THE 2014
ARTS UNDERGRADUATE SOCIETY
HUMANTIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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"THE THEME OF OUR INAUGURAL CONFERENCE WAS THINK BIGGER, WHICH WAS MEANT TO EMBODY MANY OF THE INSPIRATIONS AND PURPOSES BEHIND THE EVENT."

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Written by Daniel Munro & Jenna Omassi
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

ABOUT THE PROCEEDINGS PACKAGE

This compilation highlights several of the undergraduate student research papers presented at the inaugural AUS Humanities and Social Sciences Conference on January 18, 2014, organized by the Arts Undergraduate Society of UBC Vancouver (AUS). This conference brought together students and professors in the Humanities and Social Sciences from post-secondary institutions around BC to an exchange of ideas surrounding undergraduate research. Students presented research undertaken for a variety of purposes, including term papers, honours theses, and independent projects, and students from all year levels were encouraged to participate.

The theme of our inaugural conference was Think Bigger, which was meant to embody many of the inspirations and purposes behind the event. Above all, we aimed to encourage students to Think Bigger about their research by taking it beyond the immediate classroom experience to a forum of interdisciplinary, scholarly dialogue with a wide audience. The success of this conference's first installment was a testimony to Arts students' propensity for big thinking, innovation, and creativity, laying the groundwork for future students of the AUS to build and expand upon this event in future years.

These proceedings represent a fraction of the outstanding work done by the many students who presented at the conference, not to mention the many more who submitted their research for initial consideration. The research papers below exemplify what it means to Think Bigger as an undergraduate student. Coming from a variety of academic backgrounds, each of these researchers demonstrates the potential for undergraduate students to push the boundaries of knowledge and convention.

Until next year's conference, we hope you enjoy browsing these selections!

Sincerely,

Daniel Munro
AUS VP Academic

Jenna Omassi
AUS Conference Coordinator

"...THE NARRATORS ENDEAR THEMSELVES TO THE READER, FOR THE READER COMES TO UNDERSTAND BOTH OSWALD AND LUCIA ARE RESTRAINED BY THEIR FALLIBLE NATURE..."

PHOTO FROM TREVORCAIRNEY.BLOGSPOT.CA

Written by Lacey Hall
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THE IMPLIED AUTHOR & REAL READER: A RELATIONSHIP STIMULATED THROUGH THE FALLIBLE

Abstract: My research findings focus on the unreliable narrator in Children's literature. While it is very rarely used in writing for children, my paper argues that it actually strengthens the relationship between the implied author and real reader due to its inclusive nature. In using two novels as examples, the Fallible Narrator (a category of unreliability) is explored and shows the limited child perspective, a device that leaves gaps in the knowledge for the reader to fill in himself or herself. Through this process the reader's experience is enhanced.

E. Nesbit stated, "Liberty is one of the rights that a child above all needs; every possible liberty in thought, word and deed" (qtd. in Wall 153). In children's literature, the narrator's voice has the ability to give this liberty to the child reader. In both E. Nesbit's The Story of the Treasure Seekers and Ellen Potter's The Kneebone Boy, the first-person child perspective is used to communicate the story. However, as information is misread and misregarded both narrators are unreliable and ultimately fall into the category of fallible narrators. This fallible quality in the narration strengthens the real child reader and implied author relationship, enhancing the real child reader's experience due to its inclusive nature.

Barbara Wall defines the implied author as "the all informing authorial presence, the 'face behind the page', the idea of the author that is carried away by the real reader for his or her reading of the book" (6). It is this entity that the reader envisions as they read, for the real reader will not know the real author. Dr. Wayne Booth, author of The Rhetoric of Fiction, is a prominent voice on the topics of irony and unreliable narration. Greta Olson, a professor of English and American Literature at the University of Giessen quotes him in her paper Reconsidering Unreliability:

> Whenever an author conveys to his reader an unspoken point, he creates a sense of collusion against all those, whether in the story or out of it, who do not get that point. Irony is always thus in part a device for excluding as well as for including, and those who are included, those who happen to have the necessary information to grasp the irony, cannot but derive at least a part of their pleasure from a sense that others are excluded. (94).

The implied author creates this pleasure that Booth speaks of, as it comes from understanding what the narrator does not. Where the reader realizes each ironic moment both Oswald in The Story of the Treasure Seekers and Lucia in The Kneebone Boy are excluded and thus show themselves to be fallible, thus the reader gains a sense of mastery that has been stimulated by their grasping what has been left for them.

As children, Oswald and Lucia's fallible nature is revealed through their tendency to make mistakes based on their naïve and restricted perception of themselves and their siblings lives due to "limited education or experience" (Olson 101) in life. Because of this they are likely to "misread" or "misregard" events as they happen in the story, which gives a direct contrast in regards to the omniscient adult narrator, as he or she very rarely (if ever) makes mistakes or misinterprets situations.

Focusing on the instances of 'misreading', it is clear that Oswald's level of awareness is not entirely accurate, which affects his perception. For instance, when the children are digging for treasure, Albert-next-door's Uncle comes to their aid due to the caving in of their tunnel. After fishing Albert-next-door out of the dirt, the Uncle states:

> So you were digging for treasure… Well I fear that your chances of success are small…I never knew more than one coin buried in any one garden – and that is generally – Hullo – what's that? (30)

He bends down and discovers a half-crown in the dirt. Moments later he stoops down only to find another half-crown. The children are amazed and Oswald comments, stating:

> I wish Albert-next-door's uncle would come treasure-seeking with us regularly; he must have very sharp eyes: for Dora says she was looking just the minute before at the very place where the second half-crown was picked up from, and she never saw it. (31)

Such a comment gives indication to the reader that something isn't being perceived by Oswald and the Bastable children. The reader will understand that Albert-next-door's Uncle placed the coins himself and that due to the children's naivety, as well as excitement in finding treasure, they are blinded by the truth of the event. As the child reader picks up on this fallibility, his/her relationship with the implied author is strengthened, as there is an opportunity to feel included in the knowledge that isn't

available to the narrator.

A discrepancy in perception arises again when the children encounter the robber in their father's study. Upon bursting in the robber throws the screwdriver down and gives in. Oswald admits in the narrative that the robber was of "gentlemanly demeanor" and goes on (still keeping his identity secret) stating, "Oswald was sorry for him" (186), which again hints to his skewed observation of the man. He perceives him as a lowly man striving to get by and feels sympathy for him; this is a response differing from that of an adult, which shows the inexperience the Bastable children possess. This off-center perception is highlighted further when the reader notes the way the robber is content to remain in the house to await the father or "authority" that will condemn him. The children fail to see that a true robber would never agree to such a thing and so this emphasizes their limited life experience. The real reader, picking up on these informational cues, is invited to see the oddity of the situation and knows the implied author is directing their attention at something the children do not see. This dynamic serves to increase the communication between the two and in effect their connection.

An example of misreading on the Hardscrabble children's part is in their perception of their father's occupation. Casper, the reader is told, paints portraits of ex-royalty. Lucia states, "Ex-royals were more difficult than regular people too. Casper said this was because they were frustrated" (22). When the reader comes to the end of the novel s/he is provided an opportunity to fill in the gaps, as they see that the "ex-royals" are really psychiatric patients. Due to their limited life experience, the children take their father's word rather than doubt him. Furthermore, his paintings reinforce the children's misreading, as they are inexperienced enough to take their outlandish quality at face value and simply view them as evidence of his occupation.

Beyond simply misreading certain events, the children also 'misregard' as they both "falsely [evaluate] [certain] events" (Olson, 100 -101) when they occur. For example, in The Story of The Treasure Seekers when the children eavesdrop on the conversation between their Indian uncle and their father, Oswald states, "Then I heard my father say…'let me fill your glass.' Then the poor Indian said something about vintage – and that a poor broken-down man like he couldn't be too careful" (215-216). In hearing this exchange, the children misregard their uncle's statement and evaluate it on a literal note; they take him to be literally poor. They then go on to misread once more, as they are now focused on their belief that their uncle is poor. In regards to the terrible dinner the uncle endures, Oswald states, "It is a pity… I don't suppose he gets a good dinner every day" (218), as the other children discuss whether or not the silver spoons were all accounted for after the dinner (217). The implied author has left this amusing misunderstanding for the reader to pick up on, as not only will he or she be likely to understand that the uncle's statement was misinterpreted, but he or she should also see the irony in the children's being poor themselves and yet nevertheless concerned.

For much of the latter half of The Kneebone Boy The Hardscrabble children

misregard their situation as they falsely evaluate the purpose of the castle beside their Great Aunt Hadie's castle. The children see a figure in window one day when looking through binoculars (145). Then later on, after hearing the legend of the The Kneebone Boy and how he was supposed to have been kept in a tower of Kneebone Castle, the children recall having seen the figure. Lucia states, "The window was high up on the last tower, closest to the sea. You know the window. You've seen the Hardscrabbles look into it twice already" (172). In this moment the children believe whole-heartedly that The Kneebone Boy is still being held prisoner and thus their adventure leads them on a path to attempt to discover him. The ironic twist occurs when they do eventually come to break into the castle only to find their long lost mother and a private hospital for psychiatric patients (267). After arriving at this point in the narrative, the reader is able to fill in the gaps that weren't apparent to begin with and Lucia's fallible nature is brought to light.

With each informational gap that arises, the child reader is brought to a triumphant state in their reading, a moment where they feel the 'collusion' that Booth speaks of with the implied author in knowing that they have filled in the missing information. Within this collusion the real reader is given a sense of mastery for they have come to understand what was hoped of them. Olson supports this by stating, "Booth's emphasis on the pleasures of exclusion suggests that the reader and implied author belong to an in-group that shares values, judgments, and meanings from which the unreliable narrator is ousted. Those who grasp irony and detect unreliability share the insider joke" (94 -95). Essentially the speaker is the "the butt of the ironic point" (qtd in Olson 105). This joke continues to play out as the story unfolds and with each clue left by the implied author that is discovered by the real reader their relationship intensifies.

One of the most problematic temptations to authors of children's literature is to create a narrator that grabs the readers' hand and walks them through the story in a careful and precise manner, telling too much for fear that "[the child] won't understand art" (Walsh). This shows a "lack of trust in [their] audience" (Walsh) and leaves no room for the child reader to develop their own thoughts on the narrative, or to cultivate a relationship with the implied author, as there is no confidence being shown in the reader. Through leaving gaps in the narrative, the unreliable narrator provides that freedom that is so necessary to children's moral and cognitive development. From the point of view of the real reader Booth states:

> The author I infer behind the false words is my kind of man, because he enjoys playing with irony, because he assumes my capacity for dealing with it and – most important – because he grants me a kind of wisdom; he assumes that he does not have to spell out shared and secret truths on which my reconstruction is to be built. (qtd. in Wall 111)

It is this empowerment the reader feels that further bolsters their relationship with

the implied author for it can be seen that he or she was of the belief that the reader would succeed.

As Wall states, "[E. Nesbit] never pays her young readers greater compliment than in her readiness to trust them how to cope" (153). This comment rings especially true during such moments in the narrative as Oswald's stating, "I couldn't help wondering as we went down to the garden, why Father had never thought of digging there for treasure instead of going to his beastly office every day" (20). The reader knows that Albert-next-door's Uncle placed the money the children found in the garden and so has successfully understood the irony in the comment. Likewise, in The Kneebone Boy Lucia states "she did what she always did when she felt troubled. She stared at the [portrait of the] Sultan of Juwi" (25). By the end of the novel it is revealed that the Sultan is actually the Hardscrabble's long lost mother. The irony lies within the fact that Lucia misses her mother and has been staring into her face for years. When the reader looks back at the story of the Sultan being explained by their father there are moments he or she is able to pick up on. For example, Lucia states, "then Casper's face grew sad" (26) and "Casper looked out the window, gazing at the wild garden for a few seconds before swallowing hard" (30). Lucia mistakes both of these instances as her father simply feeling sorry for the Sultan's situation, however the real reader can see that they are moments where Casper is thinking gloomily of his wife and the state she is in.

Because it is up to the real reader to search for these moments, the implied author-real reader relationship is again reinforced for there is no answer key at the end of the novel that shows each and every ironic moment. All is left for the real reader, showing the implied author believes he or she is capable of coming to the correct conclusions on their own.

Not only do the gaps in the narrative show the implied author's trust in the reader but also so to does the fact that the narrator's identity is withheld. From the beginning Oswald says:

> It is one of us that tells this story – but I shall not tell you which: only at the very end perhaps I will. While the story is going on you may be trying to guess, only I bet you don't. It was Oswald who first thought of looking for treasure. Oswald often thinks of very interesting things (11).

Although we cannot know exactly for whom the story is addressed to, he addresses the 'you', which piques the real child reader's interest. In The Kneebone Boy the narrator begins much the same way stating:

> I can't tell you which Hardscrabble I am – Otto, Lucia, or Max – because I've sworn on pain of torture not to. They said it's because the story belongs to all three of us, and I suppose they're right, but it seems unfair since I'm doing all the work. No one can stop you from guessing though (1-2).

Both are immediately recognized as overt narrators, for it is clear they speak directly of themselves and *to* someone.

Furthermore, the real reader is set a challenge by both child narrators, as they extend the invitation to their narratee to guess who they are. In picking up on the discrepancies in the narrative he or she is able to deduce who the speaker is and again allows for and celebrates child readers' competency in finding what the implied author has left for them. For example, when Oswald is speaking to the lady next door through the window he refers to himself in the third person but slips up and states, "and then she talked to me a bit" (46). In The Kneebone Boy, it is evident Lucia is the narrator as she focuses much of her attention on her own character stating, "I'm beginning to think that you are pronouncing Lucia's name as though it were Lucy with an a at the end of it. That's wrong. You pronounce it Lu-CHEE-a. Say it a few times out loud" (5). With each of these discoveries the real reader's experience is more enjoyable as they are included within the dimensions of the story as opposed to excluded.

The real reader may not only feel a connection with the implied author, but also with the narrator in the sense that both children make sure to check in with their narratee. Oswald "is very ready to take his reader into his confidence" (Wall, 152) paying great attention to making his narratee feel comfortable. For example, he states:

> I am afraid the last chapter was rather dull. It is always dull in books when people talk and talk, and don't do anything, but I was obliged to put it in, or else you wouldn't have understood all the rest." (21)

In sympathizing with the reader based on his own experiences thus far in life, he shows that he cares for the reader's attention and is only trying to set up the narrative in a way they are able to follow. Likewise Lucia is very concerned with making sure her narratee is there alongside her. She stops consistently throughout the narrative to take the reader into her confidence, just as Oswald does, stating such things as:

> The other thing that's bothering me is that we haven't yet mentioned The Kneebone Boy and he is the title of this book. That seems like a serious flaw. Still, it can't be helped because that's the very way things worked out, and anyway he's coming in very soon (117 -118).

This is her way of assuring them that the story is going in the direction the real reader has come to expect. Each of these moments invests the reader further in the plot as they are reminded that they matter within the context of the story and haven't been forgotten about.

Finally, the narrators endear themselves to the reader, for the reader comes

to understand both Oswald and Lucia are restrained by their fallible nature. Olson emphasizes her belief "that readers regard the mistakes of fallible narrators as being *situationally* motivated. That is, external circumstances appear to cause the narrator's misperceptions rather than inherent characteristics" (102). This is exactly the case with both sets of children, as they are left to their own devices with simply their intellect to keep them company. It is their youth and lack of experience that invokes their misperceptions, rather than an intrinsic quality within their personality that impedes them. To truly test this theory all one has to do is envision Oswald or Lucia as grown-ups and decide if either of them will understand the situation as it truly was looking back. In being able to verify this, we confirm that both are limited in his and her perceptions solely due to being a child. Olson continues stating, "readers may justify the failings of fallible narrators—just as they would tend to justify their own similar mistakes—on the basis of circumstances that impede them" (102), and so we see the real child reader feel sympathy for the narrator as they are aware that he or she is incapable of reading the situation differently for now.

The variety in narrator voice seen in children's literature today was not always so. During the Golden Age of Children's Literature in the mid-19th century, novels were predominantly told through an (adult) omniscient narrator's point of view and usually portrayed "child characters as fully socialized subjects" while assuming that "child readers [were] highly acculturated…[and] capable of appreciating sophisticated language and wordplay" (Gubar 7). Authors of this time period ultimately wrote in a prescriptive fashion which could be said to hinder the child's imagination as most stories moralized and gave a clear statement to the reader "about who they are (and what they should become)" (Gubar 7).

As the Victorian age began, the child narrator was slowly introduced, and later the first-person perspective markedly changed the dynamics of children's literature. Controversy arose in the form of accusations against the techniques ability to "mold and manipulate the child" (Gubar 41), however the fact that this form of writing allowed for the anonymity of the adult author left room for the child reader's own ideals and interpretations. Essentially this new breakthrough in children's literature gave rise to the "possibility that children might have (or attain) the ability to deflect adult efforts to control or oppress them" (Gubar 8), which in effect gave much more agency to the child reader as well for they could relate to the child narrator's desires and goals.

The first person narrative told from the point of view of the young protagonist dominates children's literature today. Perhaps surprisingly, there are very few novels using the unreliable narrator as a device. It is still a minority as it is a limited viewpoint and a very particularly structured way of presenting a story. Although it does take a great deal to execute this form of narration in an effective way, based on the research presented here, it also provides a wider scope for the real child reader to play within and to explore. For the purposes of this research five novels were examined: Ellen Potter's The Kneebone Boy (2010), E. Nesbit's The Story of The Treasure Seekers (1989), Sharon

Creech's Walk Two Moons (2007), Lemony Snicket's Who Could That Be at this Hour? (2012) and Justine Larbalestier's Liar (2010). Each of these novels uses the unreliable narrator as a device; however, only The Story of the Treasure Seekers and The Kneebone Boy fit within the conventions of the fallible narrator. As one can see, there are few resources from which to extract data on this topic and so the limitation does pose questions as to the mindset of adult writers and publishers. Perhaps the lack of faith that was once present in The Golden Age regarding the child readers' abilities to cope is still present in some form? This can only be guessed as the research is lacking, leaving much room for further expansion and exploration.

Ultimately, in using narrators that address their narratee in such a way as to take the reader into their confidence, both The Story of the Treasure Seekers and The Kneebone Boy manage to create an opportunity of empowerment for their readers. Once the reader is made sure to be comfortable, the narrator reveals their fallible nature which leaves room for the real reader to "[enter] the gap successfully" (Olson, 105). Within these gaps the reader is given the chance to feel included, as they share knowledge with the implied author that the narrator is excluded from. Both of these novels deliver a freedom to their real reader, for within this form of narration the "child's developing faculties [have] room to move" (154) and to grow, leaving the child with an altogether empowered feeling at having drawn conclusions on their own. This sense of accomplishment is a gift the implied author has to offer to the child reader, essentially enhancing their bond and their experience when the narrative comes to an end.

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NOWADAYS IN CANADA, WE ARE SUPPOSED TO GROW UP AND REACH A RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP ATTITUDE, CIVICALLY AND LEGALLY. HOWEVER, WE LIVE IN A FRAGMENTED SOCIETY THAT STILL CORNERS VULNERABLE GROUPS UNDER THE DOMINANCE OF WHITE ANGLO-SAXON PROTESTANT AND HETERO-NORMATIVE IDEAS, WITH A CORE BINARY STRUCTURE STILL DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE CULTURE.

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OUT IN THE VALLEY, A SAFE PLACE TO HANG OUT

THE DYNAMICS OF A NEWLY-DEVELOPING QUEER COMMUNITY IN A SMALL CANADIAN CITY

Abstract: A considerable amount of academic literature has been written about queer communities. A considerably smaller amount is about queer community dynamics in small towns and cities, especially based on original research. This research explores the dynamics of a newly-developing queer community in Chilliwack, British Columbia. Diverse ethnographic methods were used to collect the data (participant observation, in-depth interviews, resources) on "Out in the Valley" (OITV), an informal community that offers support and resources to non-straight individuals while also integrating heterosexual members. One feature that differentiates OITV from other queer organizations: it is highly inclusive. The community seeks integration of its members both internally and into mainstream culture by receiving straight members, not narrowing its membership to any specific category (e.g. one sexual orientation, or age range), and interweaving private and public spheres as building methods. Although this level of acceptance was necessary given their interest in building a strong non-straight collective identity to enhance the support and resources they provide, at the same time it poses some risks to cohesion.

Community dynamics have been largely studied in the social sciences, mostly from the main assumptions of our western culture, where communities are pluralistic and hetero-normative, and consistently with the study of human interactions through families, schools, neighborhoods, cities, nations, etc. In the last few decades, however, an increasing, though comparatively small portion of literature, approaches sexually diverse subjects; and within it, a smaller amount approaches such subjects in small cities or rural/semi-rural settings. The peculiar case of queer subjects in those settings is that sometimes – like in OITV's case – these latter ones have propitiated a more inclusive approach to bond, where the mingling goes across social structures; members interact within a double function where private life and public life get deeply embedded, which in this case acts as an instrumental thread in the solidness of the community.

Literature Review

The concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gessellschaft (Tönnies 1963:33-36) frame my thesis, also they are used as references codes for the analysis in this paper. Tönnies understood the concepts in this way:

> "All intimate, private and exclusive living together, so we discover, is understood as life in Gemeinschaft. Gesellschaft is public life – it is the world itself. In Gemeinschaft with one's family, one lives from birth on, bound to it in weal and woe. One goes into Ge sellschaft as one goes into a strange country. A young man is warned against bad Ges sellschaft, but the expression bad Gemeinschaft violates the meaning of the word."

Poon and Saewyc's (2009) research found that teenagers in rural areas endure more verbal and physical harassment than their urban counterparts. Another Canadian study, conducted by Kennedy (2010), found that no gay community exists for natives (defined in his research as gay men raised and living in rural settings). There is a strong sense of isolation, consistent with a lack of social connections, especially with other gay men; this is probably the main reason for the social isolation that apparently correlates with further exclusion from the larger community.

I would argue based on my research that such a mix of isolation and exclusion is extensible to all queers; and, based on my own experience as an immigrant, I extend it to any individual considered foreigner/different in a small "pond", so to speak. Kennedy also found that a small diversity of people and isolation provide fewer opportunities for an enriched exchange (2010:1071); however, the Internet allows them to connect and contact other queer in a community of the mind (2010:1076) – the author means no-face-to-face community. The small pond is a source of hetero-normative pressure through role models in which sexually diverse individuals cannot fit – even if they tried – and end up closeted. Swank found a similar connection between isolation and remaining in "the closet" (2012:228). Emily Kazyak (2011) discusses thoroughly the relationship between geography and queerness, showing an increasing number of gays and lesbians who remained or moved to rural and smaller settings for a number of reasons in the last years. She draws from Gray (2009), who found that bonds with familiar environments have an influence on activism. Gray found that push to be visible and acquire access to resources to overcome their tied situation is triggered by the experience of structural poverty (2011:564).

> "Negotiating the tension between asserting queer difference and claiming status as a local, some of the routes to visibility for sexual minority youth in rural areas include drag shows, gay pride picnics, or queer punk bands (Gray 2007)."

Paraphrasing Kazyak's, research centers on how characteristics of rural life produce, rather than hinder, constructions of gay and lesbian identities by modifying cultural conceptions of what it is to be gay or lesbian. According to her findings, the citizenship of these subjects was equally centered in being local or being queer, rather than in copying urban models of queerness (2011:577). Another study found higher levels of minority stress among LGB residents of rural

and small towns in an online survey across the United States. These authors suggest that stress may be related to health factors (Swank, et al., 2012:236). Also, this research found that in rural settings LGB individuals report higher levels of stigmatization. Similarly, Longard (2012:64) found a relationship between identity issues and pursuing a group agenda of acceptance and inclusion. This finding partially supports the one that is core in the main argument of this paper – that private life and public life in queer communities get too entangled with identity issues:

> "Rachel was quick to make the connection between her own understanding of self and the larger social constraints upon homosexuality. She saw them as intimately connected and thus, constructed her own identity around that struggle for equality."

Longard also found intrinsic value in "familial" gatherings as a community building method among LGBT students, similar to the process that OITV goes through. The informal chit-chat in local venues and houses creates a family atmosphere where they can discuss the social injustice they are subjected to and find ways to handle it together, to the point of finding means and ends to pursue a common agenda based on their identities (2012:65). Mary Chayko's book Portable Communities supports the argument of successful community development through online resources. These sociomental spaces (2008:22) provide a very accessible and permanent avenue for connectedness, intimacy, and "thinking in tandem" (2008:25), only possible based on intersubjectivity, which according to Chayko is the ability and/or the belief that we understand the lives of those we connect through the cyberspace. Intersubjectivity can only stem out from likeminded individuals continuously interacting. Wenger (2006) also studied the value of online resources as a means to build a "community of practice". This type of community has three mandatory components: a domain where or platform over which the exchange happens; the group bonded in such a way that they can learn form each other; and, the knowledge itself, delivered mostly informally, by sharing ideas, experiences, resources and information relevant to their personal and group identity, their social agenda, how to handle the struggles, and where to go in the community in terms of a safe place.

The level of connectedness and identization required and reinforced by such exchanges in the case of OITV is supported in Virchow's (2007) study of the embodiment of an identity. He argues that the performance, and with it the integration of a socio-political discourse, are learned when hanging out together; the body language, verbal references, and social identity are shared and mutually enhanced in the public marching of far-right political groups. LeBeau and Jellison (2009) came to a similar conclusion: the gay men they surveyed declared that one of the advantages of participating in a gay community is to have a better understanding of themselves, their identities, and increased self-esteems. Also, this community involvement provides access to peers, collective self-esteem, and other social outreach resources, which they could not easily find on their own.

In regards to belonging, Nira Yuval-Davis's (2006), studied both belonging and the politics of belonging, frames our analysis of citizenship and belonging to OITV. The center of her argument is that belonging is about identifications and emotional attachment, social locations, ethical, and political values. In a word, the integration of levels of interaction that grows from the

inner state of a person, the home environment, and the social space. The politics of belonging have another element that involves citizenship, entitlements, and status. Moreover, Mannarini and Fedi (2009) report a similar finding, where participation helps to create symbolic function, a representation of the community and its values that is a sign of an intense sense of community, and, therefore, a strong proof of the existence of such social formation.

Methodological description

My personal interest in OUT IN THE VALLEY develops from two coinciding facts. First, having witnessed the social and emotional struggles my queer friends have gone through, mostly around their coming-out-of-the-closet process, how do they handle their identity in public, how do they navigate daily life being different. The involvement of one of my best friends as an active member of OITV also piqued my interest in this community, that later shaped the questions that guided my research: What are the dynamics of a queer community? Is something like that possible and how? Moreover, how is something like that possible in such a conservative and intolerant environment as Chilliwack?

Ethnographic research was conducted to study OUT IN THE VALLEY using the following procedures:

1.Participant observation: Extensive field-notes from 5 "Socials" – weekly gatherings – and the Halloween Bash in Echo Room in Chilliwack.

2. In-Depth Interviews: 2 members were interviewed following a semi-structured guide, with questions about the nature of OITV in terms of community, the struggles of OITV in the Chilliwack setting, attracting members, membership composition, internal patterns of unity in diversity, events and activities, and the future of OITV. Initially, the real names were changed in a typical research intention to protect their identities. However, both individuals, and the group itself – expressed at unison in a meeting – insisted in not covering their identities as they intend to be socially recognized and identified properly. Also, as Clarke stated "we want the publicity".

> 2.1. Clarke Fryer (10/29/12, at 6 pm in his house): 26 years old. Gay male. Director of OITV. Aside from his full-time job and his unpaid work for OITV, he conducts workshops (voluntarily) to help and support queer students coming out of the closet. Last March the local paper featured him as an Awareness Activist in "FORTY UNDER 40". Clarke has a solid gay identity and social capital.
>
> 2.2. Jim D. (10/06/12, at 8:30 pm in his house): 46 years old. Male bisexual. Researcher, writer, and author. As friends, we talk transparently, deeply, and with a good rapport. He has a good insight on the group itself; and, due to his extensive education, he has a very enriching point of view.

3. Available printed and online sources:

> 3.1. Online resources: Facebook group page and site www.outinchilliwack.ca. I reviewed each tab on the web site, and chronologically read every post in the Facebook Group page – the main communication platform and community building method, as the social network archives the posts. As a new member who is straight I was granted access to it.
>
> 3.2. Press releases: "FORTYUnder40" – The Chilliwack Progress March 21st 2012; "New gay group forms in Chilliwack" – Xtra! Canada Gays & Lesbians News; "G-Mail that supports Chilliwack gay Community" – *My Chilliwack News*, Blog.

The analysis was qualitative. The three sources of data were coded in hard copy in open and later focused coding using codes as "pride affair", "queer-struggles", "bonding by similar", "bonding by difference" "gay-manliness" "queer-sexism" "Gemeinschaft", "Gessellschaft", "queer-shelter" "queer-intolerance", "identity politics"; a dictionary of 51 codes was developed. Data was systematically organized in code files and later analyzed. In order to explain concisely and clear our main points, we use in this report a coding:

> • **GM**: refers to private life (rooted in Tönnies' concept of Gemeinschaft). This applies to the uninterested exchanges that feed emotions, bonds, and help to nurture one's identity in a private environment: family, friends, romantic relationships, and siblinghood.
>
> •**GS:** refers to public realm (rooted in Tönnies' concept of Gessellschaft). This applies to social affairs like business, social recognition, Pride parades, prevention of bullying, attacks, and dealing with intolerance.

Findings

Out in the Valley is a Non-Profit organization created by Clarke Fryer – LGBTQ Activist and volunteer – in Winter 2011 catering to LGBTQ individuals in the central and eastern part of the Fraser Valley (from Abbotsford to Hope) aiming to provide support, resources, and a safe environment where LGBTQ individuals could socialize. Since OITV has been incorporated and reached the NPO status, the community is entering the social activism realm too. At the time of writing this paper, OITV has 164 members, aging from 15 to 85 years old. There is no exact count of specific sexual orientations, but it is noticeable that the dominant group is gay males 24 to 40 years old. Minorities within are: lesbians, bisexuals, transgenders free-spirited, two-spirited, pan-sexuals, and 3 heterosexuals. There is a small contingent of parents.

The intolerance to non-heterosexuals in the area led queer individuals being ostracized and isolated as their own accounts showed in the research; the environment has not inspired any confidence to express themselves to both locals and recently moved from the city, according to the accounts of OITV members, similar to what Kennedy found (2010:1071). The strength of

the response to the press releases mentioned earlier –inviting non-straight individuals to contact the anonymous support email resource (beheardinchilliwack@gmail.com) shows how intense the need for a group like this was. It also shows OITV's remarkable uniqueness is its historical evolution, from an email resource promoted in the local news, it became a portable (Chayko, 2008) imagined community on Facebook, Twitter, and a website (www.outinchilliwack.ca). From there, they added face-to-face interaction with the socials or drop-ins (consistent face-to-face gatherings attended by a small group). In both social spaces OITV is currently a community of practice (Wenger, 2006) where valuable "queer" capital is shared and passed on amongst the members interacting; this practice is kept on the page. This platform helps to enhance personal identities and build a strong social identity within the group that –eventually – calls for an expression in the broader social environment. A new web site is in the works, with interactive and safe private spaces.

> "Jim N., 53, says he generally has a hard time finding compatible friends, as he's in a wheelchair" (*Xtra*, 04/10/12)

This statement shows the loneliness and isolation of LGBT individuals in the area

> "Q: you feel that this [avoidance of queer topics] is inserted in the [administrative levels] of the educational system in the district of Chilliwack? A: Yes." *Clarke's interview*

Noticeably, the structural avoidance of non-straight lives is felt by members of OITV

> "a friend in Vancouver sent the story in …Xtra… It's a gay paper in Vancouver. Anyway it came out from there so she had posted it over her Facebook and then I contacted them from there" *Jim D.'s interview*

Jim connected to OITV thanks to the news release in Vancouver, though OITV was formed in Chilliwack, his experience supports the local isolation and disconnection of LGBT people.

OITV members strive to connect both face-to-face and through distance, shaping a community with intergenerational and sexual diversity. In this regard, OITV offers a double sense of belonging: the family of choice, within which members have potlucks, play board games, catch up on their lives, freely converse on topics that range from taxes to yoga, hairdressing, travel, cars, to romantic chit-chat. And, it offers a social space to cluster and seek together their social agenda. The rural environment of the Fraser Valley propitiates community members to bond throughout age diversity in the intent to counter the isolation; at the same time, because of the isolation and rejection members rely on each other to strength together their social power, aiming to pursue an agenda of recognition and inclusion. I would argue that such a mix of isolation and exclusion is extensible to all queers; and, based on my own experience as an immigrant, I extend it to any individual considered foreigner/different in a small "pond" (Kennedy 2010:1072). Both the socials and the Facebook page – where the largest amount of members interact – are the main spaces and methods of community building; informing each other in such a way that it turns hard to tell which one is core for the group. For some gay individuals in other settings and locations, online

connectivity is rather instrumental (2010:1071). Ross (2005:342):

> "[t]he Internet has brought a new dimension to intimacy, both by permitting intimate contact electronically over a distance and by, through that same contact, permitting intimate discussion shorn of most of the social cues present in face-to-face interactions"

In these two sociomental spaces, – Chayko's concept of "a mental habitat where the community 'gather'… cyberspace would be situated in" – members share values, feelings, practices, and interdependence. Their main values are few but solid: inclusion, reciprocity, and safety; many groups and even governments strive to attain at least the first two.

> "If you grow up in a in a town of 1500 or even Chilliwack at that time which would have been about half the size that it is now, then you know it can be potentially dangerous" *Jim D.'s interview*

> "…in terms of Chilliwack or even Abbotsford, it could be problems if you … got together in 10, 12, 20, and walked into a business together" *Jim D.'s interview*

These 2 statements show the safety concerns shared by LGBT individuals, specifically OITV members

> "Shameless self-promotion. If you're considering painting a room or your whole house, check us out. Dec and Jan are the slowest months of the year, so you may get a good deal. In business for almost 20 years, Quick, clean reliable and Gay-Friendly. Hell, he hired me, lol: *Equity Painters Quality work at a reasonable price. Add colour to your life with Equity Painters! Call for your quote today* 19 like this Unlike • • Follow Post • November 16 at 8:39pm near Chilliwack" Posted by Mike on "Gessellschaft" content in Facebook, one of the members promoting his business within the group

Their strongest feeling (Yuval-Davis, 2006) is the sense of belonging based on their difference – non-straight – and on similarities like the queer struggles of coming out of the closet, dealing with the deepest identity questions, and searching for their place in the midst of a conservative micro-environment inserted in a hetero-normative, binomial society like the Fraser Valley. These struggles are a strong attachment, both as bonding factors in terms of exchanging learning and as internal friction triggers.

> "… if anybody has ever had any kind of feeling of isolation or segregation for whatever reason in their life, maybe they weren't very popular in school, they don't quite understand the struggles that a gay person goes through on a day to day basis but they get what it feels like not to belong. They feel comfortable with our group … cause then straight gay whatever, you can be yourself" *Clarke's interview*

> "…at Sips'n'Sweets members and host recognized me greeted me warmly and invited me to participate in what they were doing; I felt like a spoiled guest. The sensation of a space

of "us" within them is solid, regardless the location" *Fieldnotes from 2nd Social, 09/23/12*

"Everybody's pretty cool and open here" *Sienna, 16, in Xtra 04/10/12*

These 3 statements show that the space created within OITV is comfortable, safe, even welcoming to difference – inclusive.

"… I think you feel really alone or segregated… people out in the valley can feel [so] just because there's no gay community out here like there is in larger cities" *Jim D.'s Interview*

"Q: Is it, "I'm not alone" The thing? A: "I'm not alone" Yeah absolutely" *Clarke's Interview*

These 2 statements show the experience of loneliness for LGBT in the area

The fear that the environment provokes is catalyzed, like a growing pain, by the strong queer social capital, the main sources of which are: the interaction itself, and the presence of certain members whose own personal experience enrich the younger ones or the newly-out-of-the-closet. Members pivot from fear to the joy of being able to express themselves freely, showing how the queer struggles bond them deeply. Here are a number of extracts from research participants and comments gathered from the OITV website that shed light on bonding through shared struggle:

"there's lots of people that struggle with trying to come out in small communities and never I mean there's some people that don't do it until they're married and have kids because they are so afraid" "family pressures and things like [that, make them] feel that they never can [come out]. And you know I'm sure there's lots of people who live their whole life like that" "There were so many things I struggled with, so many things I wanted to talk about, so many questions I had" *Clarke's interview*

"… you grow up and you don't have role models. What do you do within a society like that but then if you don't fit in with that then you're always kind of off on the side…" *Jim D.'s interview*

These 2 statements evidence the need for a shared queer capital

Practices and interdependence are evident in their multiple dynamics of interaction. OITV's collective identity creation shows an Identization process very compatible with Virchow's account in Performance, Emotion and Ideology (2007). Members "become the soldiers" of their own cause. They grow when hanging out together and through their interactions; they learn from more experienced peer[s] how to incarnate better themselves. Mike and Jim, for example, went to the Halloween Bash in Drag. Mike is an experienced Drag Queen with many Pride Parades under his belt, and, as he says, "there was a time I was doing this 5 times the week!" This is supported with Le Beau and Jellison's finding that reports the experience of men in a gay community asserting, "Involvement in a gay community is a necessary step in the formation of a positive gay identity"; despite OITV's diversity this notion fits in this case, please see evidence below

"Jim decided to drag-up for the Halloween Bash; this would be his first official time" *Fieldnotes of "Halloween Bash: the Drag Up" 10/31/12*

"you're going to find that at our group, and no one's going to judge you which is a pretty awesome thing. So if you have that, it's at least a start" "It's for teens, parents, young adults, middle age adults, anyone with questions or who needs support" "This group started as with the intent that we are here for anybody and everybody who needs the support and who wants the help" *Clarke's interview*

"Jim: So I mean in one sense it's a group that keeps together by I guess kind of outside pressures, in a way." "Q: So it's more of a… life saving thing? Sort of? A: Yeah" "a couple of months ago I guess some kid was having trouble with his parents, he was in high school still, or coming out where he posted on there that he's going to come out to the parents and doesn't know how it's going to turn out sort of thing. And in terms of support, that's there" *Jim D.'s Interview*

LeBeau & Jellison (2009) speak also about *minority stress*, or what I call "*queer-struggles*", which is core for this community's existence and for interdependence. Their identity – unfit for the mainstream heterocentrist culture – is the reason for being segregated and for undergoing the ordeals they have lived. And, just to raise the stakes, queer individuals are not born with a mark on their foreheads. The power of this reality can take over the person, and edge them to dramatic extremes. Examples of Minority Stress are below,

"His personal hell started when he came out as a 16 year old student. He was taunted by fellow students and family didn't know how to react…The stress of the situation made Fryer physically ill 'It was eating away at me' he said." *Mychilliwacknews.com 12/08/11*

"Some situations I don't know how to handle myself…we've had some transgendered members who have come and been seeking help, but I'm just as lost as they are at the same time" "one thing to remember is that we're all dealing with identity issues, in one way or another, we're all dealing with the feeling of isolation and segregation and feeling like we're alone" *Clarke's interview*

"Fryer went through high school bullied. His car was keyed, his tired repeatedly deflated. Even his principal made him feel like an outcast when he was told not to bring a male date to the prom" *FortyUnder40 TChP, 03/27/12*

Upon this interdependence, private life (GM) and public realm (GS) aspects intertwine so deeply in OITV's interaction that challenges Tönnies (1963) assertion about one of them will always being stronger. The intense GM experienced during the *socials* and on their Facebook page stemmed from their *queerness*, and is evolving into a collective identity that calls for public expression, GS. Is important to keep in mind that members gathered following an impersonal call on the media (*imagined community*) directed to unknown individuals which shows the GS

character of the convocation process. This foundational and instrumental GS is about a very intimate affair, sexual orientation and identity, which led to the intense exchange and support that happens over Facebook (GM). Their socio-political agenda (GS) works on being LGBTQ in the Valley, which is also the central core of their personal needs for familial exchange (GM). This idea is very close to the *minority stress* assertion of "social support being crucial in coping with one's stigmatized status". Evidently, the case of this community is so peculiar that theories reunite, and are enriched with new elements. The interaction on Facebook includes many topics, from planning activities, to asking for advice, bonding, sharing personal news, sharing interest notes and videos, informal chit-chat, buying-selling-trading, pictures, opinions. It is a continued dialogue followed by all the members as quotations show.

Another shared practice is the acceptance of and search for allies. The group, beyond receiving straight members, counters the ostracism from the heterocentrist environment; it works on inserting themselves within it. OITV looks for queer-friendly places to hang out in and to pass on to members as safe places to go to; in addition, it connects with other societies looking to join efforts in order to address common social issues. The group puts effort into networking and connecting with other LGBTQ societies (*imagined* community). For example, they joined a gay organization from Abbotsford to attend the Vancouver Pride Parade and the Gay Prom Night last summer. OITV keeps the connection with the Vancouver group and another one in Surrey,

> "to source out gay friendly businesses. So that people can see that you know there's places that they can go … you know other people out here who are open or welcoming" "so from 152 [st] towards the west you consider it's more gay LGBTQ friendly, or friendlier, anyhow" *Jim's Interview*

> "Also looking for web-links to local (as in Hope-Van) businesses that like us" *Facebook page 11/09/12 Posted by Mike*

> "We're trying to [develop] a foster care program where we have members of our group who have space in their home [and] would be willing to take on a youth who has been kicked out of their house for being gay in this community. That's one way to try to reach out and to help in a larger sense because it gives the kid more opportunity not to have to drop out of school, to be able to finish certain things and to be able to get the support that they need, and not have to turn to the alternatives of drugs or like having to drop out of school and to try to work two or three jobs" *Clarke's Interview*

The data quoted shows how OITV works in connecting externally to the group, building networks, caring for their own safety and for helping other LGBT individuals in the area.

The strong cohesion discussed so far is not without risks or threads that represent a constant growing opportunity; these are triggered by the very same reasons that put the community together, as a natural flip-side. Wherever members gather, there is a demand for safety and damage control preventing intolerance or attack. Following the same demand, their cyberspaces have to offer confidentiality and privacy; otherwise, members' sensitive data posted

will place members in a vulnerable position. Given this need for safety and privacy, some boundary maintenance is performed; although, as the community is young these mechanisms are not so sophisticated, those are centered in the prevention of damage. An informal but clear-cut due diligence is practiced in all social spaces.

The Facebook group page is a closed environment; new members have to be admitted by one of the Administrators, though there is not a protocol beyond the one provided by the system. The *socials* are generally posted on the FB page; the idea is to invite and include, though generally either Clarke or one of the members is aware of the new member or guest coming to the meetings. This community's practice is the transmission of "LGBTQ-capital", to build personal identity, group identity, plan activities, vent issues, and shape community culture, with a strong focus on having a safe social space,

> "The place is a private business owned by the same owner of the Promontory Pizza. A couple somewhat associated to Clarke Fryer" *Fieldnotes from 09/23/12, 2nd social*

This statement shows that the places are selected based on safety and personal bonds

> "This is a closed group and everyone should feel safe to post anything they want. Please let me know if there are any pics you DO NOT want on our public site" *Facebook, 11/08/12, posted by Mike*

> "Q: is it possible that the online community is stronger than the face to face [one]? A: Yeah."

The growing of the online community must involve the safety that it provides to members

There are some demographically challenging patterns:

Money

> "a lot of them, they ain't got the money to pay the 20 30 40 bucks... then they would be stranded out here again, if you got too closely tied to a city group, for the younger ones and the current economic situation" "it's challenging to have no money and a very wide range of members [with] different kinds of interests and different abilities" Clarke's Interview

Living a non-straight life in Chilliwack may have economic outcomes, because this last one is an outcome of socialization.

Age

> "it is unfortunate that the age gap is presenting to be an issue, but if anyone is willing and able, we (the Fraser Valley Youth Society) are having a meet and greet" *Facebook,*

04/09/12, posted by John

"we're dealing with an all age range; we're dealing with young people who don't have jobs" "So we want to get out and have fun but it needs to be something that is all inclusive as well. Some members can't drink, that excludes a lot of 19+ places, bars and restaurants" *Clarke's interview*

"There was a lesbian there from Agassiz… She's probably only about 19-20 years old" Jim's interview

"I'd like to point out that it's hard not only for the older people to find people to chat to… the main group of people kind of shrug the youngers AND the olders off" *Facebook 04/09/12 posted by Carley*

Geography

"I think there's a few of the younger ones that you haven't seen…but they live right near by [Christiane's], so they just walk over to hers and you very rarely see them [in Sardis]… it's more the geographical kind of location that creates who's in Sardis and who's in Chilliwack" "some of them don't have cars – well I don't either, but – some of them can't get there" *Jim's interview*

"also always in a different space, and it was kind of hard for people to follow and it was a bit of a challenge" *Clarke's interview*

"I do love the idea of this group, but am trying to see about some other plans… But for those of us in Abbotsford I guess it is time to see about things out here... It is just a bit to be driving to Chilliwack for events on Sundays when it has been a long week… " Facebook, 11/19/12, *posted by Doug*

These statements show that geographical distance poses a risk to cohesion. Despite that challenge, the online community – Facebook page – provides a useful alternative for connecting and "catching-up", and even branching out without disconnecting.

Family

"several members who are gay men, parent… we've not seen them at any of the meetings there" "a lot of it has to do with the timing. And probably the event, a kid doesn't really want to sit and listen to their parents talk for hours on end" "that's been one of the many bigger issues that a lot of people have brought to the attention, there's lots of comments if you've been following the Facebook, is that a lot of people mentioned they wish they could come but they can't because of the time of day that it is and that they have kids and they're unable to attend" *Clarke's interview*

Family responsibilities may pose extra challenges to a situation already complex: not-mainstream parents face themselves social rejection, so their kids might do too; and, parents cannot meet with peers LGBT. This is something that OITV tries to handle creatively, rather providing an inclusion opportunity.

Sexual Diversity

"But the thing to remember is that yes you're all very different, but you're all still a minority" "Q: … the pride flag, I'm not sure if it identifies, does it identify gays or every LGBTQ? A: Increasingly [LGBTQ], it's the same thing in terms of identity politics, that it's - probably lesbians are okay with it, except for the more radical ones… Bis[exuals] have our own! So do the trans. It means two different things: in relation to society, then I would identify it; but within the group in terms of identity politics, then I wouldn't, within the group" "lesbians kind of go off and do their own thing and then you've got the gay men's groups and then you've got you know trans people" "Q: Do you feel there are conflicts in between different sexual orientations in the group? A: Yeah" *Jim's interview*

Jim's statements evidence some gender identity tensions internally at OITV, which is at the same time, like other patterns, a risk and an opportunity to think and act inclusively.

Nowadays in Canada, we are supposed to grow up and reach a responsible citizenship attitude, civically and legally. However, we live in a fragmented society that still corners vulnerable groups under the dominance of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant and hetero-normative ideas, with a core binary structure still deeply rooted in the culture. OITV is not immune to this cultural background. The community amasses members' symbolic content in "the symbolic function" – "which provides members with shared codes, representations, and values" (Mannarini & Fedi, 2009) – shows that OITV works on forming a solid L+G+B+T(+Q) cluster, this formation implies a similar culture to support it. Members were raised and lived in a culture that – using LeBeau & Jellison words – "celebrate", "affirm" and promote "heterosexual lifestyles" and "hides information that would help [LGBTQ people] cope with their stigmatized identity". Kennedy found too that such an upbringing creates patterns and behavior strongly loaded with beliefs and expectations rooted in binary sexism and patriarchal leadership. In order to live successfully like a non-heterocentrist and egalitarian person, individuals have to either hide their sexuality (2010:1072), or develop themselves further like OITV members are striving to do; not targeting a queer cluster to only one or two sexual orientations is a huge contribution to both OITV internally, and the imagined queer community externally.

Part of the discussion of gender conflicts internally to OITV is that a group of Lesbians expressed their discomfort and announced their withdrawal from the group on Facebook. Two patterns I found and called Gay-Manliness and Sex Fragmentation could possibly explain this separation, according to findings in data. Curiously, both patterns can be the flip-side of inclusion. Gay-manliness refers to treat the lesbian ladies with gentlemanish manners, which may sound like the right way for straight women; however may lesbian ones interpret it like a non-egalitarian treatment?

"…included on our website. LADIES, THIS INCLUDES YOU !!!" *Facebook, 11/09/12, posted by Mike*

"Earlier when it first started up, there were a lot more lesbians around. And a lot more lesbians were usually at Christiane's house too, so. But yeah it's really kind of split down now" *Jim's interview*

"...I am rather disappointed to learn that 2 of our friends [lesbians] did attend and said they will never be back again. No one greeted them, no one spoke to them because everyone was too busy being "little queens". I am 70, my partner is 19 yrs younger. When my partner and I walked into Sips and Sweets... all anyone did was turn, look and go back to their conversations. Clarke is and was the only person I knew… he greeted us. Fortunately a couple of other women came in and we talked with them. THIS is why I won't be back... I'm sorry I'm not under 30 but I am a nice woman with a great sense of humor. Your loss guys and grrls...we have other friends" Facebook, 04/09/12, posted by Pen

"I don't know if transgender people have a definitive issue with gay men or if gay men have an issue with lesbians. I don't really think so, I think it just may have to do you know with personalities sometimes" *Clarke's interview*

> "And now need to know what can be done to help correct the issue as best… I am so sorry that people who are attending feel that this is going on but I think that we are early enough in that it can be easily corrected…But I need EVERYONES help to do this!" *Facebook, 04/09/12, posted by Clarke*

Date above is a clear evidence of the tension that led to drop out in the part of a group of lesbians. The outcomes of addressing these issues will benefit not only OITV but will produce an authentic and legitimate non-straight culture to spread. Underlying this tension, there might be a double-crossing, gender roles learned by culture conflicting with different sexual identity discovered later,

> "Q: Do you think that would reflect, would be a side effect, coming from the heterosexual world, that male against female? A: Yeah. I mean it is kind of a patriarchal thing I guess" "Popular culture: lesbians are seen as these horrid radical feminists that want absolutely nothing to do with men… heterosexual view of lesbians that seems to have seeped over into the gay [culture]" *Jim's interview*

The question the last set of quotes led me to: is this binary friction only a legacy from the culture in terms of the hetero-normative gender binaries that we all grew up with? or, does it reflect a real power conflict not only within OITV, but also within all non-straight environments throughout society. Perhaps this is connected to the fact that many queer groups are segmented to one or two orientations and ranges of age. Which one is the cause and which the effect, the vicious behavioral heritage or the inner socio-political tension? The numerical superiority of gay males paired with

the feelings expressed by lesbians put them both in the conflict spot. This matter needs further and specific research, as power dynamics are generally rooted in deep pathos drivers. In addition, conflict is inherent to all types of human relationships, moreso when they are built on matters of identity formation, survival, and integration,

> "if you did research in terms of [other LGBTQ] communities, the homosexual males will generally end up being the kind of dominant… Because they're males" "I think unfortunately it probably hasn't been addressed quite properly yet. But I mean that's part of growing, as [OITV grows it's] going to have to kind of address it" "if you look at [the tension between gays and lesbians in and out of OITV] in patriarchal kind of terms, what's threatening about lesbians? that they may be more manly than some gays" *Jim's interview*

Jim's statements connect the tension with potential explanations and frame it as part of a social formation evolution. It is important to note that the diverse sexual orientations in OITV are individuals that have undergone identity crisis, socialization struggles, and are still a minority under constant threat of intolerance and attack. I firmly believe that this reality, added to the fact that each group has been looking for its own culture and social identity, shapes another inherited pattern that poses the identity politics challenge of finding unity and inclusion in diversity,

> "if the goal is inclusion, ultimately those boundaries have to be broken down within the group itself…it's just reproducing kind of divisions [from] within society itself that have to be changed" "So gays [in general outside OITV] will say that bis are repressed homosexuals. Lesbians have that attitude too although they are generally a bit more accepting" "Jim: Well I meant sort of gay males jokes about lesbians. Q: Not about other groups? A: Well bis[exuals] occasionally" "But the standard gay joke about a bi[sexual] is, made in sort of political or economic terms that 'a bi is really gay but trying to hold on to heterosexist privilege' " Jim's interview

These set of statements point out with precision some underlying culture in the LGBT world that may affect – not only – OITV growing. A good way to resolve this issue would be to assume a group identity when advocating in social activism or presenting the community to other social layers, even to heterosexual individuals. This could be the umbrella term of QUEER, representing non-straight sexual orientations unified and strong,

> "society wants set that if you're not heterosexual then you're queer. [That's why] I think [queer] works across [all] purposes" "personally I would prefer queer because it's more inclusive" "because there's always a new letter that they're adding to it" "I think that breaking us off into sections breaks up an already very segregated community. We are a minority out here already, why are you going to break our group apart?" "So you know if you're operating within a group that feels still even though times have changed that you're marginalized, particularly in the valley, then why make it that you end up potentially marginalizing segments of the five that are in there?" *Jim's Interview*

Jim's words – OITV's member and queer theorist – provide deep insight about why would using

an umbrella identity such as queer will help OITV – and other non-straight clusters – to pursue their internal needs of cohesion and unity-in-diversity (GM) and their social agenda (GM) at the same time. Such behavioral patterns of internal fragmentation, anchored in beliefs from a heterocentrist binary culture, can change inside OITV after raising awareness and trying new approaches as a group.

> "My hope is that by creating organizations such as Out in [The Valley], it will help to eliminate the need for organizations such as this in the future." *Clarke's interview.*

This statement guided the formation of OITV and also suggests the expectation of achieving social inclusion and the spreading of enough LGBTQ-capital that the struggles of coming out and trying to develop a reasonably fulfilling socialization will be minimal, while attaining the same status and rights that heterosexuals have for LGBT individuals in the Valley.

Conclusions

The study of this community shows that identity, both personal and collective, is probably the strongest force that brings people together, across and above other social patterns such as age and income, which at the same time mean a challenge to community building. People that gather and form communities blend because they need the collective to consolidate their personal selves, and this is an ongoing process. Also, according to the nature of the community and what it provides to members, it may turn into a family of choice, where a safe socialization space is the most sacred good. OITV exchange strongly suggests that private life and public realm aspects of community dynamics can be so intensely intertwined that they become a continuum in which it is hard to spot the beginning and the end of one another. Deeply rooted identity issues can blend these two aspects when personal self and public self of minority groups are under construction in an environment that rejects difference.

To further this research, it will be useful to learn the internal composition of about OITV members in terms age, sexual orientation, location, family composition parents, expectations of their membership, and personal interests, in order to develop activities and programs to fit their needs. Other topics that will contribute to the growing of OITV include: a deep study of the tension between lesbians and gay males, as well as why did the first ones that withdrew from OITV, and what would bring them back. Another important topic to further the research is to identify the mechanics of building a solid LGBTQ collective, where all the diverse sexual orientations have equal stand, integrated and cooperative. Other topics that will be worth measuring statistically would include what is it like to be a non-straight parent in the Valley; what is the emotional outcome for members who do not attend the meetings generally but are connected through the Facebook group page; and, how to build a queer identity and its performance if the subject socialized in a culture predominantly binary and heterocentrist?

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IT IS NECESSARY TO DETERMINE WHETHER LANGUAGE MAY BE RECOGNIZED AS A RIGHT OR FREEDOM BEFORE DETERMINING THE SUFFICIENCY OF POLICY STATED BY THE CONSTITUTION. TO DATE, CANADA'S ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES ARE NO MORE RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT THAN ANY OTHER NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

PHOTO FROM KONSTANTIN PRODANOVIC

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ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE LOSS: THE SILENT GENOCIDE

Abstract: This paper will be taking a discursive look at what is perhaps currently the most endangered group of languages anywhere in the world, the languages of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. I will look at how our colonial history as a nation has facilitated the marginalization of Aboriginal peoples and thus contributed to language loss among these communities. I will also consider whether or not Canada's current legal framework is sufficient to protect Aboriginal languages from further degradation. Finally, I will ask what we can do now to help sustain these languages for the future. My research is part of a larger attempt to create dialogue in regards to whether one can consider language a resource. I argue that language is necessary for social development and it is like a resource in that respect. Our sense of self is contingent on our efforts to sustain our languages, as our diversity is perhaps our greatest asset as a global community.

-What Is The Issue?-

What is language death?

Language death is a process by which the fluency of a language in a given speech community dissipates over time, eventually resulting in the complete loss of speakers of said language. The central premise of language death is that "language is not a self sustaining entity;" it can only exist when there is a community willing to utilize it.[1] For a given language to thrive in a community it must have the social infrastructure to do so; a community of people can only exist where there is a viable environment for them to live and, in turn, they may practice their language in solidarity[2]. Ultimately, languages are considered at risk of dying when they are no longer transmitted to younger generations. [3] As the number of fluent speakers declines, possibilities for transmission decline as well, eventually resulting in the death of a language.

What is the root cause of language death?

It would be impossible to isolate a definitive cause of language death. However, prevalent

1. Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine, Vanishing Voices (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 8.

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discourse on the subject suggests that the cause of language death in recent years can largely be attributed to marginalization of indigenous communities and the subordination of their languages. Globally, indigenous peoples are shifting towards the economically and culturally dominant languages of their regions.[4] This is the result of a process of language subordination, in which the speakers of a culturally dominant language in a particular area marginalize the speakers of minority languages.[5] As a result of marginalization, speakers of minority languages feel inclined to assimilate to the social standard in order increase their social mobility. [6]

What is the current prevalence of language death?

Language death is a universal phenomenon; it is not limited to ancient empires and remote backwaters.[7] In fact, the rate at which languages are dying seems to have increased in recent years. Roughly 50% of known languages have disappeared in the last 500 years.[8] Out of an estimated 6000 languages globally 90% of the world speaks 100 of the most used languages; consequently, this means that 98% of the world's languages are spoken by 10% of the world's population.[9] This 10% is largely comprised of indigenous populations in which there is great

4. Shaylih Muehlmann, "'Spread Your Ass Cheeks': And Other Things That Should Not Be Said In Indigenous Languages", American Ethnologist 35, 2008. 36.
5. Rosina Lippi-Green, English with an Accent: Language Ideology and Discrimination in the United States (New York: Routledge, 1997), 68.
6. Ibid., 59.
7. Nettle & Romaine, Vanishing Voices, 4.
8. Ibid., 2.
9. Ibid., 8.

diversity of language—in some instances an entire language may be limited to a single, spatial community. It is precisely these communities that are marginalized and assimilated.[10] Estimates hold that there is as few as 600 languages that are currently regarded as safe from being lost. [11]

Why is language death an issue?

It is difficult to take issue with the death of a language unless one takes into account that language isn't simply a means of communication. To begin with, language defines one's cognitive perception of reality[12]. For example, the Hopi tribes of South-West America speak of time as perpetually occurring and therefore, have no notion of chronology; [13] or the Apache, who associate place names with proper moral standards.[14] The loss of a language is, therefore, the loss of a unique cognitive perspective. Furthermore, due to the fact that most endangered languages tend to be concentrated in the most ecologically diverse areas of the world, the languages of indigenous peoples tend to contain knowledge of organisms unknown to modern science.[15] As a language is lost, the knowledge contained within it is lost as well. Both the social and academic potentials of endangered languages are encompassed by the larger notions of diversity and identity. Language is resoundingly more than a means of communication, it is means by which humans can claim diversity and define their identity.[16] In a time of rapid globalization, "to preserve our languages is also to preserve ourselves and our diverse heritage." [17]

-What Is The Local Significance?-

What is the state of language death in Canada?

Languages are dying in Canada's Aboriginal communities at an alarming rate. As of 1996, only 3 out of Canada's 11 Aboriginal language families had enough speakers to not be considered endangered.[18] Between 1951 and 1981 the percentage of Aboriginal people reporting an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue declined from 87.4% to 29.3%.[19] Even more problematic is the fact that the average age of said speakers is increasing as well.[20] The stability of these languages largely depends on their size and the average age of their speaker population. A language with a larger speaker population has more potential to be transmitted through generations.[21] Likewise, languages with younger speaker populations reveal the extent to

10. Ibid
11. Ibid
12. Benjamin L. Whorf, 'The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior To Language', in N. Coupland and A. Jarowski (eds), Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook (London: MacMillan, 1997), 443.
13. Ibid., 446.
14. Keith Basso, Wisdom Sits in Places (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico).
15. Nettle and Romain, Vanishing Voices, 13-15.
16. Patricia Shaw, "Language and Identity, Language and the Land", BC Studies, no. 131, (2001): 39-55
17. Nettle & Romaine, Vanishing Voices, 23.
18. Mary Jane Norris, Canada's Aboriginal Languages, Statistics Canada—Catalogue N0 11-008, (1998)
19. Barbara Burnaby, "Aboriginal Language Maintenance, Development, and Enhancement: A Review of Literature," Stabilizing Indigenous Languages: Special Issue, 1996. 21-36.
20. Norris, Canada's Aboriginal Languages, 13
21. Ibid., 10

which transmission has been successful and also suggest greater potential for transmission in the future. [22] In Canada, the number of speakers of Aboriginal languages is declining rapidly while their average age is increasing—thus resulting in a smaller base from which these languages can potentially be transmitted.[23]

What is the state of language death in British Columbia?

British Columbia's harsh and mountainous landscape has contributed to the provinces many small and separate indigenous language communities.[24] The languages in these communities are particularly in danger of being lost. British Columbia is home to roughly half of all Aboriginal languages.[25] However, due to the small size of these language groups, the province only accounts for 7% of speakers with an Aboriginal mother tongue.[26] Furthermore, the number of fluent speakers of Aboriginal languages in BC is roughly only 5.1% of those with Aboriginal status; the number of *semi-fluent* speakers is only marginally better at 8.2%.[27] Even more striking is that, of the few fluent speakers, 91.4% are over the age of 45.[28] It is projected that without adequate funding and action, the percentage of fluent speakers will drop below 2% by 2014.[29] The majority of BC's Aboriginal languages, without intervention, face the threat of extinction.

What is causing this language loss?

In order to answer this, one must first look at the treatment of Aboriginal peoples through Canadian history. In 1763 the Royal Proclamation allowed the Crown to take over First Nations land through treaty.[30] This was followed by the Indian Act in 1876 which removed Aboriginal people from any political decision making process. [31] Thus, the Aboriginal communities that were required to foster language transmission were forcibly dismantled. Furthermore, residential schools that began operating from the 1840's to the 1990's forced younger generations of Aboriginal language speakers to assimilate culturally and speak English.[32] It is forced assimilation that has been largely to blame for Aboriginal language loss in Canada.

Currently, the loss of language is being perpetuated by the adherence of Aboriginal individuals to mainstream English-speaking society. People within Aboriginal language communities are marginalized by the mainstream society and tend to assimilate in order to increase their social mobility.[33] Furthermore, there is a common thread in discourse on the issue that suggests that the political infrastructure currently in place to 'ensure' the maintenance of Aboriginal languages is greatly lacking. Professor Emeritus Verna J. Kirkness from the University

22. Ibid., 12
23. Ibid
24. Ibid., 10
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. Ibid., 18
28. Ibid
29. Ibid., 11
30. First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council. *Report on the Status of BC First Nations Languages*. (2010): 9, http://www.fpcc.ca/files/PDF/2010-report-on-the-status-of-bc-first-nations-languages.pdf.
31. Ibid
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 10.

of British Columbia urges: "Legislation to protect Aboriginal Languages in Canada must become reality now, because the opportunity to save our languages becomes more remote with each passing generation"[34]. It is precisely this lacking political framework that is the basis for this report.

-Why Is Current Policy Inadequate?-

Are the policies that are currently in place for the protection of aboriginal languages sufficient?

Aboriginal languages are not specifically recognized in either the 1867 or 1982 version of the Canadian Constitution, nor elsewhere in the Federal Government's legal framework.[35] In the 1982 *Constitution Act*, section 25 deals specifically with Aboriginal rights:

> *The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada.* [36]

Thus, the extent to which Aboriginal languages are protected under the government is ambiguous. It is necessary to determine whether language may be recognized as a *right or freedom* before determining the sufficiency of policy stated by the constitution. To date, Canada's Aboriginal languages are no more recognized by the government than any other non-official language. [37]

Does the government have programs in place to encourage the maintenance of Aboriginal languages?

There are programs that are funded by the Federal and Provincial Governments directed at protecting Aboriginal languages. The *Languages Initiative* is currently the leading federally funded program of this kind. The main objective of this program is "to support the preservation and revitalization of Aboriginal languages for the benefit of Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians."[38] Some of the means by which the program hopes to attain this objective are: the development of language strategies and plans, provision of language instruction, creation of language courses and programs for teaching, creation of language resource materials by the creation of language records.[39] Similarly, the *BC Languages Initiative* is a provincially funded

34. Verna J. Kirkness, "The Critical State of Aboriginal Languages in Canada" *Canadian Journal of Native Education*; 1998; 22, 1; CBCA Complete, 96.
35. University of Ottawa, "Legal Framework | Site for Language Management in Canada (SLMC) – Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute (OLBI)," Accessed March 14, 2013, http://www.slmc.uottawa.ca/?q=native_legal .
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Canadian Heritage, "Aboriginal Language Initiative, Aboriginal Peoples' Program," Accessed March 15 , 2013, http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1267285112203 .
39. Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, *Aboriginal Languages Initiative Evaluation*, [Consilium], 2003, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/CH34-12-2003E.pdf?.

program that focuses on documentation, immersion programs and community collaboration—among other things—in order to promote the sustainability of Aboriginal languages. [40]

How are these programs lacking?

The majority of the feedback in regards to what these government programs are lacking has been received on the federal level. This feedback has been synthesized into the *Aboriginal Languages Initiative Evaluation Report,* which lists areas of the initiative that are in need of improvement. Primarily, the evaluation states that, although many respondents acknowledge some progress, the allocation of resources must be altered to include Metis and Urban Aboriginals.[41] These groups have reported funding gaps because their constituencies were not included in the initial delivery structure.[42] Likewise, the current over-all level of funding for the program is considered greatly inadequate in respect to the immensity of the objective and it must be increased.[43] Inefficiencies within the conservation efforts themselves were mainly the result of inexperience or lack of capacity at the regional or local level—this includes a lack of awareness or promotional efforts for the projects and a lack of instructional resources such as language archives or education staff. [44]

-What Can Be Done?-

-In respect to Canada's legal framework, what can be changed to encourage the protection of Aboriginal languages? Are there legal grounds for this change?

Pressure should be put on the Canadian government to create a more solid legal framework for the protection of Aboriginal rights; this framework should specifically acknowledge Aboriginal languages as a fundamental right and freedom. The framework for this recommendation has already been established in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Resolution*. Article 14 states that Aboriginal languages should be treated as fundamental rights that the government has an obligation to protect.[45] The Canadian Government endorses the proposition "in a manner fully consistent with Canada's Constitution and laws" and furthermore, it is not considered legally binding.[46] These conditions perpetuate the ambiguity as to whether language may be treated as a fundamental right, as previously mentioned, in section 25 of the *1982 Constitution Act*. The Canadian Government should be required to clearly acknowledge language as a fundamental right in order to be obliged by international law to protect it. (This position is also taken by Dr. Sheryl Lightfoot, who has been outspoken in her criticism of Canada's treatment of UNRIP).

40. First Peoples' Cultural Council. "First Peoples' Cultural Council | B.C. Language Initiative." accessed March 16, 2013, http://www.fpcc.ca/language/Programs/BCLI.aspx.
41. Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, ALI Evaluation
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid
44. Ibid
45. Kirkness, , "The Critical State of Aboriginal Languages in Canada," 99.
46. Indigenous Peoples Issues and Resources. "Indigenous Peoples Issues and Resources," Accessed March 16, 2013, http://indigenouspeoplesissues.com.

What improvements can be made to existing language protection programs?

There are several issues with the Aboriginal Languages Initiative that must be addressed. The most pertinent issues and their corresponding recommendations are listed below. Each recommendation builds on recommendations previously outlined in the *Aboriginal languages Initiative Evaluation Report* and thus, is feasible. [47]

1) *The allocation of funds must be altered to include Metis and Urban Aboriginals*
   a. Funds for language revitalization could be allocated and administered through committees focused on a *specific* language group that could act as jury. This would help to eliminate the gaps in program coverage created by using large political organizations.

2) *Overall funding must be increased in order to support the immensity of the objective*
   a. Multi-Year funding arrangements should be made to enable better planning. To ensure long-term success and growth of the program the need for additional funding is inevitable.

3) Instructional resources should be improved and made more accessible
   a. This would involve the exploration of standardized, easy to use reporting systems for projects in order to improve reporting, and performance tracking. This would allow for the allocation of materials where they are needed most.

47. Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, *ALI Evaluation,*

-How Can Changes Be Realized?-

How might these changes foster the restoration of Canada's Aboriginal languages?

If the government were to introduce legislation that would recognize language as a fundamental right for Aboriginal communities, it would be compelled to protect that right under R*ights of Indigenous Peoples Resolution*. This would result, presumably, in the allocation of federal funds towards the *Aboriginal Languages Initiative* or other programs of the sort. Hence, if the initial recommendations outlined in this report were to be realized, so too would the recommendations for the existing language protection programs. The additional funds would contribute to the development of the program and its objective; including the creation and transmission of resource materials. The promotion of the program will foster the growth of Aboriginal communities in which the maintenance of language becomes more realistic.

What kind of changes would be reasonable to expect?

Small, community level improvements are already being realized as a result of the *Aboriginal Languages Initiative* and other local and provincial initiatives. For example, the *Sto:lo* is an indigenous community in what is now the Fraser River Valley that is rapidly mobilizing in order to preserve their native tongue: Halq'eméylem. As of 2010, out of a total population of roughly 2,094, there were only 5 fluent speakers of Halq'eméylem—all between 70 and 90 years old. [48] The community began utilizing federal funding from the *Aboriginal Languages Initiative* as well as from other provincial and local sources in an effort to preserve the language. [49] [50] These efforts included: the formation of an independently run school which emphasizes Sto:lo language and tradition, the creation of an online language database and the development of textbooks and other teaching materials—among other things. [51] The most recent data (2012) from an *Aboriginal Languages Initiative* review suggests that, although there are no more fluent speakers, 69 are in the process of learning the language and 21 are semi-fluent.[52] This suggests that, perhaps, there is hope for the preservation of Halq'eméylem. Furthermore, it suggests that with proper funding and support, language preservation initiatives may prove successful elsewhere, too.

How does this function in a global context?

Although this report has, thus far, focused on necessary shifts in policy and legislation, the driving principle behind these shifts is part of a larger theme— acknowledgement. Indigenous communities all over the world are losing their languages simply due to the fact that their cultural autonomy is not acknowledged by policy makers nor the public. Some may argue that this is *normal* part of globalization, or some crude form of Social Darwinism. This ideology is problematic due to the simple fact that many of these communities are not letting go of their language or culture willingly. Often times these communities are pinned to the fringes by neglectful governments and social stigma. They are left with little choice but to assimilate. It is

48. First Peoples' Cultural Council. "First Peoples' Cultural Council | B.C. Language Initiative," 29.
49. Ibid.
50. First Peoples' Cultural Council. "Language Needs Assessment: Sto:lo Nation," Accessed March 16, 2013. http://maps.fphlcc.ca/node/618 .
51. First Peoples' Cultural Council. "First Peoples' Cultural Council | B.C. Language Initiative," 30.
52. First Peoples' Cultural Council. "Language Needs Assessment: Sto:lo Nation ."

for this reason that acknowledging these fringe communities is necessary. This must happen on a political level as well at the level of the public. The framework for the former has been discussed to some detail while the latter is largely dependent on the action of the former. The recognition of Aboriginal communities at all levels of society is central to the maintenance of language and tradition. It should be a global obligation to encourage the revitalization of Aboriginal languages and to furthermore celebrate our rich cultural diversity as human beings.

The Haida language is currently extremely endangered. According to the First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council there is currently 32 fluent speakers in total. The statistics also suggest that there has been a large effort to maintain the language in the newest generation; there are currently 442 people learning the language. The majority of them are under 24 years of age. There are signs of hope.

*The photos were taken and edited by Konstantin Prodanovic.

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"...THE MEDIA HAS A SIGNIFICANT NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE PUBLIC'S PERCEPTION OF CRIME THROUGH ITS UNREALISTIC SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF CRIME AND OFFENDERS IN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND TELEVISION SHOWS..."

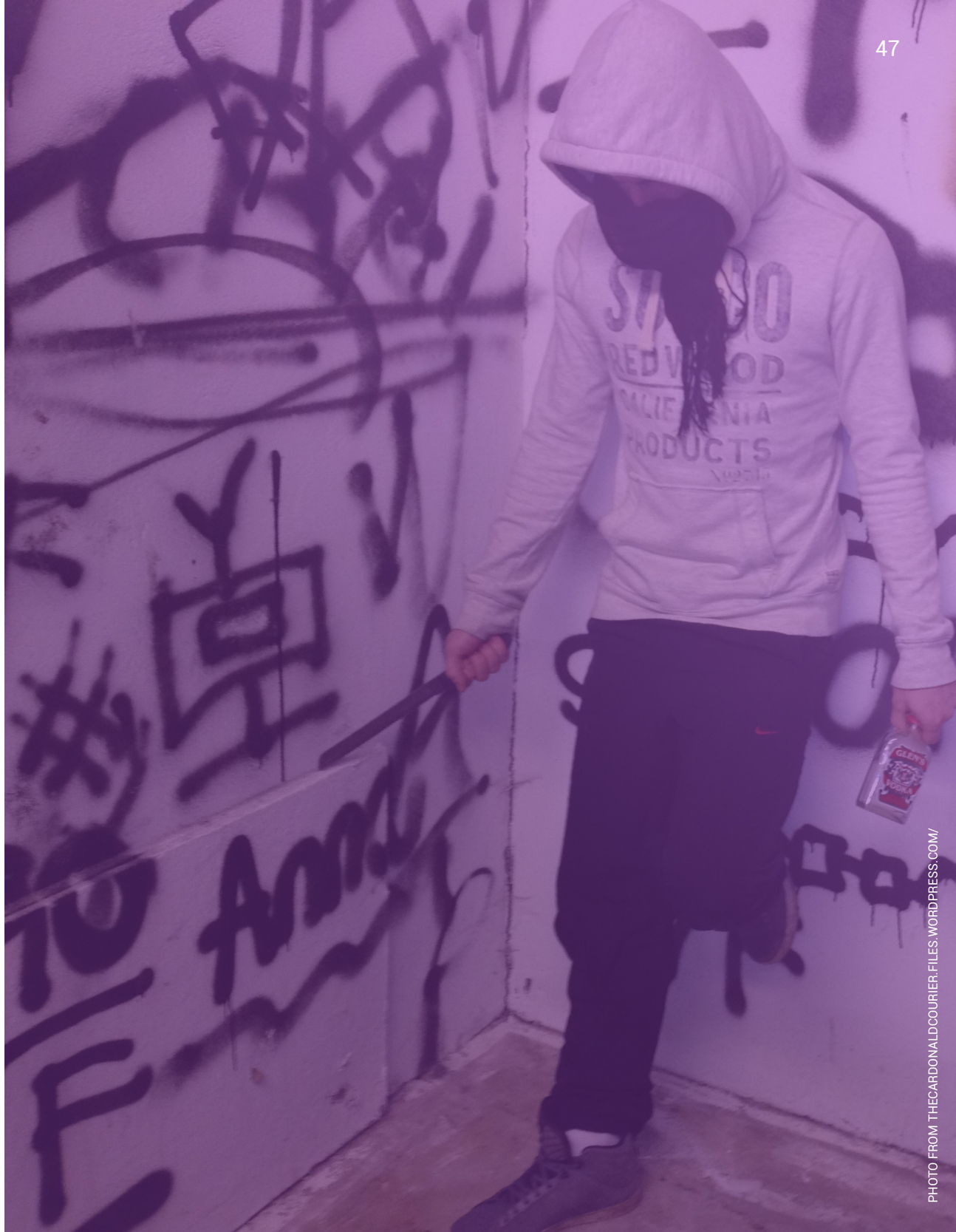

PHOTO FROM THECARDONALDCOURIER.FILES.WORDPRESS.COM/

Written by Lexi Seida
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DEVELOPMENTAL IMMATURITY: THE COMRADE & INSTIGATOR OF ADOLESCENT CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

Abstract: The expansive influence of the mass media has resulted in a distorted portrayal of young offenders. This has facilitated an acceptance of the recent punitive, adult based reform of youth legislation as per Bill C-10. However, Bill C-10 is contradictory to a large body of evidence in support of leniency due to the developmental immaturity of adolescents which may lead to increased participation in risky and criminal behaviour. In addition, developmental immaturity has been associated with increased susceptibility to the negative effects of incarceration through delinquent peer association and modeling. An analysis of the literature on youth susceptibility and the consequences of juvenile incarceration support a return to the paternalistic model of youth justice.

The recent royal assent of the omnibus crime Bill C-10 "The Safe Streets and Communities Act" has severe implications for the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) in Canada. In general, Bill C-10 is seeking a punitive reform on youth legislation which will produce a youth criminal justice system that more closely mirrors the sanctions and processes of the adult criminal justice system. Many of these amendments will increase the likelihood of young offenders receiving sentences of incarceration. The eclipsing mandates of the youth justice system with that of adult justice system ignores the surmounting evidence on the ineffectiveness of deterrence oriented sanctioning and the harmful effects of incarceration on juvenile offenders (Bishop, 2000; Huizinga et. al., 2004; McAra & McVie, 2007; Peterson-Badali et. al., 2011). A large body of multidisciplinary literature supports the finding of developmental immaturity in adolescents, as well as media fostered distortions between true and perceived juvenile delinquency rates (Adams et. al., 2003; Roesch, 2011; Scott & Steinberg, 2008). An analysis of the multifaceted components of developmental immaturity will illustrate the importance of recognizing that the developmental immaturity of young offenders is an instigator of crime and a facilitator of the negative effects of incarceration; thus prompting a serious reconsideration of the implications of punitive sanctioning on young offenders.

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Over the last century, the reform of the youth criminal justice system in Canada has been virtually continuous and has ranged from the paternalistic model in the early 20th century to the retributive model of the present (Roesch, 2011). The John Howard Society of Alberta (2007) noted in their historical analysis of youth legislation in Canada that the direction of youth legislation reform was toward increasing youth rights and supplementary sentencing options. More often than not these alternative perspectives on youth justice ensued in conjunction with major social change that was occurring nationwide. This is represented by the enactment of the Young Offenders Act in 1984 just two years after the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Charter)* was added to the Constitution. Likewise, the present youth legislation (YCJA) was a response to Canada's astounding reliance on youth incarceration and unclear guidelines for youth justice officials (Bala et. al., 2009).

The Youth Criminal Justice System (YCJA) was among the first reforms to youth legislation to uphold their mandate and foster change. The primary incentive of the YCJA was to increase alternatives to youth incarceration, promote the rights of young offenders, and improve guidelines for youth justice officials. An evaluation of the YCJA performed by Bala, Carrington and Roberts in 2009 deemed the YCJA was successful in accomplishing all three of these goals. This is supported by Statistics Canada (2011) which revealed that there has been a general decline in the youth crime rates since 2003. In addition, between 2003 and 2008 there was a decline in the rates of incarcerated youth that was met by an equal increase in alternative sanctions, therefore achieving the desired rise in the use of community based sentencing (Bala et. al., 2009; Statistics Canada, 2011). However, regardless of the success of the YCJA, some Canadians feel that youth sanctions are too lenient and the youth justice system requires a punitive reform.

Much of the discrepancy between real youth crime statistics and the perception of the public is fueled by the media's distorted arrangement of news. Often, the media's presentation of criminals and crime is contradictory to what realistically occurs (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007). Violent crime and violent offenders are significantly overrepresented in media, which is primarily due to their entertainment value (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007). In addition, youth crime is disproportionately recorded in media events and is often depicted as senseless, random, and out of control (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Wegs, 1999). Research by Dowler (2003) reinforces previous literature associations between the media's presentation of crime and increased fear. Therefore, the media has a significant negative impact on the public's perception of crime through its unrealistic social construction of crime and offenders in newspaper articles, public statements and television shows. In addition, Dowler (2003) found that fear was especially elevated during repeated recordings of local criminal activity. In light of this research it may be appropriate to assume that the one year spike in youth violent crime in 2008-2009 noted by Statistics Canada (2012) may have sparked public fear which led to an outcry for more punitive sanctions irrespective of the YCJA's success.

This discrepancy between true and perceived crime rates by the public may also be a result of public ignorance of the criminal justice system and law. At the heart of the criminal justice process is proportionality, which refers to the notion that the punishment must fit the crime (Scott & Steinberg, 2008). The progressive development of proportionality would later include

the understanding that the punishment must also fit the offender. Under special circumstances some offenders are afforded less culpability than others. For example, those found Not Criminally Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder. The degree of accountability is further acknowledged by legislations that limit the prosecution of children under the age of twelve. Prior to Bill C-10, adolescent offenders fell intermediate between child and adult offenders on the scale of culpability as they do on the scale of developmental maturity.

Developmental immaturity is premised in findings of an underdeveloped prefrontal cortex and a lack of executive functioning in adolescents (Spear, 2000). However, increased application of developmental models in understanding the multiple life-course trajectories of adolescence have expanded the definition of developmental immaturity to include the behaviours and social consequences that have resulted from gradual psychosocial development. An evaluation of some components of developmental immaturity, including impulsivity, increased sensation seeking, cognitive and perceptual biases and diminished responsibility, will emphasize how adolescent's developmental immaturity also increases their susceptibility to come into contact with the criminal justice system in the first place.

Increased impulsivity and thrill seeking behaviour are key characteristics of adolescence that have been linked to neurochemical and anatomical differences in the adolescent brain. Adolescents are overrepresented in most forms of reckless behaviour ranging from irresponsible driving and unsafe sexual activities to substance abuse and juvenile delinquency (Roesch, 2011; Steinberg, 2007; Arnet, 1995). Interestingly, this increased sensation seeking behaviour has been observed in many mammalian species suggesting a neurobiological basis for these changes in adolescence (Spear, 2000). The prefrontal cortex's over-activation of the dopamine system in combination with limbic system changes in the amygdala and hippocampus have significant associations with adolescents reduced sensitivity to sensations (Spear, 2000). Commanding instances include adolescents reduced sensitivity to psychomotor stimulants in comparisons with adults (Spear, 2000). This reduction of sensitivity has been related to symptoms of anhedonia which have implications for adolescent's increased motivation to engage in risky behaviours in order to achieve a normal balance of stimulation (Spear, 2000).

In addition to increased sensation seeking behaviour, adolescents have additional law restrictions known as status offences which put them at a greater risk of being charged with a criminal offence. These behaviours include but are not limited to: truancy violations, zero tolerance for substance abuse, and nightly curfews. Although Canadian statistics do not separate youth charges on the basis of status and non-status offences, in 2004 the American Bar Association Center for Children and Law revealed that status offenses made up approximately 18 percent of all youth arrests. Hence, adolescents are not only biologically predisposed to participate in restricted behaviours, but also have additional restrictions placed upon them that can have severe implications on their future.

Adolescents also have cognitive and perceptual biases that may increase their willingness to impulsively participate in risky and criminalized behaviours. Adolescent's underdeveloped prefrontal cortex hinders their ability to engage in proper executive functioning which

includes the regulation, control and management of cognitive processes such as organization, planning and emotions (Steinberg, 2007). Inadequate executive functioning, that results in spontaneous decision making, can be used to investigate why youth engage in known criminal activities. Explanations given by adolescents for their participation in dangerous activities lacked appropriate risk versus rewards calculations and were often based on curiosity and autonomy (Arnett, 1995). Adolescents undergo a more hedonistic risk/rewards ratio calculation due to elevated emotional arousal, egocentricism, and an increased reward salience (Arnett, 1995; Steinberg, 2007). In essence, youth tend to perform emotionally intoxicated and hasty calculations in which they are less inclined to perceive potential negative consequences for themselves than others. Thus, they are prone to make irrational and hazardous choices that carry with them a diminished sense of responsibility.

Adolescents' diminished sense of responsibility is directly related to their increased vulnerability to peer influence, both positive and negative. Between a child's parental dependence and adult autonomy is the stage of increased interaction and reliance on one's peers. Peer rejection is one of the strongest risk factors for future criminal behaviour (Piquero, 2011). However, an adolescent's desire for peer acceptance can also lead to criminal action. Higher status is often afforded to adolescents who participate in risky or criminal behaviours, and this is increasingly true in delinquent peer groups (Piquero, 2011; Steinberg, 2007). Research by Monohan, Steinberg, and Cauffman (2009) supports the finding that delinquent peer associations have a positive relationship with criminal behaviour. In addition, inquiries into youth criminal behaviour discovered that youth are more likely to offend in groups (Piquero, 2011). This provides strong evidence that youth are not only predisposed to search for and participate in risky and potentially criminal behaviour, but are also greatly influenced by their peers who are likely searching for the same elevated stimulation. Under such circumstances it is easy to see how peers may guide each other in the wrong direction, even if unintentionally or temporarily.

The previous research supports that adolescence is a period of transience which is an important factor when considering the appropriate sanctioning of juvenile offenders. Naturally, environmental influences such as family dynamics and social economic status play a large role in increasing or decreasing the possibility of criminal behaviour. However, it is important that justice officials recognize that the components of developmental immaturity, such as increased thrill seeking behaviour and impulsivity, lack of future orientation, and increased susceptibility to peer influence, are normal characteristics of adolescence that will be grown out of in the majority of cases (Spear, 2000). Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development contends that a coherent self does not become apparent until late adolescence/early adulthood and in order to fully develop the self an individual must go through stages of role experimentation in adolescence (Kemph, 2006). This role experimentation is consistent with spikes in crime rates and elevated substance use in adolescence age 16-17 (Scott & Steinberg, 2008). Furthermore, Terry Moffit (1993) has played a substantial role in establishing that the majority of crimes committed by juvenile offenders are adolescent limited. In general, while crime rates spike during adolescence they drop rapidly in early adulthood as most young offenders establish their independence and begin to live prosocial lives (Moffit, 1993). Therefore, it is important to differentiate between normal and abnormal adolescent behavioural experimentation in the context of this transitory stage when considering

proper punishment for youth offences.

Cries for increasingly punitive youth legislative reform are backed by media distorted portrayals of horrendous juvenile crimes followed by concern over leniencies link to increase recidivism and revictimization. Current controversy surrounding the early parole eligibility of the two teen murderers of Kimberly Proctor exemplifies the punitive mentality following such a horrific crime. Realistically, there will always be extreme offenders, both juvenile and adult, whereby institutionalization will be the most beneficial or imperative for the safety of the people. However, a massive punitive amendment to juvenile legislation also encapsulates the majority of young offenders who have committed minor nonviolent offences and are fully capable of rehabilitation. Additionally, the future implications and consequences of a retributive stance on the incarceration of adolescents will be most ineffective and debilitating for the gross majority of juvenile offenders (Bishop, 2000; Roberts, 2004).

Further explanation for increased punitive sanctioning relies on the classical ideology of deterrence. This model is dependent on the rational hedonistic calculus whereby the proportionality of the punishment outweighs the benefits of committing the crime and examples must be made of those who break the law. Adult sanctions are heavily oriented towards both specific and general deterrence and the punitive stance of Bill C-10 seeks to extend this mandate to youth sanctioning. However, recent literature is increasingly skeptical of the effectiveness of deterrence as a whole, let alone for impulsive, and egotistical adolescents who lack future orientation. Peterson-Badali, Ruck, and Koegl's (2001) investigation into youth's perceptions found that a significant percentage of youth did not feel deterred by their punishments of incarceration. Furthermore, less than a quarter of delinquent youth felt that their punishment would facilitate general deterrence from their peers (Peterson-Badali et al., 2001). A lack of evidence for the effectiveness of deterrence based youth sanctioning indicates that a serious reconsideration of the punitive restructuring of the youth justice system needs to be made in light of the negative effects of incarceration.

Negative labeling of juvenile delinquents has more severe consequences due to adolescent's underdeveloped self. As contended previously, the developmental immaturity of youth is epitomized by the underdevelopment of the self; biologically, socially and psychologically. From the psychological standpoint an adolescent hasn't fully formed an identity, and any negative labeling that occurs as result of incarceration has the potential to be internalized and can perpetuate a self-fulfilling prophecy (Kemph, 2006). Adams, Robertson, Gray-Ray, and Ray (2003) found a positive correlation in their analysis of the relationship between negative labels and delinquency. However, what was even more interesting was that this positive relationship was mediated by the severity of the negative labels; with more severe negative labels increasing the chances of more severe delinquent acts (Adams, et. al., 2003).

Of equal concern are the effects that the negative stigmatization of young offenders can have on their future employment and relationships. Some young offenders must carry the label and stigmatization of being a "criminal" around with them for the rest of their lives. This can severely limit future employment and school prospects as well as have a negative

effect on relationship development. Secure employment and relationships are two of the biggest factors associated with lessening the risk of recidivism (Piquero, 2011). Therefore, the negative stigmatization of young offenders not only has the potential to limit prosocial future opportunities, but also limits preventative factors in recidivism. Moreover, young offenders are increasingly vulnerable to media perception and stigmatization due to their entertainment value (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007). Previously, this was mediated by a youth publication ban; however, the onset of Bill C-10 will remove this and allow for the publication of youth names in the media. The negative implications of this punitive stance on youth reform are vast and will severely increase the stigmatization of youth.

Youth vulnerability is also a predominate concern within institutional settings, especially considering their exposure to negative peer influences. Bearing in mind the pronounced influence that peers can have on adolescents while in the community, consider the negative impact that criminally inclined peers can have on offenders incarcerated for minor offences. Unlike the original YCJA mandate in which incarceration was only used as a last resort, the increased reliance on adult-like sanctions on young offenders by Bill C-10 will increase the mixture of youth convicted on a variety of sentences. It has been proposed that socialization and modeling begin to take over peer influence towards the tail end of adolescence (Monohan et. al., 2009). Whereby, according to Edward Sutherland's Differential Association Theory, adolescents are not only more inclined to model behaviour, but internalize criminal attitudes and defenses (Tittle et al., 1986). Older adolescents are also more likely to receive adult-like sanctions such as incarceration and thus, are more likely to be influenced by their criminal peers when institutionalized on a character level (Monahan, 2009). In addition, adult based sanctions have been shown to increase chances of recidivism amongst young offenders; especially when they are incarcerated in the same facilities as adult offenders (Peterson-Badali et al., 2001). Multiple explanations for this finding include unsuccessful deterrence, ineffective programs in adult prisons, institutionalization, and criminalization through older offenders modeling (Person-Badali et al., 2001). Therefore, it is crucial that the benefits of incarceration are carefully weighed against the costs of prospective criminal behaviour.

A critical analysis of the effects of incarceration of juvenile offenders can help to establish a cost/benefit ratio. Fortunately, Huizinga, Schumann, Ehret and Elliot (2004) compared the effects of incarceration on juvenile offenders in a conservative and punitive based American system with that of a more lenient European system. In both locations Huizinga et al (2004) discovered that regardless of the type of system, incarceration of youth had either no effect at all or negative future implications, with their being more pronounced negative effects on younger offenders. Research by McAra and McVie (2007) applied this research to a Scottish institution and concluded that the best approach to handling delinquent youth was minimum incarceration and maximum treatment. This international knowledge supports that harsher sentences are no more effective than lenient ones. Therefore, incarceration needs to be reserved for violent offenders who pose a risk to the safety of the public.

Canada's recent punitive reform on the YCJA, as expedited by the conservative stance of Bill C-10, is contradictory to a large body of knowledge and research. Furthermore, it goes

against a 100 year old tradition of affording delinquent youth more lenient sentencing due to their increased potential for reform and rehabilitation. It is ironic that what was acknowledged 100 years ago finally has scientific backing today, but is still being retracted from legislation. Socially, adolescence is often portrayed as a period of transition; unfortunately, this attribution is not extended to adolescent criminal behaviour. Adolescents are faced with multiple facets of developmental immaturity and additional age-related restrictions which facilitate their contact with the criminal justice system. Once within the system, the developmental immaturity of young offenders further antagonizes the negative effects of punitive sanctioning. The implications of the current criminal justice system are irrational and will likely have a negative impact on youth recidivism and rehabilitation. Declines in youth crime and incarceration rates provide evidence for the success of the YCJA. Therefore, the reform logically does not need to be made to the legislation, but to society's perceptions and understanding of the criminal justice system.

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SUPPORTING SURVIVABILITY: THE ABSENCE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR LIVES ASSISTED BY NEW MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY

Abstract: We live in a time when technological advancements in North American medicine are capable of saving premature and disabled babies at birth and assisting children with diseases, chronic illnesses and disabilities to live longer than ever before. However, it is families that must fill gaps of care and create support systems in an attempt to manage needs no longer fulfilled by social and health care programming. The inability of social support to maintain pace with the needs of a growing number of chronic conditions that can now be overcome by medical technology is an issue of today – right now – that will require active and widespread intervention into society's perception of disability and chronic illness in order to shift the focus of health care policy to include a more comprehensive picture of wellbeing, beyond simply surviving.

In 1927, in an article entitled *Saving the Babies*, George Vincent stated that "if the necessary scientific knowledge is available" and "if an administrative organization of the proper type has been set up", then "activities as experience has proved to be effective" need to be put in place to "result in a decreasing rate of sickness and death" (1927:200). In the 90 years since Vincent wrote that article, considerable research and funding has been put into the practice of "saving the babies", sometimes even prior to birth. The influence of medical technology in areas such as prenatal testing has changed our understanding of disease, chronic illness, disability and created ethical questions that previously did not exist. Additionally, medical advancements have enabled the survival of preterm babies and offer neonatal interventions to address issues that arrive after birth. Survival however, is not enough. Emerging procedures to save lives have increased the demand for contemporary medical care to involve a variety of fields in order to meet the ongoing, long term needs of those affected and their families. The impact of chronic health conditions and disabilities on family members and other social relationships, although increasingly researched and understood, has not necessarily been met with solutions or greater economic and societal supports.

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In a time when technological advancements in medicine are capable of saving premature and disabled babies at and prior to birth, we see social services, and specifically health care, failing to match the increasing demand to provide support for these individuals and their families. The variance of medical, social, and personal perceptions of the livability of disability and disease result in a disparity of priority within medical interventions and social policy to provide extra familial care to families of children with chronic conditions. Areas of need for children with chronic conditions are misrepresented by the misconception that they are a burden to the family rather than the actual burden of the inaccessibility of appropriate support. With medical technology advancing the life course of children with illness or disability, families must fill the gaps of care and create support systems in an attempt to meet the needs no longer fulfilled by social and health care programming.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Considerable research has been conducted into areas of concern regarding children with chronic conditions of disability and disease. Within the research of prenatal testing, genetic counselling, and neonatal care there is a wide variation in outlooks as to the legal and ethical issues that face families and medical practitioners when saving a child. Similarly, within the research and data collection regarding views of caregivers and families experiencing the life of the child, there are differences in opinion as to what constitutes effective care and optimum outcomes.

In their research around prenatal testing and women's attitudes towards disabilities, Press et al. (1998) discovered the impact of information being presented by the medical community was the most significant factor, greater than ethnicity, religious beliefs or social class, when it came to the decisions to continue or terminate a pregnancy (49). This highlights that the attitudes and perceived expertise of the medical community strongly influences families. Rapp and Ginsburg (2001), explain that "most pregnant women and their supporters are concerned not with perfection, but seek basic health and 'normalcy,'" (543). The 'normalcy' referred to is not necessarily a neuro-typical or non-disabled baby, but the readiness of some women to accept disabling conditions in their child "if they could manage it practically and if the child could enjoy life" (543). As researched by Bosk, when families seek prenatal testing, or are recommended to do so by their physician, there arises a need to have a source to interpret the resulting data. The field of genetic counseling arose to assist families to understand this information and to create a plan to move forward.

Advances in the ability of the health care system to save previously non-viable babies include some which were developed early in the 1900s like incubators, and others which are more recent such as various forms of artificial respiration, fetal and neonatal surgery, and the types of monitoring systems that have arisen with computerized technologies (Whitfield et al. 2004:255). The decision to continue or terminate care for a critically ill or disabled newborn is discussed by Cecilia Wells (1998) as she relays her findings of parents' experiences in the process. A parent of a child who was born at 24 and a half weeks, weighing only 800 grams, and who subsequently died at five months, struggled with having physicians and lawyers conduct the

decisions of medical interventions. The father stated that he and his wife "believe there is a moral and ethical problem…in a system which allows complicated decisions of this nature to be made unilaterally by people who do not have to live with the consequences of their decisions" (327). The father expressed a concern about the ethicality of the intervention and the use of "the latest experimental technology to salvage such a high-risk child and then to hand him over to the life-long care of someone else" (327).

The long-term realities for families of children for whom medical interventions were implemented at the neonatal stage include physical, psychological and intellectual differences and "such problems are likely to impact on developmental progress" (Salt and Redshaw 2006:189). There can be marked differences between the opinions of families and healthcare professionals regarding the long-term outcomes of the decisions made at the time of a child's birth, as Saigal et al. (1999) reported. Generally speaking, youth who were low-birth weight and their families considered lower health states to be more desirable than health-care providers (1991). The emotionality at the time of birth and the long-term perspective impacts the actions and reactions of families and healthcare providers.

There is a limit, financially, psychologically and physically to a nuclear family's capacity to provide proper care for their children. The realities of raising a child with a chronic condition "[require] different and expanded resources than can be provided by most kin groups without additional forms of support" (Rapp and Ginsburg 2001:540). Sloper and Beresford (2006) point out the critical importance of "strong multiagency….services for disabled children" (929) as being key for families with individuals with disabilities. As well, Nuutila and Salanterä (2006) report that "information and support were needed continuously as a child grew up and his or her care presented new challenges" (157).

Continuity of care was investigated by Miller et al. (2009), and revealed the importance of comprehensive and continuous care throughout a child's condition. It was found that "[a] thorough knowledge of the child on the part of service providers" was valued by parents as incorporating more effective care and further that "such knowledge was underpinned by continuity of personal relationships" and documentation that follows the child throughout care (1). Without a unified understanding of the needs of raising a child with a chronic condition, the efforts of healthcare and other social services remain disjointed from the practicalities and realities faced by families.

PRENATAL TESTING

Prenatal testing, a form of medical intervention created through increased scientific knowledge, and genetic counselling both create new opportunities for families to access information that previously had only been available once a child was born. Bosk (1992) states that "prenatal testing has become part of standard obstetrical care for designed categories of expectant mothers" (25). The "designed categories" Bosk refers to have traditionally been women over 35, who had a greater risk for having a child with disabilities such as Down's syndrome, or women

who had a family history or other risk factor for certain genetic diseases, like cystic fibrosis (38). More recently, prenatal testing has increased due to technological advancements for "the prenatal detection of birth defects and other developmental disabilities" (Press et al. 1998:46). Along with the increased accessibility of genetic testing, children with disabilities have recently become more visible and integrated into society, allowing prospective parents to more easily confront the possibility of disabilities in their future children. The development of the maternal serum alpha fetoprotein screening test (MSAFP) changed the landscape of prenatal testing to include women under 35 who were not considered at risk of having a disabled child (Press et al 1998: 47). Although the MSAFP test is a simple blood test, the moral and ethical implications of the results are not as simple. If the test is positive for some form of disability, the choices left to parents are to undergo abortion or to continue the pregnancy with the knowledge that they will bear a disabled child (48). Press et al. (1998) discovered that when women were asked their views on disabled people in general, their views were positive and often romanticized. When the question changed to ask how they would personally deal with information that they were carrying a child with one of those same disabilities, their opinions and tone changed dramatically "from casual and upbeat to emotionally charged, frightened and negative" (51). The concept of disabilities and the reality for prospective parents is significantly different and can cause a complication in their decision of how to respond to their test results. In order to assist women and families with this decision, genetic counselling has become a prominent player in the experience of those planning to have families.

INVESTIGATING 'NORMALCY' THROUGH GENETIC COUNSELLING

Genetic counselling is designed to guide families through making informed choices prior to and after prenatal testing, including the interpretation of results from those tests. The act of diagnosis by genetic counselors significantly impacts decisions that families make about whether or not to become pregnant and also whether to continue with a pregnancy. Women and families are fearful at this time due to the range of results that can arise from testing, including the potential diagnosis of "stigmatizing conditions…whose consequences they could only imagine" (Rapp and Ginsberg 2001:543). People who do not interact with individuals with disease, chronic illness or disability in their family or social circles are more likely to lack a clear understanding of what the life of a disabled person and their family might encompass. This disjoint highlights the "gap [that] exists between the medical diagnosis of a fetal anomaly and social knowledge about life with a child who bears that condition" (Rapp and Ginsberg 2001:543), which has the power to intensify the anxiety of having a child with a disorder.

Standing in the middle of the disparity between diagnosis and perception is the genetic counselor, mediating the effect of presumptions that are brought into the clinical interaction. The genetic counsellor is a prominent figure in parents' decisions for the future of their family, including whether to abort a fetus. When discussing the results of tests or the probability of having a baby with a disability, counsellors put emphasis on "genetics as a science, rather than on counseling as a relational process" (Bosk 1992:31). This approach however does not align with the emotional needs of the patients with whom genetic counsellors work. The choice to terminate

a pregnancy or embark on a pregnancy with high risks involves many considerations beyond 'science'. This emotionality puts an increased reliance on the knowledge shared by counsellors, especially when given a diagnosis of a disabled child.

ISSUES IN THE PRETERM

Medical technology has emerged to include interventions within the time of prenatal development of a child. Quickly gaining momentum in the clinical setting is the procedure of fetal surgery, in which unborn babies can be diagnosed and given surgical treatment while still inside the uterus. Fetal surgery has advanced the earliest point at which a human can receive medical treatment, however "knowledge on the long-term outcome after fetal therapy is scarce" (Walther 2011:1). The procedure is understood as within a "commitment" to the birth of healthier babies, despite the issues of mortality and morbidity that have arisen (Casper 1998:204). In a small sample of children who had undergone intrauterine transfusions through fetal surgery, 11% presented neurodevelopmental delays in their first thirteen years (De Jong et al. 2012:3). Intervention at this point of fetal development is based on immediate and focused needs of the fetus and does not easily incorporate the consideration of the lifespan of the child. At this stage, the fetus does not "challenge clinicians socially" in the same way as a born patient (Casper 1998:214) and therefore decisions are largely exempt from the social considerations of financial burdens or long-term health effects. In the case of fetal surgery the physicians are driven more by a "determination to meet every problem with a solution" (Casper 1998:395) than by an understanding of what problems may result in the future.

Another area of some of the earliest medical interventions is in the survival of preterm babies, a group of children at high risk to be born with or to develop chronic conditions. Recent advances in neonatal care have allowed for the saving of infants so preterm, they would have previously been considered non-viable. The challenge for these survival stories is that neonatal advancements have "merely exacerbated the problem of 'marginal children'" (Wells 1998:325), those who are born with circumstances such as cognitive impairment and respiratory abnormalities that require above average support. Prior to these medical advances, "two out of five premature babies might have survived, one intact and one marginal, now five could survive, three intact and two marginal" (Wells 1998:325).

NEONATAL CARE

Medical advancement allows an increased infant survival rate beyond the critical neonatal stage, but also results in a greater number of babies born with chronic conditions, challenging the preparedness of families to provide suitable care over the long term. The defining of livability of a child has challenged families, the medical and legal professions, and society as a whole when considering what is in the best interest of the family. In this negotiation, the argument surfaces if "some lives [are] destined to be so unthinkably painful, technology-dependent, or purposeless that efforts should not be made to save them" (Wells 1998:325). This inconsistency in notions

of livability is complicated further because there are many children who present seemingly insurmountable health challenges and grow to live long and healthy lives. The decision therefore of which lives to save is one with serious but unknowable consequences that science cannot always mitigate.

Parents are only a portion of the circle of care that must consider the morals of providing life sustaining treatment for a child at risk of future health concerns (Aladangady 2012:71). As Wells (1998) explains, decisions to provide treatment are often made by professionals based on the potential for "a meaningful life" (326). The calculation of this life, however, cannot at this point fully incorporate the level of specialized care that will be required to support the individual and family, or their projected experience of this care.

CONSIDERING LONG TERM OUTCOMES

In the moment of decision making, it is difficult to consider what the functioning levels of children will be long-term. Studies done on extremely low birth weight babies (ELBW), found that "52% of 4 year old ELBW children were functioning normally, but at 8 years this had reduced to only 31%, and, while 31% were functioning one year below their peers at 4 years, this increased to 53% by 8 years of age" (Salt and Redshaw 2006:186). As revealed in this data, long-term health problems following preterm or neonatal medical interventions tend to worsen with time, rather than improve. The consideration of these long-term effects shape different players' ideas of the livability of various health states. Saigal et al. (1999) asked healthcare professionals to consider hypothetical scenarios and give a score to what they believed to be the 'best' health outcome for the infant. When asked the same question, parents of ELBW babies and adolescents who had been ELBW, held different perspectives than the health care professionals on what constituted an acceptable or desirable health state (1991). Certain health care states, where a person would require constant and long-term care, were considered "worse than death" by 64% of health care providers, 50% of ELBW youth and 45% of parents (1995). The fact that health care professionals and families upheld a disparity of views, and families shared more similar views to each other, is important research to be considered. This type of information provides insight to the values of those involved when judgments and decisions are being made regarding courses of treatments in neonatal care units.

For families faced with decision making either after prenatal testing or at a crisis point after delivery, a doubt surfaces of their ability to care for their child and of the availability of financial and social support required to supplement the increased need of a child with disability or chronic illness (Rapp and Ginsburg 2001:542). Neonatal care is increasingly covered by health insurance, but coverage for care of children with disabilities and illnesses in the long term is not as consistently available. In the United States, for instance, "most home-based personal assistance—a need estimated at 21 billion hours yearly—goes unpaid by public funds" (Rapp and Ginsburg 2001:551). The reality is that care for people in less optimal health states, including those who have been kept alive by contemporary medical advancements, falls to families.

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RAISING A CHILD WITH A CHRONIC CONDITION

The cost of raising a child with a disability, for instance, has been shown to be as much as three times higher than for a non-disabled child (Sloper and Beresford 2006:928). This inequity is often heightened by the compromising of one or both of the parents' ability to earn an income due to the time away from work that is required to provide hands on care and attend ongoing appointments for their child. This results in "around 55% of families of disabled children [living] in poverty [and] described as 'the poorest of the poor'" (Sloper and Beresford 2006:928). Other factors influencing the lowered well-being of parents of children with chronic conditions include the family's overall economic situation, the level of social support, issues around sleep and behaviour, and how the parents are able to manage the child's needs. Additional challenges are present in locating appropriate housing, accessible leisure activities and transportation, as well as accessing necessary equipment (Sloper and Beresford 2006:928). In the area of children with chronic conditions "the tasks of caretaking [continue] to be naturalized in the domain of unpaid domestic labor" (Rapp and Ginsburg 2001:552). As healthcare technology continues to increase survival rates of high risk groups such as preterm babies and infants with genetic disease, pressure is placed on society's support resources but the onus continues to fall on family.

Caregiving can be physically and emotionally exhausting and it is often difficult to secure and fund appropriate respite care. This is especially true of families with children with highly complex health care requirements or disabilities like autism spectrum disorder in which challenging behaviours can be part of the expression of the disability (Sloper and Beresford 2006:929). It is critical that families receive supports not only for their benefit as individuals, but also to change the perception of the public regarding people with chronic disorders and create greater understanding of the lives of people who care for them.

EXPERT PARENTS

With parents and families as primary caregivers of children affected by compromised health and disabilities, it stands to reason that the caregivers become increasingly specialized in the area of health that affects their child. This can include caregivers of children who are technologically dependent, meaning they require ventilation, dialysis or intravenous drug therapies to survive and therefore these technologies are more frequently utilized in their homes (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:625). Technological reliance creates a unique situation whereby family members now carry out procedures that were previously only performed in hospitals and by medical professionals. The shift of activities that the child's life depends on, into the home "moves and blurs the boundaries between lay and professional roles" (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:625). The transition of specialized care away from the clinical setting enhances the stresses and financial concerns of the caregiver of a child with chronic illness or disability. Respite care becomes more challenging when it is necessary to have a substitute caregiver administer medications intravenously, or be responsible for monitoring dialysis. In addition to procedural challenges, the physical presence of medical equipment in a home changes the dynamics of the environment. Families with technologically dependent children find that they also have issues in

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attaining support and that the available services are "fragmented and poorly coordinated" (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:626). An inaccessibility of support results in unmet needs beyond those of the children and parents, but also of other family members, including siblings of the children with chronic illnesses or disabilities.

Parents of technologically dependent children have expert knowledge gained from training that is provided to them to perform the tasks necessary to maintain the health of their affected child. Parents gain further knowledge from the activity and experience of providing that care. Families of children with rare genetic disorders also acquire "expert" knowledge through necessity. Professionals find that expert parents create a very different working relationship and "transform the nature of the parent-professional relationship" (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:628) to one in which the parents, rather than the physicians, are equip to suggest the most appropriate care plan.

With a shift to more family based services, it is important that professionals acknowledge this expertise and develop a strong partnership with the primary care givers. This is especially critical given the needs of families who have outgrown the capacity of social and health care services. Health care professionals must work to empower parents by providing them with information as well as emotional support and smooth the process to receiving whatever practical, hands-on equipment and training that is available and necessary (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:630). The working relationship between medical professionals and families means that "the input of parents is sought, respected and used in service planning and provision" (Farrell et al. 2004:246). It is equally important that professionals provide care in a way that is meaningful to the families. One feature that brings about parents' appreciation for interactions with medical professionals is when it is apparent that the child has value in the eyes of the health care provider. This allows parents to experience their child being "met as a person, who has hope for the future and who is seen as worthy of help" (Lindblad et al. 2005:292). The absence of acknowledgment of a child's value only exacerbates the anguish undergone by families without sufficient support.

CONTINUITY OF CARE

The realities of caring for a family member with a disability are complex and ongoing. The transitions of care from one set of age-focused care, like preschool to school-age or from school-age to adult services, are found to be inconsistent and poorly designed (Farrell et al. 2004:246). Especially when parents are so actively educated about the particular condition, these transitions create stress to families and the affected person. More efficient and comprehensive support would generate "a sense that the various elements of their health care services are connected over time and place" known as "continuity or coordination of care" (Miller et al. 2009:2). Miller et al. (2009) highlight the three main components to the concept of continuity of care as relational, informational and management continuity (2). Relational continuity is the relationship between the patient, the family and their health care providers. From a caregiver's perspective, this is often the most critical link because the parents must frequently make judgments on behalf of their child. Informational continuity ensures that "information from prior

events and circumstances" (2) is taken into account when making decisions regarding current and future care (2). Management continuity can be the most challenging as it requires that services are provided across a range of "organizational…boundaries" (2) by a variety of care providers. This requires the "use and consistent implementation of care plans" (2), often requiring family members to be an integral part of this aspect of care. A significant problem discovered by Miller et al. is that institutions are at the centre of the design of service models, rather than families (9). This highlights further the issue of services not maintaining pace with the needs of children with health states that are outside the 'average' or typical range.

For health care providers to adequately and effectively fulfill their roles, it is important that they have a comprehensive understanding of what the life of the patient and their families are, and how they experience the illness, disability or disease. At the initial time of diagnosis, a family may feel "shock, disbelief, guilt, anger, and powerlessness" (Nuutila and Salantera 2006:154). These emotions often expand to insecurity as they learn about the qualities of the level of care required, and the child's illness becomes the central focus of the whole family (Nuutila and Salantera 2006:154). Planning for an uncertain future makes it challenging for parents to live in anything but the present. The need to monitor and address one family member's often unpredictable needs while maintaining a household can lead to feelings of helplessness, especially when support is not available from healthcare providers and other social services.

THE AUTHORITY OF PERCEPTION

Many families push back against the image of a person with a chronic illness or disability as burdensome. This image, often projected by social policies, health care systems and others, is created by the portrayal of a burden to care for the child, followed by "the ability of those non-disabled family members able to cope with that burden" being celebrated (Mclaughlin 2012:402). The portrayal of disability as a tragedy and something to be avoided perpetuates the negative perceptions of the experience that people in the disability movement have worked to eradicate. It has been shown that children feel more directly impacted by how they are viewed and treated by other members of society than by the effects of their disability (Farrell et al. 2004:249).

The idea that the family is burdened and struggles to meet the needs of the affected individual implies that the 'family' is one unit and the affected family member is another. In actuality, what families feel is burdensome "is the battles with social services and health care providers to receive adequate and appropriate care provision" (Mclaughlin 2012:404). A great deal of that burden arises from the scrutiny and subjectivity that surrounds the awarding of funding for care. In addition, when seeking support for their child, families are confronted with criteria of demonstrating particular diagnostic definitions, leading to systemic distance between them and the accessibility of support. In Europe, for instance, there is a move toward a system in which services are not easily accessible but instead require families to prove significant financial need within a specific, limited criteria before support is provided (Mclaughlin 2012:404). If conditionality has become the norm for a public policy, and seeking care is what that families actually find burdensome, then research and pressure needs to be put on those public policy

agendas to change.

Families with children with disabilities and chronic illness are aware that there are differences in their family situations and experiences from those of families who have non-disabled family members. Ultimately, though, these families would prefer not to be under a pressure that is created by "medical advice and guidance on how to raise perfect children" (Mclaughlin 2012:406). The continual perpetuation of the concept of a 'normal child' heightens the widespread construction of parents and their children with a disability or chronic illness as "failures" (Mclaughlin 2012:406). The notion that a disabled or chronically ill child will not contribute to society places an additional strain on the family and the affected family member. Social constructs that emphasize the idea that having a child with a chronic condition is a type of defeat must be changed to better confront these families' needs in medical and social contexts.

IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED RESEARCH

A significant impact on societal views could be achieved through continued research into programs, their effectiveness and their value in the lives of people with health states requiring more than average support. One caveat to researchers would be to ensure that research resists presumptions when defining family as "the caring networks around disability are rarely contained by household or by family as equating to biological relations" (Mclaughlin 2012:402). This is a consequence of necessity wherein large circles of care are usually required to fill in the gaps left open by a lack of social services and health care.

Without question, "definitional, conceptual and measurement issues have hampered research and quality improvement initiatives" thus far (Miller et al. 2009:2). Research is needed to define clearly what social services and health care initiatives are in place at the present time. Investigation into which of these programs are effective, which are overlapping others, and how people utilize and view the programs will help to focus the priorities of these programs in the future. Research has the potential to inform the implementation of support programs and ensure "operating funds are used in the most rational, responsible and fair way" (Miller and Zwaigenbaum 2001:1705). Canadian government agencies presently provide funding for programs and research, but additional monies are needed to ensure that policy decisions are made based on in-depth and long-term research. Physicians and healthcare providers are prepared to stand behind programs and policies that benefit patients, as long as there have been appropriate levels of study and research (Miller and Zwaigenbaum 2001:1704-05).

One area that is lacking in a breadth of research is the long-term outcomes for infants who had medical interventions before, during and immediately after birth. There has been researched focused on short-term neurological, cognitive and health outcomes, but in order to fully appreciate the impact of neonatal decision making, it is critical to take a longer view and include factors like impact on the family and the psychological status of these individuals as they mature (Tideman et al. 2001:98).

MOVING FORWARD

Increased efficacy of care is an immediate need, alongside stronger provision of information for parents on how to access that care. Disabilities, chronic illnesses and diseases are all greatly impacted by the "quality and level of service provision" both within services specific to their needs and more general support services (Farrell et al. 2004:249). The importance of "excellent health care, including diagnosis, detailed assessment and therapeutic intervention" (Farrell et al. 2004:249) cannot be overemphasized nor can the importance of programs and the funding to sustain them.

Accessibility of programs and services continues to be a concern. Often families do not have services in their own communities and issues around financial responsibility and funding continuity impact care and long term planning for families (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:631). When a child is dependent on technology, concerns over the comprehensibility of care are even more imperative. Recognition of the expert roles of family members by health care and social service professionals is an area requiring ongoing training and professional development. It has been shown that the failure of professionals to acknowledge the experience and knowledge brought by the families of a child with heightened health care needs caused "anger and distress, not least because of the potentially serious consequences for the child's condition" (Kirk and Glendinning 2002:634).

When families seek support and care for their loved ones, it is essential that social and health care systems resist the role of scrutinizer, by forcing families to justify their needs. Although it is important to have policies and procedures in place to ensure that the abuse of an already taxed health care system does not occur, families must have access to supportive interactions with service providers in order to ensure that the best possible care is provided to those in need. Additional factors to acknowledge include "existing social hierarchies, for example located in terms of class or capital and ethnicity, [that] have inevitable consequences for access to resources and support for families" (Mclaughlin 2012:403). In order to appropriately service the well-being of families with a child with a disability or chronic illness, these social hierarchies must be disregarded from the calculation of need and designation of support.

To aid in the addressing of long-term need, there is a responsibility to create more discussion about the interrelated role of social services and government in care. Mclaughlin (2012) points out that "without a debate about the responsibilities of the state and society to care, rather than just the family, the privatization of care goes on unquestioned and the marginalization of such families continues" (409). The process of families stepping up as caregivers should not be viewed as permission for the state and society to abdicate their responsibility, but rather as an irresponsible circumstance created by the shortfall of care. As funding and policy continue to push care on to unpaid caregivers, the marginalization of families escalates and fuels the notion of people with chronic conditions as "'troubling' to society" (409). There is resilience to the perception that people with chronic conditions exist somehow outside the context of their families, separate from the members that make up a 'normal' and cohesive family. Mclaughlin (2012) calls for the promotion of an understanding that "integrates disabled people into the

families they are a part of…and integrates family into its social, political and cultural contexts" (409). The work needed to achieve this will take a focus on social, political and health care policies and how they address the needs of individuals and families affected.

CONCLUSION

Medical technology has advanced to a proficiency in overcoming the biological circumstances that previously would have denied the survival of a child. Prenatal testing and genetic counseling help families to frame an understanding of life with a child who may have a chronic illness or disability. With the aid of medicine, these children are enabled to live beyond the boundaries of their initial biological composition, through interventions of fetal surgery and neonatal care, but often remain at a heightened need of care. Social and health care services have not yet matched the increased need of a new group of surviving children. There is an obligation to provide care beyond the procedure of saving a newborn, due to the observable benefit of long term treatments "in keeping the child alive, in providing improved quality of life and in enabling the child to grow up to adulthood" (Mclaughlin 2012:406). Appropriate and long term support for children with chronic conditions and their caregivers has the capacity to redistribute the challenges associated with disability or illness, and redefine other's perception of meaning in these children's survival.

In the absence of a widespread understanding of the needs of individuals with chronic conditions, social knowledge of what society deems pressing and meaningful will continue to misinform social policy. As Koenig (1988) stated, "[a] full understanding of the relentless advance of medical technology requires knowledge of the social world in which [it] is developed and used" (490). As medical technology becomes increasingly adept at overcoming the genetic and biological factors that threaten babies at or prior to birth, families must be meet with comprehensive social and health care support to address the increased demands of a child with a chronic condition. Circumstances of survivability created by the advancement of technology in saving lives but not providing long term support and funding, must be rectified to encompass a more comprehensive picture of wellbeing, before science and medicine can claim success in addressing chronic health conditions and truly saving lives.

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"...ECONOMICS HAS A UNIQUE METHODOLOGY, ONE THAT IS HERALDED AS BEING USEFUL AND PRAGMATIC WITHIN THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, AND UNSCIENTIFIC OUTSIDE IT. ECONOMISTS, HOWEVER, BELIEVE IN TRADE-OFFS, AND THE TRADE-OFF THEY SEE IS EASE OF WORK AND THE PROMISE OF FASTER PROGRESS OUTLINED BY THE INSTRUMENTALIST; THIS IS IN CONTRAST TO HARD WORK USING REAL ASSUMPTIONS WITHOUT PROMISING RESULTS ON THE MORE SCIENTIFIC TRACK..."

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THE METHODOLOGY OF ECONOMICS: WHAT'S WRONG

Abstract: The history of questioning economics as a science is at least as long as economics itself. The biggest step forwards in the debate came with Milton Friedman's publishing of "The Methodology of Positive Economics." The contentious paper sparked a half-century debate because of the ease of which Friedman dismissed claims that economics is unscientific because it relies on unrealistic assumptions. Friedman claimed that all theories rely on unrealistic assumptions, and even went so far to say that the most influential theories have the most unrealistic assumptions. This has led critics such as Rosenberg to dismiss the discipline as "mathematical game-playing." How seriously should we take the critics? My response is very seriously. The methodology of economics prevented it from recognizing the biggest financial disaster of our lifetime, precisely because it didn't head these warnings. To prove this, I will examine some of the lessons drawn from the financial crisis and through these criticize the methodology of economics

The literature on the methodology of economics is extensive, I will engage in a brief review of the literature and look at arguments for how the methodology is unscientific. I will then build my own argument using the 2008 financial crisis to expose flaws in the current methodology of economics. I do not intend for this paper to comment on the scientific status of economics, although most of the literature does. My conclusion, rather, is to prove that the methodology of economics is flawed, and should be changed, to methods that are currently accepted as being better, or more scientific. The reader may draw different conclusions about the scientific status of economics based on their definitions of science.

Friedman's Methodology

Keynes, one of the founders of modern economics, most famously distinguished between positive and normative economics, positive being the objective factual side of economics, normative being the subjective value-laden side. Milton Friedman distinguishes the former from the latter as being the one to evaluate for scientific methods. Even though some economists may blur the lines between the two we should refrain from arguing against economic methodology in this manner (Friedman, 1966).

Positive economics, fundamentally, is the study of behaviour (Allen, 2012). [1] Economics studies and tries to predict and explain behaviour in terms of a model. There are many models: Supply and demand, saving and investment and so on. Traditional economic models rely on a set of assumptions. Friedman, in his famous defense of economic methodology, focuses on a few notable assumptions; the one I will focus on is the infamous assumption of maximization: that all human agents always maximize their utility, utility being a measure of desires and wants. This assumption is one of the most contentious in economics. We will continue to focus on it to see if it undermines the scientific rigour of economics.

Milton Friedman is the founder of the Chicago School of Economics and a renowned economist. Friedman almost singlehandedly sparked the contemporary debate on methodology in economics with a paper defending economics from its critics. Friedman defended economics saying:

> "Truly important and significant hypotheses will be found to have 'assumptions' that are wildly inaccurate descriptive representations of reality, and, in general, the more significant the theory, the more unrealistic the assumptions (in this sense) (Friedman, 1966, p. 14)."

From this logic, Friedman goes on to explain that the assumptions inherent in a theory have no relevance over the validity of that theory. [2] The only criterion that validates a theory is whether the theory successfully predicts that which it intends to. The assumptions of a model or a theory are there to guide the theory, but they don't determine its validity or its usefulness on its own. Economic models can be likened to models used by engineers; they often use descriptively false assumptions to simplify the model as much as possible to make it easy to work with (Boland, 1979). Therefore, the question Friedman says we should pose of assumptions is whether they are sufficiently good approximations for the purpose at hand (Friedman, 1966, p. 15). Friedman's main argument for this is that economic models would be too complicated if they were required to have assumptions that were empirically true on their own. But the critic now asks, how can these models, whose assumptions don't fit into an explanatory view of the world, explain real world phenomena? The process of testing and building models is best explained by referring to one of its founders. Here is Keynes:

> "Economics is a science of thinking in terms of models joined to the art of choosing models which are relevant to the contemporary world. It is compelled to be this, because unlike the typical natural science, the material to which it is applied is, in too many respects, not homogenous through time" (Keynes in Sarin, 2010, p. 153).

Economists are somewhat like artists.[3] Because the model is not directly relevant to

1. Note that I did not say the study of the economy or the study of money and so on. Economics deals with human decision and human decision only, there is nothing interesting about money on its own its what we do with it that matters. This distinction is imperative in evaluating economics as a science. See Allen (2012, p. 2-3
2. See Boland's discussion of Friedman's use of validity vs. his critics (1979, p. 504). I use Friedmnan's use of the word, which is not intended to be that of logical validity. The confusion has sparked much debate that is mostly misguided as Boland discusses.
3. In referring to 'art' Keynes means the subjective choosing of models is a creative somewhat artistic process. Friedman discusses this as part of normative economics, see (Freidman, 1966, p. 5). Schabas also discusses this claim see (1986, p. 303-306).

what it is explaining through its assumptions, there is an art–or a lack of objective reasoning–in choosing a certain model. We will come back to what this means insofar as calling economics as a science, but for now it is important to realize that Friedman's explanation of economics and the above quote is widely accepted throughout the economic community.[4]

As Boland points out, Friedman successfully responds to the critics by following an instrumentalist tradition (1979). Instrumentalism treats science as a tool that should be accepted and rejected based on its usefulness. This is in contrast to conventionalism, which argues that an inductive science is the basis for the truth-value of a theory (Boland, 1979, p. 508). Boland says that these isms are important for understanding the argument made by Freidman and his sceptics. Instrumentalism, although not easy to accept by many critics, is inherently difficult to deny on its own grounds. Primarily because the best argument for instrumentalism is that instrumentalism works–an instrumentalist argument in itself. To deny instrumentalism from a conventionalist perspective involves question begging and disputes over terminology, for the two positions disagree over whether an inductive science should be used to verify assumptions. The conventionalist says of course, this is the only way to guarantee the truth of a theory. The instrumentalist replies to this simply by denying the whole argument, saying, a theory works if it works. This is the argument Freidman has provided throughout his paper, using numerous examples. Therefore, instrumentalism relies on circular justification (Boland, 1979). However, as Boland discusses, this doesn't necessitate its falsity. Therefore, to deny instrumentalism on its own grounds, as I will try and do; I need to provide an instrumentalist argument for the replacement of instrumentalism. This means proving that instrumentalism does not work and then demonstrating that a conventionalist view would improve economic methodology.

In summary so far, Friedman has provided an argument for the methodology of economics that is functional and useful. This argument is hard to deny because of its roots in instrumentalism and its widespread acceptance over the economic discipline. Next, we will examine whether the instrumental roots of economics lend it to being a science or a pseudoscience. First off, we need a notion of what science is. This is even more difficult than nailing down what the methodology of economics is because science is always changing and difficult to properly define. What will serve most useful for the remainder of the discussion is to consider economics in analogies to the physical sciences and also the social sciences (Schabas, 1986). We will also have a limited use for Poppers concept of falsification, which is the idea that scientific claims should be able to be proven false. Even if falsification doesn't guarantee science, it will steer us in the right direction (Sarin, 2010). Next, I will examine three views on economics being a science that refer specifically to economic methodology.

An Unconvincing Methodology

On to the main question, is the methodology of economics successful? Robert Clower makes a spirited argument for the negative, saying that economic methodology, as we have

4. For the purpose of this paper I will maintain that this is a widely accepted view in mainstream economics, however, this is probably best described as a very contentious position. The basis for this is that most of the basic microeconomic analysis is based on this 'neowalrasian' foundation explained best by Clower (1994, p. 503).

defined it, defies common sense. This claim is sensible and backed up by an interesting example, that of rational hydrodynamics and its place as a science. Clower tells the story that rational hydrodynamics became so out of touch with applied hydrodynamics that the conclusions from its theories were simply not practicable. This led to the fundamental revision of its underlying assumptions so as to transform the discipline to be closer to the applied version. Economics, according to Clower, is also ready for this radical transformation. For proof he goes on to state some of the common assumptions made in economics and contrasts them with real world statements proclaiming that these classic economic assumptions simply lack common sense, and therefore economic theory is scientifically vacuous. Let's use the principle of maximization we discussed earlier, the principle is obviously false; at least one person has done something to not maximize their utility, but the principle is not falsifiable. Even if it is clear that this principle is false because of the massive scale of its claim one cannot prove it false empirically.[5] Rosenberg echoed this sentiment earlier saying that economics is simply "mathematical game-playing" (Rosenberg in Schabas, 1986, p. 299). Rosenberg, one of the more influential philosophers of economics on this side of the debate has since tapered back his view. However, his qualms remain: until economics brings itself closer to reality with respect to its fundamental assumptions, it cannot be considered an empirical science. This conviction is similar to Clower's. Both are referring to the lack of falsifiability of fundamental assumptions in economics and concluding that economics must improve before it can be considered a science. [6]

An interesting consequence of the argument made by Clower and Rosenberg is whether economics can make progress towards being a science with its unrealistic foundation. Rosenberg and Clower both agree that economics needs, fundamentally, to change before it can make any progress. This is in direct contention with Friedman, who believes that changing the way assumptions are made will make the task of the economist much more difficult. Many economists and philosophers tried to reconcile the debate in economics regarding the lack of falsifiability and its interpretive nature by referring to Imre Lakatos who presents an amended Popperian view of economics. Lakatos attempted to define science by referring to the progress made rather than its empirical successes or failures. There are two ways in which Lakatos salvages economics: Firstly, Lakatos describes a "hard-core" fact base of every discipline that cannot be denied; and secondly, the "research programme" can be progressive, or regressive with respect to the auxiliary assumptions added to it where a progressive research program, roughly, is one that does not add ad-hoc auxiliary assumptions to it (Blaug, 1975, p. 407). [7] With these two amendments to Poppers' view, it appears that placing unrealistic assumptions in the realm of hard-core facts can ward off falsification. However, as Blaug points out, economics does not have a desire to "produce theories which yield unambiguously refutable implications" (Blaug, 1975, p. 425). It simply is questionable whether economics takes seriously the concept that empirical development is necessary, and Lakatos still would have problems with the lack of falsification (Blaug, 1975).

5. See Clower and Allen. It cannot be proved false empirically in the same way that marxist theory cannot be proven false, every empirical example serves only to prove the theory if seen in a certain light.
6. There are many replacement views to the current conception of economic analysis, what is typically considered as the 'neowalrasian' analysis of theory. These replacements include one suggested by Clower himself and most famously by Veblen in his evolutionary economics. Both theories intend to rewrite the fundemental principles of economics to get away from fuzzy notions of maximization or perfect competition.
7. this definition is by no means well accepted, or explained in full here, the purpose is just to quickly see the implication for economics. Blaug has a much more in depth discussion.

Margaret Schabas provides a nice summary of a slightly weaker denial of economics as a science provided by Allan Gibbard and Hal Varian. They highlight the distinct difference between economics and the physical sciences, which is also recognized by Boland. This difference is in the method of creating a hypothesis. Boland says that the economist always starts with a true conclusion to work towards a model with assumptions that appropriately explain the conclusion. This is in contrast to the physical sciences, where the truth of a conclusion is determined after the testing of a hypothesis. Therefore, the process used by economists is much closer to history than physics (Schabas, 1986). Although Gibbard and Varian only caution us as to the scientific standing of economics and Boland only remarks on this difference to deny certain counterarguments, this does force economics much closer in method to history. If we go back to the famous quote from Keynes this can help to complete the analogy: "...the art of choosing models which are relevant to the contemporary world" (Keynes in Sarin, 2010, p. 153). His view is echoed by Schabas who says when describing Gibbard/Varian, "economic models, both theoretical and applied, are mainly useful for channelling one's thoughts towards a specific problem...rather than mimicking reality directly" (Schabas, 1986, P. 302). From this point of view, Schabas says, it seems that we are looking at an economics that is interpretive and explanatory, and whose scientific status will be dependent on that of history (1986). We should mitigate the importance of Schabas' argument, mainly because the physical sciences often work from a true conclusion to find appropriate models and assumptions. However, I believe the argument still holds weight saying that economic methodology and its 'art' of applying models to the real world seems a little unscientific. This would be closer to history than physics.

In conclusion, economics has a unique methodology, one that is heralded as being useful and pragmatic within the economic community, and unscientific outside it. Economists, however, believe in trade-offs, and the trade-off they see is ease of work and the promise of faster progress outlined by the instrumentalist; This is in contrast to hard work using real assumptions without promising results on the more scientific track. Let's give Friedman one last word before I start my attack against his methodology: "I decided that I had a choice: I could spend my time discussing how economics should be done – a worthy cause; or I could spend my time doing economics – in my opinion, if not a more worthy, a more attractive cause" (Friedman, 2009, p. 355).

Attacking Instrumentalism

Let's review. To deny Friedman's methodology, we must provide an instrumentalist argument against it–basically we must say it doesn't work. Clower and Schabas represent different ways of attacking Friedman. However, Clower's argument is stronger, and will take his side first. Another quick note, I am evaluating the methodology of economics to see if it is good or bad, successful or unsuccessful, and after this analysis I propose to let the reader draw conclusions based on their own definitions of science. This method of discussion allows more flexibility for analyzing current economic work, rather than getting caught up in technical conversations of whether economics fits into a certain scientific definition. Let's continue the discussion.

At first glance, the principle of maximization seems flawed, and it seems obvious that one

cannot use this as a basis for science. This is the attack made by Rosenberg and Clower. I will introduce a new assumption that will be of much more use in the following discussion, mainly because it has been denied so fervently in the media lately. This assumption is that of the efficient market hypothesis. The efficient market hypothesis states that market prices reflect all information in the economy. [8] This assumption is not falsifiable like the principle of maximization, for the word "all" automatically brings in ambiguities and impossibilities. Clower argues that making these sorts of assumptions simply leads us down the wrong path. One counterargument to this is to say that in Economics 101 the assumptions made are crude and unrealistic, but at the PhD level, they make sense. So, to successfully answer the arguments of Clower, we need to examine modern day economics, and its methodology. Bear with me as I hope to provide a short summary of modern economic work and its reliance on the efficient market hypothesis; this will provide a basis to discuss current economic methodology.

In 2008, modern economics was struck a nearly fatal blow. Much of the criticism in the aftermath of the financial crisis was related to the dynamic stochastic general equilibrium (DSGE) model. DSGE's assume the efficient market hypothesis so as to simplify the mathematics of the model. Before 2008, these models had become as popular as a new toy and economists played with them incessantly, forcing a hearing by a US congressional committee that seriously questioned the rationality of depending on only one model to measure all economic indicators–A model that Robert Solow says does not even have anything constructive to add to macroeconomic theory. Because DSGE's assumed complete rationality and believed in market efficiency so strongly, it left out the option that people could make terrible investments in homes causing a housing bubble. As Solow argues, the assumptions made leave no room for actual macroeconomic analysis; rather they assume away everything that should be studied. Critics who echoed Rosenberg like opinions suddenly had a perfect example of the problem faced in using unrealistic assumptions and the perfect character to represent it was the chair of the Fed, Alan Greenspan. Greenspan had claimed before the crisis in 2008 that modern economics had fixed the business cycle, that continual growth is possible. A year later Greenspan was testifying before congress and admitted that the recession had "shattered his 'intellectual structure'" (Skidelsky). Greenspan is referring to his previous infallible belief structure composed of the sort of unrealistic assumptions we have been discussing. The advanced DSGE model is just as susceptible as the Econ-101 level model. It seems like what we watched in 2008 was high-level economists engaging in mathematical game playing, to borrow Rosenberg's opinion, not realizing the direct impact of their idealized policies and mathematical ideology. Economics had some part in creating the 2008 financial crisis, and a large part in not recognizing it. Clearly, the models of the time, these DSGE's, did not work. Because of the unrealistic assumptions made by the model, it cannot predict a recession. The efficient market hypothesis denies that a housing bubble, which is essentially the rampant overvaluation of a large number of homes, could exist. This flaw, as pointed out by the congressional hearing, is simply too big. As Clower says, it simply lacks common sense.

8. 'All' here does not mean literally everything to do with the product. The efficient market hypothesis assumes, for example, that the price of a used car is related to its reliability, future value and so on. If we all followed this hypothesis, we wouldn't be wary of used car salesman.

The Method: Its Problems

An instrumentalist argument against the instrumentalism of economic methodology can incorporate the economic downturn to prove that economic methodology is not useful. The argument that I propose, if the current instrumentalist tradition led economists to fail to predict a global financial crisis, then instrumentalism was not working. To specify what exactly is unsuccessful about economic methodology, it is its failure to recognize the limits placed on its models by its unrealistic assumptions. To make the argument even stronger, we can say that economic models were not able to predict a global financial crisis, and that therefore the models used for the predictions must be reworked. My argument should not be confused with saying that because current assumptions made in economics do not work, that all assumptions must be replaced. I recognize that simplifying assumptions are necessary for any model that we use to describe the world. Without simplifying assumptions models would be mere replicas of real world phenomenon. However, we can go too far, the model can become so simple that it is not an appropriate representation of the real world. This is my claim. Economic models have gotten too simple. The solution to this, and the conclusion of my argument, is that analyses of models with respect to assumptions like the principle of maximization and the efficient market hypothesis is necessary. When I say that the methodology of economics is not successful, I say that based on the own parameters it sets out for itself. And one way that economics can get out of this problem is by changing those parameters. I recommend that the solution to this argument is to move in more of a conventionalist direction, where the sole determinant of the success of a model is not only its predictive power. This would allow the assumptions in economic models to be relevant to the conclusion of the model. Friedman starts with assumptions don't necessarily need to be true because of the sorts of models they use; he then jumps to the conclusion that assumptions are irrelevant to the conclusion in any way. This logic is wrong. The assumptions guide the truth and the scope of the model, what Nicolas Fillion calls the selective accuracy of models, and further, assumptions, necessarily, determine the usefulness of a model. This is fundamentally where Friedman goes wrong, and where we can successfully exploit his argument. Let's explore the implications of this argument against instrumentalism and what happens to economic models if they move towards conventionalism.

A sceptic may point out that the unrealistic assumptions failed to predict the financial crisis, but they did predict the increase in the price of gasoline, or they did predict another previous economic indicator. I think this is true; DSGE's are very good for certain sorts of economic analysis. However, the conclusion of my argument is not that all models, which use the efficient market hypothesis, should be thrown out, my conclusion is that economics must realize that its assumptions matter. Friedman even says this himself. He uses the case of two cigarette companies Chesterfield and Marlborough. Friedman explains a case where we should treat the two cigarette companies as if they are in perfect competition and then explains a case where we should not treat them as if they are in perfect competition. Suppose we assume perfect competition for the two cigarette manufacturers during WWII. Costs would rise during a war due to shortage of labour and materials, this should, presuming perfect competition, reduce the quantity offered at the given price. However, what actually happened was the quantity of cigarettes produced overall increased at the same price. Therefore, Friedman concludes, treating

cigarette companies as perfect competitors was not correct during WWII. This is true, and this is also an example of a good economic methodology under the view I present. Friedman correctly recognizes a very important part of mathematical models, that certain assumptions invalidate conclusions at certain times. The difference is that he draws the conclusion that the process of determining what assumptions to use at a certain time is an art. I think this should be a rigorous well–defined process. Let's briefly discuss what that process would look like.

Good Models

Models in all disciplines must be approximated, or inaccurate in some way. If they were perfectly accurate, we would simply be recreating the phenomenon that needed to be simplified in the first place.[9] So a key part in creating good mathematical models, is recognizing how approximated the models should be–what information can be thrown out without changing the validity of the model. Friedman provides a very informal definition of how one must go through this process, which is in contrast to current methods in mathematical modelling. Fillion lays out the process of determining which factors are relevant to the model as follows: "If we introduce error concerning a dominant factor, the representation will be invalidated; if we introduce error concerning a non-dominant factor, the representation will be selectively accurate" (Fillion, 2013). The burden therefore, rests on determining what the dominant and non-dominant factors are with regards to the model at hand. Perturbation analysis of mathematical models is one way of determining these factors (Fillion, 2013). At the end of a perturbation analysis, the researcher is confronted with a model that works inside certain upper and lower bounds, where outside the scope of the model a error is introduced in a dominant factor, invalidating the model. If we apply this method of determining the validity of models to the DSGE model it would give the model a clear and direct scope to be accurate within. It may predict an increase in the price of gasoline and it will fail to predict an economy wide financial crisis. A rational conclusion would be that other models should be designed to predict economy wide activity. This is parallel to the conclusion of the congressional committee that investigated the role of the fed in the economic crisis.

To summarize, the methodology of economics should include some sort of analysis that takes into account how accurate its models are based on the assumptions. If economics commits to analyzing assumptions and their relation to the conclusion then the discipline will move towards being a more scientific discipline. I will not weigh in on whether economics should be counted as a science or not because of its methodology as this has not been the point of the paper. The point of the paper has been to analyze what is wrong with the methodology of economics and how it should improve. I assume, based on the fact that most work in the physical sciences involves some sort of perturbation analysis, that this will make economics more scientific. [10]

9. In the context of the argument it makes sense to understand this as the assumptions of the model are so accurate it cannot be studied easily. Idea taken from Fillion, 2013
10. I base this off of Fillions work on mathematical models in the physical sciences (Fillion, 2013)

Counter Arguments

There is one looming issue that I have left to the side so far of this debate. That issue is determining exactly what economics is. I stated earlier that it is the study of behaviour, however, does all of economics commit to the instrumentalist tradition that I have described? The simple answer to this is no. Most economic work is devoted not to prediction, but description. Economic laws, like the law of demand and supply, are worked out through historical empirical analysis and often endeavour to explain and not predict. This has led to fantastic work that has developed good explanations and guidelines for firms. Also, the distinction between microeconomics and macroeconomics is important as macroeconomics is often less justified in applying unrealistic assumptions.[11] In a word, a good portion of work in economics is acceptable under my thesis. I cannot attack this sort of economic work as many economists rely on the efficient market hypothesis and use it within a rational scope. However, the economic work I am attacking is the most dangerous, the work that has been guiding current economic policy based on the conclusion of models that make assumptions without testing their consequence on the model. This work needs a significant improvement. The best way to distinguish which economic model I am attacking is to ask whether that model has been subjected to some sort of analysis that asks to what scope is the model accurate within.

The instrumentalist can propose another counter argument. The instrumentalist would argue that we do not need a fundamental change in the models we use or the assumptions we use, all we need to do is get better at this art of conjoining them to the phenomenon we are studying. And, now that the financial crisis is over, we can start to learn from our mistakes. Also, the proponent of instrumentalism may say, the financial crisis is just one example of where instrumentalism failed; we shouldn't reject something that has worked pretty well for us. This argument simply goes back to the conventionalist and instrumentalist argument that talks past one another. I discussed earlier that Friedman actually engages in some sort of analysis of his assumptions and how that determines the scope of his models. This can be used to undermine the instrumentalist in this argument, for I am making a claim that simply asks for an analysis of this sort. It does not ask for the instrumentalist to give up their unrealistic assumptions, it only asks that they engage in a deeper, more fundamental analysis, of the model. This should not be seen as an unreasonable conclusion, many of the physical sciences engage in some sort of perturbation analysis.

Conclusion

The argument I have presented is open to certain counterarguments; however, I hope that it has provided insight into the way economic work is conducted and how it can be improved. The take home message of the paper is intended to be an education on the unique history of the methodology of economics and how it can strive for improvement. It may be charged in this respect of having a limited scope but this has also enabled a deeper discussion. I have taken a

view similar to that of Rosenberg and Clower, but have developed a weaker argument. I have

11. Microeconomic being the study of a firm or household, macroeconomics being the study of an economy as a whole.

not said that economics needs to change its assumptions; all I say is that it needs to take them into account when determining the selective accuracy of a model. It is implicit that this should lead to the changing of certain assumptions, with the stress on circumstances they are used in to determine which ones. The conclusion of my argument can be taken to undermine the scientific status of economics even in absence of a definition of science. This is rational in light of the fact that perturbation analysis, or something of this sort, is necessary for good scientific work in the physical sciences.

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