

## FORD NIXES MODERN SEX ED OPPONENTS REFUSE TO TAKE '90S THROWBACK LYING DOWN

Rick Telfer

The newly elected Progressive Conservative government under Premier Doug Ford announced on July 11 that it was repealing the 2015 sexual education update to the health and physical education curriculum for elementary school children. The repeal was one of Ford's key election campaign promises.

The former Liberal government, under then-premier Kathleen Wynne, had implemented the 2015 curriculum update following widespread consultation with parents, students, health experts, and educators. Reports from over 70 health-related organizations were considered in the consultations and more than 4,000 parents were involved in the consultation process.

The update included additions such as teaching students – depending on their grade level – about:

- the correct names of major body parts including reproductive organs;
- physical changes during puberty including breast development in females;
- masturbation as a normal and healthy behaviour;
- different sexual orientations and gender identities;
- Indigenous teachings on human development, puberty, and healthy relationships;
- sexual harassment, sexting, and online safety;
- the varied understandings of abstinence and factors affecting decision-making leading to sexual activity;
- the proper names of sexually transmitted infections; and
- consent defined as a clear “yes,” with “no” or unclear responses meaning “no consent.”

After repealing the update to the curriculum, the Ford government instructed the public school systems to revert to the 1998 health and physical education curriculum, which gives little to no mention of the topics covered in the 2015 update. The old curriculum, for example, does not teach the names of genitalia, does not teach about breast development, does not mention masturbation, does not mention specific gender identities, and makes no mention of consent.

In an opinion column published on Jul. 25 by *SooToday.com*, Sam Hammond, Presi-



Fae Johnstone at Ottawa rally to save sex education, July 15, 2018, at the Human Rights Monument at 220 Elgin St. Photo: Rick Telfer

dent of the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario, said that we “know from research and practice that having the language to name our body parts, being empowered to understand consent and healthy relationships, and being able to address issues such as sexism and homophobia helps kids navigate their social worlds and in some cases, saves their lives.”

Hammond took specific aim at the “small minority of vocal religious and socially conservative parents [who] oppose the current curriculum.” He said that many of them “appear misinformed about what is actually in the curriculum document that guides classroom discussion.”

The Campaign Life Coalition, for example, has been actively lobbying Doug Ford. It states on its website that “Kathleen Wynne’s age-inappropriate and anti-scientific sex curriculum... puts children’s physical and psychological health at risk” and “makes them more vulnerable to sexual predators, not less so.”

The Campaign Life Coalition calls itself “the national pro-life organization” and opposes abortion, doctor-assisted suicide, reproductive technologies, and equal rights for LGBTQ people.

A rally “to save sex ed” was held at the Human Rights Monument in Ottawa on Jul. 15. Fae Johnstone, one of the rally’s organizers and a sexual health educator, told *The Leveller* in an interview on Sep. 12 that Doug Ford won the leadership of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party in part by appealing to hardline social conservatives.

“That is a significant base of voters who not only vote for the PCs but go door knocking for them,” Johnstone said. “I don’t think that Ford cares about sex ed. I think that he cares about catering to, and awarding, his political allies for the political favours they gave him.”

Soon after, in a media release on Aug. 23, Michael Bryant, the Executive Director and General Counsel of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA), called the Ford government’s scrapping of the 2015 curriculum “a discriminatory misuse of government power – a ham-fisted dog whistle of bigotry, of homophobia, dressed up as a consultation fix.”

In the same release, the CCLA announced that it was launching a legal challenge to the repeal of the 2015 curriculum on the basis of violations of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Ontario Human Rights Code, and Ontario’s Education Act.

Then, in a media release on Sep. 4, Elementary Teachers’ Federation of Ontario (ETFO) announced a legal challenge of its own, calling the repeal of the 2015 curriculum “an unprecedented and unnecessary attack on kids and professional educators.”

Reacting to the Ford government’s establishment of a “snitch line” to report teachers who continue to teach aspects of the 2015 curriculum, ETFO called it a “waste of public funds” because “it ignores the systems already in place for parents and educators to deal constructively with issues at the school level.” ETFO also

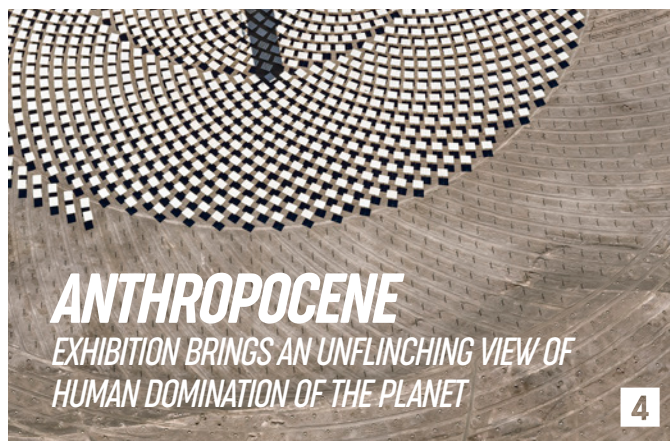
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## DISCONNECTED REALITIES

COUNTRY CLUB POLITICS PUT VULNERABLE HERONGATE RESIDENTS IN PERIL

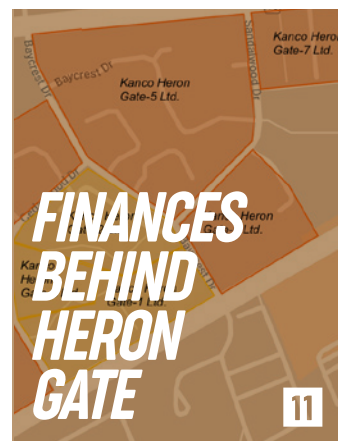
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### ANTHROPOCENE

EXHIBITION BRINGS AN UNFLINCHING VIEW OF HUMAN DOMINATION OF THE PLANET

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## “RIGHTS FRAMEWORK” SHOVES SELF-DETERMINATION INTO A BOX

CANADA CONTINUES TO PUT FEDERAL INTERESTS OVER INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

Andy Crosby

As business resumed in the Canadian House of Commons on Sept. 17, grassroots Indigenous movements began mobilizing in preparation for the roll-out of a legislative overhaul of federal Indian policy this fall.

On Sept. 14, the grassroots Indigenous groups Defenders of the Land, Idle No More and Truth Campaign, who together comprise the Indigenous Activists Networks, issued a press release calling for direct action to “stop the Trudeau government’s Indigenous rights termination plan.” They say that “the existing path the government is taking [is] a direct threat to our sovereignty, our international right of self-determination, our Treaties and our Aboriginal Title and Rights.”

The Trudeau Liberals’ legislative framework on the “Federal Recognition and Implementation of the Inherent and Treaty Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada” aims to replace the Comprehensive Land Claims and Inherent Right Policies, which have defined the modern treaty framework between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government since the 1970s.

The latter policies have been oft-criticized for extinguishing Indigenous rights in

exchange for municipal-type powers, which take place at what Mohawk Policy Analyst Russell Diabo refers to as “termination tables.”

The Indigenous Activists Networks argue that the new framework will actually accelerate the termination of Indigenous rights process.

“Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has launched the largest assault on First Nations collective rights in the 151-year history of Canada... consistent with the intent of Pierre Trudeau’s 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy,” according to their statement, released on Sept. 7 in response to the Canadian government’s Indigenous rights framework engagement document. “What we are seeing now is the implementation of the White Paper through federal law, policy and their proposed Recognition Framework.”

Diabo sees a long continuation of federal policy efforts to subvert Indigenous sovereignty and treaty rights culminating in the expected legislation.

“The core objective remains changing the legal and political status of First Nations to a ‘fourth level’ local ethnic government,” said Diabo in the Sept. 14 press release. “This will have negative, long-term generational

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# EDITORIAL



Atari Teenage Riot's Nic Endo

# REVOLUTION ROCK

## A LEVELLER SOUNDTRACK

Working on an issue of *The Leveller* is a profoundly satisfying and sobering experience. Usually we pontificate in this space, but do you really need more of that? Do we really need to stay up even later, writing one more diatribe? Instead we want to leave with some of the music that has been inspiring us and getting us through the day, while we put this issue together – as a kind of musical editorial.

### ATARI TEENAGE TEENAGE RIOT

“Reset Tour (2015) Live” (or any live video)

**Why we love it**  
First of all, the group was founded in the ‘90s to serve as a musical attack on the Neo-Nazi subculture – fusing hardcore punk views with German techno. Second, we can’t sit still watching live clips of this infectious “digital hardcore” band bounce and fall around the stage, chanting “Revolution! Action! Are you ready? Destroy ten thousand years of culture!” like anarchistic hyper-cheerleaders.

### MARC RIBOT & TOM WAITS

“Bella Ciao (Goodbye Beautiful)”  
**Why we love it**  
“Bella Ciao” is a traditional Italian folksong, sung by poor seasonal workers in rice paddy fields in the late 19th century, and adapted as a anthem of resistance by partisans fighting Mussolini’s fascists and their German Nazi allies in the 1940s. The video for this version juxtaposes gorgeous footage of rebellious protests against ICE and Trump with Ribot’s elegiac guitar playing and Waits’ glass-chewing voice.

### GOGOL BORDELLO

“Immigraniada (We Comin’ Rougher)”

**Why we love it**  
An immigrant punk band with gypsy influences is just roaring fun. (Band members hail from the Ukraine, Russia, Ecuador, Belarus and Ethiopia). You can feel the energy through the music and instantly want to be at the party where they’re playing. It’s also nice to listen to music made with actual instruments, not computers.

### FRANK TURNER

“Make America Great Again”

**Why we love it**  
“Let’s make America great again / By making racists ashamed again / Let’s make compassion in fashion again / Let’s make America great again.”

### WILLIAM PRINCE

“The Carny”  
**Why we love it**  
William Prince has a magic voice – deep and resonant like Johnny Cash, but with a more agile way around a melody. His songwriting can cut to the emotional bone of experiences and boils it all down in sweet turns of phrase. “Carny” is a picturesque portrait of working the carnival circuit, written out of Prince’s own experience on a carnival crew. William Prince is from the Peguis First Nation in Manitoba and his debut album *Earthly Days* won two Junos last year.



## GET INVOLVED! THE LEVELLER NEEDS

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The Leveller is experimenting with paying our contributors, recognizing that your time is valuable and without you, the Leveller would cease to print.

- \$100 - Investigative pieces
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To facilitate paying our contributors, the Leveller has created an Investigative Journalism Fund, so that we can sustain this payment model as well as fund larger investigative research projects, or perhaps even add a journalist to the payroll someday.

Contact [operations.the.leveller@gmail.com](mailto:operations.the.leveller@gmail.com) to contribute any amount.

## Lev·el·ler noun

1 Historical: During the English Civil War (c. 1649), one who favoured the abolition of all rank and privilege. Originally an insult, but later embraced by radical anti-Royalists.

2 One who tells the truth, as in “I’m going to level with you.”

3 An instrument that knocks down things that are standing up or digs up things that are buried or hidden.

*The Leveller* is a publication covering news, current events, and culture at Carleton University, the University of Ottawa, the Ottawa/Gatineau region and, to a lesser extent, the wider world. It is intended to provide readers with a lively portrait of their campuses and communities and of the events that give them meaning. It is also intended to be a forum for provocative editorializing and lively debate on issues of concern to students, staff, and faculty as well as Ottawa residents.

*The Leveller* leans left, meaning it challenges power and privilege and sides with people over private property. It is also democratic, meaning that it favours open discussion over silencing and secrecy. Within these very general boundaries, the *Leveller* is primarily interested in being interesting, in saying something worth saying and worth reading about.

*The Leveller* needs you. It needs you to read it, talk about it, discuss it with your friends, agree with it, disagree with it, write a letter, write a story (or send in a story idea), join in the producing of it, or just denounce it. It needs you—or someone like you—to edit it, to guide it towards maturity, to give it financial security and someplace warm and safe to live. Ultimately it needs you to become a more truly democratic and representative paper.

*The Leveller* is an ambitious little rag. It wants to be simultaneously irreverent and important, to demand responsibility from others while it shakes it off itself, to be a fun-house mirror we can laugh at ourselves in and a map we can use to find ourselves and our city in. It wants to be your coolest, most in-the-know friend and your social conscience at the same time. It continues to have its work cut out for it.

*The Leveller* is published every month during the school year. It is free.

*The Leveller* and its editors have no phone or office, but can be contacted with letters of love or hate at:

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Attendees had the chance to describe the solutions needed for a liveable future.

Photo: Andrew Macartney

# OTTAWA RISING FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE

## Art for the Resistance a Celebratory Event

Aaron Thornell

There is a climate movement forming in Ottawa, evidenced by the over 100 people who gathered in Minto Park on Sept. 8 to create art for the continuing resistance, as part of a global day of action known as Rise for Climate.

The community-building event drew a variety of individuals from diverse backgrounds and generations, who collaborated to create banners, signs, and messages centred around climate justice. The focal point of the event was the design and painting of a large parachute for use in future marches and rallies.

Event organizers, referring to themselves as Climate Justice Ottawa, saw this gathering as an important step towards building a strong foundation for a sustainable climate justice movement in the National Capital Region. There was a distinct emphasis on building community within the climate movement in Ottawa and the surrounding region.

"[Building community] is fundamentally important

when thinking about the climate justice movement and other social justice movements," said Graciela Hernandez, a member of the core organizing team with Climate Justice Ottawa. "Achieving community is the main ingredient to achieve mass mobilization and building people power."

Spirits at the event were high, with the recent striking down of the infamous Kinder Morgan expansion project. On Aug. 31, the Federal Court of Appeal passed down the decision, citing the lack of necessary consultation with First Nations and a need for greater examination of the impacts of increased tanker traffic on Canada's west coast. This victory came after years of grassroots resistance led by Indigenous groups and frontline communities across Canada.

Despite the victorious mood, the organizers recognized there is still a great deal to be done. "We still have a sense of cause and of urgency," said Hernandez. "And long-lasting relationships can have an impact on our sense

of belonging within the climate movement, a movement that is able to reflect our ideas of inclusion and justice for all of us."

Attendees at the event took time to fill out small signs, listing descriptions of what needs would be realized in a future where climate justice is a fundamental right for all. One such sign was emblazoned with "Less emissions, less trash," while another was simply bore a drawing of a scene featuring windmills and solar panels.

For some time, climate organizing in Ottawa has been disparate, with various groups based in the capital working independently of each other, only coming together occasionally to collaborate. Climate Justice Ottawa seeks to change that, and bring together not only climate-oriented groups, but also social and labour movements.

The art build event is building in part towards RISE 2019, a youth-driven event aimed at addressing the climate crisis taking place in February of 2019 in Ottawa.



Photo: Rick Telfer

# PROTESTORS RALLY TO PROTECT WORKERS' RIGHTS

Activists serve notice Ford's PCs are in for a fight

Rick Telfer

More than two dozen activists convened in front of Conservative Jeremy Roberts' constituency office on Sep. 15 in the provincial riding of Ottawa West-Nepean. The group rallied under the banner of the Fight for \$15 and Fairness campaign to demand that the PC government maintain the minimum wage increases and other employment improvements legislated by the previous Liberal Wynne government.

On Jan. 1, the regular minimum wage increased to \$14 from \$11.40. The Liberal's Bill

148 provides for another increase to \$15 on Jan. 1 of next year. It requires ongoing wage adjustments on Oct. 1 of each year to protect the value of wages from inflation.

The legislation also provides new protections for part-time, casual, and temporary workers, an easier pathway to unionization for all workers, 10 days of emergency leave, additional vacation entitlement, and fairer scheduling.

Already, in a guest column appearing in the *Financial Post* on Sep. 14, Ontario Minister of Labour Laurie Scott called the minimum wage increase a

"burden" for businesses.

Yet the Fight for \$15 and Fairness campaign reports on its website that public opinion "polls show that two out of every three people in Ontario support a \$15 minimum wage and decent work" and that "60% of smaller business owners... support a \$15 minimum wage."

The Ottawa action was one of more than 15 similar actions undertaken in towns and cities across Ontario, to kick off a "15 weeks to \$15" campaign. More actions are planned in the weeks and months leading up to the scheduled increase to the minimum wage on Jan. 1.

Roberts, having won his seat by a margin of just 176 votes over New Democratic candidate Chandra Pasma, is seen by the activists as especially vulnerable to grassroots pressure.

Karen Cocq, an organizer with the Fight for \$15 and Fairness campaign, told the gathering of activists that "the point of today is to send a message to the Conservative government that we won't stand for any rollback of our wins in Bill 148."

## SAVE SEX ED CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

said it was "concerned that this anonymous portal will become an outlet for bullies, hate and potentially a mechanism to out lesbian, gay, and bisexual educators."

Like the CCLA, ETFO takes the position that "the government's actions are in direct conflict with professional obligations that are enshrined within the Education Act and the Standards of Practice of the Ontario College of Teachers" and that "the government's directive is also in conflict with the Ontario Human Rights Code and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom."

Shawn Menard, Zone 9 (Rideau-Vanier/Capital) Trustee of the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, told *The Leveller* in an interview on Sep. 12 that the Ford government's repeal of the 2015 curriculum was the topic he was most emailed about by parents "in the last several years." Further, "nobody was in favour of [repealing] it."

"This is a reversion to a less accepting government and one that denies that there are gender identity issues and real sexual education challenges for students that are questioning their identities," Menard added. One the best ways for people to express their anger, he said, "is to not just write the Premier but actually focus on their local board of trustees" by encouraging those local repre-

sentatives "to take action."

Joel Harden, the MPP for Ottawa Centre, recently-elected as a member of the now-Official Opposition Ontario NDP caucus, was blunt in his assessment of the Ford government's objectives. In an interview on Sep. 13 he told *The Leveller* that "[w]e are dealing with a belligerent, focussed government that cares about one thing and one thing only – and that's reshaping the province in their own image."

"They invoke the language of populism, they invoke the language of standing up for the hard work done by a person who works at one or many minimum wage jobs, and their goal is to make sure those people are heard or more money is put back into their pockets," Harden added. "So, they invoke that 'standing up for the regular person' rhetoric and, in this case, who they're standing up for, we know... are people who will not acknowledge that queer and trans families, and kids, exist."

"They play to their base and they use populism to grow their base, and they fundraise off everything, so that's what we're dealing with – and I think the sooner we realize that, the sooner we can make sense of why they go to the wall on everything," he said.

When asked about strategies for resisting the Ford government's agenda, Harden said that "we live in an era where belligerence necessitates civil

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impacts for our First Nation Peoples and sever our original relationship with our lands and the Treaties our sovereign Nations made with European Nations long before Canada patriated its constitution from England in 1982."

The "fourth level of government" Diabo refers to would subvert Indigenous sovereign authority under federal, provincial, and municipal powers.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced the Indigenous Rights framework on Feb. 14, following a meeting with members of Colton Boushie's family in Ottawa. The Canadian government has since undertaken an "engagement process" with Indigenous communities, a process that has been heavily criticized by Indigenous groups as "top-down" and "federally-controlled."

Rachel Snow, spokesperson with the Indigenous Activists Networks, told *The Leveller* that, "The problem with [the legislation] was that it was introduced unilaterally by Prime Minister Trudeau without consultation and without any input from the Indigenous people themselves."

According to a framework overview document, the Canadian government claims that, "The Framework will ensure that the Government of Canada recognizes, respects, and implements Indigenous rights, including inherent and treaty rights, and provides mechanisms to support self-determination."

A primary concern repeated by opponents of the

government's framework has been the use and misuse of language and terms such as "nation-to-nation" and "self-determination."

"When Canada uses the phrase self-determination, and in the context of this legislation, it's self-determination within the parameters of Canadian law," said Snow. "How can we be self-determining and practice our way of life when industry can trump our areas we use to hunt, fish, gather, and harvest?"

"For Canada, self-determination is within a box," Snow continued. "After [federal, provincial, and municipal] laws, and after every other stakeholder has had their say, that is where our self-determination is."

The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) held a national policy forum on "Affirming First Nations Rights, Title and Jurisdiction" in Gatineau on Sept. 11-12. Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations Carolyn Bennett addressed the convention hall on Sept. 11, speaking of peaceful co-existence, sharing land and the treaty relationship.

"If we can recapture that spirit and intent of all of the treaties, that peace and friendship treaties, the modern treaties, the number treaties, the pre-Confederation treaties... even for those territories that don't have treaty, that the spirit and intent of what that was supposed to mean, living in peaceful co-existence, sharing a land fairly, that's what we're trying to achieve."

Diabo, concerned with Bennett's rhetoric, noted in the press release that, "We have to look beyond the nice sounding public relations

disobedience. That's where we are, and we are not going to convince them out of their position... It's just a flat out fight and we are not going to resolve it here in the legislature. This is just one site of struggle. We are going to resolve this out in the community, where people stand up."

In the meantime, Chris Farley Ratcliffe, Executive Director of Planned Parenthood Ottawa, wants parents to know that up-to-date, comprehensive sex education is available from his organization.

"People can go to our website or give us a call," he explained. "We offer counselling sessions, too, if people want to come in and learn about birth control or they want to learn about gender identity, or whatever. We're happy to sit down and have a chat with them. We've also had some initial conversations with the school board and the Ottawa Carleton Assembly of School Councils about offering workshops for parents through schools on how to talk to your kids about sexual health."

Ratcliffe also suggested a YouTube series being produced by Nadine Thornhill, a professional sexual health educator, in which she teaches the 2015 curriculum. He also recommended a guide for teaching sexual health education produced by the organization Action Canada for Sexual Health and Rights.

speeches being given by the Prime Minister and his Ministers and critically examine whether what is being said politically matches what is in federal 'Engagement Documents' being drafted by federal officials to outline what is likely going to be contained in the federal Indigenous 'Rights Recognition' Framework legislation. So far, what the politicians are saying and what the bureaucrats are writing on paper are completely opposite messages."

Following Bennett's speech, and throughout the two days of the AFN Forum, dozens of people lined up at microphones to express both caution and criticism of the Canadian government's approach.

The groundswell of opposition, expressed by many of the chiefs as well as grassroots activists, begs pondering the possibility of a renewal of nationwide mobilizations reminiscent of Idle No More, if the federal government continues to ignore Indigenous concerns. The Idle No More uprising in 2012-2013 was so powerful because the massive mobilizations at the grassroots level were supported by many chiefs, including the Chiefs of Ontario who are opposed to the current legislative framework.

Colonial legislative measures that dramatically impact the lives of Indigenous peoples, such as the White Paper, the patriation of the Constitution, and Bill C-45 sparking Idle No More, tend to galvanize nationwide mobilizations. The former two were initiatives of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's government. Now Justin seems to be following in his father's footsteps.



# ANTHROPOCENE COMES TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY

Exhibition brings an unflinching view of human domination of the planet

Chrissy Steinbock

Anthropocene, a new multimedia exhibition exploring the permanent impact of human activity on the planet, opens at the National Gallery on Sept. 26.

The exhibition features new works from photographer Edward Burtynsky and filmmakers Jennifer Baichwal and Nicholas de Pencier, an award-winning collective known for documenting global industrial landscapes through imagery as haunting and provocative as it is beautiful.

The exhibition features photography, wall-sized murals with embedded films, as well as augmented reality installations with 3D imagery and video triggered by a specially designed app. The scale of the images and the use of immersive technology encourages an experiential understanding of the scope of our species' impact on the planet, something that can often feel abstract.

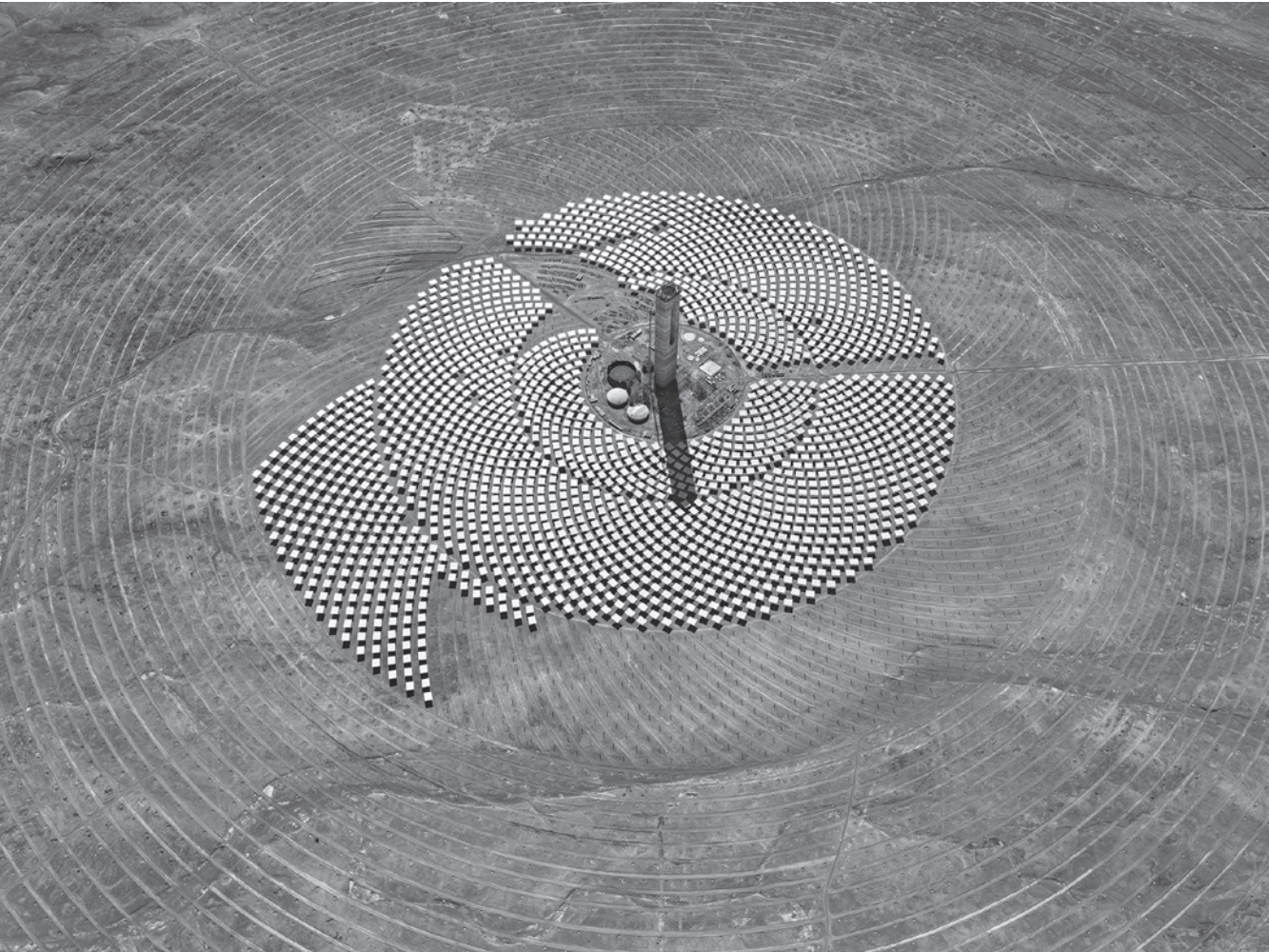
The exhibition's name, Anthropocene, is the proposed current geological age, "in

which humans are the primary cause of permanent planetary change," according to the Anthropocene Project website.

The name comes ultimately from the Anthropocene Working Group, an international team of scientists who have been working for 10 years to determine if the Earth has left the Holocene and entered a new geological age.

These scientists argue that we have indeed come to an "unprecedented moment in planetary history" where humans "change the Earth and its processes more than all other natural forces combined." They point to things like climate change, "terraforming through mining, urbanization and agriculture, human-caused extinction and biodiversity loss; and the global presence of materials such as plastics and concrete" as evidence of the Anthropocene.

Building upon this research, Burtynsky, Baichwal and de Pencier spent four years travelling the globe from the Dandora landfill in Nairobi to log booms on Vancouver Island, documenting landscapes



Edward Burtynsky, *Cerro Dominador Solar Project #1*, Atacama Desert, Chile, 2017

profoundly altered by mining, deforestation, urbanisation and other human activity.

The exhibition at the National Gallery is part of the larger Anthropocene Project, which also includes the documentary of the same name and a simultaneous sister exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario.

Although powerful, this exhibition is not one to prescribe any remedies. "The work asks more questions than it answers, which is what artists are there to do," says Burtynsky in the exhibition's press release. Instead, Burtynsky, Baichwal

and de Pencier say, "Solutions to the problems we face as a species and as stewards of the planet will be found in collaboration and community."

If you would like to connect with people in *your* community to explore solutions, the Ottawa New Socialists are organizing an event called "System Change, Not Climate Change: A Radical Response to the Anthropocene" on Oct. 13.

Brian McDougall of the Ottawa New Socialists says the event is designed to "bring together different segments of the community, groups who don't usually work together

like scientists, artists and political activists, to talk about why a radical response to climate change is necessary."

The event will begin with an eco-socialist tour of the exhibition, followed by a public meeting and discussion of the politics of stopping climate change – with an emphasis on system change and local campaigns. According to the event page, the group wants to emphasize the role of capitalism in the Anthropocene and to break the taboo of the one percent that is "unwilling to question their capitalist system to save the planet."

## DATES & INFO

The Anthropocene exhibition runs Sept. 26 through to Feb. 24, 2019.

The Ottawa New Socialists' event "System Change, Not Climate Change: A Radical Response to the Anthropocene" runs from 1-5 pm on Saturday, Oct. 13.

The gallery will also host the Ottawa premiere of the documentary film *Anthropocene* (Sept. 27, 2018 at 6:30), and the film will run at the Bytowne Cinema from Oct. 5-11.

# SO, WHAT EXACTLY IS ISLAMOPHOBIA?

Barâa Arar

It might seem there is an increasing number of "isms" and "phobias" in our society lately. Transphobia. Sexism. Fatophobia. Ableism. Islamophobia.

Perhaps it is overwhelming to keep up with the terminology, but understanding why these terms exist goes a long way towards identifying and eliminating them in our systems and societies. Activists and aca-

demics coined these terms to encapsulate forms of discrimination against certain groups of people, who are often minorities in a given population.

These terms are not meant to be scary. They are meant to provide us with the vocabulary to explain systemic and social inequality in our lived experiences.

Although I am a visible Muslim, I only learned the world Islamophobia in the last few years. The origins of

the word are debated, but its employment in public discourse has increased recently, as anti-Muslim sentiment and tabled policies rose in North America.

Long before I knew there was a word for it, I knew what Islamophobia felt like.

In grade 3, my father picked me up from school and as we were exiting the car, a woman approached my father, yelling insults at him. I do not remember all the details, but I recall

that as she launched herself in our general direction, she accused him of stealing jobs and told him to go back to where he came from. After a few minutes of these attacks, a man who identified himself as her boyfriend took her aside and apologized to us on her behalf.

At the time, I did not have the vocabulary to articulate what it felt like to be accused by a stranger. I knew something about her actions was abnormal and reprehensible, but I did not know what inclined her to do it. As an adult, I know what words to use, but identifying exactly what happened that day is still not so obvious. Was this really an act of Islamophobia? Xenophobia? Or maybe it was plain old racism?

Moments like the one I just described are messy and unclear. We might never get all the details about what pushed someone to treat others this way. But as a writer, it is helpful for me to use the term Islamophobia to speak about anti-Muslim sentiment and violence in a meaningful way.

When discussing Islamophobia, we must remember it seldom arrives to the party alone. It usually brings along its buddies: racism, sexism and classism.

Gender is a particularly

important factor to consider when thinking about Islamophobia. Articles of clothing like hijab, niqab, burqa and/or abaya mark people both as Muslim and women. That type of targeting is coupled with racialization and becomes another factor in this perpetuated violence. To understand how Islamophobia operates on individuals and communities, we must approach it intersectionally.

Like other forms of discrimination, Islamophobia operates on two interlocking levels: the systemic and the social. Islamophobia has also become more common in our political discourse and institutions. Former prime minister Stephen Harper's unsuccessful yet rigorous campaign against Zunera Ishaq, who wished to wear a niqab at her citizenship ceremony, is a prime example of the state's engagement in Islamophobic practices. Moreover, Pauline Marois' 2013 Quebec Charter of Values, which disproportionately targeted Muslim women who wear hijab or niqab, is another example of politicians legislating with undercurrents of Islamophobia.

At other times, Islamophobia trickles down to everyday aggressions against those who are racialized Muslims. The 2017 Quebec mosque

shooting that claimed the lives of six innocent Muslim congregants is an example, albeit more extreme, of the social manifestations of Islamophobia.

Systemic and social Islamophobia are intimately interconnected. Like I wrote almost a year ago now in *The Leveller*, Islamophobia translates from the political spheres to the social ones easily. The politicization of Muslim identities in politics makes targeting those communities fair game to the general public. It homogenizes and dehumanizes Muslims and makes them vulnerable targets.

Contrary to what many might assume, Islamophobia did not begin with U.S. President Donald Trump's "not-a-Muslim ban" Muslim ban. Or the Bush Administration's response to 9/11. Much like racism, Islamophobia ebbs and flows. Events like those I mentioned often cause violent reactions and outcries on the ground. But let us not be fooled, Islamophobia lingers even between those cataclysmic events.

Islamophobia is not always easy to pinpoint; it is messy and complicated. Defeating it requires a widespread collective response that begins with learning the right words and their meanings.

## Joel Harden

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NOW WHAT?! OTTAWA CHALLENGES LOCAL POLITICIANS TO BE GENDER-INCLUSIVE

Can a local coalition of activists make Ottawa's local politicians care about gender issues? They're sure as hell trying.

Erin Gee

With Ottawa voting on its next city council on Oct. 22, 2018, candidates across the city are being challenged by the activist coalition Now What?! Ottawa to support gender-inclusive policies. Candidates in this fall's election are hearing from a new voice. Now What?! Ottawa is a coalition of feminist organizations and activists who have banded together to fight for gender-inclusive policies at City Hall. They have released an in-depth platform on their policy positions and are hosting a mayoral debate on Oct. 2.

Now What?! Ottawa is daring to dream big about creating a city that is inclusive, equitable, and safe for women, including Black and Indigenous women, women with disabilities, people of colour and LGBTQ+ folks. They are inviting candidates in the upcoming election to read through their platform and adopt policies they support.

The coalition came to be this spring in the lead up to this year's provincial election. Their goal was to make gender a provincial election issue, with a specific focus on gender-based violence.

This time around, gender-based violence is still the ultimate issue, but the group recognizes that there are many

different policies that can lead to reductions in gender-based violence that may not seem immediately clear.

Their platform is built on three broad policy goals that, if considered, would lead to a safer Ottawa for women: safe and supportive communities, accessible and active communities and equitable and economically-sound communities. Several specific policies follow from these goals. The policies, which all fall under municipal purview, include making public transit safer and more accessible for all women, committing to the creation of a Women's Bureau at City Hall and ensuring that women are safe in mixed-gender shelters.

The issue of a Women's Bureau at City Hall hit the spotlight in the spring of this year, with the councillor for Gloucester-Southgate, Diane Deans, bringing the measure forth to council. The purpose of the bureau would be to do what Now What?! Ottawa has already done: use intersectional gender analysis to create and review policies and bylaws to ensure that there are no unintended consequences towards targeted populations.

Other cities across Canada are already acting on these kinds of policies. For instance, the City of Edmonton has a Women's Initiative that seeks to foster and promote equality, opportunity, access to ser-



vices, justice and inclusion for women in Edmonton. Meanwhile, the City of Vancouver approved a Women's Equity Strategy early this year with a mandate to 2028.

Aside from putting out specific policy stances, will the group be endorsing specific candidates? One of the organizers, Bailey Reid says, "Our goal is to not endorse specific candidates. We've clearly laid out our policy positions and are ultimately raising awareness to what gender-inclusive policies should look like. We've met with candidates from several wards to discuss our platform and welcome inquiries from those who want to know more. This approach is important to many residents."

The Now What?! Ottawa mayoral debate on gender issues will be held on Oct. 2 from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. The location will be announced soon on the Now What?! Ottawa's website: (nowwhatott.com) and on Twitter (@NowWhatOtt).

JIAN FEELS BAD FOR HIMSELF IN NEW ESSAY

Gomeshi's non-apology is unfit viewing for humans and teddy bears alike

Kristen Williams

In a disgruntled, woe-is-me essay for the *New York Review of Books*, Jian Gomeshi confirms that he feels sorry for himself, and not the women he hurt, after being accused of multiple assaults on women in 2014.

The ex-host of the CBC show *Q* wants to be in our good graces again. In fact, he not only wants it, he feels – after four long years of people being aware of how poorly he acts around women – that he deserves it.

His written plea is a 39-page victim impact statement where he is, in fact, the victim. Sure, he hurt women through coercion and punching them in the head during sex, but believes the consequences he now faces make



Illustration: Megan McLoughlin and Kyrillos Abdou

*Do you know how hard it is to be C-level famous and then deal with the natural consequences of being an abusive creep?*

him entitled to sympathy.

Do you know how hard it is to be C-level famous and then deal with the natural consequences of being an abusive creep? Jian does, and he just wants his old life back. The one where everyone took him for a feminist ally and put up with his inappropriate behaviour.

Do you know what it's like to have your life interrupted because of assault? Jian does. Now he can't even pass a stranger without seeing their face twist in anxious recognition.

We should know better than to be surprised that Jian has found ways to make himself the one wronged, though. This is how people like him – people posing as feminists while subjecting women to harm – survive and thrive in today's social climate.

In a way, his pity party validates the claims against him more than it generates sympathy. *Of course* a liar would twist the truth on this. *Of course* he would play the victim card. Those tricks have worked on the women he's known, and now he's trying them on us.

Fitting Jian, and right on cue.

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# THE ONTARIO BASIC INCOME TRIAL & THE RISE OF THE PRECARIAT

Adam Ashby Gibbard

On March 31, 2019, the Ontario Basic Income Trial is set to die a premature death, thanks to our new Conservative government.

The trial was meant to generate data on a possible alternative to present forms of social assistance and to see whether it could help people be mentally and physically healthier, secure housing, attain education and gain employment. The plan's cost could then be offset by the savings from scrapping Employment Insurance (EI) and social assistance, reducing use of healthcare and keeping people out of jail.

The project isn't really new. An eerily similar pilot ran in Manitoba in the '70s. Dubbed "Minicome," it was also scrapped by provincial Conservatives when they came to power, before a final report could be compiled.

The '70s pilot ran for five years and was almost identical to the new one in Ontario. The research from that, found almost 30 years later in some 18,000 dusty boxes somewhere, were full of positive

outcomes. Overall it found that people who don't live in constant precarity are healthier, have lower rates of mental illness due to anxiety and were better prepared to enter the labour force.

Doug Ford and other Conservatives don't see this as useful. In fact, they cancelled Ontario's pilot, claiming it was a failed system and that "It really is a disincentive to get people back on track." Many have pointed out that you can't claim a trial has failed when the data for the trial hasn't been completed. And every other completed trial – there have been a number conducted outside of Canada – contradicts Ford's claims.

To add insult to injury, Ford also has his eyes on slashing the \$15 minimum wage hike that's meant to come into effect Jan. 1, 2019 and has reduced a planned welfare increase from 3% to 1.5%.

## LET'S CLARIFY SOMETHING

What is too often forgotten, but is often a basis of conservative platforms, is that people are not lazy or looking for a government handout. Instead, unemployment and

underemployment are parts of the system in which we all live and work.

The Ontario Basic Income Trial was a project that was looking at a new way to help people who suffer – due to capitalism being shitty. Modern capitalism requires unemployment and underemployment, both as an incentive and as a means to keep wages low.

(If you want to slog through economic policy jargon, you can also look up how interest rates are modified to keep unemployment regulated to avoid inflation, usually kept between four and six per cent. In other words, if unemployment was zero, inflation would skyrocket. Our current economic system requires unemployment to work.)

As this is the case, then why is unemployment stigmatised and why doesn't the government have policies in place to make sure folks don't suffer from the hardship of a required aspect of our economy?

None of this even begins to cover the growth in inequality in Canada, nor the growth in the new precarious class: the precariat.

## THE PRECARIAT QUIZ!

Take the test to find out if you're part of the latest growing trend!

- 1) Do you have unstable or insecure work? (E.g. Temp, freelance, contract)
- 2) Do you have to work to find work? (E.g. Networking, retraining)
- 3) Are you over-educated for the work you do?
- 4) Are you one illness or accident away from financial ruin?
- 5) Do you rely entirely on your wages? (E.g. Have no non-wage benefits)
- 6) Do you lack a pension, sick days or paid holidays?
- 7) Do you have precarious status in Canada?
- 8) Do you rent your home?

If you answered yes to more than half of these then welcome to the precariat!

\*Not a precise measurement.

## THE NEW CLASS

Whether you're part of the new class, or know people who are, the precariat now make up a major part of the labour force in Canada – between 20-40 per cent depending on how it's defined (52 per cent in the GTA).

This insecure class is made up of a diverse group of people, from older people having to leave more classic careers, to new immigrants trying to settle in, to newly-graduated students. A lot of this trend

came out of the economic crisis of the 1980s, the inclusion of some two billion workers in China – and the effects of technology, like automation, working remotely and artificial intelligence.

For new and recent graduates, the issues surrounding precarity are only compounded by the large amount of debt they come out of post-secondary institutions with. Something that reality doesn't include is how poorly universities prepare students for their working life. The average undergrad spends three to four years not making an income and then takes, on average, nine to fifteen years to pay off their student loan – with the prospect of living precariously and likely working a job outside of their field and below their level of education.

## POLITICS IS CHANGING, HOPEFULLY

The growing precariat has already led to a drastic change in the political landscape of European countries, like Brexit, and, arguably, led to the election of the Orange Idiot down south.

Politics hasn't kept pace with the changing landscape

of work, leaving a growing class of stressed out and precarious people with no one to represent them. Finding no outlet for their issues, they either become angry or disillusioned. Populism is easy bait for a group of people who find themselves in constant insecurity, trying to point their anger at something or someone.

It's not a big stretch of the imagination that a significant number of people in the precariat voted for Doug Ford, even though there is nothing in his plan that will help them. Much like Trump, it's easy to pander to a crowd of angry people by pointing your finger at scapegoats – while using your other hand to prop up the exact system that created the precarity.

Let's hope that representation comes and sound policy is put in place before more people in Canada are faced with living in precarity. And before right-wing populism drifts farther towards fascism.

"How about at the very least the government run a Basic Income trial to see if that, or something like that, could help?" What a great idea people from 1970s!

# TUITIONS RISE, WORKING CONDITIONS DROP, BULLSHIT JOBS RISE

## David Graeber helps understand the current state of Canadian universities

Mike Hermida

Across Canada, post-secondary tuition fees have been on the rise. All the while, thousands of contract faculty are overworked and underpaid.

According to Stats Canada's blog *The Daily*, the average undergraduate tuition for full-time students has gone up 3.1 per cent since the last academic year. Graduate students saw an average increase of 1.8 per cent since 2016-2017. Specific tuition fees vary from program to program, and from province to province. Particularly hard-hit

were students in Nova Scotia (a 5.5 per cent increase for undergrads, 2.8 per cent for grads), law and architecture students (4 per cent), and graduate students in personal, protective, and transportation services (a whopping 94.7 per cent)..

To make matters worse, all students have to make compulsory payments to their universities, such as athletic fees and a payment to their student association. On average these fees have gone up by 3.8 per cent and 4.2 per cent for undergraduate and graduate students respectively. Compulsory pay-

ments only add to the already problematic student debt.

It should not be forgotten that a large part of the burden is being paid by international students. The Higher Education Strategy Associates reported that, from 2006 to 2016, "domestic student tuition has increased at roughly inflation plus 2% every year, international student tuition fees have been rising at inflation plus 4%." As pointed out by a August 2018 article by *Policy Opinions*, this reliance on international students to subsidise Canadian higher education has its consequences. It attracts

universities towards engineering, business and the sciences: programs that attract international students. Simultaneously, it pushes away health, social science and humanities.

Despite this increase in fees, universities still find a way to offer poor work conditions to their contract faculty. As stated in a September article from *The Star*, part-time professors in Canadian universities are on the rise. These workers are on contract salaries, meaning that they have no guarantee if they will be hired again the next year. Almost half of contract

faculty have non-academic side jobs. An additional 16 per cent of them work at more than one institution. Furthermore, part-time professors of gendered and racialized groups are more likely to be overworked.

Meanwhile, Ontario universities are raising the salaries of senior and middle-income administrators, as well as creating more administrative positions. For example, high-income administrators from the University of Ottawa (excluding top executives because their wages are frozen), got an average 3.4 per cent from 2009 to 2015, according to a *Leveller* article from March, 2018. By comparison, the average Ontario taxpayer's salary has only increased 1.9 per cent over the same time period, while the inflation rate in the country is roughly two per cent per year.

The parallel events of tuition hikes and administrative salary increases can be explained through London School of Economics professor David Graeber's theory of "bullshit jobs."

In an interview with *The Real News* titled "5 Types of Bullsh\*t Jobs," Graeber explains that a bullshit job is any job that is useless. It can be because the employee only pretends to work, or because their job is unnecessary.

This is accompanied by lower salaries and benefits for the rest of the labourforce for those who do do meaningful work (e.g. teaching, producing something, or working in the service or care industry).

In a 2013 article in *STRIKE! Magazine*, which eventually grew into his book *Bullshit Jobs*, Graeber argues there has been a stark rise in these "bullshit jobs" between 1910 and 2000. Automation predictably led to the decline of industrial and farming jobs, with "profes-

sional, managerial, clerical, sales, and service workers" rising steadily. This has led to a ballooning of meaningless administrative jobs that are, ultimately, "bullshit."

For Graeber, self-replicating administrative bloat shows that "the market isn't always right." As he told *Jacobin*, "clearly the market in labor does not work in an economically rational way," when so many people wrote to him, after his original article appeared, to describe getting paid "\$40,000 a year to sit and make cat memes all day and maybe take a phone call."


Graeber cites studies showing that the average American office worker only spends 39 per cent of their time on the job doing the work they're paid for, and that 40 per cent of people "already think their jobs are completely pointless."

One of the reasons Graeber gives for this phenomenon is a worldview where jobs that make products (e.g. manufacturers) or that employ people (e.g. university presidents) are valued more than service jobs (e.g. professors).

Graeber's analysis of ballooning bureaucracy, paired with policies of public austerity, goes a long way to explaining rising student fees. Student fees are going up – disproportionately affecting international students – and working conditions for contract faculty are going down. Universities nonetheless find a way to pay their administrators more and create new administrative roles.

The example of Germany proves that another way is possible. The country pays university tuition for its young people, while keeping the overall per-student cost of an degree half the price of Canadian universities.

We can and should demand more.



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# LES FEMMES TOUJOURS MOINS CITÉES DANS LA SPHÈRE PUBLIQUE

...Sauf dans la catégorie «témoins et victimes»

**Maïka Sondarjee**  
Cet article est paru sur ricochet.media le 3 septembre 2018

Au Canada, seulement 29% des personnes citées pour leur expertise dans les médias écrits, radio et télé sont des femmes. Au Québec, la proportion chute à 25%. Les femmes sont moins citées dans tous les domaines, sauf dans la catégorie «victimes et témoins». Surprenant? Pas vraiment.

En moyenne dans les médias canadiens, 71% des expert-e-s citées sont des hommes contre 29% de femmes, selon la chercheuse Marika Morris. On fait un peu meilleure figure qu'en France, où seulement 20% des expert-e-s cité-e-s sont des femmes.

Le journal La Presse confirmait ces chiffres dans un reportage publié l'automne dernier. Selon les données récoltées par la journaliste Véronique Lauzon durant la semaine du 5 au 9 février 2018, les femmes étaient citées dans un titre ou présente sur une photo en première page dans seulement un quart des cas. Dans l'ensemble, seulement 25% des 1500 personnes citées dans Le Devoir, Le Journal de Montréal et La Presse étaient des femmes, ce chiffre étant sensiblement le même pour les personnes interviewées dans les différents téléjournaux de Radio-Canada.

Les hommes sont plus cités comme experts que les femmes dans tous les corps

de métier canadiens, peu importe si celles-ci sont paritaires ou sous-représentées comme travailleurs ou travailleuses.

## CORPS DE MÉTIER PRINCIPAUX CITÉS

88% du personnel policier : 78% des intervenants associés à des entreprises privées : 76% des politiciens : 73% des avocats et autres professions juridiques : 70% des représentants non-élus du gouvernement : 66% des académiques cité-e-s sont des hommes : 66% des personnes du monde des médias : 66% dans les milieux dits «créatifs» : 55% des intervenants du milieu de la santé.

« LES FEMMES ET LES ENFANTS D'ABORD »

À part les vox populi (basés sur le hasard!), une seule catégorie reflète presque une parité entre les femmes et les hommes. Laquelle? Celle des «victime ou témoins d'événements». Si l'échantillon de la recherche de Morris est pris dans son ensemble (intervenants canadiens et internationaux), 47% des victimes ou témoins cités sont des femmes, contre 53% d'hommes. Excepté pour la catégorie des

intervenants du milieu de la santé et celle des vox pop, cette catégorie est la seule qui s'approche du 50-50. Les données sont sensiblement les mêmes dans les médias français.

Le fait que les femmes soient plus souvent considérées lorsqu'on cherche à interviewer des victimes que des experts n'est pas surprenant. Les femmes sont souvent associées à une position faible et inférieure, c'est-à-dire à une position de victime. Cela s'explique par le phénomène du «mythe de la protection». Ce mythe veut que la femme ait besoin d'être sauvée, car plus faible et plus souvent en détresse. Ce phénomène explique que l'on attribue souvent moins d'agentivité aux femmes qu'aux hommes, soit la capacité d'agir par elles-mêmes et de prendre des décisions autonomes.

Dans la littérature, la cinématographie (surtout les comédies romantiques!), les livres d'histoire et les médias, les femmes sont souvent représentées comme innocentes, victimes ou passives plutôt que comme personnage principal ou préparatrice d'actes héroïques ou criminels.

L'expression bien connue les «femmes et les enfants d'abord» fait directement référence à ce principe, puisque les femmes sont mis dans la même catégorie que les enfants; celle d'êtres dépendants et passifs qui doivent être «sauvés». «Les femmes et les enfants d'abord» ne veut pas dire «les femmes et leurs enfants», mais bien les femmes ET les enfants, comme faisant



Photo: Hidden Figures

partie de la même catégorie de personnes faibles et incapables de se débrouiller.

## L'EXPERTISE AU FÉMININ

Le principe du mythe de la protection est visible dans les médias d'information puisque inconsciemment les journalistes vont faire appel aux femmes lorsqu'il s'agit de témoigner d'un événement dont elles ont pu être victime, mais pas pour agir à titre d'experte. Il n'est donc pas étonnant qu'une des seules catégories où les femmes sont presque à parité avec les hommes soit celle où elles sont des «victimes ou témoins». La femme est facilement témoin ou victime, mais rarement détentrice de connaissances valides et valorisées.

Bien sûr, ce n'est pas la seule raison. Les femmes se font souvent moins confiance quant à leur expertise et ont tendance à moins souvent répondre à l'affirmative à des demandes de journalistes (surtout de dernière minute, comme elles sont encore les principales responsables des enfants, donc d'aller les chercher en fin de journée, de préparer les repas, etc. Les médias ne prennent pas en compte la conciliation travail-famille, ce qui ne facilite pas la présence des femmes).

Une recherche réalisée par Laura Shine et moi-même,

## Les Sans-Culottes

Les Sans-culottes étaient les révolutionnaires radicaux pendant la Révolution française (vers 1789). Leur nom émanait des pantalons qu'ils portaient au lieu de la culotte courte et des bas, portés par les nobles et les bourgeois.

### Le Leveller étend ses branches!

Nous acceptons actuellement des articles en français pour la prochaine édition du Leveller.

Envoyez vos articles à [editors.the.leveller@gmail.com](mailto:editors.the.leveller@gmail.com)

et qui sera publiée dans le prochain recueil de l'Esprit Libre, révèle que le sentiment de l'imposteur compte pour beaucoup. Les femmes que nous avons interviewées citent démesurément le manque de confiance et le fait que contrairement aux hommes, elles n'acceptent pas toutes les demandes d'entrevues, surtout quand elles ne sont pas expertes sur le sujet. Au contraire, elles ont l'impression que les hommes ont beaucoup moins de réticences à s'exprimer sur un sujet qui ne relève pas de leur domaine principal d'expertise.

Les femmes devraient-elles apprendre à dire oui plus sou-

vent? Oui et non. En fait, il est dangereux de dire que la cause est individuelle lorsqu'elle est avant tout systémique. Il ne suffit pas de dire aux femmes «aidez-vous vous-même» et «faites vous plus confiance». Le manque de confiance et le sentiment d'imposture vient surtout du fait que les hommes sont surreprésentés dans les médias et donc que l'on associe l'expertise à un trait avant tout masculin. L'expertise peut aussi être féminine – ou féministe.

Il faut que les journalistes fassent un effort, que les employeurs (universitaires et autre) offre du support en temps et en formation pour les femmes qui désirent avoir une voix dans les médias, et que le public soit conscientisé à cette différence de parité dans les médias. Il faut aussi que les hommes apprennent à dire non aux demandes d'entrevues. Ou encore mieux, qu'ils réfèrent à une femme qui a autant sinon plus d'expertise qu'eux sur le sujet qui leur est demandé. Il faut faire la formation des femmes «expertes», mais aussi changer notre perception des femmes comme moins capable d'expertise.

Les données utilisées dans cet article proviennent d'une recherche effectuée en 2015 par Marika Morris de l'École d'études canadiennes de l'Université Carleton, pour le compte de l'organisme Informed Opinions - Expert Women. Morris a examiné 1467 articles de sept programmes ou médias canadiens à grandes audiences, précisément, les sections nouvelles et accessibles en ligne du Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, National Post, La Presse, CTV National News, CBC The Current et ICI Tout le monde en parle. La collecte de données s'est faite sur trois périodes entre octobre et décembre 2015, pour un total d'environ 15 jours de données. Les personnes transgenres ont été codées selon le genre avec lequel ils ou elles se présentent.

# AT OPIRG CARLETON

OPIRG Carleton is your social justice resource centre at Carleton University! We are student-run, student-led and student funded and exist to help broaden and expand your university experience!  
If you're into social justice and you want to be a part of a change-making community, check us out!

## Events

OPIRG puts on workshops, talks and events during the year related to different social justice issues and campaigns - local and international. Some events we have planned for this year are:

- Anti Oppression workshops
- Social Justice
- Film Festival
- Monthly Wings Nights
- Surviving Capitalism Workshop Series

## Resources

In addition to all our events being free and open to all, we also offer resources to make University more accessible. We offer:

- Bursaries for international, Indigenous, graduate & undergrad students
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- Accessibility Fund
- Free pizza during exam time and snacks in our office all the time

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Photo taken by Vincent St-Martin at a protest of the Carleton University Board of Governors Meeting organized by students in February. The group was protesting to stop an increase of tuition fees, asking for a better and safer Sexual Violence Policy, and fair treatment of TA's and Contract Instructors at Carleton.



# DISCONNECTED REALITIES

WORDS & PHOTOS: NEAL ROCKWELL

## COUNTRY CLUB POLITICS PUT VULNERABLE HERONGATE RESIDENTS IN PERIL



In early May, 105 families residing in Alta Vista's Herongate neighbourhood received notices informing them that their homes were to be demolished. They would have to move out by Sept. 30.

This is the second time in two years that Timbercreek Asset Management, the housing complex's owner, has displaced residents to make way for new construction. Upon learning this news, residents began organizing under the banner of the Herongate Tenant Coalition, mobilizing in a bid to save their homes and community from destruction.

I began documenting what was happening in Heron Gate in late May after being contacted by some of the coalition's organizers. My original focus was to record what was happening on the ground in the community.

I took photos, conducted interviews and made short videos that captured the neglected state of buildings, the fears and anxieties of residents, as well as their desire to save their homes and community from destruction.

My first impression of Heron Gate was one of shock. I was surprised that a place like this could exist in Ottawa.

Uncovered dumpsters — perpetually overflowing with trash — had been dropped haphazardly throughout the property. Old mattresses were piled in a small enclosure near the unmaintained pool, where plastic bags and empty drink containers floated in brackish green water.

The concrete steps and asphalt walks were crumbling. Shingles were falling from roofs. In one place someone had attempted to secure some shingles with binder clips.

An unsecured front door allowed me to access one of the low-rise apartment buildings. It was a pleasant spring day, but the heating had not yet been turned off.

The hallway greeted me with an airless, suffocating must, and was lined with stained, threadbare carpets. In some places, the baseboards had fallen in.

At the end of the corridor, water damage had caused an entire section of the ceiling to collapse. Clearly, it had been this way for quite some time: the paper on the edges of the dry-wall was brittle and yellowed with age.

A picture began to emerge that confirmed itself again and again the deeper I looked and the more people I spoke with: a portrait of neglect.

Roofs leak, sewers back up when it rains, homes are infested with pests like cockroaches and bedbugs, and mould proliferates. This neglect is at the hands of Timbercreek, and of Transglobe, Heron Gate's former owner.

More recently, I've begun to look outside the immediate boundaries of Herongate, into the world of city politics, the planning process and developer influence.

What has really struck me is how much it seems like two, utterly distinct worlds, one floating above the other. They seem almost not to touch at all — except that what happens in one has profound consequences to what happens to the other.

For the residents of Heron Gate who are within the area slated for demolition, it has been a summer of intense stress and deep sadness. Many people reported sleepless nights, spent worrying about where they were going to go and how they were going to



afford a new apartment in Ottawa's extremely tight rental market.

Heron Gate, despite the abject state of its buildings, is important for its residents. Many of the households in the demolition zone make up a very significant Somali community, which has been built up over nearly thirty years.

For these people, destruction of their homes also means the loss of vital support networks and a strain on friendships, as families will be forced to relocate across the city.

This is one world.

**ROOFS LEAK, SEWERS BACK UP WHEN IT RAINS, HOMES ARE INFESTED WITH PESTS LIKE COCKROACHES AND BEDBUGS, AND MOULD PROLIFERATES. THIS NEGLECT IS AT THE HANDS OF TIMBERCREEK, AND OF TRANSGLOBE, HERON GATE'S FORMER OWNER.**







All photos  
shot by Neal  
Rockwell at  
Herongate from  
May - Aug 2018



The other, the one that floats above, is the world of planning, politicians and developers. At first glance, it is very bland, mundane. It is a world of spreadsheets, official plans and zoning – where friendly acquaintances play golf together and make deals, where inconsistencies between local zoning and the Provincial Policy Statement are ironed out by City Council.

Heron Gate, for a little background, is located in Ward 18, Alta Vista. The city councillor is Jean Cloutier.

Timbercreek Asset Management was founded in 1999 by Blair Tambllyn and Ugo Bizzarri, who both still head the company. Timbercreek became the owner of the property after it was spun off of Transglobe Real Estate Investment Trust. This in turn was dissolved in 2012, a mere two years after being formed out of the previously private company, Transglobe Property Management, which was started by one Daniel Drimmer in 1994.

In 2012, CBC Marketplace did a feature on Drimmer and Transglobe, where they called the company one of Canada's worst landlords.

Of course, that doesn't prevent them from getting a warm welcome from Ottawa politicians.

The problem of developer influence in Ottawa city politics has been long-standing. Mayor Jim Watson is known to be a good friend to developers, and the large numbers of them listed in his campaign contributions are a testament to this.

So far Watson has been unwilling to intervene in any way in Heron Gate. When residents from the affected demolition area met with him, he informed them there was nothing he could do.

Watson's lawyer, also present at the meeting, reiterated this powerlessness. Watson had no legal authority; they presented the situation as cut and dry.

This account, however, is challenged by another event which took place around the same time. In early August, the mayor intervened in Old Ottawa East to preserve two maple trees.

On Twitter he stated, "I have directed staff not to issue any permits to take down those two trees. The developer will have to find a way to keep the trees and live up to their original promise to the community."

Councillor Jeff Leiper challenged him, "Mayor, what was your authority to do that? We've struggled with mature tree loss and the by-law for several years. Are permits subject to "executive order," so to speak?"

Watson replied, "Because I was asked to get involved and protect those two trees and work with the ward councillor to ensure they were protected."

In one instance, we have the mayor taking a bold and vocal moral stance, getting involved and perhaps even overstepping his legal authority to lean on developers for the purported good of the community. In the other instance – the one that deals with the future wellbeing of hundreds of vulnerable, low-income people rather than two trees – he is unwilling to make any statement at all, instead entirely washing his hands of the matter and stressing his utter impotence before the law.

On the face of it, Ottawa East is a much wealthier neighbourhood than Herongate, but there's more.

A comprehensive picture emerges from exploring the tangled web of politicians, business interests and planning consultants that surrounds the redevelopment of Heron Gate. What emerges is a dense and somewhat convoluted set of interests and relationships. Please bear with me for a moment.

- Prior to Cloutier, Peter Hume was the councillor for Alta Vista. He held office from 1991-2014. In 2003 Hume was appointed chair of



the city's planning committee, which oversees development applications and planning policy for the City of Ottawa. He held this position until he left office, after which, he was replaced as planning committee chair by councillor Jan Harder. (Remember that name for later).

- Another notable figure is Jack Stirling. Stirling was the planning commissioner for Nepean before amalgamation. In 2001 he went to work for Minto as vice-president of development. He held this position until 2014 when he started his development consultancy firm, Stirling Group.
- Minto is a huge, Ottawa-based developer, and was incidentally the company that built Heron Gate in the 1960s. As an illustration of this company's influence in Ottawa politics, it is notable that Lorry Greenberg, one of its founders, was the mayor of Ottawa from 1975-1978.
- In 2015, shortly after leaving office, Hume formed a new development consultancy partnership with Stirling, known as HP Urban. Both Stirling Group and HP Urban consult with developers to help facilitate companies' applications through the city's planning process, drawing on their insider knowledge and important connections.
- Meanwhile, Stirling is presently employed for Timbercreek, working specifically on the Herongate project.
- Hume is also Jean Cloutier's campaign manager in his bid for re-election as Herongate's Ward 18 councillor. He was also Cloutier's 2014 campaign manager. When I approached Cloutier for a comment, he said "[Hume] is my campaign manager. Peter's been a friend for 25 years. When I was community association president, I worked closely with him, and he ran the campaign in 2014, and in January I asked him to help me with this campaign and he readily agreed."
- Stirling, as well as running his various consultancies, is listed as the "professional planner member" of the city's Planning Advisory Council, which also counts as members city councillors Jan Harder, Tobi Nussbaum and Scott Moffatt.
- More connections emerge when looking into campaign finance donations. Amongst the numerous developers who contributed to Mayor Jim Watson's 2014 re-election campaign were Timbercreek, which gave \$500, and its co-founder Ugo Bizzarri who donated \$250. Bizzarri's donation is doubly notable in that he is amongst the tiny minority of contributors listed as being from outside the Ottawa region. And he lists the Timbercreek corporate address of 1000 Yonge St, rather than his home address, for his contribution. Suzanne Valiquet, a public relations consultant who, as she has listed on her LinkedIn account, is working for Timbercreek "Overseeing the Communications and Relocation Program at Timbercreek's Heron Gate Development," donated \$250 to Watson's campaign.
- Not directly related to Heron Gate, but somewhat interesting nonetheless, is the event formerly known as the Jan Harder Charity Golf Tournament. This was run out of the Barrhaven councillor's office, the CBC reported, and involved playing golf and asking developers for sponsorship money. This was considered too louche once Harder took over chairing the planning committee, which led her to outsource organizing the little-publicized event to Stirling and Hume and rename it the Just Happy Golf Tournament. Harder is still apparently a prominent fixture of the event.



To summarize: Timbercreek is employing a former planning commission (Stirling), who has also worked for Heron Gate's original developer (Minto) and who runs a consultancy with the planning commission chair and former councillor for Herongate residents (Hume), who now serves as campaign manager for the current councillor (Cloutier). Timbercreek makes sure to donate to the mayor (Watson) and they are all close with the current planning commission chair (Harder), playing golf for charity together.

None of this, apparently, breaks any laws, but it does paint a stark portrait of a system where a close-knit group of insiders pass back and forth between the porous boundary of city politics and the development industry. It is a hermetic world where a small number of people have an outsized influence on public policy and the shape of the city.

It is utterly cut off from the world of deprivation and neglect Heron Gate residents experience, even as rents from neglected apartments help keep this world in motion..

What enables these cosy relationships is the planning process itself.

Mayor Watson may like to give the impression of a system which is largely bureaucratic and perfunctory when it suits him. But the process is in fact highly subjective. In fact it gives a good deal of discretionary power to city council.

One of the primary ways this power is exercised comes out of the city's Official Plan. The province issues something called the Provincial Planning Statement, which is a general guide for all Ontario cities. From this, municipalities must come up with an Official Plan which is in line with the province's policy objectives.

If zoning is in conflict with the Plan – which it often is – developers can appeal to the planning committee as part of the secondary planning process. Developers submit applications to city council and if they are deemed to be within the parameters of the Official Plan, but in conflict with zoning, then councillors are supposed to vote to approve the application.

This may seem perfunctory, but in fact affords significant power to elected city officials, since it is up to them to interpret whether a given proposal is in agreement with the Official Plan or not.

If city council is favourable to developers, which the current one certainly is, it is actually quite advantageous for developers if there are significant conflicts between zoning regulations and the current Official Plan. This gives them ample opportunities to have their wishes granted in a favourable and highly subjective forum.

This returns us to the two worlds, to the ways in which they interact with one another, yet at the same time are kept separate.

Below, people struggle. They worry about paying the rent. They worry about where they are going to live. They settle for substandard living conditions.

Above, these struggles are invisible and absent. Days are spent organizing meetings, attending social engagements, charity golf tournaments and the like. They are signing documents, earning a decent living. At times they are even praised for their hard work and civic commitment.

The two worlds rarely come into direct contact with each other. For the people above, it may be fairly easy to rationalize that they do nothing wrong, especially since established laws seem to disproportionately – and invisibly – favour them. They appear even, perhaps, as exemplars of the mainstream Canadian values of diligence and entrepreneurialism.

Yet what emerges is an obvious pattern where developers, politicians and consultants mix and mingle with each other, much to their mutual benefit.

Cloutier presents his relationship with Hume simply as friends working together. The prosaicism of this description belies the outsized power these sorts of relationships can hold.

Some might view it as bonhomie, others as a sort of legal collusion. The upshot for the residents of Heron Gate – a vulnerable population of majority low-income, majority immigrant people, many of whom are also refugees – is that they now face greater poverty, possible homelessness, as well as the destruction of the community they have lovingly nurtured over decades. ■



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# THE GERMAN MONEY BEHIND THE HERON GATE EVICTIONS

## HOW FINANCIALIZATION IS BEING USED TO FORCE OUT AN ENTIRE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Josh Hawley

In the Herongate neighbourhood of south Ottawa, tools from the world of finance and a flow of European capital are being used to fuel the largest mass urban displacement in Canada.

A small number of corporate executives, from companies that are intertwined behind the scenes have strategically neglected the property, ignored resident demands and city maintenance bylaws, deployed intimidation tactics, and “demo-victed” the most diverse neighbourhood in the city.

Over 500 people, including hundreds of children, received eviction notices from their landlord, Timbercreek Asset Management, in May 2018.

Only two years ago, the first phase of Timbercreek’s seven-to-ten year redevelopment plan for their entire “Heron Gate rental community” forced around 300 tenants from their row townhouses, which were soon demolished to make way for “resort-style” apartments.

(As somebody who grew up in the area, our neighbourhood identity has never fully taken shape, owing to our development as a series of “planned communities.” This is evident even in the spelling of Herongate/Heron Gate. It is clear now the massive monopolized rental community is known as “Heron Gate” (creating the sense of a gated community), while the neighbourhood at large is Herongate (as reflected in use by residents, OC Transpo and businesses).

The vast majority of tenants (89 per cent) who are currently facing displacement are people of colour, with 44 per cent of the families being first generation Somali immigrants. Herongate is already the neighbourhood with the highest level of housing insecurity in Ottawa, with their homes in need of major repair after years of purposeful neglect on the part of landlords, past and present. Many of the families affected are large, with an average of 5.4 people per house. Most have low incomes, yet they pay market rent – which is around \$1,400 or \$1,500 for a three or four bedroom townhouse.

Timbercreek’s evictions represent deep structural racism and classism, as the wholesale eviction of Heron Gate has been left unchallenged by all levels of government, social service agencies and charities. Through the Herongate Tenant Coalition, the class struggle has been led entirely by tenants coming together from the broader Heron Gate neighbourhood to resist gentrification and demand the right to stay in their homes.

From day one, the Heron Gate properties were conceived as a monopoly. Prior to Timbercreek, a company called Transglobe owned the entire neighbourhood. Prior to Transglobe it was Minto, which developed it as a

planned community.

This is still a significant simplification, since the ownership of the property seems subject to endless obfuscation.

The Heron Gate residential properties were publicly branded entirely as Transglobe from 2007 to around August 2012, except for a few late interventions by affiliated companies Blue Ridge Realty Management and Starlight. These two companies appeared on some outdoor signs for a short period of time at the same time other signs remained Transglobe, creating the impression among tenants that their homes were being passed through multiple owners.

In late summer of 2012, stability came, people were told, when Timbercreek placed their stickers over all mentions of Transglobe, leaving only the original grid-lined globe logo on the large signs as a faded stain of a notorious slumlord.

When challenged on the area’s poor upkeep, Greg Rogers, senior vice president of development for Timbercreek, said in February 2018 at the Timbercreek-led “visioning session” for Heron Gate, “We’re a lot better than the last owner.” It turns out the past and present owners of Heron Gate are not so easily separated.

Behind all of these companies lies a serpentine ownership network of corporations, partnerships and trusts, all led by a few individuals and fueled by foreign, European capital.

### Handing Off Heron Gate

A search of property records at the Ontario Land Registry office in downtown Ottawa reveals that Transglobe was in fact never the owner of the Heron Gate properties. Instead, the area was owned by a numerically-ordered series of companies called *Kanco Heron Gate Ltd.* Each company correlated with the City of Ottawa’s parcel division of the land.

Development of Heron Gate began in 1963 with the transfer of the parcels to Minto Construction Co. Limited. Minto – founded in 1955 as Mercury Homes by Roger Greenberg Sr. and his four sons, Irving, Lorry, Gilbert and Louis – has perhaps become the single most influential company in Ottawa in its ability to shape the urban landscape. It is Ottawa’s “biggest home builder” and has consistently embedded itself into municipal politics.

A few years after leaving Minto, Lorry Greenberg entered municipal politics, becoming a city councillor in 1968 and later mayor of Ottawa from 1975 to 1978. Irving, however, stayed with Minto and ran the company until he died in 1991. Gilbert’s son, Roger, then took over as CEO.

Following Irving’s death, Minto’s real estate portfolio was reevaluated and split amongst the heirs. Irving’s only son, Dan Greenberg, created a company called Otnim,

which is Minto backwards.

Two of Minto’s largest holdings, and in fact two of the largest clusters of residential rentals in the country, Bayshore and Heron Gate, were transferred to Otnim in January 1997.

On February 1, 2007, Otnim transferred all seven parcels of land in Heron Gate – then with a population of around 4,000 people and comprising 1,750 units – to the Kanco Heron Gate companies. The deal was estimated to be worth between \$180 and \$200 million.

### The German Connection

The reason why the Kanco Heron Gate companies were almost universally overlooked as the true owners of Heron Gate, except for a few financial reports, probably had to do with the fact that these companies existed for no clear reason. Transglobe was the brand, and Kanco Heron Gate was the tenebrous owner-entity that nobody needed to pay attention to.

Although the Kanco lineage remains opaque, mostly due to Canada’s slack corporate records and disclosure requirements, it can be traced back to a German real estate empire based around the Prajs & Drimmer Group, a Berlin-based parent corporation to 21 companies. This parent is led by siblings Sruel Prajs and Norma Drimmer.

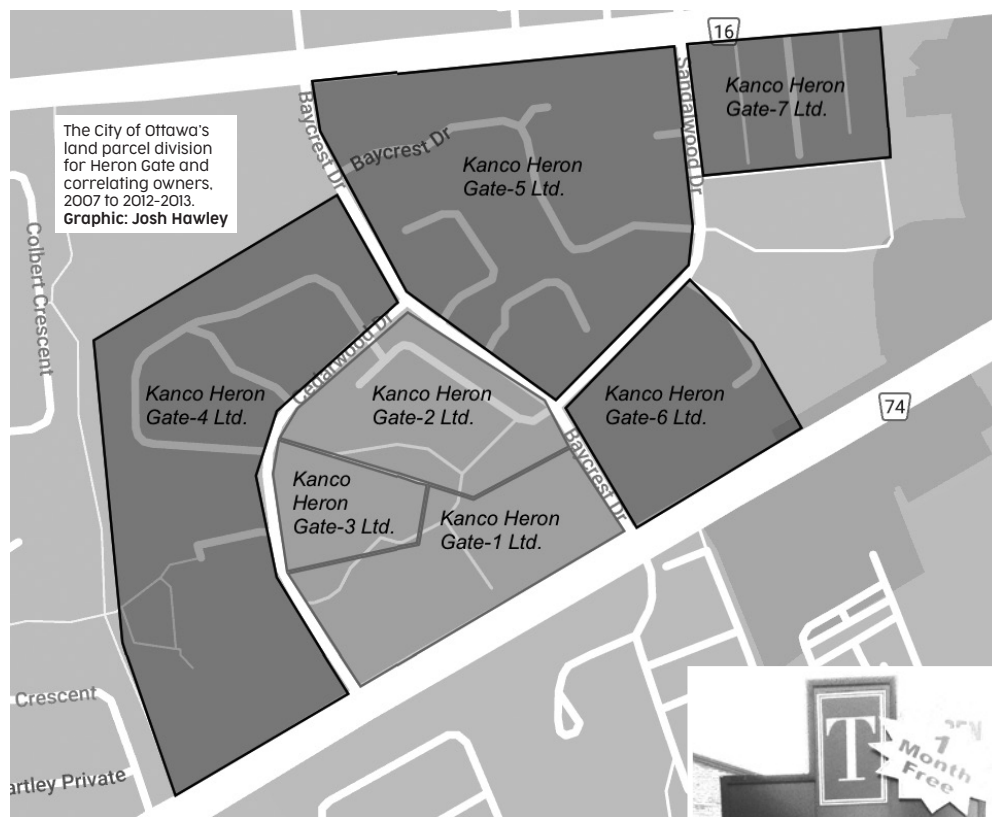
Another Drimmer, Daniel, was born and raised in Berlin. He moved to Canada in the 1980s, where he graduated from the University of Western Ontario in 1993 with a B.A. in German. Two years out of his undergrad, he founded Transglobe Property Management.

The earliest identified ownership of property in Canada by Sruel Prajs and Norma Drimmer is in Mississauga in December 1994, through a company called Badenhurst Properties Limited, founded in 1980 (1994 was the same year Daniel Drimmer would birth Transglobe). Bradenhurst shared business addresses with Transglobe and recently had Daniel Drimmer listed as a vice-president.

Prajs and Norma Drimmer are also identified, in a document from February 1997, as owners of another commercial property in Mississauga, located at 6531–6559 Mississauga Road. In April 2006, the ownership of this property was transferred to a company called PD 6531–6559 Mississauga Ltd., with PD ostensibly substituting for the use of their names.

This commercial property had Transglobe’s brand pasted all over its signs in 2007. It was during this time that Transglobe aggressively acquired properties across Canada. Over four years, from 2006 to 2009, Transglobe became “the third largest multi residential [sic] owner in Canada,” according to *Management Today*.

Living conditions in buildings acquired by Transglobe quickly declined, with a no-



ticeable amount of tenant organizing and news articles on poor maintenance creating an online trail of historical slumification. In 2012, a CBC Marketplace documentary focused squarely on Transglobe, labelling them “Canada’s worst landlord.”

Transglobe was acting as a nationwide slumlord, effectively driving tenants out of their rental units, overwhelming municipal bylaw enforcement departments and boosting profits through cost-saving measures such as unresponsiveness to maintenance requests and ignoring property standards requirements.

Transglobe went public with an IPO in May 2010, becoming a Real Estate Investment Trust, or REIT. Only two years later, the Transglobe brand ceased to exist.

Transglobe REIT privatized, distributing its properties to Starlight, which is also owned by Daniel Drimmer, CAPREIT, the Public Service Pension Investment Board (which is a crown corporation), and Timbercreek Asset Management. Commentators noted that Drimmer’s pivotal involvement in these deals, where he bought and sold between the various companies he owned, had strong undercurrents of conflicts of interest.

Despite Transglobe having turned into a national fiasco, the German Prajs and Drimmer, continued to machinate on the plan for Heron Gate through their connections with Timbercreek Asset Management. Their plan would soon have devastating consequences for those about to face displacement.

The name Kanco, combined with Prajs and Drimmer’s initials, was being used even before the Kanco Heron Gate companies were established. PD Kanco Limited Partnership was established in 2002 and shares the same business address with a number of other entities that revolve around another significant and mysterious company, Mustang Equities Inc.

### The Mustang Gang

After Transglobe REIT went private, Timbercreek Asset Management took over all the Heron Gate properties through two deals, the first for \$143,500,000 in the middle of 2012 and the second for \$51,377,193 in September 2013.

However, once again Timbercreek was never the owner of the properties. The Heron Gate properties became, and remain, a co-ownership between Mustang Equities Inc., TC Core General Partnership Inc., and TC Core Limited Partnership.

In 2012, Ugo Bizzarri was the senior vice-president of Mustang Equities and vice-president of both TC Core GP and TC Core LP. He is also the co-founder of Timbercreek Asset Management, along with fellow University of Western Ontario alumnus Blair Tamblin.

This just so happens to be the same school Daniel Drimmer went to. In fact, Bizzarri graduated the same year as Drimmer, in 1993, with an Honours Business Administration from the university’s Ivey Business School. Tamblin graduated the next year, with a BA in History and Political Science. And the athletic teams at Western are the Mustangs.

Transglobe and Timbercreek have been working together for years and Drimmer is credited as being the driving force behind much of the joint activity. In reference to a 2008 “consortium” deal between the two corporations, Bizzarri spoke highly of Drimmer, telling *Apartment Magazine*, “If it wasn’t for him I don’t think the deal would have gotten done.”

In 2012, partnerships were formed between Mustang Equities and companies affiliated with Daniel Drimmer: Mustang-Master Limited Partnership, Mustang DDAP Partnership, and DD Mustang Holdings GP Ltd., with the DD ostensibly referring to Drimmer himself. These partnerships all have the same business address, on Bloor St. West in Toronto, as do many of Drimmer’s other companies.

### Adding It All Up

The complex ownership of Heron Gate has served to simultaneously conceal and facilitate a coherent corporate strategy.

The plan for Heron Gate has long been to drive the properties into the ground, force out “legacy tenants” through wholesale demovictions, and maximize profits through increasing the density of units on each parcel – rather than abide by the city’s official guidelines on intensification, as Heron Gate already is one of the most densely populated



neighbourhoods in Ottawa.

In a piece for Huffington Post, UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing Leilani Farha explained that it is a global trend for investment firms to prey on low-income homes. She calls this “the financialization of housing, or the corporate capture of housing.”

Farha went to say that Timbercreek is “not your typical landlord” – they practice “unscrupulous demographic engineering in search of profits: replacing poor and vulnerable people with those who possess greater purchasing power.”

This model is not inevitable – or even the only one possible even within our current system.

Ottawa Community Housing (OCH) is currently tearing down 32 rowhomes in Rochester Heights, between Booth and Rochester streets near Little Italy. These homes were built in 1966, the same era as the Heron Gate development, and in a similar style.

OCH will replace these homes with a tower which will qualify for the ambitious environmental “passive house” standard – generating more energy than it uses – and will provide four times more social housing. In the meantime, residents have been placed in other OCH housing.

Heron Gate residents are not so lucky. In their case, the injection of foreign capital and influence has been coupled with the will of local politicians to disperse working class tenants – in a private meeting, Mayor Jim Watson expressed his desire to see the poor people of Heron Gate spread out across the city.

Heron Gate is ground zero for urban renewal of the 21st century, predicated not on explicit state tactics of displacement such as disruptive infrastructure, but on the global financialization and commodification of housing.



# FORD’S FREE SPEECH POLICY WILL SILENCE MARGINALIZED VOICES

Carleton to work with the Ford Administration and “other stakeholders”



De-platforming hate speech protest at a protest against Geert Wilders in Melbourne, Australia.

Photo: Melanie Lazgrow

Abigail Curlew

On the heels of the academic new year, as students were preparing to return to class and instructors were scrambling to put their syllabi together, Ford decreed that colleges and universities must implement a free speech policy, or risk losing public funding.

This decision was announced just before the start of the fall semester, with an ambitious deadline set for the new year. This is a ballsy move coming from the Ford administration, considering only a week prior Ford set up a snitch site to bully primary and secondary teachers into using an outdated and anti-queer sexed curriculum from the 1990s.

It is unclear if the provincial government will be able to feasibly or legally enforce such a decision. Regardless, it is an important time to mobilize on campus to ensure that policies hostile to marginalized folks aren’t solidified by the university administration.

Carleton University has committed to working with the Ford government on the policy implementation. However it remained predictably vague and ambiguous about how they would move forward.

When asked for comment by *The Leveller*, Carleton University spokesperson Steven Reid responded, “Universities and societies thrive when ideas are expressed openly and debated vigorously and respectfully. In line with the recent COU [Council of Ontario Universities] statement on behalf of all Ontario Universities, Carleton will work with government and other stakeholders to ensure that

freedom of expression remains alive and healthy on campus and in Ontario.”

Reid refused to comment any further when asked how Carleton would balance the need for free speech on campus with their responsibility to protect students, faculty, and staff from forms of racism, homophobia, transphobia, sexism and other forms of vitriolic behaviour.

Free speech issues are perplexing, multidimensional, and complex – it is an agonizing process of constantly balancing the imperative to speak truth to power with the need to foster anti-oppressive strategies. This is because of the social stigmatization and discrimination that marginalized folks experience when far-right bigots drop the free speech card in order to dodge accountability or criticism.

The Ford government is calling for the implementation of the *Chicago Principles*, a favored benchmark in right-wing free speech circles. The Chicago Principles refer to the *Statement on Principles of Free Expression*, a non-binding policy statement published by the University of Chicago to address de-platforming strategies used against offensive speakers.

The *Chicago Principles* are controversial in that they encourage action against the protesting and de-platforming tactics that are often used to mobilize against bigoted speakers. They also implement a system of free speech that does not account for societal stratification or inequalities that leave some marginalized writers, activists, and scholars silenced and censored out of

fear of reprisal. For instance, as a trans feminine writer my work exposes me to doxxing, harassment, and intimidation enacted over social media, which I otherwise did not experience when I identified as a cisgender male.

Though the *Chicago Principles* nuance that free speech is never an absolute condition and that there’s sometimes reasonable restrictions on speech and expression on campus, it is broadly insufficient at addressing the major tensions between the right to free speech and the need for anti-oppression policies.

The fundamental issue that I have with these policies is that the authors of the *Chicago Principles* do not account for the existence of structural disadvantages that marginalized folks face in a socially stratified society. If the baseline in our society is inequality, then it’s clear that within a system of absolute free speech, only those sitting on the top of that hierarchy will be free to say and do as they please.

For instance, when Jordan Peterson argues with a trans activist, he arguments literally undercut that person’s gender identity. In other words, his primary arguments denigrate the very terms of a trans person’s sense of self and belongingness in the world. And there is nothing that a trans person can say to maintain equal footing in such an exchange.

However, because of the privileged position of white, cis male scholars, Peterson’s speech rises to the top and – despite its dubious quality – is celebrated, while his opponent’s positions are attacked with the vitriol-ridden digital mob that is his supporters.

When Peterson does react to valid and robust criticism, it is through a lens of anger and vitriol because he isn’t used to his societal privileges being challenged. Ironically, he’s unable to extrapolate from his experience of having his absolutist free speech challenged, have compassion, and realize how his arguments threaten the fundamental human rights of his opponents.

The free speech movement began during the 1960s at the University of California in Berkeley as a left-leaning, radical era of protests and acts of civil disobedience. However, in its contemporary form, the movement has been hijacked by far-right interests as a rhetorical strategy to legitimize hate speech, while also silencing the views of marginalized folks through intimidation, bullying and harassment.

This is compounded by the fact that it is becoming increasingly more acceptable to spread white supremacist, nationalist, and cis- and hetero-normative, patriarchal poli-

tics. For instance, there was an outpour of public support for a literal fascist when Faith Goldy was de-platformed at Wilfrid Laurier University. Folks were pissed off that a racist sitting on the fringe of far-right politics wasn’t able to speak her mind at an institution of learning.

When we let figures like Faith Goldy and Jordan Peterson spread hostile ideologies across college and university campuses, we inevitably create a chilly environment for marginalized folks. This means that simply for marginalized folks to rebut attacks on their basic human rights, they need to stand up to figures hostile to their very existence – and the oftentimes violent retaliation from their supporters.

The stakes of public participation for marginalized folks are burdened with a fear of reprisal from hate groups and their supporters.

Since Ford mandated that colleges and universities must cobble together these policies by the new year, we need to start conversations about how to include social justice and anti-oppression provisions into the *Chicago Principles* immediately.

Deborah MacLatchy, vice-chancellor and president of Wilfrid Laurier University, has suggested a good starting point for these discussions. After a comprehensive investigation into the state of free speech on campus, MacLatchy announced that the university administration would be implementing a “better speech” policy.

In her op-ed for the *Globe and Mail*, MacLatchy writes, “In the face of language that threatens the humanity of our students, staff or faculty, we must continually promote better speech. This means questioning and challenging opinions with sound arguments and evidence. Students and faculty must be able to share views and experiences while simultaneously committing to high ethical and intellectual standards for open, constructive conversations.”

Calling for critical reflection, she continues, “Inclusive freedom involves a vigorous commitment to free speech, coupled with the assurance that all individuals have an opportunity to engage in free expression, inquiry and learning.”

Better speech policies might amount to a leaky patchwork to address the growing discontent around campus free speech issues, but it does allow for a space to begin more robust discussions.

In order to better address anti-oppression principles, we will need to address the issue of burdening marginalized students with the task of defending their own basic human rights. For instance, under this policy framework it will be trans undergraduate students who will be left with the labor or defending themselves against bigoted speech.

We need to ensure that the *Chicago Principles* do not become a pathway to bigotry across college and university campuses. Though it is no easy task, we should take Ford’s political intervention as an opportunity to think deeply about these issues and put forward novel ways to nurture accountable, academic spaces for students and researchers.



A mother plant at the Tweed facility in Smiths Falls, ON. Photo: Adam Ashby Gibbard

## THE LEGALIZATION OF CANNABIS

What policies should we become familiar with

Caroline Rodriguez-Charette

As the country is preparing for the legalization of cannabis on Oct. 17, 2018, various policies are being implemented to encourage sensible use of the recreational drug. While all of these regulations continue to become public knowledge, what are the policies we should become familiar with?

According to the Province of Ontario’s website, people over the age of 19 will be allowed to buy, use, possess and grow a maximum of 30 grams of dried cannabis.

It will only be permitted for use in a private residence, which will also include the outdoor space of the person’s home, such as a porch or backyard. Rules will vary for those who live in apartments or condos and this will depend on tenants’ lease agreements.

The consumption of recreational marijuana will be forbidden in all public locations, workplaces or in motorized vehicles. Failure to follow these new laws will result in hefty fines – \$1,000 for a first offence and \$5,000 for any additional offences.

While the possession of cannabis first became a crime in Canada in 1923, medical use has been legal since 2001. Canada will be the second country to legalize marijuana, Uruguay being the first.

Canadian colleges and universities are still adjusting their own rules for the legalization, but it is important to know whether your college or university will permit its students to use cannabis on campus.

President of the Carleton University Students Association, David Oladejo, said the university is still working on finalizing its policies regarding cannabis, which are expected to be released by the end of the month.

It is already known that students will be allowed to possess up to 30 grams of recreational marijuana, but will

be strictly forbidden to smoke it anywhere on campus – even residence – as it is considered a public place and a work space.

“Right now, there won’t be designated smoking zones on campus like we have for cigarettes,” said Oladejo, in an interview with the CBC.

Although the University of Ottawa will be the first Canadian university to offer courses on cannabis law, their policies will likely be the same as Carleton’s – prohibiting the use of marijuana on their campus.

But not all students agree with the current policies being implemented.

A third-year electrical engineering student at the University of Ottawa, who wishes to remain anonymous, said that stopping people from using [cannabis] on campus only makes sense if they enforce it for alcohol as well. It’s a recreational drug, which affects perception so it should be treated the same as alcohol.

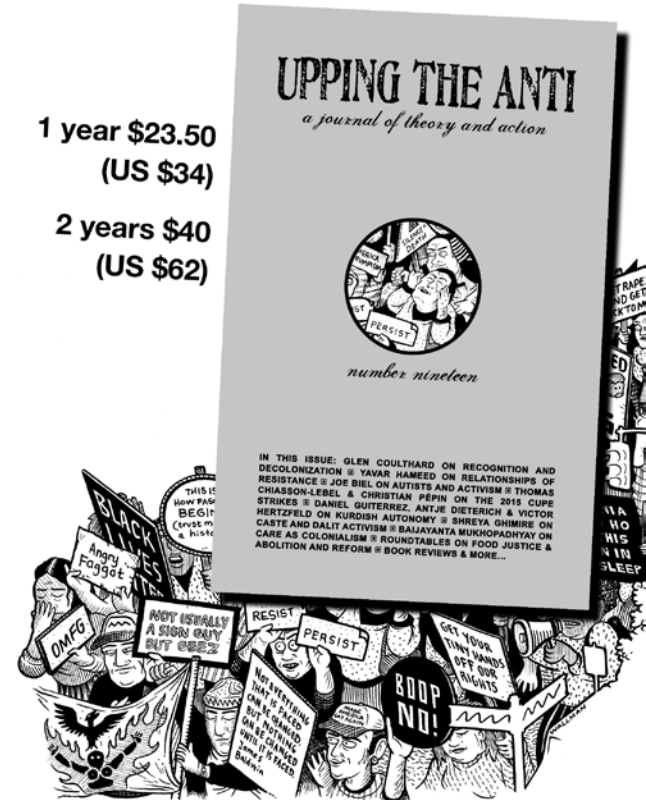
“Maybe they should consider a smoking area. The main reason is to keep students in a safe area where they can relax with others. It would keep them close to their dorms and there could be sober staff on site on the lookout for them,” said the engineering student.

However, La Cité Collégiale will be taking a different approach for their policies. Smoking marijuana will only be permitted in designated areas of the campus, but the rest of the campus, including the residences, will remain a smoke-free environment.

Ontario plans to sell cannabis online this upcoming fall using a website run by its Ontario Cannabis Store (OCS), according to the OCS website. Once legislation has been established, they will then sell their product in private retail shops by April 2019.

Until the legislation passes next month and is implemented, there will still be a lot of questions about how all these policies will play out specifically on the ground.

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# MISOGYNY: A GATEWAY DRUG TO RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Yasmine Ghania  
& Tim Kitz

What do the premier of Ontario and a neo-Nazi podcaster have in common? A lot.

Doug Ford was elected premier of Ontario on June 29, on the strength of a populist right-wing campaign. Fourteen days earlier, a *Vice* article exposed an Ottawa man, Clayton Sanford, as the host of “This Hour Has 88 Minutes,” Canada’s premiere neo-Nazi podcast.

(88 is a common Neo-Nazi code for “HH” or “Heil Hitler,” since the letter “H” is the eighth letter in the alphabet.)

While Ford might not be a neo-Nazi, he’s on a continuum of right-wing populism, peddling a scapegoating politics of fear and hatred. And misogyny seems to be glue that ties these far-right figures together, one electable and the other extreme.

“I think misogyny is a gateway drug to hatred,” Nora Loreto told the *Montreal Gazette*. “Because for straight men who might have a hard time dating, it’s very personal. ... It’s one thing to hate a group of people who you’ve never met and that kind of hatred is a huge problem. But everyone has contacts with women.”

Loreto is a freelance journalist whose tweets went viral after she criticized the coverage of the Québec city mosque shooting by Canadian alt-right stalwart Rebel Media. She received threatening phone calls, thousands of hateful tweets and even photos of corpses. She noted that

most of the messages criticize her as a woman rather than as a writer, and indicates that for these types of men, misogyny leads them to politics of fear and exclusion.

As traced through his online presence, Sanford seems to have followed exactly this path, his growing detestation of women metastasizing over time into racial hatred.

First active online in the early 2000s through forums for cosplay and the video game “The Legend of Zelda,” Sanford’s more personal posts touched on anxieties about dating and high school.

Gradually Sanford’s posts turned poisonous. In 2008 he wrote on the game website, “hit women and they can’t kick you because they’re actually in shock. Or slap them backhand like a real man.”

After bashing on women for several years, he became more strident with his views and branched out, expressing his thoughts on racial topics.

On the same website in 2012, he wrote “guns don’t kill people, minorities do.” By the time Trump was running for election, he emerged on the American alt-right hub “The Right Stuff” as a fully-formed supremacist, dispensing advice on how to make “normie-friendly” youtube videos on Hitler and referring to Indigenous people as “red n-----s.”

In September 2016, Sanford started “This Hour has 88 minutes,” which became one of the most popular and long-standing Neo-Nazi podcasts on the Internet, reliably spewing

hate speech and entertaining segments like a Nazi Germany themed parody of Stan Rogers’ “Barrett’s Privateers.” Sanford’s podcast allowed hundreds of alt-right people worldwide to spread hate, all in one convenient place.

While Sanford was busy pushing the frontiers of acceptable thought and speech with explicitly hateful, misogynist and racist statements, Ford was pulling a Trump and pushing the boundaries of what you could say and get elected.

While running for the PC leadership, Ford said “I live with five women at home. I can handle Caroline Mulroney and Christine Elliott.” It was as if their gender was the most relevant aspect of their campaign.

He publically remarked Kathleen Wynne’s smile, commenting on it twice as a tactic to minimize her authority, as if it would put her in her place.

What does her smile have to do with her policies?

Ford also supports members of his caucus who disrespect and blatantly degrade women. He appointed Andrew Lawton in the London West riding and stood by him even after Lawton made public statements like “I was called a misogynist twice today. I’m sure my girlfriend would be the first to say that isn’t the case, when I let her speak.”

Ford’s sexism has trickled into his politics and policies. By an order from the PC party, schools are now required to teach the same sex-ed curriculum that they taught in the

The continuity between Ontario’s premier and a neo-Nazi podcast host

1990s. During the leadership race, Ford said he would let members of his caucus open up the topic of abortion. Ford seems to be determined to minimize women’s choice and agency.

Now the drug of exclusion is making its way to other topics. Ford has made it clear that Ontario wants to wash its hands of asylum seekers entering the province. He stated that we should “take care of our own,” indicating he begrudges immigrants. Even after facing criticism for this statement, he repeatedly refused to explain his comment.

Because his misogyny and racism is subtler than Sanford’s and (probably) unconscious, Ford can tap into all the unspoken, semi-subtle racism and sexism in our society – the racism and sexism that is in denial about its own existence.

Meanwhile, Ford (or Trump, etc.) is so brash and belligerent about his own utterly unreflexive views that it’s like a dog whistle calling all the explicit male and white supremacists. “He’s our guy! Here’s someone we can get excited about, root for, mobilize for.”

That was exactly white supremacists and alt-right figures did.

Why else would far-right figures encourage people to vote for Ford and actively support his campaign?

On the podcast “This Hour has 88 Minutes,” Sanford’s co-hosts encouraged listeners to buy PC memberships in order to vote for Ford.

The alt-right men’s organi-



**FORD AND SANFORD**  
THEY'RE SIMILAR... AND NOT JUST IN NAME.

zation called “The Proud Boys” urged their supporters to go to Ford campaign rallies.

The Proud Boys are proud to call themselves “neo-masculine reactionaries” and “Western chauvinists who refuse to apologize for creating the modern world,” according to two of their most common catchphrases.

Their co-founder Gavin McInnes was recently in the news for calling women he disagreed with “colostomy bags for various strangers’ semen.”

Ford was also endorsed by Rebel Media personalities, the white supremacist podcast “League of the North” and leading neo-Nazi “Zeiger” (now exposed as Montrealeur Gabriel Sohler Chaput).

Far-right organizations are confident in their ability to expand their ranks in this political climate. For these reasons, when Ford won the elections, it was a win for white supremacists as well.

Both the differences and similarities between Sanford and Ford help explain how dangerous they are, and how their more-or-less blatant sexism and racism works together in tandem.

Gender discrimination is common in this day and

age. We need to pay close attention to this critical issue in this sensitive political climate and attend to it before it’s too late.

It needs to stop this grotesque misogynistic gateway drug that’s been creeping its way around, causing hate and destruction.

A countering step in the right direction is the creation of NowWhat?! Ottawa, a non-partisan collection of organizations whose goal is to showcase gender-based issues and inequalities in provincial and municipal elections (see p. 5 for details). Now What?! will be hosting a debate in Ottawa on gender-based municipal issues where mayoral candidates are invited to debate municipal policy issues that contribute to gender-based violence. These debates help to bring questions of gender to the forefront in public policy and make us aware of the very personal, often overlooked views of our leaders.

It’s just as important to challenge everyday misogyny and women-hating rhetoric, wherever we encounter it, knowing that we’re blocking one common pathway to fascism and white supremacy.

## WHODUNIT



## MATCH THESE WORDS OF WISDOM TO THE PUBLIC FIGURE!

- Without tension, things don’t change.
- “Time’s Up is really about the power dynamics in our society. It’s trying to upend five thousand years of the way civilization’s been structured – whether that’s the Hindu, Islamic, Judeo-Christian, Western civilization – the patriarchy, it’s after that.”
- “When I see a dreamcatcher at a festival, I think of my grandmother and how she wasn’t allowed to make dreamcatchers, and she didn’t learn how to, and she didn’t pass on those skills to my mother or myself. That gets triggered when I see that, and non-indigenous people that don’t know that history, they don’t have that context. Cultural appropriation does not exist in a vacuum.”
- “No one earns a billion dollars. People earn \$10 an hour, people steal a billion dollars.”
- “They haven’t seen anything like what’s coming at us in 25, 30 years, maybe ever. It’s tremendously big and tremendously wet, tremendous amounts of water...It could very well be very similar to Texas in the sense that it’s tremendous amounts of water ... probably more water than we’ve ever seen in a storm or a hurricane.”
- “There is a garbage culture out there, where we pour garbage on people. Then the pollsters run around and take a poll and say, do you smell anything?”
- “To vote is to give up your own power. To elect a master or many, for a long time or a short time, is to resign one’s liberty. Instead of entrusting the defence of your interests to other, see to the matter by yourselves. Instead of trying to choose advisors that will guide you in future action, do the things yourselves, and do it now.”
- “I don’t care whether you’re driving a hybrid or an SUV. If you’re headed for a cliff, you have to change direction. That’s what the American people called for in November, and that’s what we intend to deliver.”
- “I have a great deal of respect for our judicial system but lawmaking power is given by the people... We are taking a stand. If you want make new laws in Ontario or in Canada, you first must seek a mandate from the people and you have to be elected.”
- “Besides Québec solidaire, who is really talking about climate change? Nobody. And I think that is really dangerous.”

- Barack Obama, 44th president of the United States
- Donald trump, current president of the United States
- Steve Bannon, troll-in-chief of the alt-right
- Nikuyah Walker, Charlottesville’s first black mayor
- Bob Woodward, American Journalist and author
- Manon Massé, member of Quebec Solidaire
- Élisée Reclus, 19th century anarchist geographer
- Riley Kucheran, Ojibwe PhD student
- Doug Ford, Premier of Ontario
- Fran Lebowitz, author and sardonic social commentator



a.) Nikuyah Walker; b.) Steve Bannon; c.) Riley Kucheran; d.) Fran Lebowitz; e.) Donald Trump; f.) Bob Woodward; g.) Élisée Reclus; h.) Manon Massé; i.) Doug Ford; j.) Fran Lebowitz



## VENUS ENVY ADVISORY

### SEXUAL HEALTH & PLEASURE ALERT

HEY VE,

*I don't know how to approach this... I identify as a cisgender heterosexual woman and I think I'm attracted to women. I've been turned on by women (women whom I interact with in real life, and women I see on screen) and they often enter my fantasies. However, I have never been able to approach women because I'm scared that I'll chicken out when it's time for me to get to business. I also don't want to seem like I'm fetishizing women in the LGBTQ community. Can I get some advice?*

- Questioning on Queensview

HEY QUESTIONING,

Once upon a time I was the co-ordinator at my university's pride centre and this was one of the most common questions I would get from students. A lot of people would be really disappointed to learn that there was no quick and easy way to answer this question.

And I get it, because it's so tempting to believe that you could use something as concrete as a magazine quiz to figure out your sexuality. Wouldn't it be great if it was easy as checking mostly As to find out that you're straighter than a Gender Reveal party, or checking mostly Bs to learn that you're gayner than the entire cast of *Queer Eye*?

In reality though, sexuality is a lot more fluid than we would like to believe. Attraction can also be really confusing, especially when it's up against the narrative that all queer people have always known that they were queer. Though that's definitely one way that people experience their sexuality, lots of us spend years thinking we just really love gay porn before realizing that it goes a bit deeper than that.

It seems like you've already spent a lot of time thinking about this, so I think the time may have come for you to just jump in and experiment. I know that's probably a terrifying sentence to read, but I'm just saying to try one small doable thing and see how that goes.

Maybe it's having a drink at a queer bar, or attending an event at the Gender and Sexuality Resource Centre, or creating a profile on Her (an app that is basically Tinder for queer women).

Whatever action feels right for you, the idea is to take one tiny step toward queerness, take some time to get used to it, then evaluate how you feel. If the first step feels good, take another one, then repeat as needed.

As long as you're being sincere in whatever you do, you probably don't have to worry too much about fetishizing queer women. Even if what you're doing is grinding with women on the dance floors of straight bars, I actually don't think there's a wrong way to explore your sexuality.

What's most important with whatever step you take is that you're being honest with yourself and the people you're interacting with about where you are emotionally. It may happen that some queer women will not want to get romantically involved with you if you're not 100 per cent sure about your sexuality, but I'm sure there will be lots of other women who would be happy to be your experimental make-out partner.

And for more info about officially getting down to business, I would definitely recommend the book *Girl Sex 101* by Allison Moon. It is such a comprehensive read, and will answer all the questions you don't even know you have.

If you do take a little leap and then chicken out, that is totally fine! It's so normal to feel nervous about new experiences, and there's no rush to figure anything out. Plus, you're not on anyone else's timeline here. Put yourself first, take it as slowly as you want to, and enjoy yourself as much as you can.

Sincerely,  
**SAM WHITTLE**  
Sex Educator and Owner of Venus Envy

Send questions you want answered in  
to [editors.the.leveller@gmail.com](mailto:editors.the.leveller@gmail.com)

# FOLK MUSIC IS THE ORIGINAL PUNK ROCK

## Log Drive Café features traditional do-it-yourself music

Tim Kitz

The Log Drive Café is a traditional music concert series, featuring folk singers and musicians in a coffee-house setting, in which the audience is welcome to sing along.

Traditional music you say? Sing alongs? Sounds boring, doesn't it? That's where you're wrong, dear reader.

Traditional folk music is the original punk rock – the original do-it-yourself, participatory, anti-elitist music.

See, before the mass media changed everything, people created music communally – authoring, playing and transmitting songs anonymously and collectively. Folk music was by and for ordinary folk, where they played and sang for and with each other. Before mass media technology brought the music to you, you had to make it yourself, or at least hang out in the same room as someone who did.

And if old-time folk music makes you think of Pete Seeger, all cutesy and foursquare and sing-songy, think again. Try listening to the folks Pete Seeger learned all his songs from. Listen to the bible-black harmonies of the Carter Family or the feral roar of Blind Willie's Johnson's voice. Listen to Roscoe Holcomb's lonesome keen, or the ethereal blues of Skip James' guitar picking.

Now the market may have inevitably favoured the cutesy, accessible-to-everyone folk music of Seeger and the Kingston Trio over their feral progenitors. But further musical commodification and the gradual development of a star system only distorted folk culture more. The sixties definitively turned folk music from traditional, informal, communal music into mostly-acoustic music played by professional songwriters – music by stars (and wannabe stars) that was supposed to be consumed by passive audiences in unmov-

ing and perfect silence.

Now fear not, gentle reader, for this article will not indulge in any further nostalgia or pseudo-Marxist musicological analysis. It's time to talk about the here and now! It's time to talk to a couple of young women who are ushering the Log Drive Café – and local traditional music, undoubtedly – into a bright and living future.

Chrissy Steinbock is the new organizer of the Log Drive Café.

Hold on, I'm getting ahead of myself. (It must be the excitement.)

The Log Drive Café was started in 2012, by Maura Volante and Ranald Thurgood. Maura had been performing traditional folk music since discovering it in coffeehouses and songcircles in Vancouver in the '60s, and Ranald took the stuff so seriously he got a PhD in folklore from Memorial University.

Maura told *The Leveller* that in the spring of 2012, "[we had] been discussing the lack of an environment in Ottawa for people who sing traditional folk songs. There are many sessions in Ottawa for instrumentalists and singer-songwriters, but at that point there was no public event that provided a space for traditional singers."

The couple found a venue at the Abbotsford House Recreation Centre – an old stone house across from Lansdowne Park – and decided to try leading a singalong concert of traditional Canadian folk songs. The concert went well, and they decided to make it a regular event, hosting dozens of performers singing hundreds of songs over the past six years.

"It has been a wonderful project," Maura told *The Leveller*, "but over the years the promotional efforts became wearying," and in 2018 the couple decided to let it go. They held a grand finale concert in May, featuring a panoply of past performers.

Fortunately, in stepped Chrissy Steinbock to save the day and keep the Log Drive Café running. A musician herself, Chrissy writes her own songs – delightful songs, I promise – but she's also passionate about singing traditional songs, and making sure they're passed on as living things.

Ensuring that you hear directly from Chrissy seemed



Rural bluesmen Mississippi John Hurt and Skip James were dangerously cool before Elvis was even born

worthwhile, and fortunately she consented to answer a couple of questions for *The Leveller*.

**The Leveller:** What made you want to take over organizing the Log Drive Café?

**Chrissy:** The Log Drive Café is a space for some of the things I most believe in and think there should be more of: singing, especially group singing, folk music, and stories.

Also, the Log Drive Café makes traditional music accessible and makes space to experience community. Singing with others is a pretty powerful thing but not everyone wants to join a choir and going to song circles or kitchen parties can be intimidating if you don't know the songs or the people singing.

Anyone can come to the Log Drive whether it's to listen, to sing or meet people or all of the above and I think you'll be surprised by what you find.

**The Leveller:** Why do you think it's important to have venues for traditional folk music performance?

**Chrissy:** Traditional music is about sharing songs in the purest sense.

Traditional music is everybody's music so you can come out to a Log Drive show and even if you don't know any of the songs you can find yourself singing along on the choruses. That song is now part of you and you're part of it.

Sure, a singer-songwriter hopes that listeners will like their stuff enough to sing it while they're making breakfast, but that song is still kind of the writer's property. If you learn a traditional song you're tapping into something bigger, a shared resource, a kind of waterway of culture rather than a private well.

That song was shaped by others before you and is now yours to shape in turn.

Now the first Log Drive Café of the new season will feature Daphne Volante. Daphne will be bringing their deep repertoire of traditional ballads to the Log Drive Café

on Sept. 28. Daphne uses the pronouns they/them and ze/hir, and consented to talk to *The Leveller* too. (That's right, you get to hear from two young women who like old songs in one article!)

**The Leveller:** How did you get into traditional folk music?

**Daphne:** I was basically born into it. My mom was always singing traditional music around me, and I grew up going to folk events, both in Vancouver, where I was born, and here in Ottawa. Traditional music has always been a part of my life in some form or another.

**The Leveller:** How did you claim traditional folk music as our own rather than rebelling against it?

**Daphne:** It took me taking a step away from traditional music to find it in other ways. In my rebellion, I stumbled across artists like ["freak-folk" harpist] Joanna Newsom and Melora Creager [of "cello-rock" band Rasputina], who write their own music but also keep old songs alive – and who introduced me to Child Ballads [i.e., songs from a classic anthology of ballads by Francis James Child].

**The Leveller:** For anyone that doesn't get traditional folk music yet, why should people care about these songs?

**Daphne:** I think there's something very powerful about a story or an image that resonates with people enough for them to carry the songs through oral tradition. It's a visceral link to the past, through emotion. However different people may have been 500 years ago, we know they loved, they celebrated, they mourned, and they sang about it, and we still do these things today.

*Daphne Volante will play the Log Drive Cafe on Friday, Sept. 28 at 7:30. Tickets will be \$10 at the door or pay what you can.*

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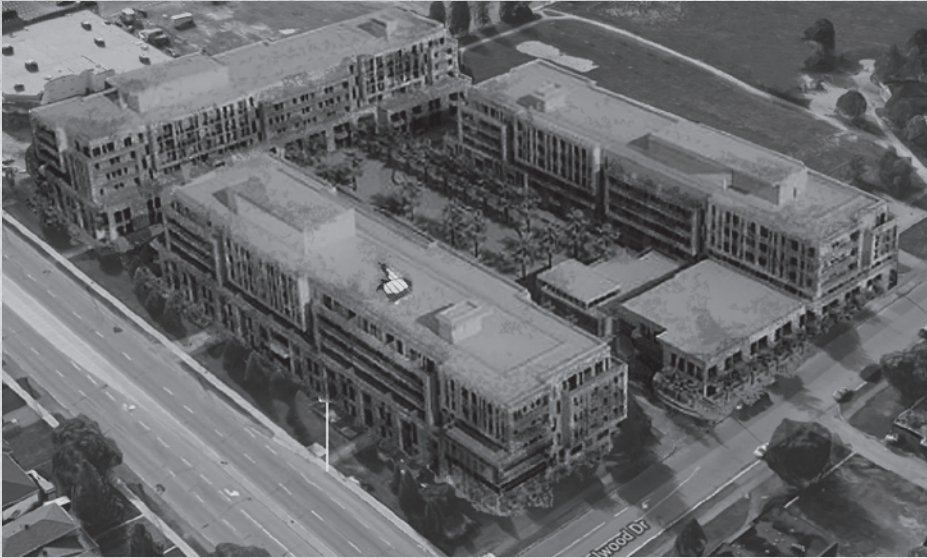
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JULY 27, 2035

FUTURE CLIPPINGS

ONCE DUBBED “RESORT STYLE” APARTMENTS, HERON GATE’S NOW SLATED FOR DEMOLITION



Heron Gate Apartments are in need of more than just a lick of paint.

Residents in three apartment complexes, located along Heron lightrail line in the Herongate neighbourhood, have been given notice of eviction, following the decision by Twigstream to demolish the buildings due to them no longer being livable. Twigstream has only owned the property for five years, during which time residents claim it was mismanaged and repairs were seldom done. Residents are looking to the city to help fight the demolition, as for many

it’s been their only home in Ottawa and they have built a strong community there. The neighbourhood has long been a hub for U.S. immigrants fleeing the Second American Civil War, and residents fear the community they have built will be diluted by dispersion. When contacted for comment a Twigstream representative said via Brainbook that they “are going to do whatever we can to help people find places to live,” but that the apartments needed to be torn down to make

way for a new build. The once luxury apartments originally touted, back in 2018, as “a premium, active adult-oriented rental community meant to offer resort-style living” have now become a shadow of their former selves. The original buildings had 348 units, a common green space, indoor pool, gym and a retail ground floor with restaurants, a cafe and retail outlets. Over time the original site’s owner, Timbercreek, was blamed for constant negligence al-

lowing the site to slowly deteriorate over time. Many blame the original construction for many of its problem. When it opened its doors to new renters in 2019, people complained about the quality of the apartments, with some people requesting repairs on their first day of occupancy. Randy Munchton, a long-time resident, remembers the early days when the pool was filled and the common green space had plants. “Back then it was a lovely place to live, but over time you could see the neglect. It started with plumbing issues, then water damage and then the bugs came. We were hit hard by the invasions of tropical termites in the mid-2020s.” Many of the tenants still love the place for the community that they have built there and want the City of Ottawa to step in and get Twigstream to do the renovations needed to bring the apartment blocks up to code. Shai Tenlon said that “the apartments aren’t completely lost. It’s just that Twigstream aren’t willing to put the money in to make the repairs and renos needed. They’d rather knock it down to make way for some fancy ultracondo or something. Just in it for the money I guess.”



HOROSCOPES

XL Petite

**VIRGO** (Aug. 23 - Sept. 22) I ordered a banana split the other day, Virgo, and as I set to work on mauling it, the television at the local dairy bar broke the news that Mad Max Bernier was making his own right-wing party. I looked at the screen, and then to the ice cream, and already, I couldn’t tell which was more bananas.

**LIBRA** (Sept. 23 - Oct. 22) Libra, today XL Petite is in retrograde! My orbit around *The Leveller* is now moving backwards. I hope this will bring forth the astrological prowess of another powerful reader of the stars for thy noble parchment, as long as it’s not my arch nemesis, Medium Large. The old folk still whisper about the days when ML reigned supreme. If we’re both astrology dragons, he’s the one that’s with the White Walkers while I’m with the Daenerys Targaryen.

**SCORPIO** (Oct. 23 - Nov. 21) Since I’ve left Ontario, Scorpio, you’ve elected a used car salesman with no credible experience to be your leader, and I’d bet ya a buck-a-beer that he just looked up the notwithstanding clause on Wikipedia. I think you should change the Wikipedia entry on the notwithstanding clause to simply read: “Bad Ford! Go lay on your mat.”

**SAGITTARIUS** (Nov. 22 - Dec. 21) Don’t trust oysters, Saggi. They seem like amicable fellows, I’ll give you that. But it is not what rests inside that counts with regards to these menacing molluscs, it’s their treacherous foot piercing shells that grieve me! Consider yourself warned.

**CAPRICORN** (Dec. 22 - Jan. 19) You know that Twitter account called “endless screaming”? Pretty much captures the mood of the day, doesn’t it Cap?

**AQUARIUS** (Jan. 20 - Feb. 18) Years ago, *The Leveller* broke news of an impending Grolar Bear insurrection to thwart the anti-environmental politics of the then Harper government. Well, consider prophecy mostly fulfilled. Just look at the influx of my black bear kin into downtown Ottawa. Don’t listen to the fake news that tells you they’re trying to put on a little extra fat – they’re here as scouts!

**PISCES** (Feb. 19 - March 20) My last Haikuroscope is reserved for you Pisces: Beware fake prophets mediums are the message live it large, my friends!

**ARIES** (March 21 - April 19) But seriously Aries, imagine if the NDP had an actual left-ist plan right now. There’s a real opening for well thought out left-leaning public policy ideas, and people will be forced to listen to them, if clearly articulated, because Mad Max and the Harper Youth are busy long-knifing each other.

**TAURUS** (April 20 - May 20) Do you think if someone offered Doug Ford a pepperoni pizza and a hug that he’d stop breaking the constitution?

**GEMINI** (May 21 - June 20) Gemini, this doesn’t really affect you, but I got tickets to see Trevor Noah! I’ll think of you when he does that accent that sounds like you after you eat the hot sauce.

**CANCER** (June 21 - July 22) Cancer, I was reading your stars at the beach yesterday and then I realized that it was daytime. I think there was something stronger than chocolate chips in those muffins you gave me.

**LEO** (July 23 - Aug. 22) Back to school at last, Leo. Did you miss it? The books, the enthusiasm, the parties, *The Leveller*?! Cheers to the next cohort of Levellers and *Leveller* readers XL Petite, out!



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