



think SOCIOLOGY!

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Thoughts from the Head

By Guy Stecklov

As the new head of Sociology at UBC, this is my first opportunity to open our newsletter and my first chance for expressing to the broader UBC Sociology community my excitement at taking up this new position and my thanks for such a warm welcome. I can honestly share with you a recent newcomer's amazement at the intense natural beauty of our surroundings combined with real pride in the research and training happening here in our department. UBC Sociology is truly a delightful and unique place to be.

As this newsletter shows, while I may be awed by the wonders of my new home, faculty and students in our department are clearly not shrinking away from tackling complex and often painful questions both in the real and academic worlds. This newsletter sheds light on work by one of our two newly hired faculty members, Seth Abrutyn. (*If you haven't yet met Sinikka Elliot, our other fantastic new member, you can learn here more about her exciting research in Family Sociology at soci.ubc.ca*). Seth highlights how Sociologists have abandoned one of the core foundational topics of the discipline: suicide. His work on teen suicides and cluster suicide phenomena, published in some of the most prestigious journals in the discipline, argues for a renewed perspective that can enrich existing approaches from other related disciplines.

This newsletter also showcases research on other complex, politically charged domains by three excellent graduate students in the department. Valerie Berseth and Adam Howe both present work that opens our eyes to the complexity of addressing a long history of inequality towards indigenous peoples in Canada. Valerie's piece focuses on continued injustices related to environmental governance while Adam explores official government declarations to better understand the construction of identities within Canada. Max Chewinski's work discusses how grassroots groups and NGOs coordinate their actions in the environmental justice movement.

In addition, you'll also read here about Honorary Professor Francesco Duina's latest book, adding fresh insights into the American socio-economic and political enigma. We also use the newsletter to celebrate Amin Ghaziani's recent Canada Research Chair in Sexuality and Urban Studies and Beth Hirsh's renewal of her Canada Research Chair in Law and Inequality.

Yet, there is so much more to

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Suicide Clustering: Sociological Theory to the Rescue...

By Seth Abrutyn

Emile Durkheim's *Suicide*, remains one of the most seminal theoretical and empirical pieces in sociology. Written in 1897, Durkheim chose a behavior (suicide) that has long been (and in many ways continues to be) explained by psychological explanations to demonstrate how social forces facilitate and constrain human behavior. Today, this text is the fourth most assigned text in sociology department

ments. It may come as a surprise, then, that (a) since 1980 sociologists have published dramatically fewer papers on suicide than nearly every other discipline including pharmacy and molecular biology and (b) the vast majority of those published papers have mostly replicated Durkheim's nineteenth century hypotheses instead of pushing the sociology of suicide into the 21st century. It is therefore less surprising that psychologists and psychiatrists tend to cite Durkheim as the quintessential sociological study on suicide while ignoring the 120 years of research since.

Despite sociology's seeming indifference, suicide remains a serious public health problem, as rates have been

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report. For example, Lindsey Richardson received the prestigious Canadian Institute of Health Research Foundation Grant; Nathaniel Lauster received the John Porter Tradition of Excellence Book Award from the Canadian Sociological Association, Seth Abrutyn was elected to the board of the American Sociological Review (joining Amin Ghaziani who already sits on the board), and doctoral student Kate Jaffe was awarded a prestigious Vanier Scholarship. Finally, we are extremely proud that Anne Martin-Matthews has been serving in Ottawa as Vice-President of Research at the Canadian Institute of Health Research and helping to determine the research agenda for health for all of Canada. On top of this, Anne Martin-Matthews has just been awarded the Killam Award for Excellence in Mentoring.

Details on these notable achievements and many more are posted online and I urge everyone to look to soci.ubc.ca for constant updates on recent awards, media interviews, and news from our Sociological community. Finally, allow me to take this opportunity to thank Kristin Sopotiuik, managing editor of the newsletter, for doing a great job in putting this all together and for all her help in making our department an exceptional place to be. Enjoy the rest of the year! ■



Suicide Clustering... Continues from cover...

steadily increasing in the U.S. and Canada since the Great Recession. Among especially vulnerable subpopulations, the impact can be clearly illustrated: suicide is the leading cause of death in the US for 15-24 year olds and the second leading cause of death for 10-19 year old Canadians. Likewise, indigenous communities in the U.S. and Canada suffer from extraordinarily high rates compared to the respective national averages. For instance, First Nations communities reveal a rate two to three times higher than the Canadian average with the Inuit being six to 11 times more likely to die by suicide than average Canadian. Thus, sociology faces a sort of crossroads in that Durkheim's classic remains essential reading yet sociology has largely abdicated its responsibility to one of the most devastating social and public health problems. We no longer contribute to the academic understanding and explanation of one of the most individual and collectively traumatizing events and, more problematically, we do not bring our robust toolkit to bear on the practical issue of prevention and postvention (or helping survivors of suicide deal with the loss of a loved one). My primary research is consumed with remedying this situation.

Take, for example, one of Durkheim's famous arguments: the spread of suicide, or what is sometimes called "suicide suggestion" or "suicide contagion," is not a sociologically relevant process. Yet, several decades of epidemiological and social scientific research have firmly established a link between exposure to others' suicidality and being at risk of suicidal thoughts and, in some cases, behaviors. Sociology, unfortunately, has been behind the curve in systematically understanding and explaining this link. In particular, this potential contribution would benefit some of the most vulnerable subpopulations. Research—including my own work—has consistently found that adolescents and, youth in general, across the globe are more vulnerable to suicide "contagion" or diffusion than other age groups. Additionally, recent reviews of the literature on clustering have found that adolescents are two to four times more likely to die in a suicide cluster than other groups, while some indigenous populations in the U.S., Canada, and Australia are especially vulnerable to clustering.

Thus, despite being well-equipped to study (1) why being

exposed to a friend or family member's suicide increases an individual's risk of suicidality and (2) why some places are more vulnerable to suicide clusters than others, sociology has largely ignored these "frontiers" of research. (A suicide cluster is defined as two or more suicides that occur within a delimited temporal and physical space beyond what would be expected). That is, sociologists study social relationships, networks, diffusion, place, and so on. And, because we do study these different facets of social environments we are in an excellent position to weigh in on how to help prevent suicide clustering and how to help families and communities deal with the aftermath of these collective traumas. Moreover, sociology has a rich history of social psychological research that is well suited to helping bridge the effects that groups have on individuals in ways that further deepen our understanding of why suicide becomes an option for some people, why exposure to suicidality increases the risk of the exposed being suicidal, and, finally, why some places are susceptible to excessive suicide.

This is where my own work with Dr. Anna Mueller (Univ. of Chicago) comes in. We have used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to begin to leverage sociology's full toolkit to this serious social problem. On the one hand, we have employed longitudinal data—or data that is collected from the same sample at numerous times to see how attitudes and behaviors change and why they might change or not—and causal modeling strategies to examine first, whether suicide diffusion is a "real" thing, due to social influence and not social selection, and (2) if it is real, how exposure among adolescents works. These studies have been incredibly important at demonstrating (1) exposure to a friend's suicidal behavior can lead to (a) *new* suicidal thoughts, as well as, (b) for adolescent girls, behaviors (e.g., attempts), (2) the first year after exposure is a critical time for intervention if "contagion" is to be prevented, (3) exposures effects may last for several years in the form of emotional distress and (4) that adolescent girls appear more susceptible than adolescent boys.

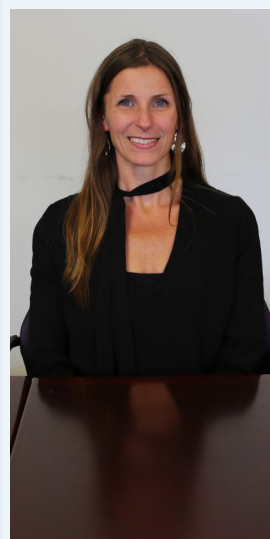
On the other hand, we have used qualitative methods

Our Canada Research Chairs (CRC's)

On December 2, 2016, the Honourable Kirsty Duncan, Minister of Science, made the announcement to recognize 203 new and renewed Canada Research Chairs at 48 postsecondary institutions across the country. "I would like to extend my heartfelt congratulations to the new and renewed Canada Research Chairs," said Minister Duncan. "The Government of Canada is proud to support talented researchers whose hard work will improve our scientific understanding and strengthen Canada's reputation for research excellence. The Chairs' efforts will also provide us with the evidence needed to inform decisions that help us build a vibrant society and a strong middle class." These researchers improve our depth of knowledge and quality of life, strengthen Canada's international competitiveness, and help train the next generation of highly skilled people through student supervision, teaching, and the coordination of other researchers' work—one breakthrough and discovery at a time.

Amin Ghaziani, *Associate Professor* New Canada Research Chair
Canada Research Chair in Sexuality and Urban Studies, SSHRC Tier 2

Dr. Ghaziani's research program examines the spatial expressions of sexuality. He will execute this in three ways. First, census data shows that zip codes and postal codes associated with gay neighbourhoods are becoming less concentrated with same-sex households. What attitudes animate these demographic statistics? Second, although big city districts are diluting alongside widespread closures of gay businesses, tourism statistics show significant spikes in LGBT people targeting smaller resort towns. How can we explain these opposing trends of residential and leisure choices? Finally, if by "culture" we mean to analyze the way of life of sexual minorities, and if members of that group are integrating into the mainstream of American, British, and Canadian societies, then what are the implications for measuring the contributions of distinctive cultures? In common, these questions elevate the status of sexuality as a central node for intellectual inquiry and exchange.



Beth Hirsh, *Associate Professor*, Renewed Canada Research Chair
Canada Research Chair in Law and Inequality, SSHRC Tier 2

Dr. Hirsh's research program focuses on the social context surrounding employment discrimination and the impact of antidiscrimination law on workplace equality. Through interviews with plaintiffs in major discrimination lawsuits and analysis of legal data, she will explore the law's effectiveness and workers' access to justice. Using quantitative models, Dr. Hirsh will also examine the impact of lawsuits on workplace diversity and identify factors that minimize discrimination on the basis of race, gender, and motherhood status. Her research will contribute to our understanding of workplace dynamics and the promise of antidiscrimination law in remedying economic inequality.



to flesh out the mechanisms undergirding diffusion that cannot be captured using existing survey data and quantitative methods. My most current research on suicide involves an in-depth case study of a small, suburban, affluent U.S. community that has experienced 3 (and, perhaps, more) suicide clusters since 2000. Many of these clusters can be labeled "echo" clusters, or clusters that involve decedents who were affected by a previous cluster. By using interviews, observation, and media analysis we are in a unique position to understand how a community can come to frame the meanings of suicide—such as, why do people die by suicide—differently from general society. By understanding how suicide has become re-framed, we illustrate why suicide occurs so frequently in this community, why many adolescents view it as an accessible and applicable solution

to a common problem, and, ultimately, suggest strategies for preventing future clusters. Indeed, while this study is limited in its generalizability to other communities like the indigenous ones mentioned above, it offers a theoretical explanation that is generalizable and a research strategy that will hopefully motivate future studies.

My next project will be devoted to finding suitable comparison groups to begin this process of studying other communities suffering from the collective trauma of clusters. Comparing US to Canadian cases will further break new ground, as cross-cultural research on suicide is relatively rare in the social sciences. It is imperative that sociology return to one of its most cherished and classic studies if we are to help society address a serious social problem and survivors heal and move forward healthily. ■



The State of Things, as proclaimed

By Adam Howe, PhD Student

In the federal Speech from the Throne the incumbent government addresses the nation to outline its view of the ‘state of things’, its agenda, and the initiatives the government will undertake to achieve this agenda. In the most recent speech governor general David Johnston stated, “...the voices of all Canadians matter”. But what does it mean to be called a ‘Canadian’, who is included in this category, and is it the same now as it was in the past? Moreover, how do social and political context affect this process of constructing ‘Canadian-ness’? Scholars have used the throne speech to study how government agendas change over time, and how domestic or international contexts affect agenda setting. But these studies focus on issue-topics like the economy or international relations. We need to understand how *people* are constructed and represented (or excluded) as members of the nation within the discourse.

In this study I used discourse analysis to investigate how the federal government constructed Indigenous and settler-Canadian political identities in the throne speech. This is important given Canada’s colonial past and the government’s historic refusal to recognize Indigenous people as full and equal citizens. It is more pertinent today, as a growing consciousness of Canada’s colonial history and its ongoing negative effects has lead many within Canada to agree on the need for reconciliation and decolonization with Indigenous people. While this surely involves material reparations and meaningful changes in political and economic institutions, it also involves cultural and symbolic changes in the way we understand and talk about ourselves as members of a nation. My study investigates this symbolic/cultural dimension of decolonization.

Governments actively construct representations of political identity within the throne speech and other official state discourses, and do so in their interest. Political identity is made up of two main aspects of political culture that people use to understand their political ‘selves’ – national identity and citizenship. These two cultural constructions are co-constitutive and mutually reinforce on another, hence my combining them into one concept herein.

I analyzed a sample of speeches ranging from Confederation in 1867 up to the most recent speech in 2015. I found that up to 1960 Indigenous people are largely excluded from the throne speech, and thus not considered as citizens or full members of the nation. When they are men-

tioned in the discourse, it is solely in relation to discussions about the need to ‘deal with’ Indigenous populations with new legislation, or in recounting to parliament a recent encounter or skirmish between Indigenous people and state authorities.

Representations of Indigenous people as citizens came first in 1960 in the context of their being given the right to vote. This marks the beginning of the period where Indigenous political identities are brought into the discourse. During this time economic and social reality in Canada was characterized by uncertainty due to the cold war and challenging economic times. As history advanced, uncertainty was again brought to the fore along with the rapid increase in neoliberal globalism – a trend that still inflects Canadian politics today.

However, for the next 23 years (1960 – 1983) Indigenous political identities were subjugated by the dominant Canadian political identity. All mentions of Indigenous political subjects took the form of “Canadian Aboriginals”, “Canada’s Aboriginal peoples”, or “Aboriginal Canadians”. This represents a form of cultural and symbolic colonization.

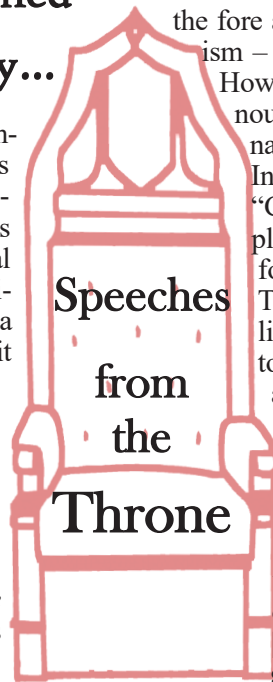
The 1983 speech is the first where Indigenous political identities approach being represented as autonomous. Here governor general Edward Schreyer asked parliament to respond on a parliamentary committee report on ‘Indian’ self-government, and laid out plans for a constitutional conference on aboriginal rights. As is suggested by Schreyer’s comments on the economy, these seemingly autonomous representations arose amid an uncertain post-recession context. The negative effects of the recession had caused “a deterioration in [Canadians’] sense of community [whereby major groups] sought to blame economic decline on someone else”. Schreyer concludes that Canadians

recognized the need to “work together to restore growth and prosperity”.

Nevertheless, representations of Indigenous political identity remained subjugated to colonial identities during the period from 1983 to 2004. Indigenous people remained represented as “Aboriginal Canadians” and “Canada’s aboriginal people”. In the latter half of this period - between 1997 and 2004 – the prevalence of Indigenous representations in the discourse rose dramatically. This is related to the closing of the last operating Indian Residential School in 1996, and the proclamation of National Aboriginal Day (June 21st) in 1997. In this period, governments focused on the need to develop and support Indigenous communities, foster better relations between Indigenous people and Canadians, and the need to bring Indigenous people into the economy.

What is telling is that every speech from 1983 onward includes some discussion related to Indigenous communities, renewed relations, and economic participation. This suggests that no government actively pursued this part of the agenda in any meaningful way. Instead reconciliation has been approached by way of “recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to reconcile Indigenous claims to nationhood with Crown sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identities in some form of renewed relationship with the Canadian state”. But I argue it is not purely symbolic, but motivated by the need for economic development.

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The Long Road to UNDRIP

By Valerie Berseth,
PhD Student

A global milestone has just passed. September 13th marked 10 years since 144 countries voted to adopt the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The declaration upholds the collective and individual rights of Indigenous peoples to existence, self determination, and freedom from being dispossessed of their lands or territories, among many others. Reflecting on this past decade in Canada shows both how much and how little has changed in Indigenous-state relations. Canada was one of four countries to initially oppose UNDRIP on the basis that it would require free, prior and informed consent from Indigenous peoples for any decisions that would affect their lands and territories. In a symbolic reversal of its position, the federal government announced its support for the declaration in May 2016.

Full implementation of UNDRIP would mark a significant transformation in the “nation-to-nation relationship” that has become a hallmark phrase of the current Trudeau government. It would also be a significant step towards environmental justice in Canada. Unlike the United States, Canada has no federal policy to address the disproportionate environmental risks faced by Indigenous peoples and people of colour or their exclusion from environmental decision-making. However, there is little evidence of progress over a year and a half later. A UN committee report this past August described its deep concerns that Canada has yet to implement UNDRIP and that environmental destruction of Indigenous lands continues in violation of treaty obligations and international human rights law¹.

Despite the lack of political will (and frequently, strong resistance) by successive federal governments, Indigenous peoples have advanced their environmental rights in the last few decades through direct action, political action, and legal action. A significant amount of scholarship in several disciplines has examined the legal, political, and social implications of landmark court decisions and individual environmental policies or laws. At the same time, there has been comparatively little attention to the landscape of Crown policies that structure opportunities for Indigenous peoples to participate in environmental governance.

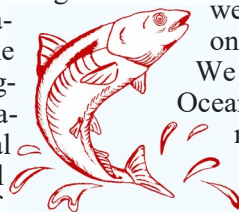
I argue that this gap is significant for two reasons. First, environmental policy is not simply benign or neutral political language. Policies signal who are important actors, which systems of knowledge are valid, and what are the proper courses for action. In settler-colonial states such as Canada, these narratives communicate a particular view of the nation-to-nation relationship between the colonial state and Indigenous peoples that has consequences for building trust and positive dialogue in negotiations and

reconciliation efforts. Second, individual policy documents are not developed or acted upon in isolation, but are part of a network of policies, procedures, and regulations that form a broader regime of governance. The latter point is critical for understanding the challenges facing a full implementation of UNDRIP.

Working with Dr. Ralph Matthews, I conducted an analysis of 167 federal fisheries and oceans policies. The objective of this study is to map the diverse policies according to their recognition and support of Indigenous peoples and their rights, both of which are key elements of environmental justice. Our approach followed the methodology developed in a similar study of land use policies in Ontario by members of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, Walpole Island First Nation, Queen’s University, and the University of Waterloo². We first coded the policies for references to Indigenous rights and six aspects of the nation-to-nation relationship that were identified by previous studies or emerged during the coding process: consultation, the duty to consult, accommodation, consent, traditional knowledge, and co-management agreements. We then evaluated each policy overall as having “minimal,” “moderate,” or “significant” support for Indigenous rights and the aspects of the nation-to-nation relationship identified above. Of the 167 policies, 55% were coded as minimal, 31% were moderate, and only 14% were significant.

We found that the Department of Fisheries and Oceans’ (DFO) approach to consultation has become more complex as Indigenous people have successfully advocated for their rights in the Canadian legal system. In some areas, government policies have been restructured and programs created to accommodate changes in the legal landscape of Indigenous rights through court decisions such as *R. v. Sparrow* and *Haida Nation v. British Columbia*. These areas include the assessment and management of species at risk, habitat management, and watershed-level decision-making, where Indigenous peoples are recognized as rights holders distinct from other stakeholders and structures have been put in place to facilitate their increased participation in environmental management.

At the same time, however, these achievements are in the vast minority when considered in relation to the whole of DFO’s network of policies and regulations. References to the crown’s duty to consult and the need to accommodate Indigenous peoples are rare. Instead, consultation is most often framed in the broadest sense, where Indigenous people are included as stakeholders alongside industry, environmental groups, and the public. This neglects the distinct legal obligations of the Crown to Indigenous peoples in Canada and erases the ongoing colonial structures of governance that deny Indigenous authority over unceded lands and waters. This framing is also consistent with the explicit rejection of the need to obtain free, prior and informed consent found in federal policy on consultation (*Aboriginal Consultation and Accommodation Guidelines*, 2011). Un-



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Coordinating Environmental Justice

Max Chewinski
PhD Student



On a grey and wet spring morning in April 2013, dozens of environmental justice activists gathered outside of the Metro Toronto Convention Centre to welcome shareholders to Barrick Gold's Annual General Meeting (AGM). Alongside other activists, I made my way into the AGM to hand out an alternative annual report to shareholders entitled *Debunking Barrick*. The report challenged the mainstream narrative of Barrick Gold as an organization committed to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), highlighting the lived realities of largely Indigenous communities across the globe who have been dispossessed of their land, are facing water contamination and/or health issues as a result of gold mining projects. As we were escorted out of the AGM by security, two Greenpeace activists were arrested for dropping a banner criticizing the Pascua Lama mine in Argentina. In response to this action, now former Chairman Peter Munk began condemning non-governmental organizations (NGOs), environmental regulations and activists opposing Barrick Gold.

A few moments later, Peter Munk was called out by the same NGOs he condemned as well as speakers from the Dominican Republic. The community members from the Dominican Republic spoke about Barrick Gold's treatment of mining affected communities and the activists that organize against the world's largest gold producer in front of a full hall of investors. As this was happening inside, activists outside the venue were holding banners and a 14-foot effigy of a Pinocchio nosed Peter Munk with blood on his hands. Enthusiastically, and with a hint of anger, protestors chanted "divest, divest, divest from Barrick Gold!"

As a practice of contentious politics, this protest is illustrative of the diversity of tactics, the constellation of actors, and the different types of voices that comprise the movement challenging Canadian resource extraction projects. It stands in stark contrast to the expectations outlined in most interdisciplinary research examining the effects of NGO involvement in social movements. This interdisciplinary research suggests that NGOization (a process marking a shift from loosely structured social movements to professional and institutionalized NGOs) leads movements: to partner with corporations and states, engage in the apolitical delivery of social services, and become more accountable to donors as opposed to volunteer-based grassroots groups. In short, social movements lose their critical edge, substituting protests, direct actions, and marches for more politically palatable activities such as policy reform, social service delivery and awareness raising campaigns.

However, no research within this line of scholarship examines *why* grassroots groups and NGOs choose to coordinate their actions. On the contrary, many researchers assume that members of such groups will *not* work together. This made me wonder: (1) why do grassroots groups and NGOs choose to coordinate their actions? and (2) what conceptual toolkit does social movement theory provide to uncover the threads that compel groups to coordinate their actions? This question guided my research, and framed the theory-building study I presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. My exploratory research was based on nine in-depth interviews with core activists in the movement, and all were drawn from two NGOs and two grassroots groups.

Interviews with core activists in the movement revealed three primary mechanisms that drive different organizations to coordinate their actions: (1) shared values and an environmental justice frame (2) the pooling of scarce resources and (3) engagement in complimentary forms of advocacy driven by a division of labour and a diversity of tactics. All three mechanisms are informed by concepts drawn from social movement theory, past and present. Let's examine each:

✓ **Shared Values and Frames:** Although several values underpin collaboration, accountability is the most salient. NGOs and grassroots groups organize to hold the Canadian state and corporations accountable for the conduct of companies prior to, during, and following the life of a project. The value of accountability contributes to an environmental justice (EJ) frame articulated and shared by both sets of groups. In social movement theory, framing is a meaning-making process in which groups of people make sense of a phenomenon, identify the issue and provide solutions to the problem. The shared EJ frame facilitates coordinated action, as all actors diagnose the problem as a lack of government oversight, a lack of community involvement in governance and a disproportionate level of risk and harm for mining-affected communities. A shared solution is also evident: greater regulation of the industry by government and the ability for communities to engage in the decision-making process.

✓ **Pooling of Scarce Resources:** Activists spoke to the importance of the provision/sharing of the following three resources: material (money, physical space), human (time and networks) and informational (how-to knowledge, as in how to plan a protest). This finding is consistent with resource mobilization theory, which suggests that collective action occurs as a result of the accumulation of resources. This makes sense: we cannot plan a protest if we do not have knowledge of the logistics, equipment and de-escalation tactics needed to run a successful event. However, participants not only confirmed the dependence of coordinated action on resource availability and/or pooling, but also suggested that coordination occurs because of the scarcity of resources—a finding not explicitly analyzed in most resource mobilization theories. Activists choose to coordinate their actions based on an evaluation of supply and demand: what can they provide that others cannot? What can other groups bring to the table that they do not have?

✓ **Complimentary forms of Advocacy:** Resource extraction is a complex process that involves multiple actors (states, corporations, civil society, affected communities) operating at different scales (local, regional, national and international). Due to this complexity, activists understand that contentious politics requires a division of labour and a diversity of tactics. Each group recognizes its own resources, strengths and abilities, which in turn shape its tactical preferences and facilitates coordinated action. For example, NGOs accompanied members of the indigenous Mayan Q'eqchi' community from El Estor, Guatemala to a Toronto courthouse to testify against Canadian company Hudbay Minerals. The lawsuit alleges that Hudbay Minerals abused the human rights of the plaintiffs at their former Fenix nickel mine. The NGOs involved asked that grassroots groups organize an event outside of the courthouse to express solidarity with the plaintiffs and to help mobilize and educate the Canadian public and media. As this example illustrates, both NGOs and grassroots groups coordinate their actions to exert pressure at different sites of the extractive regime.

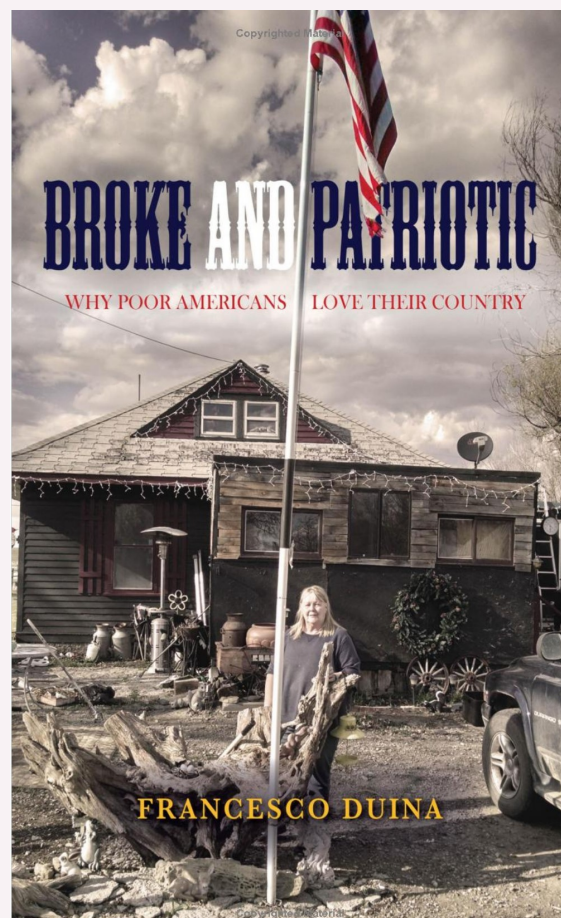
Shared values and frames, the pooling of scarce resources and complimentary forms of advocacy function as important mechanisms driving coordinated action in this segment of the environmental justice movement. In using this case to develop a theory of coordinated action, I bring sociological theories to an interdisciplinary research program on NGOization to uncover the threads that bind disparate groups into action. Sociologists Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly began this work in *Dynamics of Contention* by identifying coordinated action as one of the three primary mechanisms contributing to contentious politics. But what contributes to coordinated action? This is the question I am interested in addressing. By using the conceptual toolkit offered by social movement theories, we can not only highlight the mechanisms that drive coordinated action between NGOs and grassroots groups but also transcend the NGO-social movement dichotomy prevalent in much of this interdisciplinary research program. ■

New book by Honorary Prof. Francesco Duina...

BROKE AND PATRIOTIC: Why Poor Americans Love Their Country (*Studies in Social Inequality*)

Why are poor Americans so patriotic? They have significantly worse social benefits compared to other Western nations, and studies show that the American Dream of upward mobility is, for them, largely a myth. So why do these people love their country? Why have they not risen up to demand more from a system that is failing them?

In *Broke and Patriotic*, Francesco Duina contends that the best way to answer these questions is to speak directly to America's most impoverished. Spending time in bus stations, laundromats, senior citizen centers, homeless shelters, public libraries, and fast food restaurants, Duina conducted over 60 revealing interviews in which the people he met explain how they view themselves and their country. He masterfully weaves their words into three narratives. First, America's poor still see their country as the "last hope" for themselves and the world: America offers its people a sense of dignity, closeness to God, and answers to most of humanity's problems. Second, America is still the "land of milk and honey": a very rich and generous country where those who work hard can succeed. Third, America is the freest country on earth where self-determination is still possible. This book offers a stirring portrait of the people left behind by their country and left out of the national conversation. By giving them a voice, Duina sheds new light on a sector of American society that we are only beginning to recognize as a powerful force in shaping the country's future.



Overall, the focus on the need to build trust, unity, and economic prosperity that began in 1983 provides the context for representations of Indigenous political identities in all subsequent speeches. One of the primary ways governments planned to help Indigenous communities was to ensure Indigenous people had equal opportunities to participate in the economy, and to foster Indigenous entrepreneurship. Representative of this trend is Adrienne Clarkson's comments in 2004 that Indigenous people had "not fully shared in [Canada's] good fortune", and outlined the government's plan to "see real economic opportunities" developed for Indigenous people.

While these representations appear progressive, they are actually not. They reflect a colonial logic whereby Indigenous political identities are unilaterally constructed by the government, i.e. without consideration for Indigenous notions of citizenship, nationhood, or sovereignty. This form of "market citizenship" defines Indigenous inclusion solely in terms of economic prosperity in an economy that is predicated on colonial resource extraction and dispossession of Indigenous lands and rights.

So if official state discourses in Canada unilaterally construct representations of Indigenous political identity, then what is to be done? Why should we study political identities in official state discourses at all? First, we have to acknowledge that in spite of these processes, Indigenous peoples have historically resisted unilaterally imposed colonial political identities and still do today. Second, I argue we can leverage such studies to help us develop decolonial discursive practices that do not perpetuate colonization through official state discourses.

Official discourses partly structure the way people recognize and think about socio-political issues, including reconciliation and decolonization. Therefore, analyzing them helps us uncover the social and political issues used to create discursive space for reproducing colonial representations of political identity – i.e. that allow this discursive practice to make 'common sense'. Therefore official state discourses represent an important area of focus for decolonization.

Moreover, exploring these representations allow us to uncover the symbolic and cultural resources used by settler-allies who desire decolonization to reconcile this with the desire to live a comfortable life. As suggested earlier, Canada's economy is premised on colonial resource extraction, making these two desires contradictory. In the future, I plan to pursue this line of inquiry to understand how settler-allies negotiate this conflict in day-to-day life. ■

doubtedly, this is one of the most obvious hurdles to the government's recent support of UNDRIP that extends beyond fisheries and oceans.

Less visible but no less problematic are areas of federal policy that appear progressive but continue to undermine Indigenous rights. We observed a distinct shift beginning in 2006 towards Indigenous participation through economic activities, and away from being partners in decision-making. For example, a 2007 report identified the following as a key priority:

"... DFO will assist Aboriginal communities to build stronger, more transparent fishing enterprises; broaden their capabilities to manage the fishery; solidify economic benefits achieved through greater participation in the commercial fishery; and assist First Nations on the east and west coasts to achieve longer term treaty arrangements. DFO's priority is an integrated, strong and sustainable fishery with opportunity for all fishers (p. 2)ⁱⁱⁱ"

While treaty rights and co-management are still acknowledged, there is a clear priority placed on Indigenous participation through commercial fishing or the aquaculture industry rather than through exercising traditional authority over lands and resources. The ongoing occupations of Vancouver Island-based fish farms by members of the 'Namgis, Kwikwasut'inuxw Haxwa'mis and Musgamagw Dzawada'enuxw nations represent just a few examples of how some First Nations have mobilized against this exclusion from decision-making^{iv}.

The picture of environmental governance painted here reveals a long road to reconciling UNDRIP with the current policy framework in Canada. Although some areas of federal fisheries and oceans policies show support for Indigenous rights and participation, the landscape of current policies overall represents a limited and inconsistent transformation of the relationship between the state and Indigenous peoples. Our findings also emphasize that mere inclusion in policy does not guarantee inclusion in decision-making. In fact, policies can be framed in ways that appear highly inclusive while restricting more progressive advances in environmental justice. The current administration's commitment to reconciliation and implementing UNDRIP suggests that there is an opportunity to effect unprecedented changes in how the government engages with Indigenous peoples. To get there will require a holistic approach to re-shaping the country's policies and philosophies in partnership with Indigenous peoples.

ⁱ United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. 2017. Concluding observations on the combined twenty-first to twenty-third periodic reports of Canada. *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*.

ⁱⁱ McLeod, Fraser, Leela Viswanathan, Graham S. Whitelaw, Jared Macbeth, and Carolyn King. 2015. Finding Common Ground: A Critical Review of Land Use and Resource Management Policies in Ontario, Canada and their Intersection with First Nations. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 6(1):1-23.

ⁱⁱⁱ Department of Fisheries and Oceans. 2007. *Report on Plans and Priorities*.

^{iv} Kane, Laura. 2017, Aug 3. B.C. First Nations occupy a second salmon farm on coast. *CTV News*. ■

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