and scheduling of the individual's day are created under strict impositions and in accordance with the institution's overall aim (see Foucault 1975). One of the most telling consequences of these structural constraints is the modification process prisoners must undergo in order to successfully assimilate. Going into prison, inmates naturally carry with them preconceived and habitual tendencies associated with being free members of society. However, as outlined above, prison forces individuals to drop or be stripped of their 'outside self' and modify, conform to or adopt the superimposed 'inside self', ultimately undergoing, what Moran (2012:574) describes as a "corporeal inscription". Moreover, Haney and Zimbardo (1998) demonstrated how this process of *deindividualization* can cause individual dispositions to succumb to social forces. Using the basement of the University of Stanford's Psychology Department as a mock prison, these researchers were able to effectively show how individuals shape their norms and form their identity in accordance with their assigned role[11]. Applied within an actual prison setting, inmates adopt their new role as prison 'insider' after being stripped of their 'outsider' status through symbolic acts of deindividualization (e.g., number assignment, forfeiture of possessions). What is more, this adopted role is further reinforced when prisoners must develop their own 'survival strategies' (Bosworth 1999) and hence modify their persona, attitudes, beliefs, and values. Align with this, Contreras (2012) recalls one of his ethnography participants go through a "monstrous transformation" (p.83) while incarcerated, recounting how imprisonment caused his participant, at times, to be unrecognizable. As Goffman first outlined and as discussed here, it is clear that the institution itself has the power to shape the inmate's behaviour, and ultimately, to transform their identity. This issue becomes especially troublesome for inmates when they find themselves unable to transition back to their 'outsider' self.

FROM THE INSIDE OUT: STIGMA AND SOCIETAL REVERSION

Employment

One common parole condition imposed on inmates upon release, or, the inevitable outcome they are faced with after their sentence is the maintenance and/or seeking of employment (Brown 2016; Parole Board of Canada 2016b). As first discussed by Boshier and Johnson (1974), and then later confirmed in a comparative study conducted by Pager (2003), the mark of a criminal record carries a harmful stigma. Pager adopted an

[11] Through random assignment, the participants in the study were given the role of either 'guard' or 'prisoner'. These researchers went to great lengths to replicate and preserve the respective 'authenticity' of these roles, even going so far as to "arrest" and undergo the booking procedures (e.g., fingerprints, mugshots) with the assigned prisoners with the help of the local Palo Alto police department.

experimental audit approach where she used matched pairs of individuals and applied for real entry-level jobs. In order to assess the degree to which the criminal record affected the applicant's chances for employment, she controlled the 'ex-inmate' variable among the matched pairs. Her findings were clear, the applicants who had posed as ex-prisoners erected a barrier[12] to employment. Although these studies used male subjects, the results are efficacious in contextualizing the broader employment disparities women face overall (Beichner and Rabe-Hemp 2014). In Canada, the unemployment rate for women has been consistently higher than that of men since 1990 (Statistics Canada 2015) where women in the United States face similar circumstances (Razzu and Singleton 2016). Ex-inmates are also disqualified from certain licensing applications such as a hairdressers permit (Western, Kling, and Weiman 2001). This, combined with the 'lost time' and/or professional 'skill erosion' caused by incarceration can further reduce the limited employment opportunities this group faces. Western and his colleagues (2001) note that although some penal institutions offer employment while being imprisoned, this opportunity does not extend to all inmates simply because there are not enough jobs available. Adversely, the jobs that are offered require little technical skills that negate any real-world transference. Taken together, the mark of a criminal record has a considerable negative effect on women's future employment opportunities in an already uphill battle. Unemployment thus acts as a barrier in two critical ways: causing a direct conflict with existing parole conditions and undermining the efficacy of finding a job post-release.

Housing

A critical component to fulfilling parole conditions, as well as the subsidiary role lifestyle stability plays in maintaining it, is obtaining shelter (Turnbull and Hannah-Moffat 2009). Housing provides ex-inmates a place to store their possessions as well as establish a sense of personal security. This sense of wellbeing extends physically and mentally as well. Lee, Tyler, and Wright (2010) find that most health problems are unevenly distributed within the homeless population—including mortality rates. Housing also plays a role in obtaining employment, filing legal documents, and opening a bank account as all these, through the process of administrative approval, require a mailing address. A previous conviction also plays a role here, too. Evans and Porter (2015) report that ex-inmates are often disqualified (or at least face the possibility of disqualification) from private tenancy if their criminal history is discovered. As such, tenant background checks provide a discriminative avenue that landlords can exploit (Pager and Shepherd 2008). The issue of disqualification from tenancy extends to the public sphere as well. Ex-offenders are disqualified from receiving public assistance in some instances (Evans and Porter 2015) which, when coupled with unemployment, can increase their chance of ending up homeless. To complicate matters further, female offenders may also face child-rearing responsibilities upon release[13]. Qualitative research reveals that one of the most compelling concerns that incarcerated women face is the well-being of their children (Brown and Bloom 2009; Richie 2001). In essence, female offenders face a 'double-burden' when compared to their male counterparts with respect to both finding housing and resuming custody of their children.

[12] "Barrier" was operationalized by (fewer) call-backs by the potential employers.

[13] Statistics show that 2/3 of incarcerated women had sole custody of their children before incarceration (Codd 2007; Travis, McBride, and Solomon 2005)

This issue complicates the reintegration process for female ex-offenders as the social and economic stability provided by shelter and child reunification is difficult to obtain.

Addiction and Substance Abuse

Parole conditions that require the abstinence of drugs can be especially troublesome for women dealing with addictions. As identified by Wichmann and Taylor (2004), a large number of federally sentenced women are indicted for drug-related crimes which more commonly stem from series of untreated long-term substance abuse problems. The statistics surrounding recidivism and untreated substance abuse are striking: 95% return to drug use, 68% are rearrested, and 25% are sentenced to prison for a new crime[14]. Richie (2001) effectively explores three particularly problematic components regarding these statistics. The first is the lack of overall access to chemical dependency treatment programs. Treatment programs are scarce both while being incarcerated[15] as well as upon release (Maurutto and Hannah-Moffat 2006). Second, the effectiveness of the programs themselves has been inconclusive. Recent studies revealed that two out of every three patients seeking substance abuse treatment had received previous treatment (Miller, Miller, and Barnes 2016; Lopez-Goni et al. 2014). Whether this was the result of a new addiction or the ineffectiveness of previous treatments, the results suggest that the treatment of substance abuse and addiction is a complicated matter. Lastly, the third component that creates a barrier for females with previous drug addictions upon re-entry is the unnatural setting in which they take place. Although drug treatment programs usually offer a series of avenues for treatment (e.g., counselling, behaviour therapy, psychotherapy), the cornerstone for success relies on supportive networks (see: Taxman, Simpson, and Piquero 2002). These techniques offer ex-offenders valuable insight into their addictive behaviours while they are in the company of counsellors and like-minded individuals, but may be unable to safeguard the potential for relapse when transferred back into 'trigger' environments (Maisto et al. 2013:370). Prison thus serves as a "*de facto* detox centre" (Kilty 2012:164) for women with no access to effective drug treatment programs. As is the case, issues related to addiction and substance abuse pose a major complication to community reintegration by heightening the chances that ex-offenders will resume their previous patterns of illicit chemical dependency and hence recidivate.

CONCLUSION

Although I have tried to frame the issues that obstruct the successful re-entry and reintegration of female ex-inmates as distinct, the fact of the matter is that these social complications are not mutually exclusive. As such, this group may face one such complication at a time or be faced with many all at once. Faced with numerous complications, the mark of a criminal record can serve as an exponential detriment to successful re-entry. Parole conditions often serve as an aggravating factor for recidivism as ex-inmates are often ill-equipped to fulfill these conditions due to the lack of access to proper treatment and programming—among others. As discussed, it is important to not only assess the barriers that ex-inmates face upon re-entry but also how imprisonment

[14] As cited in (Belenko 2006), all figures are U.S.

[15] see Begun et al. (2009). These researchers report that fewer than 15% of female inmates receive substance abuse treatment in jail.

causes identity reformation and psychological scarring. Thus, going "in" does not carry the connotative equivalence of getting "out".

REFERENCES

Begun, Audrey L., Susan J. Rose, Thomas P. LeBel, and Barbara A. Teske-Young. 2009. "Implementing Substance Abuse Screening and Brief Motivational Intervention with Women in Jail." *Journal of Social Work Practice in the Addictions* 9(1):113–131.

Beichner, Dawn, Cara Rabe-Hemp. 2014. "'I Don't Want to Go Back to That Town': Incarcerated Mothers and their Return Home to Rural Communities." *Critical Criminology* 22(4): 527–543.

Belenko, Steven. 2006. "Assessing Released Inmates for Substance Abuse Related Service Needs." *Crime & Delinquency* 52(1):94–113.

Boshier, Roger, and Derek Johnson. 1974. "Does Conviction Affect Employment Opportunities?" *British Journal of Criminology* 14(3):264–268.

Bosworth, Mary. 1999. "Voices of Agency, Voices of Resistance: Negotiating Power Relations in Prison." Pp. 125–153 in *Engendering Resistance: Agency and Power in Women's Prisons*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Brown, Marilyn, and Barbara Bloom. 2009. "Reentry and Renegotiating Motherhood: Maternal Identity and Success on Parole." *Crime & Delinquency* 55(2):313–336.

Brown, Shelly L. 2016. "Encouraging Community Release and Appropriate Supervision." *Correctional Service Canada*. Retrieved November 10, 2016 (www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/forum/e131/e131n-eng.shtml)

Codd, Helen. 2007. "Prisoner's Families and Resettlement: A Critical Analysis." *The Howard Journal* 46(3):255–263.

Contreras, Randol. 2012. *The Stickup Kids: Race, Drugs, Violence, and the American Dream*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Craig, Haney. 2003. "Mental Health Issues in Long-term Solitary and Supermax Confinement." *Crime & Delinquency* 49(1):124–156.

Esposito, Maurizio. 2015. "Women in Prison: Unhealthy Lives and Denied Well-being between Loneliness and Seclusion." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 63(3):137–158.

Evans, Douglas, and Jeremy Porter. 2015. "Criminal History and Landlord Rental Decisions: A New York Quasi-experimental Study." *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 11(1):21–42.

Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Toronto, CA: Random House Inc.

Goffman, Erving. 1961. "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions." Pp.1–124 in *Asylums*. New York: Anchor Books.

Parole Board of Canada 2016a. "Home". *Government of Canada*. Retrieved March 14, 2017 (https://www.canada.ca/en/parole-board.html)

Parole Board of Canada 2016b. "Decision-Making Policy Manual for Board Members." Second Edition No. 6. *Government of Canada*. Retrieved November 10, 2016 (https://www.canada.ca/en/parole-board/corporate/publications-and-forms/decision-making-policy-manual-for-board-members.html#p7_1)

Justice Laws Website. 2017. "Corrections and Conditional Release Act" (S.C. 1992, c.20). *Government of Canada*. Retrieved March 14, 2016 (http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-44.6/)

Hagan, John, and Juleigh P. Coleman. 2001. "Returning Captives of the American War on Drugs: Issues of Community and Family Reentry." *Crime and Delinquency* 47:352–367.

Haney, Craig. 2008. "A Culture of Harm: Taming the Dynamics of Cruelty in Supermax Prisons." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 35(8):956–984.

Haney, Craig, and Philip Zimbardo. 1998. "The Past and Future of U.S. Prison Policy." *American Psychologist* 53(7):709–727.

Hannah-Moffat, Kelly. 1995. "Feminine Fortresses: Woman-Centred Prisons?" *The Prison Journal* 75(2):135–164.

Harrison, Lana. 2001. "The Revolving Prison Door for Drug-Involved Offenders: Challenges and Opportunities." *Crime & Delinquency* 47(3):462–485.

Hensley, Christopher, Richard Tweksbury, and Mary Koscheski. 2001. "Masturbation Uncovered: Autoeroticism in a Female Prison." *The Prison Journal* 81(4):491–501.

Kennedy, Liam. 2013. "'Longtermer Blues': Penal Politics, Reform, and Carceral Experiences at Angola." *Punishment & Society* 15(3):304–322.

Kilty, Jennifer M. 2012. "'It's like they don't want you to get better': Psy Control of Women in the Carceral Context." *Feminism & Psychology* 22(2):162–182.

Koscheski, Mary, and Christopher Hensley. 2001. "Inmate Homosexual Behavior in a Southern Female Correctional Facility." *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 25(2):269–277.

Lee, Barret A., Kimberly A. Tyler, and James D. Wright. 2010. "The New Homelessness Revisited." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:501–521.

Lopez-Goni, Jose, Javier Fernandez-Montalvo, Raul Cacho, and Alfonso Arteaga. 2014. "Profile of Addicted Patients Who Reenter Treatment Programs." *Substance Abuse* 35(2):176–183.

Maisto, Stephen A., Mark Galizio, Gerard J. Connors, Shannon Maheu, and Anjanie McCarthy. 2013. *Drug Use and Abuse*. Boston, MA: Nelson Education Ltd.

Maurutto, Paula, and Kelly Hannah-Moffat. 2006. "Assembling Risk and The Restructuring of Penal Control." *British Journal of Criminology* 46:438–454.

Moran, Dominique. 2012. "Prisoner Reintegration and the Stigma of Prison Time Inscribed on the Body." *Punishment and Society* 14(5):564–583.

Miller, Holly V., J. M. Miller, and J. C. Barnes. 2016. "Reentry Programming for Opioid and Opiate Involved Female Offenders: Findings from A Mixed Methods Evaluation." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 46:129–136.

Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(5): 937–975.

Pager, Devah, and Hana Shepherd. 2008. "The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34:181–209.

Padfield, Nicola, and Shadd Maruna. 2006. "The Revolving Door at the Prison Gate: Exploring the Dramatic Increase in Recalls to Prison." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 6(3):329–352.

Razzu, Giovanni, and Carl Singleton. 2016. "Gender and the Business Cycle: An Analysis of Labour Markets in the US and UK." *Journal of Macroeconomics* 47:131–146.

Rembert, David, and Howard Henderson. 2014. "Correctional Officer Excessive Use of Force: Civil Liability under Section 1983." *The Prison Journal* 94(2):198–219.

Richie, Beth E. 2001. "Challengers Incarcerated Women Face as They Return to Their Communities: Findings from Life History Interviews." *Crime & Delinquency* 47(3):368–389.

Sapers, Howard. 2007. "A Preventable Death." *Office of the Correctional Investigator*. Retrieved November 10, 2016 (http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/pdf/oth-aut/oth-aut20080620-eng.pdf)

Schept, Judah. 2013. "'A Lockdown Facility... with the Feel of a Small, Private College': Liberal Politics, Jail Expansion, and the Carceral Habitus." *Theoretical Criminology* 17(1):71–88.

Sears, Clare. 2010. "Introduction: Sexuality, Criminalization, and Social Control." *Social Justice* 37(1):1–6.

Statistics Canada. 2015. "Paid Work." Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report Retrieved November 10, 2016 (http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11387-eng.htm)

Sykes, Gresham. M. 1958. "The Pains of Imprisonment." Pp.63–83 in *The Society of Captives*: *A Study of Maximum Security Prison*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Taxman, Faye S., Sally Simpson, and Nicole L. Piquero. 2002. "Calibrating and Measuring Theoretical Integration in Drug Treatment Programs." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 30(3):159–173.

Travis, Jeremy, Elizabeth C. McBride, and Amy L. Solomon. 2005. "Families Left Behind: The Hidden Costs of Incarceration and Reentry." *Urban Institute Justice Policy Centre* 1:1–12.

Turnbull, Sarah, and Kelly Hannah-Moffat. 2009. "Under These Conditions." *British Journal of* Criminology 49:1–20.

Western, Bruce, Jeffrey R. Kling, and David F. Weiman. 2001. "The Labor Market Consequences of Incarceration." *Crime & Delinquency* 47(3):410–427.

Wichmann, Cherami, and Kelly Taylor. 2004. "Federally Sentenced Women in Administrative Segregation: A Descriptive Analysis." *Correctional Service of Canada*. Retrieved November 10, 2016 (http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/domino/reports/nsf/html/20030404ce.html)

Where are the Mothers' Groups? A Pilot Study in Toronto

by Jamilah Dei Sharpe and Maleeha Iqbal

ABSTRACT

This article examines mothering groups from a sociological perspective by surveying their intended and unintended effects on society. The first phase of our study was to identify a range of different characteristics among local mothering groups such as, the characteristics of the participating women, the social bonds created, the location of the group, whether it is private or state-sponsored and groups that are in-person versus online. In the second phase, we scrubbed the literature to uncover theoretical explanations. The third phase was to geo-spatially map the range of mothering groups found in the Toronto, Peel, York, Durham, Halton, Hamilton, and Waterloo regions.

We discovered that the social context of mothering groups varies depending on the demographic characteristics of the mothers (i.e. age, race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality and socio-economic status) and the structure and intent of the mothering group (i.e. for fit moms, moms with postpartum depression and other health concerns, entrepreneur moms, baking moms, vegan moms, etc.). We interpret that these factors alter the potential social influence of mothers groups because first, their demographic characteristics reveal different needs and access to societal resources. Second, each type of mother's group constructs the meaning of its group differently and has a different process of inclusion and exclusion in regards to the women that are encouraged to join these groups.

INTRODUCTION

Mothers' groups are formal and informal groups of postpartum women who join together on a regular basis to share parenting-related knowledge and, in many cases, emotional and social support. These groups have emerged in Canada at least partly because of the availability and uptake of formal parental leaves. Epidemiological evidence shows that, on an individual level, participation in a mothers' group has positive mental and health effects for postpartum women (Adams, Bailey, Montgomery and Mossey 2012; Almog, Balbierz, Howell, Martin and Negron 2013). While the individual-level benefits are clear, the broader social impact of mothers' groups is less clear. This probes the question: do mothers' groups produce intentional or unintentional gains for communities more broadly as well?

In Toronto, there are examples of mothers' groups, initially formed for postpartum socialization, that engage in civic work like neighbourhood revitalization, refugee sponsorship, and local fundraising. Social life in Toronto, however, has increasingly polarized around axes of inequality pertaining to income, class, immigration status, race, ethnicity, and religion (Hulchanski 2015; 2010). Given rising levels of inequity in the city, we would expect any positive outcomes associated with mothers' groups to be deeply entwined with, and shaped by social inequality.

Our broader research: (1) identifies group- and civic-level outcomes that may emerge out of mothers' groups; and (2) understands how social inequality (i.e. immigrant status, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, disability, and developed environment/geography) shapes these outcomes. An empirical study of mothers' groups offers a new pathway into the debate on civic engagement by identifying specific, face-to-face windows of opportunity produced through culture, gender, technology, the life course, place, and policy. For this article we will be offering preliminary discoveries from the first step of our pilot study: mapping the presence of mothers' groups in Toronto with special attention to the unequal vectors around which they are shaped.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature compiled for this research revealed that mothers' support groups influence the internal states of the women involved, and the greater social and political world. It displayed that a mothers' group is not just a space where women gather for company, rather it is also a space that fosters the formation of (1) social bonds; (2) inequalities; and (3) the construction, maintenance, and legitimization of identities.

SOCIAL BONDS

The literature presents mothers' groups as environments where friendships and social bonds are developed. According to Posmontier and Waite's (2011) social energy exchange theory, social connections within mothers' groups can have a societal impact since they enhance women's intra-energy (i.e. self-esteem, confidence, and happiness). It is suggested that women experience more social support, resources and opportunities when they are internally confident because they emit positive energy that attracts their peers and social institutions (Posmontier and Waite 2011). According to Bourdieu (1986), Posmonteir and Waite (2011), Sabhlok (2011) and Taylor (1998) these social bonds formed can enhance an individuals social mobility by acting as a form of social, cultural or cognitive capital.

In a discussion by Bourdieu (1986), the relationship between social bonds and social capital was explained as the process by which individuals collectively exchange resources amongst each other (i.e. emotionally, practically or economically) that can enhance the social position and mobility of the individuals involved (Boudieu 1986). Additionally, Boudieu (1986) has discussed social bonds as a form of cultural capital, whereby building interpersonal relationships can cause social mobility based on whether they are regarded highly by society (Boudieu 1986). For example, building a bond with a celebrity or someone with high social status will increase the individual's cultural capital more than their bond with a low-status person (Bourdieu 1986). In light of this research, an example of cultural capital would be women that experience social mobility from their participation in a mother's group that is idolized by society. While, they may experience social capital if they build strong bonds within their mother's group that fosters a reciprocal exchange of resources.

Furthermore, Sabhlok (2011) attributes the development of cognitive social capital as the driving force behind the enhancement to the quality of life and civic engagement of rural Indian women in self-help groups. In her study, she defines cognitive social capital similar to Bourdieu's (1986) *social capital*, except with a sole focus on monetary exchanges and the role of *trust* in fostering social mobility (Sabhlok 2011). According to Sabhlok (2011)

women in support groups build a significant degree of trust amongst each other because of their similar challenges; that from her observations have developed into reciprocal exchanges of emotional and financial support. She highlights that this support helped these women to escape from their impoverished social positions and motivated many to engage in entrepreneurship and methods to support other rural women within their communities (Sabhlok 2011).

Lastly, Verta Taylor (1998) provides another example of the relationship between the societal influence of women's groups and social through her discussion of the 1980s postpartum depression self-help movement (PDHM). According to Taylor (1998), the PDHM was motivated by women from postpartum depression (PPD) groups who yearned for mental health state policy change. That is, the bonds that these women created within previous PPD support groups inspired a collective movement for PPD policy change, an increase of PPD awareness, and support sites (Taylor 1998). These efforts changed PPD policies and resulted in the formation of two reputable organizations called Depression After Delivery and Postpartum Depression International (Taylor 1998). We infer that the development and degree of social bonds that women create within mothering groups will determine their likelihood in engaging in society and the type of civic externalities that they will produce or contribute to.

INEQUALITIES

The literature revealed that there are a multitude of social, economic, cultural, gendered and racial inequalities present within and between mothers' groups. For instance, the available government resources and a women's willingness to seek medical and/or social support varies based on their socioeconomic status, cultural values, ethnicities, and sexualities. According to Flanders et al. (2016) lesbian and bisexual women minimally seek medical assistance or have assistance available for mental health challenges due to the extreme societal stigma that is against their sexual orientation. Other scholars have highlighted that most social services within North America target middle-class white women, which marginalize women from the minority population (Almog et al. 2013;Goyel et al. 2012). This is a common these in the critical literature on mother's groups. On another note, Almog et al (2013) identified that mother's have different challenges based on race and socioeconomic status, whereby black and Hispanic mothers' were shown to be most challenged with affording childcare; their white counterparts be a result of being unable to afford childcare, unlike their white middle-class counterparts.

Regarding culture, research by Goyal et al. (2012) highlights the lack of help-seeking behaviour exhibited by Asian Canadian women that participate in their traditional cultural practice called "doing the month." According to Goyal et al. (2012), after giving birth, it is traditional in many parts of Asia for a woman's family to take care of household duties for a month while the mother adjusts to parenthood. Although this practice reveals the positive familial support that Asian women have, Goyal et al. (2012) argue that this practice restrains many women from seeking medical help for motherhood-related mental health challenges. Also, the presumption that Asian women are supported by their families hinders proactive state involvement in investigating their health challenges (Goyal et al. 2012).

Moreover, the differential experiences of women based on race was further illustrated by Jones and Warner (2011) as well as Maharaj (1999). According to Jones and Warner (2011), most women's groups are targeted to the needs of white women. By studying the depressive symptoms of Black women in both racially homogenized and mixed

groups, they reported greater reduced symptoms in racially homogenous groups. Jones and Warner (2011) explained that this results from black women feeling more comfortable with other vulnerable women that may have the same lived experiences, societal regard, and challenges. On another note, Maharaj (1999) examined the Canadian history of women's movements and race, where he uncovered that they have all been led by white women. He also identified that policy reform that has been implemented because of these movements has largely neglected the needs of non-white women (Maharaj 1999). We infer that a women's social positions, race, culture, access to resources, and help-seeking behaviours are key factors in determining the type of civic externalities that they would produce.

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, MAINTENANCE, AND LEGITIMIZATION

To provide a holistic account of the social impacts of mothers' groups, we must discuss the western ideal of motherhood. In the context of North America, a "good" mother is typically Eurocentric, and represented as a self-less, nurturing, heterosexual, and feminine woman. As stated by O'Reilly (2006), this is a patriarchal construction of motherhood that also contradicts the overwhelming proportion of new mothers (across all cultures, ethnicities, and sexualities) that are documented to be struggling with mental health issues and need or deserve mothering support. However, the norm image and ideal "mother" is difficult to separate ourselves from, as it is embedded in our values and socialization, and reflected in public policy, too. According to O'Reilly (2006), feminist theories that have historically sought to empower mothers away from patriarchal ideals, have been unable to extend the concept of mother empowerment outside of mothers' stereotyped roles of solely catering to their children. Thus, this study presents literature on the ways in which the identity of being a mother and woman is constructed based on race, culture, ethnicity, sexuality, and any other emerging factors, as well as the societal involvement of women.

The scholars Kauppie and Shaikh (2015), and Aridiles et al (2013) discuss the overlap of womanhood and motherhood in women's identity construction process. Kauppi and Shaikh (2015) illustrate how the diagnosis of PPD has influenced how women construct their identities. That is, they state that the PPD diagnosis allowed mothers that experienced negative feelings to escape being labelled as "bad mothers" by assuming the role of a mentally ill individual (Kauppi and Shaikh 2015). Still, following the abundance of state intervention to "cure" women of these negative feelings, the belief that being a mother and feeling discomfort was unnatural, persisted (Kauppi and Shaikh 2015). In the research by Ardiles et al. (2013), first and second generation Canadian immigrant women were shown to have differential interpretations of motherhood. First generation women were claimed to interpret motherhood as an enhancement of their identities, but were disappointed with the support they received in Canada (Ardiles et al. 2013). On the other hand, second generation women viewed motherhood as an impediment to their sense of self and were disappointed that they could not live up to the Canadian stereotype of motherhood being a pleasurable experience (Ardiles et al. 2013).

METHODOLOGY

POPULATION OF INTEREST

The study population consists of mothers' groups in the Toronto, Peel, York, Halton, Durham, Hamilton, and Waterloo regions that meet on a regular basis. These mothers' groups are composed of individuals from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, ethnicities, races, sexualities, and ages. Both private (i.e. organized by private citizens) and public (i.e. organized by the government or local agencies) mothers' groups are included. Examples of private groups are exercise studios, online chat rooms, neighbourhood groups, and private childbirth education centres; whereas examples of public groups are the Toronto Public Health, the Ontario Early Years Centre, and the Massey Centre. Additionally, both in-person and online mothers' groups are included.

Non-probability purposive sampling[16] was employed to locate mothers' groups. Mothers' groups were found using *Google* and *Facebook*. Search terms included: "Toronto mothers' groups," "postpartum groups Toronto," "online mothers' group," "public moms' group," and "private moms' group." To determine if members of online groups resided in our regions of interest, keywords indicating a location (e.g. a neighbourhood, city, or municipality name) were searched for on the website or forum. Of the 361 mothers' groups found, 151 were state-sponsored groups and 210 were private groups. Additionally, of all groups, 56 were online groups, 299 were groups held in person, and 6 groups were both online and in-person groups. Regarding regions, most groups (142) were situated in Toronto, followed by Peel (58), York (33), Halton (25), Durham (24), Waterloo (15), and Hamilton (8).

DATA SOURCE

Using content analysis, a range of mothers' groups' websites and forums were analyzed for inclusion in the sample. In order to draw patterns and trends from the 361 mothers' groups found, a database was compiled using Google Sheets. In the database, all mothers' groups were organized under each of six categories: (1) name of mothers' group; (2) private or state-sponsored group; (3) in-person or online group, or both; (4) region of group; (5) address of group; and (6) type of group (e.g. mental health support, social support, etc.). Additionally, all non-online mothers' groups were geospatially mapped using Google Maps.

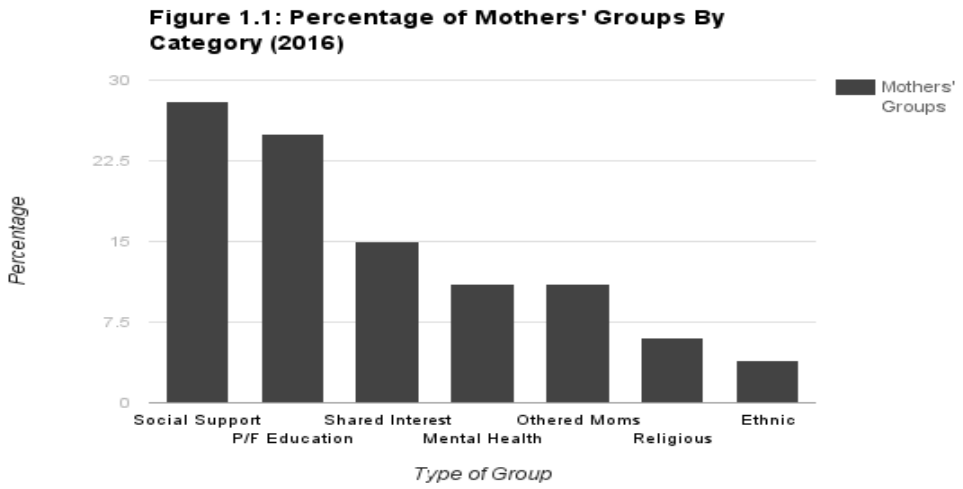
FINDINGS

TYPES OF MOTHERS' GROUPS

Three themes emerged in our data of mothers' groups: decreasing parenting challenges; destigmatizing mothering challenges; and taking breaks from mothering roles. These themes were revealed through seven common types of mothers' groups found in the data: (1) social support groups; (2) parent or family education groups; (3) mental health support groups; (4) shared interest groups; (5) othered moms' groups; (6) ethnic groups; and (7) religious groups. The most common group types were social support and parent or family education groups. Both made up 53% of all mothers' groups. The least common groups were religious and ethnic groups, which made up 10% of all mothers' groups. Shared

[16] In non-probability purposive sampling, the researcher seeks specific predefined groups. In this case, the researchers were specifically seeking online and in-person mothers' groups in the Toronto, Peel, York, Durham, Halton, Waterloo, and Hamilton regions.

interest, mental health support, and othered moms' groups were relatively equal in size, making up 37% of all mothers' groups.



Social Support Groups

The first type of group noticed in the data was the social support group. This group seemed to allow mothers to meet, connect, and instigate friendships, as well as share stories and advice. The majority of social support groups that we located were inclusive, allowing different types of mothers to join the group. However, a few of these groups were exclusive, based on region of residence, family dynamics, and stage of motherhood. Time spent in these groups consisted of taking part in social outings and supporting each other through general advice.

Parent or Family Education Groups

Parent or family education groups appeared to introduce moms to programs and classes that provided parenting-related learning opportunities, while allowing moms to bond with their child and other moms. Classes featured discussions led by local experts and learning activities. Popular topics included parenting strategies, health and wellness, child development, healthy pregnancies, and infant care.

Mental Health Support Groups

Mental health support groups were seen as a space for mothers suffering from any type of mental illness during their prenatal or postnatal stage to receive support from professionals, as well as share their experiences with other moms facing similar challenges. Types of mental illnesses experienced by mothers included postpartum, perinatal, and antenatal depressions; anxiety; and mood disorders.

Shared Interest Groups

Shared interest groups appeared to be based on mothers' common interests. The majority (67%) of these groups consisted of mothers interested in entrepreneurship and fitness. The remaining 33% were interested in cooking, literature, fashion, art, veganism,

pampering, and dance. This type of group tended to be more exclusive, specifically focusing on recruiting mothers passionate about or involved in specific hobbies or interests, and naturally, only moms who shared the interest of the group appeared to join the group. Time spent in this group solely consisted of taking part interest-related activities and discussing the interest.

Othered Moms' Groups

Othered moms' groups consisted of moms that are viewed or treated as intrinsically different from what society considers a "normal" mom—that is, a cisgendered heterosexual mom. The majority (84%) of these groups consisted of young moms between the ages of 15 to 22. The remaining 16% consisted of older moms from the age of 40 and above; disabled moms; moms conceiving through a donor; and LGBTQ moms. Specifically, these groups seemed to help mothers confront any special challenges they faced as mothers of their type.

Ethnic Groups

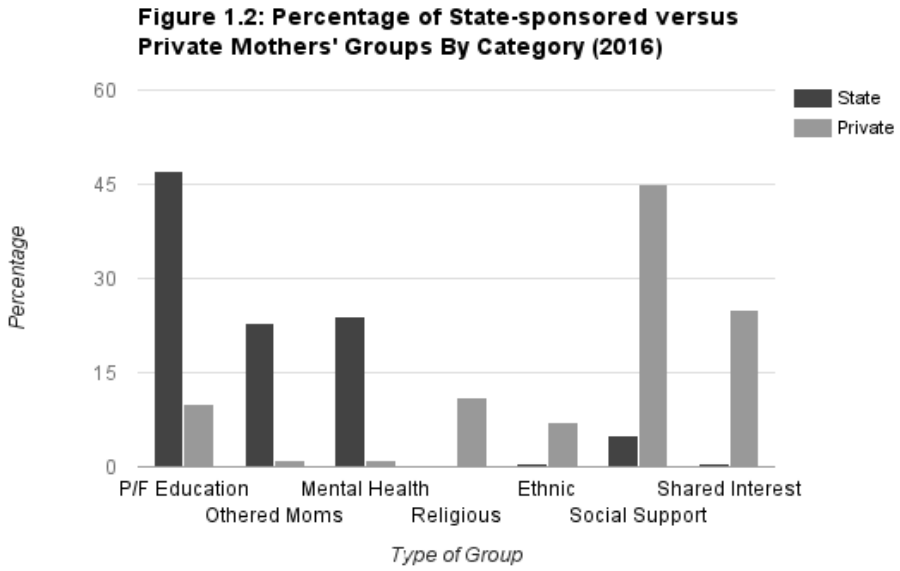
Groups for mothers with a similar ethnic background were labeled as ethnic groups. The majority (38%) of ethnic groups in the data consisted of South Asian moms, such as Pakistani, Punjabi, and Indian moms. Other ethnic groups encountered in the data consisted of Russian (5%), Arab (13%), Black (5%), Chinese (13%), South African (13%), and Latin moms (13%).

Religious Groups

Similar to ethnic groups, religious groups consisted of mothers with a similar religious background. Groups located in this study were made up of Christian (64%), Muslim (32%), and Jewish (4%) mothers. Both ethnic and religious groups were founded on shared values and cultures.

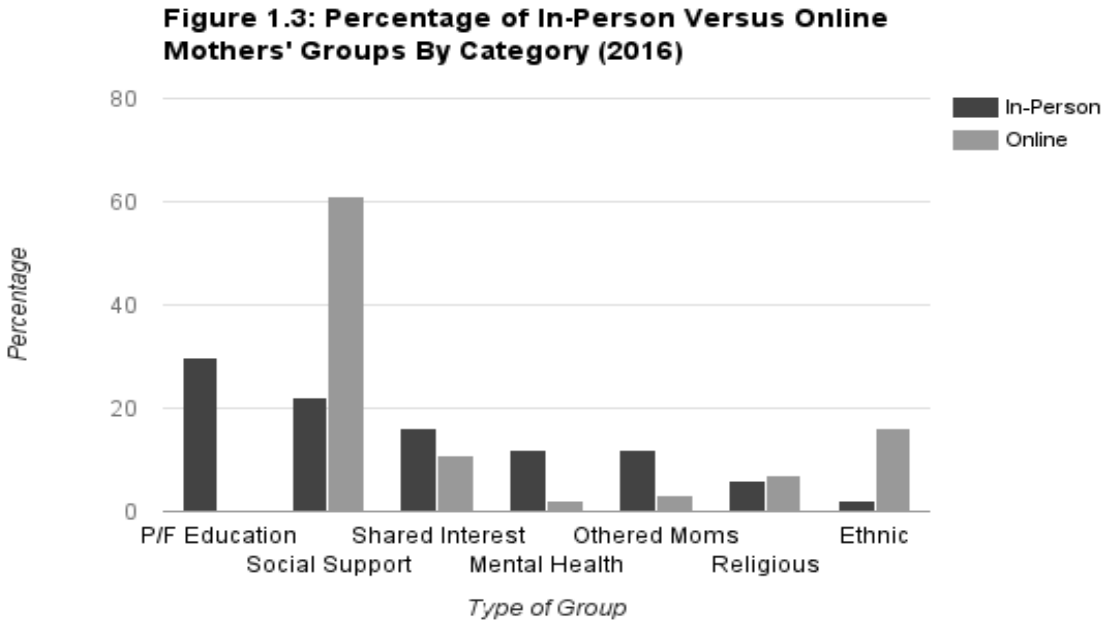
STATE-SPONSORED VERSUS PRIVATE MOTHERS' GROUPS

The majority (58%) of mothers' groups in this study were private groups, whereas the rest (42%) were state-sponsored groups. Of the state-sponsored groups, the most common groups were parent or family education, mental health support, and othered moms' groups. These made up 94% of all state-sponsored groups (see figure 1.2). Of the private groups, the most common groups were social support and shared interest groups. These made up 70% of all private groups (see figure 1.2). Thus, to summarize, it appears that government funded mothers' groups tend to focus on educating mothers about parenting and family life, helping mothers improve their mental health, and reaching out to othered moms. In contrast, groups run by private entities tend to focus on helping mothers form ties through common interests and social gatherings.



IN-PERSON VERSUS ONLINE MOTHERS' GROUPS

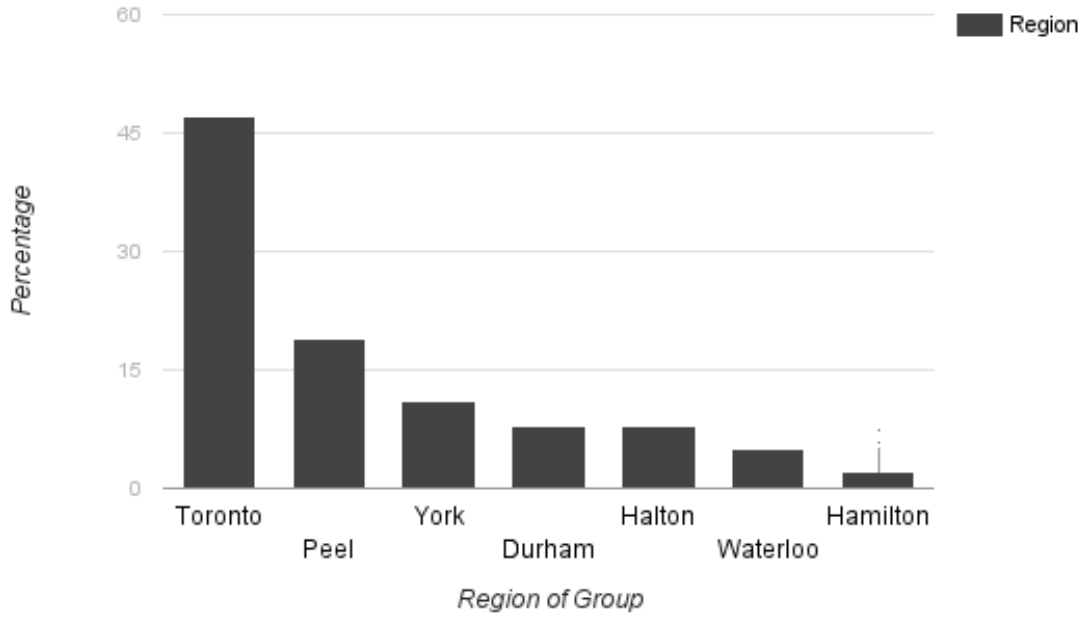
The majority (83%) of mothers' groups located in this study operated in person, whereas 16% operated online and 1% operated online and in-person. Of in-person groups, the majority of groups were parent or family education and social support groups. These groups made up 52% of all in-person groups (see figure 1.3). The majority of online groups were social support groups. Social support groups made up 61% of all online groups (see figure 1.3). The data also indicates a difference between online ethnic groups and in-person ethnic groups. In person, ethnic groups make up 2% of all groups—the least common in-person group. However, online they make up 16% of all groups—the second highest online group. Thus, based on the data, it appears that ethnic groups are communicating more frequently online than in person (see figure 1.3).



LOCATION OF MOTHERS' GROUPS

The majority (47%) of mothers' groups found in this study were located in the Toronto Region. Second was the Peel Region, which made up almost 20% of all groups. The fewest groups were found in the Waterloo and Hamilton–Wentworth regions, which made up 6% of all groups. The regions of York, Halton, and Durham all had relatively the same amount of mothers' groups, at 11%, 8%, and 8% respectively (see figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4: Percentage of Mothers' Groups By Region (2016)



DISCUSSION

Each type of mothers' group—based on the assessment of their names, descriptions, and group members—reflects its own process of legitimizing their identity, by either constructing a new mothering identity or maintaining the western mothering identity within the group. For instance, we argue that an entrepreneurial mom, a Christian mom, and a teen mom do not embody the same social meanings or expectations. This identity construction, coupled with mothers having an unequal access to resources, may render certain mothers' groups' identities as more favourable than others—that is, the more favourable identities may be the ones that are the most closely linked with the mainstream western cultural values. For example, yoga moms' groups reflect an identity of a mother that can balance her mothering responsibilities while engaging in social and/or cultural practices. Mothering and fitness are both positively regarded in society; therefore, these women may acquire more social and cultural capital than mothers who attend mental health support groups or groups for homosexual mothers. Again, taking from Bourdieu (1986), these mothers' groups may act as a form of social capital—a method of social mobility.

CONCLUSION

Our data highlighted that mothers' groups are a significant yet understudied social phenomena in Toronto as well as the GTA. We must ensure support, funding, and recognition for ethnic and LGBTQ moms and that *all* mothers have access to the resources they need. Virtual groups are crucial and important due to their round-the-clock accessibility; however, we suspect that when virtual communities are at least partially enmeshed in local, face-to-face groups, civic engagement and belonging can be maximized. As mentioned by O'Reilly (2006), a good starting point is to devise an alternative model for motherhood, one that truly highlights the strength and significance of mothers as individuals, not their usefulness as parents—a model that is inclusive of ethnic and cultural differences. We are pleased that our research is taking one of the preliminary steps into studying women's civic engagements and societal impact beyond their stereotyped maternal role.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the UTM Dean's Office for their support of this research project and, in particular, for funds to attend and present at the annual Motherhood Initiative for Research and Community Involvement (MIRCI) conference held in Toronto, Ontario in October 2016. We thank our fellow panelists and audience members at MIRCI for their constructive feedback on this article.

REFERENCES

Almog, Meital, Amy Balbierz, Anika Martin, Elizabeth A. Howell, and Rennie Negron. 2013. "Social Support during the Postpartum Period: Mothers' Views on Needs, Expectations, and Mobilization of Support" *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 17(4): 616-23.

Ardiles, Paul, Grazyna Mancewicz, Kapri Rabin, Lana Mamisachivili, Lori Ross, and Sherry Thompson. 2013. "Culture and Postpartum Mood Problems: Similarities and Differences in the Experiences of First- and Second Generation Canadian Women" *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 24(2): 162-70.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital" Pp. 241-58 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John C. Richardson. Greenwood, NY: Greenwood Press.

Goyal, Deepika, Elsie Wang, Eric Wong, Jeremy Shen, and Latha Palaniappan. 2012. "Clinically Identified Postpartum Depression in Asian American Mothers" *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic and Neonatal Nursing* 41(3): 408-16.

Flanders, Corey, Abbie Goldberg, Margaret Gibson, and Lori Ross. 2016. "Postpartum Depression among Visible and Invisible Sexual Minority Women: A Pilot Study" *Archives of Women's Mental Health* 19(2): 299-306.

Harris, Angelique, Antonio Pastrana, Jesse Daniels, and Juan Battle. 2015. "Feelings of

Belonging: An Exploratory Analysis of the Sociopolitical Involvement of Black, Latina, and Asian/Pacific Islander Sexual Minority Women" *Journal of Homosexuality* 62(10): 1-24.

Kauppi, Carol and Arshi Shaikh. 2015. "Deconstruction the Label through a Social Constructionist Lens" *Social Work in Mental Health* 13(5): 459-80.

Maharaj, Rohan. 1999. "The Role of Women's Advocacy Groups in Shaping Canadian HealthCare Policy" *Women's Health Issues* 9(5): 259-63.

O'Reilley, Andrea. 2006. "Between the Baby and the Bathwater: Some Thoughts on a Mother Centred Theory and Practice for Feminist Mothering" *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering* 8: 1-2.

Posmontier, Bobbie. 2008. "Functional Status Outcomes in Mothers With and Without Postpartum Depression" *Journal of Midwifery and Women's Health* 53(4): 310-18.

Posmontier, Bobbie and Roberta Waite. 2011. "Social Energy Exchange Theory for Postpartum Depression" *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 22(1): 15-21.

Sabhlok, G. Smita. 2011. "Development and Women: The Role of Trust in Self-Help Groups." *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 18 (2): 241-61.

Taylor, Verta. 1998. "Feminist Methodology in Social Movements" *Qualitative Sociology* 21(4):1-22.

YouTube's Fashion and Beauty Gurus: Cultural Intermediaries of the Post Millennial Generation

by Sofia Padernal

ABSTRACT

Originally defined by Pierre Bourdieau, the term "cultural intermediary" seeks to identify individuals who have a certain level of influence within a culture or a subculture (Maguire and Matthews 2012; Warner 2013; Woo 2012). Because of the broad nature of this term, past literature has tried to discern sets of criteria which would encapsulate what it truly means to be a cultural intermediary (Maguire and Matthews 2012; Warner 2013; Woo 2012). Nevertheless, with the evolving nature of both popular culture and subculture, it is becoming clear that this term is highly fluid and adaptable to the context of society.

Increasingly, the public broadcasting website, YouTube is becoming a resource that allows members to further affiliate themselves with their cultural interests. YouTube accommodates for this by giving individuals a space to publish their opinions, knowledge, and expertise on a certain culture or subculture. This is particularly true for the culture of Fashion and Beauty which is one of YouTube's largest growing communities.

Therefore, this study seeks to understand whether the content creators of YouTube's Fashion and Beauty community (popularly known as "beauty and fashion gurus") can be considered cultural intermediaries based on the term's existing criteria. My analysis shows that beauty and fashion gurus fit within the existing criteria whilst also contributing to the ever-evolving definition of the term. Particularly, YouTube's Fashion and Beauty intermediaries are distinct in the fact that they enhance cultural affiliation by being representative of gender, race, and socio-economic status.

INTRODUCTION

YouTube is one of the most popular social media platforms of today's digital age. Though the site has videos which pertain to various genres of interest, the category "Fashion and Beauty" is one of its leading genres with over 400 YouTube Channels (YouTube 2017). With its most popular channel acquiring over 17 million subscribers, many content creators who run fashion and beauty-focused channels have substantial followings (VidStatsX 2017).

In terms of its content, Fashion and Beauty channels often centre around teaching and guiding individuals on how to navigate the world of fashion and beauty. For instance, some of the most popular videos present in these channels are "product review-style" and "tutorial-style" videos. These videos are specifically designed to advise viewers on which products are worth purchasing whilst teaching them how to achieve certain fashion and beauty trends. The instructive role that fashion and beauty content creators take on has

been widely accepted by both their fellow content creators and their viewers; so much so that they are denoted as beauty and/or fashion "gurus" to encapsulate this role.

Due to their large following as well as their designated "guru" role, this study seeks to understand the influence that fashion and beauty YouTube personalities have in shaping the way young women consume and affiliate themselves with the culture of fashion and beauty. Specifically, my study seeks to discern whether these content creators can be considered "cultural intermediaries;" a term originally coined by Pierre Bourdieau which defines individuals who distinctly influence a cultural or subcultural group by shaping the consumption patterns of its members (Maguire and Matthews 2012; Warner 2013; Woo 2012).

Using qualitative, semi-structured style interviews, this study will provide insight from young women aged 18-25 living in Mississauga, Ontario who avidly watch fashion and beauty YouTube videos. Specifically, the study aims to answer the question: "How do fashion and beauty YouTube "gurus" influence the way in which young women in Mississauga, Ontario consume and affiliate with fashion and beauty culture?"

LITERATURE REVIEW

Often seen as a term with contradictory functions, scholars argue that consumption is an act performed by individuals in order to assimilate within society whilst constructing their own distinct self-identity (Maguire and Matthews 2012; Maguire and Zukin 2004; Burr, Cliff, and Miles 1998). By dictating how individuals should act within society, Maguire and Zukin (2004:180) state that in the past, institutions such as the "family, religion, class, and nationality" guided people's identity formation. However, these frameworks are becoming less powerful because society is increasingly trying to obtain the freedom to choose their own path towards "self-realization" (Maguire and Zukin 2004:180). Thus, consumption is used as a form of self-expression which allows people to autonomously construct their own identities (Maguire and Zukin 2008).

Echoing this argument, scholars such as Burr et al. (1998) particularly focused on the deterioration of the family institution. In studying the consumption patterns of youth, they argued that young people use consumption in order to gain a sense of identity within a "risk-society" where youth tend to feel lost due to the weakening of parental influence (Burr et al. 1998). Nevertheless, individuals are still immensely shaped by the opinions of society and their peer groups (Burr et al. 1998; Maguire and Zukin 2004). This is why they are often anxious when making decisions about constructing their self-identity through consumerism (Burr et al. 1998; Maguire and Zukin 2004). This anxiety stems from the fact that consumers risk "getting it wrong" when they make decisions about the products and services that they choose to purchase (Maguire and Zukin 2004:180). "Getting it wrong" often entails rejection from their peer groups and society as a whole (Burr et al. 1998; Maguire and Zukin 2004). Therefore, when purchasing goods and services, people are often careful in ensuring that their consumption patterns are distinct enough to help them construct their self-identity, but are not too distinct that they risk social isolation for failing to conform to the dominant discourses of society (Burr et al. 1998; Maguire and Zukin 2004).

The task of using consumerism as a way to constructing the "self" while conforming to a cultural group within society can be challenging in an age where capitalism allows consumers to choose from a variety of goods and services (Maguire and Matthews 2012). Therefore, cultural intermediaries are present in order to guide and influence individuals in

achieving this task (Maguire and Matthews 2012; Maguire and Zukin 2004; Warner 2013; Woo 2012). The term "cultural intermediary" was coined by Pierre Bourdieau in order to define individuals who have the ability to influence a culture or a subculture (Warner 2013). According to Bourdieau, cultural intermediaries are special because they are able to affect culture by shaping the way others purchase goods and services (Warner 2013). Historically, cultural intermediaries took forms through "self-help" magazines or famous celebrities who marketed and promoted certain brands and/or lifestyles (Maguire and Zukin 2004:181). Nevertheless, the term is becoming ambiguously defined due to the realization of various forms of cultures and subcultures which do not necessarily rely on dominant forms of media and celebrity marketing (Maguire and Matthews 2012; Woo 2012). Thus, in attempts to create a general definition for the term, Maguire and Matthews (2012:554-557) offer three qualities which frame the essence of a cultural intermediary; these three qualities are: the ability to promote goods and services; the possession of specialty "knowledge" which enhances the cultural intermediary's "claims to expertise and authority;" as well as the ability to "impact" and shape the choices consumers make on their consumption patterns.

Expanding from these prerequisites, Warner (2013) specifically studied the actress Sarah Jessica Parker as a cultural intermediary within the realm of fashion. In her study, Warner (2013) found that cultural intermediaries are considered valuable by members of a specific culture because they have a sense of charisma attached to their image. For Sarah Jessica Parker, her charisma is derived off of her "Cinderella Story-like" claim to success which relates to the popular narrative of the "American Dream" (Warner 2013:383). Furthermore, in studying the cultural intermediaries of subcultural groups, Woo (2012) looked at nerd culture and found that intermediaries have an important role in keeping a culture intact and relevant. He argues that in addition to guiding individuals with their consumption of goods and services, cultural intermediaries bind a culture by spreading their knowledge on the culture's evolving trends; doing this has the effect of keeping members interested and excited over the products and activities of a culture (Woo 2012).

With the current literature in mind, my research is specifically interested in studying beauty and fashion YouTube "gurus" because I believe that they contribute to the evolving definition of what it means to be a cultural intermediary. Though there is literature on the roles of celebrity personalities as cultural intermediaries within print and TV media, there is not much research present on the contribution of YouTube and its content creators in shaping individual cultures. As well, though non-celebrity cultural intermediaries have been studied in other disciplines, there are few sociological studies present on the cultural impact of YouTube's content creators; particularly on the gendered culture of fashion and beauty. Therefore, my research aims to contribute to the literature by improving the public's insight on how fashion and beauty YouTube gurus can be considered present-day cultural intermediaries who affect the consumption patterns and cultural affiliations of their female viewers.

METHODOLOGY

The data used in this study is derived from semi-structured qualitative style interviews. The interviews conducted were of young females (aged 18-25) who live in Mississauga, Ontario and who avidly watch Fashion and Beauty YouTube videos. In terms of demographics, the racial make-up of the respondents of this study consists of Black, Asian, and White women. Respondents were obtained through methods of convenience

sampling; specifically, the researcher approached friends and school mates who fit the criteria of being female, between the ages of 18-25 living in Mississauga, Ontario, and who avidly watch YouTube's Fashion and Beauty videos. The sample size of the data (n) is three since three separate interviews were conducted.

A diverse racial sample was collected in order to discern whether or not there are racial differences in how young women perceive Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus as cultural intermediaries. The study specifically looked at young women as opposed to young men because of the historically gendered aspect of Fashion and Beauty culture. As well, the research particularly targeted the population of young women in the city of Mississauga, Ontario because of the urban nature of Mississauga as a city. Since Mississauga is part of the Greater Toronto Area, most of the young women in this city are familiar with the technological advancements of social media and YouTube. Lastly, the age group of 18 to 25 was targeted because this is an adult age demographic that is autonomously able to support their own Fashion and Beauty consumption patterns.

In determining whether a respondent avidly watches Fashion and Beauty YouTube videos, the interviewer asked prospective respondents specific questions about their YouTube consumption patterns. In particular, prospective interviewees were asked questions pertaining to: how often they watch Fashion and Beauty YouTube videos, their favourite Fashion and Beauty content creators, and why they choose to watch these videos. Respondents were chosen to take part in the interview process if they: stated that they watch Fashion and Beauty YouTube videos at least once per week, if they could easily name some of their favourite Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus, and if they stated that they watch these videos out of entertainment or to enhance their knowledge on Fashion and Beauty culture.

After the respondents were chosen, the interviewer familiarized each respondent on the nature of the study. Specifically, the interviewer told the respondents that they are taking part in a study which looks at whether or not Fashion and Beauty YouTube content creators have an effect on the Fashion and Beauty consumption patterns and cultural affiliations of young women who avidly watch YouTube's Fashion and Beauty videos. In order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher assigned pseudonyms for each respondent and used these pseudonyms within every written document that pertains to the study.

Nevertheless, the sample is limited in the fact that the women studied are all educated individuals who are working on a Bachelor's degree within the same University institution. Because of this, the responses from the women studied may lack representativeness from other women who have no education or no post-secondary education, or who are attending college instead of university.

As stated earlier, the data collected in this study is based on qualitative semi-structured style interviews. All of the interviews were conducted in a public setting of different coffee shops around Mississauga, Ontario. These locations were chosen at the convenience of both the respondent and the interviewer. All three interviews were recorded upon the approval of the interviewee and transcribed verbatim. Once transcribed, the data was analyzed through both open and focused coding whilst using both a deductive and inductive analytical lens. These coding methods were used in order to identify particular themes and latent meanings that were individually and collectively present upon the three interviews conducted for the study.

DATA ANALYSIS

After analyzing the data, it became evident that for the young women interviewed, YouTube Fashion and Beauty content creators fit the existing criteria of what defines a cultural intermediary. Particularly, YouTube Fashion and Beauty gurus were all said to have the characteristics of: acquired expert knowledge, the ability to influence individual consumption patterns, being charismatic and well-liked, and the ability to maintain cultural interest (Maguire and Matthews 2012:554-557; Warner 2013; Woo 2012). Nevertheless, there are certain themes which emerged in the analysis that are unique to the identities of Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus; these themes are defined in my analysis as: *Gender Ambiguity Amongst Fashion and Beauty YouTube Gurus*; *Fashion and Beauty YouTube Gurus: In Between Celebrities and Real People*; and *Fashion and Beauty YouTube Gurus as Highly Representative*.

Gender Ambiguity amongst YouTube Fashion and Beauty Gurus

Though Fashion and Beauty culture is highly gendered within society, my analysis showed that there is a sense of gender ambiguity within the Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus that young women in Mississauga watch. Respondents particularly state that they tend to watch both male and female Fashion and Beauty YouTubers, and that the difference in gender between these content creators is not very important to them.

Specifically, Joanna who mostly watches fashion-based YouTube gurus stated that she watches a lot of men's fashion videos and that she does not feel any less feminine when watching these videos: "I mean, the funny thing is, is that I watch a lot of "guy" videos too. Sometimes my style is very androgynous anyway, so it's not really looking to become more feminine, or more pretty, or whatever." As well, Erica who elaborated on whether there is a gendered aspect in YouTube's beauty gurus stated that the gender of the YouTuber does not make them any less credible in her eyes. When asked whether she relates to one gender over another, Erica stated: "No, I just wanna look good and if you're looking good then I'm gonna look good too, so I don't really care." Furthermore, when asked if she thinks makeup is something that creates femininity, Leanna, who sees make-up as a hobby, said: "I've been conditioned for my entire life [to] see makeup as something that only women wear. But when you actually think about it, like, there's no reason why men can't wear makeup aside from the fact that society tells them not to."

Looking at these accounts, one can see that the traditional gendered lines of fashion and beauty is crossed within the platform of YouTube; this encourages viewers to deny society's gendered expectations of Fashion and Beauty culture. In understanding this phenomenon, I turn to the autonomous, and unrestricted nature of YouTube as a whole. Unlike commercialized TV and print media, YouTube is an open platform that can be used by anyone regardless of whether they fit society's rigid expectations. Thus, individuals who cross the classical gendered traditions of Fashion and Beauty culture (such as male Fashion and/or Beauty gurus) can freely use YouTube to build their audience and to create their own identities as cultural intermediaries. Because of this, YouTube becomes a platform which showcases norm-breaking intermediaries who challenge society's gendered expectations of beauty and fashion.

Fashion and Beauty YouTube Gurus: In Between Celebrities and Real People

Historically, mainstream cultural intermediaries were popular celebrities who had huge public followings; while cultural intermediaries of subcultural groups were regular members of the subculture who take on a leadership role in keeping the culture intact and relevant (Maguire and Matthews 2012:554-557; Warner 2013; Woo 2012). Nevertheless, in the case of YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries, these individuals are within a liminal stage of both celebrity and "regular person" status.

In asking whether or not they see some of the most popular Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus as celebrities, all of the respondents in the study stated that they do not see them as such even though they recognize that these gurus have massive followings. Particularly, Joanna and Leanna noted:

> "I think, I would probably go up to them to say hi, but it's not the same. You're not like, in awe of them, it's like if you meet them, it's cool. But a lot of them have almost a million followers right? So to a certain degree they do have that status, but I wouldn't be like, oh my god, this is amazing." – Joanna, age 21

> "Not really. I guess, in a sense they are celebrities because they are so well known by a lot of people. But I guess in a traditional meaning of a celebrity I wouldn't really like, call them that. They're just sort of personalities. It's like a radio show host, I wouldn't like, I wouldn't call them celebrities but they still produce content that's like, heard by many people." – Leana, age 20

In looking at these accounts, unlike traditional mainstream cultural intermediaries who are celebrities, and non-mainstream cultural intermediaries who are members of a subculture, YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries are seen to be in between celebrities and regular people. In understanding why this is, I analyzed how my respondents see themselves in relation to these YouTubers. When I did this, I found that respondents are still vastly able to relate to these intermediaries on a personal level regardless of the massive followings that they acquire.

This is exemplified when asked about the likeability of these YouTubers; Leanna specifically states: "they just seem like, if they were talking to you directly instead of through a camera, like, you would kind of develop a relationship with them through a screen. They feel like friends in a way." This idea was also echoed by Joanna who stated: "it feels like you're having a conversation with them, and you kinda wanna laugh along with them. Like, you never feel like they're talking down to you, even when they buy expensive things, […] It's very like, they make it, I don't know, relatable I guess." As can be seen in these accounts, the relatable "friendship-like" relationship that gurus have with their viewers allows audiences to see these YouTubers as regular people. This is regardless of the fact that many of them have reached a level of fame which is quite similar to that of a celebrity. Within this, their audience does not quite recognize them as popular celebrities, though it is acknowledged that their large followings indicate that they have a celebrity-like quality of being vastly well-known.

Fashion and Beauty YouTube Gurus as Highly Representative

Since traditional mainstream cultural intermediaries are popular celebrity figures, they often must fit within society's dominant standards of beauty and fashion. Thus, many women tend to have trouble finding cultural intermediaries that are able to properly represent their individual identity markers. Nevertheless, in analyzing the data, YouTube Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries are found to be particularly appealing to young women because they are highly representative and inclusive.

When asked to think about their identity markers and whether or not they are properly represented by the Fashion and Beauty YouTubers they watch, all the interviewees had positive responses. Particularly, Erica, who spoke about the importance of having access to YouTube beauty gurus who share her same shade of skin stated:

> "…when I watch "ItsJudyTime", she's Filipino, I'm Filipino, we have similar skin-tones. So, like, when I'm looking to buy a shade of foundation or concealer… actually any colour, like lipstick, I just wanna see how it looks like on her then obviously I'll know if it'll look good on me. It's just like, it's important to know, to have people out there who have your skin colour…"

Joanna also had positive opinions on the idea of race and its widespread representation within YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries: "…the presence of all those different people, even if they're not the same nationality as I am, it's still nice to see people who are different from the stereotypical norm of people represented." Aside from race however, respondents also felt that they were adequately represented based on their socio-economic status, Erica elaborated on this idea by stating:

> "…a lot of them do like, drugstore hauls. So obviously, like, drugstore makeup is affordable and stuff when you don't always wanna buy, like Sephora, so it's nice to watch those videos […] cause I mostly shop at the drugstore rather than in Sephora so I'm glad that there are YouTubers that cater to that area of makeup."

Analyzing these accounts, it is seen that unlike traditional celebrity Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries, the intermediaries of YouTube's Fashion and Beauty genre are able to be inclusive and representative of race, class, and as is seen within the first theme, gender. The idea of representativeness is highly important to the women who affiliate with Fashion and Beauty culture because it allows them to better apply the culture's products and trends within their own lives regardless of their marginal identity markers. As is seen in Joanna's account, this is a feature that is not always present within mainstream media outlets such as TV and print media because everything within those platforms are controlled by society's dominant discourses of beauty. Therefore, by creating a space where everyone is included and represented, Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus are able to positively affect the cultural affiliation of women within the Fashion and Beauty community itself.

CONCLUSION

This study works to fill in the gaps within the current literature on Bourdieu's theory of cultural intermediaries. Particularly, this study looks at the recent phenomena of YouTube's Fashion and Beauty content creators in order to seek whether or not these individuals affect the consumption patterns and cultural affiliations of young women on the level of a cultural intermediary. Once analyzed, the accounts of the women in this study paralleled and agreed with Maguire and Matthews' (2012:554-557) prerequisites of what defines a cultural intermediary. Specifically, Fashion and Beauty YouTube Gurus were all said to have the characteristics of being able to promote goods and services; appearing to offer "claims to expertise" due to an apparent "specialty knowledge"; as well as having the ability to shape the consumption patterns that cultural members choose to take part in (Maguire and Matthews 2012: 554-557).

Nevertheless, my study shows that YouTube's Fashion and Beauty gurus also add on to the existing literature on what defines a cultural intermediary. One of the ways in which YouTube's Fashion and Beauty gurus are able to do this is by allowing both its content creators and its viewers to transcend the customary gender lines of society. Especially seen within the traditionally feminine realm of Beauty culture, YouTube's Beauty intermediaries blur the historical roots that bind Beauty culture to femininity by allowing male Beauty personalities to enter the scene as influential cultural intermediaries.

Indeed, this theme is justified in the fact that all of the respondents in the study stated that they also watch male beauty gurus and that the difference in gender does little to obscure these gurus' "claims to expertise" (Maguire and Matthews 2012: 554-557). In revisiting the statement of one of the respondents, Erica, she claims that she does not really care for the gender of the Beauty guru but instead, looks at their skills and their ability to help her make cultural decisions. This shows that male beauty YouTube gurus are changing the way in which their audiences conform to the traditionally feminine realm of Beauty culture. This point is further justified when one of the respondents, Leanna realizes that the feminine connotation of make-up is actually socially constructed when she was asked to reflect on the relationship of gender and Beauty YouTube gurus.

Another point of distinction within the cultural intermediaries of YouTube's Fashion and Beauty genre is the fact that they take up a liminal public status within society. Respondents particularly state that though they are aware of the large followings of the Fashion and Beauty YouTube gurus they watch, they still do not see these individuals as celebrities. Instead, respondents claim that these YouTube gurus are more like "friends" who help guide them with their cultural decisions. In making sense of these findings, I turn to the "likeability" and "relatability" factor that YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries provide. As was stated in Warner's (2013) study on the famous actress, Sarah Jessica Parker, cultural intermediaries have a sense of "likeability" attached to their personas which push members of a culture to follow the advice that they offer. For Fashion and Beauty gurus, this sense of "likeability" has a dual effect. On one hand, intermediaries are able to influence the choices of cultural members due to the trust they develop with their audience through their "likeability;" on the other hand, this "likeability" causes their audience to see them as merely "personalities" who are not quite on the level of a celebrity's status.

Though this liminal identity does little in improving the social status of these cultural intermediaries, I argue that it instead improves the cultural affiliations of their audiences. It specifically does this by allowing YouTube's Fashion and Beauty

intermediaries to develop a sense of trust with their viewers. This sense of trust makes viewers feel as if YouTube's Fashion and Beauty intermediaries (who also market and represent Fashion and Beauty culture as a whole) are realistically relatable; thus, causing members to feel a welcoming invitation to further affiliate themselves within the culture.

Improving upon this argument of relatability, YouTube's Fashion and Beauty content creators are also unique in the fact that they are highly representative of gender, race, class, and socio-economic status. As was seen in the data, all of the respondents claim that they feel as if Fashion and Beauty YouTubers do an excellent job in being inclusive of everyone within the Fashion and Beauty community. Aside from gender inclusiveness which was highlighted earlier, YouTube's Fashion and Beauty intermediaries also make the culture accessible to those within varying socio-economic statuses. This idea is particularly exemplified by the respondent, Erica, who states that she appreciates the fact that many of YouTube's Beauty gurus also cater to the more affordable realm "drugstore makeup." As well, YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries have the ability to be racially and ethnically inclusive; which is a point that is also highlighted by Erica when she stated that she watches a particular YouTube beauty guru with the same nationality and skin-tone as her in order to see whether or not a product will suit the shade of her skin.

Therefore, by being highly representative of differing markers of social identity, YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries enhance the experiences of the culture's members because they allow more individuals to take part in the culture itself. In enhancing the experiences of the culture's members, these gurus are able to keep the culture of Fashion and Beauty relevant and applicable to the lives of their audiences. This relates to Woo's (2012) point on the ability of intermediaries to keep a culture in-tact and relevant. However, in addition to Woo's (2012) argument that it is through their cultural knowledge that intermediaries are able to keep a culture interesting, my study shows that Fashion and Beauty YouTube content creators are also able to achieve this feature by being highly representative of their viewers.

Overall, this study shows that YouTube's Fashion and Beauty content creators fall within the category of being cultural intermediaries whilst also offering new characteristics that help in defining this evolving term. Specifically, the liminality in the social status of these content creators as well as their ability to be inclusive with regards to gender, race, class, and socio-economic status offer a new layer to the definition of Bourdieu's original theory, whilst allowing women improved affiliation with Fashion and Beauty culture as a whole. All in all, these points show that YouTube's Fashion and Beauty cultural intermediaries have positive sociological implications to Fashion and Beauty culture because it makes the culture more inclusive and accessible to its members. These findings are important because it helps in explaining a new breed of cultural intermediaries that are relevantly shaping the way in which women are consuming and affiliating themselves with Fashion and Beauty culture. Nevertheless, because my study is limited to educated women who are working on a Bachelor's degree, future research can improve the literature by studying women of varying educational attainment. As well, because YouTube is such a diverse social media platform, it has many cultural and subcultural communities. Thus, new research can enrich the literature by further studying the cultural intermediaries of other popular genres in YouTube such as the "Sneaker Community" or the "Tech Community".

REFERENCES

Burr, Vivien, Dallas Cliff, and Steven Miles. 1998. "'Fitting In and Sticking Out': Consumption, Consumer Meanings and the Construction of Young People's Identities." *Journal of Youth Studies* 1(1): 81-95

Maguire, Jennifer, and Julian Matthews. 2012. "Are we all Cultural Intermediaries Now? An Introduction to Cultural Intermediaries in Context." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15(5) 551–562.

Maguire, Jennifer, and Sharon Zukin. 2004. "Consumers and Consumption." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:173-197.

Warner, Hellen. 2013. "Fashion, Celebrity and Cultural Workers: SJP as Cultural Intermediary." *Media, Culture and Society* 35(3) 382–391.

Woo, Benjamin. 2012. "Alpha Nerds: Cultural Intermediaries in a Subcultural Scene." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15(5) 659–676.

VidStatsX. 2017. "One Hundred Most Subscribed How To & Style Channel Rankings List by Subscribers." Retrieved: January 30, 2017. (http://vidstatsx.com/youtube-top-100-most-subscribed-how-to-style-channels)

YouTube. 2017. "Beauty and Fashion." Retrieved: January 30, 2017. (https://www.youtube.com/channels/beauty_fashion)

School Resource Officers and the Creation of Criminals

by Alanna Thompson

ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, acts of school violence, including multiple widely-publicized school shootings, have resulted in North American schools assuming a normative structure of punitive penology. This has introduced an era in which increased security measures are being used as a method of reducing and preventing school-based youth violence. One of these security measures that has led to much discussion among scholars and citizens alike is the implementation of uniformed police officers into primary and secondary schools, known as the School Resource Officer (SRO) program. This paper attempts to analyze responses to the SRO program from both school staff and students, and considers the implications of such a program on the outcomes and lives of students. It critiques the legitimacy of the SRO program, with regards to impact on school and community safety, and seeks to demonstrate how this program works to funnel non-violent youth into the criminal justice system, exposing them to the harsh implications of the criminal label from an early age. These implications work to further disadvantage students and negatively impact their academic performance outcomes, especially in regards to marginalized and minority students.

INTRODUCTION

In 2008, the Toronto Police Service partnered with the Toronto District School Board to implement the School Resource Officer program as part of Toronto's anti-violence intervention strategy (Public Safety Canada 2013). This program emerged out of the city's desire to address the increased gun violence in Toronto within a wider context of school-based violence. School violence is widely recognized as a significant issue in many countries, gaining considerable attention after the 1999 shootings at Columbine High School in Colorado where several students lost their lives (Barwick 2009). However, the longstanding issue of school-based violence is not limited to situations involving weapons. School violence involves all forms of bullying, including any verbal, physical, or visual manifestation intended to threaten or harm the integrity, rights, or property of others within the school setting (Barwick 2009). A report by the World Health Organization found that 40% of 13-year-olds across 35 countries have been participants in school violence, whether as victims or perpetrators, while over 90% have witnessed such violence occurring (Barwick 2009). Experiencing this violence can have significant psychological and physical effects on students, and as such solutions to the problem of school violence have been sought. One of the solutions implemented in North America, and specifically Toronto, is the school resource officer program. Under this program, uniformed Toronto police officers work in coalition with students, teachers, parents, and administrators in order to establish healthy and safe school communities. This program has resulted in the placement of 30

officers within Toronto schools, and as such requires significant funding, approximately $2.1 million for a one-year period (Public Safety Canada 2013). This paper attempts to analyze the school resource officer program in order to determine if the resources being allocated are just in terms of the program making a positive impact on students' lives. It will critique the program by analyzing student and teacher responses to having uniformed officers in their hallways, and seeks to address how the program can contribute to unequal outcomes among disadvantaged students. It concludes with the provision of possible alternatives to the program that may be more beneficial for students and teachers alike within the educational setting.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

Over the past several decades, public perceptions towards youth crime have largely focused on the idea that youth crime is increasing, and that something must be done in order to combat the [supposed] increasing gang violence as well as the emergence of the "juvenile super-predator" (Mallet 2016). The media played a large role in the construction of this teenage super-predator, widely publicizing acts of violence such as school shootings that were atypical representations of the crimes generally committed by youth, thus making the problem seem quite more serious than in actuality (Mallet 2016). The publicity surrounding these violent crimes perpetrated by youth has created a widespread moral panic among the general population. The public perceptions of this issue have influenced federal legislation, calling for increasingly punitive policies to get tough on these young offenders and thus protect the community.

The moral panic deriving from the idea of the teenage violent offender brought the issue of school violence and the safety of students to the forefront of public debates in the 1990s. Parents, community members, and school administrators recognized this perceived problem and pressured policy makers to do something about it and ensure the safety of students. Thus, many punitive policies enacted within the community found their way into the hallways of primary and secondary schools. In the 1999 Ontario provincial election, the Progressive Conservative Party promised to implement a zero-tolerance policy for bad behaviour in schools. After the *Safe Schools* Act was introduced in 2000, such policies began to take form (The Ontario Human Rights Commission, *N.d.*). The Act was implemented as a guideline to teachers for how punishments should be administered to students and gave greater authority to suspend or expel students for a wide variety of behaviours. Thus, many schools began to embody these "zero-tolerance" policies, which seek to maintain a safe school environment for both students and staff by removing disruptive, deviant, or violent youth from the classroom (Mallet 2016; Ontario Human Rights Commission). These zero-tolerance policies are implemented based on the idea that removing such disruptive students will create an educational environment that is more conducive to the academic success of students. Thus, such policies mandated the suspension or expulsion of youth for a wide variety of behaviours, both violent and non-violent in nature (Mallet 2016).

In 2008, Toronto's District School Board began to recognize and define school violence as a problem after Toronto lawyer Julian Falconer released a report on school violence. This report followed the fatal shooting of a Jordan Manners at C.W. Jeffery's Collegiate Institute in 2007 (CBC News 2009). Thus, after community pressures following the shooting, and recognizing that public officials and noteworthy professionals defined school violence as an issue to be tackled, the TDSB implemented the School Resource Officer program to increase school safety. The SRO program involves having uniformed

police officers operating within the school environment to provide security and crime prevention services. They work together with students, teachers, and school administrators in order to create a safer environment for both students and staff. These officers are present within schools throughout the day and are charged with a variety of tasks, including enforcing school policies that prohibit certain behaviours, searching individuals, escorting unruly students out of the classroom, participating in crime prevention activities, provide information on the criminal justice system, and giving educational presentations to students and staff (Brown 2006; Salole and Abdulle 2015). Brown (2006) stated how these officers often face difficulties in trying to balance all the roles they are expected to perform, as their role as an SRO incorporates the role of law enforcement officer, educator, and counselor, and oftentimes these roles can face contradiction in their enactment.

The authority to define the legitimacy of SRO programs lies not only in governmental policy makers, but largely within the school board administrators and police departments themselves. Since the School Resource Officer program receives provincial funding, it must be seen as legitimate and beneficial to the public by provincial policy makers and the school boards. Thus, the provincial evaluation of the Toronto SRO program focused on measuring related perceptions of students, school staff such as teachers and administrators, and parents in terms of how they viewed the program. These measured perceptions helped to review the school resource officers and determine the effectiveness of the program to provide its basis for legitimacy. Focusing on factors such as perceived safety of students, amount of crime reporting (how many incidents of violence were reported to the officer), and student relationships with the SRO, the evaluation found that the program had a very positive impact on the schools and students, and that it had great potential to be beneficial to crime prevention, crime reporting, and the development of relationships between police officers and the community (Toronto Police 2009). Students were seen as being safer places for students, victims of crimes were more frequently reporting their victimization, and offences generally decreased during the year in which the program was examined. The positive attitudes of the officers and school administrators and teachers were the most important factor in forming a positive and impactful experience with the program, and thus it is evident that the officers and school administrators hold much authority in way of determining the program's legitimacy (Toronto Police 2009; Public Safety Canada 2013).

Despite the Toronto SRO Evaluation's findings that the SRO program was greatly beneficial to schools and students, there is wide disagreement amongst scholars, school administrators/teachers, and community members alike regarding its implementation. Many stakeholders believe that police presence in primary and secondary schools creates a punitive environment that leads to larger proportions of youth being funneled into the Criminal Justice System at an early age (Brown 2006; Theriot 2009; Bracey 2010; Salole and Abdulle 2015; Mallet 2016). Additionally, research shows that oftentimes SRO programs contribute to heightened feelings of fear of school crime, impacting students' feelings of safety and thus their academic performance, as well as leaving students vulnerable to infringements on their legal rights and aggressive behaviour from officers (Nandlal 2003; Brown 2006; Bracy 2011; Theriot and Orme 2014; Salole and Abdulle 2015). Thus, it is evident that while some groups view the SRO program favorably and find it to be beneficial for school safety and conducive to a positive learning environment, others question the legitimacy of the program and look towards the negative implications and conditions that the program facilitates. The following sections discuss some of the consequences of the SRO program and the negative conditions that it creates for students being funnelled into the justice system.

IDENTIFICATION OF VALUE CRITERIA OR IDEOLOGICAL PREMISES

Now that the background and bases of legitimacy for the SRO program have been addressed, we turn to the ideological premises that support the legitimacy of this program. Both neoliberal and neoconservative ideology provide support for the SRO program, as demonstrated by Muncie (2006). Neoliberal ideology focuses greatly on the concept of responsibilization, which focuses on crime control strategies that aim to make offenders take responsibility for their actions and encourages individuals, families, and school authorities to work in conjunction with the government to reduce criminal opportunities and increase social control (Muncie 2006). Thus, this neoliberal ideology supports the SRO program in that the program forces students, school faculty and administrators to work with the police to build relationships and provide security measures and social control mechanisms to decrease criminal or disruptive behaviour. Additionally, the SRO program utilizes the idea of managerialism, in that evaluations utilize evidence-based research to determine if it "works," looking at how the SRO program contributes to the overall school environment, if the goals of the program are being met, if the officers find their role to be productive, and if the program warrants continued funding (Muncie 2006). Thus, managerialist ideals are clearly incorporated into the SRO program evaluations and thus lend ideological support to the program. Neoconservative ideology incorporates zero-tolerance ideals, and states how police and local authority are granted powers to penalize "disorderly" conduct of youth (Muncie 2006). This relates to the SRO program because officers are known to remove or arrest students for "disruptive" classroom behaviour, even if such students are first-time offenders, due to such zero-tolerance policies. According to Muncie (2006), the recent obsession with regulating youth crime through school and training programs encourages a punitive response to deviant youth behaviour, thus resulting in the implanting of uniformed police officers in school settings.

As previously mentioned, there has been significant animosity regarding the use of police officers in schools. Some of this animosity relates to the disjunction between the operation of the SRO program and the Declaration of Principles as set out in the *Youth Criminal Justice Act*. The Declaration outlines general principles that are to be considered with respect to youth crime and justice, and with regards to research on the SRO program and how police operate in schools, there is evidence that some of these principles are not being adhered to (Government of Canada 2002). For example, the Declaration outlines the adherence to the legal rights of youth; however, Brown (2006) describes how the legal rights of students are questioned under the SRO program. For example, students may have limits imposed on their privacy when they are subject to bodily or locker searches by SROs, as this may constitute as unreasonable search and seizure (Brown 2006). While school officials are granted authority to search students on the basis of reasonable grounds for suspicion, police officers are required to have probable cause to search students. Thus, there is conflict surrounding whether SROs should be considered school officials or police officers, as this will affect their interactions with students in terms of the legality of searches and violations of privacy (Bracy 2010). Additionally, the Declaration emphasizes that punishments for youth should be proportionate to the offence committed and take into account their degree of responsibility. Bracy (2010) discusses how zero tolerance policies and the use of police in schools have re-routed the punishment of students, in that behaviours that used to be dealt with in the principal's office are now being dealt with by police officers and the justice system. Thus, students who commit minor infractions may end up arrested or incarcerated when in the past such behaviours would result in them receiving detention or suspension.

The use of SROs in schools has resulted in students being exposed to the criminal justice system at an early age for non-serious acts, and thus their punishments are not proportional to the offence they committed (Brown 2006; Bracy 2010; Mallet 2016). Important to mention is the impact that SRO programs have on marginalized, minority, and racialized youth. The Declaration of Principles states that a young offender's needs and level of development must be considered, and respect must be given in regards to gender, ethnicity, and cultural differences while responding to the needs of young persons with special requirements (Government of Canada 2002). However, scholars note how the use of police officers and schools and the zero-tolerance policies they abide by have a disproportionate impact on racial minority students, marginalized students, and students with disabilities (Ontario Ministry of Child and Youth Services 2016). To start, the Ontario Ministry of Child and Youth Services (2016) brings attention to the fact that students, particularly those racialized youth, who do not see themselves represented in the school curriculum will be less attached to the education system, and thus more prone to act out and be disruptive. Hence, when racialized or minority youth feel disconnected from the system and get themselves into trouble at school, the use of SROs funnels these students into the justice system. Additionally, the use of SROs in schools as disciplinary agents further disadvantages youth who are already on the margins of society. Salole and Abdulle (2015) discuss an example where a student was arrested by the school resource officer for stealing a sandwich because his family was experiencing financial difficulties and he was hungry. The use of the SRO in this school resulted in this marginalized youth to be further disadvantaged in his school setting, in that his marginalized class position resulted in him being arrested by the in-school officer. It is thus apparent that, despite guidelines in the Declaration of Principles that allow for considerations to be made regarding disadvantaged youth, the SRO program demonstrates evidence of bias in that it results in the disproportionate funnelling of racialized and marginalized youth into the criminal justice system.

The efficiency and rationality of the SRO program is based on how effective the program is seen to be. Measures of effectiveness of this program include student and staff perceptions of safety, the amount of violence in schools with a SRO in comparison to schools without, and the amount of reporting of victimization and crime (Naldlal 2003; Brown 2006; Bracy 2010; Bracy 2011; Theriot and Orme 2014). However, the research focused on these measures varies in terms of the effectiveness of the program. Mallet (2016) argues that schools remain to be the safest environment for almost all youth, and that very low rates of violent crime occurs on school grounds. He also brings attention to the idea that police in schools may produce negative reactions from students in regards to feelings of safety, and these reactions to the SRO program may interfere with their learning environment (Mallet 2016). Thus, despite the Toronto SRO program evaluation, the policy of implanting police in schools may not be economically efficient. The SRO program makes use of not only monetary resources in terms of provincial funding, but also police resources. Thus, if officers are being placed in schools that already experience low violence and high perceptions of safety, the resources being used up by the SRO program may be put to better use elsewhere, and thus may not be economically efficient.

ASSESSMENT OF THE ALTERNATIVES

With respect to the disjunction between the SRO program and the declaration of principles, as well as the perceived ineffectiveness of this program by several scholars,

alternatives to this policy have been suggested. According to Mallet (2016), the problem of youth and school violence can be framed in different ways so that less-punitive alternatives can be a viable response to the problem. The Duke Center for Child and Family Policy states how school discipline can change from a system of punishment to a system of student development (Owen, Wettach and Hoffman 2015). The report describes multiple alternatives to student misbehaviour that reduces the exclusion of youth from school. Alternative policies that seek to keep children in school can diminish the negative outcomes of harmful disciplinary actions, increase student confidence and achievement, decrease student misbehaviour, and maintain safe and orderly schools (Owen, Wettach and Hoffman 2015). Programs such as the Safe and Responsive Schools (SRS) approach seek to improve student behaviour, reduce school violence, and foster a positive school climate through instructional rather than punitive responses to address discipline issues. This approach focuses on a structured needs assessment and helps students to learn problem-solving skills, such as conflict resolution. Alternative approaches to youth and school violence such as SRS teach students and staff alike how to deal with problems efficiently and effectively, keep students within their school environment as much as possible, and reduces the impact of the school-to-prison pipeline.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The goals of the SRO program include promoting the wellbeing and health of adolescents and enhancing academic performance. The program attempts to achieve these goals through the reduction of school-based crime and violence, establishing relationships between police officers and students, and creating a safer learning environment for both students and staff (Nandlal 2003). While some research shows that these goals have, in a sense, been met, and thus the SRO program is effective, there is an alarming amount that states the opposite. Each school resource officer approaches their job in a different way, and when they make use of a punitive enforcement approach rather than a problem-solving approach, they risk creating animosity between students and their school environment and thus pushing more youth into the criminal justice system. The contradictory roles of SROs to be relationship-building counselors on the one hand, and strict law enforcement officers on the other, creates confusion among students and officers alike and thus jeopardizes any ability to build meaningful relationships between youth and the police. Thus, I would recommend several amendments to the SRO program, if not its entire removal from the Canadian education system. As Mallet (2016) mentions, schools continue to be the safest environment for many youth, and incidents of severe violence are very atypical, especially in the Canadian context. I believe that the resources being funnelled into the SRO program could be better utilized elsewhere, and the responsibility for punishment of school-based offences would fall back into the hands of teachers and principals in a school setting, rather than using the police and the criminal justice system to punish these offenders. Resources that are put into the SRO program could be transplanted into after-school community programs in which schools and communities partner to deliver educational and social services to students and their families. Evidence has shown that students participating in after-school community programs are more likely to develop pro-social values, as well as significant relationships with not only other students, but also with adults who act as mentors as role models (Owen, Wettach and Hoffman 2015). These programs are proven to show significant increases in student learning, behaviour, and overall educational outcomes. Thus, I believe that using resources that are currently being allocated to the SRO

program to create such community-school partnerships would target the underlying issues behind student behaviour and create more well-rounded youth, thus reducing the need to have officers in schools. Under the SRO program, students are being arrested for non-violent and non-serious offences in schools, and are thus being funnelled into the justice system at a young age. This results in these young individuals becoming disconnected with school and community life, and places restrictions on their futures, as they may drop out of school entirely, or have a criminal record that inhibits their ability to get a job and find some sense of meaning. When this happens, evidence shows that youth are pushed into lives of crime and delinquency for a lack of alternatives. I thus recommend that instead of having uniformed officers on school grounds at all times, schools should have monthly presentations regarding the criminal justice system and provide conflict-resolution techniques to students so they can better express themselves when conflicts do arise.

Additionally, I believe that in order to reduce the amount of student misbehaviour, the education system and curriculum needs to recognize the diverse needs of racialized and minority students in order to give them a standard experience with education. If these minority students begin to see themselves reflected in their school environment, it may strengthen their connection with the education system and thus prevent them from acting out. As Theriot (2009) describes, for many youth, and especially disadvantaged youth, education is a vital resource for insuring a better future. Removing students from the classroom and pushing them into the justice system due to minor class disturbances or disagreements unjustly inhibits their opportunities for a better future, and policies should focus on retaining as many students as possible in the education system.

REFERENCES

Barwick, Melanie. 2009. "School Violence: What you should know, what you can do." Retrieved March 16, 2017 (http://www.cbc.ca/news/technology/school-violence-what-you-should- know-what-you-can-do-1.780403).

Bracy, Nicole L. 2010. "Circumventing the Law: Students' Rights in Schools With Police." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 26(3):294-315.

Bracey, Nicole L. 2011. "Student Perceptions of High-Security School Environments." *Youth & Society* 43(1):365-395.

Brown, Ben. 2006. "Understanding and assessing school police officers: A conceptual and methodological comment." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 36(6):591-604.

CBC News. 2009. "50 Toronto high schools to have police presence." Retrieved November 10, 2016 (http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/50-toronto-high-schools-to-have-police-presence-1.785021).

Government of Canada. 2002. "Youth Criminal Justice Act: Declaration of Principle." Retrieved November 11, 2016 (http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/Y-1.5/page-2.html).

Mallet, Christopher. 2016. "The School-to-Prison Pipeline: A Critical Review of the Punitive Paradigm Shift." *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* 33(1):15-24.

Muncie, John. 2006. "Governing young people: Coherence and contradiction in contemporary youth justice." *Critical Social Policy* 26(4):770-793.

Nandlal, Joan. 2003. "A Longitudinal Multi-Method Evaluation of a High School Resource Officer Program." *Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services* 1(4):343.

Ontario Human Rights Commission. *N.d.* "The Ontario Safe Schools Act: School Discipline and Discrimination." Retrieved November 10, 2016 (http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/ ontario-safe-schools-act-school-discipline-and-discrimination).

Ontario Ministry of Children and Youth Services. 2016. "Review of the Roots of Youth Violence." Retrieved November 10, 2016 (http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/ English/ professionals/oyap/roots/index.aspx).

Owen, Jenni, Jane Wettach, and Katie Claire Hoffman. 2015. "Instead of Suspension: Alternative Strategies for Effective School Discipline." *Duke Center for Child and Family Policy*. Retrieved November 12, 2016 (https://law.duke.edu/childedlaw/ schooldiscipline/downloads/ instead_of_suspension.pdf).

Public Safety Canada. 2013. "School Resource Officer Program (Synopsis)." Retrieved November 11, 2016 (https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrngcrm/plcng/cnmcsplcng/ ndx/snpss-en.aspx?n=71).

Salole, Abigail and Zakaria Abdulle. 2015. "Quick to Punish: An examination of the school to prison pipeline for marginalized youth." *Canadian Review of Social Policy* 72/73(1):124.

Theriot, Matthew. 2009. "School resource officers and the criminalization of student behaviour." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37(3):280-287.

Theriot, Matthew and John Orme. 2014. "School Resource Officers and Students' Feelings of Safety at School." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 14(2):130-146.

Toronto Police. 2009. *School Resource Officer Program: 2008/2009 Evaluation.* Retrieved November 11, 2016 (https://torontopolice.on.ca/publications/files/reports/2008,2009-sro_evaluation_program.pdf).

Meet the Authors

MAJA PETROVIC is a University of Toronto-Mississauga alumna, who graduated with a double major in Criminology & Socio-legal Studies and Political Science, and a minor in Sociology, with High Distinction. She is now in her first year of studies at the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law. She is currently conducting research on the legal implications associated with the quality of health care provided to federal inmates, particularly federally-incarcerated women. Her areas of interest include prison law and criminal law. She is a member of University of Ottawa's Association of Women in the Law and the co-founder of the uOttawa Chapter of the Law Students' First-Generation Network.

KURTIS J. SAMCHEE is in the final year of his undergraduate studies, double majoring in Sociology and Philosophy and minoring in Ethics and Society. He has a broad range of research interests that extend anywhere from crime, punishment, and justice, to Platonic realism, from environmental sustainability to Gestalt psychology, and from morality to Weberian rationality—every now and then he will drop in on a calligraphy class. After graduation, Kurtis will be pursuing a master's degree in public policy in September**.**

JAMILAH DEI SHARPE is in her final year of studies at the University of Toronto, completing her undergraduate degree as a Sociology Specialist. She is a keen academic that observes and questions all facets of life. Her main research interests include racial prejudice, popular media, mothering, immigration, youth and deviance, mental health and sexuality. As a trained classical and jazz singer, she uses her innate artistry to delve beyond the surface to connect everyday social nuances with complex social concepts. Aside from her passion for sociological research, she loves nature, absorbing herself in new cultures, engaging with dynamic people and creating new pathways. In September of 2017 she will begin her journey as a graduate student of Sociology at the University of Concordia, Montreal; conducting her thesis on race and gender. Her goal is to advance her French skills to become bilingual while professionalizing her research craft to affect policy and improve lives. Ultimately, she is excited about her future and believes that success derives from the pursuit of knowledge and understanding that sometimes the right path is off the trail.

MALEEHA IQBAL is a fourth year student specializing in Sociology. Her research interests include Islamophobia, race and ethnicity, immigration, and gender. At UTM, Maleeha has participated in the Research Opportunity Program in the Department of Sociology as well as the Department of Religious Studies. After graduating from UTM, Maleeha hopes to combine her interests in research and the

law. In particular, Maleeha hopes to make a positive and meaningful impact in the lives of immigrants, refugees, women, and other minorities.

SOFIA PADERNAL is a fourth year, graduating student at the University of Toronto, Mississauga. She will be graduating in the summer of 2017 with a specialist degree in Criminology and Socio-legal Studies, a major in Sociology, and a minor in Women and Gender Studies. Sofia came into university with plans of eventually pursuing law school; however, her experiences as an undergraduate Sociology student has pushed her interest in researching the complexities of society as a whole. Her research interests are vast; however, they currently lie in the Sociology of Culture, and the Sociology of Gender. After graduation, Sofia will be taking a year off from her academic endeavours, but hopes to pursue graduate-level education in the future.

ALANNA THOMPSON is from Smithville, ON and is entering her final year of studies in the Criminology and Socio-Legal Studies Specialist program at UTM. She has been a University of Toronto Scholar in all her years of study and is set to graduate with High Distinction in 2018. She plans to attend law school after graduation with a possible emphasis on corporate law. Alanna's role model is barrister Amal Clooney, and she intends on following in Amal's footsteps and pursuing international human rights law later in life.

Our Faculty Advisors

JAYNE BAKER, B.A., M.A., PH.D.

Professor Jayne Baker joined UTM in 2012 and, in that time, has taught thousands of students interested in sociology. Her main research areas are the sociology of education and the scholarship of teaching and learning. She teaches introductory sociology, research methods, and sociology of education.

NATHAN INNOCENTE, B.A., M.A., M.A., PH.D.

Professor Nathan Innocente has been teaching criminology and sociology at UTM since 2013. His primary research areas include white-collar crime, youth law, professions, and pedagogy. He has taught introductory courses in sociology and criminology, as well as crime and organizations, identity crime, and experiential learning. He is a Capricorn who likes long walks on the beach, sad movies, and cats.

About the Journal

"The Society": Sociology and Criminology Undergraduate Review is a subdivision of the UTM Sociology & Criminology Society (SCS). SCS executives are eligible to fulfill roles as student journal managers. Members of the SCS executive team hire Sociology and Criminology students for student editor positions, and manage the overall operations of "The Society". SCS also provides funding, in partnership with the Department of Sociology, for "The Society".

Want to Contribute?

JOURNAL MANAGER POSITIONS

If you are interested in operating and managing "The Society": Sociology and Criminology Undergraduate Review, we recommend that you run in the SCS elections for an executive position. Inquiries regarding how to do so can be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca.

STUDENT EDITOR POSITIONS

If you are interested in a position as a student editor for "The Society", you must apply to the SCS student journal managers during their hiring period. Inquires regarding how to obtain a student editor position can be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca.

SUBMITTING AN ARTICLE FOR REVIEW

For your work to qualify for consideration, you must be a current undergraduate student in, or have graduated from, a Sociology or Criminology program at UTM. The work you submit for review must have been written within the past two years during your time as an undergraduate student.

If you are interested in submitting an article for review and have inquiries regarding formatting and deadlines, these inquiries may also be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca.