

White Skin, Red Meat: Analyzing Representations of Meat Consumption for their
Racialized, Gendered, and Colonial Connotations

Brittany Neron

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial
fulfillment of the Master's degree in Women's Studies

Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Ottawa

© Brittany Neron, Ottawa, Canada, 2015

Abstract

This thesis extrapolates upon theoretical examinations of meat consumption as linked to masculinity in order to consider how meat consumption may also be connected to dominant themes in Canada's national foundation as marked by whiteness, multiculturalism, and post-coloniality. I investigate two sets of advertisements – Maple Leaf Canada's "Feeding the Country" commercial, and Alberta Beef Producer's *Raised Right* online campaign – through employing multimodal critical discourse analysis and tenets of Stuart Hall's theories of representations. In doing so, I argue that meat consumption is depicted in advertising as an ideologically and symbolically loaded practice that seizes upon and re-articulates greater themes of Canadian national identity in a way that denotes the nation as having overcome its racial tensions and colonial history.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Shoshana Magnet, for your seemingly endless supply of motivation, kindness, and humour. You have truly modelled a pedagogy of kindness tempered with academic rigour, while simultaneously disproving the notion that academia has to be a cold, hard place. You have challenged me to take ownership over my successes, and to push back against perfectionism when it hinders progress. The lessons you have taught me go far beyond the classroom, and will be carried with me throughout the rest of my personal and professional life. Thank you also for bringing great snacks to our lab meetings.

Thank you to my committee members, Dr. Kathryn Trevenen and Dr. Sophie Bourgault, for proving that the endless revision process inherent to graduate school does not have to lack kindness or compassion. Kathryn, I have always cited you as the reason I switched into the gender studies program six years ago after taking your introductory class. I will always hold you in my mind as the sacred proof that academia can be a friendly, exciting, and positively challenging space, where instructors truly listen to their students both in the classroom and outside of it (while they sit tearing up during your office hours). Thank you specifically to Dr. Bourgault for the hug as I crossed the stage after completing my undergraduate degree two years ago – being able to work with you again this year has been such a pleasure, and your ability to carve out your own space in a male-dominated field has served as a huge source of inspiration to me as I navigate academia.

I would like to thank my family – my mother, father, sister, and grandmother – for their continual support and important reminders that there is life after and outside of graduate school. Thank you for putting my world back into perspective when finishing this thesis felt insurmountable. Thank you for answering the phone, and reminding me that my worth is not solely defined by my academic achievements. To my grandfather, whom we lost last year, I miss you every day but I find you more and more within myself through the work ethic you instilled in me. To my grandmother, who confronted the death of her lifelong partner and best friend with such bravery and courage, you have shown me how even at the darkest times, we still retain the power to make our lives better and more in line with how we wish the world might be. To my incredibly brilliant sister, thank you for being here, in more ways than one.

To my most adored partner, thank you for standing by me and supporting me during my most anxious times brought on by the unstructured and often isolating experience of graduate school. Thank you for listening carefully to my many complaints and half-hearted claims that I was dropping out, yet still choosing to pursue graduate school yourself. Talking excitedly to you about your own research helped me find motivation when I most lacked it. I am so proud of you and your beautiful, thoughtful mind.

Finally, thank you to my dog Oliver, for forcing me outside for a moment of fresh air on those most lonely writing days. Watching you dive ecstatically into snow banks only to come back up for air with your nose covered in snow during your very first winter may have single-handedly got me through January.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Literature Review: Meat Consumption and Masculinity.....	6
Colonial Masculinity: Animal Domination and Consumption as Central to Masculinity.....	7
Representations of Meat Consumption and Masculinity: Meat-Eating as Responding to a Crisis in Masculinity.....	15
Feminist and Gender Studies: an Intersectional Approach to Theorizing About Animal Consumption.....	20
Objectives, Major Research Questions, Argument and Relevance.....	25
Chapter 2: Methodological Framework.....	29
Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis.....	29
Stuart Hall’s Theories of Representations.....	32
Selection of Texts for Analysis.....	33
Contextually Situating the Advertisements.....	36
Methodological Limitations and Concerns.....	38
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework.....	41
Intersectionality.....	41
Theories of Masculinity.....	43
Hegemonic Masculinity versus Racialized Masculinities.....	43
Masculinity in Crisis.....	45
Critical Whiteness Studies.....	48
Postcolonial Theory.....	49
Chapter 4: Locating Whiteness in Contemporary Canadian Meat Advertisements.....	53
Whiteness as Colour and Power Evasiveness.....	53
Destabilizing the Assumed Whiteness in Meat Industry Advertisements.....	54
Regimes of Representation.....	56
Making Links to Existing Discourses Surrounding Race and Racialization in Canada.....	58
Using Tokenized Representations to Create the Non-White “Other”.....	61
Whiteness as Normalization.....	67
Depicting Meat Production and Consumption as Inherently White.....	67
Conflating “White Values” with “Shared Values” despite the Industry’s Reliance on Racialized Labour.....	69
Normalizing Whiteness Through Rural Imagery.....	71
Using Sanctioned Depictions of Racialization that Protect the White Norm.....	74
Whiteness as Intersectionality.....	75
Race and Gender.....	76
Race and Sexuality.....	79
Chapter 5: Locating Themes of Canadian National Identity in Contemporary Canadian Meat Advertisements.....	83

Multiculturalism as a Component of a Distinctly Canadian Identity.....	83
Locating and Problematizing Multiculturalism in the Advertisements – Wilderness Imagery.....	86
Locating and Problematizing Multiculturalism in the Advertisements – Explicit Multicultural Messaging.....	93
Post-colonialism as a Component of a Distinctly Canadian Identity.....	97
Interrogating Contemporary Meat Advertisements for <i>Terra Nullius</i>	99
Conclusion.....	106
References.....	110
Appendices.....	122

Introduction

In March of 2014, Canada's leading packaged meat company Maple Leaf Canada launched a sixty second video titled "Feeding the Country". The commercial features dozens of everyday Canadians engaging in stereotypically Canadian activities, ranging from tying up hockey skates to plowing fields. Later in the advertisement, the commercial's protagonists are revealed to be eating Maple Leaf Canada meat products to fuel their range of activities. While meat companies have long used innovative advertisement techniques to market their products, including appeals to stereotypes surrounding the centrality of red meat consumption to masculinity (Rogers, 2008; Buerkle, 2014, Miller, 1996; Heinz & Lee, 1998) this commercial posed an unprecedented potential symbolic linking of meat consumption to a distinctly Canadian identity. Bociurkiw (2011) notes that the rise in advertisements attempting to appeal to a particular sense of Canadian identity as it may be accessed through the consumption of a particular products occurred with Molson Canada's 1999 "Joe Canada" commercial (2). Maple Leaf Canada's commercial, however, indicates the addition of another product to the Canadian consumption regime – namely, meat.

While existing scholarship theorizes the significant linking of meat consumption and masculinity, the commercial indicates that meat consumption possesses far more than solely gendered connotations, and may be understood as revealing a great deal about the national makeup of Canada more broadly. As such, this thesis will build upon the existing scholarship (Rogers, 2008; Buerkle, 2014, Miller, 1996; Heinz & Lee, 1998) linking meat consumption and masculinity in order to argue that meat consumption may also be linked

to Canada's national foundation as marked by whiteness, multiculturalism, and post-coloniality¹.

Prior to forging such interventions linking meat consumption and national identity, Chapter 1 will outline the existing scholarship surround meat consumption and masculinity. This section will serve as the foundation for the preceding chapters, arguing that meat consumption has been both symbolically and literally linked to the construction of hegemonic masculinity in both the past and present. This chapter will thus examine the centrality of meat consumption to the performance of masculinity from colonial to contemporary times. I will then discuss the role that feminist and gender studies occupies in theorizing animal consumption, particularly through this field's contribution of an intersectional approach to theorizing animal consumption. Finally, I close this chapter by outlining the objectives, major research questions, overall argument and relevance of the thesis.

Chapter 2 outlines the methodological framework of the thesis, beginning with describing the process employed in selecting the texts used for later analysis. The methodological framework employed, described at length in this chapter, combines multimodal critical discourse analysis with Stuart Hall's theories of representations in order to thoughtfully interrogate two sets of advertisements for their ideological significance surrounding meat consumption and its potential links to a particular configuration of a white, national identity. The chapter will then provide a word on the importance of contextually situating the advertisements in both their historical, socio-

¹ A note on terminology: the terms "postcolonial" and "post-colonial" are used within this thesis to denote different meanings. Following Mishra and Hodge (1991), "postcolonial" sans hyphen refers to the body of scholarship surrounding the European colonial project, while "post-colonial" with a hyphen refers to "something which is 'post' or after colonial" (399).

political, and capitalist contexts, before concluding with an overview of the potential methodological limitations and concerns of such an approach, as well as the mitigation strategies that will be applied to minimize these concerns.

Chapter 3 provides an outline of the theoretical framework to be employed in the thesis, which is constituted of four bodies of scholarship: intersectionality theory, theories of masculinity, critical whiteness studies, and postcolonial theory. These bodies of scholarship form the theoretical basis from which the advertisements will be analyzed using the methodological approach outlined above and in greater detail in Chapter 2. I will refer back to this theoretical framework throughout the preceding two analytical chapters, locating many of the same themes in the texts analyzed.

Chapter 4 is the first of two analytical chapters of the thesis, marking the application of the methodological and theoretical frameworks outlined to the texts selected for analysis. This chapter builds upon the already articulated theoretical work surrounding meat consumption and masculinity to make an added intervention: namely, that meat consumption possesses more than simply gendered connotations, and may be understood as central to the performance of a particularly Canadian form of whiteness. Critical whiteness studies prove invaluable here as the theoretical foundation from which the advertisements are interrogated, offering the three themes that the advertisements are then analyzed for: whiteness as colour and power evasiveness, whiteness as normalization, and whiteness as intersectionality. This analysis centers on the manner in which the advertisements construct Canadian identity as predominantly white, through both their inclusion of predominantly white individuals, and their tokenized treatment of people of colour. That is, while depictions of non-white racialized individuals are

undoubtedly present in the advertisements selected for analysis, their representation takes a very limited and often tokenized form that appeals to older racial stereotypes.

Finally, Chapter 5 builds upon the conclusions of the previous chapter on whiteness to argue that not only can meat consumption be linked to masculinity and whiteness, but it may hold symbolic and representational significance in the construction of a particular Canadian national identity. In particular, the advertisements are once again analyzed, this time to uncover their ideological messaging surrounding Canada's identity as founded on two tenets: the concept of multiculturalism and the notion of post-coloniality. Both sets of advertisements set forth a Canadian identity that links meat consumption with a relatively uninterrogated, positive understanding of multiculturalism as embodying racial harmony and tolerance in Canada. Moreover, the advertisements further the problematic notion that Canada may now be understood as a post-colonial nation that is no longer marked by its colonial past and present. This thesis thus argues that meat consumption is another way in which these oft-repeated tropes of Canadian identity are articulated and embodied.

This thesis then closes with a brief conclusion, reiterating the main findings of each chapter, and asking that individuals take seriously the symbolic and representational value of meat consumption. That is, beyond marking the consumption of a particular commodity, meat eating is indicated through these advertisements as possessing far more than caloric value. Instead, meat consumption is linked to a particular white, Canadian national identity, and is another way in which these Canadian values are articulated. I then conclude with a few words regarding the future outlook of scholarship surrounding

the representational significance of meat consumption, as well as an identification of the gaps that could not be analyzed in this thesis due to time and scope constraints.

Chapter 1: Literature Review: Meat Consumption and Masculinity

Prior to forging an analysis on the racialized and colonial elements of a meat-centered masculinity, it is crucial to acknowledge the significant amount of work that has been done linking meat consumption with masculinity. While the academic realm of gender and feminist studies began to engage seriously with the potential linkages between meat consumption and gender in the early 1990s following the publication of Carol J. Adams' foundational text *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*, the relationship between meat consumption and masculinity has been an object of inquiry in other academic disciplines for decades. In order to contextualize this thesis by situating it in the scholarship that has preceded it, a firm grasp on these bodies of literature is imperative. In acknowledging the intersectional nature of identities, I will forge my analysis regarding the potential linkages between meat consumption and national identity, proceeding from the following foundational understanding of meat consumption as a masculine phenomenon. As such, in this chapter, I will first provide a literature review on the existing scholarship that interrogates the linkages meat consumption and masculinities. In doing so, I outline the theoretical foundation upon which I will then interrogate whether this meat-centered masculinity is also one that is marked by racialization and colonialism.

In outlining the theoretical links between meat consumption and masculinity, first I will examine the colonial roots of a meat-centered masculinity and how the domination of animals constitutes an important feature of conquest. Secondly, I will examine the link posited within masculinity theories between meat consumption and what will be herein considered as 'crisis masculinities' – that is, how meat consumption is posited as a way to

resolve contemporary crises in masculinity. Finally, I will examine feminist and gender studies theories to reveal that feminists have been factoring animals – or in this case, the domination and consumption of animals – into discussions of dominance and masculinity for decades, pushing intersectional analyses beyond their human confines. This review of the existing literature on meat consumption and masculinity will provide a solid foundation upon which to extend an analysis of a meat-centered masculinity to include elements of racialization and Canada’s status as a settler colonial nation.

1.1 Colonial Masculinity: Animal Domination and Consumption as Central to Masculinity

In much of the classical and oft-cited literature surrounding European colonialism, the domination of animals is so often conflated with the domination of the natural world that one seldom finds mention of the unique role of non-human animals² in the imperial process (Spivak, 1995; Bhabha, 1997; Loomba, 2005; Césaire, 1972; McClintock, 1995). For instance, in *Imperial Leather*, Anne McClintock interrogates how colonized lands are gendered and racialized in order to legitimize their conquest. However, like other classical post-colonial theorists such as Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Aimé Césaire, McClintock makes no explicit mention to how this process involved the subjugation of native species of animals through the introduction of European species. Presumably

² A note on terminology: the terms ‘human animal’ and ‘non-human animal’ are used within this thesis to replace the typical usage of ‘human’ and ‘animal’. This linguistic tactic follows in the footsteps of critical animal studies theorists such as Joan Dunayer (1995) who argue that the term “animal” erroneously removes humans from animalkind and denies their kinship with nonhuman animals (19). The stakes of this linguistic subjugation are far from trivial, and function to keep non-human animals oppressed and physically exploited.

animals are depicted as an indistinct portion of the natural world in such theoretical accounts.

Marking a departure from this tendency to discuss colonialism in solely human terms, however, in *Ecological Imperialism*, historian Alfred W. Crosby (1989) discusses the demographic majority held by Europeans throughout the world, noting that this “demographic takeover” was initially facilitated not only via human immigration and reproduction, but also by non-human actors (133). Of particular significance, Crosby moves this colonial analysis beyond its solely human terms by noting that animals played a central role in the creation of European settlements and population growth in the New World, including the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand. Imported domesticated animals became primary sources of food, clothing, power, and capital, while undesired vermin such as rats also accompanied European migrants to their colonial destinations (Crosby, 1989, 137). Crosby (1989) reiterates, however, that this movement of European animals to the colonies was a one-way process; that is, apart from a few anomalies, non-human animals of the New World did not come to colonize the Old World (141). Crosby, attributes much of the success of the European colonial project to the widespread domestication of European animals, and argues that most accounts that focus solely on military might or technological advances neglect this important fact (Crosby, 1989, 7). Presently, populations of those countries that were previously European colonies – Canada included – consume predominantly those animals that were introduced in the colonies during this era, including pigs and cows, which effectively overtook the native animals of these regions forcing many into extinction (Gaard, 2013, 606; Crosby, 1989, 703). This contemporary consumption of livestock introduced by European colonists will

be of particular significance in my later chapters that interrogate the colonial dimensions of Canadian meat consumption.

The widespread consumption of meat in the colonies became a marker of the evolutionary status of a culture – a dependency on meat protein was manufactured as an evolutionary advantage and a factor contributing to the successful colonizing of other peoples (Adams, 1990; Roy, 2002; Rich, 2007). This consumption of meat, however, possessed a distinctly gendered dimension. That is, the consumption of animal flesh became indicative of an idealized colonial masculinity and virility (Adams, 2010, 303; Roy, 2002, 606; Henderson, 2011, 20). Meanwhile, cultures that did not consume significant amounts of meat were associated with femininity and passivity, with their lack of animal protein often used to justify their violent conquest (Adams, 2010, 303; Roy, 2002, 66). This link between meat consumption and thriving in the colonies is spelled out perhaps most explicitly in Gandhi's autobiography, with Gandhi speaking directly to the links between masculinity, colonial conquest – in this case, of India by Britain – and meat consumption. He recalls a nursery rhyme from his schoolboy years that directly links the virility and prowess of the English to their dietary habits:

“Behold the mighty Englishman /
He rules the Indian small, /
Because being a meat-eater /
He is five cubits tall” (cited in Roy, 2002, 65-66).

Gandhi reflects throughout his autobiography on feeling pressured to adopt a meat-centered diet, particularly when meat-eating became coupled with Indian resistance to British rule and a way to achieve parity with the colonizers (Roy, 2002, 66). Since much of the success of Britain's colonizing efforts was attributed to meat consumption, meat

eating was considered an access point for Indians to both modernity and post-coloniality (Roy, 2002, 66).

Describing a similar link that was said to exist between meat consumption and conquest, anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss states that the cooking of meat is the symbol “by which culture is distinguished from nature in order that men might reassure themselves that they are not beasts” (quoted in Leach, 1970, 129). Situating cooked meat as the distinguishing element between “beasts” and “men” indicates the alleged moral and evolutionary superiority that was said to accompany meat consumption. That is, the consumption of cooked meat was understood as a marker of the difference between nonhuman animals, with their consumption of raw meat, and humans, with their consumption of cooked meat. Beyond forcing a division between nonhuman and human animals, such a justification was also used by colonizing nations to cast those cultures that subsisted on mostly plants as outside of the category of civilization (Adams, 1990, 53). Further indicating the often racist underpinnings of colonial meat consumption, George Beard, a nineteenth-century doctor, frequently endorsed meat as the ideal food for superior cultures and races, simultaneously bolstering the imperial project while placing non-meat foods such as vegetables and grains – and consequently, those who consume them – lower on the scale of evolution (Adams, 1990, 53). Discussing the consumption of non-meat sources by such “savages”, and undoubtedly influenced by Darwin’s theories of evolution, Beard wrote that the English must “diminish the quantity of cereals and fruits, which are far below him on the scale of evolution, and increase the quantity of animal food, which is nearly related to him in the scale of evolution, and therefore more easily assimilated” (Adams, 1990, 53). It is notable that Beard links the consumption of animal

protein not only to the growth of ‘man’, but white men specifically, indicating the interplay of both racism and sexism in reinforcing a hierarchy of meat eating where meat is understood as solely a “white man’s food” (Adams, 1990, 53).

The colonial link between meat consumption and masculine virility is also evidenced in discussions of wartime meat consumption, where explicit importance was placed upon feeding beef to American soldiers during World War II, at the cost of limiting meat consumption at home to ensure that the troops had a sufficient amount to sustain themselves abroad (Adams, 1990, 32). Indicating the centrality of meat consumption to wartime efforts, then United States President Herbert Hoover went so far as to state that “meats and fats are just as much munitions in this war as are tanks and aeroplanes” (Romm, 2014). Interestingly, Hoover’s address called specifically for red meat, preferably beef, to be sent to soldiers due to its alleged status as a prime source of energy (Romm, 2014). Since those at home in the United States no longer had access to items like steak and pork chops, campaigns were devised to attempt to encourage Americans to consume less popular meat, including livers, hearts and other organs (Romm, 2014). This emphasis on red meat consumption as central to successful war efforts reveals the richly symbolic fusion of meat consumption as sustaining both imperial wartime desires and a sense of national identity, while similarly supporting the idea that red meat consumption leads to strong, hearty soldiers.

Beyond the literal consumption of animals, other elements of colonial animal domination have been increasingly theorized, including a significant amount of scholarship surrounding the role of colonial big-game hunting and masculinity (Sramek, 2006; Vibert, 1996; Gillespie, 2007). Big-game and trophy hunting has not only been

linked to male virility and power, but to a particular bourgeois masculinity, comprised of self-reliant, skilled, self-controlled, chivalrous risk-taking men (Loo, 2001, 298). Hunting in the colonies was depicted as a way to combat the corrosive and feminizing effects of modern society through sustained contact with the natural world; a literal return to the ‘primitive’ wilderness (Loo, 2001, 300). Viewed as a primarily male endeavor, hunting magazines of the time often depicted female hunters as incompetent and pathetic women who frequently killed their prey by accident rather than skill, and then cried over the carcass due to their sensitive dispositions (Loo, 2001, 301). In colonial India and Southeast Asia, for instance, hunting tigers became a richly symbolic colonial and masculine event. Due to the association of tigers with Indian and Southeast Asian royalty, big game hunting became an important signifier of British imperial masculinity, with the sport representing the domination of a wild and untamed nature that had to be faced “like a Briton” (Sramek, 2006, 659). As a colonial and distinctly masculine sport, big-game hunting – literally, the hunting of large animals such as lions, elephants, and rhinoceroses - similarly became an important facet of African colonization, as well as North American colonization, where the Hudson’s Bay Company extensively slaughtered North American bison due to the high value of their hides in European markets. The Hudson’s Bay Company’s use of animal pelts resulted in the near extinction of the bison, while indicating a complete disregard for the indigenous food systems and livelihoods dependent on its migration (Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013, 1081). Moreover, during the height of big-game hunting after World War I, the rights of European hunters in the colonies were protected and expanded through the increased regulation of lands and

wildlife, resulting in the restriction of indigenous subsistence hunting and parcelling of indigenous hunting lands to Europeans (Loo, 2001, 302).

In Canada, trophy hunting was considered a mark of middle-class masculinity, yet the consumption of the animals killed during the hunt was deemed extravagant and excessive, since refrigeration and transportation technologies of the time made domesticated meat widely available for consumption (Loo, 2001, 308). At a time when killing animals and keeping their heads or hides as trophies was growing in popularity, indigenous subsistence hunters were increasingly deemed barbaric and decadent for consuming and utilizing the entire animal upon hunting and killing it (Loo, 2001, 308). The 'Sportsman's Creed', a guidebook for hunter etiquette in Canada, notes that "the Indian has no more right to kill wild game, or to subsist on it all year round than any white man of the same locality" (Loo, 2001, 308). This condemnation of indigenous behavior foreshadows the restriction of indigenous hunting rights in the name of privileging European practices, while conveniently casting Canada's original inhabitants as savages with insatiable appetites for meat and a lust for killing (Loo, 2001, 309). Seemingly unrelated at first, this scholarship on big-game hunting and conquest strengthens the link between the domination of animals and the embodiment of an ideal form of colonial masculinity, while emphasizing the need for further analysis of the role of non-human animals in the colonial project. Moreover, Tina Loo (2001) posits that rather than two disparate events, a continuum exists between the hunting and consumption of animals, with both practices indicating a version of masculinity predicated upon a prescribed domination of animals (308).

Similarly, this theme of an idealized colonial masculinity predicated upon the domination of animals also reveals itself in literature surrounding how to properly embody settler masculinity in Canada. For instance, immigration handbooks of the colonial era outlined three central tenets of imperial masculinity: owning a home, overcoming the climate of the Northwest, and finally, leading a successful agricultural life (Henderson, 2011, 18). This agricultural life notably included the possession of oxen, poultry, cows, and hogs in order to secure one's (masculine) independence in the new territories (Henderson, 2011; Anderson, 2004). In her book *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*, Virginia DeJohn Anderson (2004) notes that the lands of the New World were appraised by Europeans based on their perceived hospitability for European livestock (76). Indicating the centrality of domesticated livestock to the colonial project, Anderson (2004) notes that "like all European adventurers in the New World, the English were thoroughly accustomed to working with livestock and assumed that successful colonization schemes would necessarily include domestic animals. Colonists expected to rely on cattle, swine, and horses for milk, meat, and muscle power just as much as did English people who stayed at home" (76).

Domesticated animals for "meat and muscle power" were considered so central to colonialism that colonists pointed to the New World's original inhabitants' failure to engage in widespread agricultural settlement and farming as justification that their lands were "unused", empty, and thereby fit to be taken and settled (Anderson, 2004, 78). While colonists did not entirely discount the presence of the land's indigenous occupants, they insisted that "Indians had only lightly touched the land where they dwelled" and had not extensively farmed the land to the European standards that equated the productive use

of land with intensive agriculture (Anderson, 2004, 79). One begins to see a link forming between Canadian settler masculinity and meat consumption, herein taking the form of the domestication and small-scale farming of animals for food and resources. Dozens of posters for the settlement of the New World feature white farming men toiling on the land amidst a backdrop of empty fields with the odd grazing cow, promising free farm land to Europeans should they emigrate to the Americas. The caption of such posters - “Free Farms for the Million” – became Canada’s unofficial doctrine by the end of the 19th Century, after the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had relegated the region’s indigenous occupants to reservations to free up fertile land, accompanied with the creation a transcontinental railway and the parceling of indigenous land into 160-acre homesteads to be offered up to European settlers (Murray, 2006, 49). While much of the small-scale farming central to European colonialism has since been replaced by transnational industrialized farming, the roots of Canadian farming as an imperial and masculine enterprise lay in the nation’s colonial roots.

In the above literature, a link between masculinity, animal domination, and meat consumption dating back to the colonial era is made evident. This centering of Canadian settler masculinity around the domination and utilization of animals thus provides a notable backdrop for the analysis of contemporary representations of meat consumption and whether the latter revisit, recall, or extend colonial themes such as this one (ie: man the hunter, man the meat eater).

1.2 Contemporary Representations of Meat Consumption and Masculinity: Meat-Eating as Responding to a Crisis in Masculinity

Significant academic work centers on the analysis of contemporary representations of meat consumption with particular emphasis on interrogating mass media for their ideological messages pertaining to the link between meat eating and masculinity (Rogers, 2008; Buerkle, 2014, Miller, 1996; Heinz & Lee, 1998). These studies begin from the premise that the North American socio-political context is marked by the normative conflation of meat consumption with masculinity, citing prevalent media messages surrounding meat and masculinity as one of the main indicators of this association (Adams, 1990; Rogers, 2008; Connell, 1995; Buerkle, 2014; Miller, 1996; Heinz & Lee, 1998).

In his analysis of advertisements by Del Taco, Hummer, and Burger King, Richard A. Rogers (2008) reveals the significant role held by television commercials in both profiting off of and actively shaping the cultural imaginary of meat consumption. Rogers (2008) notes that within such advertisements, “the eating of beef is not simply coded as a masculine activity; it is specifically coded as a means of restoring hegemonic masculinity in the face of threats to its continued dominance” (282). This crisis in hegemonic masculinity, the author holds, stems from the romanticization of a mythical period of gender stability - the 1950s - which was allegedly eroded by the women’s movement and the gay and lesbian movements of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as by economic changes that led to industrial delocalization and decline, and the consequent loss of blue collar work (Rogers, 2008, 287). Moreover, an alleged feminization of white collar work, coupled with the increasing move of women to employment outside of the home, led to the perceived loss of status and disempowering emasculation of men (Rogers, 2008, 287). While theorists have pointed to different “remedies” for this crisis in

masculinity, such as the scapegoating of women or a return to a primitive masculinity, Rogers points to the symbolic consumption of meat in contemporary advertisements as one way to resolve this crisis in masculinity.

Similarly, analyses of marketing techniques note the recent, intensified popularity of messages suggesting that “real men eat meat”, attributing the rise in macho male imagery to socio-political events such as the ever-growing women’s movement, and noting how such advertisements play heavily upon the alleged and assumed differences between men and women (Miller, 1993, 1). Lower rates of male vegetarianism have also been attributed to the dominant cultural messaging and stereotypes surrounding masculine identity as being linked to meat consumption (Vartenian, 2014, 2). In a revealing quantitative study undertaken by Rozin, et. al. (2012), participants were asked to rate how “male” or “female” various foods were. Dominant cultural messaging has solidified the link between meat consumption and masculinity so firmly that the participants nearly unanimously reported that red meat is considered male, while chicken and fish were less strongly associated with maleness (Rozin, et. al., 2014, 634). Recent hamburger campaigns have similarly picked up upon this tendency to associate masculinity with meat consumption, displaying men voraciously consuming hamburgers to fortify their masculinity and resist feminization (Buerkle, 2014, 78). Burger King’s 2009 “Manthem” campaign, for instance, featured men stomping around while chanting the commercial’s slogan and renouncing both women and the foods typically associated with them (Buerkle, 2014, 84). As the commercial progresses, men shove aside their “feminine” foods and march decidedly to Burger King to order Whopper hamburgers, while the other men jovially chant, “I’ll admit I’ve been fed quiche / Wave tofu bye-bye /

Now it's for Whopper beef I reach!" (Buerkle, 2014, 84). This disparagement of those foods stereotypically associated with femininity – tofu, quiche, vegetables – thus indicate that this meat-centered masculinity is often secured through not only meat consumption, but by a simultaneous rejection of foods associated with women.

Beyond indicating a rejection of femininity and a binary conceptualization of masculinity as a rejection of all things deemed feminine, other theorists point to how these messages coupling meat consumption with masculinity also take the form of an active vilification of men who choose to consume vegetables, as in the oft-repeated cultural message that 'real men don't eat quiche' (Miller, 1996; Heinz & Lee, 1998; Rothberger, 2013). This theme is often represented in commercials or print advertisements through the portrayal of male protagonists who are purchasing or consuming vegetables or tofu while being also represented in various ways as less masculine, or even feminized. For instance, in a commercial for Hummer vehicles analyzed by Rogers (2008), a man is in line at a grocery store when he is caught purchasing tofu by a fellow man waiting at the checkout. The main protagonist quickly exits the grocery store, finds his car and drives to the nearest Hummer dealership to restore his masculinity through purchasing and driving a vehicle known for its masculine status, massive size and environmentally deleterious effects (292).

While representations of meat consumption as central to performing masculinity are theorized as a way to restore masculinity in light of the growing challenge to patriarchy posed by contemporary feminist movements, other scholars point to a different crisis as the catalyst for this increase in cultural messages playing upon the relationship between meat and masculinity. This crisis can be loosely referred to as the environmental

crisis, marked by an increased focus on disseminating statistics to consumers about the greenhouse-gas emissions stemming from factory farming and highlighting a meat-centered diet as contributing to higher rates of heart disease and cancer (Rothberger, 2013, 363). A 2006 United Nations Report similarly emphasized the links between the livestock industry, meat consumption, land erosion and degradation, pollution, water shortages, and a general loss of biodiversity (Rothberger, 2013, 363; Sallah, 2009, 132; Gaard, 2013, 603). The increased prevalence of cultural messages playing upon the perceived link between meat consumption and masculinity, therefore, must be discussed within such a context, with meat companies concerned about maintaining consumer confidence in light of such critiques of industrialized agriculture. Moreover, growing discussions surrounding potential livestock-born health pandemics, such as “mad cow” disease (a degenerative neurological disorder in beef linked to over-crowded farming conditions and feeding animals meat), continue to spark the creation of intensive campaigns to restore consumer confidence in meat consumption. For instance, in Alberta, after the mad cow crisis resulted in the plummeting of consumer confidence in Canadian beef, intensive campaigns arose seeking to restore confidence in domestic beef consumption across Canada, ranging from celebrity photo opportunities to financial aid programs for Albertan cattle farmers, processors, and slaughterers, as well as free industry-sponsored barbeques to encourage the consumption of Albertan beef (O’Neill, 2005, 305).

This thesis follows in the footsteps of the preceding research done on meat consumption and masculinity within media representations, while simultaneously paying close attention to the distinct socio-political and economic contexts within which these

advertisements arise. Interestingly, while much theorizing interrogates the link between representations of masculinity and meat consumption, a notable gap is evident in such media analyses in regards to how this masculinity predicated upon meat consumption might intersect with other status characteristics and forms of oppression, including racialization and colonization. Fortunately, feminism's recent engagement with the question of meat consumption and masculinity, alongside its general engaging of an intersectional form of analysis that is committed to interrogating the complex manner in which intersectional and interlocking oppressions come to impact the lived realities of individuals, shows a promising commitment to analyzing these advertisements beyond a solely gendered frame of analysis.

1.3 Feminist and Gender Studies: an Intersectional Approach to Theorizing Animal Consumption

While theories of masculinity provide a great deal of insight into the historical and contemporary linkages between meat consumption and masculinity, feminist and gender studies examines the parallels between the oppression of women and that of non-human animals in an intersectional manner. This literature is arguably far more hospitable to factoring other axes of oppression, such as racialization and colonialism, into the equation that links meat consumption and masculinity.

Widely considered the first cohesive text theorizing links between feminism and vegetarianism, Carol J. Adams' *The Sexual Politics of Meat* provides an extensive look at the links existing between meat consumption and masculinity, with particular emphasis on meat consumption's symbolic association with male physical and sexual virility

(Adams, 2010, 303). Within meat-eating societies such as those in North America, Adams argues that male identification can be gained through a shared consumption of meat, as evidenced in notable masculine spaces such as the outdoor barbeque and steak houses (Adams, 2010, 303). While it is made clear through advertisements, argues Adam, that men should eat meat, women are often portrayed as the servers of such dishes, indicating a sexual politics associated with meat consumption (Adams, 2010, 303). Sociologists often depict a similar sexual division of labour and consumption in Western culture, noting that male meat consumption is often only enabled through the socially-imposed requirement that women purchase and prepare it (Keil & Beardsworth, 1997, 201). A similarly important part of this sexual politics is the use of vegetables to represent female passivity; while men are expected to consume meat to affirm their masculinity and virility through the consumption of predominantly red meat, vegetarianism is considered acceptable for women given their association with passivity (Adams, 2010; Rogers, 2008; Rothberger, 2013). Virility, in this context, refers to the male sexual strength and aggressiveness that is allegedly conferred to men through the consumption of red meat (Adams, 2003; Rifkin, 1993).

Since Adams' notable publication, numerous other feminist and gender studies scholars have taken a more decidedly intersectional approach to interrogating the links between meat consumption and masculinity. Laura Anh Williams (2014) argues that the ways of looking and thinking about animal bodies intrinsically shape ways of looking and thinking about human bodies (245). It thus follows that institutional and systemic violence enacted upon animals is structured in a way that is directly related to the systemic violence enacted upon humans, particularly upon women and people of colour

(Williams, 2014, 246). The category of ‘subhuman’ inhabited by animals has typically and similarly been invoked to justify mistreatment against animals and people of colour, in notable contexts such as the European colonial project and the Atlantic slave trade (Deckha, 2010, 37). Noting the similarities between the treatment of animals and people of colour, and emphasizing how people of colour often come to be animalized to justify racism, Charles Patterson (2002) notes that the violent mistreatment and genocide of people of colour is often justified by an animalizing logic that first casts people of colour as subhuman animals, and then enacts violence upon them in ways that have been inspired by methods of animal slaughter and mistreatment. As such, one must understand that animalization is still frequently invoked against people of colour, as recently evidenced in the use of terms such as ‘swarms’ and ‘herds’ in xenophobic and racist discussions of immigrants, terrorists or other racialized groups (Kosek, 2010; hooks, 1992, Twine, 2012). Similarly, violence against animals also helps to create the cultural imaginary for violence against others deemed ‘subhuman’, including racialized and indigenous peoples (Deckha, 2010, 37).

Susanne Kappeler (1995) similarly notes the continuity between the violence against animals and that exerted upon people of colour, attributing it to the field of natural science and its attempts to taxonomize species and races by classifying “kinds” of people based on “scientific” data (ie: bodily measurements, behavioural traits, and genetics) (327). That is, the very same logic – namely, that species and races are classified based on specific biological, genetic traits – has been centrally important to the creation of racist doctrines in the nineteenth and twentieth century, while continuing to inform the cultural imaginary surrounding racialized and non-human Others (Kappeler,

1995, 327). As such, similar classifications based on biological traits have been used to naturalize the divisions between and within animal and non-human animal categories, with such categories used as a justification for violence against both animals and those deemed subhuman according to such categories. Showing the enduring nature of this genetics-based thinking, post-humanist scholar Donna Haraway (2008) notes that the same logic has since become a central concern for pet and livestock owners, marked by a growing concern surrounding purity of descent and pedigree (53).

Interrogating the human versus nonhuman binary that shapes how humans think of and treat nonhuman animals, ecofeminist perspectives fuse ecological theory with feminism to confront traditional, androcentric ways of knowing the natural world (Connell, 1990, 150). Notable ecofeminist scholar Val Plumwood (1991) notes that a distinct ontological separation between human and nonhuman animals is a direct result of the humanist and rationalist traditions stemming from the Enlightenment, which sharply divided the human world from the nonhuman world, denying any essential connections or overlap between the two (19). Ecofeminists (Plumwood, 1991; Gaard, 1993; Mortimer-Sandilands, 2010; Mies and Shiva, 1993) have been questioning this divide since the early 1990s, emphasizing the continuity and similarity between human and nonhuman animals (Birke, 1995, 35). Donna Haraway (1991) has similarly called this binary division into question, noting how animals often erroneously come to be thought of as a mirror to human society, despite the fact that the two groups have co-existed on several continents throughout the majority of evolutionary history (7). Such a conceptualization of animals as the foil to humans remains a powerful part of the intellectual and cultural imaginary in Western thinking; it informs the treatment of animals and the elevation of

human needs above non-human animal concerns (Haraway, 1991, 8). Haraway (2008) suggests that rather than being sharply demarcated categories, human and non-human species come to shape and co-create each other in ways vastly ignored and overlooked by the existing Western ontological divide (11). According to Haraway (2008), taking seriously the potential commonalities between human and nonhuman animals would contribute to understanding the human condition more fully in all its interrelationality (20).

Another vein of contemporary feminist scholarship interrogates the commonalities between human and non-human animals (Kemmerer, 2011; Williams, 2014; Adams, 1990). This work notes how women's bodies are typically aligned with the bodies of animals in industrialized agriculture through scientific and medical discourses that conflate production with female reproduction, with emphasis on regulating ovulatory and menstrual cycles and controlling the fertility of female animal bodies. Specifically, the reproductive cycles of female animals – sows, cows, and hens – are manipulated through hormonal injection and artificial insemination to induce increased rates of offspring, egg, and milk production (Kemmerer, 2011, 19). The gendered abuses occurring within industrialized farming, alongside the dehumanization of animal bodies central to such abuses, have also been posited by feminists as helping create the cultural imaginary that informs the dehumanization and objectification of women and racialized individuals (Williams, 2014, 262).

However, the particular ways in which industrialized farming and meat consumption contributes to the oppression of racialized individuals remains an undertheorized phenomenon. This thesis thus aims to interrogate the manner in which

meat consumption may be linked to racial oppression, with particular focus on how non-white race is rendered simultaneously invisible and hyper-visible in contemporary meat advertisements. Moreover, while several scholars have indicated a link between meat consumption and masculinity in a North American context (Adams, 1995, 2010; Rifkin, 1993; Rogers, 2008) this thesis also seeks to interrogate whether meat consumption may be linked to Canadian national identity; particularly, the nation's settler colonial foundations and its contemporary focus on multicultural diversity.

1.4 Research problem, Objectives, Research Questions, Argument and Relevance

As posited above, while much theorizing has interrogated the potential connections between representations of meat consumption and masculinity, little intersectional analysis exists as to how this meat-centered masculinity might intersect with other status characteristics and forms of oppression, including racialization. Moreover, while links have been formulated between colonial conquest and animal consumption in the historical Canadian context, analyses of meat consumption typically fail to extend this analysis to a contemporary context. As such, this thesis aims to analyze whether meat consumption may be understood as linked to whiteness and racial oppression, and as contributing to a version of Canadian national identity predicated upon settler colonialism and alleged multiculturalism.

Guided by critical whiteness studies, theories of masculinity, theories of Canadian national identity formation, and theories of intersectionality, this thesis thus seeks to respond to the questions:

1. Is this meat-centered masculinity³ also depicted as marked by whiteness in the representations put forth by the meat industry in Canada?
2. Do such representations link meat consumption to Canadian national identity and how?

Guided by postcolonial and intersectional/critical race academics who have undertaken critical discourse analyses surrounding the ideologically significant nature of Canadian tourism (Francis, 2012), national parks (Thorpe, 2011), and even beer industries (Sugars, 2006), I will engage in a similar kind of post-colonial and critical race research to interrogate whether meat consumption advertisements can be considered a site of whiteness and/or colonial imagery and ideology. In discussing these research questions, the overarching objective of this research is ultimately to encourage a more intersectional, multi-faceted discussion of meat consumption, beyond a solely gendered approach that assumes a link between meat consumption and masculinity. This thesis is guided by an intersectional trajectory that seeks to contribute to existing discussions of environmental racism and enduring colonialism in order to ideally inspire more holistic approaches to alleviating the numerous and intersecting impacts of industrialized agriculture. A failure to consider the multiple sites of intersecting oppression at play in industrialized agriculture and meat consumption may result in a form of single-issue activism⁴ that unknowingly contributes to other oppressions in attempting to alleviate a single system of oppression (Kemmerer, 2011, 4).

³ Throughout this thesis, I use the term ‘meat-centered masculinity’ to articulate a masculinity predicated upon meat consumption. According to this term, meat consumption is considered an access point to achieving hegemonic masculine status. This follows R.W. Connell’s (2010) discussion that eating meat is but one way to achieve a hegemonic ideal that permits men’s continual dominance over women.

⁴ Single-issue activism refers to efforts to alleviate oppression that center around one specific conception of oppression, ignoring the multi-layered and intersecting nature of power relations and domination. Here, I

In attempting to forge a more intersectional, holistic understanding of meat consumption through focusing on its colonial and racialized dimensions, this thesis also argues that representations set forth by the Canadian meat industry reveal a link between a meat-centered masculinity and Canada's status as a white, settler colonial nation. This is a particularly timely question given the all-encompassing and inescapable nature of advertisements for consumer goods such as food. Since Molson Canada's 1999 'Joe Canada' commercial linking beer consumption to a 'proper' Canadian identity, there has been a proliferation of commercials and other advertisements that aim to appeal to a particular sense of national identity that may be accessed through the consumption of a particular product (Bociurkiw, 2011, 2). Moreover, increasingly inhumane factory farm conditions (Singer, 1975; Kemmerer, 2011; Pachirat, 2011; Shukin, 2009), combined with pressing environmental concerns stemming directly from industrialized slaughter and meat consumption ranging from ground, water, and air pollution to significant climate change vis-à-vis greenhouse gas emissions make this interrogation of the ideological nature of meat consumption a pressing issue (Andrezejewski, 2003; Gaard, 2013; Twine, 2012).

This thesis works from the assumption that representations of meat consumption, in the context of the advertisements analyzed, are far from ideologically benign. Instead, I argue that such representations hold significance in understanding how Canadians perceive of themselves and their socio-political and natural environment. That is, such advertisements both shape and are shaped by dominant contemporary discourses

take guidance from Wrenn & Johnson (2013), who discuss the limitations of 'welfarist' animal rights advocates, who seek solely to better the conditions in factory farms, versus 'abolitionist' animal rights advocates, who desire a holistic approach intended to critique and dismantle the numerous ill effects of speciesism (652).

surrounding, as I will argue in the chapters to come, whiteness, masculinity, and Canadian identity, as centered on meat consumption.

Chapter 2: Methodological Framework

In order to interrogate the racial and national dimensions of meat consumption, a combination of methodological tools will be employed. This research will primarily take the form of a multimodal critical discourse analysis of meat advertisements, combined with the use of Stuart Hall's representations theory and its focus on the ideological significance and intertextual nature of representations. These methodological perspectives will be informed by my theoretical framework – namely, intersectionality, critical whiteness studies, theories of masculinity, and theories of Canadian national identity formation - when selecting and discussing the ideologically significant portions of the representations. Prior to combining these research methods, this chapter will outline in detail the specific tenets of each methodological tool that will be employed. Finally, this chapter will close by outlining the selection process applied to the specific texts to be analyzed in subsequent chapters.

2.1 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

My thesis applies a multimodal critical discourse analysis to two sets of advertisements – Alberta Beef Producers' online *Raised Right* campaign publications and Maple Leaf Canada's 2014 "Feeding the Country" television commercial to unpack the racialized and settler colonial dimensions of a meat-centered masculinity. It is noteworthy here that in analyzing "texts", I refer to both the spoken and written utterances in such texts, alongside images both still and moving (Machin & Mayr, 2012, 4).

According to David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2012), critical discourse analysis entails the analysis of texts, geared towards uncovering that which is implicitly

communicated or communicated through absence, assumption, or “taken for granted” ideas (4). Critical discourse analysis acknowledges that both texts and images may serve as potentially ideological instruments.

Multimodal critical analysis, for its part, provides a distinct set of tools to analyze visual texts for their underlying messages, ideologies, and assumptions, given the ability of visual texts to naturalize particular social practices and ideologies (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Wodak, 1995; Lazar, 2005). Taken as a whole, “multimodal critical discourse analysis” seeks to uncover embedded ideologies within images. It should therefore not be considered separate from anti-racist and anti-colonial research methodologies, which both call for a recognition of systemic discrimination as it functions in both research and society more generally. As such, multimodal critical discourse analysis serves as an important methodological approach to analyze structures of dominance and power as they are created through discourse, interrogating how images, words, and utterances shape and constitute reality (Wodak, 1995, 204). This methodological approach simultaneously posits that the audience of such images, words, and utterances is constituted not of passive actors, but of active agents who receive, filter and (re)interpret discourses (Clark, 2007).

The specific strategies of multimodal critical discourse analysis employed in this thesis are iconographical analysis, ideological squaring, and the interrogation of representational strategies. Starting with an analysis of the individual elements of a particular image, an iconographical analysis seeks to interrogate the manner in which individual elements within an image may indicate discourse or ideology that may be overlooked in a single viewing of the entire image (Machin & Mayr, 2012, 31). Within

iconographical analysis, it is essential to note which features are foregrounded or emphasized and which are backgrounded or altogether absent. Employing iconographical analysis to considering the foregrounded features of the advertisements means taking seriously, for instance, the Alberta Beef Producers publications' repetitive use of backgrounds of vast, golden wheat fields. Such depictions imply that the Canadian West is primarily unpopulated, rendering invisible any indigenous presence in the region.

Continuing on to consider what is foregrounded in the advertisement, the Maple Leaf Canada commercial depicts Canadian individuals undertaking stereotypically Canadian tasks such as tying skates and preparing to plow fields before panning back to shots of the same individuals eating deli meats. Iconographical analysis will thus enable me to draw out the specific elements within each image that contribute to larger discourses, which might simply be overlooked or dubbed ideologically insignificant at first glance.

Moreover, multimodal critical discourse analysis calls for an interrogation of ideological squaring, or how images seek to align the audience alongside or against individuals in order to create a sense of unity or opposition (Machin & Mayr, 2012, 78). The sets of advertisements examined predominantly place the viewer in a sense of unity with the images in calling for Canadians to join them in embodying romanticized, Canadian practices such as dairying, ranching, skating, and plowing farm lands. In aligning the viewer alongside the image, the advertisements place the audience in a particular position, permitting viewers to visualize themselves as this ideal Canadian – so long as they consume the meat products which the campaigns advertise.

Finally, multimodal critical discourse analysis seeks to uncover the various representational strategies employed within images, referring to the manner in which persons are represented in a way that foregrounds particular characteristics of their identity while obscuring or backgrounding others (Machin & Mayr, 2012, 87). Specifically, such an analysis considers the use of demand images, where the subject is looking at the viewer, thereby placing the viewer in a relationship where it is felt that a response is required, and offer images, wherein the subject is not looking at the viewer and no demand is made to the audience (Machin & Mary, 2012, 71). In analyzing subjects of images, focus is also turned to their gaze and pose, which may be indicative of values such as shyness, independence, and authority. In regards to the advertisements examined, the majority of the images in the *Alberta Beef Producers* campaign feature male subjects looking away from the viewer, portraying the men as stoic figures who are often depicted as toiling in fields with sweaty brows and rolled sleeves.

2.2 Stuart Hall's Theories of Representation

Inseparable from multimodal critical discourse analysis' focus on representational strategies, Stuart Hall's theories of representation are central in understanding the role of representations in creating meaning. In particular, Hall (1997) places emphasis on a constructionist understanding of the world, noting that meaning does not pre-exist language but is actively produced through language, images, and other signs (11). That is, objects or events only gain meaning through discourse, and the advertisements analysed in the following chapters are part of discourses surrounding normative and idealized patterns of consumption, masculinity, and national identity. Hence, these representations

both shape and are shaped by existing discourses surrounding these themes of national identity, consumption, and masculinity.

Directly related to the notion that existing discourses actively shape and are shaped by representations is Hall's notion of intertextuality. Since meaning is understood as fluid and unfixed, as per the constructionist school, it follows that texts are always encoded with a view to producing privileged or preferred readings of images, and this is often created through a conjunction of text (i.e.: a headline) and images (Hall, 1997, 228). Hall also notes that images only acquire meanings across a range of different texts and thus must be read as part of a larger "regime of representation" (Hall, 1997, 233). That is, an intertextual approach to analyzing representations must be undertaken in order to properly situate them in their discursive contexts.

2.3 Selection of Texts for Analysis

Two sets of advertisements will be analyzed using multimodal critical discourse analysis and Stuart Hall's representations theory – a Maple Leaf Canada commercial titled "Feeding the Country" and the Alberta Beef Producer's *Raised Right* online campaign of videos, text, and "rancher profiles". These advertisements were selected for their distinctly Canada focus, which is increasingly rare in the age of multinational meat conglomerates like Cargill Meat Solutions and JBS that possess a monopoly on Canadian meat production and exportation. The advertisements, however, speak to different sets of circumstances in the Canadian context that must be acknowledged prior to delving into any more specific analysis.

Maple Leaf Canada's "Feeding the Country" commercial takes the form of a one minute and seven second long video that aired in Canada on television and internationally on Youtube on May 26, 2014. The video begins with a farmer waking up at dawn, donning his baseball cap, and heading into his field, while the commercial's dialogue begins over dramatic orchestral music:

We've got fields to till,
And seas to brave.
Homes to build,
And children to raise.
We've got battles to win,
Friends to make.
Legends to write,
And bars to raise.
We've got walls to break,
And mountains to scale.
So eat up,
We've got a lot to do Canada.
And we can't do it on an empty stomach.

(Maple Leaf Canada, 2014)

The commercial flashes through clips of only two to three seconds, where the audience views Canadians engaging in numerous varied activities: tying skates, plowing a field, working construction, playing hockey, pushing a man in a wheelchair through a marathon finish line, and celebrating a lesbian wedding. Coupled with the dialogue of the commercial that repeatedly uses the word "we", viewers come to understand that these can be understood as the activities of "we Canadians". Interestingly, in the second half of the commercial, the same characters from the first half – the farmer, the construction worker, the hockey player, the lesbian bride – are seen in consecutive shots sinking their teeth into Maple Leaf Canada meat products, solidifying the link forged in the commercial between Canadian identity and meat consumption.

The second set of advertisements selected for analysis stem from the 2008 Alberta Beef Producers' campaign titled *Raised Right*, which takes the form of a website (www.raisedright.ca) featuring four rancher profiles accompanied with short videos, as well as text describing the campaign's aims. My analysis centers on the rancher profiles and the website's accompanying text – campaign objectives, health information, industry information, and meat recipes - in order to complement the video analysis of the first advertisement and allow for a multiplicity of media to be analyzed for common themes. The campaign, which humanizes the meat industry by linking it back to individual, hard-working Albertan farmers, may be read as a way to encourage the consumption of Canadian beef, arguably in the wake of the crisis of consumer confidence that occurred due the mad cow crisis of 2003 (O'Neill, 2005). Moreover, given the rise of multinational mega-corporations that monopolize food production, this campaign may also be viewed as a response to the increasingly dehumanized and industrialized nature of farming, particularly evidenced through the use of rancher profiles that describe the life of everyday, hardworking Albertan cattle farmers.

Both sets of advertisements are selected for their distinctly Canadian focus – one national and one provincial. In an era of multinational meat conglomerates, this strategic choice to focus solely on Canadian advertisements limited the options for analysis significantly. However, the in-depth analysis of these two sets of advertisements will be supplemented with examples from other sources – particularly, the provincial and federal cattleman's associations – to indicate the replication of themes in other sources throughout Canada. It is noteworthy that the in-depth analysis intentionally centers on one provincial and one federal set of advertisements, in order to ensure that the themes

are not only located in one province, but instead replicate themselves nationally and across provincial borders.

2.4 Contextually Situating the Advertisements

Since advertisements do not arise in a cultural vacuum, it is necessary to examine the socio-political context in which they emerge in order to sufficiently unpack their ideological significance. In the case of the selected advertisements, it is crucial to acknowledge the global capitalist context in which they arise. This context is marked by an ever-increasing industrialization of farming techniques, and by an extreme disconnection between farming and nature, with natural techniques being increasingly replaced by artificial and technological means of production (Van der Ploeg, 2010, 99). In the case of industrialized meat consumption, this has been marked by the intensified use of antibiotics, pesticides, and hormone use to raise significantly larger animals in a much shorter time frame (Gaard, 2002, 123). As a result of overcrowding and husbandry practices, modern livestock now possess little disease resistance, attributable to steroid programs intended to increase meat output (Nikiforuk, 2006, 55). Moreover, the natural resistance to bacterial and viral infections possessed by livestock has been hindered by stressful, overcrowded conditions, while the intensified concentration of animals makes outbreaks difficult to quarantine and contain (Nikiforuk, 2006, 55). Industrialized farming, and its accompanying husbandry practices, has been progressing alongside increased global trade liberalization, where increased livestock output is preferable to animal health, as evidenced by the gutting of public animal health services including livestock veterinary services (Nikiforuk, 2006, 59).

Constantly rising rates of production in industrialized farming settings have resulted in over-crowded farming conditions that have negatively impacted the health of livestock, contributing to numerous global livestock-born pandemics, including the North American “mad cow” crisis of 2002 (Shukin, 2009, 227). In this context, it has become imperative for meat and livestock companies such as Maple Leaf Canada and Alberta Beef Producers to produce images that make meat consumption look entirely healthy and natural to secure consumer confidence in spite of these health crises. Similarly, the context of these advertisements is also marked by an increased media focus on lowering meat consumption in order to combat rates of heart disease and cancer (Bales, 2011; Campbell, 2006). Thus, the advertisements must also be read as attempting to redefine meat consumption as a healthy dietary choice in light of such health warnings.

Demographically speaking, it is also safe to assume that such advertisements are the product of extensive marketing research intended to target those who typically consume the most meat, while simultaneously seeking to tap into new markets. A 2006 telephone survey of food consumption patterns in Waterloo, Ontario, for instance, noted that food items more likely to be consumed by men included meat and unpasteurized juice, while females were more likely to consume vegetables and dairy products (Nesbitt et. al., 2008, 7). The same study noted that adults were more likely than children to consume products such as steak, while an increased intake of vegetables and fruits also corresponded with increasing age (Nesbitt et. al., 2008, 7). Analyzing meat consumption from a monetary perspective, Alberta’s Agricultural, Food, and Rural Department published a report in 2001 that noted that Canadians spent on average 17 dollars weekly on meat, 30% of which was on beef, followed by 24% on poultry, with Canadians

spending more weekly on meat products than on any other grocery products (Understanding Consumer Opportunities, 2001, 7). While these statistics are in no way exhaustive, they indicate that meat consumption varies based on numerous characteristics, and this knowledge ultimately informs the production of meat advertisements such as the ones analyzed in this thesis. As such, close attention will be given to the ways in which the selected advertisements invoke elements from their discursive and socio-political contexts.

2.5 Methodological Limitations / Concerns

Potential methodological concerns and limitations include my status characteristics as a white, female descendent of European settlers, who is writing about racialized, colonized masculinities – a subject outside of the scope of my personal experiences. Yet, rather than simply superficially listing one's privileges at the beginning of the discussion, one must constantly locate themselves within the research, asking how particular status characteristics and privileges may impact all stages of the research process (Max, 2005, 81). This view stems from anti-colonial research, which according to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, rejects the falsely “objective” positivist views of research that posits that the researcher is wholly unbiased and outside of the research being undertaken (Smith, 2012, 138). Sandra Harding (1993) notes that the allegedly “objective” research often produced in the academy is marked by “strong objectivity”; namely, the idea that value neutrality and undistorted research results are both desirable and possible (49). This thesis rejects this view of strong objectivity, and follows the lead of feminist and anti-colonial researchers in acknowledging that value neutrality is neither possible, nor a

necessarily desirable aim, and works from the assumption that knowledge is always socially and temporally situated. In remaining true to this anti-colonial positioning, one must remain open to critique from others while engaging in such critical reflection (Smith, 2012, 140).

In the case of my research on hegemonic white, colonial masculinities, heeding this advice would therefore entail a recognition of how my status as a white, female descendent of European settlers, who also identifies as a politically-engaged feminist vegan will fundamentally impact each step of my research. That is, instead of working under a false guise of objectivity, remaining transparent about my personal biases and status characteristics will aid me in engaging in a more open, self-reflexive process of research while remaining open to critique from others who may fundamentally disagree with certain (or all) tenets of my research. This essentially turns the gaze inward, rather than focusing on the alleged impossibility of working with the “Other” (Max, 2005, 84). Rather than thinking critically about one’s own complicity, privileges, and biases, all too often, the gaze of white individuals remains focused on non-white individuals, constructing them in their minds as necessarily different and disadvantaged (Sin, 2007, 481). However, rather than getting caught up in discussions of the sheer impossibility of cross-cultural research based on allegedly unbridgeable differences, cross-cultural researchers must turn this gaze inwards and consider what they bring to the research being undertaken, in order to engage in a more thoughtful, critical, and reflexive form of research (Max, 2005, 84). In reorienting this gaze, the researcher can potentially bring into view different sympathies and positionalities that might otherwise remain unacknowledged throughout the research process (Sin, 2007, 494). I will closely follow

these insights by constantly repositioning myself in the research in order to examine, challenge, and articulate the potential biases I bring to the topic at hand based on my subjectivity.

Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework

In order to undertake a critical discourse analysis of meat advertisements that seeks to unveil the themes of racialization and Canadian identity formation in representations set forth by the Canadian meat industry, this thesis will be guided by four bodies of scholarship: intersectionality theory, theories of masculinity, critical whiteness studies, and postcolonial theory. As distinct from the literature review in the preceding chapter that outlines existing scholarship on the links between meat consumption and masculinity, within this section, I outline the concepts that I will use to forge an analysis of the elements of a meat-centered masculinity that articulate whiteness and a particular Canadian national identity.

3.1 Intersectionality Theory

While there exist numerous convincing and competing articulations of intersectionality, my research draws upon two conceptualizations of the term: Crenshaw's (1991) theory of intersectionality and Sherene's Razack's concept of interlocking systems of oppression (1998). Kimberlé Crenshaw argues that it is insufficient to understand oppression solely as a gendered phenomenon without taking into account the other characteristics - such as race and class - that are inseparable from one's identity (1991, 1242). Intersectionality, then, can be understood as "the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw, 1991, 1245). While an intersectional analysis guides the entirety of my work, of particular relevance to my research is Crenshaw's conceptualization of representational intersectionality, which interrogates the manner in which cultural images

come to be produced and mediated through dominant narratives of gender, race, and other such characteristics (1991, 1283). That is, both the production and reception of dominant cultural imagery tends to ignore the intersectional identities of individuals (Crenshaw, 1991, 1283). As my research entails the interrogation of contemporary advertisements for meat, an intersectional analysis is crucial in acknowledging the numerous layers of identity that function collaboratively in each image to construct a particular representation of meat consumption.

Both building upon and complicating Crenshaw's definition of intersectionality is Sherene Razack's (2005) notion of interlocking systems of oppression. Rather than simply intersecting at specific sites, according to this conceptualization, systems of oppression may be understood as mutually supportive and interlocking, so that one form of oppression cannot be abolished without another (Razack, 2005, 343). In acknowledging that systems of oppression rely upon one another in complex ways, it is thereby futile to attempt to challenge or dismantle one system of oppression unilaterally without challenging others. Razack (2005) explains this choice of terminology, writing that "I use the word interlocking rather than intersecting to describe how the systems of oppression are connected. Intersecting remains a word that describes discrete systems whose paths cross. I suggest that the systems *are* each other and that they give content to each other" (343). This understanding of oppression is particularly relevant to my research in analyzing how meat consumption and animal exploitation may be potentially linked to the exploitation of women, racialized individuals, indigenous populations, and the environment. Moreover, a failure to consider the interlocking oppressions intrinsic to meat consumption risks informing a certain type of analysis or response that may actively

contribute to other oppressions (Kemmerer, 2011, 4). Razack's notion of interlocking oppressions is thus crucial in conceptualizing all the facets of a masculinity predicated upon meat consumption, as well as possible alternatives to a meat-centered, white, colonial masculinity without unwittingly perpetuating and reproducing oppression in other realms.

3.2 Theories of Masculinity

Given that the scope of this thesis is to assess the potential linkages between meat consumption and masculinity and ultimately build upon these linkages to forge my own analysis, the second body of research consulted is theories of masculinity. In particular, two recurring concepts arise in this literature which are central to my interrogation of a white, Canadian, meat-centered masculinity: R.W. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity (contrasted against the notion of subordinated and racialized masculinities), and the notion of a crisis masculinity emerging in response to increasing gains made by various social movements, including the feminist, civil rights, and reproductive justice movements, resulting in a backlash and retreat into traditional gender roles.

3.2.1 Hegemonic Masculinity versus Racialized Masculinities

Hegemonic masculinity is defined by R.W. Connell and J.W. Messerschmidt (2005) as "the pattern of practice that allows men's dominance over women to continue" (218). Hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily enacted by the majority of men, but comes to be a normative ideal around which men modify and regulate their behaviour. In articulating the most socially powerful, significant way to be a man, hegemonic

masculinity positions all other versions of masculinity in a relation of subordination, while simultaneously subordinating women to men. While early analyses of hegemonic versus subordinate masculinities placed the two articulations in entirely distinct and opposing categories, recent attention in masculinity scholarship has turned towards the manner in which members of subordinate or marginalized masculinities possess agency, with many alternative masculinities constructed intentionally in response to marginalization (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, 848). As a result, it is now understood that subordinate and hegemonic definitions of masculinities are mutually reliant categories; that is, hegemonic masculinity relies on the subordination of other masculinities, sometimes casting them as feminized.

Moreover, Connell notes that embodiment plays a central – yet under-theorized – role in achieving hegemonic status, specifically noting practices such as eating meat and risk-taking in driving or sports (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, 851). Queer theorists such as Eve Sedgwick and Judith Halberstam, however, importantly note that masculinity may also exist outside the confines of a male body and, thus, be an entirely disembodied phenomenon (Sedgwick, 1998, 12; Halberstam, 1998, 1). One must consider how masculinity can thus be embodied by those who do not possess male bodies in order to fully analyze the multi-faceted nature of masculinity as it is secured through meat consumption. In this sense, one may understand meat consumption as a way to access a version of masculinity, so that even those who are deemed outside of hegemonic masculinity may stand to benefit from the dominance that meat consumption infers and signifies.

Conversely, the subordinated masculinities upon which hegemonic masculinity relies may be closely linked to understandings of racialized masculinities. After R.W. Connell originally set forth the concept of hegemonic masculinity in 1987, several critical race scholars, including bell hooks and Angela Davis, noted that the term erroneously conceptualized power solely in terms of gender, positing a universalized understanding of “men” and masculinity undifferentiated by other significant status characteristics including race (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, 831). Yet others have noted that that damaging stereotypes of racialized masculinity exist solely as a foil to true, hegemonic masculinity, thus securing the subordinated status of racialized masculinities (Segal, 1990, 181). The two categories – hegemonic and subordinated masculinities – are thus mutually reliant, with representations of hegemonic, white masculinity securing the subordinated position of racialized masculinities, and vice versa.

The concepts of hegemonic and racialized masculinities are integral to this research, as one of the main objectives of this thesis is to examine whether a white, Canadian masculinity predicated upon meat consumption can be considered a hegemonic ideal in Canada. Moreover, if this is the case, it is crucial to consider which other masculinities are subordinated in the making of this hegemonic ideal, and how individuals of such subordinated masculinities construct their identities in direct response to their marginalization.

3.2.2 Masculinity in Crisis

The notion of a ‘masculinity in crisis’ was initially – and controversially – brought into the public consciousness by Susan Faludi in her books *Stiffed* and *Backlash*,

and later engaged with by masculinities scholars including Michael Kimmel, Michael A. Messner, and Stephen M. Whitehead (Atkinson, 2011, 4). According to crisis masculinity scholars, hegemonic claims to masculinity came to be challenged in the 1960s and 1970s by new social movements including feminism and gay and lesbian organizing, which, combined with contestations of the biological/social connection between gender and sex, resulted in a destabilization of men's roles as sole providers and in positions of power in the institutional and family realms (Atkinson, 2011, 5). Certain indignant men, as well as those men dispossessed by capitalism, understood these social changes as constituting their eviction from white collar jobs, higher education, and other realms of social power as "punishment" for patriarchy (Atkinson, 2011, 5). While anti-crisis rhetoric advocates note that this crisis is in no way supported by substantial evidence indicating the actual eviction of men from positions of power, it is important to acknowledge that neoliberal policies have indeed disenfranchised all citizens (including men) albeit unequally. Targeting such anger at feminism and women is inherently misdirected and detracts attention away from the neoliberal reforms that have caused such male dispossession. Atkinson notes that such themes of a 'masculinity in crisis' constantly arose in various interviews with men surrounding different topics, with blame frequently placed upon feminism and women for their alleged disenfranchisement (Atkinson, 2011, 6). Most recently, men's rights activists have claimed that feminism seeks to render men obsolete, an opinion that they claim is evidenced by the advancement of women in various employment, academic and social fields ("A Voice for Men"; Atkinson, 2011, P.A. Goff et. al, 2012). Hence, real or not, this perceived crisis in masculinity undoubtedly possesses the ability to shape cultural and physical practices by men who organize their

masculinity in response to it. Of central importance to this research is whether a white, Canadian masculinity that includes meat consumption can be understood as a response to a crisis in masculinity; that is, can this masculine ideal be read as a response to increasing social organizing surrounding vegetarian, veganism or environmentalism? In another sense, if this version of masculinity is found to be prevalent in Canada, can it be understood as a backlash to a ‘traditional’ masculinity that is perceived by certain men to be in crisis? For instance, Atkinson notes that one particular response to a perceived masculinity crisis is a retreat into “laddism”. In laddist subcultures, as a response to the challenging of traditional claims to masculinity, men retreat into traditional forms of masculinity characterized by hedonism and sexual conquest (Atkinson, 2011, 66), and as I will argue, excessive meat consumption and the glorification of red meat as central to manliness. Among its proponents, laddism is “characterized by an obsessive-compulsive focus on male youthfulness, consumption and bachelorhood” (Atkinson, 2011, 66). Excessive meat and alcohol consumption take center stage in performances of laddist masculinities, indicating the need for future research to examine other such consumption practices – for instance, drinking – for its role in male bonding and the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity.

As a response to feminism’s interrogation of traditional gender roles founded upon biological determinism, laddism constitutes a retreat into traditional gender roles; it may also be understood as a compensatory masculinity, where men engage in stereotypically masculine (and sometimes violent) behaviours to restore their masculinity after it has been perceivably threatened (P.A. Goff et. al, 2012, 1112). It is thus crucial,

within the scope of this research to examine whether the glorification of meat consumption can be understood as compensating for a perceived loss of masculine status.

3.3 Critical Whiteness Studies

As a counterpart to intersectionality theory, critical whiteness studies places attention not only on the effects of racism on people of colour, but on the very attitudes, practices and knowledges that privilege whites (McDonald, 2009, 7). To that end, race, within the context of this thesis, will be considered to be as much about racist imagery and attitudes against people of colour as it is about the “creation, development, and maintenance of white privilege, economic wealth, and sociopolitical power” (McDonald, 2009, 9). Specifically, three significant concepts borrowed from whiteness studies will be analyzed for their ability to uphold compulsory whiteness: whiteness as colour and power evasiveness, whiteness as normalization, and whiteness as intersectionality (McDonald, 2009, 10-16). Whiteness as colour and power evasiveness posits that whiteness is upheld through claims that one does “not see” race, accompanied with the assumption that only people of colour are raced while articulating white people as unmarked by race (Doane, 2003; Frankenburg, 1993; McDonald, 2009). Whiteness as normalization refers to whiteness being imagined as the natural, inevitable, and normal state of the nation, with white individuals and institutions creating and shaping the world in their image (Dyer, 1997; McDonald, 1993). Finally, whiteness as intersectionality refers to the interlocking nature of whiteness with other social categories and forms of oppression, including gender, class, ability, nation and sexuality (McDonald, 2009; Crenshaw 1991).

Critical whiteness studies posits compulsory whiteness as an inherent component of the Canadian state. My analysis of advertisements will be coupled with critical analyses of the state as strategically using terms such as “multicultural” and “diverse” to hide its hegemonic white and colonial roots and detract from critiques of the state’s white colonial status (Bannerji, 2000; Thobani, 2007). Himani Bannerji (2000) notes that the current representational construction of Canada is centered around notions of whiteness and ideas surrounding an alleged common history and language (64). Canada’s status as a liberal democratic state that claims not to exclude, marginalize, or criminalize on the basis of race or culture, makes critiques of racism difficult, with many pointing to, for instance, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as evidence that Canada is a tolerant and progressive nation centered around the inclusion of all (Bannerji, 2000, 72). Taking a similar critical approach towards representations of the Canadian nation as tolerant and multicultural, Sunera Thobani (2007) argues that multiculturalism serves to actively shape the political subjectivity of people of colour in restricting the terms of their lives to a politics of cultural parity, thus neutralizing debates surrounding white supremacy and racism in Canada (533). Both Bannerji and Thobani converge in noting that discourses of multiculturalism have been specifically invoked at times when whiteness was under siege; for instance, during the rise of Third World nationalisms and the postwar collapse of world hegemony (Baldwin, 2009, 533). This thesis will thus borrow from such theories to extend these critical views of the state while analyzing how representational tactics serve to uphold this image of the Canadian nation as white and colonial under the guise of “multiculturalism”.

3.4 Postcolonial Theory

Since this thesis aims to interrogate the manner in which meat advertisements further the erroneous notion that Canada is “post-colonial”, it is crucial to make mention to the tenets of postcolonial theory that will be borrowed upon significantly to forge this analysis. In particular, postcolonial theory posits that colonialism must be understood as unfinished project that cannot be relegated to the historical past. Colonialism, herein, refers to the often exploitative control and conquest of land and resources, generally to the profit of the colonizing country and the detriment of the colonized country (Loomba, 2005, 9). In the Canadian context, this refers to the period of European contact beginning in the 1700s with the presence of European traders and culminating in the widespread permanent settlement and governmental control of already occupied land by Europeans (Daschuk, 2013, xviii). This project of European colonialism must be understood as possessing an enduring legacy marked by the continual dispossession of indigenous peoples from both their lands and ways of life (Razack, 2011, 266). However, the dominant national narrative in Canada holds that colonialism is merely a figment of Canada’s darker historical past, generally neglecting the multitude of ways in which colonialism still resonates today. As such, this thesis will employ postcolonial theory, and particularly, its focus on critiquing the notion of *terra nullius*, Latin for ‘empty land’ that was absent of any prior indigenous inhabitants (Boisen, 2013, 336). This myth served as a central justification for the civilizing and colonizing missions of the European colonial project, and as I argue, continues to inform the dominant national imaginary surrounding indigenous peoples in Canada. As such, postcolonial theory will guide the analysis undertaken in Chapter 5, where the advertisements are analyzed based on their repetitive use of empty field imagery to depict Canada at large. Post-colonial analysis asks that one

interrogate precisely how such land came to be *emptied* after being populated with indigenous peoples prior to colonization. This thesis will thus borrow from postcolonial theory to interrogate the advertisements' messaging that, through its absence of indigenous presence, speaks volumes about the contemporary relationship between Canada and its original occupants.

Chapter 4: Locating Whiteness in Contemporary Canadian Meat Advertisements

As noted in the preceding literature review, academic interrogations of the culturally symbolic nature of meat consumption have typically focused on the link between meat consumption and masculinity. While several scholars note the importance of employing an intersectional framework of analysis when analyzing cultural representations of meat (Rogers, 2008; Adams, 1990; Connell, 1995), no existing studies have been located that analyze how depictions linking meat and masculinity might intersect with other axes of oppression such as racialization. Thus, while Chapter 1 indicates the theorized links between meat consumption and masculinity, this chapter seeks to uncover whether meat consumption may also be understood as informed and upheld by the dominant white racial configuration of Canada. In particular, critical whiteness theory notes that researchers must not only examine blatant individual instances of racism, but how whiteness operates as the assumed norm in Canada through three tactics: whiteness as colour and power evasiveness, whiteness as normalization, and whiteness as intersectionality (Doane, 2003; Frankenburg, 1993; McDonald, 2009).

Critical whiteness studies is applicable here as a theoretical framework as it interrogates how whiteness has come to constitute an invisible yet highly pervasive norm that is strengthened and protected by its invisibility (Dyer, 1997; Garner, 2007; Frankenburg, 1993; Deliofsky, 2010). Noting this tendency to focus on racialization only with reference to non-white individuals, in his book *White*, Richard Dyer (1997) explains the oppressive nature of this configuration of race that views white individuals as unmarked by race: “As long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human norm.

Other people are raced, we are just people” (1). That is, dominant understandings of race view only people of colour as racialized, while ignoring the ways in which white individuals and groups are racialized and come to be afforded differential treatment and privileges based upon race. This thesis is thus informed by critical whiteness studies in its aim to expose the often invisibilized and normalized nature of whiteness through a deep analysis of representations set forth by the Canadian meat industry.

The advertisements selected for analysis will thus be analyzed within this context of compulsory yet invisibilized and normalized whiteness using multimodal critical discourse analysis and Stuart Hall’s theories of representations. This thesis works from the premise that within the North American context, whiteness is simultaneously ascribed a significant amount of institutional power and privilege, yet this privileging of whiteness remains shrouded in invisibility, with discussions of race typically focusing on the experiences of non-white racialized individuals and groups. Along with functioning as an invisible norm, whiteness is simultaneously understood as both natural and inevitable (McDonald, 2009; Dyer, 1997).

4.1 Whiteness as Colour and Power Evasiveness

Whiteness is frequently upheld through colour and power evasiveness through assumptions that one does “not see” race, and moreover, that only people of colour are raced (Doane, 2003; Frankenburg, 1993; McDonald, 2009). Whiteness is herein described as evasive since it evades being clearly located or critiqued by functioning in a multiplicity of locations and remaining shrouded in understandings of race that view white individuals as unmarked by racialization, a category populated only by non-white

people of colour. Critical whiteness studies seeks to destabilize this understanding through ensuring that discussions of racism focus on both the privileges afforded to white individuals, and on white complicity in oppression against nonwhite individuals in a system marked by compulsory whiteness.

As a result of the evasive and often invisible nature of whiteness, any discussions of white individuals as marked and privileged by race often result in extreme discomfort among white people (Garner, 2007, 36). Robin DiAngelo (2011) has coined the term “white fragility” to describe how the North American context racially protects white people and creates expectations of perpetual racial comfort, resulting in a low threshold for racial stress (54). DiAngelo (2011) argues that white defensiveness can be triggered by numerous situations, including people of colour speaking about their own experiences of racism, and suggestions that a white person’s opinion or viewpoint comes from a racialized, rather than objective standpoint (57). Given the pervasive and evasive nature of whiteness, white individuals rarely possess the skills or stamina to engage with people of colour to interrogate how their whiteness is dependent on the subjugation of people of colour. Rarely engaging with people of colour in such a way thus results in a low threshold for racial discomfort or challenges to white privilege.

4.1.1. Analyzing Whiteness as Colour and Power Evasiveness: Destabilizing the Assumed Whiteness in Meat Industry Advertisements

Destabilizing the evasive nature of whiteness means naming whiteness and the privileges it affords, rather than viewing white representations as neutral and unmarked by race. In the case of Alberta’s *Raised Right* campaign publications, all four rancher

profiles and their accompanying videos feature solely white individuals, all of them men, except for one small girl. By utilizing multimodal critical discourse analysis, one can begin to interrogate how these ranchers are positioned in a way that foregrounds particular elements of their identities while backgrounding and obscuring others (Machin & Mayr, 2012, 87) One rancher – Brian Lane – is positioned alongside his daughter, Holly, as he holds her arm while presumably teaching her to use a lasso (See Appendix A). Moreover, the text featured on the images of each featured rancher states that while it is a “lot of hard work,” they are “doing what’s right” and will “never compromise” (See Appendix D). These captions, alongside the rancher’s stoic pose, portray successful ranching as a task defined by hard work and merit, and the very mandate of the *Raised Right* campaign states that,

Alberta’s beef producers take tremendous pride and care in what they do and how they do it. Their values have stood the test of time and are reflected in how they treat the land, their livestock and the excellent produce they produce. Alberta beef is, indeed, raised right.

Each Alberta beef producer has a story worth sharing. These are stories filled with determination and pride, dreams and accomplishments. Most of all, these are stories of real people with solid values making a living and raising families for generations to come.

That’s what Raised Right is all about. It tells the stories of their shared values. It also understands that consumers have the right and responsibility to know that the food they eat is of the very best quality and that it is safe, healthy and produced under certified conditions.

When you choose Alberta beef you know that it is Raised Right.

(Alberta Beef Producers, 2008)

The articulation of “shared values,” “determination”, “pride”, and “accomplishments” strategically masks the whiteness of the Alberta Beef Producers’ advertisements, through depicting cattle ranching as a question of merit and hard work, while distancing

contemporary cattle farming from potential allegations of appropriation of indigenous lands through reminding the reader that ranching is done in a responsible and time-honoured tradition. The textual representational strategies – ie: the words selected for the campaign's mandate – combine with the images portrayed of stoic ranchers amidst empty fields to portray an industry that is made difficult to critique for its potential white appropriation of indigenous land. Instead, one is reminded that such ranchers embody only positive traits such as determination, pride, and shared values.

4.1.2 Analyzing Whiteness as Colour and Power Evasiveness: Regimes of Representation

Making a claim that the industry is marked by whiteness, rather than a merit based system based on shared values and determination might seem a controversial, and even conspiratorial reading of only one set of advertisements. However, once these advertisements are read as a part of a larger regime of representation (Hall, 1997, 233) linking whiteness and meat production and consumption, this potential reading becomes evidentially solidified. Far from the only representation of the industry that indicates its overwhelming whiteness, the websites of other provincial cattleman's associations – overseen by the Canadian Cattleman's Association to ensure the standard application of policies and procedures - are dominated by representations of solely white individuals (see Appendix E and F). In Appendix E, for example, one sees two prominent background snapshots from the Beef Farmers of Ontario website featuring solely white individuals. In the first image, four white men walk stoically toward the camera followed by a white woman. This group of individuals can be read as a family - a husband, his wife, and their three sons - who are featured atop of the "Our Story" website heading. The

picture makes it clear that white families such as this one, once again situated in front of an empty pastoral field, may be understood as forming the backbone of the Canadian beef industry. Similarly, in the second photo, a white man stands in front of herd of cows with his arms crossed confidently. He is sharply in focus while the cows are blurred in the distance, and the viewer gains the impression that this man is the master of his domain - in this case, the cattle field.

In Appendix F, one sees the Board of Directors of several provincial cattleman's associations: British Columbia Cattleman's Association, Saskatchewan Cattle Association Board of Directors, and the Beef Farmers of Ontario. Featured on the associations' respective websites, these images reveal an absolutely white industry, the majority of which is male. While several wear suits, the majority of the men wear either plaid or cowboy hats, embodying a rural version of whiteness. As evidenced by such depictions, the images analyzed in depth within this thesis are far from the sole representations of whiteness in the Canadian beef industry. The representations and values articulated in the advertisements are thus not only symbolically, but literally, representative of the interests of solely white executives.

The Maple Leaf Canada *Feeding the Country* commercial, however, moves beyond a solely white cast and features three visible people of colour; a black adult man, a young, brown-skinned girl, and a young Southeast Asian girl (see Appendix B). While it is important to note that race is now understood as an endlessly complex social category that is not always able to be read clearly off the body, this thesis works in acknowledgment of the lingering impacts of biological understandings of race, where categorizing race is a matter of “identifying or securing difference on and/or in the body

itself” (Dyer, 1997, 20). Given that such advertisements function in the realm of representations, it is important to acknowledge the lasting impacts of this biological understanding of race, and to interrogate how Alberta Beef Producers and Maple Leaf Canada have strategically used skin colour as a location of difference, and moreover, an indicator of cultural difference.

4.1.3. Analyzing Whiteness as Colour and Power Evasiveness: Making Links to Existing Discourses Surrounding Race and Racialization in Canada

Beyond reading the advertisements intertextually as part of a larger regime of representation, multimodal critical discourse analysis suggests the use of iconographical analysis to interrogate how individual elements in an image may indicate larger discourses that may be overlooked at first glance. In the case of the selected advertisements, engaging in iconographical analysis reveals how the images are tied to larger discourses surrounding race and racialization in Canada. These discourses posit race as only marked by non-white racialization, while continuing to allow whiteness to evade critique and interrogation.

At first glance, the representations set forth by Maple Leaf Canada seemingly depict Canada as a racially tolerant and multicultural nation through their inclusion of three racialized individuals. However, further interrogation of the representational strategies employed in the commercial indicates that such advertisements situate the three racialized individuals in a rigid and stereotypical fashion, and thus perpetuate rather than interrupt Canada’s compulsory whiteness. While the white individuals are portrayed as pursuing a seemingly endless variety of different activities, ranging from plowing a field

and navigating the Atlantic ocean on a fishing boat to playing hockey and celebrating a lesbian wedding (Appendix J), the three racialized individuals are not permitted such variety in their activities. Instead, their representations reveal incredibly narrowly prescribed roles for people of colour informed by racist stereotypes of the past and present.

Firstly, the young Southeast Asian girl is depicted as tutoring a white student, linking the image to a larger ‘model minority’ discourse that continues to inform the cultural imaginary surrounding Southeast Asian Canadians. This myth rose to prominence in the 1970s in the United States, yet also holds influence in Canada (Hartlep, 2013; Wu, 2013), where it was believed that Southeast Asian immigrants are “becoming economically successful by persevering and overcoming disadvantages through hard work, thrift, strong family ties, and emphasizing children’s education” (Sakamoto et. al, 2012, 310). In Canada, this model minority myth is inspired by a particular history of anti-Asian racism culminating most vividly in the Japanese internment camps of World War II, and the postwar immigration policy reforms that eliminated overt race and ethnic origin discrimination yet created new discriminatory regulations through favoring Southeast Asian men and those with professional and technical skills who had been educated in English institutions (Ralston, 2004, 204). That is, despite having been revised, immigration guidelines ensure that applicants are placed under one of two categories – independent and economic – a process that Sunera Thobani (2000) argues results in “the gendering of immigration: the independent category becomes masculinized by being defined as that of independent, economic agents who contribute to the economy, while the family category simultaneously becomes

feminized as a category of dependents, who have to be sponsored by family members” (38). Hence, macro forms of aggression displayed against Asian Canadians such as their internment during World War II have been replaced by new forms of more subtle racist aggression such as that of the immigration system, which claims to no longer delineate on the basis of race and ethnic origin, yet replicates existing inequalities according to a new points system. This institutional oppression of Asian Canadians is combined with cultural expectations surrounding the qualities of the “model minority”: intelligence, thrift, hard work, and strong family ties.

Returning to the Maple Leaf Canada commercial, the Southeast Asian girl is represented as tutoring a white student, recalling a particular portion of the model minority myth that states that Asian Canadians overcome their marginalized position in society through higher rates of education (Sakamoto et. al, 2012, 310, Wu, 2013; Hartlep, 2013). While greater economic equality between Southeast Asian and white Canadians is often pointed to as a marker of multicultural success, this alleged equality between Southeast Asian and white Canadians is largely attributed to the educational success of Asian immigrants, when in fact “Asian American men must have more education and work longer hours than do white men in order to obtain a comparable amount of annual earnings” (Sakamoto et. al., 2012, 311). Understood contextually, then, it is no coincidence that Maple Leaf Canada positions this individual in a classroom tutoring a white child, indicating her advanced intelligence that recalls the myth of Asian over-education. In reality, far from the peaceful and harmonious image of platonic learning occurring in the commercial, research indicates that Canadian educational institutions serve as sites of everyday, vicarious, and often silent, racism for Southeast Asian students

(Sakamoto et. al., 2012; Henry & Tator, 2000).

The commercial's representation of the young, Southeast Asian tutoring girl recalls such existing discourses of over-education and the "model minority" myth, and the visual representation of the young girl is coupled with the dialogue of the commercial (see Appendix C), which states that Canada still has "bars to raise" at the exact moment that the tutoring scene flashes across the screen. Once again recalling this discourse of over-education, the Southeast Asian girl has been selected as the one tutoring the white student in order to, based on the commercial's dialogue, bring the educational standards of white Canada up to the alleged rigid standards of Asian immigrants. The visual images and dialogue of the commercial can thus not be read apart from such racial discourses; while seemingly benign at first glance, the representational strategies and semiotic choices utilized in the commercial must be interrogated and challenged in their intertextual contexts where such images both invoke existing racialized discourses of the model minority myth, while actively perpetuating such race-based discourses under the guise of racial harmony and diversity.

4.1.4 Analyzing Whiteness as Colour and Power Evasiveness: Using Tokenized Representations to Create the Non-White 'Other'

In his work on stereotyping and the creation of the 'Other', Stuart Hall (1997) notes that representations have been integral in marking racial difference and establishing a racialized 'Other' in Western popular culture, functioning according to stereotypes that reduce, essentialize, naturalize, fantasize, and fetishize (271). This invoking of existing racial stereotypes in representations of people of colour is not only evident in the

stereotypical portrayal of Southeast Asian Canadians in the tutoring scene, but also in the commercial's depiction of a young, brown-skinned girl in a particularly racially charged cafeteria scene. In this scene, the young, brown-skinned girl approaches an elementary school cafeteria with a tray and looks around timidly for a place to sit. Presumably a newcomer to the school, the young girl approaches the lunch room while the commercial's narrator states that "[we've got] friends to make", upon which the girl breaks into a relieved smile when other students welcome her to their table. The commercial then quickly moves to a segment of quick, flashing images of all of the individuals in the commercial eating various Maple Leaf products. While this representation initially seems to indicate the racially harmonious and tolerant nature of Canada, it warrants further representational analysis for its underlying ideological messages.

The cafeteria scene once again indicates the commercial's reliance on racialized stereotypes, in this case, of timid immigrant women in need of rescue and assimilation. Whether or not the girl in the commercial is an immigrant or born Canadian is irrelevant, as her brown skin marks her as Other, particularly in a nation where the taboo topic of 'race' is now discussed under the more politically sensitive guise of 'cultural difference' (Thobani, 2007, 157-158). According to Sunera Thobani (2007), in a context that views any discussion of race as 'racist', visible minorities are cast through skin-based racial difference as first newcomers and then immigrants, regardless of whether or not they were born in Canada or immigrated there (158). In a context where talking about 'race' is no longer deemed politically and socially acceptable, skin colour becomes a stand-in for cultural difference, with the scene's protagonist marked as inherently different due to her

skin colour and the cultural differences it allegedly signifies (Thobani, 2007, 158). The subject's nervous pose and intimidated gaze recalls particularly racist understandings of women of colour as having survived oppressive patriarchal conditions elsewhere only to be fully welcomed by the Canadian nation. "Canadian society," writes Thobani (2007), "has been presented as offering immigrant women the opportunity to escape from their inherently and deeply oppressive communities and enforced traditional feminine roles" (167). Once again, we see the commercial setting up a tokenized representation of a person of colour against a white background that goes unchallenged in the advertisement.

The commercial, interestingly, posits meat consumption (specifically, the consumption of Maple Leaf Canada products) as a way to overcome racial difference and assimilate. Moreover, the representational strategies invoked in the commercial feature the girl looking straight at the camera in what multimodal critical discourse analysis deems a "demand image". According to Machin and Mayr (2012), demand images "ask something of the viewer in an imaginary relationship, so they feel that their presence is acknowledged and, just as when someone addresses us in social interaction, some kind of response is required" (71). Through her gaze, the young girl thus asks the viewer whether they will welcome her at their table, and more generally, into the Canadian nation itself. This allows the viewer to situate themselves as the benevolent Canadian classmates who kindly allow their timid new classmate to sit with them despite her cultural differences. This exceptionalized representation of the timid young brown woman in the otherwise white cafeteria helps solidify white selfhood and nationhood through reminding the white viewer and nation of its benevolent tolerance of racialized individuals, so long as they assimilate, thereby confirming Canada's national identity through upholding "the

exaltations of nationhood and the multicultural project” (Thobani, 2007, 168). An application of the tenets of critical whiteness studies would see this exceptionalized representation of the commercial’s racialized subject as confirming the evasive and pervasive whiteness of the nation by marking the racialized individual as inherently Other and worthy only so long as they assimilate through mimicking whiteness.

The third and final racialized representation that interrupts the otherwise white commercial is that of a particularly large, burly black male construction worker. The commercial shows the back of this man’s head amongst two white male construction workers, who are all lifting heavy wooden beams, presumably to build a home. The commercial’s narrator proclaims, “we’ve got homes to build” as the camera pans to the construction workers. Later, as the commercial is flashing through quick images of all of the commercial’s previously shown characters, the audience receives a close up image of only the black male construction worker. Deliberately separated from his white male colleagues, his representation feels particularly exceptionalized and tokenized, once again in an attempt to indicate the racially diverse and allegedly tolerant nature of Canadian society.

Interestingly, the website of Maple Leaf Canada itself indicates a general tokenizing treatment of race, as noted in their “Our People & Values” section (see Appendix H). The image featured on the website is that of several hands piled on one another in a manner that represents teamwork. However, only one of these hands is noticeably black, replicating the exceptionalized and tokenized nature treatment of race evidenced in the commercial, where individuals of colour are added sporadically amidst an otherwise white cast. Given the overwhelming whiteness of the industry itself

evidenced in the websites of the national and provincial cattleman's boards, (see Appendix E and F) this representation feels more like a tokenized attempt to detract from critiques that the company is overwhelmingly reproducing the white norms of the Canadian nation.

However, further interrogating this exceptionalized representation of black masculinity recalls several negative, racist stereotypes. For instance, the man in the commercial is exceptionally large and muscular, depicted as towering over his colleagues, recalling racist tropes of the strong, hyper-masculine black man. Contextually, this particular representation arises amidst increased media representations of black men as engaged in violent crime, and particularly, gang violence (Bausch, 2013, 259). In Canada and the United States, such media depictions are informed by the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement, the latter being often depicted as overtly radical, violent, and masculine in its opposition to white supremacy and colonialism (Bausch, 2013, 260). Such depictions of male strength, virility, and sexuality were seized upon by African-American directed Blaxploitation⁵ films in order to counter Hollywood depictions of black men as often childlike, feminized, weak, asexual, and unable to look each other in the eye due to their allegedly timid nature (Bogle, 2001). In taking an intertextual approach to analyzing the commercial's representation of black masculinity that considers the current media emphasis on black violence, it is important to note that contemporary media depictions of black masculinity are dominated by the damaging archetype of the menacing black "thug," with rap music often pointed to as alleged evidence of a black male tendency towards violence, misogyny, and sexism

⁵ According to Bausch (2013), Blaxploitation is a genre of film that responds to the dominantly white film industry through a focus on black rather than white narratives. Released between 1969 and 1974, such films feature "black casts in action-adventures in an urban setting" (258).

(hooks, 1994, 117; Young, 2014, McCune, 2014). Rather than interrogating the cultural context in which such representations occur – namely, systems of white supremacy, capitalism, and patriarchy – cultural critics such as Brent Staples of the *New York Times* use gangster rap, for instance, as proof that violence is a dominant value of black male culture (hooks, 1994, 117). Through positioning the black man as a patriarchal, violent figure in need of constraint and control, the black woman is by extension culturally depicted as victimized and in need of white rescue (Thobani, 2007, 168; Razack, 2004).

While the commercial only shows two brief images of the black man's body, Stuart Hall (1997) notes that in racist representations, the body functions as the site of racial difference, pointed to as “proof” of the alleged naturalization of racial difference (244). It should be noted that the media's “universalized” and “naturalized” depictions of blackness function in conjunction with white supremacy, with the media problematically depicting this commoditized, stereotypical version of blackness in order to feed a desire to see specific types of “authentic” black bodies (Jackson II, 2006, 105). Such partial representations are deemed “universal”, and both romanticized by white audiences and repeatedly pointed to as proof that black men are inherently violent (hooks, 1994, 122), with such depictions often used to inform heavy-handed policy responses to both urban poverty and crime that target racialized neighbourhoods and populations.

Unfortunately, Maple Leaf Canada seizes upon the dominant representation of the muscular, large black man, who is engaged in hard labour. Rather than engaging in intellectual work, like the Southeast Asian girl, the representational strategies employed by Maple Leaf Canada foreground and exceptionalize the large black man while appealing to existing racist stereotypes of black masculinity. Read contextually as arising

amidst overwhelmingly white depictions of the industry (see Appendix E and F), this exceptionalized and tokenized depiction of black masculinity further naturalizes whiteness while evading potential critiques of being solely white through its inclusion of three racialized individuals, despite their problematic depiction.

4.2 Whiteness as Normalization

Along with interrogating how whiteness is often understood as a category of racial absence unmarked by complex relations of power, critical whiteness theory also posits that whiteness is normalized. That is, whiteness comes to embody the normalized, natural and inevitable state of the world (McDonald, 2009; Dyer, 1997). Following Foucault (1979), “normalization” in this context may be understood as the way particular versions of events or things take on the authority of being true, standard, and ultimately normal (183). The normalization of whiteness can thus be understood as a specific configuration of the world where whatever is associated with whiteness comes to be considered normal and natural, and serves as a reference point against which all other cultural, political, and moral judgments are gauged (McDonald, 2009; Dyer, 1997, Lipsitz, 1988). In this sense, people of colour are restricted to a “politics of cultural parity,” wherein their achievements are measured for how close they come to achieving this invisibilized and allegedly “neutral” white standard.

4.2.1 Analyzing Whiteness as Normalization: Depicting Meat Production and Consumption as Inherently White

Specific representational strategies employed by both Maple Leaf Canada and

Alberta Beef Producers perpetuate the idea of normalized whiteness through depicting meat production and consumption as either inherently white, or as a way for people of colour to access normalized whiteness through assimilatory tactics. While the Maple Leaf Canada commercial undoubtedly features people of colour, according to bell hooks (1990), “we must not ignore the consequences when images are manipulated to appear “different” while reinforcing stereotypes and oppressive structures of domination” (177). Hence, the tokenized and stereotypical representations of racialized individuals that are present in the commercial do little to disrupt the commercial’s overwhelmingly white narrative (hooks, 1990; Cloud, 1996; Horton, 1999). Instead, they offer sanctioned representations of people of colour that, rather than challenging the otherwise white norm of the commercial, perpetuate it through appealing to restrictive stereotypical depictions.

Significant work on the normalization of whiteness focuses on the privileges that it affords and the norms it perpetuates. In her 1989 essay, Peggy McIntosh discussed whiteness as invisible ‘backpack’ of privileges, ranging from the privilege to avoid racial profiling while shopping to the ability to consistently view representations in the media that affirm your racial identity (11). Similarly, Lipsitz (1988) analyzes how whiteness is afforded economic and financial privileges, such as loans and home purchases that are made more difficult for people of colour (8). Extrapolating upon the work of such past whiteness scholars, in his book *White*, Richard Dyer offers a particularly specific definition of the privileges afforded by whiteness, noting that whiteness is characterized by norms of “obsessive self-control, rationality, order, and the repression of emotions, which manifest themselves somatically in rigidity” (Garner, 2007, 49). Whiteness, as such, can be understood as both a set of privileges and system of norms embodied by

white individuals. The norms that Dyer articulates as central to whiteness - rationality, order, self-control, and emotional repression - are observable in both the Alberta Beef Producers and Maple Leaf Canada advertisements, solidifying the normatively white nature of the meat advertisements.

4.2.2 Analyzing Whiteness as Normalization: Conflating “White Values” with “Shared Values” despite the Industry’s Reliance on Racialized Labour

In the Alberta Beef Producers’ *Raised Right* rancher profiles and mandate, several references are made to “shared values” such as independence and hard work that allegedly characterize the white Albertan cattle ranchers. In their ‘Campaign Story,’ Alberta Beef Producers articulate that,

Well over 150 years ago, ranchers moved cattle up from Montana into the foothills of Alberta [...]. Without question, these first ranchers had what it took to beat the odds stacked against them and establish Alberta’s thriving cattle industry.

It’s that same spirit of determination, hard work, and independence that today motivates the nearly 30,000 Alberta beef producers to ensure their livestock are raised right. [...] The success of Alberta’s beef industry is thanks to the hard work and dedication of our producers and their families. Their businesses are built on a solid foundation of historic traditions and values handed down through the generations, plus a keen appreciation for modern technology and its vital role in present day operations.

(Alberta Beef Producers, 2008)

While such a statement contains no explicit mentions to race, the values inscribed here, coupled with the portrayal of solely white Albertan ranchers, embody similar traits to those articulated by Dyer; hard work, independence, determination, and “historic traditions and values handed down through the generations”. Thus, seemingly race-

neutral at first glance, such “shared values” might more accurately be read as white values. Moreover, as more video footage and reports of working conditions are distributed by labour and animal rights activists, one sees that the normalized white face of Alberta beef farming is in fact supported by low-paid migrant workers who live in deplorable conditions (Kemmerer, 2011; Pachirat, 2011). A video recently surfaced of 17 Guatemalan migrant farm workers “living in a cramped, mouldy three-bedroom home in a Southern Alberta farming community” (CBC News, 2012). Such reports set forth by activists echo the conclusions made by critical animal studies scholars (Kemmerer, 2011; Eisnitz, 2006, Pachirat, 2011) surrounding the increased reliance of industrialized farms on cheap, migrant labour, where workers are reluctant to demand their labour rights for fear of losing their job or being deported. As such, the white face of the Albertan *Raised Right* campaign masks a darker underbelly of industrialized farmer; namely, a reliance upon underpaid and often exploited migrant workers. The advertisements, however, attempt to re-personalize and, arguably, deracialize meat production and consumption by linking it to individual, hardworking, white men, thereby invisibilizing the racialized nature of industrialized farming and further perpetuating the context of normalized whiteness within which such ads arise.

Further indicating the invisibilization of the industry’s reliance on racialized, migratory labour, the websites of provincial cattleman’s associations and the national Canada Beef association provide no information about the labour conditions or general makeup of farm staff. Instead, the sites offer a wealth of information in regard to industry statistics such as average federal prices for cattle (Ontario Beef), producer information such as livestock insurance and carbon tax rebate forms (British Columbia Cattleman’s

Association), and genetics and breeding information (Alberta Beef Producers). Discussions of labour conditions or minimal working standards are not articulated anywhere on these websites, once again reaffirming the clean, pastoral image of farming and obscuring the industry's actual reliance on overcrowded facilities with often tenuous labour standards (Pachirat, 2011, Eisnitz, 2011; Kemmerer, 2011) It is made clear through the lack of such transparent labour standards that the industry at a whole, on both the provincial and federal level, values product output more than the conditions of their workforce.

4.2.3 Whiteness as Normalization: Normalizing Whiteness through Rural Imagery

Beyond the invisibilization of migrant workers and the perpetuation of “shared values” as a stand-in for white interests evidenced in the advertisements, the campaign's use of Albertan, small-town, rural imagery also normalizes whiteness given the link between representations of rural, small-town life and white values (Leitner, 2012, 829). All four rancher profiles of the *Raised Right* campaign feature white, male, ranchers positioned in front of a pastoral, rural backdrop of wheat fields and nearly empty plains, save for the odd peacefully grazing cow. A more in-depth analysis of the representational strategies reveals that the ranchers are wearing button-up shirts, cowboy hats, and leather chaps, recalling a certain rural masculinity specific to the Canadian West. Describing this cowboy masculinity that has since become synonymous with Alberta's Western image, Mary-Ellen Kelm (2009) argues that this particular version of masculinity arose at the end of the 19th-Century, when modernity was considered a threat to existing versions of masculinity (718). Increased mechanization and the growth of

cities, coupled with the increased role of women in political, social and economic spheres, it was argued, “conspired to take the muscularity out of masculinity” (Kelm, 2009, 718). However, the West came to be viewed by such emasculated men as a space where this masculinity could be restored and thus saved, through the propagation of a rough yet respectable masculinity (Kelm, 2009, 715). This cowboy masculinity became solidified through events such as the Calgary Stampede, which since its inception in 1912, served to simultaneously reflect and produce this new version of masculinity predicated upon toughness and the appropriation of rurality (Kelm, 2009, 715). “From small towns and reserves across Southern Alberta,” writes Kelm, “a new kind of man materialized – the rodeo cowboy. For settler men, big rodeos such as the Calgary Stampede incorporated masculinities both rough and respectable and offered independence, status, and community” (Kelm, 2009, 715).

Indicating that this appropriation of rural imagery is far from only an Albertan phenomenon, navigating the websites of provincial cattleman’s associations reveals similar cowboy-hat and flannel-clad cowboy men embodying the beef industry across the country, in both the staged depictions of the industry that the websites typically feature, and in formal photographs of the associations’ respective Board of Directors (see Appendix F). Twelve of the white men featured in the various images of Board of Directors are wearing cowboys hats, while significantly more are clad in flannel button-up shirts, revealing that this rural image not only symbolically but literally represents the Canadian beef industry. The representational strategies employed by the associations create a sense that the industry is cohesively comprised predominantly of white cowboy men, save for the odd white woman, once again detracting from the racialized underbelly

of the industry.

The attire and backdrop featured in such representations combine to formulate an overall atmosphere of rurality in beef advertisements. Scholars of rural representations (Valentine and McDonald, 2014; Neal, 2002; Nelson 2008) have noted that the nostalgia and romanticization surrounding white, rural small towns often entails the policing of rural borders. Moreover, the rural small-town often comes to serve as a stand-in for the white nation as a whole, resulting in power struggles to define and police the boundaries of rural towns to maintain their whiteness in the face of increasing immigration stemming from global economic restructuring (Leitner, 2012, 829-831). Scholars have begun to interrogate the automatic association of rurality and whiteness, critiquing rural representations for being exclusively white and destabilizing this assumed whiteness by naming the conditions of exclusion that allow this specific depiction to take place (Holloway, 2007; Hogg, 2006)

Moreover, the advertisements also employ rural imagery in a way that highlights the link between representations of rurality and the white norms articulated by Dyer including emotional stoicism and independence. For instance, indicating their emotional stoicism, of the four men depicted in the rancher profiles, none of them look directly at the audience, but instead gaze stoically off into the distance (see Appendix E). Multimodal critical discourse analysis emphasizes the importance of interrogating the gaze of subjects, as the gaze and poses of individuals often suggests broader values and identities. In the case of the Albertan ranchers, staring vaguely off in the distance once again embodies the white norms of independence and emotional stoicism; these men demand nothing of their audience but a belief in their sheer authority and command over

cattle. This gaze, coupled with the placement of the men in front of both the cows and pastoral backdrop, indicates the normalization of whiteness through the displacement and sheer absence of any indigenous or racialized presence, while also recalling a colonial agricultural masculinity centered around a domination of and mastery over nature and animals (Carter, 1983; Loo, 2001; Anderson, 2004).

4.2.4 Analyzing Whiteness as Normalization: Using Sanctioned Racialized Depictions that Protect the White Norm

The Maple Leaf Canada advertisements employ different representational tactics to indicate the normalization of whiteness; namely, the strategic tokenized depiction of racialized individuals that does not disrupt whiteness, but instead provides a sanctioned and assimilationist depiction of people of colour that is compatible with the goals of the white Canadian nation. This depiction not only fails to disrupt the overwhelmingly white commercial, it actively protects the white status quo of the commercial (and by proxy, the Canadian nation that it depicts) by offering depictions of racialization that imply that racialized individuals must comply to norms of whiteness in order to be brought into the national fold. Moreover, reading these images alongside the sheer lack of representations of racialization offered by the provincial cattleman's associations (see Appendix E and F) indicates that while such multicultural depictions may help Maple Leaf Canada appeal to new "multicultural" markets while avoiding critiques of racism, the industry itself remains marked by an overwhelming whiteness that is not destabilized by a few token images of people of colour.

As a result of the normalization of whiteness exhibited in the advertisements,

racialization comes to be differentiated and understood only in its opposing relation to whiteness (Levine-Rasky, 2013, 44). While the advertisements do feature three racialized individuals, they do so in a stereotypical manner wherein they assimilate to white standards through eating meat with their white colleagues, friends, and family. Such an assimilatory inclusion of nonwhite individuals both renders critiques of racism difficult, while further perpetuating and normalizing whiteness through relegating individuals of colour to specific, stereotypical roles, and ultimately having such individuals “overcome” their race through collective meat consumption. Emphasizing the oppressive nature this tokenized inclusion, Stubblefield (2005) explains that “occasionally, in an act of ostensible generosity, the declaration is made that racialized people are “just like” whites warranting an extension of support to them. This position is indicative of white normalization since it implies that a common humanity may be extended but only in the direction from white personhood to others. Hence, such advertisements must be critiqued for their ideological significance and specifically, stereotypical representations of people of colour, rather than heralded for their sheer numerical inclusion of racialized individuals.

4.3 Whiteness as Intersectionality

Beyond its tendency to function as an evasive norm, whiteness is also upheld through interlocking with other social categories and forms of oppression, including but not limited to, gender, sexuality, class, ability, and nation (McDonald, 2009). “The advantages of whiteness,” writes Mary McDonald (2009), “are not shared equally or uniformly – intersections of class, nation, sexuality, gender, and ability articulated within

specific contexts all mediate its effects and consequences (16). Of particular importance to the advertisements analyzed within this thesis is the intersecting of whiteness with gender, class, age, and sexuality.

Whiteness is both fractured and compounded by gender, with individual experiences of racialization – including whiteness - always mediated through a lens of gender. For instance, in the case of white men, the power and social capital embodied by their whiteness is multiplied by their positioning as men. Similarly, white women are understood to possess less social capital than white men. However, it is important to recognize that such intersections do not take on a mere additive nor deterministic model, rather, such social categorizations function in highly individuated, specific ways dependent on numerous factors, such as one's specific embodiment of gender and whiteness, the context within which this embodiment takes place, and the numerous other intersecting characteristics that impact both gender and whiteness in ways that both oppress and privilege, often simultaneously (Levine-Rasky, 2013, 98). As such, it is of importance to note that one axis of oppression may not simply be added or multiplied to another axis of oppression, and it follows that an intersectional analysis always evades perfection and completion given the constantly contextual, shifting nature of identity.

4.3.1 Analyzing Whiteness as Intersectionality: Race and Gender

In regards to the specific advertisements, race – both whiteness, and otherwise – intersects with gender in complex ways that both privileges and oppresses. For instance, in the Maple Leaf Canada commercial, both of the young, female racialized characters reveal an intersection of gender and race in a way where both status characteristics make

them less authoritative and ultimately, less of a serious challenge to the white Canadian nation. In particular, through being depicted as tutoring a white student, the Southeast Asian girl featured in the Maple Leaf Canada advertisement is pictured as timid, nervous, and in need of friendship and rescue by her otherwise white classmates, indicating a particular intersection of race and gender informed by stereotypical understanding of specifically Southeast Asian women as passive and in need of rescue (Gupta, 2003; Siddiqui, 2008). . In both cases, race and gender intersects also with age, with the young age of the girls further detracting from their status as a potential threat to the otherwise white nation, given the tendency to discriminate against children and young adults for an alleged lack of life experience (Sargeant, 2010; Garstka, et. al., 2004). In particular, the two young women of colour may be viewed as less threatening to the normalized white Canadian nation, given their status as young, Southeast Asian women, who are already infantilized by existing racist and gendered stereotypes surrounding Southeast Asian culture.

Gender also mediates whiteness in the *Raised Right* advertisements, with the industry being portrayed by solely white men. The white male ranchers embody authority and seriousness given the long-standing association between masculinity and authority, as compared to femininity and its alleged tendency to be governed by the emotions (Swan 2008; Budgeon, 2014). The provincial cattleman's associations mimic these depictions, with the majority of the industry being portrayed using representations of white men, whether in the staged photos meant to represent the industry, or in the photographs of the associations' Board of Directors (see Appendix E and F). Given the industry's reliance on racialized, migrant labour depicted in the preceding section, these representations

misleadingly indicate that cattle production and slaughter – and by extension, meat consumption - is a white, male endeavour.

Conversely, the otherwise white cast of the commercial has their whiteness compounded and fractured by a variety of factors, including class, age, and race. For instance, while the white individuals in the Maple Leaf Canada commercial are portrayed as occupying several different economic classes as evidenced by their participation in everything from the professionalized work force to hard labour, organized sports, labour, and leisure activities, the single racialized individual portrayed in the workforce is a muscular construction worker. This single representation of racialized hard labour amidst multiple and diverse representations of white employment indicates both a reliance on the dated trope that racialized individuals – here, a large black man – are more suitable to physical labour rather than intellectual work or the variety of other tasks assumed by white individuals in the commercial. This depiction of black masculinity in the advertisement reiterates Maple Leaf Canada's general tokenized treatment of racialized individuals indicated in the company values articulated on their website through their token hand photo described above (see Appendix H), and combines with the otherwise completely white face of the industry, as indicated through an examination of the provincial cattleman's associations.

Research on employment segregation in Canada and the United States indicates the stratification of women of colour in low and unpaid caring and reproductive labour, while men of colour are often represented in “low skill” occupations such as institutional cleaning, labour, and service jobs (Duffy, 2007, 331; Duffy, 2004). Yet other studies reveal the stratification of people of colour in what Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1992; 2002)

has deemed as both “dirty work” and “back room” work, as opposed to the more intellectual, public work performed by white individuals. The single racialized individual portrayed in the workplace in the Maple Leaf Canada commercial – a black man carrying lumber and wearing construction attire - thus reaffirms that nonwhite individuals often come to occupy more labour-intensive, blue collar positions as a result of systemic racism and employment discrimination. The black man laboring outdoors also recalls tropes dating back to the Atlantic Slave Trade, where black individuals were viewed as mere “laboring things” (Shilliam, 2012, 591; Césaire, 1972), a position bolstered by biological determinist understandings of race and the accompanying idea that black individuals, and particularly men, were ideal subjects for intense, exploitative, and unpaid outdoor labour (Baptist, 2014; Richardson & Johanningmeier, 2003). The history of both the Atlantic Slave Trade and the stratification of people of colour in lower-paid, blue collar work, forms the context in which such a representation of a black man toiling in a field must be read. Portraying the black man in such a historically familiar and reminiscent position indicates a complex interplay of race, gender, and class, while also further promoting the whiteness of the Canadian state by keeping racialized individuals in low-paid, labour-intensive employment. Going further, one might consider the impacts of the commercial depicting the same man as, for instance, a white collar office worker or teacher, when the nation would have to contend with the idea of a racialized man occupying a higher societal position in a way that challenges and overwrites the racialized assumptions surrounding Canadian labour and employment.

4.3.2 Analyzing Whiteness as Intersectionality: Race and Sexuality

Finally, sexuality merges with whiteness insofar as the only clearly non-heterosexual individuals portrayed in the advertisements are a white lesbian couple in the Maple Leaf Canada commercial (see Appendix I). At the same time as the commercial's narrator proclaims that "we've got walls to break," the commercial pans to two women in white wedding dresses gazing lovingly into each other's eyes. Once again, Maple Leaf Canada reveals its alleged inclusion of all Canadians into its commercial, but upon further examination, the inclusion of the lesbian wedding in the commercial reveals a narrowly sanctioned acceptance of diversity in the nation. That is, the commercial remains staunchly white and heteronormative in that its only portrayal of non-heterosexuals are two white women getting married. Queer theory posits that rather than disrupting heteronormativity, the reduction of gay politics into solely a fight for gay marriage in fact promotes and protects the goals of a society built upon compulsory heterosexuality (Van Eeden-Moorefield, et. al., 2011, 565). Such a view posits that same-sex marriage indicates the assimilation of heteronormative structures into gay relationships, which queer theorists have dubbed "homonormativity" (Duggan, 2003). Hence, rather than disrupting the narrative of white heteronormativity, the commercial once again allows for a very narrow embodiment of difference in a way that indicates Maple Leaf Canada's accommodation of difference, so long as it does not significantly challenge or disrupt national narratives of whiteness and marriage.

The *Raised Right* advertisements, moreover, implicitly perpetuate heteronormative narratives through depicting one of the ranchers teaching his daughter to use a lasso (see Appendix A). While not explicitly stated, the image presumes a procreative version of heterosexuality, compounded by both the father and daughters'

whiteness and the overall absence of any hints of non-heterosexuality.

The numerous elements of whiteness uncovered in the advertisements, alongside a narrow prescription of non-white racialization that protects rather than disrupts whiteness, reveals the compulsory whiteness evident both in meat advertisements and the nation more generally. In no way the only representations of whiteness in the meat industry, coupling this close analysis of the two sets of advertisements with a general analysis of the industry at large as depicted through provincial and national cattleman's associations indicates a repetition of the selected themes. The *Alberta Raised Right* advertisements reveal a complete absence of non-white individuals that portrays meat production and consumption as an entirely white endeavour thus masking the industry's dependence on racialized, migrant labour. Meanwhile, the Maple Leaf Canada advertisements indicate an overall tendency to perpetuate myths of the nation as "post-racial" and committed to diversity, despite new and sustained versions of racism and whiteness in a neoliberal context that masks the often exploitative nature of global capitalism (Bilge, 2012, 306). While not solely white like the *Alberta Raised Right* advertisements, Maple Leaf Canada indicates that the myths of Canada as a benevolent, post-racial nation committed to diversity may in fact be utilized to tap new consumer markets; namely, non-white racialized individuals, gays and lesbians, and new immigrants. Such populations are portrayed as overcoming their difference in the commercial through the consumption of Maple Leaf Canada meat products. In both cases, such representations of white and non-white racialization mask the true racial tensions of the nation along with Canada's tenuous treatment of difference, while positing meat production and consumption as either inherently white or as a mechanism

through which nonwhite individuals can access whiteness in a state-sanctioned manner that does little to challenge the nation's overwhelmingly white status quo.

Chapter 5: Locating Themes of Canadian National Identity in Contemporary Canadian Meat Advertisements

While the preceding chapter locates and analyzes whiteness within contemporary Canadian meat advertisements, this chapter seeks to interrogate whether the Maple Leaf Canada and Alberta Beef advertisements also represent meat consumption as forming a component of a larger Canadian identity. Two particular themes of central importance to Canadian identity are evident in the specific advertisements analyzed, and in the Canadian beef industry more generally. Specifically, the advertisements play upon the notion that Canada is both a multicultural nation marked by racial harmony and tolerance, and a post-colonial nation, no longer marked in the present by traces of its colonial past.

Firstly, this chapter will describe the two themes – multiculturalism and post-colonialism – as they have historically been articulated as part of a uniquely Canadian identity. Secondly, multimodal critical discourse analysis will once again be applied to Maple Leaf Canada's *Feeding the Country* commercial and Alberta Beef's *Raised Right* campaign, this time to interrogate what the advertisements suggest when they link meat consumption to larger themes of Canadian identity through spoken, visual, and textual markers. This chapter will then conclude with a broader discussion of the implications of articulating meat consumption in such a way.

5.1 Multiculturalism as a Component of a Distinctly Canadian Identity

While numerous competing definitions of multiculturalism have been articulated since debates surrounding the topic arose in the 1960s, this thesis employs the term as conceptualized by Will Kymlicka (1995) to refer loosely to the accommodation of

national and ethnic difference within the nation, particularly as it is enacted through Canada's *Multiculturalism Act* (177). While polyethnic states exist throughout the world, multiculturalism is often heralded as a distinctly Canadian achievement, with its success evidenced vis-a-vis depictions of Canada as exceptionally tolerant and benevolent, images of multiple ethnic groups residing peacefully within the country's borders, and by the formal institutionalization of multiculturalism in the nation's federal policy (Baldwin, 2009, 532). In a Canadian context, Kymlicka argues that multiculturalism is fuelled by demands for inclusion by disadvantaged groups. "Groups that feel excluded," writes Kymlicka (1995), "want to be included in the larger society, and the recognition and accommodation of their 'difference' is intended to facilitate this" (176). Multiculturalism is thus premised upon an alleged desire for integration rather than separation from the nation (Kymlicka, 1995, 177).

Charles Taylor (1994) similarly argues that multiculturalism is centered on the basic premise that recognition is central to identity; that is, identities are always formed in dialogical relationships with others (35). Within a liberal democracy, this focus on recognition as central to identity translates into a desire that all cultures be accorded equal value and recognition. Taylor (1994), however, claims this is idea of equal recognition of all cultures is fraught from the beginning as it situates all cultures as indistinguishably similar and equal, while also presuming that individuals possess neutral standards to make such value judgements (71). Rather than possessing an objective worldview, Taylor (1994) argues that, "the standards we have [...] are those of North Atlantic civilization. And so the judgements implicitly and unconsciously will cram the others into our categories" (71). This flaw in the foundation of multiculturalism, however, does not lead

Taylor to abandon the idea altogether; instead, he argues that one must accept that judging the worth of other cultures is inherently fraught, and accept “their own limited part in the whole human story” to move away from homogenizing and ethnocentric claims (Taylor, 1994, 72). One must attempt to find a midway point between entirely homogenizing and entirely differentiating configurations of cultures, constantly acknowledging that one cannot judge the relative worth of a different culture through an ethnocentric lens. That is, multiculturalism might be better understood as a necessarily imperfect project. Such a conceptualization of multiculturalism as a difficult yet laudable goal is predominantly the understanding of multiculturalism that is central to Canadian identity; as noted by Sunera Thobani (2007), Canadian citizens are presented as “compassionate, caring, and committed to the values of diversity and multiculturalism” (4).

Other scholars suggest that the concept of multiculturalism as well as policies aimed at fostering multiculturalism are fundamentally flawed. Multiculturalism has been taken up critically by scholars including Himani Bannerji and Sunera Thobani, who argue that such an understanding of the concept ignores how multiculturalism delineates the distribution and organization of power across the country. For instance, according to Bannerji (2000), touting Canada as a multicultural nation in fact protects and perpetuates white political authority in moments of political crisis (96). In this light, multiculturalism serves as a way to permit a self-recognition among “cultural others” in a manner that recognizes difference without fundamentally challenging the white, Eurocentric foundations of the nation. Thobani (2007) similarly argues that multiculturalism shapes the political subjectivity of racialized peoples and confines non-white individuals to a

politics of cultural parity based on a white standard, while simultaneously disallowing and neutralizing charges of racism and white supremacy in Canada (156). This thesis thus follows in the footsteps of Banneri and Thobani in agreeing that multiculturalism, as outlined by Kymlicka and Taylor, is an ideology that plays a crucial role in the performance of whiteness and white nationalism through allowing white Canadians to situate all racialized individuals as cultural Others in a way that in fact, protects white national interests (Baldwin, 2009, 541).

5.1.1 Locating and Problematizing Multiculturalism in the Advertisements – Wilderness Imagery

One particular manner in which multiculturalism comes to be articulated as a Canadian phenomenon in the advertisements set forth by Maple Leaf Canada and Alberta Beef Producers is through articulations of wilderness. A recurring theme arising in both sets of advertisements is that of Canada depicted as predominantly comprised of unmarked wilderness and empty pastoral landscapes. While the *Alberta Raised Right* advertisements depict white, male ranchers standing stoically in front of empty fields, the Maple Leaf Canada advertisement shows short, consecutive clips of allegedly Canadian imagery, again relying on the heavy use of empty plains fields, coupled with shots of the raging Atlantic ocean, to form what is to be understood as a depiction of Canada's diverse landscapes. Both landscape theory and wilderness theory converge in their emphasis on the strategic human manipulation and domestication of lands that come to be understood as naturally occurring and later used as a stand-in for what is "naturally Canadian" (Baldwin, 2009; Sandilands, 1999).

While this predominantly unmarked wilderness is often used to depict Canada as allegedly vast, beautiful, and sparsely populated, Andrew Baldwin (2009) argues that this use of empty wilderness imagery in fact supports Canada's status as a nation built upon normalized and presumed whiteness (530). It is this whiteness, described in detail in the preceding chapter, that forms the backdrop of Canada's multicultural society in an "add diversity and stir" manner. While multiculturalism and wilderness are often considered two separate entities, Baldwin (2009) argues that positioning the vastly untouched wilderness as the purified 'essence' of Canada provides a backdrop upon which all subsequent events and peoples are situated, including all immigrants and people of colour (541). Immigrants and people of colour - those allegedly living in harmony due to Canada's institutionalization of multiculturalism - are thus viewed as impositions upon this original, serene landscape (Baldwin, 2009, 536).

Victoria Sandilands (1999) similarly argues that wilderness must not be understood as a benign, untouched backdrop upon which Canadian identity formation occurs, but as a particular social construct filled with "concrete, Eurowestern contents" (182). Rearticulating this idea, Jocelyn Thorpe notes that there is nothing natural about wilderness; rather, such wilderness spaces might be better understood as socially constructed natural spaces, constructed in opposition to indigeneity (2011, 209). Using wilderness as a symbolic stand-in for the Canadian nation comes to shape discourses of multiculturalism through presupposing that the true foundation of the nation lies in the vast wilderness that predates any discussions of multiculturalism (Baldwin, 1999, 531). Interestingly, in his attempts to delineate a basis for Canadian national identity in the midst of the 1960s' discussions on multiculturalism, Ian Angus (1997), a prolific theorist

of Canadian multiculturalism, articulated that “our primal is the wilderness”, thus privileging wilderness as a universal national ideal where Canadians can retreat to access their national identity (125). This idea of wilderness as embodying the true essence of the Canadian experience recalls both the colonial push for white Europeans to populate the land through promises of empty acres of land, as well as the struggle immediately after World War I to define Canada in nationalist terms (Baldwin, 1999, 533). Moreover, in Canada’s colonial history, when European migration was quickly changing the racial composition of the land, natural wilderness came to represent a space wherein white people could to “reaffirm their whiteness”, as well as combat the feminizing impacts of modern life and industrialization (Baldwin, 1999, 532; Loo, 2001, 300). In this way, white individuals are rendered indigenous to such wilderness spaces, vis-à-vis the exclusion of immigrants and people of colour (Thorpe, 2011, 201). Meanwhile, indigenous individuals are rendered racialized and out of place, often having been literally evicted from such space to render the space empty and “wild” (Thorpe, 2011, 201).

At the same time as European migration was changing Canada’s racial composition, several notable landscape painters including the Group of Seven and Lawren Stewart Harris depicted Canada in terms of its regional landscapes (Baldwin, 1999, 537). This wilderness fantasy, writes Baldwin (1999), “must be actively reconstituted, its boundaries actively (and endlessly) policed, in order for it to maintain its foundational status at the core of national ideology” (537). Popular culture theorists Geoff Pever and Greig Dymond (1996) list numerous television shows airing on CBC from the 1960s-onwards dedicated to depicting the “Great Canadian outdoors”, ranging

from adventure and fishing shows to nature documentaries, revealing a desire amongst Canadians to consume images of Canadian wilderness from their couches (155). The advertisements examined here may thus be understood as another iteration of this wilderness imagery as central to Canadian national identity, and therefore can be understood as perpetuating Canada's normalized and presumed whiteness. Moreover, to discuss multiculturalism and wilderness as distinct entities forecloses any discussion of the ability of landscapes to transmit and symbolize potent national and racial discourses, which purifies the idea of the wilderness in the Canadian imaginary and once again reinstates it as an ideologically empty domain upon which all subsequent events may unfold (Baldwin, 1999, 541).

Depictions of empty and rugged Canadian wilderness arise in both sets of advertisements, often in the form of vast farming fields surrounded only by dense woods or rugged mountains. Alberta's *Raised Right Rancher* profiles utilize different snapshots of the Canadian wilderness as the backdrop to their campaign (see Appendix D), presumably embodying the rugged Albertan landscape. In these images, one sees the repeated use of endless fields, blue skies, mountains, and forests to embody the Canadian landscape. Critical discourse analysis asks that even such background elements be taken seriously for their ideological significance through an iconographical analysis (Machin & Mayr, 2012, 31), and such advertisements should thus be read as conveying larger discourses that connect white Canadian identity with the wilderness. That is, such images naturalize whiteness through literally embedding it in nature, ensuring that racialized individuals will always be seen as merely added onto this white backdrop. As noted by Angus (1997), white Canadians may retreat to such wilderness spaces – contemporarily,

for instance, through camping and nature retreats – to access this authentically Canadian experience (125). Other scholars point to how such natural spaces were positioned as able to cure the ills of modernism and “over-civilization”, situating predominantly white men as merely “answering the call of the wild” and spending time reconnecting with a fabricated earlier version of themselves before returning refreshed to the city (Loo, 2001, 301; Thorpe, 2011, 201). Such discourses of “answering the call of the wild” render such tourists innocent subjects who merely receive nature passively (Thorpe, 2011, 208). As noted by Thorpe (2011), “the innocence of tourists and tourism was also maintained through the presentation of sportsmen as having no choice but to travel; they simply had to respond to the call of the wild” (208). Rather than engaging in a colonizing gesture by occupying land that was generally marked by indigenous eviction, white tourists are thus understood as merely responding to a natural call to be outdoors. McClintock (1995) notes succinctly that this “call of the wild” constitutes “nature’s invitation to conquest”, which again protects the innocence of such tourists as merely accessing their Canadian heritage rather than engaging in a colonizing act (26).

The ranchers are foregrounded in these images, often gazing stoically into the distance, while the wilderness serves as their backdrop, providing the viewer with the sense that the rancher has overcome this wild, rugged landscape to thrive in the beef industry. This message is supported by the website’s “Campaign Story”, which describes beef farmers as overcoming the natural elements to take advantage of the plentiful natural resources afforded by the region:

Well over 150 years ago, ranchers moved cattle up from Montana into the foothills of Alberta – the finest grazing land in all of North America – to take advantage of the province’s bountiful pasture, pristine drinking water and many sheltered valleys.

Without question, these first ranchers had what it took to beat the odds stacked against them and establish Alberta's thriving cattle industry. It's that same spirit of determination, hard work and independence that today motivates the nearly 30,000 Alberta beef producers to ensure their livestock are raised right.

(Alberta Beef Producers, 2008)

This narrative of white ranchers overcoming the rugged elements of the wild Canadian landscape to eventually thrive in the industry once again reiterates the idea that such ranchers were merely answering the "call of the wild" and innocently using the resources available to them. In the following section, I problematize the articulation of such lands as empty to begin with, given the extensive indigenous presence on the Western plains that was later relegated onto reserves. The advertisements thus further the linking of Canadian identity with the wilderness, a link that naturalizes white settler presence and restricts access to people colour, who are merely added onto this white landscape. In this case, the rearticulation of such wilderness imagery may be understood as undermining Canada's claims of multiculturalism and racial diversity.

Maple Leaf Canada's *Feeding the Country* commercial similarly represents Canada through images of wild, vastly untouched natural spaces, through the series of short clips that constitute the commercial. Within these short clips, Maple Leaf Canada reveals what is presumably meant to embody the Canadian experience: among these, a farmer waking up at dawn, putting on his hat and going to his field, a man in a rolled-up toque manoeuvring a fishing boat in what appears to be the Atlantic ocean surrounded by rugged mountains, a hockey player tying his skates, a young brown skinned girl entering a school cafeteria, two white children playing ball hockey, a young South East Asian girl tutoring a white student in a classroom, a white man proposing a toast at his daughter's

lesbian wedding, and a white mother running a race while pushing her son ahead of her in a wheelchair (see Appendix J). Far more than simply a snapshot of the average Canadian, the commercial comes across to viewers more as a blatant attempt at championing the diversity – both cultural, and otherwise – that Canada has to offer. In doing so, the commercial reaffirms the significant role held by multiculturalism in configurations of Canadian identity. Again, multiculturalism is reinscribed as a heralded component of the Canadian experience, yet done so in a sanctioned way that does not fundamentally challenge the white, colonial foundations of the Canadian nation. The commercial thus indicates that multiculturalism is one of Canada's crowning achievements, profiting off of the conceptualization of the nation's "self-presentation on the global stage as urbane, cosmopolitan, and at the cutting edge of promoting racial and ethnic tolerance among western nations" (Thobani, 2007, 144). However, critical scholars such as Bannerji and Thobani remind us that multiculturalism serves far more of a purpose than simply embodying and managing the nation's existing, allegedly harmonious diversity – it actively constitutes this cultural difference as the most significant form that difference takes. "In this move," writes Thobani (2007), "race became configured as culture and cultural identity became crystallized as political identity, with the core of the nation continuing to be defined as bilingual and bicultural (that is, white)" (135). It is in this sense that multiculturalism helps stabilize the white, colonial foundations of Canada while permitting a sanctioned version of racial difference and "Otherness" that does not fundamentally challenge the nation's very foundation.

Taking an intertextual approach to reading such advertisements, as inspired by Stuart Hall (1997, 228), these representations of multiculturalism cannot be understood as

arising in a cultural vacuum. Instead, these representations of multiculturalism arise amidst overwhelming depictions of the Canadian beef industry as white, as articulated in the preceding chapter. Such selective invocations of multiculturalism, despite the industry's overwhelming whiteness, may be understood as an attempt to seek new consumer markets while playing upon one of the main tenets of Canadian identity that is so often celebrated at a national level. However, by rearticulating multiculturalism as an uncontested and celebrated component of Canadian identity, the advertisements arguably do a disservice to non-white and indigenous Canadians who must ascribe to the sanctioned understanding of cultural difference embodied by multiculturalism (Thobani, 2007; Bannerji, 2000). Through coupling meat consumption so firmly with multiculturalism, meat consumption arguably becomes a component of Canadian identity.

5.1.2 Locating and Problematizing Multiculturalism in the Advertisements – Explicit Multicultural Messaging

Beyond the more implicit manner in which wilderness imagery embodies a distinctly white Canadian experience and thereby undermines Canada's claims to racial harmony and multiculturalism, the sets of advertisements also feature explicit nods to Canada's diverse racial composition. However, extrapolating upon the conclusions of the previous chapter wherein compulsory whiteness remains uninterrupted despite a tokenized inclusion of a handful of racialized individuals, this sanctioned depiction of a "multicultural Canada" does little to interrupt the overwhelming whiteness of the Canadian nation, and instead offers a glorified image of Canada's alleged harmonious

racial diversity in a way that offers very limited and often stereotypical depictions of Canada's numerous racialized citizens.

While the Alberta *Raised Right* campaign remains distinctly white in its advertisements, as previously mentioned, Maple Leaf Canada seizes upon the centrality of multiculturalism in Canada's national imaginary to advertise the diverse nature of meat consumers in Canada. The company's "Feeding the Country" commercial specifically seeks to incorporate the vast diversity in Canada's citizenship in a way that, at face value, appears unproblematic and generous in its numerous depictions of difference, from lesbian weddings and athletes with disabilities to the incorporation of three racialized characters. However, through making multiculturalism and diversity the blatant focus of the campaign, the commercial reaffirms the paradox of multiculturalism itself: far more than simply a naturally occurring phenomenon in Canada brought on by the nation's tolerance and generous immigration policy, the nation's diversity is something that must be constantly rearticulated in order to continually reconstitute the nation's permitted cultural difference. This perpetual redefinition of Canada's Others both manages Canada's racial and cultural minorities through defining the terms of their difference, while allowing white Canadians to constantly redefine themselves in opposition to this difference and to use this alleged acceptance of difference as a way to enhance their own cultural superiority (Thobani, 2007, 145). More than a mere toleration of difference, multiculturalism is simultaneously articulated as a source of cultural diversity and enrichment for white Canadians. Articulated differently, the Other defined by multiculturalism is necessary for the nation's subjecthood – "it is this exclusion of the

Other that renders the nation possible and coherent, and should this exclusion ever be transcended, the nation itself would cease to exist” (Thobani, 2007, 20).

In particular, the Maple Leaf Canadian “Feeding the Country” commercial uses three scenes to advance its objective of appearing multicultural and committed to fostering national diversity. Analyzed in the previous chapter for their advancement of compulsory whiteness through representing non-white racialization in very limited, and often stereotypical terms, the same scenes will be revisited for their advancement of Canada’s claims to multiculturalism in a way that again relegates the racialized individuals solely to the status of cultural Others. Firstly, the commercial shows a black, adult man engaged in physical labour at a construction site with his solely white colleagues. Secondly, a young, brown-skinned girl nervously approaches a cafeteria, where she is later graciously welcomed to sit at a table with her white classmates. Finally, the commercial features a young, Southeast Asian girl tutoring a white classmate. Based on such depictions of racialized individuals engaging in various types of work, upon first glance, the commercial seems to simply communicate the racial diversity that has been articulated as a component of Canadian identity since the entrenchment of the *Multiculturalism Act*. However, accompanied with an intertextual analysis that combines such representations with those of Maple Leaf Canada and the meat industry more generally, these token depictions of racialization become more suspicious. For instance, Maple Leaf Canada’s website makes no mention to hiring practices or labour standards that encourage the employment of racialized individuals, while their website rarely features racialized individuals except in implicit nods through headlines such as “Maple Leaf Canada Celebrates Chinese New Year With the Launch of New Chinese Sausage”

(Maple Leaf Canada, 2010). The company's focus on racial diversity is thus done once again in a way that indicates a desire to tap new markets rather than seriously counter the overwhelmingly white nature of meat production in Canada. Moreover, even this headline restricts Chinese Canadians to their allegedly immutable cultural differences, through the implication that all Chinese Canadians long for specific flavours while celebrating specific holidays. Such depictions once again offer a sanctioned version of racialization in Canada that is homogenous and undifferentiated, while restricting all difference to cultural lines and ignoring, for instance, the diversity of Chinese Canadian identity and internal differences based on class, gender, sexual orientation, and so forth (Thobani, 2007, 157). In what both Razack (1998) and Jiwani (2006) refer to as the "culturalization of race," overt racism in the Canadian nation has been replaced by discussions of monolithic cultures, where one's race serves as a stand-in for a host of often homogenized and undifferentiated cultural assumptions (60). In this case, Maple Leaf Canada restricts the complex experiences of Chinese Canadians to enjoying particular flavours when celebrating the Chinese New Year. Thobani (2007) notes that certain foods, forms of dress, and celebrations often become the sanctioned versions of racialization permitted by multiculturalism, restricting racialized groups to their celebrations, attire and flavours while viewing the same individuals as unruly should they attempt to organize for political and economic gains (168).

Moreover, alongside the three stereotypical depictions of racialization interrogated in Chapter 4 and the company's attempt to find new markets through creating a new line of sausages for the Chinese New Year, Maple Leaf Canada employs the tokenized "multicultural" photo on its website's "Our People & Values" section (see

Appendix H). To recall, the image features several hands piled on one another in a “teamwork” fashion, yet only of these hands is noticeably black. This replicates the commercial’s tendency to add a few sanctioned depictions of racialization – a black man engaged in hard labour, a timid brown-skinned girl looking for white rescue, and a South East Asian girl tutoring a white student – in a way that does not interrupt the otherwise white nature of the commercial and the nation at large. Moreover, this image is accompanied by no articulation of how, for instance, the company intends to encourage diversity in its hiring, labour, or marketing practice. In doing so, the company again reaffirms a problematic conceptualization of multiculturalism that restricts racialized individuals to narrowly defined versions of homogenous, fixed cultural difference. Moreover, in the way that Thobani (2007) articulates that the white Canadian nation often points to multiculturalism to take credit for the success of racialized individuals in the nation, the overwhelming sentiment of the commercial and the company’s general treatment of racial difference is one of elevating itself for its “ethos of tolerance and inclusion” (149).

5.2 Post-colonialism as a Component of a Distinctly Canadian Identity

The advertisements selected for analysis also link meat consumption to another notable component of Canadian identity; namely, the hypothesis that Canada has overcome its violent, colonial roots, mainly through its commitment to multiculturalism and diversity, and can thus now be understood as a post-colonial nation. Such a “post-colonial” nation, it is believed, is no longer marked by the historical and contemporary implications of colonialism and the continued subordination of Canada’s indigenous

peoples. In particular, the advertisements will be interrogated using critical discourse analysis for their tendency to rely on one of the main tropes of post-colonialism: the myth of *terra nullius*.

Far from being two distinct components of Canadian identity, both multiculturalism and the myth of post-coloniality promote a similar conceptualization of the nation; namely, one whose inherent whiteness is conveniently masked by the nation's alleged racially tolerant nature. In fact, multiculturalism was born from the very premise of indigenous absence and erasure, as the Royal Commission that preceded the development of the *Multiculturalism Act* was given the mandate to "develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of equal participation of the two founding races, taking into account the contributions made by other ethnic groups" (Thobani, 2007, 144). Reinforcing the primacy of these two "charter groups" – the English and the French – reproduces the colonial act of erasing indigenous peoples as the original inhabitants of the country, thus contributing to the contemporary myth of Canadian post-coloniality. Through encapsulating the primacy of French and English Canadians into the *Multiculturalism Act*, indigenous peoples are relegated to the status of "other ethnic groups", with the erasure of original inhabitancy becoming literally encoded in federal policy. This enshrinement of indigenous erasure in Canadian policy mimics Sherene Razack's (2011) conclusions that law is often used to rearticulate the violent history of colonialism into a "story of peaceful settlement, based on the fiction of reciprocity, terra nullius, and the story of modern peoples helping pre-modern peoples into modernity – and turns it into a fiction of historical and mutual relationships between white settlers and First Nations" (267). As such, multiculturalism and post-colonialism may be viewed as

two enjoined components of Canadian identity that promote and obscure the actual colonial and white foundations of the nation.

5.2.1 Interrogating Contemporary Meat Advertisements for Themes of *Terra Nullius*

One of Canada's foundational myths is that the nation was premised on *terra nullius* – Latin for empty land that was absent any prior indigenous inhabitants (Boisen, 2013, 336). Baldwin (2009) notes that this historical concept of *terra nullius* is continually reinscribed through a contemporary emphasis on wilderness, and the strategic use of depictions of unmarked wilderness to depict Canada as vast and perhaps most significantly, sparsely populated.

The myth that Canada was entirely empty prior to its colonization became a central justification for civilizing and colonizing missions during the European colonial project that underpinned the creation of Canada (Boisen, 2013, 336). Through continually reinscribing this notion of *terra nullius*, particularly through depictions of vast, empty lands, the two sets of advertisements perpetuate the idea that the nation as built upon the benign settling of previously unoccupied lands, further justifying the ongoing colonization and erasure of indigenous peoples.

The conceptualization of *terra nullius* is fundamentally tied to Roman legal theory and the concept of *res nullius*, which states that “empty things” – including land – constituted common property until they were put to use. On the importance of mixing one's physical labour with the land to create ownership, Virginia DeJohn Anderson (2004) explains, “With use came rights: by investing labor in the land, a person could stake a claim to private ownership. Proponents of colonization argued that the discovery

of “empty” lands conferred similar rights on a nation” (78). As such, while the myth of *terra nullius* relied upon conceptions of Canadian land as being literally empty prior to colonization, the eviction of indigenous peoples from their land was also justified according to the premise that their use of the land – often lighter, impermanent or nomadic use in comparison to the permanent settlements common to Europe – did not equate to ownership (DeJohn Anderson, 2004, 78). Often, this assumption that indigenous peoples were not utilizing their land properly in a way that signified ownership centered on the absence of indigenous agricultural and farming settlements that were considered central to European property ownership (DeJohn Anderson, 2004, 76). This lack of permanent agricultural settlement was misunderstood by colonizers as indicating an inability to properly use land, when in reality, most indigenous peoples simply used the land differently. Describing the indigenous peoples of the Canadian Western Plains specifically, in his recent book *Clearing the Plains*, James Daschuk (2013) explains that,

“Both long-standing inhabitants and newcomers to the region were large-scale, sophisticated, tribally based societies that managed bison herds in order to maintain semi-sedentary residence patterns, alternating between valley complexes in winter and open plains in summer. Water, a critical resource in the arid plains, was maintained through the purposeful non-exploitation of beaver, whose dams buffered human communities from droughts. With a dependable supply of high-quality food, the regional population probably experienced good health, especially in relation to societies in the east that were undergoing severe hardship in the centuries prior to the arrival of Europeans” (xvi).

This description of the Western plains is of particular significance when analyzing the Alberta *Raised Right* campaign, since the publications of this campaign revolve around imagery of empty western plains. As previously noted, the backdrop for all of the photographs on the campaign’s rancher profiles feature pastoral, empty fields, often with

rugged mountains or forest further in the background (see Appendix D). Depicting Alberta through the use of such empty plains imagery is significant when interrogating how such plains came to be empty, and critical discourse analysis demands that one considers the absences in a particular image as seriously as the presences. Moreover, landscape theory demands that one moves beyond an understanding of a landscape as simply “land”, through interrogating the social processes resulting in a particular depiction (Corner, 1999). While such images indicate vast, empty land, prior to the expulsion of indigenous peoples to reserves, these plains were widely populated by peoples of the Cree, Assiniboiné, Salteaux and Dakota First Nations, including the Pegogamaw, Cowanitiow, and Basquia (Daschuk, 2013, xiv; Carter, 1993, 25). However, this expulsion of indigenous peoples to reserves was predated by other colonizing acts that facilitated the emptying of lands. *The Dominion Lands Act* of 1872, Canada’s equivalent to the United States’ *Homestead Act*, provided the legal basis for the eviction of indigenous peoples from their land followed by the parcelling up and offering of land to European and American pioneers (Carter, 2009, 275). Any American or European man over eighteen, and any female heads of household were offered 160 acres of land for free, so long as they worked on the land (Carter, 1993, 19). This encouraged the agricultural settlement of the lands, once again echoing the notion that indigenous peoples had failed to use the lands appropriately given the lack of visible permanent agricultural settlements. On her work outlining the complex colonial reasons that widespread agriculture of a European scale was not adopted by indigenous peoples until much later, Sarah Carter (1993) describes this justification for indigenous eviction: “that the Indians were not perceived to be in “actual and constant use of their land” was a conventional nineteenth-

century rationalization for their displacement, a view that appeared self-evident to non-native observers. Citing the Swiss jurist Emmerich de Vattel's *Law of Nations*, an 1844-45 report on the affairs of the Indians in Canada argued that an "unsettled habitation" did not constitute a "true and legal possession" and that other nations were lawfully entitled to take possession and settle these lands" (20). As such, in the name of populating and settling the nation, only agricultural and permanent settlements were considered proper use of the land, serving as one of the legal justifications for indigenous eviction. Often, this failure to engage in extensive agriculture was blamed upon indigenous "apathy" and "laziness", alongside racist explanations that continued to hold well beyond the initial period of European settlement. For instance, the 1966 *Survey of the Contemporary Indians in Canada* described indigenous people as "a 'nonindustrial people', 'modern' concepts of economic status and prestige were meaningless to them. [...] They had no natural impulse to acquisitiveness and were content with a standard of living at nearly subsistence level. They had no concept of working harder or longer to accumulate money and goods" (Carter, 1993, 8). Rather than interrogating the colonial complicity resulting in increasingly deplorable living conditions for Canada's indigenous peoples, such conditions were blamed upon indigenous apathy, laziness, and cultural values that differentiated from the European standard.

Another factor contributing to the absence of indigenous peoples from the images depicted by the meat industry is the decimation of the buffalo population. Given the dependency of Plains indigenous peoples on the buffalo as a central source of food, clothing, and shelter materials, the disturbance of buffalo migratory patterns brought on by increased settlement, coupled with overhunting by settlers and increasingly harsh

environmental conditions contributed significantly to the decline of the original Plains inhabitants (Carter, 1993, 25). After the acquisition of the West by the Dominion of Canada in 1869, the buffalo population was decimated within only a decade, forcing the indigenous inhabitants of the Plains to enter into treaty negotiations with the Crown in order to establish some kind of protection against famine and disease brought upon by settlement (Daschuk, 2013, 79). However, the response by the Crown in these treaty negotiations has largely been considered inadequate, as the government was “only willing to negotiate treaties according to its own timetable based on external and often short-term needs rather than the concern for the long-term well-being of the Indians” (Daschuk, 2013, 93).

The increasingly deplorable living conditions of indigenous people brought on by the coercive settlement of their land and the resulting consequences of disease and famine were also magnified by the creation of a new industrial economy on the Plains, enabled by the introduction of new technologies such as the steamboat (Daschuk, 2013, 94). However, the most significant change to the Plain’s economy came with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. As noted by James Daschuk (2013), the “completion of the CPR signalled that the subjugation of the treaty population was complete. With the infrastructure in place for large-scale settlement and the establishment of agrarian capitalism, the well-being of indigenous people in the west largely disappeared from the public agenda” (xxii). Indigenous peoples were placed on reserves and subjected to increased governmental control, including pass systems (wherein inhabitants were monitored by federal agents when leaving and re-entering the reserve), food rations, and the residential school system aimed at cultural genocide and the complete assimilation of

indigenous children (Daschuk, 2013, xxi). Although she addresses an American indigenous context, Andrea Smith (2005) addresses the contemporary conditions of North American indigenous peoples, describing them as a 'permanent present absence'. That is, indigenous peoples in the North American continent must be physically absent (for instance, relegated to reserves or assimilated into Eurocentric ways of life) or understood to be in a perpetual state of dysfunction or dependency to legitimize both historical and contemporary colonization (9). As such, depicting Canada's wilderness as curiously absent of any indigenous presence may be understood as a strategic tool to justify not only the historical conquest of indigenous lands and peoples, but the nation's continually colonizing behaviours. Given the focus of critical discourse analysis on interrogating what is rendered absent in an image, all of these historical specificities are obscured when using images of empty Plains lands, imagery that is replicated widely in the Canadian meat industry at large.

The elements of existing tenets of Canadian identity uncovered in the advertisements – namely, the nation's reliance on claims of multiculturalism and post-coloniality – indicate the linking of meat consumption with themes of Canadian identity. As inherently unstable categories, such themes of Canadian identity depend upon their continual reinscription, and such advertisements form part of the cultural imaginary that allows Canadians to imagine themselves and their nation as multicultural and post-colonial. Moreover, coupling this analysis of the two sets of advertisements with an analysis of the industry at large indicates that meat advertisements in general rely upon such tropes of Canadian identity to market their products. While the selective invocation of racialized individuals amidst an otherwise white backdrop reveals the industry's

reliance on tokenized representations of multiculturalism, the repetitive use of *terra nullius* imagery reveals the rearticulation of the myth of Canadian post-colonialism. Such depictions of Canada as racially diverse, harmonious, and no longer impacted by colonialism, create a positive image of the nation that is rendered more difficult to critique. Such images must thus be read as masking the true colonial and racial tensions of Canada through setting forth an image of a progressive and tolerant nation. Meat consumption may thus be understood as not only a way to access whiteness, as articulated in the preceding chapter, but a mechanism to access Canadian identity given the advertisements' symbolic linking of meat consumption with gaining access to the national fold. In such a utopian depiction that denies the ongoing racial and colonial dimensions of the Canadian nation, one need only step up to the national table with a Maple Leaf Canada roast beef sandwich to be considered a true Canadian.

Conclusion

As representations of meat consumption continue to abound in various forms of media, this thesis set out to understand these contemporary representations in terms of their relationship to the socio-political contexts in which they arise. This thesis extends existing scholarship surrounding the symbolic relationship between meat consumption and masculinity in order to argue that meat consumption may also be understood as linked to a particular white Canadian national identity predicated upon the ideals of multiculturalism and post-coloniality. This thesis has suggested taking a more critical approach to advertisements that posit meat consumption as a way to enter into the national fold, through questioning the very basis of these claims to national identity. As set forth in the advertisements, Canadian national identity, it has been argued, must be taken up more critically, particularly for its ties to a highly invisibilized yet compulsory whiteness. Moreover, in examining the tenets that form the basis of this distinctly Canadian identity – namely multiculturalism and post-coloniality – that are frequently invoked in the advertisements analyzed, this thesis argues that rather than a racially harmonious nation no longer marked by its historical colonial past, Canada remains markedly white and colonial. That is, Canada remains marked by both the exaltation of whiteness and the tokenized and selective acceptance of people of colour on the nation's own terms, along with the historical and contemporary effects of colonialism and the continued active erasure of indigeneity.

Multimodal critical discourse analysis in conjunction with a theoretical approach informed by intersectionality, theories of masculinity, critical whiteness studies, and postcolonial theory allowed for an in-depth understanding of how individual

representations of meat consumption, such as those set forth by Maple Leaf Canada or the Alberta Beef Producers, form part of a larger regime of representation in Canada surrounding the dominant national ideology as it is predicated upon notions of compulsory whiteness and the myth of post-coloniality. Moreover, the infusion of Stuart Hall's tenet of intertextuality resulted in the crucial examination of numerous other Canadian meat advertisements, such as those set forth by national and provincial cattleman's associations, in order to ensure that the analysis was methodologically sound and robust. This inclusion of other texts into this analysis avoided overly privileging the two selected sets of advertisements, which would have been to the detriment of this project as a whole as it forms broader conclusions about the national composition of Canada using representations of meat consumption as its entry point.

In the future, meat advertisements similar to the ones analyzed in this thesis may become more commonplace as the industry makes more creative appeals to reinstate consumer confidence in light of growing challenges to meat consumption. In their analyses of American fast food advertisements, scholars such as Richard A. Rogers (2008) and C. Wesley Buerkle (2009) have noted that growing environmentalist and vegetarian movements have resulted in the increased scrutiny of meat consumption. The result, as noted by these scholars, has been the proliferation of advertisements set forth by fast food companies to reaffirm consumer confidence despite claims by the environmentalist and vegetarian movements that such food is marked by the intensified use of global resources, the production of greenhouse gases, and the mistreatment of farmed animals. This context, marked by an increase in advertisements intended to restore consumer confidence surrounding meat consumption, means that scholars must

take more seriously the symbolic and ideological nature of representations of meat consumption. Far more than simply the consumption of a particular commodity, such representations indicate a great deal about the socio-political contexts in which they arise. As such, future areas of inquiry into the topic might engage with questions surrounding how those who do not consume meat – either for personal, cultural, religious or other reasons – may be understood as feminized, given the link between meat consumption and masculinity. Further inquiry might also investigate whether the link between meat consumption and masculinity is being eroded due the lowering cost of meat products in North America facilitated by increased output of industrialized farms, and subsequently, whether consumption has now become more equitable for men and women. Moreover, more postcolonial analyses of food systems and consumption patterns in North America are needed, and future studies might interrogate how many North American food staples (beef, poultry, pork) are in fact European imports that initially overran and rendered extinct many indigenous species, only to later be considered “Canadian” foods. As such, while time and scope constraints limited the trajectory of this thesis, this research forms a part of a larger scholarly conversation surrounding the symbolic nature of food that, far more than simply sustaining bodies, reveals a great deal about the ideological fabric of Canada.

It should also be noted that taking a critical approach to meat consumption has also been a priority of animal activists for decades. Thus, while this thesis does attempt to problematize the often invisibilized underbelly of industrialized farming, including its reliance on underpaid migrant worker and the gross mistreatment and commoditization of animals, it purposely avoids the overly simplistic suggestion that such conditions would

be immediately alleviated through the widespread adoption of vegetarianism or veganism. That is, meat consumption does not constitute the only problematic consumption pattern – other food sources must also be examined for not only their ideological and representational value, but their literal impact on animals, the environment, and humans. While vegetarianism and veganism have undoubtedly been proven to produce fewer greenhouse gases and limit the mistreatment of animals, the consumption of plant-based cash crops such as palm oil, soybeans and quinoa remains reliant on a great deal of exploitative and underpaid migrant work, as well as the takeover of indigenous lands and the extensive use of limited global resources. As such, future scholars might avoid taking the uncritical perspective that “vegetarianism / veganism is the answer” to the questions raised within this thesis and beyond, and avoid a potentially re-colonizing gesture of suggesting that entire nations to adopt a particular method of consumption.

References

- Adams, C.J. (1990). *The Sexual Politics of Meat*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Adam, C.J. (2010). "Why Feminist-Vegan Now?" In *Feminism & Psychology*, 20.3: 302-317.
- Alberta Beef Producers. (2008). Raised Right. Retrieved from <http://raisedright.ca>
- Anderson, V.D. (2004). *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Andrzejewski, J. (2003). "Teaching Animal Rights at the University: Philosophy and Practice." In *Animal Liberation Philosophy and Policy Journal*, 1.1: 1-12.
- Angus, I. (1997). *A Border Within: National Identity, Cultural Plurality and Wilderness*. Montreal/Kingston: Queens University Press.
- Atkinson, M. (2010). *Deconstructing Men and Masculinities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- A Voice for Men: Humanist Counter-Theory in the Age of Misandry*. A Voice For Men, 2014. Web. 23 June 2014.
- Bales C. (2011). "What You Eat Significantly Impacts Your Health." In *Duke Medicine Health News*, 17.8: 4.
- Baldwin, A. (2009). "The White Geography of Lawren Stewart Harris: Whiteness and the Performative Coupling of Wilderness and Multiculturalism in Canada." In *Environment and Planning*, 41: 529-544.
- Bannerji, H. (2000). *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press.
- Baptist, E. (Sept. 6 2014). "Blood Cotton, American Slavery." In *The Economist*, 86.
- Bausch, K. (2013). "Superflies into Superkillers: Black Masculinity in Film from Blaxploitation to New Black Realism." In *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 46.2: 257-276.
- Beardsworth, A. & T. Keil. (1997). *Sociology on the Menu: An Invitation to the Study of Food and Society*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Beef Farmers of Ontario. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.ontariobeef.com>

- Benston, K.W. (2009). "Experimenting at the Threshold: Sacrifice, Anthropomorphism, and the Aims of Critical Animal Studies." In *PMLA*, 124:2: 548-55.
- Best, S. et. al. (2007). "Introducing Critical Animal Studies." In *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, 5:1: 4-5.
- Bhabha, Homi (1997). "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In (Eds.) A. Michaelson, et. al, *October: The First Decade 1976-1986*. MIT Press, 1997. 317-325.
- Bilge, S. (2012). "Mapping Quebecois Sexual Nationalism in Times of 'Crisis of Reasonable Accommodations'." In *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33.3: 303-318.
- Birke, L. (1995). "Exploring the Boundaries: Feminism, Animals, and Science." In (Eds.) C.J. Adams & J. Donovan, *Animals & Women: Feminist Theoretical Explanations*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 32-54.
- Bociurkiw, M. (2011). *Feeling Canadian: Television, Nationalism, and Affect*. Waterloo: Wilfrid University Press.
- Bogle, D. (2001). *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*. London: Bloomsbury.
- British Columbia Cattleman's Association. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.cattlemen.bc.ca/industry.htm>
- Budgeon, S. (2013). "The Dynamics of Gender Hegemony: Femininities, Masculinities, and Social Change." In *Sociology* 48.2: 317-334.
- Buerkle, C.W. (2009). "Metrosexuality can Stuff it: Beef Consumption as (Heteromasculine) Fortification." In *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 29.1: 77-93.
- Canadian Cattleman's Association (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.cattle.ca>
- Carter, S. (1993). *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Carter, S. (2009). "'Daughters of British Blood' or 'Hordes of Men of Alien Race': The Homesteads-for-Women Campaign in Western Canada." In *Great Plains Quarterly*, 29.4: 267-286.
- CBC News, 2012. "Video Shows Alberta Migrant Workers' Cramped Quarters." Posted September 25, 2012.
- Cesaire, A. (1972). *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Cloud, D. (1996). "Hegemony or Concordance? The Rhetoric of tokenism in "Oprah" Oprah Rag-To-Riches Biography. In *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 13.2: 115-137.
- Connell, R.W. (1990). "A Whole New World: Remaking Masculinity in the Context of the Environmental Movement." In *Gender and Society*, 4.4: 452-478.
- Connell, R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Connell, R.W. & J. Messerschmidt. (2005). "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." In *Gender Society* 19.6: 829-859.
- Corner, J. (1999). *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Theory*. New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour." In *Stanford Law Review*, 43.6: 1241-1299.
- Crosby, A. W. (1989). "Ecological Imperialism: The Overseas Migration of Western Europeans as a Biological Phenomenon." In (Ed.) D. Worster, *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 103-117.
- Crosby, A. W. (1989). *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Crosby, A. and J. Monaghan (2012). *Settler Governmentality in Canada and the Algonquins of Barriere Lake*. In *Security Dialogue*, 43.5: 421-438.
- Daschuk, J. (2013). *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*. Regina: University of Regina Press.
- Dei, G.J.S. (2005). Critical Issues in Anti-Racist Research Methodologies: An Introduction. In (Eds.) G.J.S Dei & G.S. Johal, *Critical Issues in Anti-Racist Research Methodologies*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 1-28.
- Deckha, M. (2010). "The Subhuman as a Cultural Agent of Violence." In *Journal for Critical Animal Studies* 8.3: 28-51.
- DeJohn Anderson, V. (2004). *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Deliovsky, K. (2010). *White Femininity: Race, Gender & Power*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.

- Dillard, J. (2008). "A Slaughterhouse Nightmare: Psychological Harm and Suffering by Slaughterhouse Employees and the Possibility of Redress Through Legal Reform." In *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law & Policy*, 15.2: 391-408.
- Doane, A.W. (2003). "Rethinking Whiteness Studies." In (Eds.) A.W. Doane & E. Bonilla-Silva, *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*. New York: Routledge. 3-20.
- Donovan, J. & Adams, C.J. (1995). "Introduction." In (Eds.) C.J. Adams & J. Donovan, *Animals & Women: Feminist Theoretical Explanations*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 1-8.
- Dunayer, J. (1995). "Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots." In (Eds.) C.J. Adams & J. Donovan, *Animals & Women: Feminist Theoretical Explanations*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 11-31.
- Dyer, R. (1997). *White: Essays on Race and Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Eisnitz, G.A. (2006). *Slaughterhouse: The Shocking Story of Greed, Neglect, and Inhumane Treatment Inside the U.S. Meat Industry*. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Francione, G.L. (1995). "Abortion and Animal Rights: Are They Comparable Issues?" In (Eds.) C.J. Adams & J. Donovan, *Animals & Women: Feminist Theoretical Explanations*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 149-159.
- Francis, D. (2012). "Come to Canada: Selling Canada to Tourists." In *Selling Canada: Immigrants, Soldiers, Tourists, and the Building of our Nation*. Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins, and Dosil Publishers. 124-171.
- Frankenburg, R. (1993). *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Gaard, G. (1993). *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Gaard, G. (2002). "Vegetarian Ecofeminism: A Review Essay." In *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, 23.3: 117-146.
- Gaard, G. (2013). "Toward a Feminist Postcolonial Milk Studies." In *American Quarterly*, 65.3: 595-618.
- Garner, S. (2007) *Whiteness: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

- Garstka, T.A., et. al. (2004). "How Young and Older Adults in their Responses to Perceived Age Discrimination." In *Psychology and Aging*, 19.2: 326-335.
- Gillespie, G. (2007). *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert's Land, 1840-70*. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press.
- Goff, P.A. et. al. (2012). "Racism Leads to Pushups: How Racial Discrimination Threatens Subordinate Men's Masculinity." In *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48: 1111-1116.
- Gupta, R. (2003). *From Homebreakers to Jailbreakers*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Halberstam, J. (1998). *Female Masculinity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage.
- Heinz, B. & R. Lee. (Spring 1998). "Getting Down to the Meat: The Symbolic Construction of Meat Consumption." In *Communication Studies*, 49: 86-99.
- Hartlep, N.D. (2013). *The Model Minority Stereotype: Demystifying Asian American Success*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.
- Henderson, J. (2011). "No Money, But Muscle and Pluck: Cultivating Trans-Imperial Manliness for the Fields of Empire, 1870-1901." In (Ed.) C. Ramsay, *Making it Like a Man: Canadian Masculinities in Practice*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press. 17-37.
- Henry, F. & C. Tator (1994). "Racism and the University." In *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 26.3: 74-90.
- Holloway, S.L. (2007). "Burning Issues: Whiteness, Rurality, and the Politics of Difference." In *Geoforum*, 38.1: 7-20.
- hooks, b. (1992). *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Horton, Y., et. al. (1999). "Portrayal of Minorities in the Film, Media, and Entertainment Industries." In *Poverty & Prejudice: Media and Race*.
- Jackson II, R.L. (2006). *Scripting the Black Masculine Body: Identity, Discourse, and Racial Politics in Popular Media*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Jiwani, J. (2006). *Discourses of Denial: Mediations of Race, Gender, and Violence*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

- Kappeler, S. (1995). "Speciesism, Racism, Nationalism... Or the Power of Scientific Subjectivity." In (Eds.) C.J. Adams & J. Donovan, *Animals & Women: Feminist Theoretical Explanations*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 320-352.
- Kelm, Mary-Ellen (2009). "Many Contests: Rodeo Masculinities at the Calgary Stampede." *The Canadian Historical Review* 90.4: 711-751.
- Kemmerer, L. (2011). *Sister Species: Women, Animals and Social Justice*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Kosek, K. (2010). "Ecologies of Empire: On New Uses of the Honeybee." In *Cultural Anthropology* 25(4): 650-678.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lazar, M.M. (2005). *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power, and Ideology in Discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leach, E. (1970). *Levi Strauss*. London: Collins and Co.
- Levine-Rasky, C. (2013). *Whiteness Fractured*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Lipsitz, G. (1998). *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Loo, T. (Autumn 2001). "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1800-1939." In *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32.3: 296-319.
- Loomba, A. (2005). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London & New York: Routledge.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather*. New York: Routledge.
- McDonald, M.G. (2009). "Dialogues on Whiteness, Leisure, and (Anti)Racism." In *Journal of Leisure Research*, 41.1: 5-21.
- McIntosh, P. (1989). "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." In *Peace and Freedom Magazine*: 10-12.
- Machin, D. & Mayr A. (2012). *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Books. New York: Sage Publications.
- MacNair, R.M. (2002). *Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress: The Psychological Consequences of Killing*. Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing.
- Maple Leaf Canada. (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.mapleleaffoods.com>.

- Merchant, C. (2003). "Dominion over Nature". In (Ed.) R.C. Foltz, *Worldviews, Religion, and the Environment: A Global Anthology*. Belmont: Thompson. 39-49.
- Max, K. (2005). "Anti-Colonial Research: Working as an Ally with Aboriginal Peoples." In (Eds.) G.J.S Dei & G.S. *Critical Issues in Anti-Racist Research Methodologies*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 79-94.
- McCune, J.Q. (2014). *Sexual Discretion: Black Masculinity and the Politics of Passing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mies, M. & Shiva, V. (1993). *Ecofeminism*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.
- Miller, C. (1993). "They're Macho, and They're Back: New Beefcake Ads Make the Point that Real Men Don't Eat Quiche," In *UNSW Marketing News*, 27.24: 1.
- Miller-Young, M. (2008). "Hip-Hop Honeyz and Da Hustlaz: Black Sexualities in the New Hip-Hop Pornography." In *Meridiens: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, 8.1: 261-292.
- Mishra, V. & Hodge, B. (1991). "What is Post(-)colonialism?" In *Textual Practices*, 5.3: 399-414.
- Morrison, T. (1992). *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness as the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University.
- Mortimer-Sandilands, C. (2010). *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Murray, J.S. (2006). *Terra Nostra: The Stories Behind Canadian Maps: 1550-1950*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Nakano Glenn, E. (1992). "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labour." In *Signs: Journals of Women in Culture and Society*, 18.1: 1-43.
- Nakano Glenn, E. (2002). *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Neal, S. (2002). "Rural Landscapes, Representations, and Racism: Examining Multicultural Citizenship and Policy Making in the English Countryside." In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25.3: 442-461.
- Nelson, L. (2008). "Racialized Landscapes: Whiteness and the Struggle Over Farmworker Housing in Woodburn, Oregon." *Cultural Geographies*, 15: 41-62.

- Nesbitt, A. et. al. (2008). "Food Consumption Patterns in the Waterloo Region, Ontario, Canada: A Cross-Sectional Telephone Survey." In *BMC Public Health*, 8.370: 1-12.
- Nikiforuk, A. (2006). *Pandemonium: Bird Flu, Mad Cow Disease, and Other Biological Plagues of the 21st Century*. Toronto: Viking Canada.
- O'Neill, K. (Summer 2005). "How Two Cows Make a Crisis: U.S.-Canada Trade Relations and Mad Cow Disease." In *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, 35.2: 295-319.
- Park, M. & P. Singer. (March-April 2012). "The Globalization of Animal Welfare: More Food Does Not Require More Suffering." In *Foreign Affairs*, 91.2: 122-133.
- Patterson, C. (2010). *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust*. New York: Lantern Books.
- Pevere, G. & G. Dymon. (1996). *Mondo Canuck: A Canadian Pop Culture Odyssey*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada.
- Plumwood, V. (1993) *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*. London & New York: Routledge,
- Rogers, R.A. (2008). "Beasts, Burgers, and Hummers: Meat and the Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Television Advertisements. *Environmental Communication*, 2.3: 281-301.
- Rothgerber, H. (2012). "Real Men Don't Eat (Vegetable) Quiche." In *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 14.4: 363-375.
- Pachirat, Timothy. *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight*. London: Yale University Press, 2011. Print.
- Ralston, H. (2004). "Redefinitions of South Asian Women." In (Eds.) L. Driedger & S.S. Halli, *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press. 204-234.
- Razack, S. (1998). *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race and Culture in the Courtrooms and Classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Razack, S. (2004). *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Razack, S. (2005). "How is White Supremacy Embodied? Sexualized Racial Violence at Abu Ghraib." In *Canadian Journal of Women & the Law*, 17.2: 341-363.

- Razack, S. (2011). "Colonization: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly." In (Eds.) A. Baldwin, L. Cameron, and A. Kobayashi's *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada*. Vancouver University Press.
- Rich, J. (2007). *A Workman is Worthy of his Meat: Food and Colonialism in the Gabon Estuary*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Richardson, T.R. & Johanningsmeier, E.V. (2003). *Race, Ethnicity, and Education: What is Taught in School*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.
- Romm, C. (2014). "The World War II Campaign to Bring Organ Meats to the Dinner Table." *The Atlantic Online*.
- Roy, P. (2002). "Meat Eating, Masculinity, and Renunciation in India: A Gandhian Grammar of Diet." In *Gender & History*, 14.1: 62-91.
- Rudolph, M. & McLachlan, S.M. (2013). "Seeking Indigenous Food Sovereignty: Origins of and Responses to the Food Crisis in Northern Manitoba, Canada." In *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*, 18.9: 1079-1098.
- Russell, H. & Carrington, K. (2006). *Policing the Rural Crisis*. Annandale: Federation Press.
- Sakamoto, A. et. al. (2012). "The Myth of the Model Minority Myth." In *Sociological Spectrum*, 32.4: 309-321.
- Sallah, A. (2009). "Sighting Animals Through the Lens of Hegemonic Masculinity." In *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 20.1: 130-134.
- Samuel, E. (2004). "Racism in Peer-Group Interactions: South Asian Students Experiences in Canadian Academe." In *Journal of College Student Development*, 45.4: 407-424.
- Sandilands, C. (1999). "Domestic Politics: Multiculturalism, Wilderness, and the Desire for Canada." In *Space and Culture*, 4.5: 169-186.
- Sargeant, M. (2010). "Young Workers and Age Discrimination." In *The International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations*, 26.4: 467-478.
- Saskatchewan Cattleman's Association (2015). Retrieved from <http://saskbeef.com>
- Segal, L. (1990). *Slow Motion: Changing, Masculinities, Changing Men*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

- Sedgwick, E. K. (1998). "Gosh, Boy George, You Must Be Awfully Secure in your Masculinity!" In (Eds.) M. Berger, B. Wallis, and S. Watson, *Constructing Masculinity*. New York: Routledge. 11-20.
- Shukin, N. (2009). *Animal Capital: Rendering Life in Biopolitical Times*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Siddiqui, H. (2008). "Making the Grade? Meeting the Challenge of Tackling Violence Against Ethnic Minority Women." In (Ed.) Z. Moohsa, *Seeing Double: Race and Gender in Ethnic Minority Women's Lives*. London: Fawcett Society.
- Singer, P. (1975). *Animal Liberation*. New York: Random House.
- Smith, A. (2005). *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge: South End Press.
- Smith, L.T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies*. London: Zed Books.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1995). "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In (Eds.) B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffins, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London & New York: Routledge. 24-28.
- Stubblefield (2005). "Meditations on Postsupremacist Philosophy." In (Eds.) G. Yancy, *White on White/Black on Black*. Lanham: Rowman & Middlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Sramek, J. (2006). "Face Him Like a Briton: Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875." In *Victorian Studies*, 48.4 (Summer 2006): 659-680.
- Sugars, C. (2006). "Marketing Ambivalence: Molson Breweries Go Postcolonial." In (Eds.) G. Sherbert, A. Gerin, and S. Petty *Canadian Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press. 121-141.
- Swan, E. (2008). "You Make Me Feel Like a Woman: Therapeutic Cultures and the Contagion of Femininity." In *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15.1: 88-107.
- Taylor, C. (1994). "The Politics of Recognition." In (Ed.) A. Gutmann, *Multiculturalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 25-73.
- Thobani, S. (2000). "Closing Ranks: Racism and Sexism in Canada's Immigration Policy." In *Race and Class*, 42.1: 35-55.
- Thobani, S. (2007). *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Thorpe, J. (2011). "Temagami's Tangled Wild: The Making of Race, Nature, and Nation in Early-Twentieth Century Ontario." In (Eds.) A. Baldwin, L. Cameron, and A. Kobayashi, *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. 193-210.
- Twine, R. (2012). "Revealing the 'Animal Industrial Complex': A Concept and Method for Critical Animal Studies?" In *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, 10.1: 12-39.
- Twine, F.W. & Gallagher, C. (2008). "Introduction: The Future of Whiteness: A Map of the 'Third Wave'." In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31.1: 4-24.
- Understanding Consumer Trends Can Present New Opportunities*. Alberta Agriculture and Rural Development. 2004. Web. 10. Nov. 2014.
- Valentine, G. & McDonald, I. (2004). *Understanding Prejudice – Attitudes Towards Minorities*. London: Stonewall.
- Van der Ploeg (2010). "The Food Crisis, Industrialized Farming and the Imperial Regime." In *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 10.1: 98-106.
- Van Eeden-Moorefield (2011). "Same-Sex Relationships and Dissolution: The Connection Between Heteronormativity and Homonormativity." In *Family Relations*, 60.5: 562-571.
- Vartenian, L.R. (2014). "Impression Management and Food Intake. Current Directions in Research." In *Appetite*, 1-7.
- Vibert, Elizabeth (1996). "Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders' Narratives." In (Eds.) J. Parr & M. Rosenfeld, *Gender and History in Canada*. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd, 1996. 50-67.
- Vleugels, A. (2011). "Mad Scientists: Harry Harlow's 'Pit of Despair' for Baby Monkeys." *United Academics Online*.
- Williams, L. A. (2014). "Gender, Race, and an Epistemology of the Abattoir in *My Year of Meats*." In *Feminist Studies*, 40.2: 244-272.
- Wodak, R. (1995). "Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis." In (Eds.) J. Verschuren, J.A. Ostman, & J. Blommaert, *Handbook of Pragmatics: Manual*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Wu, E.D. (2013). *Colour of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

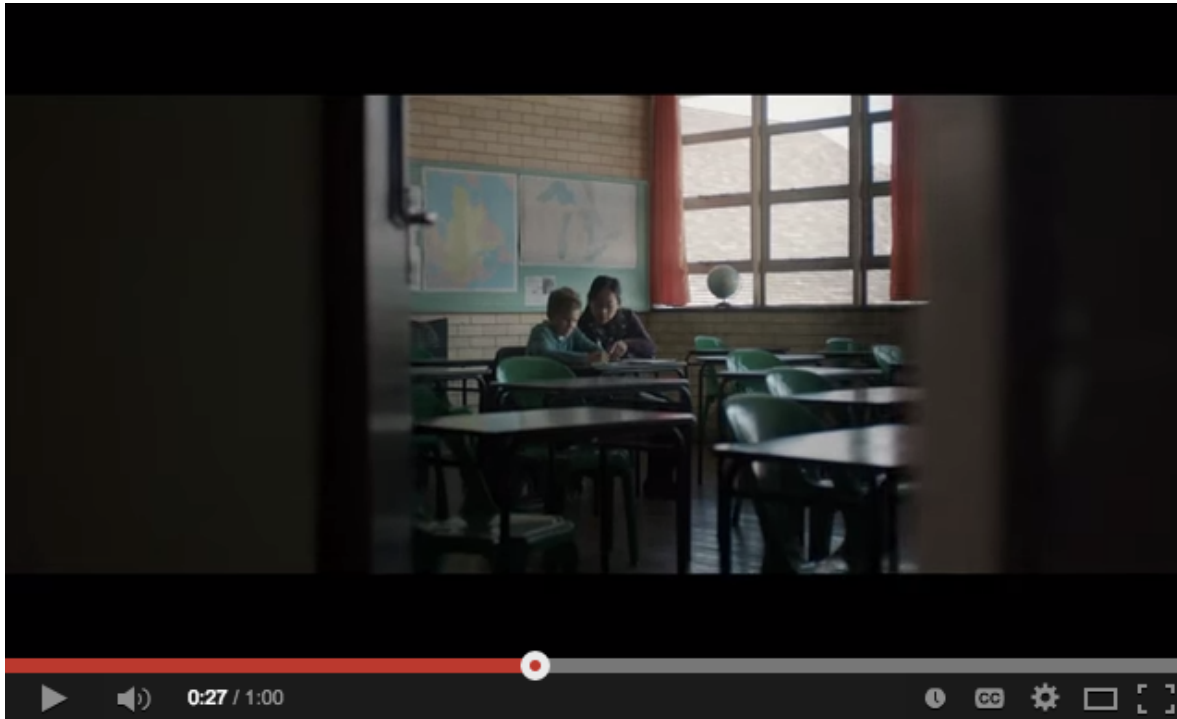
Young, C.A. (2014). "Black Ops: Black Masculinity and the War on Terror. In *American Quarterly*, 66.1: 35-67.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Brian Lane from Alberta's *Raised Right* campaign teaches his daughter Holly to use a lasso



Appendix B: Maple Leaf Canada and the Selective use of Racialization in their *Feeding the Country* commercial





Appendix C: Maple Leaf Canada's *Feeding the Country* Commercial's Spoken Narrative

We've got fields to till
And seas to brave
Homes to build
And children to raise
We've got battles to win
Friends to make
Legends to write
And bars to raise
We've got walls to break
And mountains to scale
So eat up,
We've got a lot to do Canada.
And we can't do it on an empty stomach.

Appendix D: Alberta's *Raised Right* Campaign Rancher Profiles



A man in a brown cowboy hat, red shirt, and blue jeans stands in a green field, holding a lasso. In the background, there are green hills, trees, and a few cows.

I enjoy every day on the ranch...
it's not just running cows,
It's doing what's right
and what we do is very healthy
and very sustainable."

★ **PLAY VIDEO** ★

Dean Kennedy
Pincher Creek, Alberta

A man in a white cowboy hat and blue shirt stands next to a brown horse in a field of tall grass. In the background, there are several cows and a blue sky with clouds.

There are so many things
that are good about Alberta beef.
It is the best in the world
because the people that produce it
care about it."

★ **PLAY VIDEO** ★

Colin McNiven
Duchess, Alberta

Appendix E: Examples of Whiteness from the Beef Farmers of Ontario Website



Appendix F: The White, Male Directorship of the Canadian Cattle Industry

British Columbia Cattleman's Association Board of Directors:

2014/2015 Board of Directors



Back row left to right: Larry Garrett, Leroy Peters, Brian McKersie, Bill Bentley, Werner Stump, Martin Rossmann, Mike McConnell, Harold Kerr, John Anderson, Grant Huffman
Front Row left to right: Lary Fossum (President), Linda Allison (Vice President)

Saskatchewan Cattle Association Board of Directors:

SCA Directors

The SCA is comprised of members from each of the nine crop districts. There are two members from crop districts three and nine, due to the large number of cattle in those areas. The SCA also has two representatives from the Saskatchewan Cattle Feeders Association (SCFA) and the Saskatchewan Stock Growers Association (SSGA), as well as the Past Chair of the SCA. This brings the total number of Board Members to 15.



Beef Farmers of Ontario Board of Directors:

2015 Beef Farmers of Ontario Board of Directors



Appendix G: The Importance of “Animal Care” and the “Environment” as per the Provincial and National Cattleman’s Associations

From the Canadian Cattleman’s Association:

Environment

Environmental sustainability is not a final destination but a journey. The CCA encourages all producers to stay engaged and current with the latest beneficial management practices. The CCA recognizes that managing for herd health, marketing, accounting plus all the natural resources on a farm is not an easy task. The CCA works hard to help ensure there are appropriate collaborators in place to help producers manage the natural resource base. In addition to the links provided here, producers should contact their provincial associations for a complete list of regional programming available.

Farmland – Riparian Interface Stewardship Program: <http://www.cattlemen.bc.ca/frisp.htm>

MultiSAR: <http://www.multisar.ca/>

Prairie Conservation Action Plan: <http://www.pcap-sk.org/>

Operation Grassland: <http://www.grasslandcommunity.org/>

Western Beef Development Centre: <http://www.wbdc.sk.ca/index.htm>

Holos

[Click here](#) to try out Holos, an Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada whole-farm modeling software program that estimates greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions based on information you enter for your farm or ranch. Consider what management practices will decrease GHG emissions to make your operation more energy efficient. Develop scenarios to estimate carbon storage or losses from planned land use changes and end up with a whole-farm GHG estimate.

Other Resources

Manure and nutrient management: <http://www.beefresearch.ca/research-topic.cfm/manure-and-nutrient-management-7>

Canadian Forage and Grasslands Association: <http://www.canadianfga.ca/>

Animal Care

Canada's producers work hard to care for their animals every day. The success of the Canadian cattle industry relies on healthy, well cared for cattle. Where there are issues, farmers and ranchers work with the [CCA Animal Care Committee](#) towards improvements through research, communication and education.

Under the Criminal Code of Canada, it is illegal to wilfully neglect, maim, wound or injure an animal. Provinces and territories also have laws regarding the care and treatment of farm animals. The beef cattle industry also follows the [Code of Practice for the Care and Handling of Beef Cattle](#). The Code was recently updated through the [National Farm Animal Care Council](#) (NFACC) code development process, in partnership with the CCA. Codes of Practice are science-informed national guidelines for the care and handling of farm animals.

From the British Columbia Cattleman's Association Website:

Environmental Farm Planning

administered by **ARDCORP**

INDEX:

- [What is an Environmental Farm Plan?](#)
- [How do we complete an Environmental Farm Plan?](#)
- [Who to contact about Environmental Farm Planning in BC?](#)

What is an Environmental Farm Plan?

An environmental farm plan is a voluntary and confidential risk assessment that you do for your own farm. It is an educational program for farm families that will share new knowledge about environmental practices. The goal of the farm plan is to help ensure productive, profitable and sustainable agriculture for generations to come. [\[INDEX\]](#)

How do we complete an Environmental Farm Plan?

Steps to developing your own environmental farm plan (EFP) include:

1. Attend an EFP workshop lead by someone with practical knowledge of your commodity
2. Complete a your own confidential risk assessment
3. Develop an action plan that fits with your farm budget
4. Have your EFP reviewed anonymously and confidentially by peers
5. Apply best management practices to your farm operation
6. Plan to review your EFP in future years

[\[INDEX\]](#)

Who to contact about Environmental Farm Planning in BC?

BC Agriculture Research and Development Corporation (ARDCORP) is overseeing the Environmental Farm Planning Program. [For More Information](#)

From the Beef Farmers of Ontario Website:

Animal Care and Welfare

Beef Farmers of Ontario (BFO) and OSPCA

In 2013, the Beef Farmers of Ontario (BFO) and the OSPCA collectively agreed on a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) that will help facilitate joint on-farm visits in complaint cases involving beef farmers. This agreement will allow knowledgeable and trained beef industry representatives to accompany OSPCA officers during visits to Ontario beef farms to provide perspective, clarity on our standards of care, and other assistance as needed. Open dialogue and improved transparency with regards to OSPCA activities on beef farms will address many of the concerns raised by our members and help dispel some of the myths circulating throughout the countryside.

The MOA will help foster a positive working relationship between industry and the OSPCA. The aim of our collaborative approach is to reduce the tension of inspections, promote education over enforcement and advance a new era of understanding and knowledge-sharing between the OSPCA inspectors, BFO helpline representatives and our producer members. With time, trust in this process and in these relationships will help us address issues of mutual concern.

Environment

Endangered Species Act (ESA)

Ontario passed a new Endangered Species Act in 2007, making the province a North American leader in protecting species at risk. The new act, which updated a 1971 law, protects three times as many species, emphasizes science-based decision making, and protects not only species but also their habitat. There are timelines in the law for producing strategies and plans to provide advice for recovering at-risk species. Once a species is listed as Endangered or Threatened on the Species at Risk in Ontario List, timelines are set to define the habitat for the species in a habitat regulation. For Endangered species, the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) has two years to develop a habitat regulation for the species. For Threatened species, the deadline is three.

MNR welcome's public comments on draft habitat regulations, which are registered on Ontario's Environmental Registry. Beef Farmers of Ontario (BFO) provides comments and participations in industry-government consultations regarding draft regulations that have the potential to impact our members.

› **COMMENTS ON EBR 012-1596: BOBOLINK & EASTERN MEADOWLARK (2014)**

› **COMMENTS ON EBR 012-1597: BOBOLINK & EASTERN MEADOWLARK (2014)**

› **COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT RECOVERY STRATEGY: BOBOLINK AND EASTERN MEADOWLARK (2012)**

Appendix H: Maple Leaf Canada's Website -“Our People and Values”

> Home / About Us / Our People & Values

Our People & Values



Maple Leaf Foods is a strong, values-based company where we take pride in doing what's right for our consumers, customers, our people and the communities where we live and work.

At Maple Leaf, our people thrive in a high-energy, fast-paced environment that fosters individual leadership, where they have a voice and play an active part in achieving the company's goals by executing with passion and discipline. Our team is passionate about personal growth. We support one another to learn new skills and take on challenging experiences in the spirit of continuous improvement.

Maple Leaf Foods is committed to complying to the Accessibility of Ontarians with Disabilities Act and our related policies are available upon request. [Read our accessibility statement.](#)

Maple Leaf Leadership Values

Do What's Right

By acting with integrity, behaving responsibly, and treating people with respect

Deliver winning results

By expecting to win, owning personal and collective accountability to deliver; taking appropriate risks without fear of failure while challenging for constant improvement

Build collaborative teams

By attracting only the best people, serving, recognizing and rewarding their development and success; fostering a collaborative and open environment with the freedom to disagree but always making timely decisions and aligning behind them

Get things done in a fact based, disciplined way

By seizing the initiative with the highest level of urgency and energy; meeting all commitments responsively while being objective, analytical and using effective process

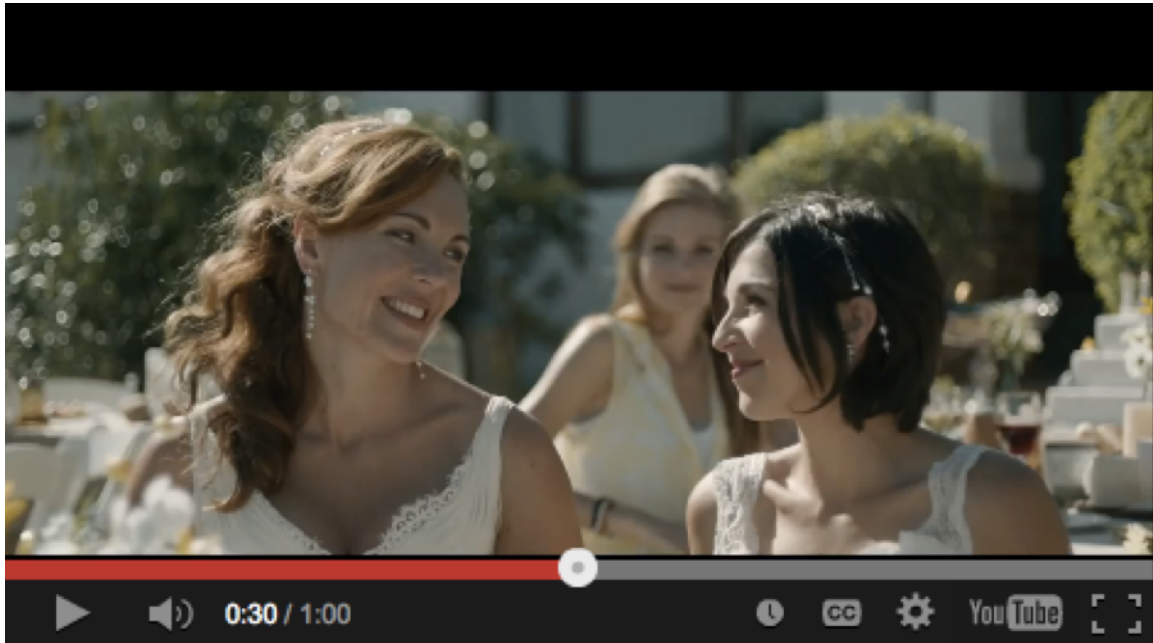
Learn and Grow, Inwardly and Outwardly

By being introspective personally and organizationally, freely admitting mistakes or development needs; deeply understanding and connecting with consumers and stakeholders globally as a primary source of learning and growth

Dare to be transparent, passionate and humble

By having the self-confidence and courage to be completely candid and direct; willing to communicate openly in a trusting manner; acting with passion, conviction and personal humility, especially when delivering winning results

Appendix I: Maple Leaf Canada's *Feeding the Country Commercial* – The Lesbian Wedding



Appendix J: Maple Leaf Canada's Diverse Canadian Nation







