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Acknowledgement

Dear Readers,

We are honoured to present you with the fourth volume of The Society: Sociology and Criminology undergraduate review journal. The Society aims to gather and display the exceptional scholarly contributions of sociology and criminology undergraduate students at the University of Toronto Mississauga. The Society is assembled by a group of student managers, editors and authors, who are greatly assisted by faculty members, specifically Professor Nathan Innocente.

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

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We would especially like to thank Sharmeen Abedi, VP Academics for SCS and the Academic Director for The Society. She has contributed immensely to the journal, and this volume would not be possible without her hard work and passion in the running of this project.

We thank you for picking up a copy of this journal and perusing through the academic work of these students. 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 SCS Executive Team, 2018-2019

School Resource Officers: Not a Resource

by Dalia Zahreddine

INTRODUCTION

The issue of regulating and governing youth within society has been a widely debated issue throughout history. Within Canada and some other western nations such as the United States, different youth governance methods have been tried and tested, including school zero tolerance policies. In light of several violent school shootings and events that have occurred within the recent history of Western society, the use of School Resource Officers (SROs) has become an increasingly popular method of school violence prevention. These programs entail assigning police officers to participating elementary, middle, and high schools in an effort to ensure safety and care of students. However, there is mounting evidence that demonstrates the flaws of this youth governance program.

Voted out within the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), SROs still exist within the Peel District School Board (PDSB) region. The PDSB should follow the TDSB's example and eliminate SROs, as they are detrimental to the school children they police. The officers have been known to do more harm than good, particularly to the marginalized populations of the schools they are stationed at. Students report feeling unsafe or uncomfortable when they encounter SROs stationed at their schools. Moreover, studies also suggest that SROs lead to more formal sanctions as a means to dealing with youth behaviour. As such, this paper argues that the SRO program should not persist within the Peel region because it disproportionately affects minority children, acts as a form of net widening, and infringes on youth rights.

MINORITY YOUTH

Though the intentions of implementing SROs within schools are well founded, the rise in the program's popularity has come at a time where school violence is generally on the decline (Pigott, Sterns, and Khey 2018). More worryingly, the execution of these programs has led to the victimization of visible minorities. The officers themselves are part of the police and their perceptions of the students they are presiding over is thus influenced by policing culture. As such, latent racial biases play an important role in SRO discretionary decisions regarding issues such as student arrests and culpability (Merkwae 2015). Merkwae (2015) notes that racial stereotypes and prejudices have been found to lead to law enforcement viewing young black men as more culpable for their actions than their peers of other races.

The most notable consequence of such prejudices against these minority children is that they influence the way in which SROs deal with discretionary offences, which can be defined as delinquent acts deemed criminal through an officer's subjective interpretation of the law. Since these adolescent black males are viewed as less innocent and more responsible for their actions, they are much more likely than their counterparts to be formally reprimanded (Merkwae 2015). Ryan et al. (2014) note within their article that while official statistics demonstrate that black students comprised 16% of the 2014 overall population of the United States, they totalled 27% of students who were referred

to law enforcement, and 31% of those arrested within the school. Having SROs stationed at schools leads to continued victimization of minority youth and could thus reinforce their overrepresentation within the criminal justice system.

Interestingly, student perception of safety given the presence of SROs differs based on their race. A study by Theriot and Orme (2016) found that black and victimized students, when compared to males and students with positive attitudes about SROs and more school connectedness, felt less safe with SROs. Contrary to what was expected, efforts to raise interaction between SROs and students did not increase feelings of safety (Theriot and Orme 2016). This may stem from how SROs treat and perceive young black males. In addition to disproportionately victimizing minority youth, the SRO program may leave some students with a lack of security, and thus should no longer exist within the Peel region.

NET WIDENING

Of the many problems that may arise from stationing law enforcement within schools is the potential for net widening, defined as the increased formal processing of citizen contact with the law through the court system. In addition to their negative impacts on minority youth, studies suggest that SROs also increasingly use formal sanctions in response to youth behaviour and potential delinquency (Pigott et al. 2018). Despite the fact that the presence of SROs in studied schools has resulted in fewer arrests for serious youth crimes like weapons possession and assault, disorderly conduct charges have increased (Theriot 2009). Student behaviour becomes criminalized through the discretion of presiding officers in an effort to increase safety and security. Instead of informally reprimanding, cautioning, or reasoning with students who exhibit disruptive behaviour, officers arrest them, which is a form of net widening. Pigott et al. (2018) assert that children whose behaviours could arguably be dealt with through school administration are now being funnelled through the justice system. As a result, a "School to Prison Pipeline" is formed (Pigott et al. 2018).

The schools' strong investments in ensuring a strict and rigid environment has aided in this net widening phenomenon. In fact, SROs reported that particular circumstances lent to their discretionary decisions to arrest students. Predominantly, officers arrested students to calm them down, to show them that their actions had consequences, and as an extension of punitive school policies and natures (Merkwae 2015). Pigott et al. (2018) note that increasingly, schools have become more militaristic and disciplinary in nature. Increased security measures such as security checks and metal detectors have caused increased instances of students in conflict with the law (Theriot 2009). This has served to increase the criminalization of student behaviour and severity of this "School to Prison Pipeline".

The disciplinary state of schools is highly exacerbated by zero-tolerance policies, which are meant to punish students who act in a manner perceived to be dangerous to their peers and/or school faculty (Pigott et al. 2018; Ryan et al. 2018). Researchers explain that the effect of SROs carrying out zero-tolerance policies is increased formal sanctions, as opposed to just harsh administrative action (Pigott et al. 2018; Bracy 2010). Issues that had at one point in time been dealt with through detention, suspension, or at worse expulsion, are now resulting in legal charges. Notably, zero tolerance policies are seen to affect black youth disproportionately, and students that are referred to the justice system though their schools are there for mostly minor infractions (Pigott et al. 2018). Clearly,

the Peel region should discontinue the SRO program as it has evidently contributed to net widening by criminalizing petty, disruptive child behaviour.

YOUTH RIGHTS

The use of SROs is generally identified as a straightforward method to ensure the safety, security and risk management of students. However, this is controversial considering that the placement of these officers within schools highly risks the infringement of students' rights. Theriot and Cuellar (2016) explain that the placement of SROs at educational institutions can potentially lead to unreasonable searches and seizures, unlawful distribution of personal and confidential information, and as mentioned above, decreased feelings of security and safety. In many ways, when schools employ SROs, they do so in ways that can potentially harm student rights.

This is particularly problematic when regarding the issue of searches and seizures. SROs are granted 'quasi-law enforcement roles' in school, allowing them more freedom to conduct searches than a patrol officer working on the streets (Theriot and Cuellar 2016). In the United States, SROs are allowed to search students based on reasonable suspicion alone, as opposed to what is required for patrol officers: probable cause (Theriot and Cuellar 2016; Brady 2010). This leniency is alarming for the rights of students and additionally serves to refer more students to the criminal justice system through the "School to Prison Pipeline".

A study by Bracy (2010) found that SROs when in partnership with schools, circumvent the law such that they carefully operate within the confines of the law, but ignore some student rights to achieve their goals. School officials are not subject to the same legal standards as law enforcement, which is a particularity that is abused by SROs. When questioning an individual, SROs are obligated to relay the Miranda rights, but this legal requirement can be circumvented if the officer asks a school official to carry out the interrogation instead (Bracy 2010). The same could apply to searches; SROs can carry out searches through school officials based on reasonable suspicion as opposed to probable cause (Bracy 2010). Coupled with the feelings of insecurity that some students experience as a result of SROs stationed at their schools, this governance program has served to worsen this new legal trend of ignoring student rights (Theriot and Cuellar 2016; Bracy 2010). In an effort to govern, protect, and uphold the rights of children, the law and its agents have instead seen to a program that has the opposite effect and therefore should not persist within the Peel region.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Although baseline research relating to SROs presence in schools exists, more research is required to make informed decisions regarding the continuation of the SRO program. Specifically, more research needs to be conducted to determine the effect SROs have on student's mental health. Some students have reported feeling traumatized by experiences with officers stationed at their school but not many studies have been conducted exploring whether the trauma stems from experiences with SROs or simply their presence. Further, very limited research is available outlining the effect of SRO presence on student rights to safety and security of the person, which is an issue that needs to be addressed. Finally, it is necessary to explore how effective SROs can be if granted less discretion to arrest disruptive students. It would be beneficial to explore if less ambiguous zero-tolerance policies would weaken the "School to Prison Pipeline".

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that the SRO program has been implemented to proactively address the serious issue of school safety, the use of SROs as a youth governance program is evidently problematic. It is seen to disproportionately negatively affect minority youth, feed the "School to Prison Pipeline" as a result of net widening, and potentially infringe on the rights of students. Existing research and statistics about SROs has caused concern, leading to some districts shutting their program down, like the TDSB. However the program continues to persist in several regions, including the Peel region, when evidence suggests it should be discontinued.

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The Roles of Technology in Shaping College Student Interactions: A Qualitative Study of Canadian Students

by Lucien Rodriguez

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how technology, primarily cell phones and personal computers, affect social interactions among college and university students on campuses. Using non-participant observation, data was collected in a University of Toronto campus pub over the course of three sessions. After thoroughly analyzing the data, the findings suggest that cell phone and laptop use appear to significantly influence social behaviours, affecting group dynamics and dictating group activities. Findings coincide with previous research that suggests technology use in social settings influences behaviour in a way that can reduce the amount of dialogue, eye contact, and direct interaction between friends and acquaintances on school campuses, but consequently provides an opportunity for students to congregate and socialize in the school setting.

INTRODUCTION

The mild autumn weather has changed into brisk December winds. Students shuffle indoors and grow cozy in the campus pub while bubble teas, coffees, and draft beers decorate the tables. Although the social space is coloured with all kinds of different faces, most of them appear to share one thing: they are directed towards a smartphone or laptop. The ubiquity of such technology is not unique to student spaces but seems to have a significant role in shaping them, which itself may be unique to student spaces.

It is not uncommon to come across alarmist headlines such as CBC's "Social media affecting teens' concepts of friendship, intimacy" (Dakin 2014). This article examines UCLA psychologist Patricia Greenfield's research, which suggests that college students receive social support through large online networks rather than smaller, face-to-face connections (Dakin 2014). According to Greenfield, "The result is a decline in intimate friendships [...] Instead, many young people now derive personal support and affirmation from 'likes' and feedback to their postings" (Dakin 2014). This story echoes the warnings and forebodings parents and teachers spent years repeating: technology is detrimental to how young people learn to interact. This sentiment is present all over the internet, but seldom does research focus on Canadian cohorts. This paper seeks to remedy this gap in the literature, examining several academic articles concerning social interaction and technology, and finds evidence to determine how technology shapes and influences social interaction among Canadian college students based on non-participant observation.

TECHNOLOGY AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO SOCIAL CONNECTION

The first study this work draws on, The iPhone Effect, is an effort to examine the theory of micro-social fragmentation within naturalistic settings (Misra, Cheng, Genevie,

and Yuan 2016). Pulling from a qualitative experiment published by Przybylski and Weinstein in 2013, wherein it was observed how the mere presence of a mobile phone could affect behaviour in social interactions involving pairs, Misra et al. (2016) seek to determine how the presence of smartphones sways social interactions. Particular care is given to differences between close and distant relationships, which is notable for the methods utilized throughout the experimentation process.

Based on previous findings, the authors predicted that cell phone use would be linked to a lower sense of connectedness and that cell phone presence would be associated with lower empathic concerns (Misra et al. 2016). The study itself was conducted in coffee shops and cafes around Washington, D.C. Metropolitan area (Misra et al. 2016). Groups of two were approached while paying for their drinks, and if they were 18 or older were invited to participate in a study about "the nature of social interactions in coffee shops" (Misra et al. 2016). Their research involved 200 participants, with 109 females and 91 males, and 72% of their sample being Caucasian (Misra et al. 2016). Participants were sorted into two situations, where conversations either centred on casual content or what the authors described as meaningful content (Misra et al. 2016). Casual conversations were guided towards plastic holiday trees, whereas meaningful conversations gravitated to the most significant events of the past year (Misra et al. 2016).

Like Przybylski and Weinstein, Misra et al used quantitative data to gauge the connection between their independent variables (mobile device presence, conversation type, and relationship intimacy) and dependent variables (connectedness and empathic concern). After running the data, which was collected through surveys asking how close they felt during their conversation, the authors confirmed their predictions, finding a positive correlation between the absence of mobile devices and connectedness (Misra et al. 2016). Additionally, it was also determined that participants without a cell phone nearby reported "higher levels of empathic concern for their conversation partners" (Misra et al. 2016), as measured by a similar survey. The study underscores this inquiry, which progressed from simply examining how students interact to exploring how technology affects interaction, as the data was filled with observations alluding to a profound impact. While the research is strengthened by the agreement in their findings, one possible limitation of their research is the risk of bias or inaccurate self-assessment.

The second paper analyzes and synthesizes more than 10 studies into a working model and explains the role looking at a phone plays in our social interactions, both by ourselves and when we are with others (Nakamura 2015). Nakamura (2015) developed his theoretical model with Japanese culture and norms in mind, acknowledging that the applicability may vary between populations. Many of the articles examining social interaction and smartphone use are based on East Asian populations, highlighting the gap this current paper fills. Nakamura's model revolves around motivation, which leads to a specific kind of nonverbal behaviour that is then interpreted (Nakamura 2015). One such nonverbal communication Nakamura (2015) describes is "contextual multiplicity" (p. 71), wherein a smartphone user in a public space can nonverbally communicate that they are capable of communicating with others at any other time, that others may need to contact them urgently, or that they are busy. In this contextual multiplicity, there are a variety of contexts in which we may be involved, and at any point, we can choose to engage in them, which affirms our own presence (Nakamura 2015). Additionally, smartphone users who are alone may look at their screen or engage with their device in order to nonverbally communicate that they do not wish to be disturbed (Nakamura 2015). Nakamura's (2015) analysis delves deeper into the intentions behind mobile phone use in social settings, culling together the work of Foucault and Goffman, and putting

forward a view wherein smartphone use during face-to-face interactions is a means of gaining a social advantage. In response to this form of a power move, it is often preferable for one to pull out their own phone in response to such behaviour (Nakamura 2015). Due to the multiplicity of possibilities smartphones present users, when one party engages with their device it is usually impossible to know the personal motivations behind it, and individuals are then forced to withhold scorn while the phone user is granted an ambiguity of sorts, which makes them less predictable, granting a form of social reward in the shape of power (Nakamura 2015). In a busy, crowded space like the school pub, contextual multiplicity (Nakamura 2015) would have a functional value for individuals dining alone as well as for groups.

Lee Humphreys (2005) employs a qualitative methodology in her paper Cellphones in Public, for which data was collected over a year in Philadelphia, New York City, and Raleigh, North Carolina. She observed nearly 500 subjects while in the field, in a variety of places that ranged from outside areas where cellphone use was not permitted (theatres and lecture halls) to trains, cafes, and coffee shops (Humphreys 2005). Her work utilizes a combination of non-participant observations, as well as more in-depth interviews, to compare the field observations to the responses and to gain a better understanding of cellphone use (Humphreys 2005). While in the field, one recurring observation was the act of non-verbally communicating with the people immediately beside them while taking phone calls (Humphreys 2005). One male interviewee explained that he often rolls his eyes when he is taking a call from someone he does not want to talk to and avoids eye contact with the people he is with to make it seem less like he is deliberately ignoring the person with him (Humphreys 2005). Another interviewee admitted to eavesdropping on friends' conversations, even though it is frowned upon, and hiding her eavesdropping when it is someone she does not know very well (Humphreys 2005). These observations demonstrate that cellphone use goes against some of the norms and rules that govern face-to-face interactions (Humphreys 2005). Humphreys' work is crucial to better understanding this current study, but would be stronger if her interviews involved more than 12 participants. The geographic range of her study is one of its biggest strengths, since other experiments only focused on a single city.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND SMARTPHONES IN RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

For From Facebook to Calls, Yang, Brown, and Braun (2014) conducted six focus groups which included in-state, out-of-state, and international students. They included a total of 34 participants, with 19 females and 15 males, 22 American students and 12 international students, with all participants being older than 18 (Yang et al. 2014). A possible limitation to the study was how each of the international students came from Asia, which provided an over-representation of students from one continent. Participants answered questions about the kinds of social media they use and who they use them with, while conversations were recorded and later transcribed (Yang et al. 2014). When it came to pursuing relationships, there was a specific order or pathway that students took in nurturing their relationships, wherein greater intimacy and closeness translated to more personal and private methods of communication being used (Yang et al. 2014). In their analysis of the role of smartphone technology in gossip among Taiwanese freshmen, Shiau (2016) found that text messaging permitted interactions that other platforms, such as the Wi-Fi dependent LINE, are not able to facilitate. This coincides with Yang et al.'s's

(2016) findings of text messaging being the most intimate platform for students. These findings contradict perceptions associated with the belief that intimacy is incompatible with technology.

Working with focus groups ranging in size from two to five people, Dong-Hoo Lee's (2013) study of smartphone use and mobile social space among Koreans made use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative data. Framed in the Korean context, Lee (2013) describes the Twitterverse as it is used by participants as being unconstrained by many of the social rules that govern face-to-face interactions. For example, in South Korea a lot of weight is put on age and when people know the age of those around them the interactions are shaped by the disparities (Lee 2013). However, on Twitter, such an age-based hierarchy is not observable (Lee 2013). Participants in the focus groups reported a sense of freedom and lack of restriction in their interactions when using Twitter (Lee 2013). Although the specific social rules that govern South Koreans are likely entirely different than the ones which influence Canadians, the lack of social rules on social media is a point of interest for this study, as it could serve as a possible motivation that is not otherwise discussed in Nakamura's work when observing technology uses.

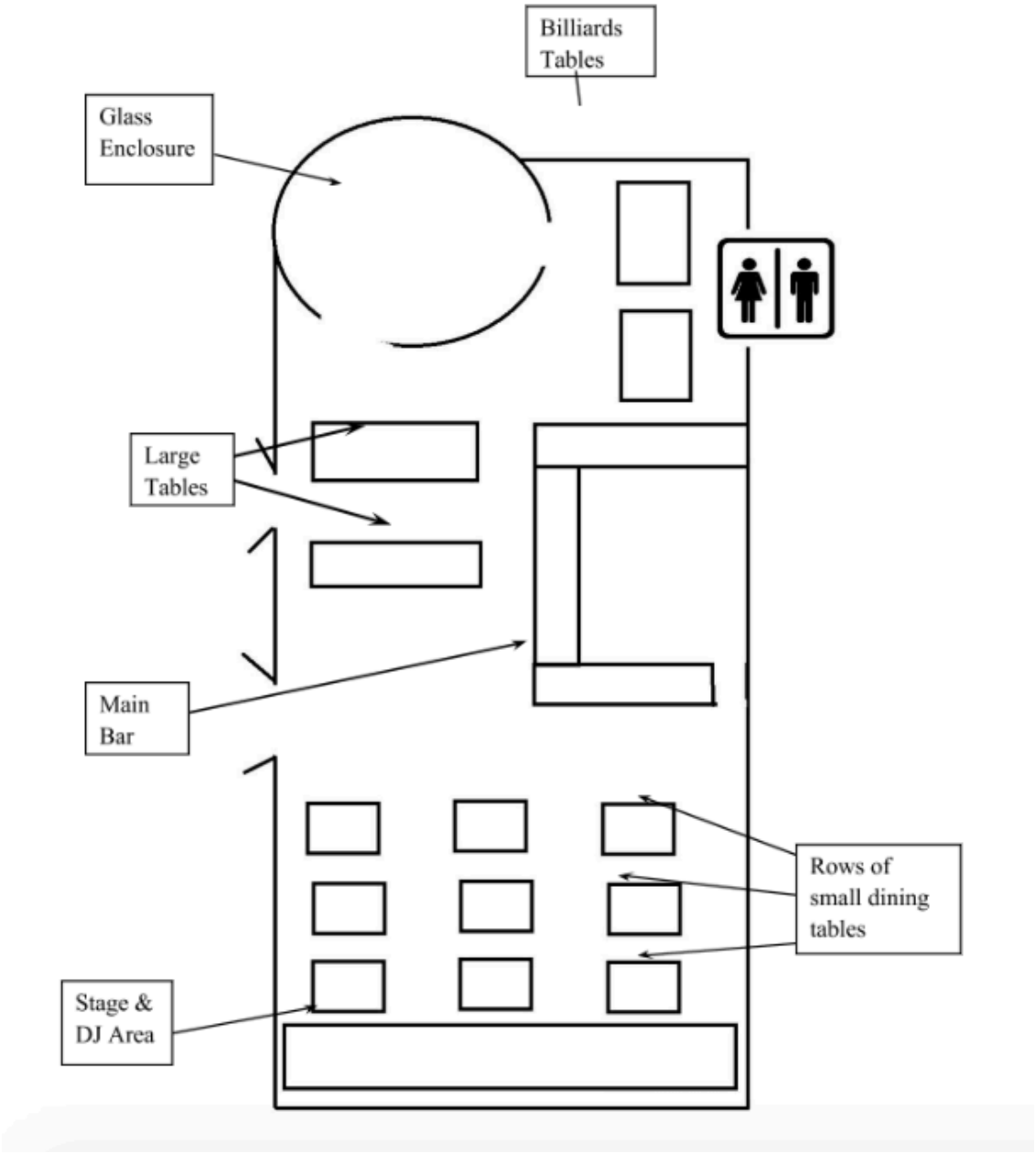
METHODS

For this study, non-participant observation data was collected while seated at different tables around four primary areas within the pub (small dining tables, large dining tables, pool tables, and glass enclosure). The majority of data was collected in the main dining area, although roughly one-fifth of it was also collected at one of the large dining tables. The study observed 42 students at the University of Toronto Mississauga pub, The Blind Duck, in groups ranging from two to six people. The sample included 18 males and 24 females. Fittingly, field notes were first collected with a pen and pad, but using a smartphone proved to be more efficient for recording jottings. The population of interest was undergraduate students, although due to the nature of non-participant data collection, it is possible that some of the subjects were grad students.

Non-participant observation was useful for this research as it permitted a nonintrusive method of data collection. However, there were many instances during the study where it appeared that students were aware that they were being observed and may have altered their behaviour. This was noticed early on and subsequent efforts focused on remaining inconspicuous. Observation was less suspicious when students were playing pool than when students were studying. Groups of males also appeared more bothered by observation than groups of females, although there is a possibility that such assumptions are misattributed due to personal bias. Due to the possibility of discomfort that some students may have felt, there was often a sense that I ought to stop observing when it became clear that students were aware they were being observed. This recurring concern occasionally resulted in briefer observation periods, which may have impacted the accuracy of the data.

Analysis of the data was done after open coding was performed with the field notes (some earlier data was discarded after the research question was changed from "How do students engage in courtship behaviour?" to "How does technology influence social interaction?"). One of the biggest concerns encountered when analyzing the data was that research was initiated without any knowledge of counter narratives or alternative interpretations of how technology affects social interactions. Due to this disparity in media exposure, fairness is a primary concern and treated as such, but the risk for bias in the analysis is still there.

DRAWING OF THE BAR SPACE



FINDINGS

The results of this study suggest that technology in many forms has a significant effect on social interaction. One of the most critical ways technologies appeared to shape social interactions was through their use as tools for academic work. It was not uncommon to see groups of people working in front of a laptop, with interactive materials, in a way that a textbook could not facilitate. While more research would be needed to confirm the idea, the findings of this study hint that technologies may dictate the tasks groups engage in, or vice versa. This is supported by the fact that the data collected showed technology use is much less common during certain activities. Billiards was the most glaring example. The least amount of cellphone and laptop use was found

among the three groups observed playing billiards. Ultimately, the findings of this study coincide with previous research which points to technology being something individuals compete with when interacting: attention to devices draws attention away from group members. While playing competitive games, such devices have less use.

As a study tool, there were several instances where the central role of cell phones was observed. One group observed in the glass enclosure discussed math problems together while pouring over a worksheet one of the male students had. While working on the equations, they took photos of the worksheet with their cellphones to use as reference while they also looked up formulas. This observation aligns with another, where a pair of females completed homework in front of a laptop in the main dining area. What made theirs unique, however, is that they were also texting a third party who gave them answers which they jotted down. In another group of four observed at the large dining tables, each member had a laptop out and was sending documents back and forth, exchanging answers while sharing screens, and engaging in study activities that traditional study media cannot perform. It is in these kinds of observations that it appears technology dictates the way the interaction takes place: if the task was to study and no such technology was available, what are the chances that these students would study together rather than alone in library cubicles? This point of inquiry serves as one area that future research could focus on.

As a source of distraction, technology appears to draw attention away from persons actually in the group. In one pair that was observed for more than 20 minutes, a male sat, undistracted by any devices, while the female he dined with had earphones on, a cellphone in hand, and a laptop in front of her. Additionally, disparities in eye contact were observed when they spoke: there were several instances where he spoke and she never bothered to look at him, yet no instances of the opposite that I observed. For the first 10 minutes, the female sat with her backpack and jacket still on, which gave the impression that she was not interested in being there since she could depart at any moment. This was in contrast to the male who had taken off his coat and was seated with food in front of him, which he later shared with her. During the interaction, the female was often oriented towards her devices, paying attention to her laptop screen or text messages, while the male was oriented towards the female and his food. In the same way that his attention was intermittent between his meal and the company around him, hers too was divided between the technology she used and the people around her. The trends observed in this interaction are contrary to what I observed in another group where no cellphone use was observed. Eye contact was almost never broken in the group of three females. At one point, a member of the group took a sip of their water and did so in an almost comically awkward way that ensured she was able to hold eye contact with the speaker the entire time. Contextual multiplicity (Nakamura 2015) fits particularly well in these specific situations, because it explains how multitasking reduces the amount of investment in any of the tasks being juggled.

Not all cell phone use works as an intrusion to social interaction. As Nakamura (2015) describes in his model of cellphone presence, sometimes cellphone screens can be used to engage others in the group. An example of this would be a scenario I observed with a group of three males and three females where one member of the group showed embarrassing photos of themselves, which resulted in what appeared to be greater bonding within the group. There were times when conversations split up and pairs and triplets would break out into separate conversations from the others, while media was shared on phone screens amongst these members of the subgroups. In this case, technology looked to enhance interaction rather than stifle it.

In addition, the data collected in this study appears to support Nakamura's (2015) view that technology can be a way to appear busy in a public space. A common observation in this study was the use of headphones even though there was music playing over the speakers. When music listeners were also involved in a group, they would often put only one earphone on. This suggests that the use of these devices can impede social interaction, as only half of the device is used at a time. Alongside this finding, it was observed that within groups that were drinking alcohol, cell phone use was less frequent: in the three groups that were drinking beer, conversations were not dominated by cell phone use and none of them used laptops. Social drinking presents an opportunity for more deliberate, face-to-face conversations, perhaps because of an ability to improve the connectedness Misra et al. (2016) discusses.

CONCLUSION

Overall, this study found that technology was linked to certain activities more than others in this sample. In groups that were focused on academic work, it was much more common to see cellphones and laptops than in groups where playing games like billiards was the central motivation. This also fits in with the observed trend where students drinking alcohol were less concerned with their technology.

While technology is decried by some as an impediment to intimacy, this study observed how it brought people closer together, whether to laugh at a friend's embarrassing photo, get help with difficult homework, or organize group study sessions in student spaces. Technology frequently drew people's attention away from their friends, but also appeared to enable students to work in a way where they could socialize and focus on their school work simultaneously. At least in this environment, technology seems to create settings where social interactions coexist alongside study. On one hand, social interactions are not as engaging, but on the other hand, the use of technology to streamline study creates a setting where both can be done together without difficulty. The influence of technology on interactions is not quite as unilateral as some suggest. The contextual multiplicity Nakamara (2015) describes permits people to combine social interaction with study and anything else they wish.

For future research, a comparison between social study with and without technology could be an interesting avenue of inquiry. While technology appears to improve interactions, it is possible that more traditional ways of engaging study material in social settings produce better learning outcomes. Additionally, the number of groups that were drinking alcohol during the day was quite low and further inquiry into the relationship between social drinking and habitual phone use could shine more light on the extent of the trend in this study.

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Tuition and Higher Education: "The optimistic Joshua says he's an investor, but the pessimistic Joshua says he's a consumer"

by Tess Rahaman, Stephanie Cheung & Chelsea Hills

INTRODUCTION

How does increasing tuition impact student attitudes and their academic experience throughout their undergraduate degree? Our research will focus on the business of university and attend to the relationship between increasing tuition and student experience. This paper will explore how the financial transaction between students and universities stems from the idea that attaining a bachelor's degree positively correlates with an individual's success in the job market. As the financial burden of paying tuition increases, we want to investigate how this impacts students' attitudes and demands of the university and its faculty. Throughout this report, we will discuss three major themes and their connection to the topic of rising tuition and student experience.

As of 2016, 24.7 percent of the "working age" population in Canada holds a university degree, with 16.8 percent holding a bachelor's degree (Statistics Canada 2017). Looking specifically at Ontario, the average total for tuition fees during the 2016/2017 school year was $8,114 CAD which increased from $7,562 CAD in the 2014/2015 school year (Statistics Canada 2017). Despite consistent increases in the cost of tuition, the number of Canadians graduating with a post-secondary degree continues to grow each year. Given the numerous perspectives on consumerism in universities, it is necessary to understand how the university is preparing students for the labour market, if these consumer attitudes are ingrained in Canadian undergraduate students, and how students from Canada have altered their expectations of the services and resources the universities provide them as a result of increasing tuition. Through our research, we hope to find the ways in which students see, understand, and respond to these consumer-centric orientations manifesting in universities. Our research will provide a qualitative perspective from a Canadian undergraduate student about their own experiences, perceptions, and expectations within Ontario's higher education system.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to investigate the impact of tuition on students in university, it is necessary to have a background on the literature regarding students as consumers and the development of the university's business model. First, we will look at the financial circumstances surrounding a student's decision to attend university and how this relates to expected job market outcomes. This will be followed by looking at the internalization of consumer attitudes by students in post-secondary studies and how students assess the value of their degree. Next will be an assessment of the literature regarding how university resources and services allow students to be successful inside the institution.

Expected Outcomes from Obtaining a University Degree

One issue that students may find upon enrolling into various educational institutions is encountering the costs of higher education. In most provinces, tuition fees have doubled (Christofides, Hoy, and Yang 2009; Shin and Milton 2007). Regardless of these increases, many students continue to pursue higher education (Bates and Kaye 2014; Christofides et al. 2009; Shin and Milton 2007). For example, Christofides et al. (2009) found that higher income, education level of the family head, and expectations of increased earnings after attaining a degree are significant predictors of attending university. As expected, students pursue higher education for the main purpose of achieving a better career with high earnings and opportunities for personal growth. Furthermore, a study by Shin and Milton (2007) examined how different academic majors influenced tuition increases and student responses. Their findings indicated that students enrolled in high-earning majors, such as engineering, were more accepting of paying higher tuition in comparison to those enrolled in the social sciences, because they anticipated high returns later in their future careers. In other words, students' sensitivities to tuition increases may vary depending on the major they are enrolled in. In this context, there are a variety of influential factors that motivate students' desire to attain a higher degree of qualification.

Interestingly, many students found themselves employed during the academic year or were struggling to choose degree subjects that were more career-oriented during their undergrad (Bates and Kaye 2014; Calder et al. 2016; Neill 2013). Neill (2013) emphasized the increasing number of full-time post-secondary students that were working since the 2000s. For many students, it is difficult to balance work commitments with academic requirements. For instance, time that could be spent studying is instead spent at work. Continuing in this vein, Neill (2013) found that frequent work was associated with a lower likelihood of continuing to pursue higher education and complete their degree. Despite students' active efforts to keep their job during their academic year, many reported the ongoing struggle of covering tuition costs while balancing their courses' workload (Neill 2013; Calder et al. 2016). This effect remained even after considering the ability of students to borrow from government student loan programs (Calder et al. 2016). Clearly, affordability can be an economic issue that constricts students' focus toward their academic work and takes away from their chances of achieving a desirable future career. Interestingly, Calder et al. (2016) analyzed increases in tuition from the perspective of international students and discovered similar concerns regarding tuition fees. Many challenges arise when international students study in Canadian universities, such as the pressure to succeed, language barriers, housing, and other financially related problems (Calder et al. 2016). The financial burden of tuition is a major stressor among students, domestic or international, highlighting the negative impact tuition fees can have towards overall student success.

Cote and Allahar (2008) assert that among millennials many students enter university with a strong sense of entitlement guided by societal beliefs that a university degree leads to better jobs and higher income. Similarly, Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns (2015) agree with the notion that attending higher education is associated with the belief that students will become extremely skilled individuals capable of achieving high levels of vocational success through the development of strong self-regulation and self-discipline. Moreover, studies reveal that the culture of success has been changing through the decline in quality of education, ultimately preventing students from acquiring the

appropriate skills necessary for future vocational success (Cote and Allahar 2008; Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015). The quality of education has been declining because of disengagement, wherein professors willingly provide students with high grades in return for more favourable student evaluations. In turn, students are led to believe that the definition of success involves good grades that are easily attainable, which will result in well-paying employment (Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015). Instead, students are charged alarming amounts of tuition and leave university lacking the necessary skills and basic knowledge required to make the most out of their degree (Cote and Allahar 2008). Despite these claims, other studies have revealed a different stance in terms of student competency after completing higher education. For instance, Braun, Sheikh, and Hannover (2011) discovered divergent findings in terms of higher education's impact on future vocational success by examining student self-rated competencies. The authors assessed student vocational success during two separate time points using objective and subjective measures, such as annual income and achievement of individual goals. The results revealed that the self-rating competences acquired through higher education effectively predicted future vocational success (Braun et al. 2011). In other words, participants own self-reports regarding their subjective competence during their university experience led to consistent future vocational outcomes.

Student's Consumer Attitudes and Assessment of the Value of University

Multiple scholars argue that a consumer model for university undermines the foundational principles of learning in university institutions, highlighting how students assess the value of their degree based on how well instructors conform to their expectations (Delucchi and Korgen 2002; Newson 2004). Delucchi and Korgen (2002) conclude that treating university as business leads to "grade inflation, poor study habits, and consumer-oriented faculty evaluations" (p. 106) to the detriment of professors. This finding has been corroborated by other scholars who have problematized this approach (Newson 2004). However, these studies have not provided students with a platform to explain their beliefs and perceptions regarding higher education. Furthermore, some scholars have highlighted that the consumer model is detrimental to students (Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015; Newson 2004) and that there are students who reject being labelled as "consumers" of their education (Tomlinson 2017). For example, Newson's (2004) theoretical analysis of their experiences as a university professor described "students apologizing to [professors] for visiting their offices for help, even during posted office hours, since they 'must be very busy'" (p. 234). Although this provides the perspective of faculty members, our study will shed light on how the student embodies, conceptualizes, and experiences the growing consumer landscape of university.

Students who attend higher education must be able to afford tuition, out of pocket or by taking out a student loan, in order to meet the financial requirements of attending post-secondary institutions. Overwhelmingly, scholars have found that the cost associated with higher education is offset by the student's perception of the degree's value in the job market (Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2008; Warmington 2003). For example, Warmington (2003) found that the motivation for many students to return to school and continue their studies was because they believed this was "the 'preferred option' by which to escape […] the peripheral labour market" (p. 106). Esson and Ertl (2016) corroborated this finding and showed that many students ignored the burden of

student debt because they believed that "attending higher education was an investment in their future" (p. 1276). Several scholars found that students attempt to alleviate employment anxiety by acquiring as many qualifications as possible to distinguish themselves in an increasingly competitive job market (Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2017; Warmington 2003). Although many individuals attending post-secondary education make the financial investment to attend university to better position themselves in the labour market, our informant provided a unique perspective in the interview that diverged from this instrumental use of a university degree.

Overwhelmingly, the literature surrounding students' assessments of the "value" of a university degree is related to how they view their future employment opportunities (Delucchi and Korgen 2002; Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2008; Tomlinson 2017; Tomlinson 2018; Warmington 2003). Delucchi and Korgen (2002) found an increase in the number of students that go "to college in order to make more money" (p. 100). However, there is some indication that students' assessments of higher education's value are not strictly linked to economic outcomes (Tomlinson 2017; Tomlinson 2018; Woodall, Hiller, and Resnick 2014). In Woodall et al.'s (2014) article, they found that students' assessment of the "net value" of their higher education experience was most strongly impacted by students' perception of "price" (the fairness associated with the cost of tuition) while "results" (the outcomes for the students) had less of an impact (p. 61). Furthermore, other scholars have found that students resist viewing themselves as consumers of their education (Tomlinson 2017, 2018). Tomlinson (2017) concluded that "consumerism […] does not necessarily fully inform [the student's] approaches to, and behaviours within, higher education" (p. 464). Our study helps to reveal how tuition and other factors inform our participant's assessment of the value of a university degree.

The current literature on students' values as consumers in university has utilized a variety of research methods, such as using quantitative questionnaires (Delucchi Korgen 2002; Woodall et al. 2013), qualitative interviews (Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2008; Tomlinson 2017; Warmington 2003; Woodall et al. 2013), and theoretical analysis (Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015; Newson 2004; Tomlinson 2018). Unfortunately, most exploration of this topic has been conducted in the United Kingdom (Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2008; Tomlinson 2017; Tomlinson 2018; Warmington 2003; Woodall et al. 2014) with one quantitative study done in the United States (Delucchi and Korgen 2002). Although there is literature assessing students' sense of university's value in Canadian universities (Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015; Newson 2004), these are theoretical analyses about how the metaphor and model of consumerism is internalized by the institution and does not provide the perspective of students. In order to understand the different experiences of Canadian students (whose higher education system differs from the US and the UK), more research needs to be done to fill in this gap.

Expectations for Improved Services

Numerous scholars have found that teachers' level of effectiveness in the classroom is reflected in students' success. Students seek effective teachers who truly make their investment in education worthwhile, which is based on the desired outcomes and long-term success they create for students. It is important to note how scholars conceive of "effective teaching." Çakmak and Akkutay's (2016) research highlighted what constitutes effective teaching and what students expect to gain from investing their time with the educator. Effective teaching must provide an opportunity for social interaction between the educator and students because actively engaging with students

created a deeper relationship and more motivation to do well (Çakmak and Akkutay 2016). Additionally, the teacher's effectiveness was characterized by valuing students' cognitive development and by providing useable learning experiences to students (Çakmak and Akkutay 2016). Delucchi's (2000) article argues that learning is a primary function of effective teaching behaviour and likeability. Teaching behaviours, such as teaching with high "knowledge" and following course goals, had a positive effect on student success and increased students' ratings of their teacher (Delucchi 2000). Furthermore, Conner and Pope (2013) found that effective teaching is related to the teacher's engagement with students. If the teacher provided students with support and engagement, this gave students motivation to do well, made them value school, and gave students the ability to apply their new knowledge on a deeper logical level because they felt that the teachers cared about their academic success (Conner and Pope 2013). The findings from these scholars helped to define typical expectations that students had in terms of their teacher's pedagogy and their level of success based on the teaching quality presented to them in the classroom.

With students paying larger investments as tuition increases in higher education, this leaves students also having higher expectations of the variety of facilities and services that are offered to them in the institution. Many students, acting like consumers, support a university that has a high-quality level of services because it increases students' satisfaction levels with the overall institution (Hefer and Cant 2014). Hanssen and Solvoll (2015) found that facilities play a crucial role in students' success because having access to facilities helped make achieving goals possible, leading to increased satisfaction among students regarding the access to resources and the facilities that were provided to them. It was found that the most influential component of the student's satisfaction was the quality of social areas that the institution provided, such as large study spaces and auditoriums. Other findings also suggest that it is important for universities to provide students services such as placement services, showing that these institutions are aware of how the quality of these services created success for students (Martini and Vespasiano 2015). Therefore, real-world services and co-op positions are considered an additional resource that helps define student success. Additionally, Hefer and Cant (2014) argue that the quality of services matters to students and heavily influences their decision-making process for enrolment in an institution. These findings assert that students act as consumers and make calculated choices about their academic investment to ensure their education will be profitable in the long run, showing that students analyze and generate expectations from areas such as the university's facilities.

Rather than expecting a higher quality of services, a common theme found in scholarly research was that students' consumer attitudes towards higher education led students to make the argument "I'm paying for this" when they are dissatisfied with their experience. Delucchi and Korgen (2002) noted a strong relationship between the idea that student attitudes towards higher education are driven by consumer beliefs. Students expected "entertainment in [the] class" because they pay a high price for education, meaning they expect their classes to fully engage and reward them (Delucchi and Korgen 2002). These findings support the idea that paying for higher education increases students' entitlement to a higher quality of teaching and better overall grading because "they are paying for this," going against previous research about student entitlement relating to quality of teaching, access, facilities, and resources.

DATA AND METHODS

This study's sample consisted of one voluntary participant who is currently a third-year undergraduate student in the humanities at the University of Toronto Mississauga. The reason for a sample of one was due to the time limit and ethical restrictions for conducting research in a one-semester undergraduate level course. Once approval was obtained for our topic, the participant was contacted and asked to take part in the study through Facebook Messenger. The researcher who conducted the interview had no previous history, relationship, or contact with the participant to ensure outcomes were not biased. The interview was held in a silent study room at the University of Toronto Mississauga's library. The interviewer provided a brief summary of the study and ensured full disclosure was provided. The interview followed ethical procedures and ensured that if the participant felt uncomfortable and wanted to end the interview they were able to do so at any time. The 28-minute interview consisted of 25 open-ended questions that were designed to gauge the individual's personal values and beliefs towards higher education from a consumer standpoint. The interview was recorded on the interviewer's phone, which was then transcribed by all the study's researchers. There was no financial reward for participating in the interview. The informant's identity was kept anonymous throughout transcription as well as throughout this report's results. Items in the interview were not scored on any type of scale or classification. Instead, the answers from each question were qualitatively coded and used for analysis by the researchers. After completing the research presentation and submitting the research report, all data from the study was destroyed.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

When conducting our research on the relationship between tuition increases and student experience, we considered the role of ethics. Ethical considerations refer to the standards of conduct that emphasize the fundamental difference between what is moral or immoral behavior (Raza 2005). Ethics were a crucial element within our research study, and informed consent, confidentiality, and minimization of risk to the participant were given the utmost priority. Before beginning our investigation into the topic of university as a business, we obtained informed consent through a short debriefing followed by an acknowledgement of the informant's autonomy to participate in the study. The consent form detailed the informant's right to withdraw at any time during the interview process and that their confidentiality would be maintained throughout. In doing so, we were able to minimize any risks to the informant by ensuring maximum autonomy and employing equitable practices. Furthermore, our participant was given the pseudonym "Joshua" to ensure that no identifying information is available in the report. Group vulnerability is defined as the probability of risk for individuals who are susceptible to harm from pre-existing health and social conditions as a result of the methods of data collection for the topic of study (Peter and Friedland 2017). The nature of our study (attitudes towards the university in relation to tuition) was not a sensitive topic and did not require the informant to disclose any personal information regarding their health, race, sexuality, gender, or other minority identities. Despite the potential discomfort surrounding discussion of the informant's university experience (which could have entailed issues related to personal finance and mental health), research risk was low since the topic and research questions did not expose the informant to any active harm and did not require them to recount any past trauma.

FINDINGS

When examining the relationship between tuition increases and career opportunities, Joshua suggests a different perspective on how this association can vary depending on the informant's socioeconomic, academic, and social circumstances. Furthermore, Joshua's assessment of the value of a university degree and his attitudes towards the institution diverges from current scholarly discourse describing "students as consumers." This offered insight into the restrictive nature of having a business model for post-secondary education. Additionally, Joshua does not see increasing tuition as bettering one's academic success because there are still many situations where degrees are influenced by the labour market. This finding supports how resources and services play a crucial role within the institution and can provide more possibilities for students after completing their degree. Our findings (detailed below) provide a new contribution to current scholarship on the business of university, highlighting the impact of tuition changes on the student's perceptions, experiences, and expectations within and outside of higher education.

Rising Tuition and Career-Oriented Goals

When examining Joshua's interpretation of tuition increases, he did not seem to notice much change over the years of attending university. However, this perception could be influenced by a few factors such as student living arrangements or bursaries. As Joshua stated: "I personally wasn't concerned, uhm, about finances. I had some scholarship money and then my parents were helping me. And then I had a little bit of savings, so, uhm... I personally wasn't too worried." Joshua has mostly lived at home with his parents, who assisted in paying for part of his tuition, while the other proceeds came from his scholarship grants. Considering this information, students like Joshua would find it less difficult to afford their education and may advance through university seamlessly without debt. This perspective confirms Christofides et al.'s (2009) findings that income level is a major determinant of attending university and that students who cannot afford higher education are less likely to attend university in comparison to those who have the financial means. In Joshua's case, he did not have to worry about paying his tuition because he could rely on his parents or scholarship money. His lack of concern over tuition may relate to his inattentiveness towards tuition increases over the years. Furthermore, when asked about whether he viewed tuition charges to be reasonable, he claimed that "it's a little more reasonable than unreasonable comparatively speaking. But I don't think comparing us to th-the States who has 80 thousand dollars or something ridiculous is-is like- that shouldn't be the standard." Joshua agrees that tuition prices are acceptable, especially when compared to the US, where tuition for university is significantly higher. In this context, tuition fees are considered reasonable because those funds are allocated precisely to various relevant departments that compose higher education.

Joshua found his first-year experience to be enjoyable in terms of his transition from high school to higher education. For example, he pointed out: "I was hoping the grades wouldn't drop too much. And I was hoping to kind of get involved with a few societies, uhm, and try to meet some people. […] Overall, I was happy with like, the first year." Joshua had a successful transition from high school to university and most of his expectations of the institution were met. He entered university with the mindset of achieving good grades, meeting more people, and perhaps becoming more involved

through participating in extracurricular activities. This finding coincides with Cote and Allahar's (2008) research which showed that students typically enter university with high expectations for their academic and social life. Nonetheless, they argue that students' expectations for higher grades are diluting the quality of proper education observed in recent years (Cote and Allahar 2008). As Joshua stated: "I'd say the standards are too low. […] So, then you get all these people in university that I don't think should be here. And then you dilute the quality of the degree." That is to say, the quality of education is a significant predictor in the value of the degree after graduation. If students are not able to apply their knowledge acquired through higher education, the degree they obtain would be worthless in larger society. The university needs to improve their admissions system and the quality of education in order to emphasize students' vocational success.

Additionally, Joshua felt that the university lacked important proficiency when focusing on students' learning experiences and future outcomes. When Joshua was asked about whether he believed that his degree would be of profitable value in the labor market in relation to increases in tuition, he said:

> Nope. […] I think that raising the standards of who gets in might have an-have an effect on the quality of the degree. […] If you want a better metric value of the degree, it probably would be quality of student who's getting the degree, not quality of their bank account.

Joshua completely disagreed with the notion that tuition increases correlate with increased value of a bachelor's degree. In a similar vein, Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns (2015) described declines in university standards and educational quality, such as professors providing high grades to students in return for outstanding performance evaluations. The meaning behind higher education is drastically changing because students hope to acquire valuable skills that could be applied to their future careers, but the university curriculum may be limiting these students' abilities to successfully do so.

When reflecting on Joshua's previous years of university, he emphasized the false societal belief about university that is endorsed early on in a student's academic life. He asserted: "I don't think a lot of high school students are aware. It's not-we think of it as four years. It's almost never four years, it's almost four years, plus four more years of medical school, law school..." In other words, Joshua not only pointed out the misguided belief that university leads to career success, but also the misconception that the journey to success is a quick, one-way street. This highlights that better paying jobs require numerous years of education and learning that may alter a student's perception or attitude towards continuing their schooling. Moreover, Joshua asserted that:

> [University] definitely didn't open the doors the way they advertise themselves to. So, when you go in, they're gonna tell you all these things you can do. But then once-once you're in, it's almost like you realize that uhm…yeah, this isn't exactly the way you advertised it to me.

There are issues in the ways that universities present themselves, which ultimately influences how students make the decision to go into higher education while having little knowledge about the experience until they themselves become a member of the institution.

Consumerism as Pessimism and the Necessity of Student's Engagement

Joshua's attitudes towards university diverged from scholarly discourse about students' consumer expectations of the university. Specifically, when asked about how he views himself in relation to the university, he acknowledged that he "feel[s] like more of a consumer [laughs]. [...] But that's a little depressing to think of that way." Although Joshua notices that he feels this way, he is reluctant to adopt this label because he would rather think "more optimistically [that he is] an investor in the long term." Joshua indicated that before he started university he was "more excited than [he is] now" because he felt that his first-year classes "[were] a demotion from high school in terms of the ideas." Not only does this go against Delucchi and Korgen's (2002) finding that a business model leads to less engaged and more entitled students, but it also provides the student's perspective on how the business model of university harms young academics (mentioned in other scholarly research; Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015; Newson 2004; Tomlinson 2017). Despite this disjunction and frustration within the university, Joshua states that "[he] probably would still do it [again]." Joshua illustrates how there are still students who are excited about academics despite the changing structure of university and being forced into a consumer position.

Although Joshua's decision to attend post-secondary school was based on his career aspirations, his choice of career and decision to continue higher education was not impacted by future employability and economic outcomes in the job market. Joshua told our interviewer: "If it wasn't for the [humanities], I wouldn't be at university. […] I wanted to go to graduate school […] then eventually teach [in the humanities]. So, in order to do that, [I] needed to first get the undergrad." However, Joshua acknowledged that he "definitely doubted" pursuing university because of job market prospects rather than the actual cost of tuition. Although this does show how the job market influences decisions to attend post-secondary education (Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2008; Warmington 2003), Joshua's decision to stay in university for the humanities was despite job market prospects. In fact, one of the disadvantages Joshua identified of getting a university degree in the humanities was having "no guarantee of a job at the end of it." Although Joshua acknowledges that he is "investing […] in a process that encourages critical thinking and deep ideas," his motivation to stay in university differs from the reasons proposed by scholars such as Esson and Ertl (2016) and Warmington (2003) who found that students attended university solely to increase their employability.

Joshua's assessment of a university degree's value was not heavily influenced by the cost of tuition, and instead he assessed the value in relation to the number and quality of students who get their degree. In fact, when asked if the amount of tuition he paid each year was reasonable, Joshua started off by saying "it's a little more reasonable than unreasonable...comparatively speaking" but ultimately concluded "[He is] probably down the middle" and "[he] wouldn't want to say one or the other." This connects to Woodall et al.'s (2014) article which showed that fairness of price was associated with students viewing the value of their university experience and degree more favourably.

However, Joshua maintained a different perspective from scholarly research on ascertaining the value of a university degree. When discussing how enjoyment factored in to assessing the degree's value, Joshua responded that "more or less the courses translate to like some value in the degree." Although he acknowledged that "[he] did well in [his first-year courses]," he expressed dissatisfaction with professors' methods of assessment. This shows that receiving good marks in a course does not inherently mean a student will find the course valuable, going against scholarly research stating that

students attending university value good marks and entertainment over being academically challenged (Delucchi and Korgen 2002; Hickinbottom-Brawn and Burns 2015; Newson 2004). Additionally, Joshua suggested that "if you just stay in the class and you don't get involved then […] you might not seem like you're getting as much value in the degree." However, he argued: "But that's probably the student's fault, and not so much, like, the program's fault. […] If you get involved with the society and you like go and you meet the professors, uhm, they're usually, in my experience […] quite welcoming." Joshua suggests that students are responsible for getting value out of the degree, mirroring Tomlinson's (2017) findings that many students do not approach university with a consumer mentality.

Furthermore, Joshua criticizes how universities contribute to the degradation of a university's degree value by "flooding [the job market] with a bunch of, like, devalued degrees." Our informant outright questioned if "[the university] want[s] more students coming in so they can fill their pockets with money? Or do they want to offer quality degrees that are actually meaningful?" Although Joshua asserted the student's responsibility to get value out of their degree, he also emphasized how the institutional structure contributes to diluting the degree's value. Furthermore, Joshua stated that his degree is valuable because it offers "reading and writing [skills … and] also think[ing], like, fairly critically about things." Contrary to arguments by scholars that students value their degree in relation to job market employability (Delucchi and Korgen 2002; Esson and Ertl 2016; Tomlinson 2008; Tomlinson 2017; Tomlinson 2018; Warmington 2003), Joshua shows that many students do not inherently approach university from a consumer and job market perspective when assessing their degree's value.

The Student's Success Measured by Preparation for the Real World

Joshua's views on the academic environment and the success the institution can provide to him as a student demonstrates the importance of the university's resources and facilities. He began by claiming that "tuition doesn't entitle you to marks. It entitles you to definitely better access." This supports Hanssen and Solvoll's (2015) findings that facilities play a crucial role in a student's success because having access to multiple facilities makes achieving goals more realistic. Joshua's answer shows that paying more tuition does not mean students feel entitled to better marks, but instead students paying higher tuition expect better access to quality resources. Universities are aware such quality of services creates success for students (Martini and Vespasiano 2015) and must provide these resources to their students. Furthermore, Joshua highlights how access is the underlying variable when looking at tuition increases. Students do not feel entitled to "entertainment in class" (Delucchi and Korgen 2002) because they pay a high price for tution, which means they do not expect their classes and professors to fully engage and reward them with better grades. Therefore, Joshua clarifies that the increasing cost of tuition does not entitle students to automatic success. Instead, he highlights the importance of quality education within the institution and what the university can offer towards student success in terms of students' post-graduation goals.

Additionally, Joshua provided significant context when asked about if he had doubted his path and career choice in university due to tuition increases. Joshua responded, "Definitely doubted [attending university]. Uhm, but not because of tuition. Uhm, more because of the job market." This contributes to Martini and Vespasiano's (2015) argument about how placement services become a crucial component in the student's academic and career success. Joshua noted how his degree in the humanities

can create challenges in the labour market due to how the degree itself is "becoming devalued." He also stated how "university has helped with reading and writing skills" and noted the importance of being able to "think critically about things, especially like, with uh, the intrusion of, like, news all the time." However, when asked if the university skills he has learned are difficult to translate into the real world, he stated: "[the university] definitely didn't open the doors the way they advertise themselves to." From a consumer standpoint, he illustrates that the profit from such an investment is unclear and unknown. Joshua describes the illusion of a four-year degree as "this lie that is perpetuated that it's-it's four years and then you start working." He describes how the "pessimistic" Joshua does not "see any financial return coming right now… [He] just see[s] the money going out of the bank account, and it's not coming back in." The lack of economic return could be related to the limited services that the university provides to support his liberal arts degree, supporting scholarly research that students' assessments of higher education are driven from consumer values (Delucchi and Korgen 2002).

Ultimately, Joshua makes an interesting comparison between a university graduate and a tradesman (such as a plumber), noting how "the trades person might even be… may even carry themselves more confidently than the university student who seems to be a little more bit of a... of a uh…what would you say, vulnerable? Crack vessel? We'll call it." He describes students in terms of vulnerability and cracking based on their uncertainty about the labour market in comparison to the tradesman. This shows that Joshua focuses more on students' confidence and does not define how the professor's role is reflected in their academic success. Therefore, the belief that learning is a primary function of effective teaching behaviour and likeability (Delucchi 2000) is not supported by our research. Instead, Joshua's perspective highlights that the success university provides for their students (in terms of gaining a rewarding career) remains unclear. Joshua also mentioned that the he does not see a higher level of teaching and better quality facilities until "third and fourth year." If this is the case, this indicates that the university's lower level courses are not providing students with the proper resources and skills to set them up for success. Instead, Joshua notes that the university fosters lower self-esteem and confidence level among students, showing that the services and experiences he seeks from the university to help him in the real world and the labour market are an issue of concern. From his perspective, higher tuition does not entitle students to better grades. However, higher tuition should lead the university to providing students with support through resources and offering to help the long-term goals of students' career paths that realistically contribute to good labour market outcomes.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the findings from our informant, Joshua, illuminates the often neglected perspective of Canadian students navigating post-secondary education. The findings from this study revealed several major insights about our informant's university experience. For instance, financial pressures were not a barrier to our informant's pursuit of a post-secondary education. However, he noted that his own experiences at university did not reflect how the university markets itself as a reliable pathway to the job market. Furthermore, Joshua demonstrated a divergence from the idea that students are entitled consumers who do not believe they have to work to attain value from their degree. In fact, our informant emphasized the necessity of the student being an active and involved participant in their education. Additionally, not only was our informant unaware of

tuition increases, but he also noted that he did not find an improvement in institutional services. This shows the disjointed experience between the actual university setting and what the university advertises to future students.

Our findings contribute to the gap in research on how Canadian students view and assess their experiences and expectations of the university in relation to the growing trend of consumerism. Although our study is not representative of the larger body of university students in Ontario, it draws attention to one student's dissenting experiences and opinions from current scholarly discourse which attempts to paint students as unquestioning consumers. Further investigation of this topic, especially accounting for students from lower socio-economic statuses and from non-humanities programs, is essential to gaining a full picture of the experiences of Canadian students attending post-secondary institutions in Ontario.

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Instrumental Violence and Loss of Hegemony: A Case Analysis of Oka Crisis and the Response from the Canadian State

by Mackenzie W. G. Oxley

INTRODUCTION

Under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Indigenous human rights are reduced because of implicit colonial violence in Canadian law. In this paper, I argue that Indigenous Canadian space is governed by a system which is historically based off colonial violence and race. To begin, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Shawn A-in-chut Atleo, reflects on the events of the 1990 Oka Crisis as Indigenous rights become central in Canadian politics. The 1990 Oka Crisis was a pivotal land claim dispute that resulted in an armed standoff between the Canadian military and Mohawk warriors from Oka, and is representative of explicit state control through violence. To understand violent state responses to de-legitimation events, Wydra (2008) introduces the violent foundation of the state and its reaction towards potential acts of sovereignty. Then, drawing from Foucault (2003), it can be understood that the state disguises state violence and power through colonial law, such as the Indian Act of 1876 in Canada. Following the discussion of state violence, the definition of instrumental violence by Esmeir (2007) will isolate the type of violence used by the Mohawks. The end of instrumental violence is important, and the way it is implemented influences the desired outcome. Fanon (1990) necessitates the use of violence for initiating change in colonial regimes which have been founded through violence, while Arendt (1969) argues that instrumental violence is scarcely justified because violence may become the end in itself. The use of violence in the Oka Crisis can be linked to both Fanon (1990) and Arendt (1969), and the speech by Chief Atleo mediates the link. Furthermore, the necessity of violence to obtain land rights can be explained by drawing from Blomley's (2003) discussion on the philosophy and colonial geography of property. By this accord, York and Pindera (1991) show that some Canadian Indigenous groups, such as the Mohawks, fight not only for land rights but for sovereignty. I argue that the Oka Crisis was a sovereign act of instrumental violence that directly spurred the de-legitimation of the Canadian state, and that the national government responded violently to sustain its power.

CURRENT PRECEDENCE FOR DISCUSSING THE OKA CRISIS

A speech by former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Shawn A-in-chut Atleo, reflects on the 1990 Oka Crisis to emphasize the continuing importance of Indigenous rights. His speech, titled "Oka, 20 Years Later: The Issues Remain," reminds Canadians that long-term Indigenous land disputes still exist. On November 12th 2010, Canada committed to the UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* to promote Indigenous rights at home and abroad (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada 2010). Although this endorsement was a non-legally binding document (INAF 2010), it

recognized the individual and collective rights of Indigenous peoples. In 2006, the Canadian government signed the Indian Residential Schools Settlement (IRSSA) agreement, which promised Indigenous Canadians who attended a resident school financial compensation for their trauma. However, seven years after Chief Atleo's speech, land claim disputes remain a difficult topic between Indigenous Canadians and the government. In the New York Times, Ian Austen (2017) stated that 140 Indigenous groups that never signed treaties are in stagnant discussions with the government. Moreover, 72 cases of land claims for Indigenous groups with historical treaties also remain unchanged (Austen 2017). Chief Atleo echoes Austen (2017), stating, "Where claims are resolved through negotiation, the length of time needed to settle such claims often takes more than a decade" (Atleo 2010). Chief Atleo's speech is a political statement designed to increase awareness for Indigenous rights, specifically the 1990 Oka Crisis and other land disputes which continue to affect Indigenous Canadians today.

First, the Oka Crisis of 1990 must be contextualized to better understand Chief Atleo's political position. The Oka Crisis, forefronted in Chief Atleo's speech, was a violent confrontation between the Canadian military and First Nation Kanesatake Mohawks regarding the Pines land transfer in the county of Oka, Quebec. After Quebec provincial police attempted to dissuade protestors by storming Mohawk barricades, it resulted in a violent, armed standoff. (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). One officer died, and many police cruisers were re-used for barricade reinforcement (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). Seeing that the standoff was not resolved by provincial police, 2,500 Canadian infantry soldiers were ordered to dismantle the barricades and advance on the Mohawks (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). After 78 days of armed standoff, 32 Mohawks were criminally charged but immediately acquitted for their actions, while two were criminally charged and sentenced for numerous degrees of violent behaviour during the protest (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). By 1997, the Pines was purchased from Oka, and in 1999 the Mohawks regained legal rights to the heart of the pines (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). During the protest, citizens across Canada rallied behind the Mohawk's claim of the Pines ownership, and supported the rectification of Indigenous rights. However, during the Oka Crisis, the media and government's discourse about the Kanesatake Mohawks was of militant collective action and violent tendencies (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). Such discourse may have been reflective of the 'savage' Indigenous stereotype perpetuated in colonial history (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). This event united Canadians behind Indigenous rights, and showed how the government reacted to control a power-based situation. Violence, in the form of 2500 Canadian soldiers against protestors, could be an example of an exaggerated response from a state that felt de-legitimated.

THE INTERSECTION OF VIOLENCE, LEGITIMACY, AND SPACE

To understand state loss of hegemony and de-legitimation, state violence and instrumental violence are key concepts that will help determine the violent origins of the state and colonial violence that exists as law in Canada. Following a Hobbesian interpretation, the inception of the state is imbedded with violence because it requires the domination of the previous state or people to operate. If this origin of the state is accepted, it can be said that any act of violence indicating sovereign intent could delegitimize the state. To prevent violent revolution, the state monopolizes the use of violence through the power of law and enforcement (Wydra 2008). Moreover, Wydra (2008) notes that a hierarchy of violence exists to remove violence from the community. This indicates that

any violence conducted outside of the state, yet inside its legal boundaries, could be designated as a threat to the state. This designation is important, because if a threat is justified by the citizens of the state, such as how the rest of the Canadians supported the Mohawks, a violent threat could transition into state de-legitimation and the state may react more punitively. Concurrently, explicit colonial state violence, such as the use of residential schools, transitioned into implicit colonial-based laws like the Indian Act of 1876. The perpetuation of colonial violence is masked by the law, and the Indian Act reminds Indigenous Canadians about the historical power differences that remain (Foucault 2003). The operation of the state, rooted in violence and reactive to de-legitimation, is key to understanding the reaction of the Canadian government to the Oka Crisis.

Additionally, instrumental violence must be defined to better understand how the state and the Mohawks appropriated violence. Violence can be used as an instrumental tool to achieve an end (Esmeir 2007), and the Oka Crisis is an example of this. The term, according to Esmeir (2007), originates from the idea that instrumental violence acts with the goal of an end, but not a fixed end. Instrumental violence can operate within a broad goal without ever achieving a definitive end, suggesting that the means of violence could become the end (Esmeir 2007; Arendt 1969; Wydra 2008). As such, the state uses its monopoly of violence to enact law and order. For the Kanesatake Mohawks, violence became an instrument to defend their rights as Canadian citizens over land claims. The state and the Mohawks differ in their end goal. Inherently, the violent means of the state to achieve the end of law and order is never-ending. Law only exists because it needs to control the lawless nature outside its legal bounds (Blomley 2003). Therefore, if law exists, the violent means to achieve law and order is perpetuated. At the conclusion of the Oka crisis, Mohawk warriors burned their weapons (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). The violence used during the Oka Crisis was instrumental, implemented to fight for Indigenous rights. Their intentions are reverberated by Chief Atleo when he states, "No one wants to see another Oka—least of all first nations. When we reflect on Oka, the issue should not be one of blame but of the need to work together to resolve the many outstanding issues" (Atleo 2010). Derived from Chief Atleo's words is a need to use instrumental means to achieve an end, violent or non-violent. The violent reaction to the Oka Crisis by the Canadian government, and the violent response from the protestors themselves, may both be instrumental. However, it must be asked if instrumental violence is required to overcome implicit colonial violence.

To overcome implicit colonial violence, a parity between Fanon (1990) and Arendt (1969) can be drawn to show that instrumental violence may be used in cases of specific oppression, such as the Oka Crisis. In Canada, the law regarding Indigenous peoples is disjunctive in the sense that Indigenous rights are available to some Indigenous groups and not others. Substantive citizenship, including civil and cultural rights associated with formal citizenship, is unequal between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, and Indigenous and non-Status Indigenous groups (Super 2018). This disjunction between Canadian ethnic groups is indicative of persistent colonial violence. To overcome colonial violence that is implicit through law would require violence equal to the foundation of violence associated with colonialism (Fanon 1990). However, Fanon (1990) also states that violence cannot create power; violence can only remove power. Even though Fanon (1990) may necessitate violence, there is an understanding that violence must be used instrumentally. Building upon this, Arendt (1969) argues that using violence to achieve an end results in violence overcoming the end goal. Since violence cannot create power (Fanon 1990), power must be the state building force which requires legitimacy (Arendt

1969). These two points are contradictory because on one hand, violence is arguably the foundation of colonial state building, but power is the only force capable of sustaining governance through legitimation. The result is achieved at the moment the end goal of removing a colonial power is reached. Violence must be used instrumentally, and Fanon (1990) and Arendt (1969) agree that power is gained through legitimation, not violence. In terms of the Oka Crisis, the Mohawks may have displayed this type of instrumental violence not to remove a state, but to gain substantive rights to land. Moreso, because a state runs on power and legitimacy, de-legitimacy and loss of hegemony would warrant a violent response from the state.

The type of instrumental violence used is important to note because it influences the state's reaction to de-legitimation in two distinct ways: colonial state removal as per Fanon (1990) or instrumental justification as per Arendt (1969). The purpose of instrumental violence for Indigenous Canadians is difficult to determine because different Indigenous groups have different ends in mind. For example, Indigenous communities are socially and economically excluded (Cao 2014), which is representative of structural violence that discriminates against Indigenous communities rooted in colonial subjugation (Karandinos et al. 2013). Therefore, Indigenous groups have a choice to fight for substantive rights or to fight for sovereignty from an oppressive state. In response to structural violence, Fanon (1990) argues that political action cannot bring structural change, and that violence is necessary. Since the state has a monopolization on violence, any change initiated by violence would be a direct threat to state legitimacy. A sovereign act of instrumental violence would garner an increased violent response from the government because it represents a de-legitimation process. Contrary to this, and equal to Chief Atleo's point of view, the goal to remove structural violence is not to remove the state, but to receive equal rights and equal integration into society. Chief Atleo states that structural violence against Indigenous Canadians should be resolved "in a way that benefits all Canadians" (Atleo 2010). However, the state response from Canada was a violent military response, which resembles the type of instrumental violence used by the Kanesatake Mohawks from Fanon's perspective. If the Kanesatake Mohawks were seeking not only substantive rights, but also sovereignty, the importance of land and space in colonial property laws is indicative of the type of violence used and the subsequent reaction from the state.

By discussing property and land laws, we can better understand the structural violence that encompasses Indigenous Canadians. Structural violence can be traced back to the transition of Indigenous space into Western property, and surveyors of this space were important sociological agents for shaping Indigenous treaties and rights. According to Blomley (2003), colonial surveyors marked space and converted it into units of place. Subsequently, redistributing space based off the surveyors' and Crown's interpretation of the land changed traditional boundaries. Moreover, characterizing Indigenous space as vacant place removes Indigenous land of its historical significance, and it becomes a property and commodity of the state (Blomley 2003). This is evident with the Pines land claim, which denied ownership to the Kanesatake Mohawks because it was the property of the Oka county (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012), even though it was an agreed upon traditional site. Chief Atleo acknowledges that the redistribution of space is common, and states that "the comprehensive claims process, which deals with areas of land where Canada failed to negotiate a treaty with a first nation, can take more than two decades to conclude" (Atleo 2010). Land claims without treaties are a lengthy process, and Blomley (2003) suggests that in a colonial context, violence is required to successfully transfer ownership of land. Furthermore, without creating treaties with the colonizers,

Indigenous groups would not lose sovereignty of their land. By intersecting the structural violence incurred by the redistribution of Indigenous land into property, with the historical Indigenous ownership of land, it can be said that Indigenous sovereignty from the Canadian state could be a strong movement towards ending structural violence. If the Canadian state recognizes that Indigenous sovereignty is a possibility, a violent response would be adequate to reduce the de-legitimization that occurs when sovereign activists use violence.

Sovereignty from the Canadian state has been discussed by Indigenous groups in Canada, and therefore Kanesatake Mohawks using instrumental violence to regain land may have been a direct internal threat to the state. After the Oka Crisis concluded, the private re-construction of the Pines halted and legal rights were fully returned to the Kanesatake Mohawks by 1999 (Corrigal-Brown and Wilkes 2012). However, government surveillance due to Indigenous activism has increased in the decades following the 1990 Oka Crisis (Proulx 2014). When Indigenous groups protest the exploitation of Indigenous land, surveillance becomes an important tool for protecting and extending security to non-Indigenous land stakeholders (Proulx 2014). Notwithstanding, Indigenous sovereignty is a real discussion, as described by York and Pindera (1991):

> Yet by international standards, the Mohawks can make a strong argument for sovereignty: they were never conquered by military force; they have never agreed to give up their sovereignty; they signed treaties with European countries on a nation-to-nation basis; and they served as equal partners with Britain in military alliances (p. 409).

Combined with the illegal redistribution of land and sovereignty during the colonization of Indigenous peoples, the argument for sovereign Kanesatake Mohawks during the Oka Crisis peaked. Even more, Indigenous activism towards Indigenous land exploitation has been described as a direct threat to the state (Proulx 2014), because resources that contribute to the Canadian economy are withheld. Proulx's (2014) interpretation of an Indigenous threat to the Canadian state mirrors the threat experienced at the Oka Crisis. However, we are reminded of Chief Atleo's counter narrative to Proulx (2014) when he repeats his goal to "achieve fair settlement in the thousands of lawful obligations that will, in turn, unleash new economic benefits for all" (Atleo 2010). The violent reaction of the Canadian state during the Oka Crisis occurred because of a sovereign threat causing de-legitimation of the state's monopoly of violence and power.

CONCLUSION

State de-legitimation and loss of hegemony occurs when the state's means to sustain its power are threatened. Although the Kanesatake Mohawks may have used instrumental violence to regain land rights, the Canadian government's militant response to the Oka Crisis implies that it felt threatened by and continues to be threatened by Indigenous sovereignty. The colonial state is founded upon violence according to Wydra (2008), and de-legitimation occurs when violence ensues outside the boundaries of the state. Meanwhile, Foucault (2003) claims that colonial violence is masked by the law, and that a colonial state is maintained through the law. Additionally, the Kanesatake Mohawks used instrumental violence to regain land rights, whereas the Canadian state used perpetual instrumental violence to maintain the law. Fanon (1990) necessitates violence, but not the continuation of violence, and Arendt (1969) asserts that violence is

justified if it is stopped after the end is achieved. The Kanesatake Mohawks showed evidence of both perspectives, yet the militant reaction of the Canadian state aligns with Fanon's (1990) de-legitimation of the state. Structural violence incurred by the redistribution of Indigenous land during colonial surveying, as Blomley (2003) describes, provides a premise for instrumental violence and justifies the end goal of land rights. Lastly, the argument that a sovereign threat influenced the violent militant response is described by York and Pindera (1991) in terms of the Kanesatake Mohawks.

The Oka Crisis of 1990 occurred decades ago, yet Chief Atleo provides a final reflection: "Twenty years is a long time, especially when we consider that many of the same issues confront first nations today" (Atleo 2010). Achieving substantive rights for Indigenous Canadians is a process that remains hindered by a governing system that is rooted in colonial laws and practices. The Oka Crisis is representative of a state that still views Indigenous peoples as outsiders because it responded in a militant fashion that is common with sovereign, lawless activists. Ultimately, the Oka Crisis was a sovereign act of instrumental violence that directly spurred the de-legitimation of the Canadian state, and the national government responded violently in order to sustain its power.

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Recent Immigrants from South Asia? A Case of Double-Jeopardy: An Institutionalized Devaluation of Foreign Credentials and Experience

by Akaramah Khawaja

ABSTRACT

The Canadian labour market is stratified amongst immigrant and native-born workers. This stratification is associated with an approximately 11% immigrant-native born wage gap. Recent immigrants to Canada, especially those arriving from developing countries experience considerable downward mobility. In addition, they have experienced significant job status decline after arriving to Canada. Past literature has shown that the devaluation of their foreign acquired education and work experience is a significant factor in this regard. Thus, this situation has led to recent immigrants' poor economic performance in the Canadian labour market relative to native-born workers and immigrants from European nations. Through two semi-structured, in-depth interviews, and secondary sources, this paper argues that recent Canadian immigrants with foreign credentials along with foreign work experience are highly disadvantaged with respect to their earnings potential due to the government and employers failing to recognize foreign credentials and experience. This effect is exacerbated for visible minority members, particularly those from South Asian origin.

INTRODUCTION

During the last decade, immigrants have experienced considerable difficulties in finding employment commensurate with their academic credentials and work experience. This has led to their downward mobility post-arrival and poor economic performance in the Canadian labour market. Through in-depth, semi-structured interviews of two recent immigrants from South Asia, this study confirms that employers de-value and discredit their foreign acquired education and experience. This paper argues that recent Canadian immigrants with foreign credentials along with foreign work experience are highly disadvantaged with respect to their earnings potential due to the government and employers' failure to recognize foreign credentials and experience. The data is analyzed using the Dual or Split Market Theory, which states that the 'expensive' labour group is able to maintain their power over the labour market by creating extensive systems which tend to devalue and discredit recent immigrants' foreign acquired education and work experience.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Past literature has demonstrated evidence of recent immigrants' struggle in the Canadian labour market (Li 2008; Reitz 2012). Li (2008) shows the presence of gross earnings differentials between visible minority immigrants and those of British origin.

These differences persist even among immigrants from different racial and ethnic origins. Similarly, Reitz (2012) shows that recent immigrants are struggling in the Canadian labour market with respect to difficulties in finding employment. According to Reitz, this may be due to racial divisions within the labour market. Various researchers show that recent immigrants experience poor economic performance as well as difficulties finding employment commensurate with their credentials and work experience (Reitz et al. 2014; Li 2008; Wilkinson et al. 2016). Reitz et al. (2014) provides evidence of immigrant skill underutilization whereby the economy is not able to make use of immigrants' foreign acquired skills and experiences. Furthermore, these authors state that not only do they find evidence of skill underutilization, but also that it is growing. In fact, they discovered that the phenomenon of underutilization has grown twice its size since the 1990's. In addition, they estimate that this 'brain drain' is costing the Canadian economy approximately $11.37 billion (2006). However, their most unique finding is that immigrants are paid less even when they are employed in similar occupations (which make use of similar skills) to their native-born counterparts. Finally, Reitz et al. (2014) show that Canadian immigration and economic policies which were created prior to 2006, and were meant to deal with such issues, have not proved to be fruitful.

Similarly, Wilkinson et al. (2016) show that recent immigrants arriving in Canada experience a significant job status decline. Moreover, the extent of this job status decline depends on the immigrants' place of educational attainment, province of residence, and their length of time in Canada. They discovered for example that immigrants arriving with a National Occupation Code (NOC) level A and B are significantly less likely to start their careers within those job statuses post-immigration to Canada. Out of the 47% of immigrants arriving with a job status of NOC A and B, only 28% remained in those job levels after their immigration to Canada. Conversely, they found that initially 21% of immigrants arrived at the NOC C level, however, this percentage increased to 31% post-arrival. Finally, the percentage of immigrants arriving with a NOC D job status increased from 2% from pre-arrival to 14% after their arrival in Canada. Clearly, visible minority immigrants experienced significant job status declines after arriving in Canada.

More specifically, immigrants experience downward mobility due to an institutionalized de-skilling and devaluation of their foreign credentials and experience (Bazdugan and Halli 2009). They also show that foreign credentials and experience is discounted to a higher degree for immigrants arriving from developing countries. Moreover, researchers show evidence of immigrants' skill underutilization due to overeducation and undereducation and its economic impact to the Canadian economy in real terms (Wald and Fang 2008; Chiswick and Miller 2008). Wald and Fang (2008) show that economic returns for an additional year of schooling are greater for native-born than recent immigrants. For the native-born, each additional year of schooling provides them with a return of 8.3%, while for recent immigrants, the returns are 6.7%. Moreover, the returns to overeducation for recent immigrants is 60.9%, while for native-borns, the returns are approximately 74.5%. Wald and Fang also show that immigrants from European descent earn about 20.8% more than visible minority immigrants. Finally, these authors show that households which most often speak a language other than English or French are 10% more likely to be overeducated.

Past literature has attempted to uncover the reasons why some immigrants' foreign credentials and experience are being devalued above and beyond other immigrants (Fortin et al. 2016). The place of education in this regard plays a significant role (Fortin et al. 2016). By controlling Canada as a place of study, these authors discovered that almost 50% of the 'immigrant effect' declines. This means that country of

highest education attained is a highly significant factor with regards to returns on education. With respect to Canada, Fortin et al. discovered large negative premiums with regards to place of education. The largest negative premiums were associated with education attained from India, Pakistan, China, and the rest of Asia, with Pakistan fairing the worst amongst them. Conversely, the effects from Australia, New Zealand, USA, and Europe were relatively small. Finally, they show that more than 75% of the 11% immigrant-native born income gap can be explained due to place of education (foreign versus Canadian education).

Further, length of duration within Canada acts as a mitigating factor in terms of recent immigrants' economic integration, and in turn, their economic performance (Wilkinson et al. 2016). Other factors which lead to situations of precariousness for immigrants are language barriers (Guo 2013), the role of the family (Creese et al. 2008), and finally, discrimination (Oreopoulous 2011; Kazemipur 2014; Harrison and Lloyd 2013). Guo (2013) shows that 70% of Chinese recent immigrants in his study experienced difficulties integrating into Canadian society. Many were not able to secure employment in their respective fields prior to immigrating. Guo (2013) claims that the largest barrier to integration was based on language barriers. His findings indicated that immigrants require at least 10 years to integrate effectively in the Canadian labour market. Creese et al. (2008) suggest that the family plays a supportive role in the immigration integration experience especially as immigrants have considerable difficulties re-skilling to the levels prior to immigration. Immigrants are less likely to re-skill due to the cost of education, length of time required to complete their education and immediate need of funds due to survival demands. Further, they found that male career advancement is prioritized relative to females amongst married couples.

Immigrants also experience overt discrimination based on their ethnicity (Oreopoulous 2011) as well as indirect or implicit discrimination due to notions such as their accents (Remennick 2013). Moreover, research provides evidence that immigrants may continue to experience discrimination through successive generations (Skuterud 2010). Other researchers have focused their attention to immigrants' social ethnic ties especially as they pertain to a credential deficit or the relative speed of attaining their intended occupations in Canada (Li 2008). Lastly, past literature shows that the process and the negative effects of the devaluation of immigrants' foreign credentials and experience concerning non-regulated professions are similar for regulated professions in Canada (Girard and Smith 2012).

Traditional Dual Labour Market or Split Market Theory

Edna Bonacich (1972) created a dual labour market or what is also known as split market theory in 1972. In her book "A theory of Ethnic Antagonism," she theorizes why ethnic divisions are created in the labour market. In doing so, she focuses her attention to three main 'actors' – business, expensive labour, and cheap labour. She argues that the relationship of all three of these actors is inherently antagonistic because, as stakeholders, they all have opposing desires. Business desires the cheapest labour possible to maximize its profit. Generally, labourers all have an inherent desire to maximize their own profits. Thus, in a hypothetical scenario, the existence of only expensive labour in the market will not create a market split. However, in the case where cheap labour also exists, the market will deterministically become split or segmented. In other words, business will now have the option to select cheaper labourers for doing the same type of work. Invariably, the availability of cheap labour in the market is a significant threat to expensive labour. Therefore, Bonasich argues that the expensive labour group will do everything in its power to thwart the threat of cheap labour.

Bonasich (1972) further argues that the expensive labour group attempts to thwart the threat of cheaper labour through the process of 'exclusion'. However, when it is not possible for the expensive labour group to completely exclude cheaper labour from the market, it will resort to exclusiveness rather than exclusion. Thus, expensive labour will try to exclude cheaper labour from certain professions. The monopoly of expensive labour within certain occupations and professions dictates that they will be able to demand compensation from business at a higher pay scale than cheaper labour. Conversely, within a 'caste system', expensive labour will demand pay at a higher pay scale than cheap labour with regards to the same occupation with similar work. Essentially, it will create an 'aristocracy' within the labour market. However, to accomplish this, expensive labour will create systems which are "rigid and vigilant" and develop an "elaborate battery of laws, customs and beliefs aimed to prevent undercutting." Indeed, split market theory makes sense considering recent immigrants' inability to find employment in the Canadian labour market which is commensurate with their foreign credentials and experience because they represent the 'cheap labour' group.

Lastly, Bonnasich (1972) states that the deeper issue of 'undercutting' trumps those of racism or discrimination. In other words, expensive labour's efforts at exclusion/exclusiveness and the creation and maintenance of 'caste systems' is not related to discrimination – it is purely business. However, considering recent literature, it seems that discrimination, whether explicit or implicit, also plays a role above and beyond profit maximization. Thus, recent immigrants experience a case of 'double jeopardy' in which not only are they adversely affected because they represent the 'cheap labour' group in Bonnasich's theory, but also because they experience direct and indirect ethnic discrimination beyond notions of profit maximization and undercutting.

METHODS

This study uses two semi-structured, in-depth qualitative interviews to identify the various processes which hinder immigrants' successful labour market integration in Canada. This method is preferred over quantitative methods because it has the potential to extract rich and in-depth information regarding the specific macro and micro factors which play a role in immigrants' life trajectory post-immigration.

For this study, two respondents were interviewed on separate occasions following a predetermined interview guide. Verbal consent to conduct the interviews for research purposes was granted by both respondents prior to the interview. Further, both participants were provided instruction regarding research ethics, consent, and the general purpose of the research. Furthermore, both participants agreed to be recorded during the interview. Finally, both participants represented minimal research risk as they were both legally documented immigrants and did not belong in the vulnerable group category.

The interviews were conducted on two separate occasions. Omar was interviewed at his home, while Ali was invited to the researcher's own home to conduct the interview. Both interviews were conducted in English and were transcribed verbatim immediately after the interview. The researcher obtained both respondent's consent to record the interviews. Lastly, both participants consented to participating in the research project. They also agreed that the findings of this research project may be used for future research or teaching opportunities. Both participants were given pseudonyms by the researcher to protect their identity and maintain confidentiality. Moreover, any personal information of the participants which could reveal their identity in any way was de-personalized.

Both interviews lasted approximately one hour, and there were no major issues or concerns during the interviews.

Participant 1, Omar*, arrived in Canada in 2013 from Pakistan through a spousal sponsorship program as his spouse was already a Canadian citizen. Currently, Omar is married with three children. Prior to arriving in Canada, Omar was employed by the Pakistani Government in the position of a senior director. His previous roles included consulting at a marketing firm and being employed in his family business of importation and sales of high-end foreign automobiles. Omar possesses a relatively high socio-economic status (SES) in Pakistan. Thus, he obtained his education at a prestigious institution due to the resources that were available to him in Pakistan. His educational credentials include a Bachelor's and an MBA in Business and Finance. Currently, Omar is employed in the automotive sales sector as a sales consultant in the Greater Toronto Area.

Participant 2, Ali*, immigrated from Pakistan in the year 2015. Ali also arrived in Canada through the spousal sponsorship program as his spouse was already a Canadian citizen. Like Omar, Ali also works in the automotive sales sector in the Greater Toronto Area. Further, Ali also belongs to a family which possesses a relatively high socio-economic status in Pakistan. Ali completed his first undergraduate degree in Pakistan and moved on to complete his second undergraduate degree in the U.K. thereafter, he completed his MBA in business and finance from U.K. Like Omar, Ali is married with children and currently resides with the family.

Data collection through interviewing included personal work experience, education credentials, work history, family background, relationship status, and experiences finding employment in Canada. The participants were also asked about their reasons for and experiences during finding their current employment. Finally, at times, the respondents were specifically asked whether they experienced discrimination in Canada, and whether they feel that their current employment is commensurate with their educational and professional background.

FINDINGS

The findings from both interviews show significant similarities to the findings and claims of past literature. Both respondents felt that their current and past employment history post-immigration to Canada does not correspond to their academic credentials and past work experience in Pakistan and the United Kingdom. The results confirm the process of immigrant skill and credential devaluation in the Canadian labour market. For example, participant one, Omar, currently works in the automotive sales industry as a sales consultant at a car dealership. However, his educational background includes an undergraduate degree as well as an MBA in business and finance from Pakistan. This situation is also true in the case of participant two, Ali. More specifically and as an example, when asked whether Omar's current employment corresponds to the quality of employment he had in Pakistan, he stated:

> "I think the skills I am using here are the customer services skills that I have attained over my experience – life and work experience to be precise. But my real experience that I have attained as a manager, as a deputy director, as a regional head, as someone who used to manage team, who used to manage an area for different purposes that I used to meet targets for different scenarios that I had to,

> I think I could have put that to a much better use but I am not able to use those experiences here" (Omar 2018).

Therefore, Omar did not feel that he was efficiently using his educational background and past work experience here in Canada. Furthermore, his personal experience in finding employment in the Canadian labour market dictates that Canadian employers highly value Canadian education and experience. He stated: "I think two things that have played a major role in not being able to land a role that I wanted to was Canadian education and Canadian experience. If I don't have Canadian experience in my field they won't let me in." (Omar 2018). Omar is unable to find employment which is commensurate with his educational background and past work experience in Pakistan.

Financial constraints following immigration also prevented Omar's upward mobility. Since Omar is married with three children, he is directly responsible for his family's well-being. Omar states:

> "So, if I want to get Canadian education, I am tied up with meeting my expenses. So that's something that keeps me tied up. So, there are both ways, I am tied both ways. If I get into education, I can't meet my expenses. If I meet my expenses and try to land a basic job in my field, they wouldn't hire me because I don't have Canadian education" (Omar 2018).

According to him, he is unable to re-educate in Canada due to financial constraints of providing for his family. This finding aligns with Creese et al. (2008) which state that immigrants have considerable difficulties re-skilling due to the financial constraints of having a family with children in Canada. Re-skilling in Canada is especially difficult for Omar as he is the sole-earner in his family.

Ali's situation is also quite similar in that he was unable to secure employment commensurate with his foreign acquired credentials and experience. Interestingly however, Ali received his education from the U.K. This fact is interesting because according to literature, there is a positive premium attached to foreign education acquired in the U.K (Fortin et al. 2016). In other words, Canadian employers prefer educational credentials from U.K. above that of other places of education. When asked what kind of employment he was hoping for in Canada, he stated:

> "I wanted to work for a bank. I applied to a few banks as well, and received an interview. I went to the interview. I met the branch manager, and what she said was that you know we should have people from Canada with Canadian degrees and Canadian work experience. So, the UK degrees, we are not that bothered. That was the words. So, I was like if you don't give me the job, how am I going to have Canadian experience. So that was very disappointing. So, after that I didn't give any interviews to banks. So, after that I started to apply for differing companies like electricity. Anything really to fulfill my needs" (Ali 2018).

Ali found it extremely difficult to find employment in his field of banking and was advised that his U.K. degree is not valued as much as a Canadian degree.

DISCUSSION

Creese and Wiebe (2012) show that recent immigrants (those from Africa in their study) become 'stuck' in 'survival employment' because they are initially not able to secure employment which is commensurate with their foreign acquired credentials and experience. In Omar's case, these financial difficulties led him to search for 'survival employment' when initially unable to find work commensurate with his skills and abilities. For example, after first arriving in Canada, Omar began working in a chemical factory as a manual labourer. While this employment provided him with immediate funds to run his household, it failed to provide him with any valuable work experience which could lead him into employment related to his own field of business and finance. Once involved in this form of 'survival employment', Omar found it very difficult to get out and seek appropriate employment based on his past credentials and work experience.

Indeed, there seems to be a great mismatch between both respondents' educational credentials and past work experience in Pakistan to that of their current and past employment history in Canada. they were both overeducated for all jobs held within Canada. According to literature, this type of employment mismatch has adverse effects in terms of negative premiums on each year of education (Miller 2008; Wald and Fang 2008). Further, these penalties are greater for some groups of immigrants than others (Wald and Fang 2008). The place of education is a significant factor in this regard. South Asian immigrants' education and work experience has the largest negative premiums and is the least valued in the Canadian labour market (Wald and Fang 2008). Thus, the findings in this study to some extent confirm the past claims of negative premiums attached to highest education attained in Pakistan through the Pakistani respondent's' failure to attain employment commensurate with their foreign credentials and experience.

Lastly, both respondents felt that social net-works are a significant mitigating factor in finding employment in Canada. When asked whether his social networks have helped him attain employment in Canada, Omar stated: "Yes, from the day I landed in this country, every job I have ever attained has been through a reference. If there weren't any references, I wouldn't know if I would be here." (Omar 2018). In addition, both respondents attained their current and past employment through ethnic social networks. However, their employment in Canada thus far has failed to match the level of their academic credentials and work experiences. Thus, the findings in this study confirm past literature which shows that social-ethnic networks, though helpful, are unable to override the adverse effects of a credential deficit (Li 2008). In other words, both respondents' co-ethnic social networks failed to assist them in finding employment commensurate with their foreign-acquired credentials and work experience.

Using the Dual or Split Market Theory, one can see how the 'expensive' labour group are able to maintain their power over the labour market by creating extensive systems which tend to devalue and discredit recent immigrants' foreign acquired education and work experience. In doing so, the expensive labour group – in this case their native-born counterparts, can protect themselves from potential undercutting by recent immigrants. Yet, in the attempt to satisfy the expensive labour group, the Canadian economy eventually suffers due to the 'underutilization of immigrants' skills. Unfortunately for visible minority immigrants, especially for those arriving from Pakistan, this study shows that they suffer a case of double jeopardy. That is, not only are their credentials and experiences being devalued for the sake of profit maximization and notions of undercutting, they are also being discriminated against due to their ethnicity.

Lastly, while the respondents in the study do not acknowledge that they have experienced overt discrimination in their employment search, it is argued that discrimination may be playing a factor in recent immigrants' failure to attain employment in their intended occupations.

CONCLUSION

First and foremost, the current study confirms previous research which shows that immigrants have considerable difficulties in finding employment which is commensurate to their academic credentials and work experience in the Canadian labour market. Due to these difficulties, recent immigrants experience considerable downward mobility after arriving in Canada. this study finds that the most significant factor in shaping recent immigrants' employment trajectory in Canada is the failure of employers to recognize and value their foreign credentials and work experience. This adversely affects recent immigrants' economic outcomes in the Canadian labour market. This study confirms past literature particularly regarding recent immigrants and ethnic social networks. This study shows that although recent immigrants benefit from ethnic social networks generally in terms of integration into Canadian society, the presence of these networks fails to assist these immigrants in finding employment commensurate with their foreign acquired credentials and experience.

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Toronto's New Mega-Courthouse: What are the Potential Risks for Canadian Youth?

by Maureen Arsenal

Neoliberalism changed the way Canada plans and executes its criminal justice legislation. The closure of youth courts and amalgamation of youth courts into one mega-courthouse is a neo-liberalistic example of 'managerialism' (Muncie 2006). Muncie (2006) explains neo-liberalism as a way of states taking less responsibility and action on crime, and emphasizes the individual's responsibility and active citizenry to reduce their likelihood of being harmed. Furthermore, Muncie defines managerialism as making efficient economic decisions. The emphasis of managerialism is to focus on efficiency and effectiveness, and thus the "business" side of decision-making. For instance, the creation of a mega-courthouse based on its proposed cost efficiency is an example of managerialism. This paper argues that the mega-courthouse for youth in Toronto violates the principles of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) by undermining the importance of separating the criminal justice system for both youth and adult offenders. Doing so prioritizes economic benefits over the special care and differentiated processes needed by youth offenders. This is evident by observing how the mega-courthouse specifically contravenes sections 3(d) and (d)(i), which demonstrate the limitations judges face in applying principles of the YCJA, and sections 3(a)(iii) and 3(c)(iii), which state the integral value that youth offenders find in community-based programs.

LITERATURE OVERVIEW

After analyzing the role and societal expectations of judges since the Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA)-YCJA, and the unique challenges of youth court, Beaulieu and Cesaroni (1999) concluded that it is essential to keep youth separate from the adult criminal justice system. The reason for this assessment is that judges must be adept and sensitive to the special circumstances and individual characteristics of the youth coming before them. Furthermore, Roberts (2004) supports Beaulieu and Cesaroni (1999) by dismantling critics' theories that contend if youth can determine wrong from right, then they should face the consequences and that the YCJA is simply a 'slap on the wrist.' But rather than focusing on the capacity of judges, Roberts (2004) takes a more practical approach and argues that prison impedes their "educational and social development" (310). Youth need a system specifically designed to promote proactive behaviours. These proactive behaviours assist in developing an understanding of the benefits of a law-abiding lifestyle that an adult system would not offer otherwise. Along similar lines, Harris et al (2004) studied extrajudicial measures (EJM) and concluded that the YCJA has encouraged officers to use EJM as an alternative to formal processes due to its benefits for youth offenders. Harris et al (2004) concludes that EJM is the most appropriate method when handling youth offenders as it can be tailored to correct offending behaviour. Along similar lines, Mann et al (2007) recapitulates the importance of EJM as they analyze a student named 'Connie' and her experiences with various institutions and

organizations that were designed to help youth just like her. Mann et al (2007) state that despite the diverse services available to youth offenders, the key to whether youth find the programs effective is based on how it is executed. In Connie's case, Mann et al (2007) found that attending school and participating in activities at the Children's Aid Society only proved to be detrimental to her well-being and rehabilitative progress. In comparison, counselling through a mental health organization was more promising as Connie emphasized the importance of having someone speak to her. Robertson, Grimes, and Rogers (2001) affirm Mann et al's (2007) claims of the benefits of EJM and community-based programs by conducting a study using "10-12 youths who received 60 hours of cognitive skills training with 24 hours of group therapy […] over a 6-month period" (269). The data from the study explained that the experimental group would most likely complete the full treatment, assuming that the young offender had many interactions with professionals. If not, youth offenders often abandoned the program. Furthermore, Robertson et al (2001) established that prompt community-based interventions were immediately effective at decreasing offending behaviour when this study was conducted. The most notable aspects of this study were how constant cognitive skills therapy improved young offenders' ability to rehabilitate themselves into pro-social citizens.

ANALYSIS OF MEGA-COURTHOUSE EFFECTS ON YOUTH

It is evident that the mega-courthouse unifying the criminal justice processes for both adult and youth offenders will negatively change how both parties interact with the criminal justice system. One aspect of this is the role of youth court judges. During sentencing, judges must be able to look beyond the offence when working on cases involving young offenders (Beaulieu and Cesaroni 1999). The mega-courthouse's framework will most likely use the same judge to preside over adult and youth cases as a means of using court resources efficiently. Consequently, this results in the loss of being able to process youth in the justice system effectively. Section (d) states that special considerations must apply in court proceedings involving youth. Furthermore, section (d)(i) states that youth have special rights, which include that they can be heard and participate in the processes. Likewise, youth judges recognize that young offenders in conflict with the law are in a phase in their lives where they are exploring their identity while being heavily influenced by their peers and the mass media (Beaulieu and Cesaroni 1999). Furthermore, youth court judges who preside over youth cases must have a thorough grasp of child psychology and common youth issues as they develop (Sussman and Baum 1968). Thus, competent judges who understand the special approaches, such as conciliating rather than provoking aggressive youth, are likely to be highly regarded (Beaulieu and Cesaroni 1999), and therefore, create a better atmosphere and process for the young offender and their families. Moreover, Judge Kent Kirkland and Judge Lynn King both contend that being a youth court judge requires the ability to recognize youth's unique characteristics and consider their life challenges when making appropriate judgements in their cases (Beaulieu and Cesaroni 1999). Lastly, U.S Attorney General Janet Reno (1998) reiterates their claims by arguing that presiding over youth cases is a "day in and day out" job. Therefore, presiding judges must be able to concentrate on each case independently without bias or comparisons to previous cases, while simultaneously create a sentence that would positively impact youth (Reno 1998).

Not only will the judges' judicial capacities be questioned when the mega-courthouse opens, but also whether these judges are limited in the range of sentences

they can give. According to Roberts (2004), there should be a wide range of sentences in order for judges to find appropriate sentences that fit with the offender's specific characteristics. Section 3(a)(iii) of the YCJA ensures that the young offender is subjected to meaningful consequences, and section 3(c)(iii) encourages their family members and the community to support the youth in their rehabilitation and reintegration processes. However, the mega-courthouse negates these two sections by limiting the accessibility of community-based programs for youth offenders. Beaulieu and Cesaroni (1999) argue that judges are restrained by the amount of community resources available, and if there are no community programs or resources near the young offender's residence, transportation costs become expensive, especially if the young offender comes from a low-income family. Beaulieu and Cesaroni (1999) argue that although the objective of judges is to use the least possible interference and to apply fair and proportionate consequences (YCJA 2002), inconsistencies and non-suitable sentences are the direct result of inadequate community resources (366-367). Furthermore, sections 3(a)(iii) and 3(c)(iii) become empty promises if they cannot be accomplished.

Despite these sections being meaningless if they are not accomplished in sentencing, data shows that extrajudicial measures such as community programs are more effective for rehabilitation in comparison to incarceration. The mega-courthouse would make it extremely difficult for youth to attend community programs that are in Toronto if these youths are located in rural or remote areas. It is important that youth courts and partnering community programs are spread out so they can be easily accessed by youth in far jurisdictions. Robertson et al (2001) suggest that community programs that have cognitive skills or behavioural therapy are more effective than supervision orders and custody for the purpose of rehabilitation. Their study discovered that frequent and prolonged interactions between community program staff and youth offenders increased the likelihood of these youth completing the community program (Robertson et al 2001). This is further substantiated in their data when they found that non-violent youth offenders who complete community programs experience a decreased likelihood of being placed in the youth criminal justice system repeatedly (Robertson et al 2001). Extrajudicial measures like community programs are seen as an effective method of responding to youth crime because it is time efficient and can be tailored specifically towards addressing the root behaviour that led to the crime (Harris et al 2004). To reiterate, 'Connie' from the Mann et al (2007) article stated that counselling provided through a mental health partnership was more effective than Children's Aid Society (CAS) and school. Connie had stated that CAS were over-bearing, and the rules made no sense which made the youth feel disempowered. Further, she said cell phones were not allowed, blinds had to be open in a particular way, and that they had to approve of any boyfriends (Mann et al 2007). Counselling was her preferred form of support because she claimed her school and the CAS were very strict, and had supervisory and tactical approaches instead of the ability to 'have a voice,' which she also found helpful in her rehabilitation progress. As illustrated, the value placed on community programs is essential to the rehabilitation of young offenders. The mega-courthouse unifying the courts may affect the distribution of future community program resources which in turn would negatively impact youth in far jurisdictions that cannot easily access these resources. It is crucial that we not only keep youth courts spread out within the province but community programs as well, as it has been proven effective in rehabilitating young offenders.

In other words, although the mega-courthouse is based on the premise of economic efficiency, it appears that it will not fulfill any of the YCJA's principles.

Unifying the provincial youth courts into one will be detrimental as it would fail to provide youth offenders with effective, fair, and meaningful youth justice processes. Moreover, it has been proven that the unification of youth courts into one mega-courthouse will change the dynamics of the youth court and the judges' administration of justice for youth offenders. Likewise, the location of the mega-courthouse in Toronto also poses a challenge to young offenders who live far from the court and are unable to visit the courthouse regularly or to seek program treatment because it is not available near their residence. This severely limits the opportunities for young offenders to engage in rehabilitative programs or reconnect with their communities. Ultimately, it fosters a cycle of social inequality where at-risk youth become invisible victims in a justice system that is supposed to cater to them and their special needs.

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Meet the Authors

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MACKENZIE W.G. OXLEY is a senior Criminology, Law, and Society major at the University of Toronto at Mississauga, with a secondary major in Environmental Management. His undergraduate profile emphasizes a strong training in classical and modern theories in sociology and criminology, with an interest in normative legitimation processes and philosophy of law. During Mackenzie's senior year, he represented the Sociology & Criminology Society as Vice- President and completed a graduate

sustainable cities summer program at the University of Amsterdam. Mackenzie has conducted independent field research of the organizational processes that contribute to environmental organizational form as part of a senior seminar in social institutions (SOC411). Moreover, he has explored the concept of legitimacy by writing critical essays regarding state violence against Indigenous peoples in Canada, the effect of legitimacy-seeking on organizational form (institutional open-systems theory), and the impact of cultural legitimacy on the administration of justice in the Canadian criminal justice system. As part of the graduating class of 2019, Mackenzie will pursue professional and/or graduate research to further investigate legitimacy processes after taking time off to explore different cultures around the world.

AKARAMAH KHAWAJA has recently completed his Criminology- specialist degree with the highest distinction at the University of Toronto. Additionally, he has made the Dean's list each academic year. His previous degree was in Business Administration (Honours) with a minor in philosophy. Akaramah finds his true passion in research-which to him is akin to solving a puzzle. In addition, his firm belief that knowledge ought to be universally shared has led him to create an on-line academic blog. This blog has reached almost 45,000 views and touches upon a multiplicity of disciplines which range from philosophy, business management, sociology, criminology, and even biology. Moving forward, and prior to attending law school at UofT, he plans to take a year off from school to focus his attention on criminal justice reform in Pakistan. With the support of various academic institutions and political actors, Akaramah plans to create accurate and reliable quantitative data in Pakistan, which could ultimately affect the nation's public policy. Upon his return, he plans to attend law school at UofT. Finally, Akaramah would like to sincerely thank the University of Toronto for creating a vibrant atmosphere of academic rigour and for providing him with various experiential learning opportunities.

MAUREEN ARSENAL is in her fourth year at University of Toronto Mississauga. She is majoring in Sociology and Socio-Legal studies with a minor in Political Science. Despite having some setbacks during her time at UTM, Maureen has continuously strived to participate in many organizations as she can while continuously improving her GPA. She is a firm believer that destiny can be created and anyone is capable of anything and everything. She has volunteered with Victim Services, Advocates of Tomorrow, Accessibility, and S.E.C. She has been recognized by UTM S.E.C (in 2013) for her efforts in marketing and advertising S.E.C and increasing attendance at their events. She has continuously volunteered for Accessibility as a note-taker since 2013. Her notes have been cited as detailed, well explained, and accurate from professors and students alike. She just became Director of Social Media for the organization called "Advocates of Tomorrow" which is a group that holds debate and Moot court for high school students to encourage their participation within the legal field. Maureen has been recognized by a number of fellow volunteers and executives as having a strong work ethic, a dependable student and a future lawyer in the making.

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. Inquiries regarding how to obtain a student editor position can be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca. Editor position for The Society can be added to your UTM Co-Curricular Record.

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.

Illustrations and graphic design by Maha Shah