Power & Resistance

A L E T H E I A

Aletheia is the first ever peer-reviewed journal that exclusively features the innovative and interdisciplinary work of students from McMaster's Arts & Science program. Each year, two editions will be released, each revolving around a central theme and compiling research-based papers written during the previous semester. To make this possible, there is an incredible team of Arts & Science student Editors, Peer Reviewers and Graphic Designers.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Welcome to the fifth edition of *Aletheia*— a student-led, peer-reviewed journal showcasing written works from students in McMaster's Arts & Science program. The last year has certainly been busy with the resumption of in-person activities at the university, and as such we have decided to publish a singular edition for the 2022-23 academic year that encompasses papers written in Arts & Science courses over the past year. We are excited to share this diverse array of papers that have been reviewed carefully this semester by our team of peer reviewers.

The theme for this edition of the journal is "power and resistance." Within this theme, the papers featured in this issue explore the concepts of activism, political theory/philosophy, and health systems. The journal features papers from a variety of introductory and upper-year Arts & Science courses.

Oishee: As I conclude my third and final year with Aletheia, it has been a wonderful experience contributing to the growth of the journal since its inception in 2020. I am grateful to have had the opportunity to read all the submissions and I extend my heartfelt appreciation to the authors, staff team, and fellow editorial board members for making this year a great success!

Gabrielle: It has been such a pleasure to be a part of the editorial team this year. I would like to thank our wonderful peer reviewers for their hard work throughout the reivew process and their thoughful and thorough revisions, and our authors for their incredibly insightful papers. Finally, I would like to say a huge thank you to my fellow editorial board members – it has been wonderful to work alongside you throughout the year.

Sanjana: I have had so much fun reading Artsci papers and working with the peer editors and the editorial board. I'm excited for another year of Aletheia!

We are so grateful for the creativity and dedication of our graphic designer Bohmee Kim in putting this publication together.

Next year, the journal will continue under the guidance of Sanjana Shah, the incoming editor-in-chief. We are very excited to witness the evolution and continuation of Aletheia for years to come. We highly encourage students who are interested in getting involved to apply for a review position next fall, or to submit your work in the 2023/2024 school year.

Thank you for taking the time to check out the journal. We hope you enjoy it!

The Aletheia Team
Editors-in-chief: Oishee Ghosh and Gabrielle Maerov
Editor-in-training: Sanjana Shah

CANON, CATECHISM, AND CURRICULUM: GSAs AND STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH IN ONTARIO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Alyssa Pei-Middleton

Arts & Science 1C06: Global Challenges Inquiry

I "[crave] spaces to talk about LGBT issues and to talk about myself in a space where I know someone's not going to be like, 'well, that's weird'" (Lapointe & Crooks, 2018, p. 9). This excerpt, taken from an interview with a Canadian high school student, highlights that many lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth yearn to feel recognized and safe in their identities. The quoted student was a member of their secondary school's Gender and Sexuality Alliance (GSA), a student-facilitated club open to LGBTQ youth and their cisgender and heterosexual (CH) allies.

LGBTQ adolescents are at greater risk for suicidality, substance abuse, depression, anxiety, disordered eating, and HIV/AIDS than their straight and cisgender peers; moreover, anti-LGBTQ stigma, including having a hostile school environment, significantly increases these risks among LGBTQ youth (Adelson et al., 2021). Student-led GSAs, also known as Gay-Straight Alliances, aim to mitigate this risk by supporting LGBTQ students in a welcoming environment and reducing homophobia and transphobia in schools (Callaghan, 2014).

Statistical modelling conducted by Poteat et al. (2020) revealed that youth who were more involved in their school's GSA had greater perceived peer validation, self-efficacy, and hope, which, as a result, showed further correlation with reduced symptoms of depression and anxiety. Moreover, Canada has long been considered a global leader with respect to equality for LGBTQ individuals, and in Ontario specifically, same-sex marriage has been legal for over 19 years (CBC News, 2015; Elliott and Bonauto, 2005). Given (1) the positive impact GSAs have on students and (2) the historically progressive nature of LGBTQ acceptance in Canada and Ontario, one might expect to see widespread approval for establishing GSAs through-out publicly funded schools in Ontario. Nevertheless, the permissibility of GSAs in Ontario schools has been the subject of ongoing political disputes. The province's Catholic schools, in particular, have shown resistance to the initiation of GSAs (Callaghan, 2014). Canadian Catholic schools are constitutionally mandated to follow policy and curriculum aligned with Catholic doctrine; however, these schools are also required to adhere to the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Canadian common law (Callaghan, 2014). In a 2004 policy document compulsory for Ontario Catholic schools to follow, the Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops encouraged homophobic ideology by declaring homosexuality as a sin and suggesting a Twelve-Step program to alter students with same-sex attraction (Colterman-Fox et. al). In 2008, Kathleen Wynne, the Ontario Minister of Education, composed a document explicitly indicating GSAs as a method of reducing discrimination against LGBTQ students (Callaghan, 2017, pp. 104-108). Despite this drive for egalitarianism, some Catholic school boards in Ontario moved to ban GSAs, choosing to endorse the views of policymaking Bishops.

In order to mitigate outcomes of bigotry towards the LGBTQ community in Ontario youth, it is imperative to analyze the impact that the Catholic schooling system's intolerance towards GSA clubs has on students. This research is intent on investigating how the resistance against the establishment of GSAs in Ontario publicly funded Catholic schools affects LGBTQ students. Focus is directed toward the well-being of LGBTQ youth, as well as encouraging acceptance in the greater community of Ontario. While the inclusion of GSAs in school cannot solve the issue of LGBTQ discrimination on its own, Ontario government policy and literature review advocate for students to have the opportunity of participating in a GSA.

The potential consequences of opposition to GSAs are harmful— due to the structural stigma that Catholic schools in Ontario perpetuate against the LGBTQ community, LGBTQ students attending these schools experience greater risks to their mental health, including feelings of estrangement and emotional distress.

Structural Stigma in Catholic Education

Link and Phelan (2001) brought a contemporary definition of stigma to the field of social psychology, describing the concept as occurring when four connected aspects of social interactions combine: (1) identifying and labelling human differences, (2) associating these labels with negative stereotypes, (3) separating labelled people into distinct categories as outcasts, and (4) discriminating against and reducing the social status of the labelled group (p. 367). Furthermore, the authors assert that stigmatization relies on social, economic, and political power which allows the four aforementioned elements to occur. Cook et al. (2014) describe stigma as a multilevel system, with the structural level occurring broadly and, overarching personal and interpersonal stigma. Structural stigma is perpetrated by broad social institutions and forces, including legislation, mass media, and government or other organizational policies.

The Ontario Catholic school system's intolerance of GSAs is a striking example of structural stigma affecting the LGBTQ community. Catholic schools are legislatively required to abide by the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church, a dominant institution. The doctrine of the Catholic Church elicits a culture of homophobia, demonstrated through the Roman magisterium's firmly established interpretations of same-sex intercourse as sinful (Loughlin, 2018). This homophobia is stigmatization; the doctrine targets people who are attracted to members of their own sex and labels them as immoral. The Canadian Catholic Church holds great social, economic, and political power, allowing and amplifying this unsettling stigma. Catholicism was brought to Canada by European colonialism and gained influence as the church assimilated Canadian Indigenous peoples into Catholic beliefs (Voisine et al., 2022). In current Canada, Catholicism is the largest religious denomination, the Catholic Church is the wealthiest charitable organization, and Catholic education is po-

litically protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Austen, 2022; McMullin, 2021; Peters, 1998, p. 2). In the early 2010s, many Catholic schools and school boards in Ontario moved to ban GSAs, including headline examples of the Halton Catholic District School Board, the Toronto District Catholic School Board, and St. Joseph's Catholic Secondary School in Mississauga (Callaghan, 2017, pp. 104-108; Goldstein et al., 2019, p. 34; Iskander & Shabtay, 2018). This opposition is a clear exhibition of structural stigma, and it most expressly targets LGBTQ youth who attend Ontario Catholic schools. Since then, school environments have become more accepting; however, discrimination against LGBTQ students is still ongoing in Canadian schools (Taylor & Peter, 2011; Peter et al., 2021).

Health Implications of Structural Stigma

Recently, there has been an increase in research and understanding of the capacity for stigma to create health disparities between the socially privileged and the marginalized members of society (Major et al., 2017, pp. 3-4). Stigmatization provokes emotional, cognitive, behavioural, and physiological responses that can exacerbate each other, altering one's health. Although the specific connection between structural stigma and increased mental health risk in LGBTQ individuals is still emerging as a causal relationship, a fair amount of scholarly study based in the United States has been conducted on this association. Figure 1 (Hatzenbuehler, 2014) represents psychiatric morbidity as a function of structural stigma towards lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults across the United States in 2009, one of the first statistical verifications of this connection using data. In the graph, the category, "protective policies," refers to the state-level inclusion or exclusion of sexual orientation as a protected class. Participants were evaluated to determine if diagnostic criteria were met for dysthymia, generalized anxiety disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, or two or more comorbid psychiatric conditions. These data are plotted as a ratio of the likelihood of straight participants in the same state meeting diagnostic criteria. Although Hatzenbuehler (2014)'s study took place in the United States, data were grouped according to the prevalence of state policies protecting people of dif-

ferent sexual orientations from discrimination. The Ontario Human Rights Code prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation, comparable to the political protection of sexual orientation minorities in States placed in the category of "protective policies" in Hatzenbuehler's research (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2021). Given the results of Hatzenbuehler's study, it can be expected that without political protection, lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in Ontario would have rates of psychiatric conditions similar to those in the study's category of "no protective policies".

Meyer (2003) makes the argument that all structural forms of stigma should be classified as objective causes of stress, rather than subjective, due to the intense adaptational demands that structural stigma places on individuals. Further research in the United States has shown this alarming effect on physiological stress (Hatzenbuehler & McLaughlin, 2014). Young lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults who spent their adolescence in States with high structural stigma, measured on the prevalence of same-sex couples, GSAs, LGBTQ policies, and public opinion towards minority sexualities, showed blunted cortisol responses compared to peers who grew up in areas of low structural stigma. Despite all participants living in a state with low structural stigma as adults, the chronic stress as a result of structural stigma in adolescence leads to less reactivity to stress in adulthood, caused by disruption of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenocortical axis, a crucial neuroendocrine system. This research supports Meyer's claim, as the adults who were challenged by environments of high structural stigma in adolescence showed adaptational damages to their physiological stress responses.

Establishing Causality

Hatzenbuehler (2016) outlines three research methods one can use to establish the strongest possible causal inference between structural stigma and poor health: one can be more confident in a causal effect if (1) the structural stigma has a pronounced impact on the health of only the stigmatized group, (2) experimental and control groups are naturally assigned, and (3) an alternative justification for health trends is implausible (pp. 746-747). Moreover, Hill (1965) established a set of criteria to evidence causal relationships in epidemiology, which include specificity and plausibility. Hatzenbuehler (2016)'s and Hill (1965)'s guidelines can be used to demonstrate that the structural stigma, expressed through prejudice against GSAs in Ontario Catholic schools, is harmful to the health of LGBTQ students.

In partnership with Egale Canada, Peter et al. (2021) compiled a report on homophobia, biphobia, and transphobia in Canadian schools, titled "Still Every Class in Every School" (pp. 1-10). The report offers insightful observations about differences in experiences of gender and sexuality of 4000 students in grade 8 or above. It compares results from Catholic and non-Catholic schools, and while the report does not provide specific data breakdowns for Ontario, national trends have been shown to apply to each of the provinces with little significant variation (Peter et al., 2021, pp. 40; Peter et al., 2021, pp. 67). The overall Canadian data indicates that Catholic schools provide a less supportive climate for LGBTQ students than non-Catholic schools, which is consistent with the current understanding of Ontario schooling systems (Peter et al., 2021, pp. 14).

In Canadian Catholic schools, LGBTQ students were much more likely to agree to the statement

"Sometimes I don't feel like I belong in my school" compared to cisgender and heterosexual (CH) students, at a rate of 70% compared to 44% (Peter et al., 2021, p. 90). A study by Toomey and Russell (2011) links the presence of GSAs to feelings of belongingness, showing that students who participate in or attend a school with a GSA are more likely to feel like they belong at school. Arslan (2018) investigated the link between feelings of belonging in school and the psychological health of adolescents (pp. 26-28). Statistical modelling showed significant relationships between these two variables, with significantly less emotional well-being and greater emotional distress in students who did not feel a sense of belonging. Thus, evidence suggests that LGBTQ students, who are structurally stigmatized in Ontario Catholic schools, experience inferior emotional health than their CH peers who are not the target of stigmatization, which, in accordance with Hatzenbuehler (2016)'s first research method, supports emerging evidence of a causal relationship. Furthermore, the majority of LGBTQ students specifically in Catholic schools have feelings of estrangement, suggesting that the environment of Catholic schools may cause greater emotional distress for LGBTQ youth (Hill, 1965). However, this approach alone cannot establish causality between structural stigma and reduced health, as a smaller, yet notable, proportion of the non-targeted group also experiences this health impact. The research conducted in "Still Every Class in Every School" utilizes natural sampling (Peter et al, 2021, pp. 10-11). Because data are separated into groups based on complex social and political differences, such as participants' gender and sexualities, regions of residence, school grade level, and the secularity of schools, it is improbable that the investigators or the participants had agency in assigning subjective categories. As outlined in Hatzenbuehler (2016)'s second research method, the unlikelihood of bias influencing data categorization increases confidence in causal inference.

Furthermore, LGBTQ Catholic school students were less likely to report the existence of a GSA or similar club (57% of participants), than LGBTQ students in non-Catholic schools (75% of participants) (Peter et al., 2021, p. 97). Engagement in supportive GSAs is shown to predict fewer mental health concerns, including symptoms of depression and anxiety (Poteat et al., 2020). Schools that do not offer GSAs lack this protective factor, and thus, it is plausible that the structural stigma of resisting GSAs in Ontario Catholic schools results in a greater risk to LGBTQ students' mental health, suggesting a causal relationship (Hill, 1965). However, according to Hatzenbuehler (2016)'s third approach, alternative explanations for the link between the structural stigma of intolerance of GSAs in Ontario Catholic schools and impaired health should be explored. Beyond the causal inference, it is possible that LGBTQ Catholic school students underreported the presence of GSAs and are simply less aware of clubs offered to them. While it is certainly possible for underreporting to be a factor in the disparity of GSAs present in Catholic versus non-Catholic schools, this explanation alone is implausible, as it returns to indications of structural stigma. As has been established previously, Ontario Catholic schools perpetuate structural stigma towards LGBTQ students by opposing the implementation of GSAs. If Catholic school students are unaware of GSAs in their schools, this is likely influenced by the overarching stigma imposed by Catholic anti-LGBTQ doctrine. This can be seen in an interview with an LGBTQ student who attends a Canadian Catholic school, describing the permissibility of participating in a GSA at their school (Peter et al., 2021, p. 124):

> We were allowed to operate a GSA but we were under no circumstances allowed to call it a GSA or talk about LGBTQ stuff outside of the club as per the Catholic school board's directive... we had to call it 'unity group'. Our 'teacher leader' was a nun who was very much rooted in traditional [C]atholic views and had no knowledge of LGBTQ issues. I was on the planning commitee, and I often felt like we were just very very restricted in what we could do, and as if we were always being watched/censored. It wasn't fun.

This account of student experience exemplifies the structural stigma that their Catholic school perpetu-

ates. It is clear that the mentioned school values the notion of Catholic morality over protecting LGBTQ students and CH allies with a welcoming space. Research and student experience show a lack of other plausible explanations, and consequently, demonstrate confidence in causality (Hatzenbuehler, 2016). Thus, causality is strongly suggested, and structural stigma in Ontario Catholic schools likely results in increased mental health risks among LGBTQ students.

Conclusion

In Canada, the hugely powerful Catholic Church establishes overarching anti-LGBTQ stigma on a structural level—more dominant than any stigma at the personal level. The experience of structural stigma is linked to worse health, and it can be particularly damaging in youth. Ontario Catholic schools have made headlines for their fervent resistance against the initiation of GSAs. This instance of structural stigma targets LGBTQ Catholic school students specifically, who face inferior emotional well-being to their peers. LGBTQ youth in Ontario Catholic schools are struggling, presumably as a result of structural stigma. Both the Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Ontario Ministry of Education have constitutionally protected rights and power to implement educational policy in Ontario. While provincial law requires schools to permit GSAs, Catholic schools have the right to enforce their religious doctrine. Despite their political disagreement, both governing bodies aim to see the educational success of students. Future policy should continue to emphasize student education, while also striving to support youth well-being. To see students thrive, acceptance of all sexualities and gender identities should be encouraged. Ultimately, the structural stigma of intolerance of GSAs in Ontario Catholic schools likely causes LGBTQ students to face greater risks to their mental health. While further research must be conducted in order to more firmly establish a causal relationship, evidence of embedded homophobia within Catholic doctrine in the Ontario education system perpetuates a powerful and broad social stigma. The prevalence of mental health struggles in LGBTQ youth is concerning, particularly in those attending Catholic schools. It is imperative that LGBTQ youth are protected in schools, and solutions must be considered to balance Catholic religious rights in education with the health and social needs of students.

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EVALUATING TINY HOUSES AS A SOLUTION TO THE HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CRISES

Andrea Chang

Arts & Science 3CU3: Alumni Experience Inquiry

Tiny houses have captured the attention of North American media, with HGTV, the major cable television channel, alone showing three tiny-house related shows: Tiny House Hunters, Tiny House Builders, and Tiny House, Big Living ("HGTV Canada"). Additionally, an internet search will yield a number of results for tiny house building companies in Canada (Zero Squared, Mint Tiny House Company, Minimaliste Houses, Canadian Tiny Homes, Nelson Tiny Houses, Rewild Homes, Summit Tiny Homes, Teacup Tiny Homes, Fritz Tiny Homes, and more), suggesting that there is a market for and interest in tiny house living in Canada. One of the first results to appear is the official "Tiny Homes in Canada" website, which claims that tiny homes sit at "the intersection of the housing crisis and the climate crisis" (Tiny Homes in Canada). Notably, this website also proclaims that the tiny home community is a "culturally idealistic response to financial desperation" (Tiny Homes in Canada) and sustainability. Scholarly research also supports the notion that the two primary drivers for tiny house living are affordability and sustainability (Evans; Shearer and Burton). Therefore, I am interested in evaluating the potential for tiny houses to serve as a solution to the housing affordability and environmental crises, particularly in Ontario, Canada. Much of the scholarship on tiny houses comes out of the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. This essay will apply the insight of this scholarship to the specific Canadian context surrounding tiny houses. I will ultimately argue that tiny houses have the potential to be a solution for the housing affordability and environmental crises, but that they are not a current solution because Ontario legislation renders them costly and somewhat inaccessible. This study will also explore the lifestyle choices and social conditions associated with tiny house living as a housing option that is both idealistic (presented as a solution to the overwhelming housing affordability and environmental crises) and pragmatic (financially feasible).

The Ontario provincial government officially defines a tiny house as a "small, private and self-contained dwelling unit" ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home") with living and dining areas, kitchen and bathroom facilities, a sleeping area, and that is intended for year-round use ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"). The maximum size requirement for a tiny house varies between municipalities, with some municipal by-laws requiring a tiny house to be $37m^2$ ($400 ft^2$) or less ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"). In all of Ontario, a tiny house cannot legally be smaller than the minimum required size set out in Ontario's Building Code, which is $17.5m^2$ ($188 ft^2$) ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"). Tiny house scholarship also typically defines a tiny home as a dwelling that is less than $37m^2$ or $40m^2$ in area (Crawford and Stephan; Shearer and Burton; Evans). They can either be mobile, usually referred to as a "tiny house on wheels", or in a fixed location. However, in most Ontario municipalities, a building permit will not be issued for a tiny house on wheels. Instead, they are usually relegated to the "mobile park" or "campground" zones ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"). Tiny house scholars also often include in their definition the additional characteristics of design ethos, affordability, and environmental sustainability (Shearer and Burton). Further, tiny houses are commonly presented as a counter-cultural alternative to the typical suburban sprawl of Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, and an opportunity to "live more simply" (Shearer and Burton). These definitions are a useful starting point for a deeper investigation of tiny houses as a potential solution to the housing affordability and environmental crises.

There is evidence to suggest that our cultural climate might be a fertile backdrop for tiny houses to become a widespread housing option in Canada. For instance, a 2021 article, out of Quebec, argues that we are at a current milestone where tiny houses are becoming a mature industry driven by entrepreneurs and housing industry stakeholders, rather than just a grassroots and marginal housing phenomenon driven by enthusi- asts (Lessard). He argues that events such as the 2008 mortgage subprime crisis and growing interest in sus- tainability has pressured the housing regime to change in recent decades, as seen through recently adopted codes, regulations, and public policies at various lev- els of government in Canada (Lessard). Brokenshire, from Australia, also points toward the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-2008 as an event that sparked a trend towards smaller homes and the tiny house movement, as it caused homeowners to become conscious of un- sustainable lending for mortgages. The 2006 Ontario Places to Grow Plan, an ambitious attempt to address urban sprawl in the province, is one example of legisla- tion that indicates some focus on sustainability in hous- ing planning (Eidelman). Tiny houses can reduce urban sprawl, as in 2012 an experimental tiny house village in Washington D.C. was built to explore the potential for tiny houses on wheels to provide a solution for urban infill (Ford and Gomez-Lanier). Therefore, our current climate has created space for alternative, affordable, and sustainable housing options, such as tiny houses.

Housing is currently incredibly unaffordable in Canada, as the Canadian National Housing Affordabil- ity Index rose to 1.34 in the first quarter of 2021, signi- fying that the median house was 34% more expensive than the median-income could afford (Klachkin et al.). Tiny houses offer a promising solution to the housing affordability crisis, with a Canadian tiny house costing between $80,000 and $200,000 CAD (The Tiny Life), compared to an average price of $720,850 CAD for a traditional house in Canada in 2021 (The Canadian Real Estate Association). In fact, economic factors were the dominant reason given for considering tiny house living in a qualitative research study done by Shearer and Bur- ton. Additionally, owners of tiny houses also often con- tribute their labour and use recycled materials, further driving down costs (Shearer and Burton). This makes tiny housing a favourable option for affordable housing.

Notably, however, tiny houses are not simply the most affordable housing option (Shearer and Bur- ton). Tiny house owners often express that tiny houses were rather the most affordable option that they could own, rather than rent, and that was detached, and not a part of an apartment complex. (Shearer and Burton). Additionally, the cost per square metre of a tiny house is usually higher than that of a typical house (Broken- shire). Tiny house dwellers often comment on how a lower overall cost enables them to afford higher quality fixtures (Shearer and Burton). Individuals also report- edly choose to reduce the size and cost of their dwelling to reduce financial stress, increase their housing stabil- ity, and to work fewer hours (Brokenshire). Many tiny house dwellers instead choose to spend more quality time with family and friends and contribute meaningful- ly to the community (Brokenshire). Therefore, it seems as though tiny houses are an affordable option for those who are looking to have a specific lifestyle, and perhaps achieve the great Canadian (or American or Australian) dream and own a detached house. Tiny houses are there- fore an idealistic yet pragmatic housing option – they are homes that enable a specific lifestyle that might not be affordable otherwise. However, if one is looking to simply reduce housing costs outright, tiny houses might not be the solution, given their associated luxuries.

Tiny houses appear cheaper than traditional housing overall because in many countries, they do not necessarily require the purchase of land and asso- ciated infrastructure (Shearer and Burton). However, in Ontario, legislation only permits the building of a tiny house as long as one has a building permit, owns the land, and the house conforms to the Ontario Build- ing Code ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"). The owning of land is, of course, a major financial barrier. Those who cannot afford to purchase land would still have their housing options limited to renting. The Ontario website also recommends that those who are looking to build a tiny home hire at least one of the follow- ing: Building Code designer registered with the On- tario government, a professional planner, an architect, or an engineer ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"), imply- ing additional costs in the tiny house building process. Therefore, Ontario legislation specifically prohibits

tiny housing to be a largely accessible housing option.

Homelessness, however, is a major related issue to housing affordability, which tiny houses can potentially provide a robust solution for. There is an estimate that over 235,000 people in Canada will experience homelessness in any given year (Statistics Canada). Evans argues that tiny house villages are a more permanent, cost-effective, solution to address homelessness than traditional approaches of soup kitchens and overnight shelters (Evans). A research study done by Evans yielded results on 115 tiny house villages for the homeless in the United States as of July 2019 that were either currently operational, planned to open in the future, abandoned, or of unknown status. Additionally, this research indicated that the average cost of a tiny house unit for the homeless is only $21,160 USD (Evans). In Canada, the Homes for Heroes Foundation partners with ATCO structures to create similar tiny house villages, specifically for veterans who are homeless. Each of these homes is under 300 square feet in size. These villages are designed to foster a sense of community among its residents, with shared outdoor spaces, mental health services, and access to public transportation (Homes for Heroes). In 2016, Australia, too, began their first tiny home project for the homeless in Gosford, NSW (Brokenshire). Other homeless villages exist in Austin, Texas; Olympia, Washington; and Eugene, Oregon, and have all been funded by local non-profits or churches (Ford and Gomez-Lanier). In this context, the affordability of tiny houses creates a promising option for housing the homeless.

However, Evans' database reveals that several tiny house villages in the United States do not offer essential amenities including heating, electricity, and plumbing (Evans). For instance, 18% of tiny house villages that were operational in 2019 had no heating or air conditioning, and 59% had no plumbing (Evans). Though this might mean that these homes are more cost-effective, this is not an acceptable means of housing the poor (Evans). However, Homes for Heroes in Canada appears to provide essential amenities. Evans also questions whether tiny house villages for the homeless increase exclusion and residential segregation, as 72% of those in the United States are gated (Evans). These are crucial points that must be considered upon constructing tiny house villages for the homeless. Overall, Homes for Heroes in Canada appears to provide a promising permanent solution to housing for the homeless. In sum, tiny houses do offer a potential solution to housing affordability, especially for those who are interested in owning a detached home, as well as for homeless groups. They are not, however, the most affordable housing option that exists, especially with Ontario legislation requiring the owning of land and forbidding tiny houses on wheels.

In turning now to tiny housing as a potential solution for the environmental crisis, it is important to note that residential buildings were responsible for over 70% of total building energy demand in the world in 2017 (Crawford and Stephan). Tiny houses offer a promising solution to this intense energy consumption, as a tiny house leads to at least a 70% reduction in life cycle greenhouse gas emissions per capita compared to a traditional house (Crawford and Stephan). Of course, the small volume of the tiny house means that there is very little energy demanded for heating and cooling. In fact, the average volume of space per capita is seven times greater in an average traditional house than in a tiny house (Crawford and Stephan). Although the traditional average house can house many more people than a tiny house, it would require at least 10 occupants for the per capita life cycle greenhouse gas emissions to be lower than those of the tiny house (Crawford and Stephan). This would be very rare in Canada, where the size of an average household is 2.5 (OECD). Therefore, for those interested in owning a detached home, living in a tiny house would likely greatly reduce one's greenhouse gas emissions.

The small scale of the tiny house not only results in fewer greenhouse gas emissions, but also in proportionally fewer materials used in construction. Additionally, tiny houses are often built using recycled materials and green technology such as solar panels, water filtration systems, and compost toilets (Lessard). This small scale also means that the ability for a tiny house dweller to accumulate material possessions is limited by the size of their home, and they must therefore make more conscious consumption choices (Lessard). Notably, this ethos of minimalism and anti-consumerism is often an important association with

tiny house living (Shearer and Burton). However, it is important to question whether this practice of "an- ti- consumerism" is unique to tiny house dwellers. For instance, apartment dwellers likely also have similar limits on space that might cause conscious and careful consumerism (Lessard). Lastly, many tiny houses and tiny house owners seek to live off the grid, which tiny houses enable them to do (Shearer and Burton). Living off the grid encompasses generating their own power, collecting their own rainwater, and use composting toi- lets. These practices might obligate tiny house owners to confront their use and potential misuse of their re- sources, which might cause them to be more aware of their consumption. Therefore, the smaller space of tiny houses might also contribute to more sustainable, less wasteful living through a reduced consumption of re- sources. Although the ethos surrounding tiny house liv- ing encourages the use of recycled materials and green technologies, the sustainability induced by physical lim- itations of space are not unique to tiny house dwellers. Tiny houses on wheels provide unique sustainability and environmental opportunities through their mobil- ity. For instance, in a bushfire or flood, tiny houses on wheels can be hitched to a truck and moved to safety (Brokenshire). This can save resources from being destroyed the way traditional, permanent houses would have been. Additionally, tiny houses on wheels can be placed on a property for years without impact on the environment, as they can be entirely off-grid, and do not require the same digging and construction of a foundation as traditional housing does, which results in the removal of trees and the installation of a concrete slab (Brokenshire). However, we must also be careful to consider the environmental impact of tiny houses on wheels when they are used to travel from place to place (Penfold et al.). In Ontario, of course, tiny houses on wheels are not legal ("Build or Buy a Tiny Home"). However, Brokenshire argues that tiny houses on wheels are being built regardless of whether they are regulated or not. In Australia, this has caused conflict with local state and municipal governments (Brokenshire). Planning controls and legislation for tiny houses on wheels are thus necessary for a regulated and consistent approach. Lastly, it is important to note that the tiny house, as a way to financial freedom, is also often presented as a

pathway towards increasing consumption activities that are unrelated to one's household, such as travel, leisure, and social life (Lessard; Shearer and Burton). These consumption activities, especially travel, might actually cause a higher environmental footprint. Therefore, though tiny houses are sustainable in themselves, and can help to foster a more sustainable lifestyle through the ethos associated with tiny houses, they do not inherently create a more sustainable lifestyle (Lessard).

Tiny houses thus have potential to be a housing option for those who are seeking an affordable detached home and to limit their impact on the environment. However, tiny houses in Ontario currently require the purchasing of land and planning of construction, and are therefore only an option for those with the resources to undertake such a project. Tiny houses have great potential as either government or non-profit funded housing for the homeless because of their small size, potential to be built around a community, and relative affordability to construct. The small size of tiny houses also implies a smaller use of resources, and are therefore a relatively harmless housing option for our environment. In Ontario, legislation that regulates tiny houses on wheels has the potential to make tiny house living more accessible, as it would enable tiny house on wheels dwellers to stay temporarily in certain locations, implying that they would no longer have to purchase land, and greatly reducing the associated costs with tiny house living. It would also enable unique environmental advantages such as transporting tiny houses away from natural disasters. Though tiny houses are a fascinating option for affordable housing without compromising on a detached home, and for sustainable living, they are not the single solution to affordable housing and climate change. One does not need to live in a tiny house to consume consciously nor utilize sustainable technologies.

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POWER ANALYZED THROUGH THE ECONOMY:
A PRIMATE PERSPECTIVE

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Arts & Science 2A06: Social and Political Thought

This study sought to use primate economies and power to explore the answer to Foucault's question: "can the analysis of power, or the analysis of powers, be in one way or another deduced from the economy?" (13). The information regarding primates and their power dynamics was mainly gathered from Willhoite's Primates and Political Authority: A Biobehavioural Perspective which reviews several primatology studies focused on dominance in primate societies. A definitive answer to Foucault's question was beyond the scope of this paper; however, this study sought to utilize primate economies and power to clarify whether Foucault's conceptualization of historical economics-based theories of power, namely the juridical and Marxist conceptions of power, were an all-encompassing way to analyze power. The juridical conception figures power as a commodity that is exchanged amongst economic actors (Foucault 13). The Marxist conception of power sees power as a mechanism which maintains production relations and perpetuates class domination (Foucault 14). I argue that the analysis of primate power cannot be exclusively deduced from the primate economy. More specifically, I argue that primate power cannot be exclusively seen as having a relationship of "functional subordination" with the economy as the Marxist theory of power suggests, nor can power be characterized simply as a type of economy in and of itself as the juridical theory of power suggests (Foucault 14). I argue instead that power can be characterized in both aforementioned ways, however it can also be analyzed through the war-repression schema, as being self-serving, or figured as acting to serve reproductive fitness and other biologically based agendas. As such, primate power must also be analyzed in non-economical ways to achieve a holistic understanding of primate power. Primate power functions in a way that serves biological agendas and primate power itself does not align with the juridical or Marxist conceptions of power as these relationships do not deal with commodities nor are they furthering productive forces or production relations in the most literal sense of the economy. In the context of this study, primate economies are understood as being the building blocks from which human economies have evolved. Addessi and colleagues' Are the roots of human economic systems shared with non-human primates? asserts that non-human primates exhibit a simplistic form of human economies, thus substantiating the connection between primate and human economies assumed throughout this paper (10).

Human economies and power dynamics are quite complicated due to humans' unique cognitive abilities, therefore, applying Foucault's conceptions of economic power analysis to the human context is useful to our overall understanding of the interactions between power and the economy, but may be too difficult to implement properly, at least within the scope of this paper (Addessi et al. 1). The use of primatology in this study attempts to make the analysis of power and the economy more tangible by providing a simpler economy and power structure to think Foucault's concepts to, while also allowing for the tentative extrapolation and application of conclusions to the human context. For the purpose of this paper, I will use the term primate to refer only to non-human primates.

For the remainder of the analysis to be precise, it is crucial to carefully consider what Foucault sees as an economy and how this applies to the primate context. In reference to the juridical and Marxist conceptions of power, Foucault says, "their common feature is what I will call 'economism' in the theory of power" (13).

From this statement I infer that both theories of power contain part of Foucault's definition of the economy within them and can thus be teased out to form an explicit definition of a primate economy. In the juridical conception of power, the commodity is the focus. Specifically, this is a commodity that can be possessed in a way in which it can be "transferred or alienated, either completely or partly" (Foucault 13). Therefore, a commodity that can be possessed and exchanged is a necessary part of the economy as perceived by Foucault.

In the Marxist conception of power, the economy is said to be comprised of relations of production and productive forces. Marx and Engels define a productive force as being everything that goes into producing commodities, including labour, instruments of productions, and raw materials (7). Relations of production are social relationships which must be entered into in order to continue production (Marx and Engels 5). Synthesizing the parts, the economy, as figured by Foucault, is based on the commodity which is made possible by productive forces and relations of production that alter the commodity through labour, entered back into the economy, and exchanged. It is clear the primate economy consists of food, other commodities (such as things stolen from humans like hats, sunglasses, etcetera…), and certain productive forces such as hunting, gathering, and building simple tools for hunting. There are many examples of primates exhibiting these behaviours in the wild including the Balinese Uluwatu Temple Macaques. These macaques use gathering as a productive force to attain tourists' dropped items (commodities) and attempt to barter with tourists in order a receive a desirable food reward (another commodity) (Addessi et al. 9). In my working definition of a primate economy, neither sex nor resting places will be considered as part of the primate economy as neither of these can be characterized as a commodity nor as a productive force and thus do not align with the economy as envisioned by Foucault which demands the explicit involvement of commodities or productive forces. Sex and resting places will instead be considered to be purely biological/survival considerations. A careful consideration of the juridical conception of power must be undertaken to clarify whether this conception of power is applicable to

the case study. An appropriate starting point to begin this consideration is Foucault's question, "is power modeled on the commodity?" (14). Foucault asserts that for power to be modeled on the commodity, it must be something which can be exchanged, in whole or in part, and it can be surrendered by those who possess it. When a power transition occurs peacefully, power acts as commodity as this power is either surrendered in death to the next of kin, or it is given to the primate next in the social order. An example of a peaceful transition of power is between female Rhesus Macaques who pass their dominance onto their offspring (Cawthon Lang). When power is modeled on the economy it must interact within its own pseudo power economy which has productive forces and relations of production, since Foucault's definition of an economy is centered around the commodity, and, in this case, power is acting as a commodity. It is important to emphasize that power can only act as a commodity when given up willingly, as Foucault's use of the word surrender suggests a choice to give up power. It is of a primate's best interest to have their relative in power, so power is surrendered willingly based on kinship. Power modeled on the commodity not only arises during peaceful transactions of power, but it also functions to maintain the peace necessary for the juridical conception of power to be applicable. For example, dominance hierarchies between male baboons "ensures stability and comparative peacefulness," providing evidence that power in the juridical sense is necessary to the maintenance of peace, and the maintenance of peace is necessary to the functioning of power as a commodity (Willhoite 1114). When primate power is modeled on the economy, this is a good indication that the primate group is at peace. In short, power modeled on the commodity is only possible in peace, but it also functions to maintain the peace itself thus constituting a cyclical relationship between peace and the juridical conception of power. When power does not change hands in an economical way, but is instead taken violently, the juridical conception of power is no longer valid, and peace breaks down. Given the aforementioned evidence, it can be concluded that the juridical conception of power is applicable to an aspect of primate power. However, what happens when power is not modeled on the economy?

Sex plays a fascinating role in this study as it is not only served by power but also plays the role of a productive force when power is acting in the juridical sense, representing an intersection between the juridical and Marxist conceptions of power. Power in the primate dominance hierarchy not only gives a primate better access to food, effectively their economy, but it also generally gives dominant male primates better access to estrous females (Willhoite 1114). In this way, power serves the biologically based agenda of reproductive fitness. In other words, the more powerful a male, the higher "probability that offspring will be fathered by the most dominant male", thus making him more successful in the purely biological sense (Willhoite 1114). Recall that when power is acting in the juridical sense, power is surrendered willingly to the next of kin. If power allows a primate to have sex, and having more offspring increases your power and influence, then sex is acting as a productive force as it is labour which is in turn producing a commodity (more power). It is in this way that sex interacts within the pseudo power economy. Even though sex is not considered to be part of the primate economy within Foucault's working definition of an economy, it functions within the pseudo power economy made possible by the Marxist conception of power by acting as a productive force, deepening the consideration of the juridical and the Marxist by making their intersection clear.

Foucault suggests that one way of looking at power is as "a relationship of force" or "that which represses" (15). When talking about the war-repression schema of power, Foucault says, "the pertinent opposition is … that between the struggle and the submission" (17). The difference between the words surrender, used in the juridical, and submission, used in the war-repression schema, are important as submission indicates the use of force. Considering power in primates as being a relationship of force is troubled by primate power dynamics however, as most research shows that generally dominance hierarchies in primates exist to maintain peace and stability within the group as opposed to dominant primates existing to repress (Willhoite 1114). However, the notion of power as a force does arise during a violent turnover of power which does occasionally happen, especially when coalitions of male primates attempt to usurp the dominant male (Willhoite 1114). Therefore, in a violent turnover of power, power no longer fits the juridical conception of power and is instead better analyzed through the war-repression schema.

Foucault asks, "is power's … purpose essentially to serve the economy?" (14). Primate power serves the economy in some ways, acting to perpetuate class domination as is mentioned in the Marxist conception of power. The power structure in primate groups determines how each primate within this social order will interact with their economy. More specifically, the dominant primates in the group generally have better access to desirable foods, which mainly constitute the primate economy as previously established (Willhoite 1112). In this way, the social order affects how each member interacts with their economy, therefore, power, in this way, serves the economy. Additionally, better access to foodstuffs makes for better nutrition which, in turn, allows the dominant primate to remain healthy and retain its power. In this way primate power perpetuates class domination. On the other hand, it is difficult to say if the purpose of the economy is to serve power. Certainly, the perpetuity of power within a primate power structure can be owed in part to how primates interact with their economy, but whether interaction with the primate economy is the origin of the dominance hierarchy is difficult to determine. Is the primate strong because it had preferential access to the economy and was thus able to become powerful? Or did the primate have better access to the economy and was thus better able to maintain its pre-existing power? Answering these questions for certain is beyond the scope of this paper, however, these questions are still important to consider when linking primate power to the Marxist theory of power as they help to determine whether the relationship between primate power and the primate economy is truly a relationship of one functioning as a subordinate to the other (Foucault 14). Though power does appear to perpetuate class domination and determine how primates interact with their economy, it is not power's only purpose to serve the economy, as power also serves itself as well as other biological agendas. Therefore, the Marxist conception of power is a key portion of the analysis of power, however,

it does not suffice as the only power analysis tool.

Power in the primate dominance hierarchy also gives better access to sitting places. Desirable sitting places allow dominant primates to survey for predators and protect themselves as well as their group from potential threats showing that power also serves the biological agenda of survival (Willhoite 1115). Therefore, power not only serves the economy, but it also serves the biological agenda of survival.

The juridical and Marxist conceptions of power are certainly legitimate ways to analyze aspects of primate power. Primates treat power as a commodity when it is exchanged peacefully amongst members of a group so, in this way, power is juridical. Furthermore, dominance hierarchies not only determine how a primate interacts with their economy, but also perpetuates pre-existing relationships of domination owing to the dominant individual's better access to resources in the economy. However, the juridical and Marxist theories of power fail to provide a holistic view of primate power, and thus one cannot conclude that the analysis of power can be exclusively deduced from the economy. Instead, primate power should be analyzed through the primate economy, through its biological agendas, through the war-repression schema, and through itself. This is not an all-encompassing list of ways to analyze power by any means, as this was not the goal of this study, however, each additional power analysis tool serves to strengthen my argument that the juridical and Marxist conceptions of power are not sufficient for analyzing primate power and that additional ways of conceptualizing power must be utilized to fully grasp the notion of primate power.

At the beginning of this paper, it was established that, due to the evolutionary link between humans and primates, the conclusions made about primate power could perhaps be extrapolated to humans. Therefore, I suggest, based on the results of this analysis, that it is not sufficient to analyze human power exclusively through the human economy. Additionally, human power dynamics are more complex than primates', giving further evidence that it is probable that the juridical and Marxist alone are not sufficient to properly analyze human power, since they were unable to provide sufficient analysis for the much simpler concept of primate power.

However, I would like to raise some complications which not only trouble this extrapolation, but also the general field of primatology. First, it is important to note that the main article used in pursuit of my argument focused mainly on Savanna-dwelling Baboons, Chimpanzees, Gorillas, and Rhesus Macaques (Willhoite 1113). Broad generalizations about primates can be made in this instance; however, they will not necessarily be accurate to every species. For example, I noted that dominant males serve to maintain stability and peace within the group, however this is not the function of the dominant silverback Gorilla as there is much less intragroup violence in this species (Willhoite 1115). Therefore, when broadly generalizing about primate power and their economy, one must be critical as to how accurate these generalizations are to the species at hand. Additionally, studies of primates in the wild are limited and primatologists recognize the "incontrovertible gap between experiments and the field", contributing to potentially less accurate conclusions made about primates in primatological studies (Bourgeois-Gironde et al. 7). Furthermore, though humans are related to primates evolutionarily (humans are specifically closest in ancestry to Chimpanzees), we are not the same and thus extrapolations of these conclusions must be done cautiously. Addessi and colleagues express that primates show similar economic tendencies to humans, however these are described as building blocks of human economic behaviour indicating simplicity (2). When extrapolating conclusions based on primates to humans, the question becomes: do we remain close enough to our primate relatives for these conclusions to be relevant? Willhoite and Addessi colleagues' conclusions suggest that indeed extant primates do hold similarities to humans' power-based and economics-based behaviours, however to what extent is not altogether clear.

Despite these complications, the study of primatology is still very important not only to better understand the wildlife around us, but also so we can ascertain more information about our evolutionary past. Wilhoite asserts that, "to understand human societies, one needs to discover lineaments of them in subhuman primate societies" (1111). Therefore, this study remains important to the analysis of primate powers and what these can potentially tell us about human power.

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SOMETHING IN THE AIR: AN INTERSECTIONAL INVESTIGATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM IN CANADA

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Arts & Science 4CI3: Diversity and Human Rights Inquiry

In August, the United Nations passed a resolution that codifies "access to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment" as a universal human right; however, research continually shows that harmful environ- mental industries and sites are frequently located in or near marginalized and specifically racialized communities in Canada (UN News, 2022). Although access to a healthy environment is now a universal right, some groups experience unique challenges in actualizing this right. This inequality can be understood as environmental racism. A formal definition of environmental racism is as follows: "Environmental racism refers to environmental policy, practice, or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or colour" (Bullard, 2003). Some scholars and activists have expanded the definition to include other forms of discriminatory land misuse such as "a lack of playgrounds, trees, walking paths and hiking trails and access to clean water for drinking and food preparation, or soil for sustainable agriculture [in marginalized or racialized communities]" (George, 2022).

The terminology of "environmental racism" and "environmental (in)justice" is also relatively new to public discourse, but predate the more direct phrase of environmental racism. These concepts were first named in the late 1970s when researchers compiled reports in response to a Black community's resistance to the municipal government of Houston placing a solid-waste facility in their community (Borunda, 2021). Dr. Robert Bullard, a sociologist sometimes referred to as the "Father of Environmental Justice," was the first researcher to provide formal, systematic evidence that "environmentally harmful infrastructure [is] more likely to show up in places where minority populations live" (Borunda, 2021). It is important to note that these patterns existed in North America before the 1970s. For example, colonization brought with it environmental racism by disrupting long-standing Indigenous practices of environmental stewardship (Whyte, 2020).

Environmental racism is a more closely fitting definition than environmental injustice because it attends to the realities of injustice experienced by Indigenous and racialized communities. It is also important to note that the experience of environmental racism is not homogenous across all marginalized communities. For Indigenous communities, present-day environmental racism cannot be separated from the history of colonial domination and the Canadian claim of ownership over Indigenous peoples and lands. Enslavement was also a founding principle in the creation of the Canadian nation and the lived consequences of this history are evidenced by the continual marginalization of many Black communities in Canada in both urban and rural contexts (Waldron, 2018). The idea of seeking or enacting environmental justice is a frame for advocacy and activism that aims to address the inequalities exposed by environmental racism.

The multiple avenues through which environmental racism could be addressed will be explored in this paper. This paper will argue that the strategy with the greatest potential for meaningful progress is encoding the right to a healthy environment in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; however, the strategy with the greatest promise of immediate action in addressing environmental racism is the passing of Bill S-5. The paper will first utilize case studies to expose the manifestation of environmental racism in Canada in both urban and rural contexts, across various geographic regions and provinces to argue for the necessity of a federal-level approach to addressing this issue. Then the paper will analyze various policy approaches to addressing environmental racism, clarifying why

previous attempts to pass legislation have been unsuccessful, and identifying the most promising approaches both for the present and future. It is also acknowledged that legislative reforms and progress do not happen without pressures exerted from outside agents and organizations. Therefore, grassroots activism will always be important in advancing meaningful progress on human rights issues and has been and continues to be integral in the fight to address environmental racism in Canada.

Environmental Racism from Coast to Coast in Canada

Environmental racisim is a national issue

This section will address the specific experiences of environmental racism in three Canadian communities: Aamjiwnaang First Nation, Lincolnville, and Wet'suwet'en Nation. It is worthwhile to stress that these three communities are a small sample of the mani- festations of environmental racism operating in Canada. Nonetheless, highlighting specific examples can make the concept real for individuals without lived experi- ence of environmental racism. For generations, Indig- enous and Black communities in Canada have recog- nized the disparities that disproportionately affect their communities (George, 2021; ENRICH Project, 2014). Like many other structural inequalities, environmental racism is generally invisible to White communities that do not suffer its repercussions. The following exam- ples show that environmental racism is experienced in communities across the country in both urban and rural settings and is enabled through government policy that prioritizes the growth of the economy and industries above the collective health of racialized communities.

Aamjiwnaang First Nation – Sarnia, Ontario

Aamjiwnaang First Nation is a community near Sarnia, Ontario's infamous Chemical Valley. Forty percent of Canada's chemical industry is found in the 62 industrial facilities surrounding the First Nations community (Ecojustice, 2007). The World Health Organization found that Sarnia, the city just a few kilometres from Aamjiwnaang First Nation, has the worst air quality in all of Ontario (Collins, 2015). Results from a 2010 study analyzing medical data from 2007 found that about 40 percent of the band members in the community required an inhaler, and about 22 percent

of children in the community had asthma (Dhillon & Young). The rate of asthma in children in neighbouring Lambton County, which includes the neighbouring city of Sarnia, is 8.2 percent (Waldron, 2018). It's not just the air that is polluted in Chemical Valley; the nearby St. Clair River, a source of drinking water for the community, experiences an average of 100 chemical spills a year from nearby plants (Dhillon & Young, 2010). Residents have reflected on large numbers of miscarriages and stillbirths in the community, chemotherapy and dialysis, and parents have expressed concern about allowing their children to go outside and play considering the poor air quality (O'Toole, Kestler-D'Amours, 2021). One such resident remembers playing outside on "foggy" days as a child in the 1990s, unaware the fog was actually chemical coolant (O'Toole, Kestler-D'Amours, 2021). Members of the Aamjiwnaang community have worked with the non-profit Ecojustice for more than a decade to advocate for the community, and this particular example will be further explored moving into the solutions-focused portion of the paper.

Lincolnville- Nova Scotia

The multiple landfill sites located just outside Lincolnville, an African Nova Scotian rural community, is another example of environmental racism. This becomes apparent when examining the differences in government handling of the Lincolnville landfill and a comparable landfill near the white, lower-income community of Upper Sackville (Waldron, 2018). Unlike Lincolnville, Upper Sackville was monetarily compensated by the Nova Scotian parliament in 2015, and the Upper Sackville site was retroactively lined to avoid toxic water runoff from the site (Waldron, 2018). As of 2018, Lincolnville was still dealing with a degraded liner and was awaiting compensation; there is no evidence that the provincial government has made any progress in the ensuing years (Waldron 2018). Because the socioeconomic character of Lincolnville and Upper Sackville are comparable, it is justifiable to challenge why the provincial government handled the landfull issue more responsibly and expediently when responding to the concerns of a predominantly White community. The vastly different handlings of two extremely similar experiences supports the assertion that this is a clear example of environmental racism.

Wet'suwet'en Nation - unceded territory in British Columbia

The violent government response to the protests of the Wet'suwet'en Nation is another example of environmental racism. Pipelines threaten the environmental health of the land on which they are constructed. The RCMP has undertaken three large-scale raids from 2019 to 2021 to forcibly evict protesters from camps set up to block pipeline progress. The raids have also denied Wet'suwet'en people access to their lands (Gidimt'en land defenders, 2022). In 1997 the Supreme Court of Canada recognized that Wet'suwet'en and Gitxsan hereditary chiefs are the rightful titleholders of their unceded territory in British Columbia, but the case was sent back to trial after the ruling and remains unresolved (Kestler-D'Amours, 2020). If the case had been settled, the government would have needed to consult hereditary chiefs before accepting the pipeline proposal.

The Canadian government has signed on to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and BC has begun work to put the provincial laws in line with the UNDRIP articles (Kestler-D'Amours, 2020). Article 19 of UNDRIP states that:

> States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them (United Nations, 2007).

Despite this clear duty to consult outlined in the Declaration, the BC provincial government has stated that this stipulation will not apply retroactively in the case of the Coastal GasLink pipeline project (Kestler-D'Amours, 2020). Even though Canada has signed on to the UNDRIP, the provincial government has made it clear in this case that economic growth and profit is a higher priority than respecting the rights of Indigenous peoples, and protecting the environmental integrity of this unceded territory. Time and time again industrial development is valued above human and community health in instances of environmental racism.

Intersectionality and environmental racism

Environmental integrity is a social determinants of health, like healthcare, education, and foodsystems, and in all of these areas racial disparities are observed; government shortcomings in these areas disproportionately affects Black and Indigenous communities in Canada (Waldron, 2020, p. 8). The effects of environmental racism are also compounded by structural discrimination faced by Indigenous and racialized communities disproportionately affected by uneven employment opportunities, income insecurity, labour market structure, and land depreciation (Waldron, 2018).

Human Rights Legislation and Human Rights Systems

Canada falls behind many countries when it comes to encoding the right to a healthy environment into the country's environmental laws. It has already been determined in the Canadian court system that s.35 of the Constitution, which protects Indigenous religious and treaty rights, could be threatened by environmental degradation (Collins, 2015). Although this establishes environmental rights relating to Indigeneity, the protections afforded by s.35 are not wide enough to protect all racialized communities and groups.

According to a report by Ecojustice, "more than 110 countries have recognized their citizens' right to a healthy environment" (Ecojustice, n.d., 3). Evidence has shown that constitutional environmental rights catalyze more progressive environmental laws and progress on environmental issues. Data shows that countries with environmentally-conscious constitutions "have smaller ecological footprints and have reduced air pollution up to ten times faster than nations without environmental provisions in their constitutions" (Boyd & Macfarlane, 2015). In countries like Norway, Portugal, and the Philippines, constitutional rights to a healthy environment are bringing these countries closer to carbon neutrality, helping to clean up polluted waterways, and forcing industrial projects to be considered in terms of their possible health consequences (Ecojustice, n.d.).

Increasing numbers of court cases are being filed and heard in countries which codify the right to a healthy environment within their constitution (Boyd, 2020). One such example worth highlighting is that of the Colombian Supreme Court in Generaciones Futuras v. Minambiente. The Court found "violations of the constitutional right to a healthy environment, the right to life, and the right to water as well as the rights of future generations" (Boyd, 2020). Orders were then

issued to three levels of government in order to rectify the issue (Boyd, 2020). Because constitutional law takes precedence over other legal statutes or political motivations, these cases allow citizens and activists to enact widespread change in environmental policy.

Environmental rights in the charter

Scholars and activists have argued one of two things about environmental rights and the Canadian constitution: either that the right to a healthy environment is implicitly encoded in one or more sections of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, or that the right to a healthy environment should be explicitly added to the Charter. Those that argue that the right to a healthy environment is included in the Charter but not articulated as such often cite s.7 or s.15 of the Charter (Boyd & Macfarlane, 2014; Chalifour, 2015; Collins, 2015). Section 7 of the Charter states, "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice" (Department of Justice Canada, 2022). Most arguments made about the inherent principle of the right to environmental health in the charter reference this section; s.7 serves to protect people from exposure to harm or a threat to their well-being and could therefore be used in court to oppose laws that would lead to levels of pollution that interfere with public health (Chalifour, 2015). Section 15 has less jurisprudence connecting it to cases of environmental justice, but its language offers unique opportunities to address the communities most negatively impacted by the lived consequences of environmental racism:

> 15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability (Department of Justice Canada, 2022).

If an individual or community can prove that their disproportionate exposure to environmental hazards is discriminatory and that the discrimination is linked to their racialized status, then the substantive equality promoted in the Charter would be henceforth linked to environmental justice issues (Chalifour, 2015).

As long as Canadian law does not provide direct opportunities to bring cases of environmental racism to trial plantiffs will face an uphill battle in having their concerns meaningfully addressed. The avenue for appeals with the Supreme Court if the right to a healthy environment was explicitly encoded in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms would provide another set of checks and balances in response to unfavourable results in lower court systems.

Private Members Bills: Bills C-230 and C-438

Bills C-230 and C-438 were proposed by private members in the House of Commons to address environmental justice issues. Bill C-230 directly targeted environmental racism and proposed developing a national strategy to "assess, prevent, and address environmental racism and to advance environmental justice" (House of Commons of Canada, 2021). Bill C-438 was relatively broader in scope and was created to enact an Environmental Bill of Rights, which would recognize the right to a healthy environment and would amend the Canadian Bill of Rights and other pertinent legislation to include ecological considerations (House of Commons of Canada, 2019). Unfortunately, neither of these bills targeted the Constitution or Charter, and neither was passed (Bill C-230 (Historical), n.d.; Bill C-438 (Historical), n.d.). Without rights to a healthy environment encoded in constitutional law, it will be challenging to pass comprehensive legislation that properly addresses environmental justice issues.

Senate Bill: Bill S-5

Bill S-5 is the most promising piece of ecologically grounded legislation currently being considered in the House of Commons. This piece of federal legislation, if passed by the Senate and House of Commons would enshrine environmental rights in Canadian law and set a precedent for further legislative protections. The bill was proposed and first passed in the Senate and aims to amend the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999, to recognize the right of Canadian citizens to a healthy environment (Senate of Canada, 2022). The Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development met on December 13 for the seventh time regarding Bill S-5. A report will be

drafted on the bill and presented to the House of Commons for a third reading (LEGISinfo, n.d.). Since the bill has already passed in the Senate, if it passes in the House of Commons, then it will become the first law in Canada that directly affirms the right to a healthy environment for all citizens. Environmental injustice can then be addressed in the court system without relying on a favourable interpretation of the environmental rights that arguably exist implicitly in the Charter.

Federal Housing Advocate - Canadian Human Rights Commission

Another emerging avenue for addressing environmental racism exists outside of the court system and instead would tackle the issue from within the Canadian human rights system. The Federal Housing Advocate is a new position through the Canadian human rights commission. Marie-Josée Houle was appointed to the role in February of 2022 (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2022a). Although the position was created to address the housing crisis, part of the role of the Advocate is to "make recommendations to improve Canada's housing laws, policies and programs, and hold governments to account on their human rights obligations" (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2022a). People experiencing homelessness are the highest priority under the National Housing Strategy Act; the Act affirms the right to adequate housing is a fundamental human right in Canada. However, adequate housing means all people "are equally entitled to live in dignity in a safe and secure home, and that everyone should be able to access housing that meets their needs without discrimination or harassment" (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2022b). Communities situated next to polluted water sources or landfills filled with toxic waste do not have the fundamental right to safe housing met and thus could seek the assistance of the Federal Housing Advocate.

Intersectionality praxis through grassroots coalitions

Coalitions

The effects of grassroots organizations can be amplified through coalition building; by combining resources andtargetingtheintersectionspointsofinterrelated concerns, organizations can extend their reach, result-

ing in increased visibility and power to institute change.

Aamjiwnaang First Nation and Ecojustice

The court case that was put before the Ontario Court of Justice by members of Aamjiwnaang First Nation drew its arguments on s.7 and s.15 of the Charter, arguing that the disproportionate levels of pollution in the community violate the Charter rights of those in the community (Chalifour, 2015). Ada Lockridge and Ron Plain, two members of the Aamjiwnaang community, were represented by lawyers from Ecojustice in the 2011 Lockridge and Plain v. Director, Ministry of the Environment et al. case. The Ecojustice counsel advised Ada and Ron in the years following their initial filing to withdraw the lawsuit as the Ontario government was starting to address some of the issues highlighted in the case. Still, Ecojustice continues to work with the Aamjiwnaang community to further environmental causes (Defending the rights of Chemical Valley residents, n.d.).

BLM and environmental groups

The recent partnering of the Black Lives Matter movement with grassroots environmental groups provides a good example of a coalition of groups working together towards improvements in multiple social areas simultaneously. The Black Lives Matter (BLM) organization works to "eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes" (Black Lives Matter, n.d.). Black Lives Matter recognizes that marginalized communities experience the most harm in crises, which includes the climate crisis (Black Lives Matter, 2021). The US branch of the movement amplifies the message and supports the work of two grassroots environmental initiatives, RISE St. James and Gulf South for a Green New Deal (GS4GND) (Black Lives Matter, 2021). The predominantly Black community of St. James, Louisiana, is fighting to prevent more industrial plants from locating their business in the community, already nicknamed "Cancer Alley" or "Death Alley." The GS4GND mission is to move southern communities away from extractive economies toward a sustainable future (Black Lives Matter, 2021). The initiative works to centre "labourers, farmers, fisherfolk, tribal nations, and frontline communities" in these efforts (Black Lives Matter, 2021).

The Canadian branch of BLM has not yet de-

veloped or partnered with environmental justice organizations. Dr. Cheryl Teelucksingh, Chair of the Sociology Department of Toronto Metropolitan University, is one of many scholars that has argued that the Canadian environmental justice movement needs to partner with BLM to make meaningful progress in environmental injustice (Teelucksingh, 2020). The claim here is that interests naturally converge between the Black Lives Matter organization and the environmental justice movement in Canada, and that this partnership would provide tools for large-scale activism and a critique and challenge to the centering of Whiteness in environmental activism (Teelucksingh, 2020).

Conclusion

Indigenous communities have been practising environmental justice before colonialization. Unfortunately, there is sometimes a tendency in Canadian society to situate expressions of Indigeneity solely in the pre-colonial past. Such a tendency fails to recognize the continued work of Indigenous communities to preserve Indigenous forms of government and land stewardship, which can be seen as an example of environmental justice activism. The continued Wet'suwet'en protests and checkpoints in the unceded territory in British Columbia are only one example of such work.

Since Ingrid Waldron's book "There's Something in the Water" came out in 2018, some notable progress has been made on issues of environmental racism in Can- ada. Legislation has been proposed on numerous occa- sions to affirm the right to a healthy environment for all Canadians, and Bill C-230 was specifically formulated to address and prevent environmental racism in Can- ada. Although two of these bills did not pass, the pro- posed Bill S-5 is currently under review in the House of Commons. It could soon become the first law in Canada to directly encode environmental rights into Canadian law. Passing this bill would be a massive step, as Can- ada lags behind numerous states in encoding environmental protections for all of its citizens in the country's legislation. The greatest win would be to have the right to a healthy environment recognized in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as that would make the right to a healthy and safe environment a constitutionally protected right. Constitutional law is the strongest and best-protected branch of law in Canada; environmental rights in the Charter would also likely set off a new cascade of laws protecting the environment in Canada.

Grassroots coalitions are another promising means of addressing environmental racism in Canada. Environmental racism intersects with other social justice causes that disproportionately impact Canadian racialized communities (healthcare, public infrastructure, uneven employment opportunities, and education, to name a few). Grassroots organizations, interest groups and communities making meaningful change in many of these areas have and could continue to join forces and share resources to address these concerns collaboratively.

Overall, international jurisprudence supports the argument that encoding the right to a healthy environment into constitutional law would be the most promising way to address environmental racism in Canada. However, as this sort of constitutional reform appears to be many years away from becoming a reality, the current proposal of Bill S-5 remains the most promising existing avenue for reform. If the bill passes through both Senate and the House of Commons it could provide a legal precedent for future, constitutionally-binding rights to a healthy and safe environment. Communities most effected by environmental racism in Canada have employed many unique and creative strategies to ad- dress their concerns but would be further supported in their activism by foundational constitutional recogni- tion of the right to a healthy environment. The current legal progress as well as the potential for strengthening activism through coalition-building suggests that mean- ingful action on the issue of environmental racism is not only possible but likely to come to fruition in Canada.

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NEOLIBERAL NARRATIVES AND INTERNALIZED WEIGHT STIGMA: OBSTACLES TO FAT EQUITY

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Arts & Science 4CI3: Diversity and Human Rights Inquiry

Specifically in North America, public health efforts to pathologize the "obese" body are implemented on a massive scale (Haththotuwa et al., 2020). Education campaigns describe the "risks'' of obesity to initiate individual weight management (Haththotuwa et al., 2020; Muennig, 2008). Outside of public health, the cultural desire for weight loss and the reverence of thinness fuel the $470 billion dollar weight loss industry (Beale, 2022; Businesswire, 2022). The combined effect produces weight stigma, occurring when negative attitudes toward fat individuals evolve into discriminatory and prejudicial acts (World Obesity, n.d.).

Internalized weight stigma is a form of internalized oppression that originates from negative societal attitudes of fat bodies. This form of stigma occurs when the individual attributes the negative biases of fatness to their own body and mind (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). Some fat individuals think they are to blame for the discrimination they face (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). According to Suzanne Pharr, addressing internalized oppression is necessary to achieve liberation of oppressed groups (Pharr, 1996). Internalized oppression arises from dominant cultural messaging and maltreatment, rather than as an issue of self-esteem. This oppression perpetuates the notion that a member of an oppressed group deserves the cruelty they face, as members begin to accept negative stereotypes and beliefs imposed by the dominant group (Pharr, 1996). These behaviours can hinder efforts to dismantle harmful the ideologies and structures (Pharr, 1996). To resist oppression, Pharr calls communities to "believe our lives are worthy, and our people are worthy [...] in the struggle for freedom, equality, and justice" (Pharr, 1996, p. 35). Thus, addressing internalized weight bias is a necessary step towards addressing weight stigma.

In this essay, I examine how internalized weight stigma reinforces anti-fat beliefs and societal structures. First, I outline the current state of legislation regarding discrimination based on weight. Second, I explore the neoliberal sources of internalized weight stigma, specifically through the diet industry and medicine. Third, I consider how narratives of weight stigma may be adopted internally by a fat person. Fourth, I address how internalized weight stigma may prevent the recognition of weight as grounds for discrimination. Turning to the work of fat activists, I suggest how the current body positive movement may be altered and supplemented to reduce the structural and internal barriers that prevent fat liberation. In my work, the "fat" body is any body classified as "obese" or "morbidly obese" by a medical practitioner. The medicalized term, "obesity," will be replaced with "fat," "fat individuals,'' or "fat bodies" because "obesity" carries negative connotations associated with disease, epidemics, and immorality (Carter & Walls, 2013).

Regarding Positionality

I am a thin white woman who has never been medically classified as "obese." Inevitably, my understanding of this issue will be filtered through my own perceptions and identity. In attempts to reduce personal bias and speculation, I supplement scholarly research with the autobiographical blog posts of two prominent fat activists: Aubrey Gordon and Tasha Fierce. Gordon is a queer white woman who frequently shares her experiences of oppression as a fat person under the pseudonym "Your Fat Friend." Since Black fat advocates are often excluded from the mainstream fat activist movement (Strings, 2020), I also refer to the writings of Tasha Fierce, a fat nonbinary Black disabled activist who writes about their experiences in our modern neoliberal

society. While these authors do not represent the experiences of all fat individuals, each provides valuable insights into the experiences of those with fat bodies.

On an intersectional note, weight stigma intersects with other forms of discrimination, including class, race, and gender (Lee & Pausé, 2016). Fat women in particular experience higher rates of unemployment, lower rates of education, poorer health outcomes, and have trouble in romantic relationships relative to fat men (Fikkan & Rothblum, 2012). Furthermore, contemporary fatphobia is rooted in the historical anti-Blackness of the United States. Whites strove for thinness to distinguish themselves as "superior" to enslaved Black persons (Strings, 2020). Subsequently, fat peoples' experience of weight stigma can vary depending on their identities and social location.

Current Weight Discrimination Legislation in North America

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights does not recognize weight or body size as protected grounds (Moore, 2021). In North America, fat people are not granted legal grounds to challenge the discrimination they face based on weight or size, particularly in the workplace. More specifically, Canadian law does not include grounds for discrimination based on size or weight in any provincial or federal legislation (Moore, 2021). A fat person may be able to file a complaint under disability grounds, but this is problematic because the experiences of a fat person are not the same as a person with a disability. Furthermore, it requires proving the employer perceives fatness as a "disability," which can be challenging (Moore, 2021). Moreover, this approach does not protect individuals who are discriminated against based on weight or appearance alone (Moore, 2021). Currently, there are no proposed bills to introduce weight discrimination as protected grounds in Canada (Moore, 2021). A similar legal environment exists in the United States; there are no federal laws against weight discrimination (Eidelson, 2022). Michigan is the only state to ban weight discrimination (Eidelson, 2022).

The research is sparse, but fat people in areas with anti-weight discrimination laws have higher rates of employment than those in jurisdictions without these laws (Shinall, 2016). Evidence suggests weight-discrimination laws may help reduce weight stigma, as it encourages employers to look beyond physical appearance and weight (Shinall, 2016). Nevertheless, a change in employment status will not guarantee the elimination of discrimination because it will not address the pervasive anti-fat societal attitudes present in medicine and diet culture. Furthermore, legislation will not address how weight stigma is internalized by the individual, perpetuating anti-fat narratives. In the words of philosopher Anne Eaton, "We live in a fat-hating world, one that regularly refuses to accommodate fat bodies; that openly and unabashedly teases, bullies, shames, and stigmatizes fat people from early childhood onward; and that discriminates against fat people in a variety of ways" (Eaton, 2016, p. 39). Therefore, internalized weight stigma must be examined to resist weight stigma and discrimination in all facets of social life.

Neoliberalism as a Source of Internalized Weight Stigma

Internalized weight stigma does not spontaneously arise within the individual. Neoliberal narratives, parroted by the diet industry and the medical establishment, frame fatness as a personal failing in need of correction. While neoliberalism is a complex term with multiple definitions, in this case, "neoliberalism" is defined as the social and political movement focusing on individual freedoms with minimal government intervention in a free-market capitalist economy (Brown, 2005). Under this system, the individual is responsible for achieving their own well-being through hard work and an entrepreneurial spirit (Brown, 2005). In the context of fatness, the individual is blamed for their failure to work hard and achieve a "healthy" weight (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015).

In the weight loss industry, women in particular are sold the idea that weight loss can be achieved through supplements, cleanses, and exercise regimes. In her analysis of contemporary diet, health, and fitness discourse, Atherton (2021) found that contemporary diet culture moralizes eating behaviours and physical appearance. "Good" people practice self-restraint and discipline, and are characterized as "thin, white, able-bodied, heterosexual, cisgender, [and] wealthy" (Atherton,

2021, p. 3). In contrast, "bad" people are fat and are associated with "queerness, disability, and nonwhiteness" (Atherton, 2021, p. 16). Certain foods are "pure" and divine, while others are painted as "dirty" and poisonous (Atherton, 2021). According to diet culture, the individual must decide if they want to be "good" and follow a disciplined diet which promises thinness, or be "bad" and indulge, resulting in a fat body. Thus, diet culture describes fatness as a matter of individual morality attainable with discipline, rather than a matter of genetic and societal factors (Atherton, 2021). Fatness is framed as a choice. It is the duty of the individual to decide if they want to be "good" and thin or "bad" and fat.

The "fat is a choice" narrative is also perpetuated in doctor's offices and through public health initiatives. Doctors often prescribe weight loss as treatment, rather than treating the actual medical issue (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). The fat body is medicalized when achieving thinness is positioned as the "cure" for medical problems, regardless of whether the issue is caused by fat tissue (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). Furthermore, the Body-Mass Index (BMI) is used by the medical system to create universal standards for a "normal" body (Halse, 2008). The BMI is the ratio of a person's weight divided by their height squared and was never intended for use in healthcare settings (Halse, 2008). However, this calculation has been used by the World Health Organization (WHO) to define what is "underweight," "normal weight," "overweight," and "obese" (Halse, 2008). A "healthy" BMI is considered something we should "all aspire" if we wish to live a healthy life (Halse, 2008, p. 46). Rather than acknowledging the systemic issues that may lead to a fat body, such as poverty, lack of access to fresh produce, and lack of nutritional education, the individual is responsible for losing weight through prescriptions, exercise, and other "cures" recommended by doctors (Halse, 2008). As primary caretakers and food preparers, women feel this medical neoliberal pressure to a greater degree. Mothers are held responsible for ensuring their children's BMI does not exceed the "healthy" range (Halse, 2008). If a child exceeds the arbitrary guidelines defined by the BMI, their mother's parenting abilities are questioned (Halse, 2008). This medical narrative pathologizes fatness as something to be "cured" or "prevented"

within the individual (Halse, 2008). By following the advice of medical practitioners, the individual is responsible for ensuring their own health or the health of their children adheres to the normative forces outlined by the BMI and the standard of "health" it represents.

The personal blame placed on fat individuals for their medical ailments is evident in Gordon's article titled "As Coronavirus Rages, We Need to Talk About Medical Anti-Fat Bias." Gordon explains how she suddenly lost her hearing while on vacation. When she visited the hospital, the nurse did not believe Gordon's blood pressure fell within a healthy range (Your Fat Friend, 2020). The nurse assumed "fat meant being sick" (Your Fat Friend, 2020, para. 9). Gordon outlines how the nurse assumed that good health for fat bodies was "unfathomable," illustrating how the medical establishment frequently problematizes the fat body, seeing weight as an intrinsic health problem, even when this is not the case (Your Fat Friend, 2020). For instance, recent literature indicates those with "overweight" BMIs have better health outcomes across the lifespan than those with "underweight" BMIs (Lorem et al., 2017). Thin becomes the accepted norm and fat is deviant. To be "healthy," the fat individual must achieve thinness.

Tasha Fierce is no stranger to addressing neoliberal narratives associated with fatness on their blog. After acknowledging neoliberalism's "obsession" with choice, Fierce explained how they once thought "At any point, if I just paid a little more attention to my body, if I was just a little less frivolous with my food groups, I could leave the abundance of fatness behind" (Fierce, 2018, para. 3). However, after reflecting on this notion, they realized their fatness was beyond their control and this belief was a result of their own internalized weight stigma (Fierce, 2018). Now, if someone were to ask them why they are fat, they could provide a list of the various societal forces of colonialism, capitalism, ableism, and many other factors (Fierce, 2018). Fierce outlines how their experiences with racism, sexual assault, mental illness, and food insecurity all contributed to their larger body (Fierce, 2018). While Fierce has now challenged their original assumption that fatness is a choice, their words clarify the omnipresence of the neoliberal narrative in weight stigma discourse. The individualizing narrative of fat-

ness led them to believe they were in control of their own body and were "complicit" in the "destruction" of their body by existing as a fat person (Fierce, 2018, para. 4). Rather than turning to the structural forces that may cause fat bodies, the individual is blamed for their failure to work hard and achieve a "healthy" weight.

Narratives of Internalized Weight Stigma

It is important to understand how the neoliberal narrative that "fatness is a choice" may be adopted by fat people themselves. While this is not the case for all fat individuals, it is true for many. One survey revealed that internalized weight stigma is highest among those with higher body weights (Marshall et al., 2020). In a series of interviews with fat individuals experiencing internalized weight bias, Ramos Salas et al. (2019) revealed that many misunderstood the causes of an "obese" diagnosis. Rather than considering weight to be caused by a variety of structural factors, participants often blamed themselves for their fat bodies (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). Feelings of shame, guilt, stress, vulnerability, and suicidality were present in relation to the participant's identity as a fat person (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). Reflecting the neoliberal narrative of "weight as a choice," one participant clarified that they "just needed to try harder" to achieve a "healthy" body (Ramos Salas et al., 2019, p. 9). Other participants echoed this sentiment and claimed weight loss can be achieved by restricting calories and exercising more (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). Contrary to these assertions, weight loss is caused by a variety of factors that exist beyond an individual's control, including genetics, class, race, and gender (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). Internalized weight stigma is present as individuals see themselves as the problem, rather than the broader systemic context.

Gordon's article "What I learned as an 11-Year-old in Weight Watchers" examines how diet culture's neoliberal rhetoric seeped into her own psyche as an adolescent. Gordon describes attending Weight Watchers meetings and "blaming my body for failure" (Gordon, 2019, para. 3). Gordon describes obsessively counting calories and steps in attempts to shrink her body into a "healthy" weight (Gordon, 2019). Successful weight loss was evidence of personal will and strength, while weight gain was evidence of "failure: of willpower, strength, character, and the penitence" (Gordon, 2019, para. 8). This experience emphasizes how the personal responsibility narrative of weight management can cause a fat person to blame themselves, their body, and their choices.

Potential Barriers to Collective Action

Internalized weight stigma, fuelled by the neoliberal narrative, may be inhibiting the collective action necessary to dismantle the systematic contributors to fat stigma and oppression. Unlike other protected grounds, such as gender, race, and ethnicity, internalized weight stigma suggests that fat bodies can be shaped into the thin ideal through exercise and dieting (Lee & Pausé, 2016). Once they achieve this "healthy" weight, the implication is they will no longer have to suffer body-based discrimination (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). For instance, one participant in the Ramos Salas et al. (2019) study recognized the negative impacts of weight stigma by stating "There is no question in my mind that obesity stigma can lead to experiences of social exclusion, abuse and discrimination that ultimately leads to health and social inequalities" (p. 8). However, they also asserted that "I did this to myself," claiming they chose to eat junk food and gain weight (Ramos Salas et al., 2019, p. 8). While they do recognize external factors may have contributed to their fat body, the blame is still ultimately placed on themselves. If the individual chose to act differently and lose weight, the implication is they would be able to avoid the stigma they currently face.

Internalized weight stigma may explain why further collective efforts have not been conducted to advocate dismantling the broader societal structures that can contribute to weight stigma, such as weight discrimination legislation. People see themselves as the problem, rather than society. Before realizing that multiple societal structures culminate to produce fatness and fat discrimination, Fierce wrote an article titled "Body Love and fatness as a choice" in 2011. In this article, they expressed how the discrimination they faced as a fat queer femme was a "choice" (Fierce, 2018). While Fierce has since rebutted the claims made in this article, it provides insight into how a fat person may think they are "choosing" oppression. Fierce stated "when you're oppressed, it's easier to take the path of least resistance,

which in this case would be the denial of culpability" (Fierce, 2011, para. 1). More recently, Fierce has retracted these words, stating their fatness is the result of medical, psychological, and other societal structures beyond their control (Fierce, 2018). However, their previous perspective suggests the oppression is ultimately the result of personal decision, suggesting collective action is unnecessary because the individual needs to change, not society (Fierce, 2011). This is an example of how the neoliberal narratives of weight stigma can prevent fat people from taking collective action because they blame themselves. To address this problem, we now turn to ways which can remedy the detrimental effects of weight stigma and internalized weight stigma.

Potential Sources of Empowerment

One solution to the structures perpetuating weight stigma may be rooted in the body positivity movement. A re-configuration of the movement's principles may, however, be required. The original main tenet of this movement included the belief that bodies did not need to conform to societal standards of beauty to be treated with dignity and respect (Frazier & Mehdi, 2021). Most importantly, the movement intended to establish a legal framework to protect a fat individual's life by providing job security and equitable medical treatment (Frazier & Mehdi, 2021). Despite these original intentions, the modern movement excludes marginalized bodies and neglects collective action. Now, the focus remains on the individual, specifically on fashion, beauty, and self-love (Frazier & Mehdi, 2021). All bodies, including those that are not discriminated against, such as thin and cis-gendered bodies, are included in the movement (Frazier & Mehdi, 2021). Frazier & Mehdi (2021) argue the contemporary body positive movement has been co-opted by non-marginalized bodies and spreads capitalist ideals by promoting "body positive" clothing, makeup, and underwear (Frazier & Mehdi, 2021). Companies that allegedly promote body positivity often exclude fat bodies from their promotional campaigns (Frazier & Mehdi, 2021). The co-opting of the body positive movement by non-oppressed individuals erases the original goals of establishing protection for oppressed bodies. This is because predominately white and thin bodies control the messages of body positivity and fail to account for other lived experiences in non-normative bodies (Griffin et al., 2022).

In attempts to re-align the body positivity movement with its initial intent, Evette Dionne emphasizes how protections against the structural perpetrators of weight stigma must be re-centred as the focus of the body positivity movement (Dionne, 2017). This could include recognizing the neoliberal ideology in medical and diet discourse, creating social programs to reduce food insecurity, and organizing media campaigns to normalize the fat body. Dionne (2017) hopes this change will help dismantle the harmful narratives espoused by the diet industry and medical establishment. Fat, trans, non-binary, and disabled bodies must be the leaders of the movement to educate others on the oppressive structures subjugating deviant bodies (Dionne, 2017). Thus, focusing on the systemic perpetrators of discrimination, rather than the individual's own so-called "failures," will help society challenge weight stigma.

To address the anguish stemming from internalized weight stigma, activist Sonya Renee Taylor advocates for "radical self-love" which means recognizing the "hierarchy of bodies" that has been constructed by our neoliberal Western society (Ruiz, 2018, para. 6). At the top, there are white, male, thin, able-bodied, and cis-gendered bodies. At the bottom are Black, female, fat, disabled, and trans bodies. According to Taylor, bodies are ranked within society and compared depending on where they fit on this hierarchy. To reduce internalized oppression, Taylor calls us to acknowledge this hierarchy and actively work to dismantle it for ourselves and within greater societal structures (Ruiz, 2018). This means shifting the perspective from hating the fat body due to a perceived failure in willpower to appreciating it as an act of rebellion against the hierarchy of bodies established by colonialism (Ruiz, 2018). According to Taylor, "When we limit body positivity to the self, and our own challenges, we cut out how our bodies are connected to systems and institutions" (Ruiz, 2018). This approach holds merit as it actively works to acknowledge and fight against the neoliberal narratives that perpetuate weight stigma, both within the individual and externally. Work must be done at the individual and societal level to combat internalized weight stigma.

Conclusion

Internalized weight stigma and the neoliberal ideologies fuelling it may hinder fat activism. The diet industry's moralization of food and bodies promotes the idea that one can "choose" to be "good" and thin or "bad" and fat. The medical establishment determines what is considered a "normal" body, and pathologizes divergent bodies. These two structures shape fatness through neoliberalism, claiming fatness is the "choice" of the individual. Internalized weight stigma occurs because some fat individuals absorb this rhetoric into their own self-perceptions. They may fault themselves and feel immense sadness and grief when diets fail (Ramos Salas et al., 2019). These narratives may prevent fat bodies from fighting against the societal structures oppressing them. To strive for fat equality, the current body positive movement must re-centre its goals of promoting non-normative bodies and fighting against the medical establishment and the diet industry. The movement should advocate for legal protections for fat, disabled, trans, nonbinary, and other marginalized bodies and strive to implement social programs to address the wider issues of poverty and food insecurity (Dionne, 2017). Furthermore, Sonya Renee Taylor suggests we engage in "radical self-love" which requires recognizing how our self-perceptions of our bodies are the result of hierarchical power which privileges white male bodies and oppresses those who do not conform (Ruiz, 2018). Hopefully, these steps will begin to address the neoliberal narratives feeding internalized weight stigma and promote greater equality for oppressed bodies.

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ACTIVISM AND AUTHORITY: ACT UP AND TAC AS SUCCESSFUL ARBITERS OF HIV TREATMENT POLICY CHANGE

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Arts & Science 3B03: Technology and Society I

As AIDS became a frightening reality on the world stage and governments floun- dered, influential activist groups came to the forefront of AIDS treatment, policy, and advocacy. Two of these organizations were particularly well known – the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) in the United States, and the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in South Africa. While both set themselves in direct opposition to pharmaceutical companies, relationships with their respective governments differed dramatically. TAC, while very critical of its government, ultimately won its battles, and then devoted its energy to helping the government implement the new policy as effectively as possible; in contrast, ACT UP perceived itself to be in direct opposition to the American government and refused to show it any support. In this paper, I will argue that this dichotomy between the approaches and thus the outcomes of movements by TAC and ACT UP was in part defined by a divergent faith in the democratic processes which upheld the American and South African government. The TAC believed in the ability of South Africans to elect a representative government; ACT UP did not have the same confidence in Americans. TAC therefore perceived its government as an ally, while to ACT UP, the American government was an enemy. I will begin this paper with an overview of ACT UP and TAC as actors in their respective HIV epidemics, including in relation to public opinion. I will then describe the relationships ACT UP and TAC maintained with pharmaceutical companies and governments, using these relationships to illustrate the level of representation the organizations felt by the authority and how accountable said organizations felt that authority was to people living with HIV or AIDS.

TAC and ACT UP: An Overview

In July of 1981, a report was released about five gay men in Los Angeles who had an unusual myriad of infections.[1] Although 'Slim disease' had been reported affecting communities in Tanzania and Uganda since the late 1970s,[2] 1981 marked the moment western governments and organizations first took an interest in what would become known as acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) destroys an individual's immune system until it is unable to combat opportunistic infections that would otherwise never take hold. HIV becomes AIDS when a person develops an opportunistic infection, or has a CD4 T-cell count of less than 200 cells per cubic millimeter of blood,[3] which demonstrates that their immune system has fallen below the acceptable threshold.[4] [5]HIV continued spreading quickly after 1981, reaching an estimated 1 million cases in the US in 1989,[6] and an estimated 34.3 million worldwide by 1999.[7]

In the United States, AIDS was quickly labeled a gay disease, and never lost that connotation, despite later revelations that HIV could be spread

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through many means other than gay sex,[8] including straight sex, needle sharing, breast feeding, and contact with infected blood.[9] Throughout the epidemic, gay men remained the group most affected by HIV/AIDS in America, although prevalence rates were also very high among low-income communities and communities of colour. As a result of their visibility as the face of the epidemic, the association of HIV with queer communities led to a double stigma – people living with HIV were assumed to be gay and queer people were assumed to be HIV positive.[10] Furthermore, because being gay was often seen as a morally deplorable choice, queer people were perceived as having contracted HIV through their own immoral actions. Much of the American public blamed HIV-positive queer people for their status, and for subjecting American society to the nuisance of fixing a perfectly preventable problem.[11] Over and over again, queer people were told that if they didn't want to die, they should just stop having sex.[12] As a result, queer communities began to face increased rates of homophobia and violence.[13]

ACT UP was born out of this cultural context in 1987. It aimed to provide necessary services for people living with HIV/AIDS, and to pressure the government into taking responsibility for the epidemic, but also to protect queer people from homophobia and fight HIV stigma. ACT UP fought evictions and dismissals based on HIV status,[14] released safe sex handbooks,[15] and organized dramatic protests to demonstrate that they would not be silenced or made ashamed of their identities.[16] The organization was able to respond quickly and forcefully to developments on the AIDS world stage, and to support its members and other people living with HIV/AIDS through the disillusionment of the first fifteen years of the epidemic.

Finally, in 1996, highly active antiretroviral therapy (HAART) was developed, suppressing HIV in treated individuals and allowing them to remain healthy and avoid transmitting the virus.[17] However, despite the existence of effective HIV/AIDS treatment, for most of the world, the patented HAART was prohibitively expensive. It is estimated that in 2000, HAART cost roughly USD $10,500 per patient per year in the US.[18] Even if the South African government, the African National Congress (ANC), had been willing to distribute antiretrovirals, it would have been an enormous, potentially even impossible, expense. Many in the government were wary of antiretrovirals and dismissed the link between HIV and AIDS.[19] They suspected western science of ulterior motives, and the exorbitant price attached to ARVs certainly had the potential to constitute such a motive. Throughout the Apartheid era and before, governments used the institution of public health to perpetuate scientific racism and segregation,[20] causing the public to distrust any governmental behaviour control, particularly with relation to reproduction.[21] The ANC could not afford to be compared to the apartheid government, so promoting HIV prevention was difficult. Officials were further concerned that by recognizing the prevalence of AIDS in South Africa, they would add fuel to the racist narrative of AIDS as a Black disease spread through crude Black sexuality.[22]

While the South African public did not conceptualize HIV as a gay disease, stigma against people living with HIV or AIDS still abounded. HIV was defined along class lines as belonging to poor, uneducated, rural South Africans, despite having a much

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20 Anthony Butler. 2005. "South Africa's HIV/AIDS policy, 1994–2004: How can it be explained?" African Affairs, 104 (417): 604

21 Quarraisha Abdool Karim, Salim S Abdool Karim. 2002. "The evolving HIV epidemic in South Africa" International Journal of Epidemiology, 31 (1): 38

22 Robins, Steven. 2004. "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live': AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid." Journal of Southern African Studies 30 (3): 653

higher prevalence in urban areas.[23] Like in the US, HIV-negative members of the public believed HIV-positive people to have engaged in risky behaviour of their own will, reducing the responsibility of the nation to combat HIV/AIDS.[24] Also analogous to the US, such perceptions resulted in violence and ostracization of HIV-positive community members.[25] However, unlike the US, in 1998, South Africa had an HIV prevalence rate of over 10%, while in North America it remained around 0.56%.[26] In the US, AIDS remained largely contained to specific, and already ostracized, communities throughout the epidemic, allowing the American people to more easily otherize people living with HIV/AIDS. In South Africa, rather than existing only in poor or otherwise stigmatized communities, HIV prevalence was also high among middle-class South Africans[27] and even the members of the ANC – according to activists, almost everyone knew someone who had HIV.[28]

Unfortunately, the popular but nascent ANC government was otherwise preoccupied with navigating the complexities of a newly post-apartheid era, thereby effective HIV/AIDS policy could easily have been set aside as a luxury which the present moment could not afford. To eliminate this possibility, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) was created in 1998.

The TAC fought for HIV and AIDS treatments to be accessible to all South Africans,[29] and as had been true for ACT UP, this battle required more than demonstrations against the government and pharmaceutical companies. TAC financed and distributed medication, ran treatment literacy programs, and combatted HIV stigma through education in schools, churches, and bars.[30] TAC members are also known for loudly proclaiming their HIV statuses through brightly coloured t-shirts reading 'HIV-positive.'[31] They have been con-

sidered impressively effective at dissipating HIV/AIDS stigma, although their mission remains incomplete.[32]

Both ACT UP and the TAC were able to respond to stigma, government inaction, and their own mortality with power and resilience. They both made admirable developments on all fronts; ACT UP applied enough pressure to expand HIV treatment research until HAART was discovered,[33] and TAC convinced the ANC to make antiretrovirals available in public health facilities.[34]Both ACT UP and TAC successfully promoted condom use and safe sex.[35] [36] They refused to make themselves invisible the way they were expected to: they forced their governments and fellow citizens to consider HIV/AIDS a societal problem.

TAC and ACT UP versus Pharmaceutical Companies

TAC and ACT UP maintained antagonistic relationships with most pharmaceutical companies. Companies with exorbitantly priced patented HIV treatments like zidovudine (AZT) and antiretrovirals were perceived by AIDS activist organizations as greedy and ignorant of the realities of HIV/AIDS.[37]They were, after all, companies which existed to profit from life-or-death medical conditions, existing without accountability to the public. In order to influence companies to lower prices for AZT and HAART, therefore, activists attempted to make it less profitable for them to resist than to submit to activist demands.

After the release of AZT (a promising but ultimately ineffective HIV treatment) in the late 80s, ACT UP made it their mission to force its distributor Burroughs Wellcome to reduce its price from $8000-$10 000 annually[38] to a level accessible to all people living with HIV/AIDS. Armed with a breakdown of company finances, ACT UP members Peter Staley and Mark Harrington arranged a meeting with Bur-

23 Robins, Steven. "Long Live Zackie, Long Live": 653

24 Anthony Butler. 2005. "South Africa's HIV/AIDS policy, 1994–2004: How can it be explained?" African Affairs, 104 (417): 612

25 Robins, Steven. "Long Live Zackie, Long Live": 654

26 UNAIDS. 1998. "AIDS Epidemic Update: December 1998." Data. UNAIDS.org. UNAIDS: 5,7

27 Robins, Steven. "Long Live Zackie, Long Live": 653

28 Fred Bridgland. 2003. "From Fred Bridgland in Johannesburg" ACT UP NY. The Sunday Herald.

29 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 513

30 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 514-515

31 The Guardian. 2003. "Call for 'Dishonest' Mbeki to Apologise for Aids Gaffe." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media.

32 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 549

33 David France. How to Survive a Plague.: 51

34 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 514

35 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 544

36 Adrienne E Christiansen, and Jeremy J. Hanson. "Comedy as Cure for Tragedy": 157

37 David France. How to Survive a Plague: 381-382

38 Victor Zonana. 1989. "AIDS Groups Urge Firm to Lower Azt Price." Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles Times.

roughs Wellcome to discuss AZT prices. As they expected, the meeting proved fruitless, but it did provide Staley with the layout of the company headquarters. A few months later, ACT UP members barricaded themselves in a Burroughs Wellcome office, earning coverage by major US newspapers.[39] When prices remained unchanged, ACT UP infiltrated the New York Stock Exchange with the slogan "We die while you make money. Fuck your profiteering" and "How many more must die?"[40] The next day, Burroughs Wellcome cut AZT prices to the ranges demanded by the organization. This marked a profound victory for ACT UP and for all lower-income people living with HIV/AIDS, who could now more easily (and/or legally) access what they hoped to be a life-saving medication.

In this case, ACT UP did sit down with Burroughs Wellcome in an attempt to resolve matters civilly. Within ACT UP, however, not everyone agreed that such meetings were in the best interest of the organization. Disagreements were manifesting between those who felt that meeting pharmaceutical companies at their level was more productive, and those who rejected civil conversation with profiteers as an insult to ACT UP principles. Ultimately, the former group, including Mark Harrington, was purged from ACT UP, demonstrating that the organization refused to entertain what it saw as sacrificing its values.[41] Harrington and his group went on to form the Treatment Activism Group (TAG), which worked with drug companies to build medical trials and drug distribution programs.[42] What worked, in this case, was not polite conversation with company executives, but rather public embarrassment for inhumane business practices. ACT UP needed to be loud enough to create a PR disaster of epic proportions. It needed to put Burroughs Wellcome in danger of losing profit if negative public opinion and media attention continued to snowball – ACT UP threatened to defame the reputation of Burroughs Wellcome by bringing their protest into the stock exchange itself. To win such a battle, ACT UP framed not only the act of profiting off of AZT as unethical, but also the entire company as an enemy of people living with HIV/AIDS.

TAC achieved a similar goal against the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association (PMA) in 2001. In response to Nelson Mandela's 1997 amendment to the Medicines Act, which allowed importation of patented drugs from other countries, the PMA and 40 drug companies united to defend their intellectual property rights in the High Court of South Africa.[43] To demonstrate the outrageous difference in costs between generic and patented medication, TAC founder Zackie Achmat travelled to Thailand and returned with 5000 capsules of generic fluconazole for treating thrush, an opportunistic infection which could be painful and even fatal for people with AIDS.[44] The media became a useful ally, spreading outrage that a drug that clearly cost so little to produce could be monopolized by a major international pharmaceutical company like Pfizer at such a markup.[45] Officially, TAC joined the court case in 2001 alongside the AIDS Law Project at the University of the Witwatersrand.[46] They successfully reframed the case as a defense of the rights of people living with AIDS in South Africa, rather than about the intellectual property rights of western pharmaceutical companies.[47] TAC mobilized AIDS activists around the world to pressure the PMA into dropping the case. They led a 5000-person protest past the South African Pretoria High Court, garnering international interest in the proceedings.[48] Later that year, the PMA dropped the charges against the South African government and Pfizer made its products available for free at South African clinics.[49]

TAC's victories included many of the same elements as ACT UP's had a few years before. Although the court systems were involved, the case was never allowed to play out fully; PMA pulled its charges before that could happen, suggesting that TAC had been able to make enough noise to publicly shame powerful companies, forcing them to choose to reduce their profits before public opinion did it for them. Pfizer even

39 David France. 2016. How to Survive a Plague. New York: Vintage Books Publishing: 340, 351-355
40 David France. How to Survive a Plague: 381-382
41 Raan Medley. 1996. "MARK HARRINGTON WAS WRONG: ACT UP & TAG: A Brief History of AIDS Treatment ACTAGanism." The act up historical archive.
42 Raan Medley. "MARK HARRINGTON WAS WRONG"

43 Section 27. n.d. "Chapter 2: Taking on Goliath: The PMA Case." Standing Up For Our Lives.
44 Robins, Steven. "Long Live Zackie, Long Live": 664
45 Robins, Steven. "Long Live Zackie, Long Live": 664
46 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 514
47 Section 27. n.d. "Chapter 2: Taking on Goliath: The PMA Case." Standing Up For Our Lives.
48 Section 27. n.d. "Chapter 2: Taking on Goliath: The PMA Case." Standing Up For Our Lives.
49 Robins, Steven. "Long Live Zackie, Long Live": 664

attempted to protect itself further by providing South Africa with free drugs – the large profit cut they were willing to endure suggests that TAC's tactics were exceptionally threatening. Here, TAC had the optics of the court system to visually place itself in opposition to the PMA. It was not negotiating or pleading. TAC was opposing the PMA through legal channels, and this sent the PMA scrambling into defensiveness. If pharmaceutical companies felt little accountability to their American customers, it is safe to say that they felt even less to customers in South Africa. ACT UP at least had the geographic capacity to protest at the headquarters of Burroughs Wellcome. If not taken seriously, they could at least make themselves directly visible to the company, facilitating some aspect of communication. Even if it was not common knowledge, American taxpayer money still funded Burroughs Wellcome's research and development. If ACT UP could not leverage some power from those advantages to promote the wellbeing of Americans living with HIV/AIDS, pharmaceutical companies would clearly feel no responsibility to their South African equivalents. In such a context, direct opposition was the only available option – no mutually beneficial solution would be reached.

TAC and ACT UP versus American and South African Governments

While ACT UP and TAC felt similarly about their positions in disputes with pharmaceutical companies, they employed different narratives when opposing their own governments. ACT UP maintained an antagonistic attitude toward the American government, similar to the one they levelled at drug companies. TAC, on the other hand, always demonstrated support for their government as a whole, even as they attacked specific government decisions. ACT UP's main motto was to get 'drugs into bodies,' and yet, for years, AZT was the only approved drug on the market to combat HIV and AIDS.[50] ACT UP pressured the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) responsible for drug approvals to speed up testing and approval rates – they preferred that drugs be available for people living with HIV/AIDS as soon as possible, even if the FDA was not convinced of their efficacy. These were referred to as 'what the hell drugs,' meaning that

an individual with AIDS might not still be alive by the time the FDA decided a treatment worked, and nothing else was working, so they might as well take it now, just in case.[51] ACT UP made its opinion extremely clear to the FDA through numerous protests and media campaigns with slogans such as "hey, hey, FDA, how many people will you kill today?"[52] and "we're the experts, let us in!"[53] In response, the FDA made a few important concessions. First, in 1988, the FDA agreed to expand the scope of the first and second phases of medical trials to eliminate the third phase, allowing HIV/AIDS medications to be released more quickly.[54] Secondly, in 1989, the head of the FDA, Anthony Fauci, began implementing the parallel track program suggested by ACT UP member Jim Eigo, which would allow HIV-positive people who were ineligible for clinical trials of an unapproved drug to access it (during efficacy trials) outside of the trial system.[55] ACT UP members were even involved in the task force which structured the program.[56]

Despite Fauci's willingness to work with ACT UP members, and ACT UP members' grudging acceptance, this was not the start of an amicable relationship. In the same breath as Harrington discussed the collaboration of ACT UP and Fauci in "Comment" (1992), he declared that it wasn't enough, and that ACT UP members needed to be involved in every level of decision-making.[57] Note that this is the same Harrington who later left ACT UP due to controversy over his relationship with drug companies, implying that the rest of ACT UP may have been even less enthusiastic about the partnership. First, Fauci appeared to have been pushed into making these concessions by ACT UP antagonism, rather than having accepted ACT UP into the decision-making process because he believed they had the right to be there. ACT UP therefore believed that they needed to fight to be in the room; rather than coming to the realization that the FDA was on their side,

50 David France. How to Survive a Plague.: 334

51 David France, How to Survive a Plague, directed by David France (2012; Sausalito: Mongrel Media, 2012), iTunes
52 Los Angeles Times. 1988. "Police Arrest AIDS Protesters Blocking Access to FDA Offices." Los Angeles Times.
53 Robert W Hansen, Paul L. Ranelli, and L. Douglas Ried. "Stigma, Conflict, and the Approval of Aids Drugs.": 133
54 Robert W Hansen, Paul L. Ranelli, and L. Douglas Ried. "Stigma, Conflict, and the Approval of Aids Drugs.": 133
55 Mark Harrington. 1992. "Comment." Journal of the American Statistical Association. 87 (418): 573
56 Mark Harrington. "Comment.": 574
57 Mark Harrington. "Comment.": 574

ACT UP was reminded that their power over Fauci was only a result of their mobilization and hostility.

After ACT UP had been accepted into the parallel track task force, their relationship with the FDA changed. Personal, if not benevolent, relationships had been formed, and ACT UP could command Fauci's attention. An ACT UP meeting with Fauci in 1989, which from his perspective might have had the potential to soothe the FDA's relationship with the organization, clearly meant something different to the activists present. Fauci was accused of ignoring AIDS because the people most affected were queer and people of colour, and asked how he lived with the preventable deaths of AIDS victims on his conscience.[58] Fauci would never be given the trust or support of ACT UP, no matter how much time he devoted to them.

Fauci was a man who had made mistakes in AIDS response and caused AIDS related deaths. But he was also a government official. As with pharmaceutical companies, who would always be subservient to profit, the head of the FDA would always be subservient to the politics of the elected government.[59] And just as ACT UP believed that companies felt no real loyalty to, or responsibility for, their customers, they also questioned the loyalty the elected government felt toward people living with HIV and AIDS. As mentioned, the HIV prevalence rate in North America was around 0.56% in 1998, and most cases were concentrated in communities already facing stigma and ostracization from the general public. With high rates of violence, hostility, and general indifference directed at people living with HIV and AIDS, it seemed clear that very few people outside of the communities affected would fight (or vote) to protect HIV-positive people. Ultimately, ACT UP did not win the affection of the public, and could not help to remedy that divide.[60] The elected government, therefore, was not a representation of people living with HIV/AIDS, and because they had little part in electing it, the HIV/AIDS community also felt little loyalty to them. ACT UP could never place trust in an institution which felt no responsibility to ensure their wellbeing, and so even when government agencies chose to make steps in the right direction, they could never be fully trusted. ACT UP could certainly never openly support them, because they would always be illegitimate to the people they did not represent.

In contrast, TAC always made a clear distinction between their disdain for government policy and the government as an institution. Even while protesting government refusal to rollout antiretrovirals after the price cuts, TAC members declared themselves loyal ANC members. [61]They brought the government to the Constitutional Court to argue that access to treatment is the right of anyone living with HIV or AIDS, regardless of their ability to pay for the drugs themselves.[62] Of course, they also employed tactics to shame the government into agreeing by sending international organizations to protest at South African embassies[63] and by using the language of human rights, which the ANC itself had used against the apartheid government.[64]They won treatment for pregnant women to avoid mother-to-child transmission in 2002, and after further campaigning, in 2003 the court ruled that it was unconstitutional to deny anyone living with HIV and AIDS access to antiretrovirals.[65]

Similar to ACT UP, TAC did not take this victory as an indication that the battle was over, or that the government would suddenly become a model arbiter of AIDS justice. Dissimilar to ACT UP, however, they did not hold the ANC's former reluctance against it, but rather poured their energy into making sure antiretroviral rollout was as comprehensive as possible. Activists were willing to proclaim their support for the new policy, stating that the organization's new purpose was to assist the government in the program implementation.[66] This involved running awareness campaigns so individuals knew how to access treatment, visiting chosen hospitals to ensure they contained the equipment and staff necessary for proper HIV/AIDS care delivery, guaranteeing that hospitals were obtaining

58 David France. How to Survive a Plague: 384-385
59 Fernandez Lynch, H., Joffe, S. & McCoy, M.S. 2021. "The limits of acceptable political influence over the FDA." Nat Med 27: 188
60 Adrienne E Christiansen, and Jeremy J. Hanson. "Comedy as Cure for Tragedy": 157

61 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 522
62 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 514
63 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 546
64 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 533
65 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 514
66 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 536

high quality informed consent from patients, and continuing to fight HIV stigma so people would be more comfortable accessing treatment.[67] This was not framed in an oppositional way – activists did not imply that they were forced to do this work because the government refused to, but rather that they were offering their expertise to the government in the name of a common goal. Rather than attempting to take power away from the government, as did ACT UP, TAC saw itself as benefiting the most if the ANC was strong enough to uphold its HIV promises.[68] Showing public support for the government was therefore mutually beneficial, just as the implementation of HIV medication would be.

As previously mentioned, unlike North America's 0.56% prevalence rate, one in ten people in South Africa were HIV-positive in 1998. Although HIV stigma was strong, almost everyone knew someone who was living with HIV or AIDS. Since a much larger portion of the South African voter public was either living with HIV or cared about someone who was, the question of AIDS treatment a much more heavily considered topic among voters, and among voters who would be voting for the ANC.[69] HIV and AIDS policy was therefore an issue about which the ANC needed a strong position. By reducing HIV stigma, using the court system, and mobilizing thousands in protest, TAC made the government recognize that truth. TAC managed to be respected by many South Africans, further influencing their voting positions.[70] TAC was therefore in a very different position from ACT UP, which felt ostracized from the voter public and convinced that the government felt no obligation to take the interests of HIV-positive people into account. In the case of South Africa, the government was supported by the majority of the population, including people living with HIV/AIDS, and through citizen mobilization, could be made to understand the will of its populace.

Conclusion

The TAC's policy of collaboration with the government toward positive change seemed extremely valuable in their context. Had they implemented the ACT UP approach, and used their voice to undermine the authority of their government in an attempt to achieve their goals, they may have negatively impacted the government's ability to act on their advice. However, had ACT UP been less careful about maintaining distance from the government, or used their voice to support the government when they agreed with its decisions, they may have undermined their position as marginalized by a government which did not represent them. The public begged and ordered ACT UP to quiet down and let the government work.[71] Had they appeared to do so, all the other problems exacerbated by marginalization would have gone unnoticed – even if treatment for AIDS was found anyway, the system would have remained unreproached. Both organizations successfully employed the strategies which best suited their movements within the contexts they found themselves, under the measures of authority they were subject to. For ACT UP, that meant rhetorical animosity, both with relation to pharmaceutical companies and their own government. For TAC, it was equally important to set themselves in opposition to pharmaceutical companies, but they understood that their relationship with their government had the potential to be cooperative, and therefore chose to pursue that partnership.

67 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 536

68 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 538

69 Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar. "A Rewarding Engagement?": 522

70 Mark Heywood. 2015. "The Treatment Action Campaign's Quest for Equality in HIV and Health: Learning from and Lessons for the Trade Union Movement" Global Labour Journal 6 (3): 323

71 Adrienne E Christiansen, and Jeremy J. Hanson. "Comedy as Cure for Tragedy": 157

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THEORY BEYOND FUKUYAMA-ISM: THE IMPLICATIONS OF KANT'S WRITINGS ON THEORY AND PRACTICE FOR CONTEMPORARY ANTI-CAPITALIST RESISTANCE

Zachary Gan

Arts & Science 2A06:Social Political Thought

In Perpetual Peace (1795), Kant sets out to defend the power of theory in achieving the end of perpetual peace in an increas- ingly anti-intellectual age. But, in this essay, I examine how his text also acts as a warning that the perception of theory and practice as antithetical, and especially the hierarchization of practice over theory, has disastrous implications for humanity, suppressing our ability not only to resist capitalism, but even to imagine alternatives to it. I further consider how Kant's text can be useful for both understanding and overcoming the pervasive sense of Fukuyama-ism, or the widespread cultural resignation to global capitalism, present in our current practices, and how this task rests on toppling the dangerous opposition between theory and practice. If we wish to create an alternative future beyond capitalism, it is of the utmost importance that today we heed Kant's call to destroy the notion that theory and practice can ever be set against one another.

I will begin by defining 'Fukuyama-ism' in the context of this essay. When the Soviet Union fell in 1989, American political theorist Francis Fukuyama declared that capitalist liberal democracy was 'the end of history,' the final form of cultural and social organization for all humanity. I define 'Fukuyama-ism' as the belief that no viable alternatives exist to the unchallenged hegemony of global capitalism. In his book Capitalist Realism, British cultural theorist Mark Fisher argues: "Fukuyama's thesis that history has climaxed with liberal capitalism may have been widely derided, but it is accepted, even assumed, at the level of the cultural unconscious" (9). Capitalism is no longer merely an economic system, but an omnipresent backdrop of social and cultural thought. I argue that this unconscious cultural acceptance of Fukuyama-ism goes hand-in-hand with an environment which limits anti-capitalist resistance to the realm of practice. Such strategies are often employed by 'progressives' who seek to change the world and capitalism for the better, but are unwilling to challenge global capitalist systems; an unwillingness which both originates from and perpetuates Fukuyama-ism.

Kant starts his essay with a line which shows the relationship of theory and practice when set against one another. He writes: "the practical politician tends to look disdainfully upon the political theorist as a mere academic, whose impractical ideas present no danger to the state" (67). He conveys that proponents of practice look down on theory as impractical, because theory engages with morality as an idea with no effect on the 'real' world, and thereby cannot influence power (or as Kant presents it, "the state"). Certainly, Kant takes great issue with the notion that theory can never have practical implications, but he also argues that practice's dismissal of theory in this manner also creates disastrous consequences for the project of pursuing perpetual peace. Kant writes: "Now the practical person, for whom morality is mere theory, actually bases his miserable refutation of our well-intentioned hope on the following claim: that he can predict on the basis of human nature that no one will want to do what must be done in order to bring about the end that leads to perpetual peace, even while he concedes that it can and ought to be done" (95). Kant suggests that a chief concern about perceiving practice as superior to theory is that it negates the goal of perpetual peace, while still professing it as its end: this "practical person" effectively resigns humanity to a state of wretchedness. Proponents of practice may deride the theorist as being incapable of moving towards perpetual peace, but it is actually the "practical person" who implicitly argues that the goal they claim to strive towards is inherently unachievable, and thus defeats the goal of perpetual peace in justification of their means of practicality. The theorist has not abandoned people to a

state of violence on earth, preferring instead to form perpetual peace in the abstract rather than work towards its realization, but rather, the "practical person" has abandoned humanity to violence by arguing that on the "basis of human nature," perpetual peace is nothing more than an unrealizable abstraction of the theorist. This kind of practicality is indeed miserable: the "practical person" does not authoritatively declare that humanity may not have perpetual peace, but rather calls it foolish even to pursue it, because such a dream is not practical. This constitutes a perverse kind of ideological bondage, restricting not only the movement and organization of people towards perpetual peace, but functionally dismissing and policing even the dream of it.

The "miserable practicality" is observable today in justifications of capitalism. Capitalism no longer needs to assert any ability to produce perpetual peace; rather, it is justified by the argument that everything else has failed. It seems that the more capitalism is in crisis, the more it sustains itself. For example, the bailout of the banks in response to the 2008 financial crisis clearly demonstrates a "miserable practicality." The financial failure should have been a disaster for banks and a major wake-up call for the world about the fundamentally destructive tendencies within capitalism. Instead, the banks received a bailout. The implication is that we cannot even imagine a world without this banking system, that even through its failures, the banking system must be sustained. As a result, Fukuyama-ism is only further engrained, and the ability of capitalism to outlive the disasters it creates is a constant reminder that there exists no viable alternative. Any imagination of an alternative future beyond capitalism is dismissed as irrational and impractical; thus, the more disasters created by capitalism, the more it presents itself as the only possibility for humans on earth. Further, alternative imaginations to capitalism, such as socialism or communism, are consistently dismissed on the "basis of human nature," that such politics sound great 'in theory,' if only humans weren't inherently selfish and competitive, as if capitalism were somehow built into our DNA. If "no one will want to do what must be done in order to bring about the end that leads to perpetual peace" (Kant 95), we are told, then we must be realists: it is impractical, and rather foolish to theorize about alternative realities. This miserable resignation to practicality is wo-

ven into Fukuyama-ism, limiting not only our actions but our very ability to imagine our own emancipation.

The assertion that we must revoke theory in order to be 'practical' not only assumes a state of wretchedness to which we are destined, but also produces an environment which lets the powerful and self-interested reign free. Kant writes: "moralizing politicians seek to gloss over unlawful principles of the state with the excuse that human nature is incapable of good in the way that the idea of reason dictates it, and the only effect that they have is to make progress impossible and to perpetuate the violation of right" (97). Here we see the consequence of the "miserable refutation" from above. If the excuse that human nature is incapable of something like perpetual peace is accepted, we foster an environment which makes "progress impossible and perpetuate(s) the violation of right." For Kant, the presupposition of the incompatibility between human nature and perpetual peace, and the conclusion that the best we can do is to somehow engage in a "practical" politics, actually implies a kind of support to those powers which would oppose perpetual peace. Kant further writes about these "politically prudent men'", stating that "it is not their business to argue about legislation itself, but rather only to carry out the current laws of the land" (97). Those who claim to be acting with prudency do not perceive it as "their business" to consider why the world is the way it is or how systems and "legislations" might create or justify suffering. Their pursuit of perpetual peace is confined to the reality within this legislation. If indeed these principles of the state are unlawful, then, by operating within them, and setting them as the bounds to what can be achieved on earth, political realists necessarily naturalize the powerful, inadvertently lending them support by attempting to only challenge them through systems and "legislation" which are constructed to their benefit. Kant unmasks these political realists: they are the deluded idealists, not the theorists. It is the political realist who is deceived into the belief that morality can be pursued and worked towards without challenging intrinsically immoral systems and "legislation." The only effect of this belief is the "perpetuation of the violation of right"; even if they claim that their goal is the elimination of such violations, which can only be achieved through practicality. This "miserable practicality" functions today

in organizations which promote effective altruism, or charities which define themselves as 'impartial.' Impartiality is often stated as a founding principle of these organizations, acting as a doctrine of practicality which attempts to save as many lives as possible. Many of these organizations are able to execute extraordinarily productive humanitarian work. However, I argue that their aversion to engaging in theoretical and political critiques (seen in a firm commitment to 'impartiality') severely limits their ability to eliminate the cataclysms they have set out to address. Global poverty, famine, environmental degradation and destruction of animal habitats, mental illness, suicide, addiction, and many other earthly horrors, can be traced back to the violence of global capitalism. Rather than address and confront the systems which perpetuate such disasters, these organizations, in their doctrinal commitment to practicality, allow these horrors to continue to take place, while seeking only to clean-up the damage. The 'impartial' charity proclaims: "there is so much disaster in the world, so we don't have time to think: let's act!" Impartiality results in a dangerous kind of anti-intellectualism, which cannot produce perpetual peace, but acts only as a cease-fire, a temporary relief from violence and casualties. I argue that the practical doctrines of such organizations represent both a symptom and the perpetuation of the pervasiveness of Fukuyama-ism at the level of the political and cultural unconscious. It assumes that there can be no alternative to capitalism (so launching pedantic theoretical critiques of it is presented as useless), while simultaneously solidifying Fukuyama-ism by naturalizing poverty and environmental catastrophe, and therefore the actions of those who perpetuate these kinds of violence. For Kant, it is not just that "miserable practicality" is ineffective at fostering morality in the world, but that it actively "perpetuates the violation of right," letting the consolidation of Capitalist power go unchallenged while cleaning up the collateral damage.

Kant also addresses where the prioritization of practice, and the denigration of theory, originates, writing: "There can be (...) no dispute between theory and practice unless one were to regard morality as a universal doctrine of prudence, (...) that is, to deny that morality exists at all" (94). By the very opposition of theory and practice, theory is naturally set as inferior to "prudence," or practicality, which as shown above, destroys even the imagination of perpetual peace. Although this doctrine presents practice as the only mechanism which can pursue morality on earth (since by construction, this doctrine says that theory, being opposed to practicality, cannot be concerned with anything 'real'), it in fact defeats its goal simply by implying that morality, or a moral existence, does not "exist at all." Kant, in defense of perpetual peace, sets out not only to justify theory as in some way effective towards this end, but further to destroy the presupposition that practice and theory can be in any way antithetical, and the conclusion that theory can never have an effect on the real world.

Beyond establishing the dangers of posing practice and theory as antithetical, Kant also expresses the difficulty of understanding how theory can ever be integrated into practice. "If, on the basis of ''enlightened'' concepts of political prudence, the true honor of the state is thought to lie in the continual expansion of its power by any means whatsoever, then [a theoretical] judgment will surely seem academic and pedantic" (68). Although at first glance, this may read like a critique of power, Kant is actually articulating a concern with theory. It seems as if the powerful can dismiss the critiques of theory as "academic and pedantic," and that theory lacks any mechanism through which it can convince the powerful to listen, as if they are speaking different languages.

Kant writes: "Great powers are never embarrassed by how the common masses might judge them, only by how other great powers might judge them" (99). If the powerful will only respond to other acts of power, it seems that we are left only with practice, a "doctrine of prudence," which has the capacity to improve the world, even if it cannot produce perpetual peace.

As Kant raises these concerns throughout the text, it is clear that he must have been greatly troubled by the notion that theory cannot affect power. He defends the ability of theory to affect change through some sarcastic and implied moves rather than clearly and definitively debunking this concern. Kant writes: "It is therefore astonishing that the word right has not yet been able to be fully banished from war politics as pedantic. (...) This homage paid by every state to the concept of right (at least through their words), demonstrates, however, that there is an even greater, although presently latent, moral predisposition to be found in the human being, to eventually overcome the evil principle within himself" (79). Kant's "astonishment" here

is certainly sarcastic: he is pointing out how ridiculous the claim is that political realists and the powerful have been able to somehow separate themselves from theory. In fact, they still use various theories to justify the pursuit of self-interest. While the notion that there is some moral predisposition in humans which lies "latent" may be questionable, there is of course an unarticulated theoretical predisposition in realpolitik and political prudence, some underlying theory or ideology on which they rely. What practices are there which are not based on a kind of theory? And can there ever be a theory which has no effect on anyone's practices? Kant points out that even those who claim to revoke theory, supposedly acting solely on the basis of self-interest, still rely on "latent" moral justifications.

Further, returning to Kant's opening passage, he writes: "since the practical politician tends to look disdainfully upon the political theorist as a mere academic, whose impractical ideas present no danger to the state [...], and who may show his hand without the worldly statesman needing to pay it any heed; then, in case of a conflict with the theorist, the statesman should deal with him consistently and refrain from any allegations of perceived threat to the state in whatever views that the theorist might dare set forth and publicly express" (67) Although on the surface it seems that Kant is conceding the notion that the theorist's "impractical ideas present no danger to the state," he is actually pointing out the ridiculousness of this notion. Theory has always faced a threat from power; a concentrated effort to discount its conclusions and delegitimize its very existence. The existence and pervasiveness of anti-intellectualism is a legitimization of theory, a demonstration of its power. Kant, in this winking move, turns the threat of anti-intellectualism to his own advantage to defend theory. Here is proof that theory can have a profound effect on power, one that shakes it to its bones such that it perceives theory as a threat that it must desperately deal with.

Today, in the face of widespread cultural resignation to Fukuyama-ism, Kant's defense of the power of theory in working towards perpetual peace has renewed relevance. Kant demonstrates how certain forms of practice can create a miserable doctrine of prudence; but it is important to remember it is not simply "practice" that Kant is worried about, but rather the very opposition of theory and practice as antithetical. The notion that theory and practice are mutually exclusive is at the root of the ideological stagnation we see today in imaginations of anti-capitalism. This is a dangerous form of anti-intellectualism, which Kant shows is tied up in the belief that human nature is incompatible with perpetual peace, while simultaneously perpetuating the self-interested violation of right. Overcoming the challenge posed by Fukuyama is today of the utmost importance to theorists and philosophers, and one of the most powerful steps we can take in this direction is to dispel the notion, as Kant attempts to do, that theory and practice can ever be separated. Today, it feels as if our resistance to capitalism is limited solely to practices: by recycling, buying fair-trade, installing solar panels on our houses, donating to charities a few times a year, biking to work, and a plethora of other propositions, we are told that we are making a difference. And yet, year after year, it seems that capital continuously strengthens its hold over our political imaginations.

As preposterous wealth inequality grows, the climate emergency becomes ever more urgent, and mental illness rates skyrocket, we must ask ourselves: for how much longer can we afford to remain committed to a "doctrine of prudence" before the possibility of a post-capitalist world disappears altogether?

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