

Embodied Revolt: A Feminist-Bourdieuian Analysis of Protesting Bodies

by

D. Sophia Myers
BA, Vancouver Island University, 2017

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Sociology

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University of Victoria

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We acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

Through assessing Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, this research project examines how resistance can be understood as an embodied experience. Six resisters are asked in semi-structured and dialogic interviews how they experience resistance to oppression of various forms including patriarchy, colonialism, cisheteronormativity, and capitalism. Three main themes emerge from these interviews and include: the construction of a resistant habitus, the occurrence of solidarity through which resistant habitus may mobilize, and the possibility of transforming oppressive fields such as patriarchy into fields of feminist resistance. Through instances of increased awareness of one's social struggle, developments of mobile solidarity, and the occupation of oppressive fields in the name of social change, this project posits that habitus are capable of enacting change upon the field.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Steve Garlick for providing me with constant valuable guidance and unparalleled expertise in the art of sociological theory.

I would also like to thank Dr. Laura Parisi, for pushing this work to be one that is deeply feminist, methodologically focused, and critically sound.

Thank you to all the educators in my life: the teachers, the professors, and the radicals.

Thank you to my family and friends for distracting me when I needed a break from writing and cheering me on when this project seemed too daunting. Thank you to my partner Kenneth, my sister Anya, and my best friend Sasha. Thank you to my mother for raising me to question the world around me.

Thank you to all the fighters out there.

Finally, I thank myself for conducting this research. This thesis symbolizes much for me as a feminist and as a scholar.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the countless activists marching down the streets, holding ceremony on the land, and rejecting the dominant narratives that imprison them. This thesis would not exist without the feminist community that has paved the way for a queer woman scholar to be conducting this research. Further, it would not exist without the 6 valuable resisters interviewed for this project. I dedicate this work to their tireless efforts to improve the lives of those around them. I thank them for their labour in organizing and working as allies and resisters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Stomping boots crash onto pavement. Determined voices echo against buildings and throughout public squares. A sea of raised fists jut into the air in a show of defiance. All of these images depict classic characteristics of protest settings. The thirst for change and for justice drive humanity to the streets in dramatic illustrations of solidarity. Angela Davis writes that it is in “collectivities that we find reservoirs of hope and optimism” (2016, p. 49). Political protests have long been a source of hope for me as a scholar and activist; the concept of social change is one that I relate to nearly all sociological works I become familiar with. The spaces within which such protests occur are only second in importance to the communities occupying them in defiance. Conceptualizations of social space are investigated throughout the ages and there is no wonder for it. Social spaces are the arenas where activism and resistance can occur. The methods and strategies employed by bodies to oppose the forces of domination they are subjected to can be studied in these spaces. Whether this includes occupying the lawn of a parliament building or shutting down a major road, bodies have power through their corporeality to portray messages to those who uphold oppression. This research aims to pinpoint some of the ways that bodies can oppose the systems said to construct their own identities. Pierre Bourdieu argues that habitus is the mechanism by which people internalize the norms and practices sanctioned by their social settings and histories (Bourdieu, 1990; Reay, 1997; Sinclair, 2017). It is the intent of this thesis to uncover some of the ways that people may utilize their embodied natures to resist oppressive systems that dictate and therefore confine their freedoms.

I have found in my own activism and within academic settings, the dilemma of one's identity is often cited as a divisive force for striving towards social equality. Many are concerned with specific allegiances to activist groups or the ever-complicated dynamics of identity politics. Scholar Moran dis-

cusses the recent developments of the term identity and its employment in activist, academic, and general public circles. Moran states that the use of the term “identity” as we know it is relatively new, and that since the 1960s there has been a constant commercialization of identity. Moran further posits that due to the capitalist context that identity politics have emerged from, the concept is individualist and not a source of solidarity. Due to this, the term is shaped by “consumer society” and does not refer to the relationships between self and society (Moran, 2018, p. 34). When I am confronted in my own activism with the issue of division through identity, I am reminded of the intersectionality of feminism as an avenue to solidarity. I find this path through acknowledging the differences within each person without losing solidarity. This is a mighty task for any activist. As we review the waves of feminism washing upon the shore of revolution and social change, it becomes clear that although the missions of different feminisms have differed, the fire within them has not. For this reason, I have employed intersectional feminist theory to address the barriers to solidarity and political liberation within this work (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2011; Fraser, 2013; Hill-Collins, 1989; hooks, 2013; Lorde, 2004; Meyer, 2018; Reay, 1997; Reay, 1997; Simpson, 2017; Williams, 2018; Women's Earth Alliance & Native Youth Sexual Health Network, 2016).

The challenges to feminist causes plague the streets that many activists turn to protest within. This includes gendered and sexualized violence (World Health Organization, 2017) and the overarching structure of patriarchy and cisheteronormativity. This thesis aims to provide a possible path to help overcome the obstacles faced by liberation politics: the issue of neoliberal and capitalist identity politics. The critiques to these conceptions of identity politics by Butler (1993), Fraser (2013), McNay (1999), and Haider (2018) are all acknowledged and worked into this project's theorizations of social struggle. All of them share at least one thing in common: the claim that a focus on the individual and the singular identity is not a means to an equitable end. It is also my position that liberation cannot be

achieved through a singling-out of individual experiences. Instead, I pose that solidarity, in the tradition of many radical liberation groups, including the Combahee River Collective, is the avenue to emancipation. These views are shared because they have led my entire research process and inform much of my analysis through feminist lenses.

This project provides a new outlook for how we may begin to understand habitus and field and their many implications for both contemporary theory and praxis. Building off of the work of many scholars who have already begun to unravel the intricacies of habitus, field, and gender, my project attempts to imagine a different way to view routes of solidarity and social change. Moving beyond concepts that are static, habitus provides us with a means of understanding “embodied histories” and systems that are woven together to create everyone’s social realities (Bourdieu, 1990a). These histories are complex and chock-full of struggle and submission. As we may gaze behind us to the great advancements and perils humanity has faced, Bourdieu suggests any number of occurrences may find themselves embedded within one’s bodily form. It is the intent of this work to then uncover how these histories may be pinpointed and how they may be utilized by the body. The future is surely full of unfathomable challenges of both political and social nature, and so it is always crucial to investigate ways of pushing through strife in hopes of equality and empowerment.

This project is first and foremost feminist in nature. The goals of this project have not necessarily always been planned in the strictest sense of the word. However, the way I wanted to get there has always been clear: using theory to challenge the oppressive structures that at times seem to be all-encompassing. The set of theories that have always been the most illuminating for me as a scholar are now ones that I am honoured to contribute to in the form of this research: feminist theories. It is my hope that this work may provide a steppingstone for how solidarity and social change can be even more reflexive and inventive phenomena.

The sample of this study is composed of self-identified women and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community. These groups are negatively affected by normative definitions and expectations of gender and sexual identity and are thus vulnerable to oppression and exploitation. This topic begs to be subjected to an intersectional lens, as it has been found that such an analysis sheds light on the complexity of oppression and violence experienced by lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people. This population is subjected to a specific phenomenon of “anti-queer violence”, which requires an intersectional lens to address the relationships between race and class with gender and sexuality (Meyer, 2012). It is hard to speculate a cause more important than reducing the violence and oppression experienced by populations that are constantly at the forefront of the political battle for freedom and equity. Therein lies the relevance to sociological scholarship: to further the political and social struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed.

The following research question was constructed in order to address the subject of embodied resistance in gendered and sexualized settings as comprehensively as possible. Habitus and field (Bourdieu 1990a) are the main concepts being employed to understand this resistance, and feminist theory and queer theory will be used for analysis. Habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1990a) will aid in informing how embodiment and the negotiation of power between the protester and oppressive institution can occur. The question is as follows:

How can we understand social change and resistance to cisheteronormative and patriarchal oppression as embodied experiences?

This project will address how intersectional instances of oppression may be exerted “upon the material body” and serve as personal experiences within the corporeal form as gendered and sexualized acts. Further, these acts may serve as motivating or informing variables in how individuals decide to resist their oppression (Otis, 2019, pp. 371). The negotiation of power between oppressed and oppressor is a

main area of interest within this research project. As resisters come together to actively reject systems of domination and marginalization, we may begin to investigate the role of their embodied identities and the nature of their negotiated levels of power.

The blueprints of this study included dialogic and semi-structured interviews to collect data on how resisters experienced political demonstrations. Questions ranged from how resisters felt during political actions to how they viewed their age or gender or ethnicity in relation to their political work. This research was conducted on unceded Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh territories. Multiple efforts were made to communicate the true embodied nature of resistance and the significance of bodily action in *building* resistance to oppressive fields. The political actions studied include the Indigenous Sovereignty struggle for the Wet'suwet'en Nation, counter-protesting anti-abortionists, counter-protesting transphobic speakers, marching for working women and stolen Indigenous sisters and Two-Spirit folks, and protesting workplace sexual harassment. All of the resisters interviewed in this project provided great insight into how their worlds were shaped by social structures and experiences of empowerment and oppression. It is my hope that readers of this work thoroughly consider the lived experience and personal histories they embody in their own lives, and how those embodiments inform their desires and political actions. In my investigation of this work I have come to learn a great deal about my own political action and for this I am very grateful.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Considerations & Literature Review

It is the intent of this thesis to remain grounded in theoretical considerations that prioritize emancipatory politics. Intersectional feminist theory and queer theory are selected to encourage deeper reading of how sexuality and gender interact within Bourdieu's perspectives of body and place. Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall cite intersectionality as a term introduced to "focus attention on the vexed dynamics of difference and the solidarities of sameness in the context of antidiscrimination and social movement politics" (2013, p. 787) originally to create a narrative that accounts for the lived experience of Black women (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244). The works of Pierre Bourdieu have long inspired me, and I have thoroughly enjoyed how habitus and field exercise my mind and invite me to expand how I envision the self. This is why I have selected his ideas to attempt to understand the detailed mechanics of resistance to sexualized and gendered oppression. In 1994, bell hooks wrote that "theory is not inherently healing, liberatory, or revolutionary. It fulfills this function only when we ask that it do so and direct our theorizing towards this end" (p. 61). It is my intent to direct my work towards such an end of further liberation and expansion of emancipatory theory.

This section will expand on these ideas and provide a degree of detail to communicate the necessity of social change and rebellion in my theoretical work. First, a brief outline of some basic feminist principles is outlined to provide a map for how the reader may begin to engage with this project and set the tone for analyzing resistance to gendered and sexualized oppression. Following this, an investigation of Bourdieu's theories relevant to this work including the gendered dynamic of habitus from Bourdieu's point of view, and the scholars who have taken up his work since. The next section contains an exploration of how one might begin to theorize habitus as a potentially resistant tool. Finally, a brief

introduction to Indigenous ways of knowing and ways of resistance. This section serves a few purposes. The first is to highlight the expanse of resistance work that Indigenous peoples contribute to the general cause of liberation. The second is to ground this work in an understanding of colonial oppression in relation to the patriarchal oppression. And lastly, to provide a context to resistance and embodiment from an anti-colonial lens, as many of the resisters interviewed in this work contribute their energies to Indigenous Sovereignty causes.

In Audre Lorde's work titled *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House*, there is a distinct attempt to outline the importance of difference. In patriarchal institutions, androcentrism remains a dominating force in what is acceptable behaviour. Lorde writes that there are distinct expectations of women which are reified by the "patriarchal model" of submission and nurturance, among others. To distinguish oneself from these modelled norms, women can engage in difference-making, or the glorification of differences among and within women (Lorde, 2004). To go against these expected behaviours and disciplines of self is to reject much of what can be understood about the fields, or social settings, that one is a part of (Bourdieu, 1990). Lorde writes that women have been socialized to reject their own differences, both from the systems they inhabit and from other women, and this has put a damper on the power that women are able to harbour for their own emancipatory ends (2004).

Lorde notes that such socially constructed characteristics that compose the gendered experience of women can instead be harboured through a consciousness of their utility, and act as "forces for change" (2004, pp. 23). This focus on women's identities can be extended to the experiences and characteristics of gendered bodies. Feelings of oppression may certainly come as comfortable sensations in that they are familiar to the body experiencing them, a sentiment highlighted in Bourdieu's work on the familiarity and common-sense traits of some fields (1990a). However, embracing or indeed demanding differences in outcomes drawn from fields and habitus are integral to the cause of social change. To act

in direct opposition to the “patriarchal model” of social control and domination of gendered bodies is to reject the comfort which accompanies familiarity. This means that all agents acting against this familiarity are perhaps engaging in a level of risk-taking with the aim of social emancipation (Lorde, 2004). On the topic of social change in the name of gender equality, Harriet Woods writes that such change only occurs when a “broad segment of society insists that it happen” (2004, pp. 445). The sentiment shared by both Lorde and Woods posit that differences must be both highlighted and broadened to encompass large populations of the oppressed. Lorde notes that there ought to be an interdependence shared between women of all walks of life, recognizing the unique experiences of women of colour. This intersectional lens (Lorde, 2004) sheds light on how both the rejection of oppressive norms as well as the embracing of solidarity of different experiences can lend themselves to opposing gendered and racialized domination. It is this research’s hope to catch a glimpse of these phenomena of solidarity in the face of oppression through the acts of organized protest.

As noted above, an analysis of the experiences of gendered bodies resisting their oppression would not be good enough if it merely addressed the experiences of white heterosexual and cisgender women’s bodies. Susan Williams writes on lesbianism as a means for socialist feminist resistance to the capitalist and heteronormative state. In this work, she asserts that to understand racism, classism or sexism needs to address them all as “multi-issues”, not as standalone phenomenon. One type of oppression does not exist within a social vacuum:

“Reform on a single issue cannot even liberate the particular group that it effects. Many of us are subjected on more than one basis: as women, as lesbians, as racial minorities, as workers, as poor people. Beyond this, the persecution of any one group is used against us all. Society’s deg-

radation of lesbians is used to “dyke-bait” independent women. Discrimination in the labor market against women and minorities helps keep all workers’ wages low. None of us can achieve full equality and freedom as a single isolated group” (2018, pp. 114).

Here Williams is stating that there must be a solidarity amongst all members of oppressed classes and groups. This includes oppressions based on sexualities, genders, races, ethnicities, classes, and citizenships. These issues must be addressed according to each unique experience of the oppressed, but also according to their similarities and interactions. Williams writes that all oppression has a nature which dictates that an intersectional lens must be applied, and that the liberation of all humans requires the “end of all discrimination against entire groups” (2018, pp. 114).

Where intersectional feminist theory requires the consideration of sexual orientations and gender identities outside of the heterosexual and cisgender perspectives, queer theory centres these experiences at all times. Scholars LeMaster, Schultz, McNeill, Bowers, and Rust discuss the notion of “queer worldmaking” which aims to provide a perspective, history, and community in which the queer is an agent of its own destiny, not merely presented as an alternative to cisheteronormativity. In their work, LeMaster et al cite Toyosaki and Pensoneau-Conway by iterating that their mission is to “engage the possible rather than settling in the actual” (2019, p. 343) This work provides this project with an analysis and place to start in understanding how queer theory can be applied in addition to intersectional feminist theory. Many of the resisters who are interviewed for this project have queer sexualities. Queer theory is employed throughout the analysis of this project to lay out a thorough presentation of lived experience. To borrow Le Master et al’s term of “queer worldmaking” (2019, p. 342), the resisters in this research project create new worlds for themselves and others through their narratives of defiance.

Williams' analysis of liberation politics speaks to a broad and all-encompassing desire for social change: a socialist revolution (2018). While this exact notion may not be shared by all the theorists or writers explored in this work, understanding a deep and expansive criticism of the capitalist system is integral to naming the oppressor of many: capitalism. This type of political ideation is common within the arenas of both feminist and queer theories. The works of Patricia Hill-Collins (1989), Angela Davis (2011), and bell hooks (1994; 2013) all point us in the direction of liberation through solidarity politics and challenging imperialist capitalist systems. In *Writing Beyond Race: Living Theory and Practice*, bell hooks writes that feminists, specifically anti-racist feminists, see that gender solidarity across race is "utterly threatening to imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (2013, p. 40). The practice of moving beyond a "single isolated group (Williams, 2018, p. 114) is paramount and is the absolute essence of the work done by many of the resisters interviewed in this research. It is the intention of this research to use the positions of feminist theory and queer theory to create a gender-comprehensive understanding of Pierre Bourdieu's work (1990a), and the relationship between the gendered body and the oppressive social settings that they exist within.

Habitus, Gender, and Sexuality: The Embedding of Social Structures in Bodies

This section of the literature review will aim to outline the intricacies of Pierre Bourdieu's conception of habitus. While illustrating a basic outline of habitus' nature, it will also include a brief introduction to the ways in which habitus can be applied to settings of gender and sexuality, including the links and assertions made by Pierre Bourdieu himself. Many scholars have taken up his contributions in relevant ways to their own projects. These works will also be highlighted. The benefit of any good social theory is the ability for it to transcend the confinements from which the original scholar worked

within. Habitus and field are two concepts crafted by Bourdieu which are adaptable and broad enough to apply to a variety of specific social phenomena.

On the topic of habitus, Pierre Bourdieu highlights the key characteristics that make this phenomenon unique and tangible. The most relevant of which relate to the acts of *embodying* identity and behaviour. In *The Logic of Practice*, Bourdieu writes:

“the habitus is an infinite capacity for generating products—thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions—whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides is as remote from creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning” (1990a, p. 55).

This is to say that habitus both creates and limits the types of behaviours and phenomena that can occur via the body. How one digests thoughts about the world around them and indeed their own actions, as well as the intelligibilities of others in their interactions, all contribute to the construction and maintenance of the habitus. Simply put, habitus are histories that have become embodied. One’s habitus informs the way one speaks, thinks, and moves throughout the social world. An example of such an embodied history is the modified behaviour of young women walking alone at night. The history of sexual violence in our lives has become embodied within the population. This influences our behaviour including: having our phones out for an emergency call for help, walking quickly, holding our keys in our fists in cautionary self-defense. Worth noting from the above quote is also the aspect of habitus being located within specific social and historical constraints. The various economic, political, cultural, and social factors which dictate the settings that we may find ourselves within all matter to how habitus may operate. Following this rationale, considerations are made to acknowledge the social settings that resistors are being observed and interviewed within.

A second concept that is paramount in this research is that of field. Pierre Bourdieu introduces this term as denoting the social settings that people are able to enter and exit. He uses the analogy of a sports field, with its rulebooks, expectations, techniques and tactics which dictate normative and sanctioned behaviour within:

“the field is clearly seen for what it is, an arbitrary social construct, an artefact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy—explicit and specific rules, strictly delimited and extra-ordinary time and space. Entry into the game takes the form of a quasi-contract, which is sometimes made explicit... or recalled to those who get so ‘carried away by the game’ that they forget it is ‘only a game’” (1990a, p. 67)

This analogy is helpful in understanding the tangibility of fields, as it is reasonable to presume that most people have encountered a sports field in some capacity. Contextualizing this beyond the analogy of the sports field can be done in any number of ways. For instance, a field may be a protest setting for labour rights. To those who have had the opportunity whether that be through generational experience or personal experience participating in rallies, there is an unwritten rulebook for such settings. An example of this can be the regular use of chants that are repeated across rallies: “the people united will never be defeated.” This can even include the ways in which protesters interact with one another or listen to one main speaker. I use this example for its relevance to this work but also to encourage the reader to think about how even arenas of resistance can have their own fields. Instead of regarding the field and its rulebook as always in accordance with a status quo, fields can also be places of change and turmoil. Bourdieu also expresses the concept of “native membership” to specific fields. Imagining this as a mastery of a specific role within a game on a sports field can be a strategy of understanding this. He writes that having such membership provides a familiarity with the game and its subsequent social contracts and expectations, which provide the player with an upper hand in their participation (1990a, p. 66). Turning back to the example of a labour rights rally, membership to a field could include a high

level of experience with labour activism informing how one should behave and the social roles they take up in a protest setting.

This description of setting-membership to a particular field draws the mind and the body to a feeling of familiarity. If one is familiar with the rules of the game, the social setting and its various mechanisms, then there can be a degree of comfort achieved for some. However, such comfort comes at the expense of targeted oppression for others. Bourdieu writes that habitus dictates “common-sense” behaviours (p. 56), much in the same way that fields provide a “sensible” projection of future events (1990a, p. 66). It would follow then, that the common-sensical characteristics of both concepts have a relationship with one another, and that status-quo and sanctioned norms are contingent upon one another. The question of resisting these “sensible” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 66) structures then comes into play. As this research explores oppressive structures in the form of social settings and their interactions with bodies in the form of habitus, the rejection of sensibilities and status-quo expectations comes to the forefront of Bourdieusian discussion.

In assessing how structures like patriarchal domination become legitimized through the habitus and social setting of field, Bourdieu describes some theoretical presumptions that can be applied to overarching structures of gendered oppression generally. In *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu draws on a cross-cultural analysis and provides cases illustrating gender roles, cultural practices, and the universalities of the various matrices of domination experienced by women. Drawing on the anthropologic experiences of Kabyle women of Algeria, North American, and Western European women, Bourdieu attempts to link contemporary feminist works to his explanations of the domination of women by masculinity and patriarchy, and the complex relationships between all that we might consider as gendered. He does this through a review of the social construction of gender in these cultural settings. He writes that “the social world constructs the body as a sexually defined reality and as the depository of sexually

defining principles of vision and division." These principles are justified through the imposition of social meaning onto the differentiated sexed bodies, referencing sex organs. Although Bourdieu notes that these distinctions are arbitrary, they account for the "reality of the social order" (2001, p. 11).

In reviewing Bourdieu's definition of habitus outlined above, we may begin to understand the consequences it can have on the act of gendering and being gendered. In speaking to the relationship that bodies have with the spaces that they inhabit, Bourdieu provides an example of the "symbolic confinement" women are met within public and private fields. While Bourdieu writes this work with a very binary analysis of male-female and man-woman (2001, p. 21), the terminology of women, gender non-binary, or Two-Spirit folks are adopted in relation to exploring the subjects of this project. Alongside this, speaking about a gendered experience that does not address women *in relation* to men is also a necessary distinguishing characteristic. Relating all gendered experiences back to the masculine can be an androcentric and therefore counterrevolutionary act when speaking about gender liberation. Symbolic confinement is experienced by gendered people including women, transgender folks, and gender non-binary folks through the policing of their bodies, their postures, their clothing choices, their idle movements, and their language. Under patriarchal systems, Bourdieu writes that "femininity is imposed... through an unremitting discipline that concerns every part of the body and is continuously recalled through the constraints of clothing or hairstyle" (2001, p. 21).

As habitus is understood as a productive relationship between individual and historical settings, the active construction of gendered realities must be explored. Through the construction of habitus, herein lies the more specific instances of masculine and feminine habitus, enforcing the gendered divides between the genders. These divides also serve to work as a means for the "labour of reproduction." The most significant distinction that must be made about habitus is its active characteristic. While social inequalities have been explained to be systematically produced by countless scholars and

activists, or in other words, cyclical and self-fulfilling, we may expand upon these ideas with habitus. Bourdieu's insistence of habitus as a constantly productive phenomenon illustrates how the domination of masculinity and the subsequent submission of femininity under patriarchy is an event which is omnipresent in social relations (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 34). This production should not be considered as a phenomenon confined to the private-public dichotomy, and instead be understood as a constantly evolving sensation which is both influenced by and influences the social settings it enters. In saying that habitus is productive, I mean that it develops realities and behaviours. It is reflexive and reacts to itself and its surroundings, or fields. Perhaps the most important characteristic to note within the productive habitus is that it is not a static organ, and instead responds to social settings like walking home alone at night and taking certain precautions for one's safety. At the same time as having its own reflexive and adaptive ability, the habitus can also be responsible for reproducing inequalities by following the rulebook set forth by an oppressive field such as patriarchy.

Habitus and the Case for Reflexive and Radical Identities

Understanding the foundations of how Bourdieu aimed to employ his theories of habitus and field to the setting of gender and patriarchy embedded in culture is an absolute necessity for this project because it specifically allows one to investigate the projects. An example of such projects is that of Lois McNay (1999) who takes up the discussion of Bourdieusian arguments and critiques in response to his previously published works. McNay was selected due to her succinct ability to summarize and critique the Bourdieusian canon through a gendered lens, as well as engaging in rigorous discussion around how habitus might act against a field. She writes that Bourdieu's field allows for a nuanced analysis of social context and the "reflexive transformation of identity" (1999, p. 95). This matters for a variety of

reasons in relation to patriarchal and cisheteronormative oppression. The reflexive trait mentioned above serves to explain that the habitus should not be assessed as a static form of identity. Take for example the sexuality of bisexuality. In certain queer fields, there can be an embracing of such an identity as valid and important, or there can be a rejection. This can depend on the members of that field, the gender identity, and the presumed or known sexual history of that bisexual person. Thus those reactions within the habitus *create* an experience unique to the field, that habitus, and the habitus of others involved. According to McNay, the habitus can transform itself and therefore this flux of self produces new realities and indeed has the capacity to challenge expectations of itself. This assertion posits that there is a dynamic relationship between fields and habitus formation. This is vital in understanding whether oppressive fields can be resisted through unconscious efforts such as through one's habitus. McNay highlights the point that the specific relevancies of habitus to gender concern the constructions of oppressive institutions. She notes that systemic and macro occurrences of social inequality are created through implicit power relations enacted *upon* bodies (1999).

Perhaps one of the most shining sentiments that McNay proposes regarding Bourdieu's concept of habitus is that it is not immutable. In writing that comprehending a "dynamic and non-dichotomous" view of embodiment is crucial to feminist understandings of gender identity, she concludes that habitus provides a "not immutable" conception of gender identity (1999, p. 95). This is not in absolute opposition to the assertions in *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001), however the ways in which McNay theorizes transformation are more swift and less subtle—to expand, Bourdieu proposes that these changes are focused on the educational realm. In Aylwyn Walsh's discussion of feminist readings of Bourdieu, she cites McNay's position as one settled in restrained potential. She writes that an individual "may have a predisposition to act in specific ways but there is potential for innovation and creative action" (2014, p. 44). While the concept of identity has found itself subject to mass critique (Butler,

1993) including the proposed limitation of identity's one-way relationship between individual and structure, where structure exerts power onto the individual. If identity is understood to be a fixed and individually based phenomenon, it is hard to imagine a world in which such a concept could be employed for collective change. McNay's (1999) suggestion that gender identity cannot be thought of in a way that limits its ability to change or form new perceptions of what it means to *be* is paramount.

An important consideration in reviewing the readings of Bourdieu through a gendered lens is the work of Judith Butler. In their article titled *Performativity's Social Magic*, Butler makes a sharp claim in response to the proposition that habitus may be used to understand social change. They explore the function of the habitus and diagnoses the relationship it has to field. Their method in this process is to closely read Bourdieu's account of how habitus and field are constructed. Their reaction to this work is to conclude that although the habitus legitimizes the field's "formative" power (p. 116), that is where the action of the habitus halts. They label the relationship between habitus and field as "mutually formative" (p. 117) —however, this mutualistic characteristic is not one with parity of power. Because it is the field which imposes histories to be embodied *into* the habitus, Butler remarks that this relationship is one of submission: "Indeed, the question of whether or not the field itself might be altered by the *habitus* appears ruled out by virtue of the objective agency attributed to the field" (1999, pp. 117-8). Plainly stated, Butler's position holds that habitus cannot be viewed as an agent for mass change within the field.

In further dissecting how habitus enacts productive functions, McNay writes that because of the process of embodiment, the habitus cannot be understood wholly as an object that the field enacts power upon. She states that the body is "neither pure object nor pure subject" (1999, p. 96), an assertion that aims to encompass how both field and habitus both leave lasting imprints on one another.

McNay highlights Bourdieu's claim in *Invitation to a Reflexive Sociology* that societal inequalities depend on the imposing of structural power onto bodies and individuals (Bourdieu, 1992), and writes that habitus is largely responsible for the legitimization of social institutions. Such an institution may be exemplified in patriarchy and cisheteronormativity, the two oppressive sites focused on within this research project. However, stating that complicity is a perpetuating force for oppression is, again, not a new claim.

Continued interrogation of Bourdieu's work (1992), however, finds his hesitancy to propose habitus as a means for radical social change. McNay writes on Bourdieu's position by stating that acts and behaviours deemed to be politically resistant may only provide "superficial" change and not include deep insurrections against dominant powers (1999, p. 99). While McNay does not explicitly list forms of resistance in her piece on social change, she does present readers with a preface that emancipation cannot come from individuals alone. Shifts in gender relations are possible through the habitus as a result of "detraditionalizing forces" such as women entering the workforce or questioning the institution of marriage (McNay, 1999, p. 100). Building off of this, I propose viewing the habitus as a means for collective emancipation to cooperatively resist structures, such as the dominant sexual structure of heterosexuality. This assertion goes beyond what we understand as minute changes in interpersonal relations within any given field and instead states that rejection of oppressive fields by collective habitus is a force strong enough to incite major change.

For example, Anastasia Powell responds to the arguments presented by both Bourdieu (2001; 1990a; 1990b) and McNay (1999) in her article on sexuality, consent, and habitus. She writes from the position that consent culture must be fortified in the face of sexual assault, writing that campaigns focused on "just say no" do not prove to hold much weight when it is the structures upholding rape culture that must be countered (2008, p. 179). Such campaigns can be likened to the individual-based

praxis critiqued by Haider (2018), where the agency is bestowed entirely on one person and their behaviours as opposed to their relationship to other individuals and the overarching systems they inhabit. A more contemporary example can also be found in the #metoo movement. While this is a movement with educational power, what can be done once we have all established that most women have experienced sexual assault? What radical action can be taken up after this individual-based approach? As Powell attempts to reconcile how attention can be paid to both individual and structure, her lens is cast onto the conception of gendered habitus. While education is the main method for change proposed by Bourdieu (1990a), Powell ponders increased methodologies of social change including direct collective action. Stating that action-oriented towards oppressive *structures* and not merely problematic behaviours or individuals must be achieved in order to reach such social change. By theorizing a gendered habitus beyond Bourdieu's conceptions, Powell points towards a source of hope for habitus in utilizing its reflexive and relational traits to interact with oppressive structures. While Powell's work focuses on rape culture and consent culture specifically, these ideas can be generalized to other arenas of social change. Instead of focusing on one source of gendered oppression such as patriarchy, attention can be shared with the broader institution of patriarchy and cisheteronormativity. Below, the work of Aimee Sinclair is found to do just that.

In Sinclair's work, she reviews the sexualized experiences of women to determine the role of habitus in understanding the challenges faced by women because of heteronormativity. The rationale behind choosing habitus as a core theoretical framework for Sinclair's work is illustrated when she notes that habitus can be understood as being a total and "ongoing socialization process" where one's identity is constantly shifting to envelop new behavioural practices and thought processes. This is especially important to the study of gender because this persistent socialization can go unnoticed and therefore unchallenged. Sinclair conducts interviews with heterosexual women, to investigate the ways in

which “heteronormativity may be drawn into the body” (pp. 1-2). The study involves heteronormativity as the field and the women participants who internalize these heterosexual norms within their habitus. Sinclair notes that although it may be exceedingly evident that heteronormativity becomes embodied through individual habitus, there is also a tendency to neglect the “two-way nature” between habitus and field, and efforts should be spent on understanding how the habitus of women may then interact and challenge the structures of heteronormativity (Sinclair, 2017, p. 2).

Agency is one of the most intriguing themes to come out of Sinclair’s work. Regarding agency, Sinclair notes that many of the participants concluded that it was their “individual responsibility to monitor one’s self and develop the confidence to control and express” their own sexual desires in relationships. This speaks to a degree of self-awareness and therefore power within the habitus of women in heterosexual relationships, the demographic of participants interviewed by Sinclair. This proposition holds that these women must consciously document their own preferences and then act on them. Such a position then considers carefully how the habitus of the oppressed may begin to “negotiate” new meanings and new interactions within the heteronormative field (Sinclair, 2017, p. 3). When participants discussed this agency, they also recollected a level of embodied knowledge. This concerned the ways that they perceived their sexual freedom, the ways that they communicated with partners, and how challenging heteronormativity can be navigated. Although participants noted that embodied knowledge has the capacity to restrain them, critical reflection of these internalized norms was still possible (2017). This conclusion illustrates the importance of gendered habitus and the methods which can be employed by those experiencing gendered oppression to reach new levels of emancipation in their daily lives. Sinclair notes that there can be a balance struck between Bourdieusian thought and feminist theory to uncover nuances in the lived experiences of the oppressed (2017).

In contrast to the works of Sinclair which focus on women in heterosexual relationships grappling with heteronormativity, scholar Eve Ng provides an analysis which includes queer experiences of habitus and field. In the various attempts to challenge the oppressive institutions that affect queer folks, Ng highlights the structure of cisheteronormativity as such domination. One way that these forces may be challenged is through the employment of capital, another term explored by Bourdieu likened to social status. A brief explanation of capital includes the labour, tastes, desires, behaviours, and skills that serve to allocate one with power, access to resources, community, and status (Allan, 2013). The classifications of capital include economic capital, or one's monetary wealth, social capital, or one's social network and its associated power, symbolic capital, or the ability to construct power through the use of symbols, and cultural capital, or the power of one's behaviours associated with the dominant culture (Allan, 2013, p. 179-81). For example, consider cultural capital, or the social skills, behaviours, and tastes associated with one's economic and cultural setting. In Ng's example, we can understand this through the setting of the queer media culture that exists within a broader heteronormative media culture.

Ng uses the example of the queer media production industry. By fostering a collective of queer habitus within the community, more narratives of queer experience can be deployed to audiences that consume various types of media (Ng, 2018). Bourdieu writes that “of all the factors of change, the most important are those that are linked to the decisive transformation of the function of the educational system in reproducing the differences between the genders” (2001, p. 89). Although the expansion of queer narratives imposed by queer habitus may not translate into the mass education that Bourdieu proposed, such an increase in exposure to audiences may be likened to such an educational task. Of course, it is not a classroom setting with a mandated curriculum, but the consumption of queer media provides an exposure to new narratives, value systems, and ways of life.

As the media industry functions within the larger structure of cisheteronormativity, Ng asserts that altering the content subject to mainstream viewership can provide the public insight into how queer bodies and queer ideas exist and interact with one another and the structures surrounding them. Ng cites three conditions for these changes to occur: “forms of capital, the characteristics of the field, and the habitus” (2018, p. 9). As queer members of the media industry gain and share social or cultural capital with one another, advancements and expansions can be made to strengthen the perceptions and audience of queer habitus existing within queer and cisheteronormative fields (Ng, 2018). The work of Ng (2018) provides great insight into this project, as it provides links to how individuals can interact with one another, fostering networks and community, which then work together to challenge the dominating fields of patriarchy and cisheteronormativity. While Ng’s work focuses on a specific professional industry, generalizing this sentiment to the work of activists concerned with sexual and gender liberation is not a far stretch. Discerning social and cultural capital within social movements and understanding the complexities of gendered and sexual habitus alongside oppressive or activist fields seems to be a natural next step.

Just as Powell’s work declares a necessity for tackling mass structures for change (2008) and Ng’s work exemplifies the power of a collective in challenging oppressive fields (2018), similarities can be seen in Butler’s critique of individualism (1993). The power of the habitus is not found solely in its individual ability to interact with its surroundings. When considering gendered habitus as an illustration of embodied social norms, behaviours, and ideologies, these are not indicative of solitary phenomena. Instead, such embodiments may highlight the possibility of viewing habitus as a driving force for change. In reflecting on the theorists noted above and their valuable contributions to uncovering embodied identity, social struggle, and gendered and sexual emancipation, the task at hand in understanding the habitus of activists working together is essential. While the works cited in this review have done

incredible work through investigating how we may begin to perceive the self and the self's interactions with its social settings in new ways, this research project builds off of these ideas, and provides new findings on social action and habitus. The links between protester and oppression are not widely or deeply explored through these works; this research attempts to rectify this and provide in-depth analysis to how those resisting oppression may embody justice and not oppression.

It is the intent of this section to summarize and honour the dedicated and inspiring scholars that have taken up the work of gender equality, sociological theory, and the fusion of the two. In assessing Bourdieu's conceptions of habitus, field, and gender, alongside the works of feminist and queer scholars who attempt to reconcile how these concepts may be relevant to their own investigations of sexual and gender liberation, one can begin to branch off with their own ideas and scholarly work. The scholars in this section have contributed greatly to understanding embodied senses of self, social change, and gender relations. This project aims to expand beyond these key contributions by applying a new lens to social resistance. As the reader will note in the following chapters, the resisters interviewed in this work contribute their activist energy to the causes of worker liberation, Indigenous Sovereignty, Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and 2-Spirit folks, reproductive rights, and transgender rights. These all provide excellent cases for applying an intersectional lens that looks at the colonial oppression, cisheteropatriarchal oppression, and capitalist oppression that has very serious material consequences for the resisters and their communities. In understanding all of this, an expansion beyond the great work achieved by the scholars explored in this section can begin to be made. It is my hope that this project does just that.

What We Can Learn from Indigenous Sovereignty: A Contextual Preface

As this research project is taking place, there are thousands of land protectors and allies defending unceded Indigenous territory. Spurred by the illegal invasion of Wet'suwet'en territory by Coastal

GasLink and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, communities everywhere are rising up in resistance. Much of this project revolves around the relationship between theory and praxis. Because of this, it is critical to include Leanne Betasmosake Simpson's work on cultural embodiment and resistance to colonial patriarchy. In *As We Have Always Done*, she writes that colonizers "saw Indigenous bodies—our physical bodies and our constructions of gender, sexuality, and intimate relationships—... as a symbol of Indigenous orders of government and a direct threat to their sovereignty and governmentality" (Simpson, 2017, p. 103). In this light, there can be a very strong similarity drawn between this explanation of Indigenous embodied governance and Bourdieu's habitus (1990a)—an account of embodied social structures and histories within individual bodies and their behaviours.

Simpson asserts that the bodies of Indigenous women are "legal targets for death, disappearance, and elimination because we are signifiers of a political order that is a direct threat to the political legitimacy of settlement" (2017, p. 115). This passage rings true especially with regards to the missing and murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. In *Violence on the Land, Violence on Our Bodies* published by the Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network, an in-depth report of the mass levels of incidents of sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women, girls, and 2-Spirit folks alongside a toolkit to combat the colonial patriarchy outlines some of these valuable details of lived experiences of embodied oppression. In outlining the phenomenon of man camps in Fort McMurray, AB, the report notes that the 2:1 ratio of men to women fosters an intensely "patriarchal culture which is the result of an ongoing colonial legacy that has normalized violence against Indigenous bodies and lands" (Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network, 2016, p. 30).

The report noted above rightfully views the connection between the resource extraction industry and the violent misogyny and homophobia rampant in colonial patriarchal culture as a structural one. The Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network (WEA & NYSHN) assert that

solutions to the emergency of this misogyny targeting Indigenous women and 2-Spirits must contain a deep investigation of how the violence inflicted upon Indigenous peoples is “mirrored” by the violence inflicted upon the land (WEA & NYSHN, 2016, p. 33). Much like in Simpson’s analysis of how attacks on Indigenous women’s bodies are attacks on Indigenous ways of governance (2017), these attacks are similarly targeting bodies of land. Adopting a structural and decolonized analysis to assess these issues of colonial violence is of utmost importance to the feminist ethos, as well as the search for answers of embodied social relations and structures. It is through the review of works like Simpson’s and the WEA and NYSHN’s report, that settler scholars such as myself can begin to integrate these harbours of knowledge of Indigenous experiences on Turtle Island and beyond. The solidarity actions for the Wet’suwet’en Nation have become an integral piece of this research, as many of the resisters interviewed retell experiences from their attendance. This short introduction referencing Simpson aims to contextualize the fight for gender and racial liberty under patriarchal colonialism. The concept of body sovereignty and embodied culture found in Simpson’s work highlights a necessity to consider how colonialism as an oppressive “field” (Bourdieu, 1961; Bourdieu, 1990a) can be countered by resistant habitus. The stories of the resisters that are recounted in the following chapters present us with an avenue to understand just how this opposition may be applied.

Chapter 3: Methods

a. Research Design

The design for this research was carefully crafted with the intent to follow qualitative feminist traditions that centre the voices of the participants (Smart, 2007). Some of these traditions include the use of open-ended interview questions, interviews that are dialogic and encourage discourse between participant and interviewer and framing the questions to indicate to participants that their experiences as resisters are complex and contain expertise. For these reasons, the participants of the interviews are hereafter referred to as resisters. While their selection for interviews was contingent on their participation in protest and solidarity action events, the term resistor is used to portray their role as active and defiant. Therefore, each participant is assigned a pseudonym of Resistor 1, Resistor 2, Resistor 3, Resistor 4, Resistor 5, and Resistor 6.

Resistors were asked to retell the high-emotion experiences they had in protest and solidarity action settings. Interviews were conducted over telephone and video-chat due to the physical distancing protocols required by COVID-19. Verbal consent was obtained to record the audio of each interview. After each interview was completed, transcription took place as close to the interview as possible. Verbatim transcription was utilized to best-capture the realities of the interviews. Resistors who requested so were then sent the transcriptions via email to review in order to ensure the essence of their responses was captured effectively. Following transcription, all data were coded using NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software. After coding, all data were reviewed multiple times, with memos taken at each step of data collection. The preliminary analysis uncovered three major themes: resistant habitus, solidarity, and transforming fields through resistance. Each theme was further developed through focused analysis

including feminist and queer theory to appreciate the gender and sexual components of resistance; all while using the works of Pierre Bourdieu to expand our understandings of habitus and field.

This research addressed the role of gendered bodies in social and political protest settings while employing Bourdieu's habitus and field (2010), feminist theory, and queer theory as the main theoretical models for analysis. The intent of this design was to uncover the utility of habitus as a means of understanding resistance to oppression through a gendered lens. For this reason, a variety of feminist scholars and queer theory scholars are referenced in the above section on literature and theoretical framework. Data was collected through dialogic and semi-structured interviews with 6 resisters who have all attended a political protest pertaining to sexual or gender justice within the last three months. This timeframe was selected to ensure that the experience of the protest is still fresh in the resisters' minds and that their memories are not too difficult to recollect in detail. This timeframe also provided the added benefit of including a wider scope of individuals who may be eligible for interviewing. As protests tend to occur sporadically, a simple timeframe of the last few weeks or month would simply not provide the project with a large enough population.

b. Data Collection

The population for the study was individuals who had attended a protest or solidarity action within the last three months prior to their recruitment time. This period was between January and March 2020, although many resisters referenced their experiences in protest settings prior to this period alongside during it. This time frame of attendance was selected to aim for a relatively fresh memory of the events while providing a margin for a number of activist events to occur. Because of the feminist and queer approach of this work, resisters were also selected based on their gender and sexuality. Resisters were

recruited if they met the criteria of attending a protest or solidarity action within the last three months and were transgender or cisgender women, or any other member of the LGBTQ2S+ community. These conditions of recruitment were selected in order to examine the relationships between gender, sexuality, and resistance to oppression targeting these two facets of a person's experience.

Recruitment was conducted through the use of a recruitment poster that identified the title and objective of the research, the institution the research was being conducted from, criteria for recruitment, and a brief explanation of what would be required of participants (See Appendix C). The poster was distributed through a number of email avenues including distribution by the Graduate Secretary of the Sociology Department and UVic Pride's email listserv. The poster was also posted onto the Abortion Coalition of Canada's Facebook page and shared widely from there. Interested prospective participants were asked to email me on my UVic email address. From there, a brief statement of the study and an expansion of what would be required of a participant should they decide to move forward was provided. Prospective participants were asked to review the consent form (see Appendix D) before deciding to proceed. After this, a telephone interview appointment was scheduled to accommodate the resistor's schedule. Telephone interviews were selected due to the fact data collection occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. After the resistors had emailed me a digitally signed consent form, we began the telephone interview. Verbal consent was requested to record the audio of the interview which was obtained from all resistors in the study.

Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured in nature (see Appendix B). This method was selected to allow enough context for prompts and moderate levels of direction, while also ensuring that the resistors were able to clearly expand on their own stories. Scholars Warren and Karner express that

in-depth interviews centre the “meanings that life experiences hold for the individuals being studied” (2010, p. 127 as cited in van den Hoonaard, 2015). Because the objective of the interviews was to uncover the complexities of resisting gendered and sexualized oppression as embodied experiences, the personal meaning for political action was of the utmost concern to this research. Interview questions consisted of topics of how the resistor felt while attending the action, why they attended the action, and what meanings these experiences had for them. Questions also were aimed at uncovering how the resistor felt their gender, sexuality, ability, class, and race impacted their experiences.

The work of Aimee Sinclair, who conducted a research project on heterosexual women challenging heteronormativity within their relationships through the lens of habitus, was used to guide the design of this thesis. Methodologically, one of the most prominent takeaways from her work included the use of semi-structured and dialogic interviews. In Sinclair’s work, she designed the questions to allow participants to “reflect on, and share their memories of, coming to understand” the nature of their habitus and its relation to their sexual freedoms within heterosexual relationships (2017, p. 2). This is also the intent of the interview questions selected for this work. Questions were formulated to be open-ended, expansive, and intersectional. This was accomplished through questions that lacked specificity such as: “what experiences cause you to react strongly when resisting?” to ones that contained more focus such as: “how does your gender impact your experience as a resistor?” (see Appendix B). The interview questions were formulated to remain clear and simple, so as to achieve a level of accessibility that allow individuals with a variety of educational and class backgrounds to participate. The conversational orientation of the interview allowed follow-up questions to arise organically to more comprehensively access detailed answers. Sinclair noted that one of the main tactics employed to reveal data relevant to the analysis of habitus was to request reflections on how certain experiences made the participants feel,

and how that impacted their future actions. An example can be found when one of her participants expressed the feelings they had surrounding their sexual freedom. Such feelings were explained as “sexual confidence” which dictated that the participant felt as though they could “say exactly what [they] want” (Sinclair, 2017, pp. 3). This strategy of inquiry was utilized in this research as well.

The six resisters interviewed shared many characteristics. However, there was also a considerable degree of diversity amongst them. Age ranged from 23 to 31. Four resisters expressed levels of ability that hindered their capacity to participate in organized protest events such as depression, anxiety, and chronic back pain. One resistor was Two-Spirit with they/their pronouns with the remaining five resisters identified as women with she/her pronouns. One resistor is East Asian, three were white settlers, one was Iranian, and one was Métis. The sexualities of resisters ranged from queer to “pretty straight” (Resistor 3) to straight. Three resisters identified as bisexual, one as straight, one as “pretty straight”, and one as queer pansexual. One resistor hailed from Halifax, Nova Scotia, three resisters were from Victoria, British Columbia, and two were from Vancouver, British Columbia. Two of the resisters were immigrants with one from Taiwan and one from Iran. All six of the resisters had some level of post-secondary education ranging from undergraduate to graduate degrees at the Master’s and PhD level. Resisters were asked if there were any other identifiers they would like to be referred to but none of them requested additional terms.

After the outline-guided questions were addressed (See Appendix B), resisters were asked if they had any additional insight they would like to share regarding their experiences as gendered and sexualized resisters. Three of them shared additional information such as speculations about the questions and the positive consequences of mutual aid, community-building, and social resistance. Five resisters expressed gratitude for the interview, noting that these topics were not often ones they addressed

for themselves. As members of social justice movements are often so oriented towards the collective, there is seldom time to reflect on one's own role in the process of change. Resistors were asked if they would like to receive transcriptions of the interview to ensure an accurate representation of their sentiments as well as if they would like to receive the completed thesis for review. All six accepted to view the thesis and five agreed to review their transcriptions. Interviews were verbatim transcribed using the audio-recording files. All files containing resistor data were immediately assigned a pseudonym and all personal identifiers such as given names were removed from the transcription and files. This was done to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of resistors. Resistors were provided with a small reward for their participation in the form of an e-gift card.

Notes were recorded after each interview was conducted and during and after they were transcribed. No transcribing software was utilized. This was to allow me to hear and reflect on the recording more organically to stimulate analysis. The note-taking process after interviews and transcriptions provided a low-pressure opportunity to process some of the main themes that occurred throughout the interviews. These notes were later incorporated in my core analysis of the data and for brainstorming purposes. Deborah van den Hoonaard wrote that the importance of taking such memos for the integrity of later analysis. She cited that this practice manifests "reflexivity" for future analysis and encourages the researcher to reflect on their own ideas and feelings about the data and data collection process (2015, p. 156).

As the researcher is entering the spaces and practices that are a part of the resistors' lives, it is integral to an ethical research project that potential risks are avoided. The nature of this research dictated that individuals consider how their gender and sexuality impact their bodies, lives, actions, and

thoughts. While the questions might not seem to be especially delicate, the interview questions were always approached with care and open-mindedness. Informed consent means that the resistors “participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation” (Lune & Berg, 2017, pp. 36). Consent forms are a vital aspect of providing consent and ensuring that all resistors are aware of the risks to them and what will happen with their information. All resistors were distributed a digital copy of the consent form before agreeing to participate and were asked if there were any questions before and during the interview. Resistors signed the forms using e-signatures due to our inability to meet in person during the COVID-19 pandemic. Consent forms were kept in a folder on a password-protected computer only. After three years the consent forms will be destroyed (Lune & Berg, 2017) through permanent file deletion. Following the written consent of resistors, verbal consent was also obtained to record the audio of the interviews for transcription purposes.

In ensuring that the responses provided by resistors remained confidential, elements that allude to the subject’s identity were removed. Lune and Berg recommend this practice to lower the risks of any sensitive information about an individual being exposed without their consent. Before data analysis, pseudonyms were assigned to the names of resistors. The names of specific locations were avoided if there was a risk that it would expose an individual’s identity; however, the type of location will remain relevant to the study and will be described (Lune & Berg, 2017). All measures taken to provide confidentiality to each participant have been made with the utmost care and sincerity.

c. Data Analysis and Limitations

The coding of the data was conducted using NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software. Three main categories were surmised after going through the data using open-coding. Open-coding requires the categorizing of themes that are found within transcriptions. Van den Hoonaard recommends the researcher to not yet “narrow down” the aim of the first round of coding, and instead allow the “richness” of the data to come forward naturally (2015, p. 160). Following this approach, themes that arose included the following: experiences of gendered and racialized oppression, feelings of solidarity and inspiration, fears and threats of police, community, and political backlash. Upon completion of open-coding, the categories of affect, habitus, and field were established. This was done through associating the initial open-coded themes with the study’s theoretical framework of habitus, field, and resistance through an intersectional feminist lens. Although only two participants referenced “habitus” themselves, the categories were selected and named as such to provide clear organization and theme. For example, due to the analytical nature of this project, references in interviews to social spaces (including physical setting such as the outside of a government building, or the structural patriarchal and colonial oppression experienced when walking down the street as an Indigenous person) were categorized as field, and references in interviews to resisters’ sense of self, expression, and history were categorized as habitus (including identifiers like gender, sexuality, and race or experiences such as working in a sexualized industry). This was due to the objective of this project to locate field and habitus as a means of understanding resistance to oppression. Following this stage, focused-coding was conducted to achieve a more detailed review of the data. Focused-coding is described as a process of recoding to reassess the specific nature of phrases and experiences told by participants. It is in this stage of coding where “specific sub-themes” were noted which help guide analysis later (van den Hoonaard, 2015, p. 162). During this stage, sub-categories were established. Within the affect category were motivation, negative affect, positive affect, and the subcategory to positive affect of solidarity. Within the category

of field was the subcategory of cops. Within the category of habitus was the subcategory of body used to specifically signify the bodily form. Alongside this subcategory within habitus was also identity which included ability, age, class, gender, identity erasure, race, and sexuality; finally, the subcategory to habitus of personal struggle was discerned.

The analysis took place by switching from specific resistors within the coding software to focus on commonalities shared between resistors. For instance, when focusing on solidarity as a shared experience to resistors, this theme was addressed from multiple interviews. The intent of this approach was to consistently find and highlight the thematic links between the six resistors. This method was made in an attempt to strike a balance between acknowledging the specific intricacies of each resistor measured against the broader themes or contrasts made against the entire sample. Coding was done through an intersectional lens with the intent of documenting how each component of a resistor's experience impacted them and interacted with the whole. Many resistors struggled to differentiate between various identifiers such as ethnicity and gender or sexuality and gender. This thematic similarity spoke to the necessity of an intersectional approach.

Feminist and queer approaches are both looked to as a means of guiding analysis on this work. Corie Hammers and Alan d. Brown III wrote on the notion of a coming together of these two methodological frameworks in hopes of creating a productive and critical methodology independent of patriarchal and heteronormative standards. They noted that there can be a "feminist-queer alliance" within research methods of any given work. Their article assesses how often feminist methods will perceive the queer as *in relation to* the heteronormative or the patriarchal ideal. To circumvent this practice, integration with queer methods and frameworks was suggested to better embody a critical and truly feminist approach (Hammers & Brown III, 2004). It is through reliance on "conversation, connection, and an

open-ended forum where ‘objects’ of inquiry become the Subjects of their world and ‘where the agency of people studied itself transforms the entire project of producing social theory’” (Haraway as cited by Hammers & Brown III, 2004, p. 99). This openness of inquiry and reliance on the narrative of the subject has long been a focus within feminist methods. However, Hammers and Brown note that in fusing the two together to create a new lens, the often distracting topic of identity politics can begin to dissolve from the frame of feminist methodologies. They conclude that feminist-queer alliances avoid the trap of identity politics through processes of “self-naming” the subjectivities of the subject and their worlds. According to their work, this leads to an “unravelling and revealing” through this method that the “embodied accounts of reality” can be uncovered (2004, pp. 99-100). The work of Hammers and Brown III guide the approach taken within this thesis to consider the prospects of feminist-queer alliance and the potential to understand another layer of embodiment. This approach was adopted for this project to ensure that both queer and feminist approaches were duly employed. The specific attention to how embodied identity can be highlighted through this method was paramount to my investigations.

Two of the major concepts that remained integral to this work included Bourdieu’s habitus and field (1990a). They were used to guide the ways in which I perceived, coded, and analyzed the interactions that resistors had within themselves, in relation to others, and in response to their social settings. As each interview question was constructed in an attempt to reference habitus or field in some way, analysis stayed in line consistently with this aim. After reviewing memos taken after interviewing and during transcription and coding processes, preliminary analysis occurred via short notetaking. These notes were later transferred to broader analyses and expanded upon in the format of findings and discussion for the thematic chapters of this thesis. This approach was taken in order to distinguish between major analytical themes and shine a spotlight on individual statements made by resistors.

Limitations to this work mainly fall within the sampling methods. Only six resistors were interviewed as active participants in the search. This small number was selected due to the scope of a Master's thesis. This project was the first I had ever conducted and so the small sample size was decided upon to make the management of data realistic. Other limitations include the interview format which was never in-person. It was the original desire of this research design to conduct interviews in-person to allow for a more natural and conversational approach to interacting with participating resistors. However, due to the constraints of the COVID-19 pandemic, all interviews took place over the phone. This may have led to a loss in data as there was no opportunity to take notes on body language or nuances in tone or expression. All resistors interviewed were also in Canada, with most of them residing in Vancouver or Victoria, B.C. This makes it difficult to generalize findings to broader communities and protest settings.

An additional limitation included the intersectional identities of the participating resistors. Resistors did not inclusively represent a broad depiction of the LGBTQ2S+ community which ideally would have included queer men in some form. All resistors also had completed at least some post-secondary education, thereby excluding a large group of protesting populations from other class backgrounds. Because of my own language barriers, I was also unable to interview anyone who did not speak English. Having broader language accessibilities, recruiting queer men and other members of the LGBTQ2S+ community, conducting interviews in-person, and expanding the sample size are all ways to strengthen the generalizability of this work.

Chapter 4: Theorizing a Resistant Habitus

Findings

The resisters documented within this study highlight many integral themes that help uncover the various ways that they came to reject the systems of oppression that surround them. Several patterns were found in the accounts of resisters as to why they protest gendered, sexualized, and racialized oppression with themes ranging from the preservation of their own rights to the fight for the rights of others. This section is descriptive in nature and provides the groundwork for the following discussion section to occur. As the descriptions of interviews and quotes from resisters are laid out, I encourage the reader to reflect on their own experiences of oppression or privilege and the motivating forces behind why they themselves do or do not engage in resistance.

Throughout the interviews, Resistor 1 recounted how she would counter-protest folks who occupy the streets of her town protesting abortion-rights. When asked why she goes out to counter-protest them, she noted that it was simply their presence that moved her to go out in resistance to them. She described her feelings regarding the barriers that exist to her resistance such as mental health challenges and time. A simple story shared by this resister outlined the sheer tenacity and drive experienced by this individual. She articulated that there were moments where she would be coming home from a long day with a headache and pass the anti-abortionists on the street. Instead of hiding “under a rock”, this resister reflected on her own experiences as a woman who has received a legal abortion, the significance of having that medical procedure accessible to her, and then grabbed her sign, and marched out to resist the people who represent her oppression.

Alongside this, Resistor 1 also attributed her gender and class-based exploitation as a contributing factor to her consciousness of oppression and subsequent resistance to it. Often subjected to the toxic culture of the serving industry she speaks on such negative experiences putting her “in the middle of it.” *It* being the centre of an intersection of gender and class oppression. Low wage work with very little security coupled with the gendered characteristics of serving food and beverages created an environment where Resistor 1 acknowledged her status of less-than in such an industry; thus, allowing it to guide her future resistance. Because of these experiences, Resistor 1 goes to the extent of saying that she would feel disappointed in herself for not protesting the folks who wish to worsen access to such an integral and gendered medical service such as abortion.

Resistor 2 talked about her experiences in developing her own political ideologies informing the ways that she protests. When asked about why she goes out to resist, she said that each protest setting comes with its own reason. One example provided by this resistor included the March 8th International Working Women’s Day March - “of course I have to do something.” In following working-class and feminist traditions of celebrating this historic march, Resistor 2 displayed a response likened to common-sense. *Of course*, as a feminist one must go out and celebrate the resistance and progress made by working women around the world. Other examples provided by this resistor are more specific and dependent on contexts personal to her. When talking about another recent political demonstration, she recounted that much of her recent marching has been dedicated to the working women within her union. A recent campaign to address the sexual harassment in the hospitality industry led Resistor 2 to join her comrades in the street outside of her workplace to signify their demands of safe workspaces.

Resistor 3 spoke most about her participation as a white settler ally in the Wet’suwet’en solidarity actions in Victoria, B.C. She attributes her participation to the mass injustices facing Indigenous

peoples within the colonial state of Canada. When met with the option to join the Indigenous Youth holding peaceful ceremony at the Legislature Building downtown, Resistor 3 said that:

“this matters more than anything else matters... it feels like there’s no excuse to do anything else but just to go and show support and be a body. Just be there to support to show the government that what they’re doing is not okay and to show the Indigenous community... that they have support of you... some of us settlers as well.”

This excerpt describes the all-encompassing desire of this resistor to use her body as an act of defiance against oppression. After a brief prompt, Resistor 3 expanded on this thought by expressing that she feels her motivation to attend the solidarity rallies as a “pull.” She continues to state that even though she has participated in other protests in the past, “nothing has felt this important.” She concluded by saying that “all forms of injustice [can be seen] as interconnected” and that the cause for Indigenous sovereignty as highlighted by the Wet’suwet’en Nation and its allies encompasses this message, especially in connection with the environment. Resistor 3 explained that her passion for eco-feminism is a driving force behind her participation in these politics.

Resistor 4 cites their childhood as a main variable in their desire for political change and action now. Growing up in a strong union household created “a long culture of advocacy and social justice” where this resistor was able to watch and participate with their family members on picket lines. They also note their personal sense of right and wrong. Fighting for both their own rights and the rights of others seems to come naturally, with advocacy and inclusivity as two values held close to their heart. Resistor 4 also recounts their participation in organizations and attending a protest against a harmful transphobic speaker invited into their community to do a talk. They attended this protest to protect their transgender siblings and be present for those who cannot be. Resistor 4 explains that many friends aren’t physically able to attend protests on the street, and because they are able-bodied in this specific

way, they are able to link arms with like-minded activists and resist in the name of equality for transgender folks.

Resistor 5 stated that going out to march in the streets or occupy space is “the only way to resist” and to send clear messages through symbolism and defiance. She iterated that what resistance all boils down to is “collective power.” Similarly to Resistor 1, she expressed that if she has the capacity to “contribute to the collective”, then she will. Many of the resisters note that there are a number of reasons why someone may not be able to physically participate in a solidarity action, be that a mobility or ability issue, or a specific vulnerability to policing. Resistor 5 observed, however, that as long as there is an ability to do so, she participates. A final contributing factor to participating in protests or rallies is to ensure the safety of others: “there is safety in numbers. We’re talking about gender-based kinds of demonstration, if there’s not a lot of numbers, then it tends to be more dangerous.” Speaking to the vulnerability of folks made unsafe by gender-based oppression, Resistor 5 concluded that large numbers within the collective are what protect each individual number. Like to Resistor 3, being a *body* in a sea of support is a motivating factor indeed.

Finally, Resistor 6 recounted her motivations behind protesting or attending solidarity actions. Self-identified as someone being new to the protest scene, Resistor 6 explained that her frustration and anger over the world’s injustices fueled her participation. This is a theme common amongst all of the resisters interviewed. She continued to voice that she has a responsibility as a white settler to use her body to *show up* and contribute to the collective aim of Indigenous sovereignty, in speaking specifically of the Wet’suwet’en solidarity actions in Victoria, B.C. She also calls upon the concept of consequential compassion, which she said guides a lot of her personal values in ensuring that her actions are aligned with her empathic emotions.

All six of the resisters provided rich and complex accounts of why they choose to march in the streets, occupy steps, or join hands with others to challenge the dominating social structures they oppose. This section, while straightforward in terms of being descriptive of the resisters' accounts, provides background and context for the following analysis in the next section. In an attempt to stay within the traditions of centring the narratives and experiences of the subjects and highlighting their own words (Hammers & Brown III, 2004), this section clearly narrows down some major themes. These include a sense of duty and justice and the desire to protect one's own rights and the rights of others as being major variables in why these resisters do what they do.

Discussion

In addressing the phenomenon of social change, specifically in relation to gender relations, Bourdieu wrote:

“Of all the factors of change, the most important are those that are linked to the decisive transformation of the function of the educational system in reproducing the differences between the genders, such as women's increased access to education and, consequently, to economic independence, and the transformation of the family structures. (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 89).

Here Bourdieu made reference to the shifting landscapes of gender relations within the workplace, home, and education system. He attributes the considerable increase of attendance by women in post-secondary institutions as one of the leading contributors to the slow emancipation of women under masculine domination. Bourdieu wrote that it is through the world of mass-education that the inner-workings of habitus might be changed. When considering the resisters of this study, all six of them attended post-secondary education. All six of the resisters referenced their education and school commu-

nity having at least somewhat of an impact in how they view the role of activism and their duty as a resistor. Resistor 3 said the following regarding the sense of community and culture that can be fostered within a university setting:

“in the Indigenous community at UVic, we have a lot of conversations as Indigenous people we have greater responsibility, we are not just academics but we’re also becoming representatives of our communities. So they ask us what are our obligations, like what are you obliged to? It’s not just the academy or your supervisor, it’s also your Elders, your family, your knowledge keepers, things like that. So obligation is a strong word in Indigenous academia I’d say”
(Resistor 3),

This community-orientation towards the reproduction of cultural traditions and the importance of solidarity amongst Indigenous students is an incredibly striking example of how a resistant habitus may come to be. Although Bourdieu does not write about the ways that an individual may begin to further develop the relationships between their habitus and the habitus of others in various settings as a means of resistance, patterns found in the data collected for this work suggest this may be the case. Resistor 3 highlighted a theme that is crucial to Bourdieu’s work in referencing education. While the intention to investigate one’s role in their community or one’s “obligations” (Resistor 3) may be a conscious act, the non-conscious results from these behaviours must be acknowledged. Much like how the act of educating a class is an intentional act that *results* in non-conscious behaviours that may be attributed to the habitus. Following this rationale, the act of addressing one’s role is an intentional act that can result in non-conscious behaviours that one brings to their community later.

Resistors also cited the fact that engaging in class-room discussions and networking with other like-minded students provided them with a means of community that allowed them to step into other fields, such as those of resistance and solidarity. One participant, after publicly resisting on behalf of

abortion rights for Canadians, recounted the positive affirmations expressed by her classmates. This provides a positive effect of encouraging her to keep moving for the cause of abortion rights when the community around her was not active with grass-roots resistance (Resistor 1). This is just to show that solidarity can take many forms. Bourdieu speaks about the slow social change that has occurred through education, and ergo the curriculum or hidden curriculum (Bourdieu & Passeron , 1990c), but what came up most in the interviews with participants was the relationships formed with other classmates. The topic of solidarity will be addressed more heavily in the next chapter. In reviewing this discussion, consider the role that educating an entire class may have, especially in relation to Bourdieu's theories of slow but sustaining change of the habitus through education (2001). Alongside this, consider the relations that classmates have with one another. This includes the network-building that may contribute to shifts in habitus and non-conscious acts once students leave the classroom.

A common theme that arose when resisters were asked why they protested was the role of struggle in their own personal history. As habitus is understood as a constantly reflexive construct, and embodiment of one's identities, culture, socialization, and experiences (Bourdieu, 2010, pp. 165-6), it would then include the role of personal struggle. All of the resisters engaged in social resistance ranging from racial and class inequality to gendered and sexualized oppression. Many of the resisters articulated that they believed their personal histories of social struggle served to inform how they perceived society, social change, and the consequences of their actions. Resistor 2 mentions her transformation through different class positions, citing that she originally did not have a class-based analysis as close to home as she does now:

“Because when I was back home I was not a working-class person even though I was left-leaning. I was not a working-class person, and when I came here I became more radical because I became a working-class person. And that was just like a really huge turning point for me... the concerns

that working-class women have is not the same as the higher class woman, it's just different issues and totally different concerns, and working-class women are really more oppressed than others" (Resistor 2).

This excerpt from Resistor 2 illustrates a degree of class consciousness that was acquired after having experienced a new degree of oppression: class-based oppression. It would follow then that this awareness can translate to other experiences as well, such as sexuality or gendered oppression. Resistor 3 recalled her experience as someone experiencing intergenerational poverty and how that informed her experience. Resistor 4 noted their experience as a Two-Spirit Métis person and spoke of their experience at a counter-protest against a transphobic speaker. They detail how they used their experience as a Two-Spirit individual impacting how they worked as an ally for their transgender siblings. Resistor 5 referenced her experience as someone with chronic back pain gaining insight for others experiencing disabilities while trying to participate in protests in the street. And finally, Resistor 6 noted that her experience living "in-between" identities as a bisexual woman dating a man and having her queer identity questioned provided her with a new level of "compassion" for understanding others who may be living between margins such as racial identities.

Each participant referenced at many different times throughout their interview, the moments in their lives that have served as the largest obstacles. Mental health problems, gender oppression, capitalism, and colonialism all arose as major themes in their responses. The insight from facing oppression in real-life settings seems to be one of the driving forces behind the action-oriented traits shared by all resistors in the study. This research posits that different interactions and experiences with oppression can be understood as fields. Entering spaces that are coded as culturally colonial such as the Legislature Building in Victoria, B.C., or counter-protesting anti-abortion protesters outside of clinics that provide abortions are two examples drawn from the interviews. These resistors consciously entered these

spaces which serve to be symbolic of their political oppression and that of others. When asked about the space that one protests within, Resistor 2 notes that “you should be targeting someone I think for the rallies.” This Resistor spoke about the ways in which a space can represent a specific oppressor or system of oppression. The efforts that organizers and resisters go to ensure that a message is being sent to oppressors shows that there is an explicit relationship between field and habitus in terms of social resistance.

The recognition of one’s own oppression is of utmost importance to the act of resistance. If not for this recognition, it is hard to fathom exactly how anyone might begin to protest at all. Therefore, it begs to be stated exactly why it is that certain people take their political beliefs and histories with them and march, chant, and occupy space in the name of change. Similarly to the work of Aimee Sinclair who asserted that women can exist in-between positions of total oppression and total freedom while still attempting to challenge their inequity (2017), the resisters of my research cited both privilege and oppression within their lives. Privilege is a prominent theme brought forth by resisters, even without any prompting within the questions. Beyond the acknowledgment of certain social privileges that resisters may experience, they also expressed a link between their privilege and a sense of duty they feel to resist. This indicates that the act of resisting oppression is beyond just sending a message or rejecting a system. In acknowledging their privileges, resisters can see the social systems of race, gender, class, and more that interact and create their power and experiences of oppression. Bourdieu described the imbalanced power structures that dictate these instances of power or oppression as “social order.” In a gendered context, this order translates to a “masculine order” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 24).

Bourdieu also discussed the material conditions of oppression and the contexts that force groups into resistant positions. While specifically speaking on the instances of resistance to white supremacy

and colonialism (Bourdieu, 1961), the sentiment can begin to be expanded upon for understanding how social practices and structural oppression interact to create the conditions for revolt. When considering the subject of gendered oppression including inequality produced by cisheteronormativity and patriarchy, two driving forces behind how gender and sexuality are policed, validated or stigmatized, we may begin such an expansion. Many of the resisters discussed their experiences as gendered and sexualized bodies. Often these memories are accounted from a young age.

Resistor 2 recalls her experience growing up in Iran in a middle-class setting. Here, she notes that while she was acquainted with a degree of class privilege due to her family's status, she frequently felt negative reactions towards her expressions of sexuality and gender. One example she provided is how her sexuality would be questioned and judged negatively as a bisexual. This experience travelled with her as she migrated to Canada. Resistor 2 discussed how oftentimes when speaking about feminist issues, those around her would make presumptions about her sexuality and assume she was a lesbian. This was a great source of frustration for her as she navigated the embodiment of her own sexuality and gender as a bisexual woman engaging in feminist and labour movements (Resistor 2). This experience speaks to a rejection by others of how sexuality is embodied and thus communicated outwardly through behaviour. The relationship between one's sexuality or gender and the reaction of others can be analyzed as a dance of embodiment. As Resistor 2 embodied their sexuality and gender and walked through the world, they were met with oppressive reactions that did not agree with the expression of her sexuality.

Resistor 1 recalled how her class and gendered experiences interacted to create a level of oppression in the workplace which shaped her political views into adulthood. She stated that as she was a

restaurant worker as a teenager, she was exploited as a service industry worker and as a woman. Engaging in service work while receiving a low wage and therefore accessing lower levels of power in the workplace, coupled with the sexualized and feminized work such as serving, led her to a deeper consciousness of structural oppression. She articulated that these experiences made her feel more “in the middle” of the struggle of gender oppression. She also recalls a feeling of sexualization, but not one that was empowering, and instead exploitive. The interview with Resistor 1 shed light on the types of histories that become imprinted within people, such as negative experiences in exploitive workplaces. Noting the personal history of the participant alongside the structural histories of the communities that this participant was a part of provide this analysis with great insight. Namely, this includes how prominent negative histories can be for the formation of an individual’s ideologies, actions, behaviours, or more succinctly, their habitus. As so much of sexualized oppression is forced onto the feminine body (through processes of sexualizing bodies), the experiences of women workers in gendered workplaces present enlightening advancements into how we can use habitus to assess these experiences.

Resistor 5 recalled her experiences as a young girl as particularly relevant to the topic of struggle and resistance. As an East Asian from Taiwan, moving to new countries and experiencing new cultures all informed her perspectives and provided different conditions of both resistance and oppression. Citing the homophobia and biphobia in Belize, Resistor 5 noted that she had to negotiate her sexuality with her best friend. As they explored the boundaries and desires of their sexuality, because they were both girls, they had to code their behaviour as "things best friends do." The participant felt a level of invalidation of sexuality through coding her experiences as heterosexual and platonic out of necessity and survival. These conditions of a constant policing of romance and sexuality are carried through with Resistor 5 as she finished her education in different countries. She also cited the internalized shame she

had as a Taiwanese woman, having to reconcile her reality as Chinese Han ethnicity. It was not until her move to Mexico as a young adult that she was able to begin to challenge these ideas. These instances can be understood as examples of embodying external shame around cultural origins, sexuality, and their intersection. Bourdieu notes the power of education as a means of altering social patterns:

“Of all the factors of change, the most important are those that are linked to the decisive transformation of the function of the educational system in reproducing the differences between the genders, such as women’s increased access to education and, consequently, to economic independence, and the transformation of family structures... It is true that even when the real family has changed, the inertia of habitus, and *of law*, tends to perpetuate the dominant model of family structure and, by the same token, of legitimate sexuality—heterosexual and oriented towards reproduction—in relation to which socialization and with it the transmission of the traditional principles of division were tacitly organized; but the appearance of new types of family, such as ... the public visibility of new (particularly homosexual) models of sexuality help to break the *doxa* and expand the space of what is possible in terms of sexuality” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 89).

Resistor 5 stated that being trained as an educator was a formative part of her journey in challenging the harmful ideas she came to embody regarding her sexuality.

Bourdieu’s account of the material conditions of political domination being the requisite arena for resistance (1961) is a key idea to be noted within this chapter. As outlined in the findings section, many resisters cited their reactions to injustices as the reason to revolt. Of course, this may at first seem fairly intuitive: protesting because something is deemed wrong. However, the relational dynamic between oppression and resistance is of utmost importance to the theorization of a resistant habitus. Beyond Bourdieu’s theorization of education and family settings as paving the clearest path to social changes, overt oppression experienced by the resisters clearly too creates the conditions for motivations for change. To reference Resistor 5, the collective is the only way to channel progress. Uncovering the

embodied histories of gendered, racialized, class-based, and sexualized oppression that the resisters of this study mention are clear indicators of how experiences of struggle fuel their actions. Again, moving beyond understandings of education in classroom settings to assess how education may also take the form of lived experiences of oppression. This nuanced education of struggle provided the resisters with a medium through which they began to embody phenomena like justice through their daily acts and practices.

One of the more challenging portions of theorizing a resistant habitus includes the characteristic of non-consciousness. In interviewing the resisters, it became clear that while analysis could take place in many forms, that what I was really working with was the phenomena that these resisters were conscious of. While many of them noted that much of their responses came as surprises to them and that they had not stopped to consider the multitude of reasons for resisting in such detail, it still remains that their articulations are ones they are cognizant of. For this reason, I have come to view these responses as the groundwork for shifting one's habitus. Although the act of protesting or resisting is often very deliberate, such as attending a political demonstration, the inner workings of these behaviours are more complex than one may presume. It is the intent of this project to view the data as illustrative of requisites to altering one's habitus. Exposure to personal social struggle provided these resisters with the necessary tools to alter their habitus. There is no certain way to conclude whether or not their intent to change how they embody their histories and ideals was intentional, thus only the result may be monitored. Through the interviews with these tireless activists, it is clear that changes did occur over their lifespans and that struggle did inform how they responded to strife.

Again, Bourdieu's focus on how societal change may come to be through education (2001) can be expanded upon to settings beyond the classroom. For the activists the forms of education outside of

the classroom take place in their daily lives, whether that be through witnessing the oppression of others or experiencing it oneself. I posit that the education Bourdieu spoke of need not remain within the school system. The education through radicalization and mobilization of activists serves as an internal turning point to the development of a resistant habitus. While resisting might begin as a conscious effort, the act of practicing these behaviours in daily life *embeds* them within the resistor. Resistor 1 and 6 described attending political rallies as a “need” and Resistor 3 called the desire to resist a “pull.” This type of language refers to a force that comes from within the body, specifically, one that denotes to movement. Resistor 3, Resistor 4, and Resistor 5 described the importance of using their bodies in such acts of resistance. Whether that included allies using their bodies as an “act of protection” (Resistor 3) for Indigenous land protectors or the significance of aligning one’s corporeal form with the *pull* or *need* or *duty* to resist, for a result of “unified body with inside feeling” (Resistor 4).

The histories of these resistors illustrated in this chapter are important to consider for a number of reasons. First, while Bourdieu speaks about grand “embodied history” to encompass the long and drawn-out developments of the social over time (1990a), the individual histories relevant to each resistor must also be acknowledged. The resistors of this project carefully detailed many of their experiences of oppression and how those formed who they are today. Although this all took place in a relatively short period of time of approximately 8 months, the interactions between grand history and personal history is not one to be overlooked. This is to say that the experiences retold by resistors account for a short period of time generally, but are to be seen as snapshots and representations of the greater time period we are all within. When resistors join a protest or solidarity action, they are employing their knowledge and lived experience consciously in some ways. This thesis asserts that they are also using this knowledge in an embodied and unconscious sense. This is because they are unifying their

bodily presence with their embodied histories and understandings of struggle. Resistor 4 spoke about using their body alongside the bodies of others in a “unified way.” They speak of a motion that occurs during solidarity actions amongst a large group of people there for the same reason. This *unified* use of bodies speaks to a step beyond consciousness like much of what is outlined above. While the resisters of this work were cognizant of their struggle and their political aims in some ways, the behaviours of using their bodies to resist physical and material oppressions through direct action is a striking example of how personal histories can become embodied and lead behaviours in resistant directions.

Since the reality of oppression certainly holds material form, be that through colonial force like stolen land (Resistor 3, Resistor 4, & Resistor 6) or one’s access to reproductive healthcare (Resistor 1), the material form of resistance requires a second glance. In assessing how the resisters perceived the significance of their physical presence at solidarity actions, a number of themes arose. Generally speaking, resisters expressed a great deal of positive emotions regarding attending such events. Triggered by a sense of community and solidarity, resisters cited movement, bodies as protection for others, and bodies as safety from others. Bodies posed as an avenue for unity during actions. Resistor 4 recalled that during an action protesting transphobia, the connection of bodies is what protected the collective from provocateurs. Through linking arms, activists ensured that “nobody [could] really get physically engaged” and that this technique provided a “physical sense of protection and mobilization.” Through the assessment of how bodies may come together and corporeally fight against oppressors, we may begin to theorize and digest conceptions of how resistance becomes embodied. Such behaviours of defiance to an oppressor highlight the valuable contributions of the body to reject productions of unjust power dynamics, such as transphobia highlighted in Resistor 4’s account, through unified experiences of embodiment. There is a necessity of understanding the body’s role in resistance. How these bodies

come to enact defiant behaviours in the name of social justice is a vital component to this work. The personal histories of the resisters of this study provided an insight into the productive force of habitus. Indeed, habitus may work to perpetuate the historically-informed systems of oppression like sexism, the *productive* capacity of the habitus ensures that habitus can also be restructured to benefit the people.

Chapter 5: No Habitus is an Island

Findings

In tune with addressing how resisters may come together and form their networks and objectives, this section will perform the descriptive task of recording their experiences. This is done by recounting many of the examples that resisters provided in relation to the connections they have to their communities and the experiences of being in mass political actions. It is the objective of this section to set up these examples so that the following discussion section can analyze the contexts without loss of any detail. Resisters express a great diversity in their experiences in crowds, reaching out to allies, and the discussion they have amongst themselves to strengthen their solidarities. I use the plural of solidarity to signify that many of these resisters find themselves in multiple circles of activism. It should be said that many of these resisters make it their mission to reach out to multiple communities to enact change, for example working for Indigenous sovereignty and transgender rights, while these causes are not inherently distinct, for this work they are considered as multiple instances of solidarity. When reviewing this chapter, consider how each experience under an oppressive system is linked to another. Below are recounts of how resisters envisioned their solidarity, their interactions with others while protesting, and explanations to develop the analysis in the next section.

Four of the six resisters in this study retold moments of their participation in the Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions across the country. They expressed the importance to them in participating from gender, class, and race perspectives. Due to their political positions that colonial violence is inherently linked to gendered and capitalist violence, this came as no surprise. Resistor 1 told me that in seeing land protectors and allies take over a busy city street, that "you can't help but raise your fist." This sentiment reverberates throughout all six interviews with regards to resisters' reactions. When these folks

found themselves in settings of resistance in the name of justice, they simply cannot help but engage in that very same movement. The aforementioned *pull* that guides much of the movement resisters' bodies again becomes relevant. Movement is a theme that is mentioned by many resisters and will be expanded upon presently.

A major pattern throughout various interviews is the occurrence of privilege as a tool for solidarity. Throughout the interview, Resistor 4 cites how they appear to be white-passing in many groups, and that they believe there is a level of privilege that comes with this. This privilege provides the opportunity to be used in various protest settings to their advantage. For example, during a counter-protest against anti-Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) curriculum in British Columbian schools. This resister attended to protest the speaker who was denouncing this new educational program with transphobic ideologies. In speaking about this experience, Resistor 4 mentioned using their body and image as white-passing to protect another counter-protester from a plain-clothes police officer attempting to lock them outside on a balcony. Resistor 4 stated that they "look like a young white girl, like basically super privileged because nobody would ever hurt me and so I put myself between them and linked up with somebody else." This comprehension of using social privilege to protect others in resistance settings is a common theme expressed by multiple resisters. Another example from this resister is in their participation and organization of a second protest against transphobia, wherein they linked arms with other protesters to display a unified front. Both instances lead Resistor 4 to explain a feeling of unity amongst their fellow-activists: "using bodies in a way that is united."

One resister expressed a sense of relief during these moments of unity or solidarity. Resistor 2 spoke about sensations of inspiration when she joined large groups of like-minded people, especially

other women, protesting for their own freedoms. Resistor 2 stated that being in rallies for gender equality *felt* good:

“most of the time when we women who are active coming together, it’s a relief. Like you see them all together, and it’s just beautiful and awesome and you feel so safe. And I feel like I’m making part of that group too. Because there are women who inspire me like that, and I’m like good we have each other’s backs.”

Relief is a particularly significant sensation to document, as it denotes a reaction to the work they are committing to. Not only does solidarity provide motivation for resisters in these interviews, but it also provides them with a comfort in knowing that some action has been taken in the name of liberty. It is this chapter’s intent to highlight how solidarity can become an embodied experience. Noting the physical, emotional, and psychological reactions retold by resisters, the relationship between body and solidarity is identified.

Four of the six resisters in this study retold moments of their participation in the Wet’suwet’en Solidarity actions across the country. These included actions in Halifax, Nova Scotia and Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia. Because so many of the resisters attended these actions as well as the fact that the aims of Indigenous sovereignty are so compelling and immediate, these actions will have a large focus within this chapter. In referencing her attendance of the Wet’suwet’en blockades in Victoria, Resistor 3 described her feelings about the event as beautiful. She notes that her bodily presence at such a blockade fighting colonial injustice illustrated a message to the government that “what they’re doing is not okay” as well as a message to the Wet’suwet’en Nation that “they have support of... some of us settlers as well.” These positive feelings are attributed to ensuring that the resisters also feel more engaged with the movement itself. The events also provided an avenue to express allyship for the cause. Resistor 2 finished her response by iterating that allyship is important for her as an individual as

well as for the collective. This relational characteristic of allyship or solidarity remains a special topic of interest for this chapter. As the solidarity experienced by resisters strikes a physical response of positive feelings or affect, the theme of embodied solidarity as a method of shifting a habitus to be resistant arises again.

Safety is another theme brought up by both Resistor 4 and Resistor 6 when referencing the solidarity experienced at Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions. Resistor 4 describes the weariness of everyday life as a queer woman in public: "being afraid in a large group or feeling like you have to be wary or watchful is such a common feeling." However, in attendance of these events, they noted that such fear just isn't experienced in the Indigenous solidarity demonstrations they attended. They note that they do fear "the people that [they're] working against and the actual safety of the situation." However, in the physical presence of other land protectors and their allies, the immediate fear for their own safety is not present. Resistor 6 describes her experiences with generalized anxiety disorder and an aversion to attending political demonstrations in the past. The overwhelming power of the cause drew her to attend in spite of this, which led to feelings of empowerment. Instances of empowerment in the interviews were identified if the resister indicated any feeling of power in an oppressive setting or an increase in levels of confidence due to resistant community involvement. Both resisters speak to an overarching theme of unity, safety, empowerment, and appreciation for resistance. Again, these sensations would not have occurred were it not for the physical presence of others' bodies in line with their goals.

In speaking of empowerment, Resistor 5 referenced the sensations of power she experiences when protesting patriarchy:

"I do feel like as a resister like there is so much power in being a woman. Like I think that a lot of times people might think that 'oh it's unsafe' or whatever but I really feel like being a woman

and resisting is one of the most powerful things I can do, like for myself and for other people who... identify not as men."

This excerpt describes the reactions fueled by attending a political demonstration led by women for women. Also important to note is the fact that Resistor 5 believed that as a woman, she harnessed power for change to help communities who are oppressed by patriarchy. This expansion of solidarity to folks of non-binary and transgender gender identities is especially noteworthy when considering analyses in the following section of the chapter encompassing both queer and feminist narratives. Resistor 5 concluded by stating that the kinship across gender or race that is felt in such protest settings is very impactful. Signaling that you are there for a "particular purpose", "knowing that you have comrades, knowing that you have community" is an emotional experience and one that she hopes becomes normative for many others. As these emotional reactions are bodily responses that are positive in nature, one can begin to see how solidarity can fuel an enveloping or embodying phenomenon into the body. Chanting, singing, dancing, and listening to powerful speeches are also said to elicit these reactions of safety and solidarity, as noted by Resistor 2 and Resistor 3.

As outlined above, solidarity can take a variety of forms and elicit a variety of responses by resistors. Resistor 4 talked about their experience as a Métis land protector at the Legislative Building during the solidarity actions. They discuss their role as a Two-Spirit person in their community, and the relationship of care they are learning to adopt and foster for others. They express the "yearning" to be at the other doors of the building, blocking Members of Parliament from entering for a ceremonial speech for the province. However, they were needed on the front steps of the building instead to elicit a "signifying importance" as an Indigenous activist presence. They explain:

“our Two-Spirit people were really involved in caretaking in the community and often were medicine people and often had more obligation to look after others... So I think that has me leaving the frontlines a little bit in order to play that support role” (Resistor 4).

The role of caretaker or medicine person has a cultural significance to Resistor 4, but also speaks to the variety of manifestations that solidarity may take. Resistor 4 recounts linking arms with activists in the name of gender equality for transgender people which is a definite example of frontline work. However, bringing traditional medicine directly to the frontline is also another practice cited by this resistor. These considerations of care and physical assertion at the frontline of political demonstrations are made to illustrate the flexibility and productive nature of solidarity as a whole practice. Resistor 6 also noted that her involvement in solidarity actions took various forms. If she was not in the crowd chanting, she was also taking a support role of offering first aid care. These behaviours of cultural representation and care are incredibly active in their capacities. From these examples, solidarity can also be viewed as a mode of embodied justice and an inclination to support others.

The experiences of resisters outlined above showcase a great variety of emotions, motivations, and avenues of solidarity. Resistor 3 even mentioned turning to Facebook when not at the frontlines to respond to racist comments in defense of the Indigenous land protectors, wanting to contribute to the cause even if not physically present at that moment. Each of these examples above remains important to the work of activists and organizers. This section summarizes some of the more pertinent themes found within the interviews regarding questions targeting instances of solidarity. Broad questions such as asking resisters how they felt during rallies and how their gender or ethnicity factors into their experiences (See Appendix B) led to the responses referenced above. Unpacking the lived experiences of resisters in their anti-oppression work provided this research with information unparalleled in value.

Discussion

We believe that the most profound and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression

Combahee River Collective, Combahee River Collective Statement, 1983

The type of identity politics theorized by the Combahee River Collective as a means to achieve liberty (1983) is not the same one we encounter today. Today neoliberalism has become more deeply entrenched in our daily lives, over-arching politics governing policy, our social movements and activisms, and our dreams for the future. Along the way, we have detached from the original image evoked by Black feminists such as the Combahee River Collective. Instead of a toolkit where the differences each member of a collective has strengthens a group's analysis and informs the strategy of reaching liberty, the neoliberal identity politics of today serve to halt radicalization and ignore the collective. In her 2013 book *Fortunes of Feminism*, Nancy Fraser wrote that with the changing horizons of neoliberalism allowing for a proverbial hijacking of social movements, actors in social resistance are noticing and responding. She described this response as a reinvention of "feminist radicalism." As this revival occurs, Fraser noted that the following strengths of feminist movements capacities for "structural critique of capitalism's androcentrism, ...systemic analysis of male domination, and ...gender-sensitive revisions of democracy and justice" (2013, p. 2) can all be utilized during this resurgence. While many of the resisters of this study have a great diversity of lived experience, all of them have a deep respect for the power of the collective. Part of the interview process includes a moment where I thanked each participant for the work that they do for their communities. This was not intentional aside from my authentic gratitude for the people that do the work. However, a common response to this sentiment was an immediate statement of the very minor role they have in the entirety of their projects. While three resisters

are directly responsible for on-the-ground organizing of resistance movements, all six resisters noted that without their comrades in resistance, no action would really be made.

Responding to Butler's critique of identity politics as a divisive force in social change movements (1993), as well as the Combahee River Collective's manifesto of radical solidarity (1983), an individual standing alone cannot be expected to trigger a social change to the oppressive structures that we as activists prioritize. This is a longwinded means of repeating the works of organizers, theorists, and indeed revolutionaries, that the collective is our path to liberty. If we turn our thoughts to how habitus is a construction reliant on relationships and productions of behaviours, we can begin to understand that to theorize the individual as standalone is counterintuitive. This is in opposition to the age-old fable of the solitary revolutionary hero. However, inspiring it may be, falling victim to this narrative that one person can change the world erases the work of the communities these heroes come from and work within. When highlighting the tendency to entertain the role of the individual in any number of settings, it is critical to note just how expansive this tendency is. Critics may attribute this phenomenon to the insidiousness of neoliberal thought, where it is the individual that is privileged in all narratives (Moran, 2018, p. 41). The pervasiveness of such thought to direct all action towards the individual, and therefore strip the people of their connection to one another and their power as a collective force against oppression is nothing to laugh about.

It is this section's mission to analyze what is perceivably the greatest strength of the habitus: its relationality. Habitus as a concept cannot exist as a standalone idea. Its very foundational components rely on the existence of other people: past and present, people with their collective histories, their defiance and submissions, their flaws and talents, their privileges and oppressions. It also relies on the complex networks that are woven in response to the interactions people and thus habitus have with one

another. These interactions weave compelling webs of rules, tastes, power structures, and physical settings. The tied fate of habitus and field cannot be denied. This is why I have outlined the true utility in employing habitus as a means of understanding resisters beyond the individual, solidarity politics, and social change. In the earlier chapter *Theorizing a Resistant Habitus*, I recounted how resisters began to explain how and why it is that they came to be politically resistant. This chapter builds off of these ideas of creating a resistant habitus and begins to compose a theory behind how these resistant habitus may come together to strengthen their forces of power for change. Change in not only their embodied characteristics but also their productive abilities as collectives and politically resistant actors.

Resistor 6 remarked that there is “always a position” to take up in a fight against gendered and sexualized oppression. Both she and Resistor 3 speak about positions of privilege and knowing how to best contribute during a demonstration. A helpful breakdown of how allies can position themselves is outlined by The 519, a Toronto-based LGBTQ2S+ nonprofit. They outline how to be an effective ally for transgender people, stating that you may stand in front of to protect them from immediate danger, beside them in support, or behind to centre their voices (The 519, n.d.). These principles of behind, beside, or in front of others can be expanded upon to other forms of allyship. Resistor 6 discusses standing behind the Indigenous Youth at the Legislative Building in Victoria when they would provide speeches. Resistor 4 discusses standing beside and linking arms with others when protesting transphobia in their community. If we are to understand privilege and allyship as a component of habitus, which this research does do, then it is the hope that this embroidery piece (see Figure 1) may also provide insight into how the relationality of habitus can come to be and be expressed.

When asked how the presence of others impacts the way that each resistor experiences a demonstration, Resistor 3 noted that the sensations can depend on context. When she is part of a crowd

that appears listless and anticipatory, there is less significance to her. However, in moments where “everyone’s in sync, listening and repeating, or... there’s coordination, it feels almost like the collective consciousness.” When everyone in attendance of a march or rally is moving together for a common goal, one that is not seated in their own progress but the progress of those around them too, there is unique collective energy. It is noted by all resisters interviewed in this research. Whether they use the terminology of engaged, solidarity, inspiration, beauty, or a sense of helplessness to do anything *but* remain complicit, the theme is clear. McLeod recorded discussions of Bourdieu and gender in her work titled feminist “re-reading[s]” of Bourdieu’s work. She notes that some feminist scholars have remained skeptical of the utility in concepts such as habitus in understanding feminist change because of Bourdieu’s “canonical structuralism”, or an inability to imagine the use of habitus outside of Bourdieu’s ideas of social structures and change (Margolis as cited by McLeod, 2005, p. 16). However, in expanding habitus beyond Bourdieu’s construction of habitus, reading into the experiences of resisters and the fight against cisheteronormative patriarchy invites us into a world where this presumption of his work may no longer ring true. The relationships that resistor habitus may create with one another may have a sum that is more than its parts. An energy is cited by all resisters that they confirm demands their attention and their efforts, otherwise, they face disappointment in themselves (Resistor 1; Resistor 3; Resistor 5). This disappointment is in stark contrast to the feelings of empowerment recorded by resisters when they feel active and engaged in their political communities. Indeed, it would seem that once a habitus becomes resistant, acting against these embodied notions of justice and defiance anchors these individuals in negative effects such as disappointment.

It is difficult to pinpoint what the most significant motivating force behind resistance is. Resisters in this project cited many different factors, namely a desire for change, reflections of their own experiences of oppressions, and the threat of disappointment if they do not work for change. These motivators definitely matter, but it was the point of this section to investigate what happens once people *do* come together for collective action. Sensations of safety, inspiration, or empowerment are all themes that arose for resisters when discussing some of the most memorable feelings during protest. As individuals and as individual feminists, there can often be a tendency to feel isolated or disconnected to the whole. It is in these moments where resisters come together in search of solidarity and collective power that they can fend off these notions of individual alienation or helplessness. In a fight against the state, colonialism, patriarchy, and more, it is the engagements that resisters have with their community that they are able to rise up and demand change.

My preliminary analyses began during my interviews with resisters. Somewhere along the way, an image was struck into my mind of the work that these activists do. The concept of social change relies so heavily on transformation, and this chapter is dedicated to the solidarity that serves as a requisite for such changes. This image was the artwork known simply as *Dance* by Henri Matisse. It depicts five figures joining hands and dancing in a circle in a field. Although the medium of oil on canvas means that there is no literal movement occurring, the imagery of movement and kinship it evoked can be likened to the real act of embracing your peers in a symbolic dance. In thinking about how important these images were for me as an appreciator of art and as a scholar studying social relationships, I began to embroider a variation of Matisse's work (1910). Not only does this artwork symbolize the solidarity and connections between resisters, but the labour of creating it provided me with a movement beyond typing and inputting data at a desk. This aided me in my ability to think deeply and critically about the

data I had collected, and so I have decided to include the embroidery piece as a part of this thesis. It provides a deep symbolic illustration to this chapter specifically; in that it serves as an alternate medium for the reader to ponder solidarity and change as movement and embodiment. All of the resistors interviewed in this work are engaged and action oriented. Through my motions of weaving the thread in and out of the cotton, I reflected on this movement and my own movement in producing this artwork. This embroidery piece (see Figure 1) is birthed out of the labour that each resistor interviewed has done in the name of change. I encourage the reader to ponder this imagery of movement, dance, and interaction as a summary of this section and as a segue towards the following chapter. Consider how movement and the interaction of bodies may serve to transform fields beyond their intentioned structures.



Figure 1. Embodied Revolt, embroidery on cotton (2020).

A photo of an embroidery hoop containing stretched black fabric and five human figures embroidered in purple, blue, green, yellow, and red. The figures are holding hands and imagined to be dancing together in a circle. The embroidery piece is in reference to Matisse's *Dance* (1910).

Chapter 6: Transforming Fields

This section focuses on the relationship between habitus and field. So far, this thesis has laid out the complexities of habitus and how one may come to develop their habitus as resistant and solidarity oriented. This has been an intentional focus, in order to lay the groundwork for unpacking the political implications of the field. This research has so far viewed fields as examples of structural oppression, whether that be cisheteronormativity, patriarchy, racism, and more. This view is likely similar to the views of Judith Butler when they write on habitus' irrelevancies to studying gender change when they state that the habitus simply submits to the field (1999, p. 117). Because of this, it is perhaps the boldest claim within this research to assert otherwise. In assessing how collective and resistant habitus may begin to shift narratives and power structures within dominating fields, we must first turn to the lived experiences of the resisters interviewed for this work.

Findings

When asked to describe the physical locations of the political demonstrations resisters were occupying, a great deal of variety was expressed. Resistor 2 begins her response to the question by asserting that the location selected for protest must send a message, citing the commonly used Vancouver Art Gallery as an example of what not to do to send explicit political messages. It's "more for recruitment and gaining solidarity and not really targeting anyone. So I think that it's a little bit cliché sometimes." This resister cites the Vancouver art Gallery as cliché as it historically has been used by countless movements and is more of a general meeting place than a space significant for its specific attributes of power like a Legislative Building. She continues to explain that the more direct messaging from rallies occurred

during actions for workers' rights outside of the workplaces where sexual harassment was occurring. Resistor 5 expressed similar intent, referencing her time organizing political demonstrations for her Teaching Assistant union outside of the Administrative building on her campus. She explained that the important part of a demonstration is "to stand up to the power... [and] think about how we are going to make concrete changes." Both resisters articulated that targeting a specific location, and by extension, a specific field, is integral to the success of a political demonstration.

When describing her experiences as a settler ally participating in the Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions in Victoria, B.C., Resistor 3 paints a striking picture of tension and eventual comfort. She recounted that once police began to flood the Legislative Building, land protectors and allies began to feel a great level of unease:

"After the first day of the reoccupation it was a completely different feeling, there were 10-15 police, they had their van parked diagonally across the door. People had laid red fabric all around it [to represent the missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit]. As I approached the building, it felt like 'oh should I not pass this police van?' It was clearly an intimidation tactic... everyone was standing a couple feet apart... there was less closeness and everyone was still there but not touching" (Resistor 3).

Before the presence of the police, Resistor 3 remarked that the solidarity and positive emotions felt at the solidarity action were overwhelming. Volunteers brought food and beverages, land protectors and allies slept on the stone steps of the building during cold February coastal nights, and sang songs, shared chants, and linked arms. Later in the occupation when some of the Indigenous Youth entered and occupied a minister's office, settlers were directed to form a circle around the Indigenous Youth that remained outside to protect them from arrests (Resistor 3).

Resistor 4 speculated on the importance of public space for protest when they are asked to recount the signifying factors of protest location: "it's striking to me how frequently we gather in public spaces... the thing that threatens [us] the most are often public threats." This resistor continues to state that protesting in the public like a business or government building can be equated to entering "the terms or on the field of those in power." Entering the domain of the oppressor, or of the other, speculated by Resistor 4, creates a unique relationship of resistance and tension: "it feels like we're always entering... we're entering in a potential adversary's space." Alongside the sentiments that Resistor 2 and 5 communicate, the location of the political target one is protesting has a lot of meaning for resistors.

The relationship between resistor and field is one that arose frequently in interviews. In Resistor 1's accounts of counter-protesting anti-abortion protesters, she mentioned the extreme hostility she is now accustomed to from such settings. Recounting that such instances are always negative and that she has been pushed off of sidewalks, physically threatened, and name-called by anti-abortionists, Resistor 1 remarked that the field of counter-protesting is always one filled with hostility. Finishing with "I'm happy to piss them off", Resistor 1 articulated that even in the face of high tension and threats, her work as an abortion-rights activist is worth the pain.

Resistor 4 spoke about the reactions they have towards oppressive fields they are resisting within when things go sideways. Referencing the demonstration countering the anti-SOGI protesters, Resistor 4 told me that after physical altercations took place between a plain-clothes officer and a counter-protester, they stepped outside and joined an Indigenous Elder to lead a drum circle. They offered smudging to anyone who may have needed it, noting that such medicines are the "strength" they have

to offer their community. This resistor honed in on the back-and-forth relationship between oppressive field and the resistant power of the habitus.

These resisters articulating their relationships to the physical settings within which they resisted offered this research valuable information into how place can impact behaviour. However, in the following section of this chapter, I will also outline the ways in which behaviour can impact place. Beginning to view *place* as an actor within the phenomenon of social resistance may be a helpful starting point for the reader. Because of this, listening to and honouring the expertise of these resisters will benefit how thoughts around location may begin to expand. Clear themes that arose from these interviews included the role of public space, the history of fields, what fields may organize and sustain, and the reactions that fields may have to disruption.

Discussion

That only a revolution can abolish the colonial system, that any changes to be made must be subject to the law of all or nothing, are facts now consciously realized, even if only confusedly, just as much by the members of the dominant society as by the members of the dominated society.

Pierre Bourdieu, The Algerians, 1961

Upon the crafting of this research design, I had not anticipated that the subject of the field would become so important to the work. Initially, I had selected both habitus and field to use for analysis of political protests for the benefit of better understanding field. This was because so much of my study of feminism has led me to the conclusion that the “personal is political”, a championed feminist chant. For this reason, I was very caught up in the idea of embodied identity that habitus presented me with. To be able to understand how all of society’s and history’s expectations and rules could become

embedded in a physical form, in a person's body, and how they might begin to interact with that person's tastes, ideals, loves, passions, and fears. This is all to say that if I am speaking openly, field was not to be my main subject of analysis.

Upon conducting the six interviews with six resisters with demographics ranging from bisexual to "pretty straight", Two-Spirit to woman, East Asian to white to Métis; it became clear how important the social setting each participant entered truly was. While the sample I am working with is limited to the scope of my Master's thesis, it is my impression that this work might be expanded upon so that we may begin to have an even deeper, and unexpectedly, more radical conception of Bourdieu's field. In *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu writes that there has been a shift in patriarchal oppression due to the work of feminist movements. In the same breath, it is stated that "the calling into question of the self-evident comes hand in hand with the substantive transformations seen in the condition of women" (2001, p. 88). The following content first came to me when Resistor 4 told me how striking they thought it was that we always conduct our political protests in the space of others. This is a taken-for-granted sentiment or to mirror Bourdieu, *self-evident*: of course, you protest somewhere else, what good would protesting in your own backyard do? You're already on your own side! However, upon further reflection, this sentiment granted to me by Resistor 4 became much more striking. This section examines the potential transformations that can occur when resisters enter the space of their oppressors and exert the collective power that they possess. The people united will never be defeated.

Field, a concept developed by Bourdieu, likened to a rugby playing field, allows us to imagine the motion and complex inner mechanisms of social control. Each social space or structure allotted a field, each field allotted a playbook of sanctioned behaviours (Bourdieu, 1990a). However, what can be said to occur when the players entering the field disagree with this playbook? These players stand

against the fundamental rules through which it was written. They enter the field with the intent of disruption, of protest, and with a desire for scalding-hot change. As Resistor 4 had mentioned, the physical presence of protesters in spaces that are not known to be theirs can cause just this type of disruption. It is my intent within this section to highlight a newly formed proposition: when resisters enter oppressive fields, there is a momentary transformation, through which their collective power alters the rules and objectives of that very field. The relationship between habitus and field has always been paramount to much of Bourdieu's work and the work of many others in response to him. It is my hope that this chapter can contribute to this relationship we have come to know in Sociology, Philosophy, and Anthropology as critical to uncovering social interactions.

The aforementioned musing by Resistor 4 is quoted below and provides a starting point for which my analysis of field and the relationship it has with resisting habits can begin.

It's striking to me how frequently we gather in public places. And part of that is part of that is about you know trespassing but it also seems that the thing that [threatens]... the most are often public threats... So it is very striking that these are public spaces that we're gathering in. And also very striking to me is that in the city that they're frequently on the terms or on the field of those in power. So like we're on the doorstep of the municipal recreation facility, we're on the doorstep of a downtown Victoria city business, we're on the doorstep of the government and the legislative assembly. It's interestingly rare to have those demonstrations happen on our turf I guess. So it feels like we're always entering, we're not entering an already contested space, and we're certainly not entering our home space. We're entering in a potential adversary's space. (Resistor 4).

At first glance, this is a mostly common-sense statement to be making about conventional protests and political demonstrations. However, this participant gets it exactly right that this is a subject worth closer analysis. When describing the physical settings of the locations of the protests resisters attended,

many of them quickly transitioned to talking about the power dynamic that space contained. Resistor 2 discussed her engagement with her fellow union members, when they took the streets outside of the hotel they worked to protest their bosses' exploitive neglect to attend to their safety as gendered and sexualized workers. She describes the rally as showing her "rich-ass capitalist" bosses that "they cannot harass us." In this example, a rally occurred in front of a hotel entrance, where workers gathered to bring attention to the sexual harassment that many women hotel staff faced. While the hotel space in question is shared by both worker and owner, proletariat and bourgeoisie, the power imbalance is traditionally held by the owner. However, during protest demonstrations such as a lunch-time rally or a strike spanning multiple months, that space can undergo a shift. Yes, the property is in the name of the owners and the decisions that govern it are made by the hotel's shareholders, but once the labourers shift their actions this changes. If we resume the analysis of a playbook sanctioning a field's game, we see the workers ripping the owners' playbook up in front of them. To protest one's unethical working conditions is to reject the rules of that field. For the moments that this union organized their strikes on the sidewalks and streets outside of these hotels, the field belonged to them.

Resistor 5 retells her experience as an international student protesting among her peers for healthcare coverage. During a meeting between a Teaching Assistant union and the senior administration of a university, international students and their allies taped together hundreds of strike cards and strung them around the building within which the meeting was taking place. Here, the long banner of strike cards wrapped around the building were able to transform the field of higher education. From the perspective of this study then, the senior administration building they altered upholds the oppression of the students and workers. Resistor 5 described the empowerment that she and her fellow resisters felt during this highly visual demonstration. During this meeting between administration and union, she

concluded that it was the first time that the university had officially responded to their grievance regarding Medical Service Plans for international students. The collective found feelings of great success at this news. To recount, this example illustrated the field of education and its position of power being effectively challenged by the oppressed actors, in this case, international students and workers. The senior administration building historically represents oppression to many students. Throughout the action, the field was momentarily transformed to a field of negotiations and resistance through the action of the resisters (Resistor 5).

In *Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu's Early Work*, Julian Go wrote that although the structural and insidious oppression of colonialism were noted by Bourdieu, and he in fact believed that anti-colonial revolt would occur, his intellectual contributions still remained "firmly embedded" in French colonialism (2013, p. 51). In speaking on the nature of revolution and the response to racial oppression and colonialism, Go articulated Bourdieu's position in writing that the relational nature of racism and white supremacist coercion invites resistance. It is the conditions created by colonialism that result in the absolute requirement of revolution (2013, p. 57). In using Bourdieu's theories to understand how patriarchal, colonial, or class oppression might be challenged, it is prudent to remain reflexive and critical in the leaps and bounds that can be made with habitus and field. Just as the fields that are a focus of this project enforce and organize oppressive structures such as colonialism or patriarchy, they also pose as an opportunity for resistance by actors who reject the unjust authority that each field exerts over the masses.

In discussing her experience as an ally to land protectors at the Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions, Resistor 3 described the power in occupying the Parliament building, a living artifact of colonial domi-

nation. As it is unceded traditional Lekwungen territory (Songhees Nation, n.d.), the lawn of the building used to be a sloping beach and is now sinking due to poor construction (Resistor 3). This may prove to be a sound metaphorical depiction of its placement. Resistor 3 continued to speak to the ecological, symbolic, and political meaning behind the space. This reminds us of Simpson's analysis of colonial oppression as a force against the body and the land. In occupying the Legislature Building in the name of Indigenous sovereignty, activists effectively communicate that the colonial status of the property is one to be rejected. Again, in referencing Bourdieu's comments on colonialism (Bourdieu, 1961) creating the conditions necessary for resistance, we can see how the shift from "sloping beach" to Parliament lawn on Lekwungen land can serve as an example for exactly this sentiment.

In 1999, Judith Butler wrote that the relationship between habitus and field is a submissive one. They warranted that there is no way through the eyes of Bourdieu that the habitus can enact lasting and obvious change within any given field (1999, pp. 117-8). If we are to understand that fields are socially constructed and legitimized by the submission of people and therefore habitus, then I am not convinced by this position. In speaking with resisters for this project, it has become my view that the habitus of resisters creates the following chain of effects:

- 1) Resistant habitus enter an oppressive field in the name of political protest. This field organizes and sustains the very oppression they are opposing, and effectively serves as a structure of domination. Examples of this may be the Parliament Building in Victoria B.C. when discussing colonial and gendered oppression (Resistor 3; Resistor 4; Resistor 6) or the hotel sidewalk of a workplace turning a blind eye to the sexual harassment of its workers (Resistor 2).
- 2) Once the resistant habitus has begun to occupy this field in the name of protest, there is a shift in what that field effectively does. Resistor 4 noted the act of "entering" the space of the adversary. This

entrance is now theorized to create a shift and tension in that space. Turning an oppressive space into a space of resistance and political opposition temporarily alters the power configurations of that field.

- 3) The field is not a dormant actor in this exchange. If turning to the example of Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions, police are deployed to the field under question. Police, representatives of the state's monopoly over violence (Weber, 1946, pp. 78-9) enter the field experiencing a power struggle in attempts to reinstate control. This may be through arrests or physical presence and intimidation.
- 4) This step depends on the reactions of the resisters. Is there now a submission like in the statements of Butler (1999) or is there a continuing clash? If more resisters flood the playing field of protest, then this tension may continue. The diagram featured below (see Figure 2) attempts to illustrate this exchange and relationship between resistant habitus, resistant field, oppressive habitus, and oppressive field.

In the work of Aimee Sinclair, she diagnoses heteronormativity as a possible field that may be “drawn into the body” and effectively internalized and embodied within a habitus (pp. 1-2). This falls clearly in line with Butler's assertions (1999) and the classical understanding of the power of field over player or habitus (Bourdieu, 1990a). However, Sinclair concluded in her work that there was also the opportunity for a negotiation between habitus and field. Whether this occurred within the habitus as individual women reevaluated the power that such an internalized social structure such as heteronormativity may have over them, or if it may be viewed more as a relationship between external and internal, the precedence of negotiation remained. A major difference between this project and the work of Sinclair is that her analysis assessed the negotiation of habitus within romantic relationship settings. While the personal is indeed political, this project assesses outright political action that is understandably more direct and radical (2017). This chapter posits that with the development of a resistant habitus as

outlined in chapter 1, and the collectivizing of a bank of solidarity for resistant habitus outlined in chapter 2, that fields themselves may undergo a degree of resistance and change, whether that be temporary now or permanent later.

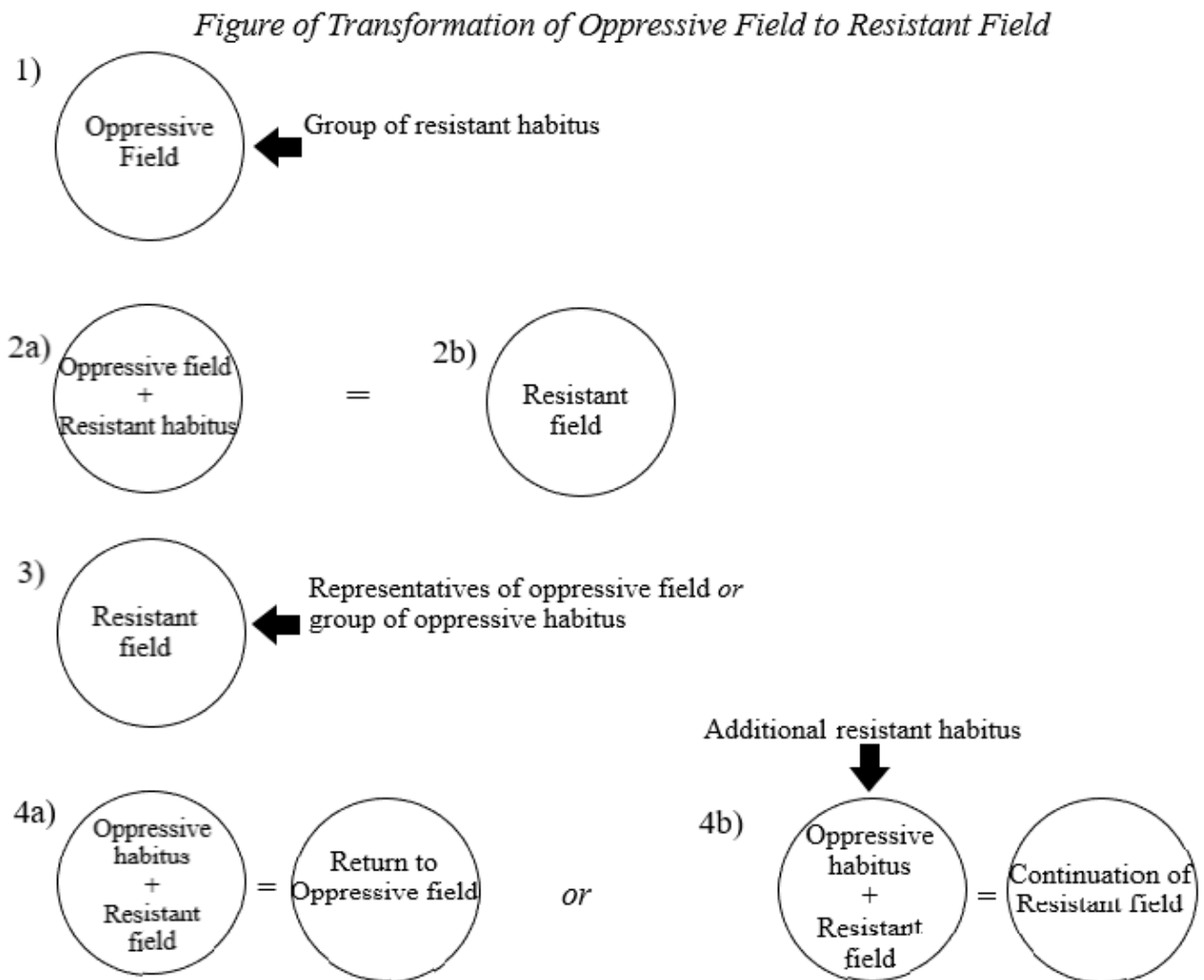


Figure 2. Figure of Transformation of Oppressive Field to Resistant Field

Illustration depicting the relationship between resistant habitus and resistant field. This depiction aims to explain the necessary steps to transform an oppressive field into a resistant field, with a result of the return to oppressive field or continuation of resistant field.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The intent of this research was to explore the different ways in which resistance can be understood as an embodied experience. Investigating how oppression systems or *fields* can be internalized within the body to construct a *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990a) is not a new subject of research. However, this project focuses on how this internalization of oppressive rules can instead be acknowledged by individuals through a degree of consciousness-making. I posit that this consciousness of social struggle creates the conditions for a habitus to become resistant. My case is built upon the interviewed resisters sharing their lived experiences of how they came to protest and work as allies for social change. Following this, I posit that it is through the mobilization of resistant habitus to find political solidarity among their peers that habitus may find its potential power. Lastly, and perhaps the most radical idea presented within this thesis, is that groups of resistant habitus may then harness this collective power to transform the fields from oppressive to resistant by inhabiting them with a common goal of change.

Six resisters were interviewed using dialogic and semi-structured interview questions. Questions asked focused on the lived experience of the resister's historical struggle, their relation to others, the sensations they experience during the protest, and the significance that physical setting may have on their work. This was in an attempt to uncover the intricacies of habitus-development and whether or not habits can be configured as a resistant phenomenon. Habitus was selected as the main concept of exploration due to its engaging and productive capacity as a constantly-generative phenomenon (McNay, 1999, p. 97), an alternative to the more static idea of identity. In selecting habitus as a topic of inquiry, this research concludes that habitus can be understood as a resistant social subject and can utilize collective power and energy to alter the surrounding oppression they choose to oppose. This conclusion

does not assert that the oppressive field is a sedentary actor in this exchange, on the contrary, it may respond through deploying representatives of its mission of domination. Examples reviewed in this work include the response of police to resistant habitus and fields such as the land protectors and allies during Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions explored in the above chapters. Whether or not this exchange ends in continued domination or novel occurrence of resistance is contingent on the next steps taken by resistant habitus. This thesis argues that whether a field may continue to be resistant depends on the quantity and quality of solidarity amongst resistant habitus.

Implications that these positions carry with them include an alternative means of utilizing habitus as a concept in understanding radical social change. In opposition to the classically understood concept of submission to the oppressive field, the theoretical position of this work details a more reciprocated relationship between field and habitus. Limitations to this work include the small sample size of six resisters as well as the breadth of social movements addressed. Future works may focus on specific protest settings such as labour rights, gender equality, racial liberation, or queer revolutions. Perhaps one of the most personally interesting gaps in this project to be explored in the future is a more discerned focus on how sexualized workplace fields force behaviours and incidents of sexualization's onto gendered workers, specifically in the world of sex work. Expansions made to this work would provide the academy as well as the activists on the ground with further developed means of assessing social change, the role of solidarity, and the phenomenon of embodied resistance. It is only through the work of tireless activists working every day for a better and more just world that this work can take place. As more bodies slam onto the shores of their own domination, clawing back in resistance, we may begin to imagine a new horizon of freedom.

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Appendices

Appendix A - UVic HREB Certificate of Approval



University
of Victoria

Office of Research Services | Human Research Ethics Board
Michael Williams Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada
T 250-472-4545 | F 250-721-8960 | uvic.ca/research | ethics@uvic.ca

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	Steve Garlick (Supervisor)	ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER	20-0023
PRINCIPAL APPLICANT	Sophia Myers Master's student	Expedited review - delegated	
UVIC DEPARTMENT	Sociology	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE	20-Feb-2020
		APPROVED ON	20-Feb-2020
		APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE	19-Feb-2021
PROJECT TITLE Embodied Revolt: A Feminist-Bourdieuian Analysis of Protesting Bodies in Social Change			
RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS None			
DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING None			
DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL Consent Form - S Myers Ethics App Revised .docx - 19-Feb-2020 Draft Recruitment Poster - Sophia Myers Ethics App 2.pdf - 19-Feb-2020 Interview Guide - Sophia Myers Ethics App.docx - 21-Jan-2020			
CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL			
This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.			
Modifications To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.			
Renewals Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.			
Project Closures When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.			
Certification			
This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.			
<hr/> Dr. Rachael Scarth Associate VP Research Operations			

Certificate Issued On: 20-Feb-2020

Appendix B - Interview Guide

To the best of your ability, please recall and list the most recent protests/blockades/political demonstrations you have attended

What measures do you take before attending a demonstration? This may include the items that you wear, the people you come into contact with, the plans you make beforehand.

What motivates you to go out and resist?

What experiences cause you to react strongly when resisting?

How do you feel when you are attending a demonstration?

What key features of your sense of self do you believe impact the way that you resist? Personality, the way you approach people, your emotional responses to people

How is your physical presence at demonstrations significant to you?

How does the physical presence of others at demonstrations impact how you experience the event?

Please describe the various physical settings of the demonstrations you have attended.

What have been the main factors which have set them apart from one another?

How did each of these settings impact your behaviour?

Public response, people in traffic, geographical location

How does your gender impact your experience as a resister?

How does your sexual orientation impact your experience as a resister?

age

class position

How do your race and ethnicity impact your experience as a resister?

How do your physical and mental abilities impact your experience as a resister?

What would you like to further explore in this interview/what experiences or perceptions would you like to recount?

Appendix C - Recruitment Poster

Participants needed for study on gender, sexuality, and social resistance

Study

Embodied Revolt: A Feminist-Bourdieusian
Analysis of Protesting Bodies in Social Change
University of Victoria, Sociology Department

Purpose

To gain insight into how protesting gendered
and sexualized oppression can be understood as
an embodied experience.

Participant Eligibility

Prospective participants must have attended a
protest/rally concerning gender and/or sexual
equality within the last 3 months, be 18 years of
age or older, and identify as a woman (cis and
trans), gender non-binary, or any other member
of the LGBTQIA+ community.



Participant Involvement

Participants will attend a 30-45 minute interview in person or by
telephone. In appreciation of your participation, a small coffee
shop gift-card will be awarded.

To participate in the study or receive more information, please contact:



Sophia Myers, MA student
daniellemyers@uvic.ca or [redacted]

Supervisor: Dr. Steve Garlick, sgarlick@uvic.ca

Appendix D - Codebook

Name	Description	Files	References
Affect	Phenomena described as "feelings"	4	10
Motivation	Motivation to resist	6	25
Negative Affect	Negative experiences/feelings/emotions regarding resistance	4	14
Positive Affect	Positive experiences/feelings/emotions regarding resistance	4	13
Solidarity	Experiences described in relation to the collective and its power	6	32
Field (Space)	Any social setting described by the participant	5	32
Cops	Tangible actors analyzed to represent the oppression of certain fields	4	8
Habitus	Embodied identity, social preferences, norms, histories, worldview etc	6	36
Body	Body of participants: how it is used, articulated, perceived by them	3	7
Ability	Any mention of physical or mental ability regarding resistance	5	7
Age	Age of participant - often articulated as a progressive/graduating phenomenon	6	7
Class	Social class (working/middle/upper) - education level	4	6
Gender	Gender identity of participant - gendered experiences regarding resistance	6	9
Identity Erasure	Experiences of identity erasure in resistance settings	4	4
Race	Racial/ethnic identity of participant - racialized experiences regarding resistance	5	14
Sexuality	Sexualized experiences regarding resistance - sexual orientation	5	7
Personal History	Lived experience as formative for participant and their journey to resist	5	9
Struggle	Examples of social struggle or oppression experiences by resistor	5	15

Appendix E - Consent Form



**University
of Victoria**

Participant Consent Form

Embodied Revolt: A Feminist-Bourdieusian Analysis of Protesting Bodies in Social Change

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *Embodied Revolt: A Feminist-Bourdieusian Analysis of Protesting Bodies in Social Change* that is being conducted by Sophia Myers. Ms. Myers is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Victoria. You may contact her if you have any questions by email at daniellemyers@uvic.ca

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in M.A. Sociology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Steve Garlick. You may contact my supervisor at by email at sgarlick@uvic.ca or by phone at (250) 853 3783 .

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research project is to gain further insight into how protesting gendered and sexualized oppression can be understood as an embodied experience. This study aims to seek insight on the narratives of protesters, political and social activists, and organizers who have participated in a recent political rally concerning gender and sexual equality. Understanding the role of the body in political resistance and political identity will shed light on new areas for research and centre the role of the activist. Analysis will be done using an intersectional feminist perspective, informed by queer theory and theoretical understandings of identity formation, social space, and negotiation of power.

Importance of this Research

The importance of this research concerns the necessity of linking sociological theory to anti-oppression praxis. By applying feminist theory and queer theory frameworks to the types of actions, behaviours, and perceptions experienced by protesters who experience gendered and sexualized oppression, this study will further extend current knowledge on what it means to resist one's oppression. This study aims to position the role of power to the protester. Political and social activists reject the experiences of marginalization imposed on themselves and other oppressed groups. In seeking primary source information from activists on the ground, better understandings of social change and the potential power of collective action may be achieved.

Participant Selection

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a cisgender woman, transgender woman, gender non-binary individual or a member of the LGBTQ2S+ community and have participated in a political rally or protest concerning gender or sexual equality within the last three months. This includes rallies concerning pay equity, reproductive justice, transgender rights, justice for the missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, and more. You are also 18 years of age or older. The gender and sexual identities were selected to seek persons who had experienced oppression based on such identities, and therefore could speak to their experiences as activists and protesters seeking gender equality and sexual liberty.

What is involved

If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include arranging a meeting time to conduct an interview. This may involve an in-person interview at a public location of your choosing, or a telephone/video-call interview. If you provide consent to participate in this study, a series of interview questions will be asked of you concerning your gender identity, sexual identity, experiences as a protester, and perceptions of how you feel your body and identity inform your ability and desire to protest inequality. If permission is granted, you will be contacted following the interview to confirm that interview transcription/notes adequately reflect your answers. This contact will be made via email address.

Interviews will be audio-recorded (if permission granted) and notes will be made throughout the interview. A transcription will be made of the interview. After this, the data will be deleted permanently and all transcriptions will have personal identifying material removed from them. Transcriptions will be assigned pseudonyms to ensure participants' anonymity and confidentiality.

Inconvenience

Participation in this study may cause some inconveniences to you, including time spent participating in the interview. Your participation will require at least 45-60 minutes (30-45 of which will be spent interviewing), in addition to any time spent travelling for participants who select in-person interviews.

Risks

There are some potential risks to you by participating in this research and which include emotional/psychological distress. Recalling the nature of some protest settings may cause emotional distress to you, as such settings are often emotional charged and personal to the protester's morals and liberties. While no questions ask participants to discuss personal trauma, the conversation-based nature of interviews may enable participants to recall specific instances of oppression based on any intersection of their identity (gender, sexuality, religion, race, ethnicity, class, age, ability).

To prevent or to deal with this risk, the following steps will be taken:

- Should you exhibit any physical signs of emotional distress, Ms. Myers will pause the interview and encourage you to take a break.
- You will not be pressured to move forward in the interview at any time.

- You have the right to refuse to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable. Ms. Myers will not encourage or pressure you to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering.
- You have the right to stop the interview at any time and/or withdraw your participation from the study during the course of the interview without any consequence to you. Participation may also be withdrawn post-interview by contacting Ms. Myers.
- All participants are notified of the following free resources in the event that emotional or psychological distress occurs: Vancouver Island Crisis Line: 1-888-494-3888, Trans Lifeline 1-877-330-6366, Crisis Centre BC 1-800-784-2433, and for UVic students: UVic Counselling Services 1-250-721-8341

Benefits

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include further reflection to participants on the powerful role of their identity in shifting current states of oppression and social inequality. Claiming this power as an activist and member of a collective action may prove to be beneficial to the participant in a number of ways. Having a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between personal identity, experiences of oppression, and political action in resistance to oppression will benefit society, as we search for community-based and global solutions for some of the greatest issues facing vulnerable populations today. This study will also create stronger links between praxis, or the practice of theory, with sociological theory. It will also provide insight into the relevancy of feminist and queer theory in assessing how social change occurs, the role of the individual, the body, and one's identity, as well as how this all may fit in with current applications of general contemporary sociological theory.

Compensation

As a way to compensate you for any inconvenience related to your participation, you will be given \$5 gift card to a coffeeshop local to you. Should you decide to stop the interview before its conclusion, full compensation will be made.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your data will be removed from the study and destroyed (electronic file deletion). All compensation will be made in the event of participation withdrawal.

Ongoing Consent

There may be occasions where I (Ms. Myers) will follow-up with participants post-interview to confirm or clarify any information shared with me during the interview process. This will be done to ensure an accurate depiction of participant responses are reflected in the data. In the event that I do contact you, I will obtain verbal consent that you wish to continue to participate in this study. You will have the right to withdraw from the study at any point.

To confirm that you continue to consent to participate in this research, please select Yes or No below as to whether or not you wish to be contacted to confirm an accurate reflection of your interview responses:

Yes

No

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity, I (Ms. Myers) will be the sole researcher collecting, handling, and storing all data pertaining to the study. All personal identifying information including name and age will be removed from your interview transcriptions and notes. Information such as gender identity, sexual identity, ethnicity, race, ability, and class details will be included in transcriptions for analysis purposes.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by assigning pseudonyms to all interview transcriptions/notes. This will be done after the erasure of all personal identifying information to ensure that your data remains confidential. All transcriptions and notes will be kept in a password-protected file in a password-protected computer.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: Ms. Myers will be publishing the results in her final thesis that will be presented before her thesis committee in the summer of 2020. The thesis may also be available on the internet via "UVicSpace", an open access learning and research repository for published and unpublished digital scholarly works in the UVic community. Results of this study may be disseminated in scholarly journals and conference presentations.

Disposal of Data

Data from this study will be disposed of through the deletion of by December 31, 2020. All electronic files (interview transcriptions and notes) permanently and any hard copy documents will be shredded as per the protocols of the University of Victoria: <https://www.uvic.ca/recordsmanagement/disposition/destruction/index.php>

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include

- **Danielle Sophia Myers, Researcher:** daniellemyers@uvic.ca
- **Dr. Steve Garlick, Research Supervisor for Ms. Myers:** sgarlick@uvic.ca (250) 853 3783

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
----------------------------	------------------	-------------

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.