



The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2013

A collection of scholarly research by fellows of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program

Through subtle shades of color, the cover design represents the layers of richness and diversity that flourish within minority communities.

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Preface

I have been honored to assemble this collection of articles written by our Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellows (MMUF). The MMUF Program is committed to eradicating racial disparities in higher education by helping scholars advance through the academic pipeline. The 2013 issue of the *MMUF Journal* features thirty-three articles from current Fellows, representing a wide variety of institutions, disciplines, and research interests. Many are already pursuing PhDs. Others are currently applying to graduate school or are making a difference in their communities before pursuing further research.

Publishing in the *MMUF Journal* offers a truly unique opportunity for scholarly growth. Fellows work with designated faculty advisors, and with the *MMUF Journal* staff, to sharpen their work for publication. They take their senior theses, individual projects, laboratory experiments, and class papers and transform them into publishable articles. This process is essential to the life of a scholar. The fruits of their labor are readily on display in these pages, and they remind us all of how important an inclusive scholarly community is to advancing higher learning.

From *this* scholarly group—from these thirty-three Fellows—I have learned about the world. Arturo Alvarez gives a lesson on the growing Santa Muerte religious movement in three Los Angeles churches and efforts to reformulate faith in the twenty-first century. April Bethea expertly chronicles the media in post-civil war Sri Lanka. Nima Hassan brings perceptive depth to our understanding of the recent revolutions in the Middle East. Claire Dillon recovers the Soviet realist school of painting, a movement long masked by world politics. Several Fellows investigate Latin American politics and history, while our MMUF philosophers-in-training challenge conventional readings and arguments.

Gender continues to be a popular subject, with many Fellows investigating how gender norms suppress individual and collective agency. Health and medicine receive due attention in the form of explorations into power dynamics and rationality. Our future scientists, meanwhile, tackle the challenges of geology, biology, and many other subjects. Perhaps for the first time, we are also featuring a work of creative writing—a fitting poem from the pen of Mack Curry IV.

The 2013 issue of the *MMUF Journal* is loosely organized around four broad themes: 1) bodies, spaces, and power; 2) art and science in the public sphere; 3) survival, representation, and revolution; and 4) new forms of creation and resistance. The work, however, often transcends these themes, displaying a tremendous facility with interdisciplinary and transnational lenses. In fact, this intellectual dexterity is what I most admired about this group; it is a quality that we should all aspire to.

The MMUF Program represents a powerful intervention in higher education. We present these Fellows' work with pride and excitement; we hope you will enjoy their contributions to the world of learning.

Bryan McAllister-Grande
Editor, 2013–
Harvard University, EdD Candidate

Meg Brooks Swift
Contributing Editor
MMUF Coordinator, Harvard University

ⁱ Designated fields for the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship: Anthropology, Area Studies, Art History, Classics, Computer Science, Demography, Earth Science, Ecology, English, Ethnomusicology, Foreign Languages, Geology, History, Literature, Mathematics, Musicology, Philosophy, Physics, Political Theory, Religion, and Sociology.

Table of Contents

3	Anita Bateman, <i>Williams College</i> Article from <i>La Belle Algérienne</i> : Colonial Postcards and Ambivalence in Nineteenth-Century French Identity Advisor/Mentor: Carol Ockman	46	Michael Reyes, <i>University of California-Los Angeles</i> How Fictive Narrative Modes Produce "Truth" through Self-Criticism: Realism and Allegory in Daniel Defoe and Ibn Ṭufayl Advisor/Mentor: Christine Chism
5	Ali Rosa-Salas, <i>Barnard College</i> No Such Thing as Neutral: Race, Representational Visibility, and the Politics of Aesthetics in Trajal Harrell's <i>Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem</i> Advisor/Mentor: Paul Scolieri	50	Khalia Grady, <i>Swarthmore College</i> Deconstructing the Origins of Latin American Spanish: The Case of Ecuador Advisor/Mentor: Donna Jo Napoli
9	April Bethea, <i>Macalester College</i> The Politics of Cultural Import in Postwar Sri Lanka Advisor/Mentor: Leola Johnson	56	Angela Kwon, <i>Oberlin College</i> Deformation of Serpentinities from the Bay of Islands Complex Advisor/Mentor: Steven Wojtal
13	Jessica Adomako, <i>Swarthmore College</i> Moroccans in the Netherlands: Community and Burial Advisor/Mentor(s): Farha Ghannam, Anthony Foy	60	Aaron Sharpe, <i>Rice University</i> A Multi-Plate Artificial-Dielectric for Terahertz Radiation Advisor/Mentor: Randy Hulet
19	Arturo Alvarez, <i>Whittier College</i> Ready to Die: The Worship of Death in Los Angeles Advisor/Mentor: José Orozco	63	Chenjerai Muchapirei, <i>University of Cape Town</i> (South Africa) The Effects of Chronotype on the Re-Entrainment of the Circadian Clock after Traveling West Advisor/Mentor(s): Laura Roden, William DeWit
23	Estela Bernice Diaz, <i>Princeton University</i> Sex-y Space: Space and Sexual Communities in the Bay Area and Pioneer Valley, 1960–1980 Advisor/Mentor: Jessica Delgado	66	Claire Dillon, <i>Northwestern University</i> Finding Modernity in Rodchenko's Synthetic Portrait Advisor/Mentor: Christina Kiaer
27	Samantha Hobson, <i>University of Chicago</i> Women Athletes and the Myth of Progress: Managing the Lesbian Stereotype in Softball Advisor/Mentor: Kristen Schilt	69	Nima Hassan, <i>Harvard University</i> Reviving Revolution: The Role of Market-Driven Transnationalism, Democracy, and Agents Advisor/Mentor: Carly Knight
31	Priscilla Devon Gutierrez, <i>Wellesley College</i> How Women Experience and Embody Privilege in Elite Liberal Arts Colleges Advisor/Mentor: Markella Rutherford	73	Leticia Garcia-Romo, <i>Princeton University</i> Law of the Land, Law of the Lord: How Latino Immigrants Manage Immigration Enforcement and How Religion Helps Them Cope Advisor/Mentor: Ali Valenzuela
34	Ashley Allston, <i>University of California-Berkeley</i> Sexual Politics of the Black Female Body and HIV/AIDS Advisor/Mentor: Josephine Moreno	77	Jallicia Jolly, <i>Williams College</i> Surviving in the Margins: Examining the Survival Strategies of Low-Income Jamaican Women Advisor/Mentor: Rhon Manigault-Bryant
38	Mohini Banerjee, <i>Smith College</i> Departing from Agency in the Interests of Alzheimer's Patients Advisor/Mentor: Susan Levin	81	Marissa Hicks Alcaraz, <i>University of California-Los Angeles</i> <i>The Muslims Are Coming!</i> and <i>The Axis of Evil</i> : An Examination of Stereotype-based Jokes in American Muslim Stand-up Comedy Advisor/Mentor: David Garcia
42	David Bernard Williams II, <i>Carleton College</i> Disowning the Knowledge Argument Advisor/Mentor: Anna Moltchanova	86	Ming-Fui Chai, <i>Haverford College</i> Self-Consciousness vs. Consciousness: It's More Personal Than You Think Advisor/Mentor(s): Joel Yurdin, Kathleen Wright

Table of Contents

90

Leah Barlow, *Hampton University*
What a Life! Sexual Identity as Necessary in *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* by Junot Diaz
Advisor/Mentor: Amee Carmines

93

Angie M. Bautista-Chavez, *Rice University*
The Bureaucratic Representation of Latino Parents by Latino School Leaders
Advisor/Mentor: Melissa Marschall

98

Joy Sales, *Grinnell College*
"A Common Fate": The Role of Muslim Leaders in the Philippine Independence Movement, 1935–1941
Advisor/Mentor: Caleb Elfenbein

102

Melissa Manzanares, *Whittier College*
The United Nations' Response to Slavery and Human Trafficking
Advisor/Mentor: Mike McBride

106

Samantha Blanchett, *Smith College*
Experimental Investigation of Garnet, Cordierite, and Gedrite Nucleation from Chlorite + Quartz Mixtures at 8kb Pressure
Advisor/Mentor: John Brady

109

Maryam Aziz, *Columbia University*
Finding the Warrior
Advisor/Mentor(s): Farah Griffin, Marcellus Blount

113

JahTrent Smith, *Rice University*
User Interface for a Multi-Robot System Network: Maximum Area Triangulation Problem
Advisor/Mentor: James McLurkin

117

Diana Ruiz, *Duke University*
What Remains to be Seen: An Exploration of Intersectionality through Cinematic Representations of Black Women's Rape
Advisor/Mentor: Kimberly Lamm

120

Margaret Wang, *Princeton University*
The Twilight Between the Victim and the Perpetrator
Advisor/Mentor: Anne Cheng

124

Thai Matthews, *Wellesley College*
This Lady's Choice: Bella Swan as Third-Wave Feminist
Advisor/Mentor: Paul Fisher

128

Mack Curry IV, *Hampton University*
Weapons of Mass Creation
Advisor/Mentor: Randolph Walker

Article from *La Belle Algérienne*: Colonial Postcards and Ambivalence in Nineteenth-Century French Identity

Anita Bateman, *Williams College*

Anita Bateman graduated cum laude from Williams College this past May. This paper is a selection from her culminating thesis project, which explored the colonial enterprise of the French in Algeria after the Franco-Prussian War as well as sexual(ized) images of Algerian women represented in nineteenth-century postcard “art.” Anita began coursework in the Art, Art History, and Visual Studies Department this past fall at Duke University. She is from Memphis, TN.

Abstract

After France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the country’s morale, as well as its status as a European superpower, was called into question. To compensate for a deflated idea of self (spurred on by economic rivalry with Britain), the nation (re)turned to overseas expansion—an endeavor that began with the acquisition of Algeria in 1830. The result was a colonial enterprise that cemented nationalist ideas and extolled the virtues of Western civilization. Concurrently, the thesis aims to explore issues with “Other”: the first section discusses Frenchmen’s cultural vertigo in Algeria and how unfamiliarity with its society encouraged Orientalism; the second analyzes Jean Geiser’s postcards within the frameworks of race, sexuality, and gender; and the third introduces and critiques Malek Alloula’s theories of desire presented in *The Colonial Harem*. This paper is a selection from the thesis project.

The postcard is ubiquitous It is the fertilizer of the colonial vision. It is the comic strip of colonial morality.—Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*ⁱ

In an undated postcard captioned *Femme de l’Extreme Sud Oranais* (“Woman of the Extreme South of Oran”), a young woman is featured sitting, left leg over right, slightly turned toward the viewer (Figure 1). A head of dark curls contrasts with her seemingly light skin and even lighter garments. Her head is positioned to suggest direct confrontation, yet her body is shifted to the right. In the bottom-right corner, an ascription, “J. Geiser, phot., Alger,” indicates the artist’s studio: It is the name of a photographer who worked in Algeria during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her face is delicately absent of readable emotion, and yet she appears relaxed: her lips are somewhat parted, and her brow perfectly unfurrowed. Slightly rounded shoulders lead the eye to the curve of the exposed left breast. Her hands are clasped together, resting on crossed legs. Multiple bracelets, seen against a checkerboard-patterned skirt, adorn her visible arm. This garment, like that of her gossamer bodice, exposes skin: both the mid-calf of her left leg and a sliver of her right can be discerned. She stares out toward the viewer with what seems to be passing curiosity—a brief moment of awareness of another party.

As is suggested by the ascription as well as the caption, the sitter is an inhabitant of the Oran province, a former French *département* on the northwestern coast of Algeria. Reproduced in Algerian poet and literary critic Malek Alloula’s *The Colonial Harem*, this image, as well as others like it depicting provocatively posed Algerian women, evinces the idea of an Orientalist construction predicated on the social, cultural, and even anthropological function of the female body in nineteenth-century French-Algerian relations. Orientalism, as defined in Linda Nochlin’s “The Imaginary Orient,” is “a mode for defining the presumed cultural inferiority of the Islamic Orient . . . part of the vast control mechanism of colonialism, designed to justify and perpetuate European dominance.”ⁱⁱ Further, “The white man, the Westerner, is of course always implicitly present . . . his is necessarily the controlling gaze for which it is ultimately intended.”ⁱⁱⁱ Although originally intended to sustain false assumptions and prejudices of Asia and the Middle East, the concept also took root in colonial situations elsewhere. Its applicability to northern Africa bespeaks the superiority complex of the Western machine. The young Oran woman nonchalantly exhibits her breast, and in a sense, her exposure seems fairly uncalculated. Yet, the viewer can read even the most innocuous exposure—some might even reason tasteful slippage—as a type of hedonistic indulgence.

Her state of naturalized comfort enables unbridled desire. In a chapter entitled “The Rhetoric of the Nude” from *Eroticism and Art*, art historian Alyce Mahon comments on the function of the gaze, explaining Ingres’s iconic Orientalist painting, *The Grand Odalisque* (Figure 2), to be “an image about sexual desire but its erotic strategy is much more subtle With Ingres we do not find sexual desire in excessive terms, we find displacement; the fantasy of pursuit is far more thrilling than any real sexual satisfaction.”^{iv} So is it with the photograph of the Oran girl. Suggested sexuality, indicated by the outline of her breast and the flimsiness of her clothing, as well as the looseness of comportment, underscores her as a figure of the imagination—to be appreciated as a visual curio without the necessity of physical defilement. As such, she offers a forbidden promise that will not come to fruition, one that successfully distances the implied Western male viewer. She is brown-skinned Olympia and maid in one, but whereas the maid in Manet’s original work seems to heighten the sexuality of her paler-skinned mistress thus drawing attention to a (questionable) White femininity, the Oran girl evokes imagery of the bedroom, the ultimate interior space now predicated on the visual tableau of racial difference. Obviously posed, stripped to the flimsiest of materials, and seen with bare feet, she is presented as savage, her exotic beauty bespeaking European fascination with primitive sensuality.

This postcard, and those like it, were collected as fantasy but internalized as truth, exemplifying concepts of White male patriarchy and adding to the convenient dichotomizing between cultures. Similarly, representations of harem life—the elusive sphere of women considered one of the more emblematic aspects distinguishing the East from the West—offered the Western male admittance into a closed space. In the lifting of restriction and the collapse of metaphysical denial, the male gaze was consummated in a way that would satisfy his masculinity without compromising either the moral claim associated with the “civilizing mission” of colonialism or the distinctly European reputation of rationality over carnal pleasure. Power relations between the East and West are inherently embedded in such tensions of “clothed” versus “naked,” control versus weakness, feminine versus masculine, which all serve to concretize the East’s, and in this case, Algeria’s, alterity to “flatter the Western colonial eye.”^v

The realm between invitation and intrusion by a consuming gaze, however, was in no way definitive. The “Exotic” designed by the West—inclusive of various types of Otherness as well as overt and implied eroticism—communicated a political agenda of overarching national dominance in a series of “imaginary” formations, including that found in the postcard. After France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian war, Algerian land and its citizenry inhabited a peculiar space of spectacle, firmly rooted in stereotypes of sensuality thought to be indicative of not only uncivilized African primitiveness, but also marginalized Arab barbarism (at times conflated and at other times differentiated according to hierarchical racial and regional particularities within the continent itself). These groups became the antithesis of Westerners, the referent by which the French delimited themselves. “Oran girl,” for example, acts as a foil to the propriety of French womanhood, not only in her casual state of undress, but also in her blatant acknowledgment of a voyeur; and, as women are often personified as nations (Lady Liberty, Marianne, etc.), her exposure becomes symbolic and synonymous with that of her accessible country.

The imperialist project—thought of in terms of penetration, submissiveness, and intimacy—appropriated a new identity for France which was sustained in efforts of display and conquest, but one which was also predicated on instability in the wake of post-war anxiety. The combination resulted in an essential bipolar disorder: dual identity as French and/or Algerian dependent upon provisional internal realities. The various ways in which bodies were pictorially displayed not only attested to a sort of ethnographic dialogue happening between colonizer and colonized, but also served to designate women as sexual curios.

Using the images of Jean Geiser as a case study and Malek Alloula’s theories of veiling, I posit that the women in

the postcards corroborate such uncertainty. They are fetishized in ways of appearance, yet their bodies remain partially covered; they are eroticized, but not as sexually explicit as some postcards could be from other regions of the African continent, and from France itself. Their connection to the French is implicitly addressed via the confusion of desires: the European male’s wish to sever himself from the enchantment of a “degenerate” country, but his inability (arguably, his refusal) to do so. Thus, he aligns himself with depravity, camouflaging the urge to undress under trenchant xenophobia. In this way, the mystery of Algeria as an inconclusive hybrid of Occident and Orient was maintained, and along with it, the mystique of the Algerian woman.



Figure 1. Jean Geiser, 250—*Femme de l'Extreme-Sud Oranaise*, Algiers, ca. 1900.



Figure 2. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *La Grand Odalisque*, ca. 1814. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Alloula, Malek, *The Colonial Harem*, vol. 21 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
- ⁱⁱ Nochlin, Linda, “The Imaginary Orient,” in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on the Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (1989), p. 34.
- ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ^{iv} Mahon, Alyce, *Eroticism and Art* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 44. See also Nochlin’s “The Imaginary Orient.”
- ^v *Ibid.*, p. 46.

No Such Thing as Neutral: Race, Representational Visibility, and the Politics of Aesthetics in Trajal Harrell's *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem*

Ali Rosa-Salas, *Barnard College*

Ali Rosa-Salas is a 2013 graduate of Barnard College, where she majored in women's gender and sexuality studies. She is now a Curatorial Fellow at MoCADA (Museum of Contemporary African Diasporan Arts) in Brooklyn, NY. Following completion of this fellowship, she plans to apply to performance studies graduate programs.

Abstract

Through a critique of Trajal Harrell's *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem*, I will unpack how racial cultural tropes have informed the production of aesthetic hierarchies in U.S. concert dance, which I propose is reflected in how voguing has been cited in contemporary postmodern dance.

For the past ten years, New York City-based contemporary choreographer Trajal Harrell has been exploring the historical and aesthetic convergences of voguing and postmodern dance, resulting in a five-piece series called *Twenty Looks or Paris Is Burning at the Judson Church*. This body of work has gone on to receive critical acclaim in the national and international contemporary postmodern dance scenes. As the guiding proposition of this series, Harrell asks, "What would have happened in 1963 if someone from the ball scene in Harlem had come downtown to perform alongside the early postmoderns at Judson Church?" *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem* is the final iteration of the *Twenty Looks* series; it premiered at New York City's Danspace Project in October 2012. In this piece, Harrell revises his original question, asking instead: "What would have happened if one of the early postmoderns from Judson Church had gone uptown to perform in the voguing ballroom scene?"

Harrell's questions are provocative because they propose the intersection of two seemingly disparate dance forms: that of voguing in the Harlem-based African American and Latino drag ballroom circuit and that of the predominantly White Judson Dance Theater, a downtown Manhattan-based collective of artists who are considered by dominant dance historical discourses to be the founders of the postmodern dance movement. Not only were these art worlds geographically founded in different parts of New York City, they are often perceived as having little to no aesthetic similarities. While voguing is relegated to the vernacular or "urban folk dance" genre, postmodern dance is typically associated with the "high art" intellectual canon, a delineation whose origins are steeped in racial typological rhetoric.

The subjunctive tonality of *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem*'s guiding proposition reinforces the element of fantasy that Harrell strives to invoke by putting voguing and

postmodern dance in conversation with one another. "What you are about to see tonight was neither possible at the balls nor at the Judson," dancer Thibault Lac informs the audience before the piece begins.

U.S. popular culture was first introduced to the Harlem Ballroom scene and the art of voguing through Jennie Livingston's 1990 documentary *Paris Is Burning* (npr.org; Bailey 368). Though this film presented many instrumental voices of the Harlem ballroom community, it did not offer extensive context into the historical trajectory of this cultural movement. From the Harlem Renaissance to the 1960s, drag balls were mixed-raced competitions that were not only judged by wealthy White elites but were dependent on them for patronage. As a consequence of this power dynamic, participants of color rarely won these balls. The establishment of an exclusively Black drag ballroom competition circuit in 1962 was catalyzed by the frustration Black participants felt due to racist judicial practices, coupled with the increased policing of Black masculinity as a result of Black Nationalism (Lawrence 3; Roberts 3). The ballroom scene carved out a communal space within which Black and Latino gay, lesbian, bisexual, and trans* individuals were able to explore and glorify the multiplicities of their identities without the disapproving gaze of the mainstream. These competitions served as creative laboratories where gender binaries were destabilized and notions of Whiteness, citizenship, and the American Dream were simultaneously exalted and critiqued (hooks 148).

Voguing is a mode through which these kinds of discourses of transgression are physically actualized. This dance form has become an embodied articulation of "throwing shade," or the technique of sly, subtle critique long practiced by Black drag queens within the ballroom circuit. Dancers glean inspiration from high-fashion models and also enact the swift physicality of martial arts and b-boying, the geometrical precision of Egyptian hieroglyphics and West African sculpture, as well as the fluidity and athleticism of ballet, modern, jazz, Latin dance, and gymnastics (Ninja 161). Voguing also experiments with stereotypical patterns of feminine movement and gesture like sashaying of the hips, limp wrists, and expressive hands.

The postmodern dance movement also began in 1962 with the first performance of the Judson Dance Theater, an informal, New York City-based collective of "self-consciously avant-garde" experimental artists whose work intended to challenge the technical restrictiveness of ballet, modern dance, and "traditional" modes of proscenium performance (Banes 98). They rejected emphases on theatrical, lyrical, and expressive movement qualities as well as linear narratives. External references were to be removed in order to unearth a pure ahistoricized body, one that was

devoid of any traces of social signifiers like gender, race, and class. A primarily White-dominated scene, the postmodern movement came to be known as “downtown dance,” divided both geographically and ideologically from the “uptown dance” camp, which was comprised primarily of African American choreographers.

During the 1960s, the emphasis made by many African American choreographers on emotivity and the mastery of Euro-American techniques like ballet excluded them from the “radical” praxis of the Judson Dance Theater (Paris 239). The historical narratives that serve as the basis for Harrell’s inquiry bring to the fore broader theoretical questions concerning the links between racial representation and cultural appropriation. The ballroom scene has everything to do with marginalized gay, lesbian, bisexual, and trans* people of color interrogating hegemonic notions of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality (Bailey 370). The history of voguing and the ballroom community is inextricably linked to racism, disenfranchisement, and homophobia as it relates to urban communities of color. These historical narratives have deeply informed voguing’s aesthetics. With these histories in mind while viewing *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem*, I found myself most struck by the complete absence of dancers of color from the piece, excluding Harrell himself, who is African American.

In a recent interview with *2B Magazine*, Harrell says that *Twenty Looks* isn’t “doing a service to voguing, [but rather] doing a service for postmodern dance” (2bmag.com). He explicitly states that he is by no means a voguer or a member of the ballroom community and that he identifies distinctly as a contemporary choreographer. *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem* strives to bridge the gap between the “Uptown” and the “Downtown,” even as in actuality it reifies the racially hierarchical dynamics that have long defined an ideological chasm between the avant-garde (read: White, highbrow) and the vernacular (read: “street,” lowbrow).

In *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem*, the line between abstraction and appropriation is blurred. Thibault Lac, Ondrej Vidlar and Trajal Harrell momentarily transform the St. Marks Church sanctuary into a pseudo runway/dance party set to an electronic remix of Duffy’s “Stepping Stone.” “Work! Don’t think,” Vidlar, serving as commentator, commands Harrell, who poses with the fierce intentionality of a high-fashion model. Shortly thereafter, the trio teleports to what seems like a Sunday morning southern Baptist church service. Harrell shouts into a microphone, “Amen! Can I get a witness?” while upstage left, Lac whips his arms around in a kind of frenzied reference to voguing hand illusions; his breath becomes more audible and his face more flushed with each stroke he makes at the air.

In this section, audiences witness Lac’s corporeal translation of voguing that is a few times removed. In an interview with *TimeOut NY*, Harrell reveals that, initially, he never intended to have his dancers formally learn voguing movement vocabulary, as he never had himself. Incited by the curiosity and enthusiasm of *Twenty Looks* collaborators Cecilia Bengolea, François Chagnault, Marlene Freitas, and Thibault Lac, Harrell became fascinated with the “interesting ripple” that occurs when voguing is mapped onto bodies that are not directly associated with the ballroom community. He credits his self-identification as a contemporary dancer and choreographer for this strategic distancing:

I am a contemporary choreographer. I’m not a voguer. I’ve only used it in the same way that I’ve used early postmodern dance. Both are the same to me, but in fact I’m probably closer to the early postmodern dance. I have talked to Yvonne Rainer and Lucinda Childs and Steve Paxton—but Cecilia and François and Marlene have a completely different relationship to it. They’re very much like: This is voguing? Let me look at it, let me touch it, let me be with it. So of course, they brought people in to teach us. We’ve taken voguing classes. All of these things that I would have never done, and that’s been good for me. I needed to do it as a part of this project, but it’s also good that I have a distance I’m not worshipping it. I’m not at home trying to work out, how can I be like Willie Ninja? It’s still me, as a contemporary dancer, voguing; it’s not like I’m trying to pretend I’m at a voguing ball. (www.timeout.com/newyork)

If Harrell’s proposition asks what would have happened in a meeting of voguers and early postmoderns and he consciously chooses to not make learning voguing movement vocabulary a priority for his dancers, how does this compromise the representation of ballroom history in the dialogue? Though he states that his distancing from voguing is in part due to his identification as a contemporary dancer and choreographer, voguing, too, is a form of contemporary dance. His apparent discomfort with formally engaging with voguing raises questions about the ethics of appropriation. In *Judson Church*, the “interesting ripple” effect of movement translation that intrigues Harrell becomes most evident at the point when Lac is thrashing his arms around. The precision required by hand illusions in voguing is compromised for the sake of abstraction. Harrell’s imperative to map a Judson aesthetic onto the Harlem ballroom scene without a historical knowledge of and expertise in that art world eclipses the virtuosity and technical rigor of the art form.

In *Judson Church*, Harrell seeks to challenge the aesthetic hierarchy of the postmodern dance canon though he winds up subscribing to the very conventions he purportedly

sets out to critique. For much of the piece, Harrell, who is African American, and Lac and Vidlar, who are White, are seated in an obtuse triangle. Harrell, who sits in a chair upstage right, winces and sobs as he sings Bryan Ferry's "Don't Stop the Dance," as if in some kind of mourning. While Harrell is in hysterics upstage, Lac and Vidlar's stoicism anchor downstage. Lac, who is positioned downstage right of Harrell, is motionless and expressionless in his seat. He eventually picks up a microphone to join Vidlar, who sits on a piano bench downstage left repeating into his own microphone, "Don't stop, Don't . . . stop." At whom this command is directed is unclear. The cast suddenly breaks from the solemnity of their seated positions and begins to run and skip around the space, challenging the early post-modern tenets that reject spectacle and hypermotivity. "Conceptual dance is over! Conceptual dance is over!" Harrell sings loudly into his microphone as he pseudo-Crip Walks, eventually breaking into a sweat.

Although Harrell shouts, "Conceptual dance is over," abstraction as it is deployed in *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem* renders the Harlem ballroom community as an external reference and footnote rather than a literal presence. Harrell regards literalization as a limitation to his creative practice, though it must be considered what kind of historiographical violence is committed when the visibility of underrepresented communities is conceived of as incongruent with the dominant Western European/Anglo-American abstract traditions. In *Judson Church*, the corporeal interrogations of gender and racial identity that are so crucial to the voguing praxis are severed in favor of a critical distance. These two art worlds, it seems, cannot coexist—even within the realm of the imaginary.

Though I believe that visibility of people of color on the proscenium stage is critical to the deconstruction of racialized aesthetic hierarchies in U.S. concert dance, I do agree with performance theorist Peggy Phelan when she reminds us that being seen does not necessarily mean that one is being acknowledged. She argues that representational visibility is grounded in a reproductive logic of capital, one that is predicated on the discursive and reductive reiteration of a gender binary along with hierarchies of race and sexuality. Visibility, thus, "summons surveillance and the law; it provokes voyeurism, fetishism, the colonial/imperial appetite for possession" and is a method by which diversion from norms can be monitored and enforced (6). Phelan would probably validate Harrell's decision not to include voguers of color in Judson Church because it potentially supports her idea that disappearance can be a subversive act (146).

A generous interpretation of *Judson Church* would understand the absence of these bodies as calling the audience's

attention to their existence. Through their absence, Harrell could perhaps be making a statement about the voyeuristic gaze the ballroom community has been subjected to since the release of *Twenty Looks* into a proscenium setting, complicating the terms on which authenticity and appropriation are defined in contemporary performance. Harrell's citational praxis speaks to the audience with which he intends his work to resonate. That being said, is it possible for this piece to acknowledge voguing and ballroom culture without fetishizing it (Cheng 67)?

I conjecture that Trajal Harrell attempts to address this question by adopting a "critical distance" from Harlem ballroom history, a methodology by which subjects are open to critique only once the critic has theoretically and ideologically detached him or herself from the subjects of inquiry. However, by locating *Judson Church Is Ringing in Harlem* in a historical imaginary created specifically for a 1963 Judson audience, Harrell only detaches himself from voguing and the Harlem ballroom community, for whom his *Twenty Looks* series is allegedly not "doing a service." In this way, the Harlem ballroom community is never the "objective" holder of a gaze but is always the object of it.

Movement-based art does not exist in an ahistorical vacuum. In the disciplines of performance studies and mainstream dance criticism alike, critical race, feminist, and queer theories must be standard theoretical frameworks for analysis in order to more adequately understand art's sociopolitical utility and ramifications. The visibility of people of color on the proscenium stage cannot alone dismantle the legacy of racialized aesthetic hierarchies in Western performance. Artistic production can be understood in its full complexity only once aesthetics are not regarded as atemporal dogma that objectively defines beauty. Rather, aesthetics must be understood as a complex system of social norms that inflects not only what one sees but how one sees.

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The Politics of Cultural Import in Postwar Sri Lanka

April Bethea, *Macalester College*

April is a Florida native and senior at Macalester College in St. Paul, MN, where she is majoring in anthropology and media & cultural studies. Upon graduation, she hopes to enroll in a media studies PhD program and ultimately become a professor.

Abstract

This research project explores the politics of representation in the Sri Lankan media. The result of independent research conducted in the country during the spring of 2013, it focuses on the arrival of South Korean teledramas to the country and examines how, while transgressive, the new representations of women provided by these dramas ultimately serve state interests. This article is an excerpt from the larger work.

“That girl [Changumi] is our own daughter now, not Korean.”—Worker at the Women in Media Collective, Colombo, Sri Lanka

On the first night I spent with my host family in Kandy, my sister ran to the television at six thirty sharp.ⁱ She invited me to join her as she watched her favorite television program. We sat in the living room, and, every so often, she would try to tell me a little about it. “This is *Sujatha Diyani*,” she told me. “Its English name is *Jewel in the Palace*. It’s Korean, not Sri Lankan.”ⁱⁱ The thing she kept repeating, though, and the thing I didn’t quite understand, was the plot of the show: “It is about a girl who, because of her courage, becomes the first lady doctor in the kingdom.” The show, put simply, is a period piece that tells the story of Changumi, an orphaned girl in sixteenth-century Korea who works her way up the ranks within the royal court to eventually become the first female court physician.ⁱⁱⁱ Beginning in January 2013, the show’s fifty-four episodes aired consecutively, five nights a week, and became something of a national phenomenon. Today, even though the last episode of the series aired months ago, photos of Lee Young Ae, the actress who played Changumi, can be seen in the weekly women’s papers and are still being sold at *kades*.^{iv} Beyond its popularity in the realm of visual representation, the show has also become a successful print narrative, as the novelization of the series has been translated into and circulated widely in Sinhala.

Jewel in the Palace is not the only Korean show to have entered the Sri Lankan mediascape in the past year. Immediately after its run, Rupavahini, one of Sri Lanka’s state-owned television channels, continued its Korean programming by airing *Dong Yi*. A relatively new teledrama, *Dong Yi* first aired in Korea in 2010, whereas *Jewel in the Palace* made its Korean debut in 2003 and has been a strong

part of a “Korean Wave” for a decade. The question becomes: Why are these shows arriving in Sri Lanka now?

As described by Chua Beng Huat in “East Asian Pop Culture: Layers of Communities,” the inflow of the Korean television dramas to other Asian nations is part of a “conscious national industrial strategy” in the region (100). Within a month of *Jewel in the Palace*’s airing, the Sri Lankan government announced that a deal had been reached to begin nonstop flights between Colombo and Seoul. Within two months, a number of South Korean investors who left the country in the 1990s announced plans to re-enter its market. Indeed, the warm reception *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* have received among people young and old in the country has helped foster the renewed relationship between Sri Lankan and South Korean labor and has also had the unintended consequence of changing the Sri Lankan mediascape. The female figures in *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* are stronger than the characters typical in Sri Lankan television and thereby break the mold set by nationally produced teledramas. This paper will look at the politics surrounding the broadcasting of *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* and will consider the reasons why this industrially and politically driven form of cross-cultural exchange is what has allowed for a change—or at the very least a break—in representational politics.

Certainly, the figure of a female doctor on Sri Lankan television is not one that has historically been seen every day in Sri Lanka. As I would watch *Jewel in the Palace* with my host sister, I would notice that Changumi was practicing medicine on her own. “So, is she a doctor yet?” I’d ask. The response I always received was, “Not yet; because of her courage she will become the first lady doctor.” It was never because of her hard work or because of her skills. It was always her courage: a way that this new representation is understood across cultural lines.

While women in contemporary Sri Lanka receive much the same education as men and are the dominant presence in universities, they are also seen as the bearers of the cultural tradition, virtuous in their actions. Thus, addressing social mobility as an act of virtue keeps the representation aligned with the cultural imaginary. Likewise, the Sinhalese adaptation of the show’s title is highly cultural. In English, *Sujatha Diyani* would actually translate to “Legitimate Daughter,” or in my host sister’s words, “Daughter Born in a Good Place.” I asked her why she thought it would be given such a name in Sinhala, to which she replied, “Because she was born in a good place, and that is why she will inherit the kingdom.” Her mobility is, therefore, not taken as a result of her work ethic but, ultimately, as a birthright. Still, for all the connections that can be made to the traditional,

the series remains an outlier to the teledramas continually shown in the country.

For most of its history, Rupavahini has worked within the Broadcasting Corporation Act, “to satisfy . . . that nothing is included in their programmes which ‘offends against good taste or decency’ or is likely to be ‘offensive to public feelings’” (Rajepakse 7). This has meant that they have long ignored complaints by women’s groups about the gender stereotyping in their teledramas in favor of what they deem culturally appropriate, through which “the man is often portrayed as the only breadwinner and the woman as the subservient housewife; or else the economically dependent daughter whose main function is to make a good marriage” (ibid.). Changumi, however, is neither of these things, and she represents a sharp institutional redirection. An orphan, she must provide for herself. The series follows her not as she attempts to find a husband but as she attempts to move beyond the hardships in her life and achieve success for herself while helping others. Even at the conclusion of the series, when the character is married and has a daughter of her own, she is still a practicing physician. She does not give up her career in marriage; all that she has worked for is not lost. In fact, the series ends with the character’s husband bemoaning the low status women have in their society and wishing for a different world. Whereas Sri Lankan teledramas typically presented unagentic female characters as the norm, “[propagating] an ideology that is completely anti-woman yet is viewed as family entertainment,” *Jewel in the Palace* presents an agentic character and directly addresses gender inequality (*Changing Lenses* 124).

The deviation in representation brought by *Jewel in the Palace* has not gone unnoticed in the country. Most adults I talked with about the program spoke of it positively and argued that it is a good thing for their daughters. While it breaks with what has traditionally been considered culturally appropriate, it has led to the creation of a strong role model. As explained to me by a worker at Colombo’s Women in Media Collective, “Sujatha Diyani is a very courageous woman. She is not a crying woman. Most women on teledramas are crying women. It is very good for people here.” For these observers, Changumi stands in opposition to all the tropes commonly associated with Sinhalese teledramas. The stock characters typical of Sri Lankan teledramas include: the “cunning and sharp-tongued” mother-in-law who lives to create conflict with her daughter-in-law, the self-sacrificing mother who gives everything to her children, and the “good” or “long-suffering but rational” husband (*Changing Lenses* 124). Such characters do not exist in *Jewel in the Palace*, at least not one-dimensionally. Additionally, while Sri Lankan teledramas “are mostly written and directed by men, [same] as the cinema,” *Jewel in the Palace* was created by a woman with the expectation of being con-

sumed by women, a direct contrast to the historic representational model in Sri Lanka (ibid.).

The politics of representation are more complicated in the second Korean import, *Dong Yi*. Like its predecessor, it is a period piece telling the story of a hard-working girl, Dong Yi, who eventually finds success in her kingdom. She does not gain her power through the traditional channels of female chastity. Instead, the series sees Dong Yi ascend in rank from a servant in the Bureau of Music to the “second queen” (or concubine), a position that might conventionally have called her morality into question. Indeed, in a traditional Sinhalese drama, she would have likely been portrayed as a bad woman, a woman ruined by her sexuality; in the Korean drama, however, she is allowed to be strong and agentic.

In a culture as traditional as Sri Lanka’s, it is not surprising, then, that there has been some pushback to *Dong Yi*. Yet, while many actresses from nationally produced teledramas are upset with the show’s popularity—they do not consider it proper viewing for the whole family—people both young and old consume it. Much like its sister show, it has become a national phenomenon, driving people to their televisions at six thirty each night.

This begs the question: If *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* are foreign in their setting and in the representations they provide, why have they achieved the popularity they have? As explained by Youna Kim:

Often, when local media productions largely fail to respond to the changing socio-economic status and desire of women in a transitional society, it is global television that is instead appropriated for making contact with the diverse formations of culture and for talking about the everyday issues of gender and sexuality. (10)

Therefore, the ability of *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* to move beyond stock representations and present characters that reflect the female population’s own ambitions, for themselves or their daughters, may very well explain their popularity. My host sister, whose favorite subject is math and who dreams of being a doctor, might have a hard time looking up to the self-sacrificing, moral mother image. A doctor who must fight to achieve her dreams, though? That resonates. Thus, the Korean images are salient because they better reflect the spirit of postwar Sri Lanka, a country desperate to modernize. It is not surprising then that the shows are discussed in women’s papers, in newspapers, and among people on a day-to-day level. Indeed, young girls role-play Changumi during their free periods. There is a growing phenomenon of Changumi dress, with schools inviting their students to style themselves after the beloved character.

Furthermore, hairpins replicated after the one worn by Dong Yi are now being offered up for sale.

Still, the impact of these representations should not be read as a complete rejection of conventional Sri Lankan gender norms; rather, they are a necessary step in the evolution of a new form of governmentality. The government of Sri Lanka tightly controls its media, and every move made in the media is political in some way. While the positive impacts of *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* cannot be denied, neither can the strategy behind them.

To effectively consider the recent arrivals of *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi*, one must look to the import sector. These shows are not coming into the country on privately owned channels or through satellite; they are being aired by one of the channels under complete control of the state. Given Rupavahini's history of catering to the Broadcasting Corporation Act in its own productions, it is highly unlikely that the goal of airing these Korean dramas is to usher in a new era of representation in Sri Lankan-produced media. While President Mahinda Rajapaksa has been quoted as saying Changumi should be a role model to the women of the nation, his words require careful consideration.^v After all, Rupavahini has the means to create representations similar to those available on *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi*, but it maintains tradition. Why, then, if Changumi can be seen as a Sri Lankan ideal, are stronger representations not coming from within the state itself? I found that the introduction of these shows has little to do with their content. Their importation is for political gain.

In 2009, Sri Lanka emerged from a civil war that ravaged its countryside for over twenty years. Prior to the war, it was the model for South Asian development post independence. As many Sri Lankans proudly boast, Singapore once came to Sri Lanka for advice on how to develop. Unfortunately, Sri Lanka emerged from the war a shell of its former self, devoid of much of its former power. It is unsurprising, then, that Sri Lanka under the reign of President Rajapaksa has looked to other countries to once again begin the cycle of development. Currently, more than 200,000 Sri Lankans work abroad, with more going out each year. In 2011, the remittances sent back to Sri Lanka grew by 26.39% over 2010 (*Performance Report 7*).

Yet, while migrant work is on the rise, the demographics around it are changing. From 1988 to 2007 and again in 2009, the majority of people that contributed to Sri Lanka's remittance economy were women (*Performance Report 5*). While many women became the breadwinners in their families, their contributions often went unrecognized or were resented. As explained to me by Dr. Sepali Kottegoda, executive director of the Women in Media Collective, many

women participating in the remittance economy had been breadwinners in their families for over three decades, and yet their contribution was only recognized when they became the victims of violence (*Performance Report 5*). With the end of the war, the government is now pushing to get men to do migrant work overseas, so as reinstate them as primary breadwinners. This push has seen the government shy away from sending out female domestic labor and to instead seek opportunities more suited for a male workforce.

Sri Lanka's re-established relationship with South Korea has been central to this move away from sending out majority female labor. In the '90s, a peak time in the war, South Korean investors left the country; since its end, they have been coming back. In fact, in 2010, a year after the end of the war, seventy-one million Sri Lankan rupees (LKR) came into the country to cover Korean administration and training fees (*Performance Report 19*). 2010 was also a year in which 15,814 male workers were sent to South Korea, more than to any other country (*Performance Report 14*). With this rise in workers to Korea has been a rise in knowledge of the Korean language among Sri Lankans.^{vi}

In March of this year, President Rajapaksa opened Sri Lanka's second international airport, Mattala Rajapaksa International, the end result of a project he successfully launched in 2009, six months after the end of the war. Located directly on the coast in Hambantota, the airport's goal is to bring in more tourists and to offer them more convenient access to the country's most popular beaches. In short, the goal is to bring in more money for development and to reinvent Sri Lanka's image. As such, it can be said that Sri Lankan development under Rajapaksa depends on an import-export economy and that this economic system depends on the movement of Sri Lankan workers—preferably male—out of the country and foreign tourists into the country.

With eyes on the organically fast-developing Sri Lanka that was and ignoring all the infrastructure problems that led to war, the state is turning to South Korea and choosing to use television to further promote this rekindled relationship. In a country like Sri Lanka, where there is no real nightlife (being out after sunset is culturally inappropriate, especially for women), television provides a nightly escape and thus is a place where subliminal government messaging is most effective. Indeed, as explained to me by a worker at the Women in Media collective, the character Changumi has already become part of the national imaginary, now seen as Sri Lankan rather than Korean.

Upon overhearing the news that North Korea was threatening to use its nuclear weapons, my host sister shrieked in concern for Changumi and Dong Yi, because they live "just

on the other side of the border.” Her concern is reflective of the fact that audiences have taken Changumi and Dong Yi to be extensions of themselves. These characters have made a strong impact on people in Sri Lanka, primarily on adolescent girls. While the state produces teledramas using a formula that is now tired and outdated, shows like *Jewel and the Palace* and *Dong Yi* excite. Yet, their tremendous success cannot be taken as a trend toward entirely new representation. Instead, the two series have been used as tools to promote the important role South Korea is coming to play in the post-civil war Sri Lankan modernization effort. Despite the ways in which *Jewel in the Palace* and *Dong Yi* seem transformative from afar, in reality their impact is double-edged. On the one hand, they provide a role model with agency and a break in stock representation. On the other, they strip agency from women and promote a government agenda that allows a restoration of the idea of men as primary breadwinners.

Endnotes

- ⁱ Kandy is the second-largest city and ancient capital of Sri Lanka, located in the central hill region of the country.
- ⁱⁱ The original Korean title of the series is *Dae Jang Geum*.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Changumi is the name adopted for the Sinhalese dubbing of the show. In Korean, the character is called Seo Jang Geum. Changumi is also the way that *Sujatha Diyani* is colloquially referred to throughout the country.
- ^{iv} *Kades* are roadside market stands that, depending on the owner, sell everything from meal staples to smartphones.
- ^v This was relayed to me in multiple interviews. Unfortunately, I lack the language skills to find the exact quote from the Sinhalese papers.
- ^{vi} In order to secure employment in South Korea, one must take a proficiency test for the language; and, based on the latest numbers, people are taking the language learning process quite seriously. Between 2010 and 2011, the number of people taking the exam increased by 20,583, and the rate of those passing rose from 42% to 62% (*Performance Report 9*). With this rise in interest in South Korean jobs, the Bureau of Foreign Employment chose to increase the number of hours of Korean language instruction it offered from 100 to 150 in 2011, a sure sign of things to come (*Performance Report 9*).

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Moroccans in the Netherlands: Community and Burial

Jessica Adomako, *Swarthmore College*

Jessica recently received her BA degree from Swarthmore College, where she created her own major in migration studies. Her main research interests are in humanitarian relief, food security, transnationalism, and the intersection of development with migration, tourism, and technology. She is a recipient of a Society of Women in Geography Fellowship, a Benjamin A. Gilman Scholarship, and a Pennock Fellowship. In her spare time, she likes to request the same song at every swing dance concert: "The Shim Sham."

Abstract

This article is an excerpt from a larger thesis project. It explores the new dialogue about Moroccan burial choices in the Netherlands and Morocco. The mixed methods used to aid this exploration include the textual analysis of international news media as well as interviews and site observations. Bridging historical and contemporary notions of social connections, this article presents a twofold discussion to argue that burial places show a contextual relationship to the present and an imagined relationship to the future. First, the notion of connectivity is defined in relation to the family, neighborhood, and the nation-state. Second, the process of burial is a productive way to look at how these different connectivities exist in a transnational context.

Introduction

The earth is God and no one knows where he dies. If the cemeteries in the Netherlands—in Wintertwijk . . . are like in Morocco, then I want to be buried here. (*De Halve Maan*, 2012)

On February 23, 2012, *De Halve Maan* ("The Crescent Moon"), a Dutch television program, covered a once-avoided topic: the burial of loved ones. A Moroccan Dutch family was featured in the show. As the introductory quote implies, the family discussed their spiritual, emotional, and practical preferences and reservations about burial in the Netherlands versus burial in Morocco. The show represented another departure from the norm. Popular Dutch discourse constantly problematizes Moroccan integration in the Netherlands, and the dialogue over place of burial is also a new platform in which this discussion ensues (Statham et al., 2005; Sunier & van Kuijeren, 2002; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Moroccan Dutch and "native" Dutch are engaged in debates over the place of burial and, in turn, over the definition of community. Bridging historical and contemporary notions of social connections, this article presents a twofold discussion to argue that burial places show a contextual relationship to the present and an imagined relationship to the future.

Background and Methods

My own mother passed away in 2005. I had many questions about the timing, distance, and agency surrounding her death. Why did my family have to wait for a month to bury her? Why was she buried so far away from me in a random cemetery in Cypress Hills, Brooklyn? Is this how a young member of the Ghanaian diaspora wanted to depart? Were these the same processes that people with transnational connections were likely to face in other parts of the world, and why? These questions followed me to Morocco, where I conducted field research during the fall of 2011. My research was initially focused on comparing the burial challenges of sub-Saharan Moroccan immigrants with those of "native" Moroccans.

Morocco is not known just for receiving immigrants, however; it is also a large immigrant-sending country (de Haas, 2005). Moroccans began to substantially immigrate to countries such as the Netherlands, France, and Belgium in the 1960s (Laroui, 2012). Today, Moroccans make up the second-largest minority group in the Netherlands (Roest, 2008). During my stay in Morocco, I participated in an excursion to Amsterdam to learn more about the experiences of Moroccans living in the Netherlands and anti-immigration politics (Menebhi, personal communication, November 2, 2012). In the summer of 2012, I received an opportunity to return to the Netherlands to explore the experiences of Moroccan diaspora buried abroad in the Netherlands.

My preparation and field research spanned five-and-a-half months. The sites of this research included a selection of cities in Morocco and the Netherlands: Rabat, Amersfoort, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Hilversum, and Leiden. These are the cities where I lived, volunteered at mosques, interviewed people, and conducted observations at cemeteries. As a result, there were a multitude of angles that I used to address the death practices of the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands.¹ I also analyzed articles from *Persgroep Nederland*, *Telegraaf*, *Volkskrant*, and other highly circulated newspapers. Applying textual analysis to newspaper articles reveals connected and disconnected discourses of the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands. According to Jonathan Crush and Wade Pendleton, the media plays a critical role in creating and propagating images that shape attitudes toward immigrants. Consequently, I used news articles as a proxy for understanding the connection and disconnection of the Moroccan diaspora in the Netherlands to the greater Dutch society (Crush & Pendleton, 2004). I did not rely on news articles to underscore Moroccan burials as the main topic of investigation. Rather, burial becomes a way to identify the themes that are embedded in social connections.

Burial and Social Connectivity

Johannes Fabian emphasizes that anthropologists who study death must avoid objectifying people (1972). In his warning, Fabian was responding to classical studies that used burial rituals as an indicator of evolution in societies. Fabian was highlighting a negative legacy that contemporary scholars approaching the death of “the other” should regard. Nevertheless, his critical caution about studying death has not deterred scholars from understanding the topics that are highlighted by studies that have parochial tendencies (Janson, 2011; Abramovitch & Palgi, 1984; Schielke, 2010; Varisco, 2005).

Émile Durkheim focused on death as a means to analyze problems of “anomie” (i.e., “the lack of social standards for a group”) in the twentieth century. For example, in *Suicide*, Durkheim used death as a lens to explore the radical shift in social connectedness that occurred after industrialization in Europe. He wrote that it was difficult to directly understand the degree of social connectedness in society. As a result, to shed light on social connections, he analyzed instances of deviation from social connectedness. Durkheim argued that suicide represents deviations from social connection. Although his methodological process was profound, the applicability of his findings can be disputed on the grounds that his theories were based on data that did not represent the grand population. For example, he heavily drew from societies of Catholics and Protestants (Durkheim, 1951). Perhaps his findings would not hold in the context of Jewish or Islamic societies. Furthermore, the societies he studied were largely sedentary. With further advancements in traveling technology, people are less sedentary, more mobile, and connected through transnational mediums (Sabry, 2005; Ennaji & Sadiqi, 2008).

Today, the social connections of nomadic minority people such as those who are part of a diaspora are largely reviewed within the dominant discussion of transnationalism (Brah, 1996; Cohen, 1997; Hall, 1996). Transnationalism is usually understood as the flow of capital, political, knowledge, and culture across state borders. Transnational activities act as lenses through which states examine the relations between diaspora and states (Gardner, 2002). I argue that it is important to observe transnationalism from the perspective of those who experience it. The perspective of “receiving states” and “sending states” only reveals the local points of view that align with the state. While there is much scholarship on transnationalism from the perspective of “sending states” and “receiving states,” I would like to bring attention to the work done on “transnationalism from below.”

“Transnationalism from below” largely refers to global spaces that are experienced in local ways (Appadurai, 1995).

Scholars who address this write about the agency, honor, lineage locations, and the return patterns of recent and historical immigrants. Adrian Felix (2011) argues that the Mexican state supports the autonomous decision of Mexican immigrants to pursue posthumous repatriation. Humayun Ansari (2007) undertakes a diachronic analysis of the historical sacrifices of Muslims who facilitated the establishment of Islamic spaces in Britain today. Engseng Ho (2006) provides a framework to understand how the historical travel and burial of the Hadrami Yemeni signify endings for migrants and beginnings for their descendants. June de Bree (2007) draws attention to transnational activities as a means for Moroccan immigrants to negotiate their feelings of belonging once they return to Morocco.

Examining burial from the perspective of diaspora in dialogue with dominant perspectives is useful because it helps us to see how people buried in one place may be connected to another place, multiple places, or no place at all. A range of people I interviewed in the Netherlands who were of Moroccan descent highlighted the quandaries of their connections. A Moroccan Dutch PhD student of Islamic Studies logically explained that it should be normalized to die in the place where you find yourself because Prophet Muhammad was buried in the place where he died (Khalila, personal communication, August 8, 2012). A young Moroccan Dutch businessman of Amsterdam recognized that even though he is connected to Amsterdam and wants to be buried in the Netherlands, if he died suddenly he would be buried in Morocco because his father manages his insurance plan (personal communication, August 15, 2012). Ibrahim Wijbenga, the chairman of the Islamic Funeral Foundation (IBW) in Eindhoven, emphasized his connection to multiple places: “I have all kinds of blood in me, but I’m very proud of all of them. I cannot make a choice if they said choose because how can you choose?” (personal communication, August 17, 2012). While Ibrahim chose to reconcile his multiple connections through spearheading the creation of traditional Moroccan Islamic burial in the Netherlands, another informant with multiple connections struggled to decide on whether he prefers to be buried in Morocco near his parents or in the Netherlands, where his children will live (Ghoudani, personal communication, August 16, 2012). In contrast to one’s feeling of connection to multiple places, there is also an established practice of burying people who are arguably not connected to any place, such as refugees (Massey, 1994).

Burial in the Netherlands and Morocco

Historically, burial was widely accepted as a form of postmortem care in the Netherlands. Dating back to the fall of pillarisation in the 1960s, Catholics and Jews were the few Dutch minorities who were able to establish separate

institutions, including burial grounds (Bok, personal communication, August 22, 2012; Bouras, 2008; Maussen, 2012). Today, these minority burial grounds are still standing. The Jewish burial grounds have become consecrated as historical sites and the Catholic cemeteries are still attached to Catholic churches. Nathal Dessing (2001) writes about how the Muslim-Surinamese burial rituals have joined the class of institutionalized minority death practices in the Netherlands. Despite these establishments, today there is a prevailing understanding that burial grounds in the Netherlands are impermanent:

After a minimum of ten years these graves can be cleared without the consent of the bereaved. Most graves in the Netherlands, however, are rented graves to which exclusive rights are temporarily held by the bereaved (Van Dijk & Mennen 2002). In such cases, burial rights have to be paid for a period of at least twenty years. After that, these rights can be extended by the bereaved every ten years. But even in the case of a rented grave, if the rights are relinquished, the tombstone can be removed after a period of time and the grave cleared. (Heessels, 2009)

Heessels (2009) speculates that the grave-leasing provisions are for practical reasons. When I conducted a preliminary article survey of burials in Western Europe, “saturation” (land shortage) appeared as a popular issue. Given that the Dutch lease period coincides with the time that it takes for a body to decompose, burial laws in the Netherlands are arguably aimed at economically addressing the issue of space and accessibility (Heessels, 2009).

In contrast, burial provisions in Morocco facilitate Sufi or spiritual values. In Morocco, the meaning of burial is embedded in the broader process of washing, wrapping, praying, and burial. After a death, a person’s body is generally stored in an intimate place like the house. Timing is also an essential concept in Morocco. According to religious texts, the body needs to be buried as early as possible. On the first day, women receive and welcome guests with coffee, croissants, and olives at the funeral home, while men take the deceased to the mosque for prayer followed by the cemetery for burial. Couscous is served on the evening of the first and second day to guests. On the morning of the third day, women will visit the gravesite for the first time with bread, dried figs, dates, and rose water. The women give the food to beggars and spread the rose water onto the respective grave. During the evening of the third day, the bereaved family invites everyone to read specific Koranic verses.

My visit to As-Shouhada, the main Muslim cemetery in Rabat, contextualized Moroccan burial experiences. On a Thursday afternoon in the fall, the cemetery functioned like

an entire city. There were Moroccan families, *tilbah* (i.e., “ordained prayer people”), bread and money beggars, lounging kids, water-hustling kids, and sub-Saharan African male undertakers. There were bits, pieces, and whole formed glass bottles of rose water and orange blossom disseminated through the cemetery. There were elaborate tombstones, sporadic unadorned tombstones, evergreen/grass-covered tombstones. The cement crevices scaled down the cemetery walls to the Atlantic Ocean. Upon exiting the walls of the As-Shouhada cemetery, there was a market of sellers couched in basil, myrtle, and other auspicious plants. Moroccans are faced with a different reality, however, when they live abroad.

There is currently no independent Islamic cemetery in the Netherlands (Bouras, personal communication, November 1, 2012). Instead, there are sections in public cemeteries that are designated for Moroccans and other Muslim Dutch. Moroccan community members and the media recognize that Moroccans face ephemeral burial conditions because Islamic sections are located in public cemeteries. Nevertheless, according to an Islamic burial expert, “Muslims have a lot of opportunity to be buried according to their Islamic ruling” (Khalila, personal communication, August 8, 2012). Even though the Dutch policies cannot promise eternal burial, they do grant exceptions to the post-thirty-six-hour rule. They also allow for grave price variation among municipalities and no longer require burial in a coffin. Still, these conditions are not satisfactory for many Moroccan Dutch.

Social Connections and the Context of Death in the Present

Connectivity in the Netherlands is about how people imagine themselves as well as the shared experience of how people imagine others. The news reports in the Netherlands demonstrate the process of constructing Moroccan Dutch identities. The construction of identity reveals two different types of connections. One form of connection exists among the “native” Dutch because they engage in a process of stereotyping to construct Moroccan Dutch identities. Another form of connection exists among Moroccan Dutch because they respond collectively to the popular stereotypes that confront them. The native Dutch connection is demonstrated through the reports in the print media, which are seldom written by Moroccan Dutch and often use the term “we” to address an autochthonous population of readers.

The news media coverage about Moroccans paint simplistic pictures. In an overwhelming majority of stories, “the Moroccan” is portrayed as a foreigner, victim, or perpetrator. Dutch Moroccans are highly conscious of these stereotypes. Many of my informants read *Algemeen Dagblad*, *Telegraaf*, *Trouw*, and *Volkskrant*. They recognize that there is still a lot of discussion about Moroccans as immigrants who

need to assimilate and Muslims who are radical. These identity frames convey a negative perception of Moroccans.

These stereotypes affect the ways in which some Moroccan diaspora define themselves in relation to groups. Some Moroccan Dutch proudly identify as Moroccan; others are reluctant to call themselves Moroccan. Kadeem is a middle-aged man who was born in France, moved to Morocco in his late teens to take care of his Moroccan grandparents, and then moved to the Netherlands, where he met his wife and established a career. When Kadeem was asked about what citizenships he had, he directed the conversation toward his disposition to the stereotypes about Moroccan and Dutch people: “I don’t feel Dutch. I don’t feel Moroccan. I don’t feel French. I just feel like who I am. If people talk bad about Moroccans, that is their experience. If they talk bad about the Dutch, that is their experience” (personal communication, August 14, 2012). At that moment, Kadeem looked at his wife and said, “*Ik voel me thuis waar mijn kinderen zijn en waar mijn vrouw*” [“I feel home where my kids are and my wife is”] (personal communication, August 14, 2012). Nordin Ghoudani is a journalist who grew up in Tilburg and now devotes much of his time to producing stories that are diversity conscious. When asked about the meaning of the terms “allochtone” and “autochtone”—Dutch terms that refer to people with foreign origins and people with indigenous origins—Nordin shared his way of dealing with a term that carries a stigma: “I am allochtone but that is okay by me. I know that a lot of immigrants make that an issue or problem. But I’m not because I am Moroccan and I am a proud Moroccan and I was born in Morocco” (personal communication, August 16, 2012).

The Future of Islamic Burial Tradition as a Form of Community

The burial wishes of Moroccan Dutch are reflected through their connections to other generations. As I sat with Khalila, she explained to me that, “You have a choice to be buried either here because your children are here or in your home country because you want to stay connected to your parents and your siblings there” (personal communication, August 8, 2012). Since burial is a taboo subject, it has just begun to gain tract in the media. Many people have not confronted the question or discussed the implications with their family. As a result, many people seem to adopt an “I don’t know” sentiment:

To be buried in Holland or Morocco? Never thought about it. I don’t know. For my children, I think it is easier to be buried in Holland. But if I think about it, maybe I want to be buried at the same cemetery as my father, and my grandmother is also there you know. So I don’t know. (Ghoudani, personal communication, August 16, 2012)

However, the people who have confronted the question of burial have much to say. The first generation understands burial as a sign of integration into the greater Dutch society. Meanwhile, most first-generation Moroccans who are getting older return to Morocco to die. (Bilgili & Weyel, 2009) Since they consider the second generation more integrated into the Netherlands than themselves, they imagine a future where the second generation is buried in the Netherlands. At the same time, the second generation confirms these wishes, not because they regard themselves as more integrated into the Netherlands but because they will have children who are more integrated into the Netherlands (Baba, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

Moroccan community representatives as well as elected members of municipalities interpret the burial of the second generation in Holland as a sign of integration. In the article “Veenendaal Gets Muslim Cemetery,” published in September 2005, Abdenmour El Ktibi, the president of the Moroccan Foundation in Vennendaal, said, “The younger generations want to be buried in the Netherlands but in a traditional way.” In the article “Amsterdam Gives Extra Money for the New Eastern Prayer Room,” published in July 2010, Marcouch Ahmed and Ahmed Abou Taleb made a case for a grant to construct Islamic washrooms and prayer rooms in the New Eastern Cemetery in Amsterdam: “From the perspective of integration they find a Muslim cemetery desirable” (July 2010, Parool).

Tofik Dibi, a Moroccan-Dutch politician, one of the youngest members of Dutch Parliament, wrote an article titled, “You speak Dutch well!”, where he used his personal experiences to thoroughly discuss his hope for more integration in Dutch society. He highlighted a pushback against the prevailing notion of a “generational divide” between immigrants and their children in the Netherlands. For Tofik, a total sign of inclusion involves the first generation, the parents of the second generation: “It means that there can be Muslims in the cemetery next to our deceased parents and grandparents.” Despite Tofik’s ultimatum, the relationship between the second generation and the third generation is the more dominant example of intergenerational connections that are projected through burial wishes.

Members of the second generation often identify their connections to their children in the Netherlands as the reason that they will prefer to be buried in the Netherlands. Nordin Ghoudani explains that although the first generation is accustomed to postmortem repatriation, the second generation may not follow suit because they have young children (personal communication, August 16, 2012). Kadeem is one gentleman who thought that he would be buried in Morocco, but when he had children, he changed his mind. Now he prefers to be buried in the Netherlands

(personal communication, August 14, 2012). Many members of the second generation, even those who currently do not have any children, prefer to be buried in the Netherlands for the sake of their prospective children (Baba, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

The second generation's preference for burial in the Netherlands demonstrates a projection of their current relationships onto a connection with their prospective children. Some examples of these current connections include the relationship that the second generation has with the Netherlands and the relationship that the second generation has formed with the first generation. Regarding the second generation's relationship to the Netherlands, perhaps their ability to imagine burial in the Netherlands is influenced by a new condition that they are currently witnessing in the Netherlands. Recently, the first (but few) Moroccan Muslims to be buried in Islamic sections of cemeteries in the Netherlands are children:

Moroccans who don't repatriate? I think. I am not sure actually. I, um, I can't imagine. I have seen a lot of children's graves in the Netherlands on the Islamic parcels and I can imagine that being from Moroccan origin, um, if it would be my child who has died that I would also want him or her to be buried next to me because you feel that parent/child obligation. (Khadija, personal communication)

Regarding the second generation's relationship with the first generation, perhaps the experience of losing a parent and having that parent buried far away from them in Morocco informs their decision to be buried in the Netherlands. The second generation now understands the experiences that their children will have if they make the same decision as the first generation.

Analyzing the politics of death provides an alternative way of understanding the construction of postcolonial identities. Usually identities are connected to place of birth (Kabreab 1999). I challenge this epistemological mantra through the exploration of identities connected to the place of death. When addressing the topic of social connection through the lens of death, transnational activities capture twenty-first-century livelihood conditions. The recognition of transnational activities within the context of burial enables the recognition of diverse social connection. The debates about Moroccan burials in the Netherlands do not aim to juxtapose the position and experiences of "foreign" Dutch people to "native" Dutch people. Rather, they demonstrate the intricacies of burial as it relates to community. The debates call attention to the differences between wishes and outcomes of generations, households, and individuals.ⁱⁱ

Endnotes

- i In total, I conducted twelve interviews ranging in total from one hour to two hours in length. The snowball technique led to a substantial amount of diversity in the composition of my informant pool. My informants spanned different nationalities, including Dutch, Moroccan, Senegalese, Serbian, and Turkish. These diverse perspectives were useful for understanding the broader connections and processes of the migration and death nexus. At the same time, there were informants with striking similarities. These participants are in their twenties and thirties. Their families migrated from Morocco and settled in the Netherlands for work-related reasons in the 1960s. During the interview process, I found that reciprocity and trust were really important. Engaging in open self-reflection with my research interviewees helped my interviewees establish trust and comfort, which were essential for getting credible and in-depth data. Furthermore, my knowledge of Arabic and efforts to learn Moroccan Arabic established my sincerity. Analyzing newspapers also kept me abreast on appropriate dialogue. Some names have been changed to protect the identity of the non-public figures that I interviewed.
- ii In France, a state where religion is not recognized in public, Muslims are banned from realizing an independent Islamic cemetery. In the Netherlands, there is no prohibition on public display of religion. Thus, public policy in the domain of religion is not a barrier to the wish for an independent Islamic cemetery. Despite this inference about religion, this study does not focus on religion to the same extent that it underscores transnationalism. Consequently, one could assume that religion is an epiphenomenon. In a future extension of this study, I would like to undertake an exploration of religion to shed light on the extent to which the conditions of a receiving country frame the ability to substantially draw ties between burial practices and social connections.

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Ready to Die: The Worship of Death in Los Angeles

Arturo Alvarez, *Whittier College*

Arturo is a scholar of anthropology, immigrant communities, and border identities. As an organizer in labor and immigrant rights movements, he is an active participant of the communities he studies. He plans to graduate in December 2013 with his BA from the Whittier Scholars Program. His self-designed major is entitled "Latina/o Immigrant Religiosity and Social Justice."

Abstract

Santa Muerte, or Saint Death, is a new religious movement centered on the worship of death. The religion was born in Mexico City, but it has recently crossed the U.S.-Mexico border. In the last decade, many news publications and magazines have published short articles about the growth of Santa Muerte. While they provide the general public with information about the phenomenon, they often do not shed enough detail about the Santa Muerte new religious movement or the immigrant populations that embrace it. In particular, no one has described the components of a Santa Muerte worship service. This is the gap in knowledge that my study fills. The study is based on field observations in Santa Muerte churches in Los Angeles. Through ethnographic observations I move beyond the fears propagated through popular culture and law enforcement and describe the components and structure I observed during my ethnographic fieldwork.

What makes us human? The world's greatest thinkers and scholars have grappled with this question. Contemporary anthropologists point to evolutionary innovation such as opposable thumbs and bipedalism as the answer. Jonathon Gottschall explains that it is our ability to tell stories and create fiction that separates us from other animals (177). Gregory Curtis argues that humanity began with the Cro-Magnon people and their ability for abstract thought expressed through their cave paintings (11).

Other intellectuals contend that humans are a unique species because they can contemplate their own death. For example, Mesoamericans worshiped the death god, Mictlantecuhtli, and believed that life was a dream and that death was awakening (Leon 29). Humans have found meaning in death and have even celebrated death through holidays such as Day of the Dead. Today, some humans find enlightenment and purpose through a popular new religion, Santa Muerte, a movement that worships death. In this ethnographic study, I visited three Santa Muerte churches in Los Angeles to observe how some Mexican migrants construct meaning out of death through their participation in the Santa Muerte worship ceremony.

The Rise of Santa Muerte and U.S. Responses

In 2001, Enriqueta Romero unveiled the first public altar to the female folk saint Santa Muerte in Mexico City. Santa Muerte has grown rapidly in the last few decades because it is a religion that purports to welcome everyone. Santa Muerte is the personification of death, and, since everyone dies, her followers believe that she accepts all who worship her. Devotees believe Santa Muerte does not discriminate because there is no amount of fortune, power, or fame that can bribe the saint into granting immortality. The interpretation of death as a saint without prejudice resonates with marginalized communities including migrants, members of the LGBT community, prostitutes, and drug addicts. For example, the Santa Muerte church in Mexico City is notable for performing the first same-sex weddings in the country (Chesnut 114). Drug traffickers, kidnappers, and cartel members have also found spiritual refuge in Santa Muerte because they also believe that she does not judge them or their profession.

It might not be surprising that a religion that worships death would become popular in Mexico, given that the drug war has produced an estimated 60,000 homicides between 2006–2012.¹ However, Santa Muerte is a religion growing in popularity in places outside of Mexico. The main argument of my research is that Santa Muerte is quickly becoming a religious institution within Los Angeles. To prove this, I participated in the weekly services of three Los Angeles churches and then wrote fieldnotes of my observations. Two of the churches I visited are located in the Huntington Park community, while the third church is located near MacArthur Park.

While I am not a member of the Santa Muerte church, I was able to gain access to the worship services because they are open to the public. It was also helpful that I am a fluent Spanish speaker, since all the services are held in Spanish. In preparation for my observations, I read articles, blogs, and watched programs about the religion. I soon discovered that Santa Muerte is perceived to be a violent and dangerous religion by some outside observers.

Newspapers, cable TV dramas, and films have paid close attention to the Santa Muerte phenomenon, but they have tended to focus on only those worshipers connected to violence and criminal activity. For example, in season three of *Breaking Bad*, two cartel assassins visit a Santa Muerte altar in Mexico before they cross the border into the U.S. to attempt to kill a rival drug dealer and a Drug Enforcement Administration agent. In season five of *Dexter*, two Venezuelan immigrants in Miami are called the "Santa Muerte Killers" because they offer the bloody remains of their victims to Santa Muerte. In the 2012 film *End Of*

Watch, two LAPD officers investigate a home in South Central, and they discover that the home is used by a Mexican cartel for human trafficking; inside the home is an altar dedicated to Santa Muerte. It is not surprising that popular culture discourse on Santa Muerte does not provide a comprehensive analysis of the religion; however, the depiction of Santa Muerte worshipers as violent criminals also describes the perceptions that some law enforcement officials have about this religious movement. Next, I will discuss these perceptions within law enforcement agencies.

In 2008, the U.S. and Mexican authorities drafted the Merida Initiative, which largely increased the war on drugs in Mexico and Central America with the help of \$1.6 billion in U.S. funding (www.state.gov/J/Inl/merida). Aside from customs enforcement along the border and the increased violence throughout Mexico's countryside, the war on drugs has led to repression of Santa Muerte worshipers. In 2009, the Mexican army destroyed forty Santa Muerte altars along the border because they were reportedly linked to the Narco drug trade (Chesnut 4). Dr. Robert J. Bunker, who is a professor of political science at the Claremont Colleges and a specialist in counterterrorism, testified before the House of Foreign Affairs Subcommittee stating that he "never thought we would contemplate the day when 'true believers' from a Mexican cartel would start looking a lot like jihadists fighting for Al Qaeda—instead representing a perverted form of Christianity—but such a day appears very close at hand" (Bunker 13). Arguing that Mexico is experiencing a "spiritual insurgency" that has crossed the border into the U.S., Bunker advocated that the Merida Initiative should be updated to expand military action in U.S. territory. Along with U.S. Marshall Robert Almonte, Bunker has become a much-sought-after "expert" of the Santa Muerte religion, publishing numerous articles and reports for law enforcement, including *Santa Muerte: Inspired and Ritualistic Killings*. In this three-volume report, Bunker and Almonte argue that Santa Muerte "promotes the intentional pain and suffering of others and, even, viewing killing as pleasurable activity" (2). Law enforcement concerns about public safety might be genuine; however, it is possible that their concerns are motivated by prejudice.ⁱⁱ

Some observers of the religious phenomenon have challenged these violent perceptions by seeking out the voices of the Santa Muerte congregations. While books such as *Devoted to Death: Santa Muerte, The Skeleton Saint* by R. Andrew Chesnut and documentaries such as *La Santa Muerte* by Eva Aridjis have focused largely on interviewing worshipers, no one has described the components of a Santa Muerte worship service. There have been observers of the religion that have written about the monthly rosary prayer hosted by Enriqueta Romero in Mexico (Chesnut 38), yet there is very little known about how Santa Muerte temples

structure their worship services. This is why participating in the worship services represents a new direction for this research. However, there are some limitations to this study. Since I did not conduct interviews, I do not have intimate details that would tell me, for example, why and how the worshipers joined the religion. Also, while ethnographers typically spend an extended amount of time in the field, I was only able to conduct observations on weekends. Lastly, I would join James Clifford in his assertion that ethnographies are partial truths. Santa Muerte will continue to transform and develop despite my attempt to create an accurate portrait of the religion (475). Given these various limitations, what I present here are preliminary findings.

Afterlife: Reborn in Los Angeles

Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock write that, "Sickness is not just an isolated event or an unfortunate brush with nature. It is a form of communication . . . through which nature, society, and culture speak simultaneously" (550). Ailments are not just biological occurrences within the body, but instead can be socially constructed outside of the body where political and economic powers shape the physical and social health of the marginalized. While sickness provides the hope for recovery, death provides an end. Avery F. Gordon writes of ghosts or the dead as agents that make the invisible visible through haunting, saying that, "Ultimately haunting is about how to transform a shadow of a life into an undiminished life whose shadows touch softly in the spirit of a peaceful reconciliation. In this necessarily collective undertaking, the end, which is not an ending at all, belongs to everyone" (Gordon 208). Santa Muerte worshipers take ownership of the end. They believe that death belongs to them and it is a possession essential for the construction of meaning (Taussig 4). While some law enforcement officials have interpreted the worship of death as the worship of violence, it is important to acknowledge that the worshipers themselves find meaning in *death*, not necessarily violence.

In Los Angeles, Mexican immigrants have found meaning in death through their worship of Santa Muerte in three local churches. The three churches contribute to the same Santa Muerte newsletter: *El Poder de la Santa Muerte*. Additionally, the services at the different churches are all structured in the same way, which points to coordination between religious leaders. The services are made up of three elements: the rosary, the discussion, and the *limpia*.

At the start of the Sunday service, the congregation stands on its feet and prays the rosary in unison. The religious leader called *profesora* does not lead the rosary but, rather, members from the congregation volunteer to lead the worshipers in prayer. The rosary is essentially the same

lengthy prayer practiced within Catholicism. Some of its traditional Catholic elements include the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the use of prayer beads. The only notable difference of the Santa Muerte rosary is the inclusion of the following petition, "O Santa Muerte, save us and save the entire world."

The second part of the service is a classroom-style discussion in which the *profesora* chooses a theme and encourages the congregation to meditate for a few minutes and then engage in an open conversation. The discussions include simple church logistics such as the planning of a trip but also theological matters such as instructions to build a strong spiritual relationship with Santa Muerte and existential questions such as the meaning of life and death. At one of the services I attended, a woman asked, "Why do some of us have weak spirits?" The *profesora* explained that humans who face trauma such as verbal, physical, or sexual abuse lose a part of themselves and then become prone to depression. For the *profesora*, the weak spirit must die so that humans can be reborn.

The service ends with a *limpia*, or a spiritual cleansing, in which the *profesora* rubs an egg, wet with perfume or tequila, throughout the body of the worshiper. The worshipers envision their pain, disease, stress, or hardships as blue smoke that leaves their pores and is absorbed by the egg. The *profesora* hands the egg to the worshiper, who must then place the egg on a Santa Muerte altar located at the head of the church. At the end of one of the *limpias* I observed, each of the worshipers received a zip-lock bag with seven pennies. The *profesora* explained that the seven pennies represented the days of the week and that they would help alleviate financial troubles each day of the week. The worshipers eagerly accepted the bags of pennies and gave thanks.

The rosary prayer, with its roots in Catholicism, and the egg *limpia*, with its roots in *Curanderismo* (folk healing), is instantly recognizable to the Mexican diaspora in Los Angeles. The rosary and the *limpia* are old concepts reborn under a new context through the process called *sacred poetics*. In *sacred poetics*, "religious actors manage the often harsh and potentially overwhelming conditions they confront . . . by deploying the most powerful weapons in their arsenal: signs, myth, rituals, narratives, and symbols . . . [to] reinvent religious institutions and their place in the lives of constituents" (Leon 5). Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles have applied *sacred poetics* to existing traditions such as Catholicism and *Curanderismo* to construct a Santa Muerte religion that is both familiar and innovative. It is tempting to oversimplify and describe Santa Muerte as a syncretic religion that blends folk healing and Catholicism; however, the open discussion element of the worship service neither fits the "preaching model" of the Catholic church nor the individualized

one-on-one relationship between the healer and the sick. The discussion element is not uncommon with regards to world religions, but it stands out as radically different from traditional Catholicism and *Curanderismo*. While the rosary provides familiarity with Catholic immigrants and the *limpia* provides relief from ailments, the discussion element serves as an agent for empowerment by granting a voice to individuals within the congregation. The members of the congregation own their voice as well as the end, death. They openly confront their traumas and acknowledge their economic position in society. At a time when the U.S. is recovering from one of the worst economic recessions and some view immigrants as a threat to jobs, it is interesting that Santa Muerte worshipers have a class-consciousness and openly discuss rebuilding their "weak spirits" in a meaningful and empowering way. If worshipers can confront their own mortality without fear, then perhaps it might be less difficult for them to confront their own traumas and economic hardships.

In *Devoted to Death: Santa Muerte, The Skeleton Saint*, R. Andrew Chesnut concludes his study of the religion in Mexico with the news that one of the most prominent leaders of Santa Muerte is in jail and therefore, "Efforts to institutionalize the faith have suffered at least a temporary setback" (Chesnut 190). However, in Los Angeles, uniformity and coordination among multiple Santa Muerte churches demonstrate that the efforts to institutionalize the faith are underway. Three Los Angeles Santa Muerte churches structure their services to include the same three elements: the rosary, the discussion, and the *limpia*. These same churches also advertise and contribute to the same Santa Muerte newsletter. The Santa Muerte congregations of Los Angeles can expect an established set of rituals and practices that form part of the religion's ceremonies and worship services. Devotees believe that, sooner or later, Santa Muerte will come to collect their souls, but until then they will continue to gather in Los Angeles to pray the rosary, discuss death, and participate in the *limpia*.

Endnotes

ⁱ According to Human Rights Watch as reported in CNN (<http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/21/world/americas/mexico-human-rights>). Drug war violence has escalated as the world bank estimates that over half of Mexico's population lives in poverty (<http://data.worldbank.org/country/mexico>).

ⁱⁱ In an interview for *On Being*, U.S. Marshall Robert Almonte is asked how he became an expert in the spiritual activity of criminals. He explains that he has over twenty-five years of experience working as a narcotics detective but also adds: "I was raised Catholic, attended Catholic school, and served as an altar boy. I was taught that everything about the Catholic religion and Catholic saints was beautiful and involved only good things. However, once becoming a police officer, I began seeing the misuse of the Catholic saints and a perversion of the Catholic religion" (Leem 1). Given that the Catholic Church has publicly demonized the worship of Santa Muerte as the worship of the enemy of Christ, Almonte's conflict of interest should not go unnoticed.

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Sex-y Space: Space and Sexual Communities in the Bay Area and Pioneer Valley, 1960–1980

Estela Bernice Diaz, *Princeton University*

Estela is a senior pursuing her degree in sociology with a certificate in gender and sexuality studies at Princeton University. Her current research project addresses childhood identity formation in preschool settings. After taking time to complete a fellowship or other position, she plans to continue studying spatial dimensions of identity formation by pursuing a PhD in sociology.

Abstract

This paper is a short summary of Estela's junior independent work, which examines the creation and development of gay and lesbian communities in the Bay Area and in the Pioneer Valley during the 1960s and 1970s. Fieldwork, in-depth interviews, archival research, and oral histories were used in order to understand how these communities formed, what issues existed in them, what form of communication networks existed when they were not yet in the public eye, and how sexuality impacts the space. Results conclude that gay men and lesbian women intentionally formed separate communities in the midst of the women's movement, and lesbian communities themselves were divided along the basis of racial and class lines. Lesbian formation is spatially different from that of gay men, in part because of their lack of financial resources relative to men. Sexuality manifests itself differently in spaces according to the gender in question.

Introduction

"Welcome to Lesbianville, U.S.A.—a bizarre town where so many women love women you can even find them cuddling and kissing on Main Street!"ⁱ

"Homosexuality in America. Homosexuality—and the problem it poses—exists all over the U.S. but . . . San Francisco rates as the 'gay capital' . . ."ⁱⁱ

How did lesbian neighborhoods compare with gay men's neighborhoods during the 1960s and 1970s, and what impact did identity politics have on the development of these spaces? As my research argues, the 1960s and 1970s were crucial times for the creation and development of gay and lesbian communities, specifically those in the Bay Area in California and the Pioneer Valley in Massachusetts. Several groups, including racial minorities, women, LGBTQ-identified people, and different socioeconomic classes, became particularly concerned with social and identity politics during these decades. I argue that gay and lesbian communities formed separately from one another due to the rise of lesbian separatism but also because of fundamentally different political and cultural agendas. Lesbian formation was spatially different from that of gay men, in part because of women's lack of financial resources relative to men. Issues of race were oftentimes covert within lesbian

communities themselves during this era, but these communities had significant class-consciousness that grew largely out of juxtaposition with gay men's communities in urban regions.

Literature Review

In order to understand queer enclaves as physical spaces that cultivate and sustain a particular identity, it is important to consider the relationship between people's physicality and the physical dimensions of space. Pierre Bourdieu argues that bodies internalize the culture in the world that they live in by reproducing history with the "correctness" of practices and their constancy over time" (1990:54). Building on Bourdieu's notion of "habitus," scholar Alison Rooke proposes the concept of "lesbian habitus . . . a visible expression of embodied lesbian cultural capital . . . (and) an embodied expression of lesbian cultural capitals and 'cultural resources'" (Skeggs 2004 in Rooke 2007:232). Rooke is concerned with lesbian bodies; however, this framework allows us to consider not just lesbians but all queer bodies vulnerable to the embodiment of culture and central to the maintenance of social inequalities. With an emphasis on the body, sexuality becomes a geographically based existence, contingent on the space.

Issues of sexuality, gender, and race were all pertinent in American society during the 1960s and 1970s; how, then, did these issues manifest themselves in lesbian communities? Scholars have identified a plethora of models that can be used to examine singular identities at the level of individuals. In line with recent academic shifts, this essay employs what is known as "the intersectional imagination," a term coined by Antonio Pastrana that encourages consideration of multiple identities at the individual level (2006). I also use this term to consider political movements of the 1960s and 1970s that influenced and intersected with one another. In this light, we could also consider many types of "lesbianisms" that bring into question the different identifiers of oppression and oppressors. There is extensive research on the continued development of lesbian communities in the past four decades, but there is very little literature that helps explain how lesbian communities began in the first place. By examining the early origins of lesbian communities, we can further complicate our understanding of why lesbian communities organized the ways they did during the 1960s and 1970s, both spatially and politically. In fact, looking at the origins of these communities shows that the spatial distribution oftentimes, but not always, had a political motive.

Data and Methods

In order to examine the creation and development of queer enclaves during the 1960s and 1970s, my research

focused on two key regions in the United States with queer historical backgrounds. One of these regions is the larger Bay Area, an urban metropolitan region in California, with emphasis on the city of San Francisco. San Francisco has a gay men's neighborhood called "The Castro," along with a lesbian neighborhood called "The Mission." The second region is the Pioneer Valley, a semirural region in Massachusetts, with emphasis on the city of Northampton. Northampton is often referred to as "Lesbianville, USA."

For this research, I used a multimethod approach that included ethnographic fieldwork, in-depth interviews, oral histories, and archival research. The final participant sample was generated through a combination of "snowball sampling" (Morgan in Given 2008) and targeted recruiting. The interviews were in-depth, structured interviews with varied questions and focus depending on each participant's personal experiences and history. There were a total of six interviews conducted; all of the participants are White, and, aside from Matthew,ⁱⁱⁱ everyone was involved in the lesbian communities during the 1960s or 1970s. The other materials this paper includes are oral histories of lesbian women in the Pioneer Valley or the Bay Area whose stories touch on the nuances of gender, race, and class within lesbian communities.

My fieldwork in both San Francisco and Northampton showed many similarities and differences in lifestyle and use of the space in terms of LGBT visibility. Currently, San Francisco and Northampton are both popular tourist destinations for members of the LGBT community; each space has many places and information specifically targeted to "Gay Travel."^{iv} In the Castro, a giant rainbow flag flies over the region, demarcating a central point of commerce and residential living of the LGBT community. There is also a group of male nudists in San Francisco who spend the majority of their time in the Castro, standing on the corner of Market Street and 17th Street. I encountered them on multiple occasions during the coldest month of the year, wearing nothing but a pair of sandals on their feet.

The Bay Area and Northampton differ most in terms of the ways lesbians are visibly present and the ways they are represented. Unlike the Castro, when entering Northampton, there is no visual indication that the space is tailored to be welcoming for lesbians or LGBT-identified individuals. Rainbows are found in the form of bumper stickers, but there are few rainbow flags or rainbow displays in storefronts. In contrast, all spaces in the Mission that attract lesbians are framed and promote themselves as women's spaces; many of these spaces formed during the rise of the lesbian feminist separatist movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

Findings and Discussion

Gay and Lesbian Communities and Identities—Geographies of Sexuality

All six participants in my interviews cited economic troubles for women and gentrification during the 1960s and 1970s as the most important reason that lesbians did not live in the Castro neighborhood with gay men. Not only were many women financially unable to afford living in the Castro, but lesbians also did not identify with the gay male community and found more opportunities for inclusion within the broader women's movement in which lesbians constituted a minority. Constance most clearly illustrated this belief when she said:

C: We identified with women's liberation and we identified with women and so the men in the Castro wasn't that big a pull for us . . . I really minimized my participation with men because I wanted to get out of my old habits of deferring to men. I was raised that way and even though I've always been a pretty strong person, that cultural stuff gets in you . . . We wanted to be separate from the gay men and we saw our culture as . . . we *wanted* our culture to be different than gay men's culture and we saw it that way. (emphasis included)

When Constance says that she wanted to "get out of (her) old habits of deferring to men," she highlights a common sentiment held by lesbian feminists of the time. The lesbian separatist movement was gaining traction, but there were also moments when the practicality of this movement was questioned. One crucial period of re-evaluation was during the AIDS epidemic, when the gay male community in the Castro was especially hurting. Regina tells the story of lesbians and straight women meeting at the San Francisco Women's Building, and, after much discussion, many lesbians ultimately decided to help the gay male community by donating blood, since lesbian blood was "the safest blood there is." Another crucial component of Constance's quote above is the fact that women "*wanted*" their culture to be different than gay men's culture. In their own enclaves, lesbians attempted to "tone down their sexuality" and didn't want to be seen as crazed with sex (Constance; Regina). Although Constance is referring to the 1960s and 1970s, these experiences match my impression of the fields I visited. The Castro is a more visibly sexualized space, while the Mission and Northampton have a subtler queer undertone.

Issues of Race and Class in Lesbian Communities

Two of the largest issues within the women's movement were issues of race and class; how did these issues manifest themselves in lesbian communities? The Women's Building in San Francisco was the first women-owned and operated community center in the country. The women who

owned the building were lesbians, and they made it mandatory for 75% of the Board to be comprised of women of color. When asked about the differences between the representation of women of color at the larger organizational level and at the community level, Joleen said:

J: That wasn't an overt question but it was a covert question. So some of the African-American lesbians or dykes, we called ourselves dykes, who were part of the movement that I'm describing had terrible stories about things that happened to them in the bars and people that they would go home with who were just awful. They were just very racist people . . . I'm going to call it covert because we said we were integrated, we said we were welcome, but there just were incidents. (emphasis added)

Joleen's point succinctly summarizes the type of anxiety surrounding racism that was common during the 1970s, after the peak years of the Civil Rights movement. Most importantly, it notes that within the lesbian community there were very few incidents of *overt* racism but there was still an underlying anxiety about integrating on many levels.

Within the lesbian community itself, there was a special living situation that helped facilitate community organizing, coherent family, and, most importantly, cheap living. The Bay Area had a total of seven collectives that enabled working-class women from all over to join the lesbian movement in an engaging way. This web of households was intended to be women-centered, activist, and lesbian. A similar type of housing collective called the "Green Street Lesbian Rooming House" existed in the Pioneer Valley, right in the heart of Northampton (Sophia Smith Archives 1983). This house did not serve the same political functions as the collectives in the Bay Area, but it still served similar social functions.

Structure and Communication Networks in Lesbian Communities

Lesbian communities took on a very different structure from that of gay men in the Castro, in terms of both physical structure and the structure of their activist community. The Castro was called "the gay ghetto"; it included a commercial center surrounded by residential spaces and had a very high concentration of gay males. Lesbians, however, did not live and play in the same place. Lesbian bars, social events, and community programming were largely found in San Francisco, but lesbians commuted to these places and did not live directly near them. The same experience holds true for the Pioneer Valley, with Northampton as the center for social programming. Lesbians established their own networks despite the limits of geographical proximity, and these networks functioned effectively. In fact, the networks established between lesbian communities were so notable that

many women spoke of a "well-worn" path between the Pioneer Valley and the Bay Area. The Green Street House logbooks have entries written by many women who visited; one entry in September of 1978 reads: "Thank you, wimmin, very much for putting up with us for so long. I hope in our journey across the country we will continue to meet such friendly dykes" (Sophia Smith Archives 1983). These experiences are indicative of a sort of sub-culture and informal networks that existed before these regions were widely known as gay centers in America. There were also instances of informal networks that meant to serve both gay and lesbian members of the community. One example of this is "Lavender U: a university for Gay Women and Gay Men" in the city of San Francisco during the 1970s (GLBT Historical Society Archives, Anson Reinhart Papers 1994). This university's physical presence existed largely in the form of a single unremarkable pamphlet with purple lettering and lavender flowers on the front cover. This informal university had no actual physical building and instead consisted of classes led by ordinary people in their homes.

Conclusion

My research argues that the 1960s and 1970s were a crucial point in time for the development of gay and lesbian communities. The data shows that most, but not all, lesbians made conscious decisions to live separately from gay men during the 1960s and 1970s because of identity politics but also because of economic inequalities. Working-class lesbians were not isolated from the movement that gave rise to queer enclaves; in fact, they thrived within the structure of lesbian communities in both Northampton and the Bay Area with the help of things such as the collective households, work parties, and collective money pools. All data suggests that lesbian separatist culture was extremely influential and dynamic, but lesbians still framed their spaces and issues as those that belong to women. Even the collective households in the Bay Area that were exclusively for lesbian women still considered themselves as more broadly "women-centered." This interesting rhetorical choice suggests that, as Calhoun says, lesbians managed to exit the closet as queer, but they still existed in a sort of "gender closet" that limited their abilities to deal with intersectional politics (1995).

When considering Rooke's framework of a lesbian habitus and, by extension, a queer habitus, we consider the body as central to the maintenance of social inequalities. Fieldwork and the narratives show that the formation and presentation of queer bodies in particular spaces perpetuated inequalities between gay men and lesbian women and also amongst the lesbian women themselves. Sexed bodies, the social realities of these bodies, and eventually sexism drew a large divide in the queer community, creating great tension between gays and lesbians despite their common condition

of a minority sexual identity. Bourdieu's sociological concept of habitus helps explain the embodied cultures in each community and also the importance of space in the gay men's communities (1990). Habitus, however, fails to fully explain the development of lesbian communities, because these communities' existence was not as contingent on space as that of gay men's. Gender appears to play a great role in the spatial breakdown of queer communities. Lesbian communities existed largely in the form of networks, slightly suspended above particular spaces but not exclusively tied to the territories themselves. The collective households serve as one of the most important indicators of the physical manifestation of lesbian communities in the Bay Area and the Pioneer Valley and may also be considered forms of nuclei for the lesbian movement at large.

Endnotes

- ⁱ *National Enquirer*, April 21, 1992.
- ⁱⁱ Paul Welch, "Homosexuality in America." *LIFE*, 26 June 1964, 66–74: cited in Meeker 2000: 373.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Names have been changed to protect identity.
- ^{iv} San Francisco Travel Association 2012 and VisitNorthampton.net 2011.

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Women Athletes and the Myth of Progress: Managing the Lesbian Stereotype in Softball

Samantha Hobson, *University of Chicago*

Samantha graduated from the University of Chicago in 2013. Her academic interests lie at the intersection of gender, race, sexuality, privilege, and the social psychological experience of social interaction. She is currently working as a research associate and will be applying to PhD programs in the fall. She likes to spend her time hanging out with her royal python and going to museums.

Abstract

The increased participation of women in athletics has engendered the assumption that women are producing an influential and progressive impact on society by entering arenas that are historically male-dominated. Many believe that this development chips away at the oppressive normative gender structures that have long maintained an imbalance of opportunities between men and women. Current research, however, has discovered that some women athletes engage in “apologetic behavior” that unintentionally reinforces stereotypes and heterosexism. I contribute to this scholarship by conducting an ethnographic study of a collegiate women’s softball team. I examine how team members engage in elaborate heterosexual performances to combat the lesbian stigma they believe arises from their association with softball. I argue that the team coerces its members to adopt an all-encompassing identity centered on projecting the team’s heterosexual image that not only reinforces normative heterosexual values but also strengthens these values by creating an environment of prejudice and homophobia.

Introduction

The “feminine” stereotype associated with women includes expectations of docility and passivity. And yet, to be competitive athletes, women must be aggressive and assertive. Consequently, women in sports have been praised for destabilizing the normative gender order. By defying expectations, it is thought that women in athletics are not only changing the name of the game but also the oppressive structures that have kept them out of it for so long. I entered my research project wondering to what extent, if at all, athletic participation leads women to weaken normative gender structures.

Many researchers have engaged in theoretical and empirical scholarship to uncover if and how dominant gender ideas influence women in the athletic realm. Part of this scholarship focuses on women athletes’ use of “apologetic behavior.” Because the athletic realm is predominantly associated with characteristics dominantly coded as masculine, women who participate in it appear to feel the need to over-express or exaggerate their femininity in order to “apologize” for their participation. Researchers argue that apologetic behaviors unintentionally reinforce stereotypes and heterosexism (Ezzell 2009; Festle 1996) and that sport,

in general, reproduces heteronormativity and gender norms (Messner 1992).

I contribute to this understanding of the interplay between managing femininity and heterosexuality in women’s athletics by analyzing a case study of a collegiate softball team’s “apologetic behavior.” I selected softball, as this sport carries a persistent cultural stereotype that it is a sport for lesbian, unfeminine women. I conducted participant observation of, and interviews with, a Division III women’s softball team, Team X, affiliated with an elite collegiate institution in the Midwest from January to June of the 2011–2012 academic term.ⁱ I gained access to this group due to my insider status—I was a member of the team.ⁱⁱ It was only when I assumed the dual role of a researcher that I discovered that the women on Team X not only unconsciously reinforce heterosexism and maintain oppressive gender structures; they also strengthen these structures with unprecedented displays of homophobia.

Internalized Stigma

Members of Team X explicitly experience the stereotype that softball players are homosexual. From my interviews, I gathered that the women on Team X assume everyone believes this stereotype and stigmatizes them for it. The internalization of this stigma causes them to experience feelings of devaluation and delegitimization regardless of whether any outsider explicitly stigmatizes them. Team X uses performances of heterosexuality as stigma management strategies to combat their internalized stigma. Unfortunately, these heterosexual performances can very easily transform into ones of prejudice.

This case is clear in their locker-room behavior. Here, a player comes to learn the rule of “no nudity” very quickly. Each woman takes her shirt off and places her sports bra on over the regular bra she has been wearing throughout the day. Once the sports bra is on and covering the appropriate areas, the regular bra is unhooked and the women slide their arms out of their regular bra’s arm straps and then pull this bra out from underneath the sports bra while keeping the sports bra in place. The same is done with underwear. Additionally, if someone needs to apply lotion or change into a normal bra after the rare occasion that a team member showers in the locker room after practice, she will face the corner with her towel over her back and bend over in an effort to keep the towel on. She will put her bra on in this position, so that no one may see a glimpse of her breasts, nor her bare back. As a member of Team X, I found myself layering my bras even when I was alone in the locker room—demonstrating how these rules, and the perceived stigma associated with them, become internalized into a part of quotidian practice for the members of this team.

Such heterosexual rituals not only reinforce a heterosexual ideology within the members, they also discourage any behavior that could be seen as homosexual and, consequently, create homosexual prejudice within the members as well. One day in the locker room, a teammate mentioned that she learned a statistic that one-in-ten women were lesbians. Someone then mentioned that this meant that at least one of us in the locker room was probably a lesbian. Michelleⁱⁱⁱ exclaimed in response, “WHO IS IT?? Is it you?!” She dramatically pointed to one teammate after another and asked if they were the lesbian on our team. Eliza responded, “It’s a good thing that nobody on our team is gay. Otherwise things would be pretty awkward.”

By saying that no team member was a lesbian, Eliza, in effect, made it so. The laughter and camaraderie created by this situation did not make it a safe space in which to deny her claim. In fact, everyone promptly agreed with her; and the team bonded over being glad that there were no lesbians amongst them. These women not only failed to acknowledge any potential lesbian presence, they explicitly denied that one could exist, effectively creating an unwelcome space for anyone who might have any sort of feelings that do not align with the team’s attempt at a strictly heterosexual appearance. By discouraging and practically forbidding all behavior that could be related to homosexuality, the members of Team X not only attempt to signal that the team, as a collective, is heterosexual and is expected to act as such, but they also signal to anyone who may be a homosexual that they are not expected nor welcome there.

Collective Rituals of Heterosexuality

Adhering to collective rituals and expectations of a group makes you a loyal member of the collective (Durkheim 1955), and, in terms of Team X, it makes you a good teammate. The negative consequences of Team X’s collective rituals and expectations are most visible in the strained relationship the members have with their head coach, Sarah, an out lesbian. The team uses their coach’s homosexuality as the main focus of their antagonism.

A key ritual occurs at least a couple of times per week in the locker room. In this performance, one teammate begins by speaking as the coach about an aspect of the coach’s personal life that the team finds blameworthy. Then, the floor opens up to the rest of the team to follow suit and denounce additional “reproachable” aspects of the coach’s life. This performance is enacted so frequently that, in real time, it flows quite smoothly:

Raven: Oh, hi, I’m Sarah. I live in my mom’s basement and *lease* my car.

Chandler: My only relationship is the estranged one I have with my lesbian lover who lives *out of state*.

Katherine: Who coaches a team we compete against, so that’s really healthy for our relationship, and who, despite the way she looks, is *such* a better person than I am.

Charlotte: And this is all because I majored in theology and I amounted to *coaching softball* and teaching *badminton*. (emphasis theirs)

As a collective, the women on Team X increase their feelings of solidarity by problematizing their coach and her sexuality. Consequently, their relationship to each other is strengthened through their condemnation of homosexuality.

The team further discredits the coach with the infantile, baby-like nicknames they have given her. Additionally, the coach’s partner is referred to as “Bluebird,” and any mention of this moniker produces laughs among the team. This brand of humor signals that they do not consider this lesbian relationship to be deserving of credibility. Thus, these women delegitimize and invalidate this visible homosexual relationship and, in the process, discredit the coach as a respectable adult. Simultaneously, however, they credit themselves as heterosexual women. The team’s strained relationship to their lesbian coach is intrinsically couched in their understanding of themselves. As they invalidate her as a homosexual, they concomitantly validate themselves as heterosexual. Coach Sarah, and her sexuality, is needed not only to fortify Team X’s collective bonds as a team but also to fortify their collective bonds as a team of heterosexual women.

An All-Encompassing Identity

Team X’s rituals and collective expectations are also visible in the team members’ lives off the field, suggesting that Team X can be viewed, in some ways, as a “total institution” (Goffman 1961) that impacts all aspects of the members’ lives. The concept of a total institution was created to capture the effect that prisons and mental institutions have on the inmates inhabiting them. It is a situation in which there is no separation between work and play; it is experienced constantly. When an individual enters a total institution, his original identity is stripped and a new one is put in its place. For its inmates, a total institution creates an all-encompassing identity that is ingrained with a specific ideology that provides prescriptions and proscriptions for behavior. These behavioral guidelines are manifested through a total institution’s house rules. House rules not only tell you how to behave but also which rituals reinforce a social bonding between the inmates. The heteronormative rituals that Team X engages in can be understood as their house rules, telling them how to act and how to think.

The realm of athletics has been theorized as a total institution; however, it is considered a “near-total” institution due to its voluntary nature (Anderson 2005). I argue that Team X, specifically, functions as a “near-total” institution. The inmates Goffman has theorized enter their institution involuntarily and thus deplore their experience. In contrast, the athletes on Team X voluntarily sacrifice most aspects of their lives—academics, social life, job opportunities—to participate in this institution. Consequently, because the members of Team X willingly engage in, and thoroughly enjoy, almost every aspect of their institution, they are blinded to many of its negative implications.

For instance, when asked, team members describe themselves as liberal, tolerant, open, and welcoming towards homosexual women. Thinking about the possibility of a lesbian teammate, for example, Eliza says, “If she’s gay, she should just come out, it’s not like we care.” Yet, as I have shown, their behavior, in contrast to their purported ideology, conveys a different message. I argue that this failure to see the contradiction between stated views on homosexuality and active anti-gay behaviors is a result of the voluntary membership of Team X. The members of Team X, because they do not hate their experience, do not realize that an identity is being forced onto them because possessing this identity is simply what it means to be a good teammate, something that is viewed as highly desirable. As a result, the members of Team X do not recognize that this new identity is causing them to adopt behaviors of sexual prejudice.

The time spent together outside of softball is an unofficial requirement for membership and inclusion on Team X. The team spends about 85% of its off-the-field time together in some fashion. When I asked each player whether this outside interaction was a critical aspect to being a part of the team, all but two said yes. The two dissenters dismissed the idea that such interaction was a “requirement,” yet their explanations demonstrate that, although the members may not be aware of the influences of their institution, it does not mean those influences are not taking effect.

Chandler: I don’t think [the outside activity is critical]. I don’t think you have to but I think, socially, feeling connected to the team is reliant somewhat on participating in certain activities . . . I think participating in the activity makes you closer because you know more things about each other. I think it helps the team jive on the field.

Eliza: It’s definitely not, like, a requirement. You can be whoever you want and the team will accept you. At least our team, I think. We’ve had people who didn’t interact with the team, and they eventually quit. But they’re still considered part of the team.

Eliza described not hanging out with the team as “being whoever you want to be.” By framing it in this way, Eliza adumbrates that being on the team, and abiding by its expectations, signals that you are a certain type of person who projects a certain kind of image. Not following these expectations entails that you are behaving however you want and being whoever you want to be, specifically, not the person the team expects you to be. The full import of this dictum is understood when it is broken:

Patricia: Yeah. [The outside activity is critical] for this team. Other teams that I’ve been on, the dynamic is different. [We didn’t] have to have any sort of relationship outside of softball. But this particular team, because we’re a really close-knit group . . . Anyone who isn’t really part of that is sort of an outcast. I do think that. That’s our team dynamic and how we treat them on the field.

Team X’s outside activity may not be a “requirement” in Chandler’s and Eliza’s eyes, but, according to them, if a member does not participate in the outside obligations, she is seen as someone who “will not jive well with the team” and may “eventually quit.” In effect, if a team member does not engage in the outside rituals and thus adopt the ideology of the total institution, they will not be considered an authentic member of the collective.

The main criteria of the team’s off-the-field interactions involve massive bouts of drinking. Researchers, studying women college students, have discovered that “drinking like a guy” had less to do with gender equality and more to do with emphasizing women’s heterosexuality (Young, et al. 2005). Thus, when Team X requires heavy drinking activities of its members, it can be seen as yet another heterosexual performance.

The players expect each other to partake in, at the very least, one evening of drinking together/going out to parties each weekend and at least one time each week; however, the norm is that both nights on the weekend be spent with the team. The members of Team X always inform newcomers (the freshmen) that they do not have to drink to participate. However, as most members I observed consumed at least two mixed drinks in between seven shots before leaving the apartment to go to a fraternity party, it becomes obvious that, in order to fit in, drinking is required.

There are a number of parties each year where attendance is also obligatory for Team X members. These parties are based around the idea of “team bonding.” An example of this is a softball-only party thrown before practice begins for the winter season. During this event, the team dresses in ’80s workout gear and takes ten shooters—a mixed drink in shot form—in the specific ways prescribed. As a team

member, you are not allowed to opt out. Every year, one of the shooters is taken as a “blow job shot.”^{iv} Another shooter consists of ten vodka-soaked gummy worms and, with them, the game “Never have I ever.” This game, and the entire party, is a heterosexual performance. This game, modeled on a confessional format, always leads to what is basically a recap of public sexual escapades and embarrassing heterosexual hookup moments for everyone on the team. Drunken hookups, and other public displays of heterosexuality, give the members clout on the team as it allows the members to validate themselves as heterosexual women. And, with the retelling of these heterosexual stories, they are able to reaffirm not only their heterosexuality but also their loyalty to the team.

Conclusion

Because Team X’s rituals give meaning to what the members experience, and strengthen their feelings of solidarity and unity, these women do not recognize the attitudes and identity they have adopted. The team members’ collective experience, which is reinforced by collective rituals, feels as if it is inherently natural—as if it is a part of who these members genuinely are as individuals (Durkheim 1955). Consequently, Team X does not recognize their collective experience as one grounded in homophobia and sexual prejudice. Not only does Team X require behaviors of its members that perpetuate and re-instantiate normative and oppressive gender and sexuality structures, the team requires behaviors that also strengthen these structures by engendering sexual prejudice. These athletes may not believe that homosexuality is necessarily a bad thing, but their rituals and performances create homophobia within each of them. These women were not homophobic before they entered this institution. However, they may be now.

Someone may claim that the team dynamic does not necessarily lead to increased homophobia. They may say that these women were homophobic before they joined the team and that they simply were not aware of their homophobia in the past just as they are not aware of their homophobia now. I offer my own case as a rebuttal. As a member of the team, I would say and do things that make me uncomfortable. Before writing this thesis, however, I would not have been able to articulate that it was because I was engaging in homophobic behavior that went against everything I believe I stand for. I recognize, now, that this was the case. I have spoken with an ex-teammate, and she voiced the same experience. After spending time with the team on the weekends or at parties, she notices that she begins to display the behavior of the team, a behavior that is sexually prejudiced at best and homophobic at worst.

Endnotes

- i I approached the team about doing research on them, and they agreed. For the 2012 season, the team consisted fourteen team members, all of whom self-identify as women and female. I collected my data during the team’s practices, in the locker room before and after practice, in the training room, at dinner with the team, at parties, and at teammates’ apartments. At the end of the season, I conducted thirteen semistructured interviews with the team members.
- ii Because I was a team member, it was difficult for me to assume an outsider’s position (especially because, during practices, I had to be a team member first and an ethnographer second—I could not make an error because I was trying to focus on something other than softball and use that as an excuse for my mistake). Thus, my insider status may have created potential limitations to my study. However, because I was first a member of the team, I believe this is the only way I was able to assume a legitimate insider’s perspective that granted me access to the data that is the core of this study.
- iii All names have been changed.
- iv This is when a teammate sits on a chair with a shot glass between her knees and it is your job to take the shot without using your hands.

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How Women Experience and Embody Privilege in Elite Liberal Arts Colleges

Priscilla Devon Gutierrez, *Wellesley College*

Priscilla is from Montclair, CA, and graduated with a BA in sociology with a history minor from Wellesley College in 2013. This past fall, she began her first year at Stanford University's doctoral program in sociology, where her research will likely focus on questions of racial/ethnic identity, social mobility, and higher education.

Abstract

This essay summarizes the findings of my senior honors thesis, which looks at how female college students of different races/ethnicities and socioeconomic statuses come to experience and embody a distinctly “elite” form of cultural capital or habitus.

College life in the United States is about more than just academics. College is also a place where students begin to mature into young adults, where they socialize and develop friendships that may last a lifetime. But while such social opportunities are generally seen as beneficial to psychological health and well-being (and, subsequently, academic success), few consider the role of personal interaction on college campuses as a source of ideological and embodied knowledge. When speaking of ideological or embodied knowledge, I refer to a subconscious type of knowledge termed “habitus” that dictates how an individual intuitively thinks and acts. As Bourdieu explains it, habitus are:

systems of durable, transportable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (1984, in Lemert 2004:436)

Habitus is an integral component of education's role in social mobility because, at its core, the institution of education functions as a force within society that reproduces and concurrently legitimizes the culture or worldview of the dominant classes.

My senior thesis looks at in-depth interviewsⁱ with forty-seven female college students at four New England liberal arts colleges across all four years of school, with ten rounds of interviews per student. Through these interviews, I attempt to determine how elite college campuses attempt to foster the inculcation of ideological and embodied knowledge and how students from diverse backgrounds then come to acquire or enact such knowledge. I focus specifically on a kind of embodied knowledge termed “privilege,” which sociologist Shamus Khan (2011) characterizes as the ability to be at ease in a multitude of social interactions and to function

facilely within these situations. This ease must be manifest in interactions with people of both different class situations and cultural backgrounds, as the elite necessarily seek to maintain a façade of egalitarian inclusivity that legitimizes the existence of a merit-based social hierarchy. I look at students who attend elite or selective private colleges because this seems to be a particularly salient issue for them, as their future positions within America's elite or professional class relies, in part, on their ability to reproduce this type of embodied knowledge. Furthermore, elite colleges more resolutely emphasize a commitment to diversity or multiculturalism on their campuses, and so they attempt to manufacture a space where students can learn to interact successfully with peers from different backgrounds. By looking at their experiences over four years, I attempt to discern whether minority status and/or socioeconomic background have any effect on how students come to embody privilege. Khan (2011) argues that elite boarding high school students of color and students from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds are less successful at embodying privilege, and I wondered if this assertion held in the context of the elite college campus.

Ultimately, my data suggests that students of different races/ethnicities and socioeconomic backgrounds who attend elite liberal arts colleges are similarly able to learn and embody a sense of privilege on the college campus. Such work results from a concerted effort made by both student and college, as the individual both contributes and conforms to the norms and expectations of their respective college. While these results may seem encouraging, my findings indicate that they may continue to be either contributing factors to or a result of persistent mechanisms of social reproduction.

Shamus Khan (2011) asserts in his ethnography of boarding high school students that embodying privilege can be more difficult for both students of color and students from lower socioeconomic status households. He finds that students of color attending the elite St. Paul's were more aware of the illegitimacy of the school's sense of meritocracy, and so they were less successful in making their academic efforts or their interactions seem natural. Similarly, students from disadvantaged households acted with more deference and respect for their educational opportunities, while their status on campus also made them more wary of interacting with school staff, such as janitors. Such qualities limited their ability to interact easily with either authority figures or campus staff with less prestigious jobs. Both kinds of interactions are essential for the members of the New Elite, as they learn how to deal with people “above” and “below” them in terms of social power. While I do not disagree with how Khan interprets his observations, I cannot claim similar findings in my own data. Instead, I come to several conclusions about how

and why students from diverse backgrounds appear to learn and embody privilege in similarly effective ways.

The college-selection process serves as a crucial filtering process, where colleges and students both attempt to create a match between individual personality and overall student body character. Elite colleges can afford to be selective with their student bodies because of the increasing number of qualified applicants that seek admission every year. In choosing students for the incoming first-year class, colleges admit students who in many ways already express signs that they are capable of being successful, both academically and socially, on their campus. Through this process, colleges are essentially picking students from the many parts of American society who are already in the best position to learn and embody privilege. Once accepted to these colleges, a student must then decide which school to attend. A significant factor in this decision is whether or not the student feels “comfortable” on the college campus. Students, like Latina Benson Collegeⁱⁱ student Jessica, described feeling comfort in a friendly student body, a seemingly supportive faculty, and in a general “vibe” on campus: “Just, I really loved my tour. I thought it was a great place. It had a good reputation and I could see myself living here. That, it just, I wasn’t expecting to love a school, and like that was pretty close to like loving it. And so I am like . . . I think this is like it.” By choosing a college campus where they feel they could be comfortable, students identify a kind of security and encouragement that will enable them to learn how to engage with the carefully constructed diversity of the elite private college.

In creating a diverse student body, elite private colleges reinforce a sense of individualism and meritocracy that most students bring to college, allowing students with varying levels of concern for diversity to effectively develop privilege. During first year, most students expressed a conception of diversity that was not only highly individualistic, it was also largely consistent across all students. Those interviewed generally considered any kind of life experience as a marker of diversity, and so the concept was usually treated as a source of individual strength or knowledge rather than potential symbols of a disadvantaged upbringing. African American Euclid College student Charlene defined diversity by claiming that it could relate to any part of a person’s history or personality:

I think diversity is what makes us different, whatever I have that you don’t, or whatever you have that I don’t, that’s diversity. Diversity is, diversity is every individual because no one is the same, and no two people, even twins, though they may be physically similar they don’t think the same way, so I think diversity is every individual.

After four years, some students altered their initial beliefs about diversity, but those who did so generally just broadened their definitions. Eventually, most students’ understandings of diversity were cohesive and premised on an individualistic notion of meritocracy and agency.

Some students were more aware of social inequality and the role that things such as race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status has on it, while other students were less concerned with such matters. Of the more aware students, a few were even vocal critics of their college, claiming that some students still faced prejudice on campus or that their college lacked a true commitment to increasing the number of minority students in the student body. This contrasts greatly with students who were far less concerned with issues of diversity and simply carried out their social and academic lives without much consideration of the issue. However, students who expressed critical opinions were not less likely to acquire and embody privilege on campus, and I argue that this is because their arguments and actions still fell within the college’s understanding of acceptable social activism. Students on college campuses are taught to be critical and to advocate for social change, as long as they do so in an intellectually conventional manner. Additionally, these students’ criticisms did not interfere with pervasive notions of diversity, and they also largely treated it as a personal resource that should be respected and engaged with. Negative experiences on campus were also generally treated as individualistic, and so individual people were seen as problematic, and they were avoided. Those who were more concerned with issues of diversity were not greatly hindered by their social activism and maintained a similar sense of ease as those who did not consider diversity a significant part of their lives. While such students potentially might have had problems learning to engage with people from diverse backgrounds because of an apparent lack of interest, these students actually enjoyed meeting and making friends from different backgrounds. They simply did not frame such interactions in terms of diversity, nor did such interactions cause them to be more critical of diversity on campus. Ultimately, neither race/ethnicity nor socioeconomic status seemed to have the same kinds of influence found by Khan on whether or not female college students were able to acquire and successfully embody privilege or ease on the college campus.

I included only female participants in my study primarily because I sought to give particular attention to the role of race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status in experiencing privilege. While I was able to utilize data from single-sex campuses due to my focus on female students, I am aware that such different student body environments also potentially influence gendered experiences of privilege and the elite habitus. In my analysis, I did not find any

compelling differences between how female students on single-sex campuses experienced privilege as opposed to how female students on coeducational campuses experienced privilege. Students from both types of colleges expressed the same desire to feel comfortable on campus, and for some this meant attending an all-female college. I did not find that these women were necessarily more comfortable on their campus than students attending coeducational colleges. Furthermore, they seemed to engage and conceptualize diversity in the same ways.

One difference that may relate to the embodiment of ease and privilege concerns “confidence,” which is a topic that did come up more often for students at all-women colleges. These students were more likely to describe one of the benefits of their college experiences as an increase in their confidence to speak up or assert their own opinion. This topic may affect how female students on different types of campuses experience ease, but I was not able to discern whether or not females on coeducational campuses felt less confident than females on single-sex campuses or whether confidence is just a more salient discursive topic for the latter. Although I felt that the potential role of “confidence” in the experience and embodiment of privilege among female college students fell out of the scope of my analysis, I would hesitate to say definitively that campus type has absolutely no effect on privilege.

More than anything, I believe that my findings illustrate how colleges and their students work to perpetuate problematic notions of meritocracy and successful social mobility identified by Khan (2011) that can obscure some of the persistent mechanisms of social reproduction. I selected my sample to reflect the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity available on the elite college campus, but what stood out most in these interviews was how overwhelmingly similar students seemed to act and behave. I argue this indicates that the diversity colleges attract and select is in some part superficial, and that many of the students accepted and attending elite colleges have already made substantial progress in adopting (or reinforcing) the dominant habitus that Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) assert is essential for academic and economic success at the upper levels of society. While it is heartening to see that some students from backgrounds traditionally underrepresented in higher education have been able to successfully acquire this dominant habitus, the way that colleges and elites frame such achievement is problematic. They consider it the product of individual effort and merit and seem to disregard other social structures and institutions, such as extracurricular college-prep programs, that enable the social mobility of a small number and leave the rest to be labeled as inadequate or not ambitious. Truthfully, most students attending these elite private colleges seemed adequately prepared to engage diversity and

embody privilege; it looks as if they were simply awaiting the opportunities that college provided them.

Although the fundamental issues of social reproduction and the legitimization of the elite are too great to address here, I do believe colleges can at least make efforts to be more transparent about their role in such processes. For example, colleges and their students should participate in a more focused dialogue on privilege in order to emphasize the fact that diversity is not just a quality that makes everyone unique or special, but it also represents real sets of advantage and disadvantage that have tangible effects on people’s lives. In such conversations, colleges should also acknowledge that, despite admitting and retaining an increasing number of minority students and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, these students do not simply represent the best that communities have to offer; instead, they represent students who were able to successfully negotiate structural barriers of the American education institution. Elite college students—those being groomed to lead succeeding generations—need to be far more aware that academic or occupational success is a product of agentive actions taking place within an intersectional framework of privilege and disadvantage and not simply a product of individual efforts.

Endnotes

- ⁱ Interview data provided by the New England Consortium on Assessment and Student Learning (NECASL).
- ⁱⁱ Elite colleges used in this study have been assigned pseudonyms.

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Sexual Politics of the Black Female Body and HIV/AIDS

Ashley Allston, *University of California-Berkeley*

Ashley joined the MMUF family in the summer of 2011. In the spring of 2013, she graduated with a honors degree in African American studies from UC-Berkeley. She focuses on how the intersectionality of race, class, gender, and sexuality affects the high rates of HIV/AIDS infections in African American women.

Abstract

In the United States, African American heterosexual women are fifteen times more likely to contract HIV than White women and three times more likely to contract HIV than Latina women. African American studies and public health scholars have begun to examine this critical issue. In this paper, the intersection of gender, sexuality, and power is explored, components of sexual politics, to determine if sexual politics have effects on increasing rates of HIV/AIDS. Through focus group interviews, the data reveal an in-depth understanding of power dynamics, sexuality, and gender in Black women's interpersonal relationships with Black men that can affect the transmittal of HIV/AIDS.

Introduction

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) is the disease responsible for producing the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). HIV/AIDS is a deadly virus that attacks the immune system, causing it to become weak and susceptible to illnesses that it would normally fight off (CDC, 2013). There is a common misconception of what exactly HIV is in relation to AIDS. The HIV can be transmitted through semen, breast milk, blood, and vaginal fluids. Once the virus is contracted from an infected person, it causes a component of White blood cells, Helper T-cells (T4), to die. The body normally sends T4-cells to fight infections and protect the immune system. Consequently, a decrease in T4-cells leaves the body with less immunity to stave off infection (Duh, 1991).

This project is aimed at emancipating African American heterosexual women from the devastating, but preventable, epidemic of HIV. Heterosexual refers to sexual behavior preference for sexual activity with the opposite sex, in this case men. Sexual politics refers to a set of practices that influences and frames how African American women negotiate sex with their sexual partners. These practices are influenced by sexuality, power, and gender. Heterosexuality in the U.S. is inextricably linked to sexual preference; hence, mainstream normative notions about sexuality have developed. The questions explored in this research are: What are contemporary African American heterosexual women's sexual politics? How are women conveying their sexuality, gender, and power in their relationships with African American men? Finally, do contemporary sexual politics explain

behaviors that may heighten the risk of contracting HIV infection in African American women?

Understanding HIV in light of sexual politics can contribute to HIV prevention efforts for heterosexual African American women because it considers the holistic nature of sexual negotiation and may reveal opportunities for positive or proactive health promotion activities. That is, one must consider who governs their body, how it is governed, and why it is governed, to understand how HIV prevention methods could be useful and realistic.

Methods and Theory

I used an interdisciplinary approach to the research in an effort to address the scarcity of HIV/AIDS research that considers both structural and individual influences. Disciplinary lenses, such as those from public health, sociology, religious studies, and African American studies, were consulted to enrich the understanding of the data. Further, since Black feminist theory has implications for the social, mental, and physical well-being of African American women, I utilized it as my primary theoretical framework. Black feminist theory is a political project that is too often placed on the margins in terms of practical application; this project attempts to move theory into action.

I used a multimethodological approach, applying a systematic and critical review of literature along with focus group interviews. These techniques allowed for a nuanced understanding of sexual politics. Focus groups were a way to hear directly from Black women, who are often voiceless in their struggle of emancipation from HIV/AIDS. Moreover, focus groups allow for the use of the feminist technique; the personal is political (Collins, 2000). The personal is political refers to the second wave of feminism when women explained how their political agendas were closely tied to their personal experiences. The focus group discussions involved heterosexual African American women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, and they concentrated on how the subjects negotiated their gender, sexuality, and power in their heterosexual relationships with Black men. The use of a multimethodological study yielded data that supported a contemporary story about African American women's sexual politics and how these politics may help prevent HIV/AIDS infections.

Literature Review

Sexuality

The Western definition of sexuality is classified as both sexual preference and sex, or an observable action pertaining to the use of reproductive organs. Further, sexuality is confined to heteronormative controls, which are ideas

that create a sexuality hierarchy by privileging heterosexual monogamous relationships and condemning other sexual choices. The dominance of a heterosexual hierarchy oppresses both queer women and men because it forces them to negotiate intimacy with the opposite sex. There is a greater possibility for risky sexual contact to occur with coercive rules such as heterosexism, because it causes women and men to fabricate their sexual encounters in order to align them with the dominant culture.

Although there is no consensus about the inaccuracy of the Western definition of sexuality, feminist Gayle S. Rubin suggests that it is a harmful tool used against women. According to Rubin, sexuality is structured “within an extremely punitive social framework that has been subjected to real formal and informal controls” (Hackett and Haslanger, 2005, p. 528). These “controls” consist of heteronormative notions of sexuality.

Many theorists agree that an accurate definition of sexuality embodies more than genital contact and sexual preference. Sexuality can be considered a natural human characteristic for which humans long for attention through physical and nonphysical actions. Traci West supports sexuality as a natural characteristic of humanity indicating that, “The divine gift of human sexuality is an ever-present part of our being, and should not be mistakenly understood as certain acts that one may choose to practice or not” (West, 2004, p. 32). Further, Brown explores sexuality stating that, “Sexuality is a sign, symbol, and a means of our call to communication and communion. This is the most apparent in regard to other human beings, and other body-selves. The mystery of our sexuality is the mystery of our need for intimate communion—human and divine” (Douglas, 1999, p. 6). These definitions of sexuality as a natural and inevitable characteristic have not moved into mainstream society’s consciousness, however, due to the persuasiveness of heterosexual sexuality and its accompanying norms. If broader definitions of sexuality were accepted and understood in society, women, especially Black women, could have more authority when it comes to negotiating their sexuality because social laws would not govern or limit their understanding of sexuality.

Gender

The most common images imposed on Black women include the mammy, matriarch, Jezebel, and welfare queen. These gendered images have had long-lasting effects on Black women in the U.S. According to the study *Family Planning among the Urban Poor: Sexual Politics and Social Policy* (Cummings and Cummings, 1983), there are myths associated with the sexual behavior of minority women. These myths have imposed themselves in the form of policies that

infringe on reproductive rights of Black women. An example of a policy of this kind is found in Dorothy Roberts’ *Killing the Black Body* (1999). She offers an example of a birth control policy, Norplant, a contraceptive that was inserted in the arms of government-assisted women. Norplant was adopted as an attempt to control the mythical licentious sexual behavior of Black women.

Power

According to prominent social theorist Michel Foucault, power “is not a unitary, centralized force. It is not concentrated in the state or any single institution” (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). He alleges that power begins at the microlevel, and these microlevel interactions influence power at the macrolevel. The microlevel refers to individual interpersonal relationships and the macrolevel refers to institution and structural policies and norms that govern relationships. Power to Foucault is not lost or created; it is merely exercised in an array of actions. Thus, if power relations are to be changed, Foucault indicates that power change must begin at microlevel; that is, it must begin with Black women’s interpersonal relationships with Black males (Douglas, 1999).

Author Audre Lorde expressed another form of power for women. Lorde explains, “The erotic is a resource within each of us that lies in a deeply female and spiritual plan, firmly rooted in the power of our unexpressed or unrecognized feeling” (Hackett and Haslanger, 2005, p. 188). Women express power when expressing their sexuality, also known as the erotic, because it empowers their entire being. From both Foucault and Lorde’s descriptions, it is understood that women possess different forms of power: one that exists in their relationships and one that exists after sexuality is fully understood and embraced. Through an interrogation of both Foucault and Lorde, it can be inferred that Black women’s sexual politics are suffering from a lack of power. If their power is to change, then a broadened understanding of sexuality is required and the power women wield must be embraced.

Results

Three focus groups were conducted to understand contemporary Black women’s sexual politics. Participants were recruited using public email lists created and generated by historically Black organizations on the University of California-Berkeley’s campus. Word of mouth and chain referral sampling (also referred to as snowballing sampling) was used in the recruitment process. The eligibility criteria required that women were African American/Black, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, and had been in a relationship with an African American/Black male. Data was

collected through recording and later transcribed. Data was analyzed for emergent themes.

Four reoccurring themes emerged from the discussions. First, Black women negotiate their sexuality in non-verbal and verbal ways. Second, Black women report power and powerlessness during and outside of sexual contact. Third, Black women report gender constructs imposed by men as well as their positive and negative feelings of these gender constructions. Finally, Black women report understanding individual HIV risk as it pertains to condom usage and concurrent relationships.ⁱ

The first theme that emerged addresses how Black women convey their heterosexuality. Two forms of communication were voiced, nonverbal and verbal. For the non-verbal reports, Black women frequently expressed not having to verbally say they were heterosexual to Black men. When asked if Black men had verbally questioned their sexual preference, fifteen of twenty-one women said they have never been asked. Of the women whose sexuality was not questioned, they believed this nonverbal communication occurred because they did not deviate from the normative constructions of heterosexuality. As one woman said, “I guess I play into those stereotypes about how women are suppose to talk, dress, and act.” Similarly another woman explained, “I don’t look like I like girls.” The second emergent theme addressed power; that is, powerfulness and powerlessness. All of the participants reported having power as well as not having power. This idea can best be explained as power operating like a seesaw or Black heterosexual couples exhibiting power struggles. One member of the focus group expounded on this idea: “It [power] changes with every relationship that I have been in up until now. It’s kind of like a tug-of-war, both of us think that we are the one in power; it’s like a struggle.” Women reported having both power and not having power during sexual encounters because they have to allow men to enter their bodies; therefore, Black women have the power to initiate sexual contact. However, this power can also be relinquished during the intimacy. The power to consent to sex is relevant for women who engage in either casual sex or sex in a committed relationship. One woman stated, “[Sex] gives you the power, because you’re giving them the power to enter you. You can easily close your legs and be like, not today.”

Conversely, women report a loss of power during sex when men are the first to orgasm, or when they abandon their agreement to use a condom. One participant described a time when she wanted to have sex using a condom; after consenting to sex, she felt as if she lost power to negotiate condom usage. When the time approached for a condom to be used, she relinquished her power. “I said yea, he said no, and we went with the no,” she said. The power struggle is

relevant in these two examples. Women have the power to initiate sex because men need their consent, but once consent is given, power is transferred to the male partner.

The third theme that emerged from focus group data included gender roles that are imposed upon women by men and reports of how these gender images and roles affect Black women. All of the women described how they are unsatisfied with the stereotypical gender roles because they not only bring negativity to their relations with Black men, but also do not accurately describe Black women. One participant stated:

I think everyone should be themselves and who they are. This is one of the biggest debates I have had. I set in front of my room for like two hours with this young man who probably had good intentions, but at the end of the day he was still wrong because he tried to [negatively] categorize females who are educated and [party], like there was no other label for them. I felt like you are whom you identify as. You can go to school. Get your education, party at night, talk to whoever you want to talk to. And at the end of the day you are who you make yourself.

Finally, the fourth recurring topic to emerge from the data was awareness of HIV risk. Focus group participants discussed risky sexual decision making that included risk related to the use of condoms during sexual intercourse. Women explained that if they did not use a condom, they understood the health risk they could be exposing themselves to. One participant stated, “I feel like if you’re in a relationship then you should be ready for the consequences if you are not using a condom.” Additionally, this theme also included reports of individual HIV risk as related to Black men having concurrent relationships, or sexual relationships with multiple women that overlap in time. In all three focus groups, women declared that Black men are notorious cheaters. Cheating refers to Black men having concurrent sexual relationships with more than one woman. Another participant agreed, stating that the number of available Black females surpasses that of available Black males, giving Black men more of an option and ability to have multiple sexual relationships. Their explanations further exhibit that HIV risks are associated with the sexual behaviors of their Black male counterparts. These four themes illustrate contemporary Black women’s sexual politics and demonstrate the various ways sexual power is manifested.

Conclusion and Implications for Further Research

Both the literature and focus group data illustrate the current sexual politics that are imposed on Black women’s bodies. For Black women in this study, there existed an overall powerlessness when African American women negotiate

their gender, sexuality, and power. Not only are they unable to verbally communicate their sexuality with Black men, but also gendered images and a perceived diminished number of Black males helped explain Black women's inability to exhibit power in their relationships. This point is reminiscent of the work of Celeste Watkins-Hayes. She states, "One cannot talk about Black women's intimate lives in the face of HIV/AIDS without attending to the ways in which their racial and gender subordination attempts to delineate and limit how and who they love" (Watkins-Hayes, 2008, p. 25). Considering the definition of power suggested by Foucault, Black women must begin changing their microlevel relationships. That is, their interpersonal relationships with Black males must be altered if they would like an increase of power that would ultimately lead to an increase in autonomy and HIV/AIDS prevention. Further, if African American women begin to define and discover their sexuality separate from Western ideology, they can begin to unleash their erotic power as proposed by Lorde. Once this power is discovered, it can empower women, ultimately resulting in sexuality and gender images that they may agree are accurate representation of themselves. The empowerment of women further lends itself to empowering their sexual behavior and sexual behavior, resulting in a reduction of HIV/AIDS risk.

Through an examination of the strengths and limitations of this project, I suggest focus groups discussion should continue. Focus groups with Black women from ages eighteen to twenty-four are useful, because younger Black women tend not to be infected with HIV/AIDS, and they represent the sexual decision making that occurs before the majority of HIV/AIDS is contracted by African American women who are twenty-five to forty-four years old. Finally, continuing to utilize frameworks such as Black feminism is necessary so that Black women are central in the fight to reduce HIV/AIDS.

Endnotes

- ⁱ "Concurrent relationship" is the term that describes having sexual relationships that overlap in time. See Adimora and Schoenbach (2002) for more on concurrent relationships.

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Departing from Agency in the Interests of Alzheimer's Patients

Mohini Banerjee, *Smith College*

Mohini, born and raised in Los Angeles, studied philosophy and logic at Smith College. She is currently pursuing applied ethics as a research assistant at The Hastings Center, a bioethics and public policy institute. Her research interests include access to healthcare for marginalized populations and resource distribution during disasters.

Abstract

Appealing to agential properties that individuals retain through dementia obscures the best interests of Alzheimer's patients. This paper critiques philosopher Bruce Jennings' use of agency and suggests an application of Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* (1927) as an alternative. By focusing on features of being shared by people with and without dementia, we can foster more responsive care.

How we view Alzheimer's disease (AD) patients influences any determination of their best interests. This paper argues that characterizing AD patients primarily as agents is problematic, and that focusing on nonrational capacities is more beneficial to them. First, it will outline Bruce Jennings's attempt to promote the interests of patients through their agency, presenting a critique of this view. An alternate approach is then proposed through Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* (1927), focusing on interpersonal relationships and states of mind. This emphasizes how each person comprehends the world regardless of rational processes, presenting common ground between AD patients and the cognitively able. This alternative demonstrates how the concept of agency is detrimental to patients' interests because it promotes a flawed understanding of who they are.

In his essay "Agency and Moral Relationship in Dementia," Jennings sets out to shift the discourse on dementia away from negativity surrounding lost abilities. His approach is to center patients' value on agential properties. Agents are commonly understood as rational actors able to reason and make informed choices (Wilson et al.). Jennings focuses on the communicative or relational aspects of agency that are retained somewhat through the disease (Jennings 433). Yet, he still appeals to the conventional understanding of agents by stating that those communicative capabilities are the "most worthwhile and defensible in agency or human-flourishing theories" (ibid.). Since the core of agency is rationality, Jennings' view represents a contradiction in which AD patients are valued in terms of reasoning capacity alone. He presents a two-pronged standard for care that is firstly dependent on the patients' abilities and secondly on how others think about them.

Jennings first presents the standard of "semantic agency," focused on the individual patient's capacity to "communicate, to engage in meaning-sending and meaning-receiving relationships . . . with others, and to evince understanding and evaluation of such communication" (430). This view is paired with Jennings' focus on bringing an individual with AD "to the conditions of living a life," deemed "rehabilitation" (429). Rehabilitation aims to bring AD patients as close to their former functioning selves as possible.

Secondly, if patients are unable to communicate in this way, then they should be valued as former agents, through "memorial personhood" (425). Rational others should recall dementia patients' former existence to respect them. For example, when Shayna sees her mother in a nursing home, she should recall her career as a skilled neurosurgeon and whimsical love of *Monty Python* instead of seeing an unrecognizable woman in front of her. Jennings states, "It falls to others to sustain continuity of the demented self over time by recalling the self that has been when the individual cannot do that alone" (425). By having caregivers remember patients as they were when healthy, Jennings aims at improving the situation for dementia patients. In my view, Jennings' two-pronged standard is flawed. While attempting to guarantee respect, it implicitly devalues AD patients as they are.

While Jennings attempts to benefit patients, he is at odds with Rebecca Dresser's definition of the "best interests" as what a reasonable person would want in regard to treatment decisions, weighing the benefits against the risks (Dresser 2004). Jennings's definition of semantic agency is too stringent for most patients, because it attempts to bring them as close to cognitively able functioning as possible. While this type of care is beneficial at the earliest stages of the disease when a person has awareness of their AD, it will be detrimental later on. When patients are valued based on agential properties, their care will not be geared towards their other capacities, such as emotional well-being or self-value.

Jennings' approach makes the locus of care a patient's ability to approximate agential communication. For instance, he says that "to evince understanding and evaluation of . . . communication" depends on rational thought, free choice, and self-reliance, which would be difficult for a person with dementia further than the mildest states (433). The AD patient would have to understand the conversation and its significance in relation to larger themes or patterns in her life, a near impossible task. For Jennings it is equivalent with human flourishing to be an agent, so his standard values dementia patients insofar as they approximate a rational mind, though in actuality they are perpetually deficient.

Agency is an essential notion in discussing action and choice for competent individuals, but using it as a standard for individuals with dementia diminishes them. This is done further in Jennings's account through the constant comparison of the person with dementia to their former able self. He states, "Tragically, with dementia we may actually have to choose between happiness and agency," arguing that being aware of having dementia would be stressful, but it is necessary to maintain their lucidity if possible (434). Thus, the top priority in caring for the patient must be maintaining her diminishing rational abilities to create the most "human" life (429). Jennings' account attempts to ground respect for persons with dementia through bonds such as allegiance to the person's former self.

This locution turns attention away from the patient's current state and current best interests, because it assumes treatment is only valuable if it works toward resurrecting lost abilities or bringing dementia patients closer to their former, agential selves. In actuality, self-awareness is necessary for agency and is reliant on higher-level cognition. A patient would be best treated by a care model that was aimed at their cognitive and emotional level, not geared towards communication with metalevel understanding of its content. This is only viable for AD patients for a short period of time, and if their value relies on it, then that, too, will be short-lived. Viewing AD patients as continuing agents is too narrow and brings attention away from their full potential. Instead, dementia patients have inherent value despite their degeneration.

An alternate approach is to view AD patients as connected to other humans ontologically through features of their being that last in spite of dementia. Heidegger's *Being and Time* is a cornerstone philosophical work that articulates a human way of being. *Being and Time's* perspective on human existence is fundamentally different from one based on rational agents, because each person's reasoning capacities are secondary. This paper focuses specifically on two features of human being described in the text. First are states of mind that manifest as particular moods, which are the emotional lenses through which people understand the world (Heidegger 134). Second is solicitude, the ever-present interpersonal connections among humans providing an immense ability to help one other (121–122).

The concepts solicitude and states of mind come before rational capacities. For instance, if a person in a suspicious mood is chopping vegetables and his elbow knocks over a glass and smashes it, he may become upset, and a friend may offer some help. His predisposition may make him interpret the friend's offer of help as a threat to his competence instead of a genuine attempt to alleviate a problem. In better circumstances the interpretation would be

different, but the individual is incapable of comprehending the event outside of the particular mood he is in. This illustration of a mood is meant to signal how rational abilities are subjective and thereby need not be the core of what is valued in a person.

Moods are all-encompassing for thought. For instance, an anxious or joyous mood will affect the way an individual processes what happens, making cognition secondary to how people exist and react. I argue that in conjunction with the diminished rational faculties, AD patients have moods. In the mild states, AD patients often experience emotions through a flat mood, which seems like no emotion at all. Further, in moderate stages, moods dominate an AD patient's demeanor.¹ These patients experience life as a series of all-encompassing dispositions without constant rational analysis. Thus, those without any pathology and AD patients share this feature of being, because they both experience life filtered through moods.

Making solicitude a key component of existence also works against assumptions that the center of being is the individual agent. Heidegger defines being human in relation to other individuals and humanity in general, constantly placing each person in a community (321). Iris Murdoch, a philosopher and author until she became afflicted with AD, can provide an example of solicitude. Her husband, John Bayley, her primary caregiver for many years, wrote that when Iris would become agitated, repeating the same phrase such as, "Why didn't I . . ." or "I must . . .," he would insist they take a walk to distract her (Bayley 52). Creating the illusion of routine and imminence manages to quiet Iris's upset mood so that she is less disturbed (53). Here, Bayley shows solicitude for Iris through assessing her tension and offering a way for escape.

Another instance of solicitude to help protect a patient's emotional state can manifest in mild cases of the disease when the caregiver may be able to calm the patient down by pacifying or reassuring him. In a more developed dementia, a caregiver could alter the patient's perceived reality in his best interest to bring about a more peaceful state of mind. For instance, there may be a patient who, with no evidence, is convinced that he has no money and that his family will become bankrupt and starve. His caregiver could at this point bring out a wallet full of bills in order to demonstrate that money is not actually a problem. Here the patient is being treated to the capacity he has in the moment, but it is clear that there is no ability to evaluate his communication because he does not truly understand that in one way he is being deceived.

The examples of solicitude presented here also help signal that moods are retained when cognition diminishes.

Both AD patients described experience a pervasive sense of anxiety that makes them unsettled and troubled. Cognitively able people could experience a similar sense of anxiety but still retain the rational capacity to evaluate it and, hopefully, move on. Both groups of people are at the mercy of their emotional disposition unless they or another party can step in to help, challenging rational thinking's centrality to being human. Rationality is not independent of context but is instead shaped by it. This understanding of thought illuminates common characteristics between AD patients and non-patients. While AD patients are clearly different from the norm, they retain much of the human ontology.

Further evidence lies in Lisa Genova's novel *Still Alice* (2009), wherein there is tension between Alice, a former Harvard professor with AD, and her youngest daughter, Lydia. While both of her siblings have opted for more intellectual careers, Lydia pursues acting, much to her mother's chagrin. The two find very little to talk about before the onset of the disease, mainly because Alice feels that Lydia is throwing away her life for a dream. At the end of the novel Lydia asks Alice (now in late-stage AD) to watch her perform a monologue from a piece that she is working on. Genova writes of Lydia's performance:

Alice watched and listened and focused beyond the words the actress spoke. She saw her eyes become desperate, searching, pleading for the truth. . . . Her voice and body created an energy that filled Alice and moved her to tears. (Genova 174)

Following her performance, Lydia asks Alice what she feels. Alice replies, "I feel love. It's about love" (175). This makes Lydia squeal with excitement and embrace her mother, allowing them to connect in a way that they had never been able to before because Alice would not engage with Lydia's work. This episode demonstrates both the added love and tenderness between this mother and daughter facilitated by AD and the emotional attunement that can exist without rational discourse.

These illustrations of solicitude demonstrate that AD patients are connected to others, reducing stigma from cognitive limitations. The AD patients described are not agents because they cannot make informed choices or communicate what is truly happening, but they maintain a human connection to others. Pointedly, Alice may be unable to comprehend that she is watching a scene from a drama, and she does not know that the "actress" is her daughter. Both recognizing solicitude's importance and confronting the assumption that reasoning is primarily what makes one human abates some discrimination against AD patients as they progress further from the cognitively able.

Bias, deficient care, and maltreatment can stem from overemphasizing or exaggerating differences between AD patients and cognitively able.ⁱ I argue that this mentality is actually reinforced instead of challenged by views that see value in AD patients as former agents or partial agents such as Jennings'. AD patients will never truly be agents by evaluating their communication and making reasoned inferences about themselves and the world. Instead, one should focus on retained common characteristics, challenging the notion that AD patients are inaccessible. As Stephen G. Post mentions, "Dementia ethics begins with an appreciation for non-cognitive well-being and a willingness to engage remaining capacities and memory; it can be discovered only in practice and dialogue; it must be practical rather than deductive, abstract, and gamelike" (Post 13).

Stigmatization manifests in thinking that patients cannot have socially acceptable emotions or reactions and are, therefore, less valuable. This is mainly because what makes a reaction valid is its connection to a rational process, and our respect for the actor comes from her standing as an agent. An agency-based outlook leads to fear and disgust at engaging with AD patients, because their responses do not seem to make sense. This may lead to dementia care that solely focuses on keeping the patients physically comfortable and does not involve stimulation of thought processes or consider their emotional welfare, which both Jennings and I agree is a flawed alternative. When Heidegger's framework is applied to AD patients, it illuminates that care practices that engage emotionally with patients often serve them best.

Caregivers should ideally realize the emotional capacities and possibilities for well-being that exist for AD patients. They are able to provide significance for non-patients in deep and meaningful ways through their connections to others. This potential to create shared experiences should be used to substantiate more involved treatment, and should discourage the use of an agential framework where it is misplaced. These measures are in AD patients' best interests and cannot be justified if the locus of human value lies in agential qualities. Recognizing shared ontological properties between AD patients and others promotes the former's well-being while expanding the latter's human compassion.

Endnotes

- ⁱ This should be distinguished from emotional outbursts, which would be characterized as moodiness or an overflow of one particular emotion. A mood is instead an orientation towards one emotion that pervades one's disposition, a quality shared by patients and nonpatients alike.
- ⁱⁱ "Overcoming Stigma." *Alzheimer's Association*. 2013. 04/09/13. <http://www.alz.org/living_with_alzheimers_stigma.asp>.

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Disowning the Knowledge Argument

David Bernard Williams II, *Carleton College*

David is a senior philosophy major at Carleton College. His primary focus is metaphysics, philosophy of science, and action theory, and his work as a Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellow combines these areas of focus through the question of free will and determinism. He has been awarded a Beinecke Scholarship, is an alumnus of the Institute for Recruitment of Teachers, and intends to go to directly to graduate school. David will pursue a PhD in philosophy with the aim of becoming a professor of philosophy.

Abstract

The Knowledge Argument purports to show that our knowledge about material objects does not account for all of the knowledge that we have access to. Physicalism is a meta-physical commitment to the claim that all facts are physical facts. Thus, if we can show that we have all the physical facts but not all of the facts, we can show that physicalism is false. The Knowledge Argument is a thought experiment initially proposed by Frank Jackson in “Epiphenomenal Qualia,”ⁱ and it attempts to find a flaw in physicalist doctrine by pointing to the sort of knowledge that is independent of facts about physical objects. In this paper, I argue that the Knowledge Argument fails.

Introduction

For at least three reasons, the Knowledge Argument does not delegitimize materialist, or physicalist, accounts of human consciousness. The Knowledge Argument, along with the thought experiment that motivates it, relies on the following: 1) the claim that a *complete* physical account is attainable, 2) the claim that all physical facts are linguistically expressible, and 3) the vagueness surrounding the object about which information is learned. I will first spend a brief time elucidating the Knowledge Argument and its motivations. Then I will show that the Knowledge Argument uses the three concepts listed above and does so unjustifiably. While physicalism might remain an untenable thesis for other reasons, this paper should weaken, if not remove, the threat posed by the Knowledge Argument.

The Knowledge Argumentⁱⁱ

The overarching purpose of the Knowledge Argument is to motivate the claim that materialist or physicalist accounts of the mind are impoverished when it comes to explaining what information we have and how we gain access to that information. Whereas materialists claim that the only facts about the world are physical, the Knowledge Argument purports to show that there are nonphysical facts *and* we grasp them regularly. Frank Jackson garners significant support for this argument with the use of a thought experiment that asks

us to consider whether or not the set of facts gained through experience contains *anything* that the set of facts described by a *complete* physical account does not.ⁱⁱⁱ

Jackson invites us to consider Mary, a brilliant but experientially deprived scientist. Mary has spent her entire life in a colorless^{iv} room, yet she has been given the resources to fully master and comprehend a *completed* science of optics as well as all of the other relevant scientific fields that contribute to the physical explanation of color vision. Eventually, Mary is released, and, for the first time, she sees a pumpkin for herself. While she previously knew that humans typically use the term “orange” to describe the color of pumpkins, this is the first time she will *have* the experience of orange, which she has (merely) read so much about. The claim here is that Mary gains *some* knowledge that she previously had *no* access to. At this risk of vulgarity, I invite the reader to consider a stronger example, if it’s unclear what it means to “experience” a color. Suppose that Mary has never had an orgasm but has similarly mastered all of the relevant scientific fields that describe this physical process. Here, we ask: when Mary actually has an orgasm, does she learn *anything* that she did not already know from her studies?

The above example is meant to help the reader form the thought that Mary could not have known all there was to know about orange or orgasms before personally having a relevant experience. Jackson later structures the argument more formally:

(1) Mary (before her release from the room) knows everything physical there is to know about other people.

(2) Mary (before her release from the room) does not know everything there is to know about other people (because she *learns* something about them on her release). Therefore,

(3) There are truths about other people (and herself) which escape the physicalist story.

Physicalism being any thesis that maintains that all facts are physical facts, if Mary has all of the physical facts but does not have all of the facts, then physicalism is false. This paper sets forth to deny the formal argument above. My first move will be to question the seriousness of our commitment to (1), as I’m not sure that we have a full grip on what (1) means. Sections 1 and 2, below, will focus this concern. An additional worry of mine is that (2) is conveniently vague, in that it allows us to say something that seems true without committing us to a definite claim. In Section 3, I will question the vagueness of (2).

1) Attainability of Truth

If we accept (1), then we must accept that it is possible to know “everything physical there is to know about other people.” Such an account of physics might, at first, seem possible without a full understanding of black holes and dark energy, yet the idea of knowing everything there is to know about humans suggests that we are operating with a *completed* description of *everything* physical. Suppose, instead, that we developed a complete understanding of just neurophysiological optics.^v Some physicalists might worry that there are important facts lurking in the underdeveloped theory of particle entanglement in black holes.

While uncertain, the physicalist *might* be right in holding out for a theory that fully explains the entanglement of elementary particles within black holes. These particles *might* turn out to be intimately related to the visual experiences. If this example is too farfetched, suppose that we had a “full” account of why objects very close to the surface of the Earth accelerate towards that surface. While this account would give us confidence in describing gravitational events near the surface of the Earth, it would not necessarily account for the moon’s apparent attraction to the Earth. With such a paltry theory of gravity, we might believe that the orbit of the moon is entirely unrelated to the acceleration of objects near the surface of the Earth. The point here being that a gappy understanding of physics cannot be used as an indication that a phenomenon cannot be physically described. For this reason we cannot argue that we have a complete physical account of any single domain, unless we have either an account of why other physical domains are inconsequential or a complete physical account of all other physical domains. For (1) to be tenable, we need a completed science of everything physical, not just of everything physical about people.

Speaking pragmatically, it seems unlikely that we will achieve such a level of awareness about the physical world, but, by itself, the above concern is no reason to deny the *possibility* of (1). The physicalist has other reasons to deny the possibility of (1). Here I would like to highlight what has been called cognitive closure and espoused by two thinkers^{vi} who further illustrate the idea. Essentially, the claim that all physical facts will eventually be accessible to at least some humans seems more likely than not to be false. Colin McGinn, for one, does not take this to be an accidental truth but rather a statement about the inherent cognitive limitations of humans. If, for example, there are truths about dark matter that we fundamentally cannot grasp in our capacity as human beings, then there is certain knowledge that we cannot have. If it turns out that any inaccessible information is physical information, then (1) is false.

A friend of the Consequence Argument might assert that it is metaphysically possible that there exists a world in which some organisms do not have *any* cognitive limitations on their capacity to understand truths. If that world contains another Mary-like individual, does *she* learn anything new when she sees orange or has an orgasm? I have three concerns here. One, I have such a limited grasp of what a completed account of physical reality would entail that I am unable to comprehend this Mary’s epistemic position. Imagine what it might be like to ask the ancient Greeks, given their understanding of the physical world, whether modern computers are possible physical devices. My second concern is that I find the idea of an objective science to be dubious. A science, to me, implies an intellectual perspective on ontology. It seems that any science will be partly subjective due to the fact that it will come from perspective-having beings that access the world in a particular way. Lastly, proving the metaphysical possibility of a completed science would, at best, signify that it might only be contingently true that in *our* world all facts are physical facts. In other words, it would only go as far as to say that nonphysical facts might exist in other worlds.

This objection is intended to question whether we think it is possible that a complete physical account of reality can be developed. If we are convinced that some physical facts are incomprehensible to us, we can deny the claim that Mary ought be able to learn all physical truths. We should also consider, however, the strict requirements for a completed science and whether those requirements allow for anything that appreciates the world from a perspective to actually grasp all of the underlying, ontological facts. In short, I deny that (1) is tenable.

2) A Picture’s Worth

The idea that all physical facts are linguistically expressible is also implicit in Mary’s Room. Bracket the above rejection, and suppose that we can develop a complete theory of everything physical. Does it follow that such a theory can be fully conveyed through linguistic ideas? It shouldn’t. This assumption seems grounded in by an understanding of how education is done today, which makes it is easy to suppose that most of what Mary learns comes from textbooks, the instruction of other professionals, or other linguistic ideas.

If language is inadequate for expressing beliefs that I currently have, it is conceivable that language might also be inadequate for conveying facts about the world. This would suggest that we are unable to convey all of the facts about the world because the linguistic tools are impoverished forms of expression. With respect to a recurring dream of mine, for example, I can intentionally recreate a particular

experience. I can do this repeatedly such as to be sure that I am recreating a similar sentiment each time. Despite my understanding of this feeling, I cannot articulate to myself what it feels like in linguistic terms. This indicates that information can be stored, retrieved, and recognized in nonlinguistic terms. If information can be conveyed in this way, the assumption that Mary's instruction has to linguistic or textual is unjustified. Instead, we ought to wonder whether her education might be partly conveyed non-linguistically.

I think that Mary can gather information from non-linguistic sources. Thus, if she finds a set of nonlinguistically articulable information regarding the orange or orgasms, its linguistic inexpressibility is not sufficient to prove that it is nonphysical information. More work must be done in order to show that nonlinguistic information is also nonphysical information.

3) What Mary Learns

The original presentation of Mary's Room was designed to work if Mary learns *anything* upon leaving the room. In his addendum, Jackson specifies, however, that Mary is supposed to learn information about other people. I would like to consider the possible objects of Mary's new knowledge, as I am skeptical that any clear description of them can be given. Three potential objects stand out to me: Mary might learn about herself, about others, or about the world.

Information she learns about herself will either be in the form of a conditional with a previously false antecedent (*were I to see orange it would feel like this*) or else there would not have previously been a fact to the matter. Thus, learning about herself does not defeat physicalism, because the information she learns was not information until she learned it.

It is also questionable whether she really learns about others. Instead we might maintain, as Nagel does with regards to bats, that the experience of other entities is only *approachable* but never attainable. This equates to the claim that no matter how much research Mary does regarding the physics of orgasms and no matter how many orgasms Mary has herself, she just cannot grasp what it is like for someone else to have an orgasm. Thus, she cannot really learn about others.

Lastly, the claim that she learns about the world is also strange. Can we say she learns what orange or orgasms feel like? Do these things feel like something "natively," so to speak? It seems like the experience of feeling a certain way belongs to the relationship between the feeling individual

and the thing felt. Here, I'm not sure we can talk about the *feeling-itself* as an independently existing fact that Mary can learn.

This objection serves to point out that the claims of the Knowledge Argument are unclear. Even if the set of facts that Mary knows upon leaving the room is greater than the set of facts that Mary knows from within the room, the Knowledge Argument does not appropriately articulate what those additional facts are about. Moreover, it is not clear that these additional facts were facts prior to Mary's experience. We should be wary of new facts, because there are facts such as "Mary sees orange for the first time at 11:52," which might be learned at 11:52, but which does not seem to contradict physicalism merely by making it true that Mary learns *something* through the experience.

Conclusion

The Knowledge Argument points to a serious concern: It seems that we cannot learn everything there is to know by studying the laws of physics. Yet, it goes further to suggest that the set of facts and the set of physical facts are not identical. This seems to be an overapplication of a thought experiment that utilizes a series of assumptions and vague points to make its case. I argue that there are reasons that we might not be able to attain a full understanding of reality by studying the laws of physics, either because such a description is either practically or fundamentally impossible to *complete* or because our method for conveying such a reality categorically ignores facts that cannot be expressed in linguistic tokens. While the argument does indicate that there is a gap between the sorts of truths that we can talk about today, and the sorts of truths we think exist, it does not necessitate the falsity of materialism.

Endnotes

- ⁱ Frank Jackson's "Epiphenomenal Qualia" in Chalmers, *Philosophy of Mind*, 273–80.
- ⁱⁱ Jackson, "Epiphenomenal Qualia."
- ⁱⁱⁱ An obvious objection must be forestalled. We are only interested in facts that were previously facts. We cannot productively argue that, because time advanced, the new set of facts now includes the claim, for example, "the world did not explode at time *t*," where *t* is some time after we claimed all the facts were known.
- ^{iv} Mary is not color-blind but is in a very strange room or is wearing very strange glasses that prevent her from ever seeing color.
- ^v By which I mean a pseudocomplete optics, since I am presently arguing that no single field can be complete without the completion of the other physical fields.
- ^{vi} Nagel, "What Is It Like to Be a Bat?" and Colin McGinn, "Can We Solve the Mind-Body Problem?" in *Philosophy of Mind*, 438–457.

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How Fictive Narrative Modes Produce “Truth” through Self-Criticism: Realism and Allegory in Daniel Defoe and Ibn Ṭufayl

Michael Reyes, *University of California-Los Angeles*

Michael is a third-year transfer student at UCLA, where he will receive a BA in English literature with a minor in French and Francophone studies in spring 2014. After graduating, he aims to pursue a PhD in comparative literature.

Abstract

I explore the usage of allegory and realism as depicted in the two island narratives, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, by Ibn Ṭufayl (twelfth century), and *Robinson Crusoe*, by Daniel Defoe (eighteenth century). My main research question asks how “truth” in these fictional texts is rendered as a constantly displaced concept. I depart from prior scholarship by considering how islands “mirror the textual modes in which they are embedded.” I examine the often-overlooked language of “multilayered” narration and “meta-allegory.” A central question to my thesis is: How do these expressions of cultural critique manage to blur the line between fiction and reality while transcending divisions of (denomi)nation and age? My results work towards fostering the ability to re-envision what we consider to be “truth.”

This study compares the cross-cultural value of literary islands as narrated locations for spiritual enlightenment through an analysis of Ibn Ṭufayl’s philosophical tale, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, and Daniel Defoe’s adventure novel, *Robinson Crusoe*. Recognizing the correspondences in these literary artifacts of twelfth-century Andalusian Sufism and eighteenth-century English Nonconformity show us how allegory, a literary device that uses symbolic imagery to represent abstract concepts, oftentimes transcends both historical and national communities. Realism, a literary mode that represents events as drawn from real experience, is more prevalent in Defoe’s text than in Ibn Ṭufayl’s. This narratological discrepancy has prompted my investigation into these two texts. My central research question asks how the constantly displaced concept of “truth” in these island narratives is rendered.

These texts are the pedagogical efforts of the authors to instruct their readers on the topic of self-instruction; in other words, they are instructions on how to self-instruct. Each text utilizes frame narrative or multilayered narration to represent the didactic, self-reflective practices that they advocate. For the purposes of this study, “truth” is referred to as the profound understandings that are developed in each text through solitude and observing one’s environment. These “truths,” which are *not* self-evident, are of interest to me partly because of the literary techniques implemented in order to present them; but, more importantly, because I have noticed that the degree to which these truths are explicitly imposed upon others varies from text to text. With this in mind, I analyze not only how these texts reflect cultural

values implicit in them but also work to articulate and reproduce modes of thought and behavior.

I will continue with brief summaries of each text, followed by a review of prior criticism that will culminate into a discussion on the literary form of these texts. *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* (ca. 1169) focuses on an infant, Ḥayy, who grows up on an uninhabited island raised by a gazelle. After learning basic survival skills, he discovers natural laws, and, through empirical exploration, he ultimately achieves a divine mystical state (*mushābada*). He makes contact with civilization by means of another spiritual hermit, Absāl, who visits his island one day and becomes Ḥayy’s apprentice. After an unproductive attempt at instructing his fellow man how to obtain divine wisdom, Ḥayy grows to pity mankind. Ḥayy and Absāl return to the deserted island to re-obtain the mystical state until their deaths.

Robinson Crusoe (1719) is a tale of an adolescent who flees his home to become a sailor/merchant, only to end up a castaway on a deserted island for twenty-eight years. His faith in Biblical teachings increases as he finds analogies with what he learns in scripture in the moral lessons provided to him by the island environment. After enslaving a local islander, he develops a proto-colony with the help of other castaways he eventually meets from surrounding islands. He returns to England only to long for his island that he left behind.

As I delve into politicized readings of each story, these authors will emerge as risk-taking historical figures that encapsulate personal self-exploration in the form of a fiction narrative. These stories of self-discovery attempt to instill values that are situated against the boundaries of their respective cultural conventions.

Together, these texts have been at the center of controversy in literary studies. As a frequently analyzed pair of texts, *Ḥayy* and *Crusoe* have generated a substantial body of criticism. I intend to extend my political reading to the criticism of these texts as well. This section will conclude by articulating the importance of politicizing the narratological discourse of allegory in both of these texts. I aim to contribute to a marginalized perspective in *Ḥayy/Crusoe* studies where multilayered narrative mode is read as a form that represents the geopolitical fragmentations and expansions that impacted the lives of these writers. It is in these circumstances that the allegorical island manifests its dual capacity to signify both isolation and connection. I seek to mediate the self-reflective practices that this allegory activates with some key criticism on the topic.

In her influential 1986 dissertation, *Robinson Crusoe and Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān: A Comparative Study*, Lamia Baeshen

called attention to a widening bifurcation in the existing scholarship on *Ḥayy* and *Crusoe*. She observed that, “While Western critics have in general been reluctant to give credence to the claim that Defoe is indebted to Ibn Ṭufayl, the majority of Middle Eastern writers favor it” (28). Almost three decades later, it is apparent that Baechen’s observation continues to hold general veracity, given that the leading scholars in *Ḥayy/Crusoe* studies are of Middle Eastern descent. Since ’86, scholars have also responded to the calls made by Baechen to recognize the complexity of Defoe’s “indebtedness” to Ibn Ṭufayl. However, this essay is not particularly concerned with questions of why these texts resemble one another; instead, I pursue the question of how they function similarly.

In the most recent monograph dedicated to the topic, *Ibn Ṭufayl and His Influence on European Writers*, critic Baroud Mahmud notes that, “Crusoe survives by his wits and the qualities of his cultural upbringing On the other hand, Ḥayy survives by his native wits, acute observations, and contemplations depending only on his own efforts and the innate power of reason without any assistance from outside” (92). His readings of the narratological representations of auto-didacticism in the island environment are by far the most thorough in the field. He covers external historical and internal literary evidence of the possibility of influence and calls out mistakes that appear in other scholarly studies. Ultimately, his call for a departure from the common approaches to comparing *Ḥayy* and *Crusoe* advocates for “analyzing *Ḥayy* against a more varied social and cultural context” (36). I have responded to this call by providing the reader with an island-based theory in postcolonial studies that holds that, “The island metaphor [can lend itself] to self-reflexive references: islands can potentially mirror the modes of discourse and textuality in which they are embedded” (Edmond & Smith 4). This theoretical framework helps us comprehend how allegory, in this case the island allegory, can allegorize itself. With this in mind, I will consider not only the similarities between the geographical and biographical contexts on both ends of this literary encounter, but also the correspondences of narration and representation. This is particularly useful for demonstrating how not only the characters, but the authors, too, are performing self/cultural analysis.

Born a Muslim in the small Spanish village of Gaudix, about fifty miles northeast of Granada (510/1116), Ibn Ṭufayl lived during a time of political instability. His experience as a philosopher, physician, and mystic was a result of the world he lived in, which avoided compartmentalization of insulated specialized fields (Conrad 83). This was during a time in eleventh-century Al-Andalus that experienced a disintegration of political unity resulting in a large number of petty states, or Taifa kingdoms (from the Arabic *ṭāʾifa*,

meaning party or group) (Wasserstein 82). Factional parties divided the Andalusian landscape making it so that each state would be even more remote and isolated. With this context in mind, the island allegory in *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* can be read as a rendering of the geographical shift towards isolation of formerly unified territories. This insular strategy enables Ibn Ṭufayl to make a narrative virtue out of a cultural necessity. As we move on to consider Defoe’s ambivalent attitudes on the cultural necessities of his time, we will analyze his social critique.

Although *Robinson Crusoe* is often interpreted as an imperialist text, my reading contends that Defoe employs a narrative mode of ironic realism that anticipates post-colonial critique. This is another way of saying that by considering the progressive attitude of Defoe during his time, *Crusoe* becomes less of the ideal personification of imperial ambition than he appears to be to contemporary readers. The author, who was probably born in London or just outside the city in 1660, was educated at a dissenting academy. He lived during a time preceding the English Civil War that intensified a climate of religious intolerance. Draconian legislation such as the Test Act of 1673 denied civil and religious rights of dissenting denominations (Owens I). As a Presbyterian, Defoe’s freedom was infringed upon. As the editor Thomas Keymer has noted in his introduction to *Robinson Crusoe*, by the time Defoe’s novel was published (when Defoe was about age 59), he had been a lifetime campaigner against the claims of divine-right absolutism in church and state. The life Defoe lived earned him a plot in Bunyan Hill Fields, a eighteenth-century burial site for people who refused governance of the Church of England. However passionate Defoe’s antimonarchical attitudes may be, one thing is certain: his attitudes are often contradictory. This inconsistency brings to question whether or not Defoe is, in fact, promoting the values of empire. Keymer observes how, “[Upon] closer inspection, Defoe’s novel . . . suggests . . . salient anxieties . . . of the imperial project, and could equally become an enabling resource for colonial and post-colonial writers” (ix). Reading *Crusoe* as a realistic figure leaves readers with a farcical representation of a rebel sailor who becomes self-ordained king. With this said, I ask for readers to adopt a perspective that systematically differentiates between the cultural values of the author and the fictional character created by the author.

Observing the cultural values of these authors enriches our comparisons of the political circumstances and the meta-allegorical techniques in which they are demonstrated. Meta-allegorical techniques are defined as instances when allegorical imagery is capable of allegorizing itself. This can be conceived of as the allegorical version of the *mise-en-abyme* (French for “put into abyss”), which is a literary device that refers to the representation of an entity inside

of an identical entity (more specifically in this case, the representation of an allegory inside of another allegory for the purposes of self-examination). The Abrahamic cultural taboo of nudity in these texts will serve as the point of departure into this abyss of allegory. Nudity in these texts is incompatible both with the spiritual intentions of the characters as well as the allegorical intentions of the authors. Only after the characters deal with the inevitable prerequisite of developing practical survival skills do they afterwards receive spiritual instruction from the island environment.

For example, in the first seven years of his life, Ḥayy gains practical wisdom such as how to properly clothe his body. He develops this art after becoming aware of his bareness in comparison to other hairier animals. After an unsuccessful attempt to create a garment out of sticks and leaves, he tries out animal parts: “Boldly taking hold of the eagle, Ḥayy cut off the wings and tail just as they were, all in one piece . . . Thus he got a fine covering that not only kept him warm but also terrified the animals that not one of them would fight with him” (111). At age seven, Ḥayy discovers a means to produce clothing that both keeps him warm and scares off animals that menace him. This is an example of Ḥayy’s experimental risk-taking resulting in the acquisition of survival wisdom. However, the result produced by this act of creating clothes to cover the “bareness” of the character can be considered from an allegorical level. It alludes to the act of veiling the story, in allegory, that Ibn Ṭufayl commits through the narrator. The situational irony that we see in Ibn Ṭufayl’s case is that he devalues literalism in a very explicit way. His allegorical mode that involves explicitly informing the reader that he will “veil” his story is in part indebted to tendencies in Islamic thought. These tendencies can be found articulated in other classical Arabic texts, such as *Sura 2* (“*The Cow*”) from the Qur’an regarding “those who believe in the book but reject the rest;” and, how “these are the people who buy the life of this world at the price of the Hereafter: their penalty shall not be lightened nor shall they be helped” (*Sura 2.86*). The words from this *Sura* do not devalue written words; instead, they emphasize the way in which they are designed to complement “the rest”—that is, our sensible world. Ultimately, Ḥayy encourages a lifestyle that avoids assigning meaning to the sensible world.

The nudity taboo is connected with the literary demands of allegory, which require “clothing” or covering the bareness of literalism in a text. At the end of his text, Ibn Ṭufayl claims, “I have not left the secrets laid down in these few pages entirely without veil—a sheer one, easily pierced by those fit to do so, but capable of growing thick to those unworthy of passing beyond that they will never breach it” (166). In this context, the fact that a veil can potentially “grow thick” for those unequipped to pierce it alludes to the potential that we possess as readers to misinterpret an

allegorical text. To avoid this potential pitfall, my allegorical interpretation—which is informed by neo-platonic thought—considers the sensible world as a symbolic model for the spirit world.

The shipwrecked castaway Crusoe begins to fashion his own clothes only after the island’s heated climate becomes intolerable. The surplus of clothing inherited from his shipwreck becomes worthless as he observes its impracticality: “I had among all the Men’s clothes of the Ship almost three dozen of Shirts . . . but they were too hot to wear . . . the Weather was so violent hot . . . yet I could not go Quite naked . . . tho’ I was all alone” (114). The dramatic irony of Crusoe’s situation is that he has an abundance of clothing that he has no use for. This is just one way the island reverses Crusoe’s value system as it renders some of his material useless. In both texts, the tension between clothing and nakedness leads to a reversal where clothing becomes the “natural skin” of humans. This paradox communicates to readers how cultural productions, religious values, and ideas of human “nature” intertwine to form collective attitudes. By now, I have differentiated how Ibn Ṭufayl creates allegorical “clothes” to veil the “bareness” of his story, and how the clothing literalism in Defoe’s text superficially renders such veils as useless. Both authors successfully create multiple levels of meaning to complicate their outlook on society. To further investigate these modes of representation, I will elaborate on how the narrative modes effectively become vehicles for cultural analysis.

I will consider the diegetic (the world created through the act of narration in a third-person omniscient mode), and the extra-diegetic (the narrator’s first-person voice directed at the reader) modes of narration. Ibn Ṭufayl’s narrator employs a frame narrative to explicitly warn readers to avoid interpreting his text literally. This is accomplished through clear transitions between first-person and third-person narration, with slight interruptions in between the different modes. The introduction of *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* assumes the form of a response to a friend, where the alleged intention of the narrator is to reveal the secrets of “Oriental” philosophy. As a preface to his story, he delves into a discussion of philosophical figures such as Ghazālī, Ibn Bājja, and Ibn Sinā, all of whom contributed to early conversations of Islamic mysticism or Sufism. All of these elements build up to the moment in which the narrator enters the diegetic world of *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* with an explicit, “Let me tell you the story of Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān, Absāl, and Salaman . . . For the tale points a moral for all with heart to understand, ‘a reminder for anyone with a heart or ears to listen and to hear’” (103). Up to this point in the narrative, the narrator has remained in the extra-diegetic; this moment marks the transition into the diegetic world. By claiming that the story

points to a moral, the narrator explicitly informs the reader about the intention of the text.

Conversely, in Defoe's text, first-person narration is used to assign value to the literal, to his "real" story. In fact, before it was discovered that Defoe had authored *Robinson Crusoe*, readers of the original publication were susceptible to believing that it was indeed someone's autobiography due to its anonymous publication. Defoe provides a "frame" in the preface of his text to suggest to readers that his story is non-fiction. He narrates through a fictional "editor" of *Robinson Crusoe* in the preface and expresses the opinion that the text is a "History of fact, neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it." After this claim to reality encapsulated in the preface, the persona of Crusoe then becomes the first-person narrator for the rest of the story. This is an example of how the line between fiction and nonfiction is deliberately blurred. Defoe manipulates the anonymity offered by print culture to expose unreliability of the written word as truth. In this sense, Defoe can be read as positioning his values against the boundaries of his society by rendering the validity of documentary confirmations of "truth" questionable.

For the purposes of this article, I will conclude by noting the interconnectedness of the cultural politics operating at the level of the text and at the level of criticism. I will inquire further into the role of "reading," since each narrator is characterized by bookish nature, resulting in an explicit rendering of each main character as a reader. By "reading" their environments, *Hayy* and *Crusoe* "unveil" the symbols produced by their culture, providing us with an abundance of correspondences remaining to be analyzed. Although *Crusoe* is portrayed as reliant on symbols of the sensible world, Defoe's intended irony becomes apparent by complementing the text with biographical information of the author. In this way, I have presented a perspective that goes beyond the aesthetic function of language in these texts to also mediate their politics of emancipation to contemporary readers. Students studying the different narratological methods employed in these texts will inevitably realize that they themselves become complicit in the allegorical abyss by becoming readers reading fictional representations of other readers. This mirroring effect exemplifies how the island allegory provides the conceptual separation required to position oneself in a strategic vantage point in order to perform social assessment. The final analysis finds that these texts blur the line between fiction and reality by means of self-critique, exemplified by both characters and authors, to help us continually re-envision what we consider to be truth.

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Deconstructing the Origins of Latin American Spanish: The Case of Ecuador

Khalia Grady, *Swarthmore College*

Khalia is a recent graduate of Swarthmore College. She graduated with a degree in linguistics and minor in Spanish. Her academic interests include adult second language acquisition, phonology, and sociolinguistics. She is currently an English language teacher assistant in South Korea. She hopes to pursue a doctoral degree in applied linguistics and focus her career on language acquisition and education of minority groups.

Abstract

In this thesis, I focus on the phonological history of Latin American Spanish with an emphasis on Ecuadorian Spanish. I examine three schools of thought, indigenous, pro-*andalucismo*, and anti-*andalucismo* theories in relation to Iberian Spanish, Latin American Spanish, and Ecuadorian Spanish. Through examining the various arguments of different linguists, I conclude that the aforementioned theories do not suffice to fully account for Latin America's linguistic diversity. I propose two ideas: first, these theories be combined together to describe Latin American in a holistic manner; and second, rather than impose a blanket theory over all of Latin American Spanish, each country's history and linguistic situation be taken into account.

Introduction

Throughout the history of the social interactions between Latin America and Spain, Latin American Spanish dialects have frequently been minimized and simplified into solely one dialect and labeled inferior and less prestigious than Iberian Spanish. As Cotton and Sharp (1988) find, "To a cultured Spaniard, the language of his South American peer may sound 'less refined' in its hospitality to popular (for him, 'substandard') characteristics" (145; see also Zamora, 1960, p. 306; Rona, 1964, p. 215). This issue of simplifying Latin American Spanish and deeming it inferior to that of Spain transcends the complex social relationship between Spain and the countries of Latin America; it can be found in Western academia as well.

Prior to the twentieth century, Western philologists and linguists made simplistic conclusions about the dialects of Latin American Spanish. Often they concluded that Latin Spanish is simply an offshoot of Castilian Spanish. They assumed that there was only one Latin American Spanish dialect—Castilian—to be accounted for, when in reality from country to country there exist drastic contrasts in the lexicon, syntax, and phonology of Latin American Spanish dialects. These dissimilarities are so vast that even within each country one can find handfuls of regional dialects that further greaten the linguistic multiplicity of Latin American Spanish. Therefore, various factors need to be taken into account when discussing the origins and current state of

Latin American Spanish. In addition, other languages in the Americas had been established before the Spaniards arrived; nor was Castilian Spanish the only Spanish dialect that arrived on the shores of the Americas.

One unique aspect of Latin American Spanish that should be noted is the linguistic differences between the lowland/coastal and highland/inland varieties that exist throughout several countries, such as Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador. Although some scholars recognize the diverse state of Latin American Spanish, they disagree over the origins of these two varieties (lowland and highland) and what other factors beside origin might be responsible for the linguistic diversity within Latin American Spanish. Intrigued and inspired by this topic, I traveled throughout Ecuador's highland and lowland regions for three months while on a study abroad program. I recorded the speech of locals and analyzed my data in relation to the findings and arguments of the most prominent scholars in the *andalucismo* debate. Through my literature review, research, and results, I conclude that it is hard to draw causal findings on the origins and main influencers of Latin American Spanish. This is due to the lack of historical data that one would need, such as colonist demographics and documentation of early Latin American Spanish. My research shows that it would be more accurate to provide specific theories and hypotheses for each individual Latin American Spanish dialect rather than impose one blanket theory to discuss an array of linguistic diversity.

Background

Prior to the twentieth century, linguists of the Spanish language hypothesized that all Latin American Spanish derived from the Peninsula Castilian regional dialect of Spanish. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, many scholars began to explore other possibilities. It is at that point that the famous *andalucismo* debate began (Boyd-Bowman, 1956, p. 1163). While there are many components to the *andalucismo* hypothesis and debate, I accept the common two-part definition of the *andalucismo* hypothesis. First, the hypothesis assumes "*un parecido general entre el español americano y el andaluz, que a veces se formula en el campo de la pronunciación o se extiende a la morfología y el léxico*;" or, "a general similarity between American and Andalusian Spanish that is argued in the field of phonology or morphology and/or lexicology." Second, the hypothesis assumes "*una influencia mayor o menor del habla andaluza sobre la hispanoamericana*," or, "an influence (large or small) of Andalusian Spanish on Latin American Spanish" (Rosenblyet, 2002, p. 141). Within this definition of the *andalucismo* hypothesis, I narrow my study to the intellectual debates between Spanish language scholars on the history of Latin American Spanish vis-à-vis the varieties of Spanish found in Ecuador. I analyze the theories that describe

Latin American Spanish and the history of Latin American Spanish. I examine three separate schools of thought: indigenous, pro-*andalucismo*, and anti-*andalucismo* theories in relation to Iberian Spanish, Latin American Spanish, and Ecuadorian Spanish. However, in this synopsis of my thesis, I will discuss just the pro-*andalucismo* and anti-*andalucismo* arguments.ⁱⁱ

An example of the complexity of the *andalucismo* debate can be found in the discussion of the colonists' origins. In my literature research, I found two scholars who present numerical data on the origins of the Spanish colonists. Peter Boydman (1956, 1963, 1976), arguing from the pro-*andalucismo* side, presents detailed data he collected from the Archivo de Indias in Seville, Spain and the studies of other scholars. In his data, he defines the specific Spanish providences/states of the colonists who arrived in Latin America between the time period of 1493 and 1600. However, Henríquez Ureña (1935), arguing from the anti-*andalucista* side, presents data from the Spanish catalogues of passengers to the New World. In his study, he discusses the origins of the colonists who arrived in Latin America between 1492 and 1560. However, he does not provide specific providences/states; instead, he defines the colonists' home regions as North or South.

Boydman's data shows that Andalusians were the largest group of colonizers during the initial colonizing period, whereas Ureña's data shows that the population of the northern and southern Spaniards were equal throughout the whole colonizing period. From the conclusions drawn from both scholars, it appears that the different sources being used provide different sets of data, which lead to different conclusions. This creates an issue, because we have no accurate method of determining which sources are valid and which are not. Furthermore, the data used by these scholars is hard to come by, and not many scholars today cite the data or findings of the two scholars (Boydman, 1956, p. 1153).

In addition to the aforementioned concern, scholars within the *andalucismo* debate often have scopes that are geographically restricted; that is, they focus on the Caribbean region and exclude countries like Ecuador, Peru, and Chile. Admittedly, it would be difficult to write an all-inclusive study that would examine the speech of every Latin American country. Nonetheless, the *andalucismo* hypothesis and general debate discusses all Latin American Spanish, not just Caribbean Spanish. Therefore, a country like Ecuador should be examined in close detail in relation to the *andalucismo* debate, because it displays a unique linguistic variation between its highland and lowland regions like certain Caribbean countries do. I sought out to determine whether or not the claimed phonological differences between Ecuadorian

highland and lowland Spanish still exist and how Ecuadorian Spanish relates to the *andalucismo* debate.

Synopsis of Arguments

Pro-andalucistas

The premise of the pro-*andalucismo* argument is that Latin American and Andalusian Spanish are very similar and that these similarities are due to the intense linguistic and physical influence Andalusians had during the initial colonization of Latin America. Pro-*andalucistas* draw on an array of perspectives and data. Their argument is trifold. First, they hypothesize that the most linguistically influential time period during the colonization of Latin America was 1493–1519, due to the high possibility of dialect leveling and linguistic acclimatization that could have taken place in the first regions that the Spaniards colonized. Second, they argue that during the entire period of colonization, the largest regional group of Spanish colonists was from Andalusia. Within this argument there is the notion that because Andalusians were the largest population in the Americas, their Spanish would become the norm during the initial period of colonization of Latin America. (This hypothesis is based on the assumption that language acclimatization occurred in the Americas and in Spain.) Third, they argue that today there are several phonological aspects that unite Latin American Spanish together and distinguish it from Castilian Peninsula Spanish. The scholars that support the pro-*andalucistas* use Spanish government colonist population documentation and draw connections between the current forms of speech in Andalusia and Latin America.

Anti-andalucistas

The prominent anti-*andalucista* argument is that Latin American Spanish does not derive from Andalusian Spanish. Within this perspective are various arguments based on the history of the colonization of the Americas, the language of the colonizers, and the current speech of Latin Americans. Two main and contrasting perspectives appear. First, they argue that no one Peninsula dialect fathered Latin American Spanish. With this perspective, scholars argue that it is virtually impossible to deduce that one dialect had the greatest influence in specific regions. Alternatively, they posit that Latin American Spanish derives solely from Castilian Spanish, and, with time, Latin American Spanish diverged from Castilian Spanish, developing special phonological features that are also found in Andalusian Spanish today. That is, similarities with Andalusian Spanish developed independently in Latin American Spanish—randomly, not via a genetic relationship. Thus, despite the current

similarities between Latin American Spanish and Andalusian Spanish, there is no historical connection.

Anti-*andalucistas* draw from a different set of resources to make their conclusions. Their data shows that there was no major statistical difference between the Spanish colonist population from the North and South of Spain. Contra to the pro-*andalucistas*' argument of Latin American Spanish sharing similarities with Andalusian Spanish, anti-*andalucistas* such as Alonso (1953), Lipski (2007), and Ureña (1921) claim that the only regions in Latin America that truly share linguistic characteristics with Andalusian Spanish are the lowland regions of Latin America and the Caribbean islands.

Data Collection

Ecuador is one of the Latin American countries that displays differences between highland and lowland Spanish. Linguists suppose that the dialectal differences between these two regions are due to different colonization patterns and the presence of indigenous languages (Gómez Rendón, 2008, p. 137). Extraordinarily, the only phonological feature that unites Ecuadorian Spanish is the common use of the word *seseo* (Gómez Rendón, 2008, p. 137). The phonology of Spanish as spoken in Ecuador is mentioned in various works (Resnick, 1980; Canfield, 1981), often with a focus on just one aspect of the phonology, such as intonation or a particular consonant cluster (O'Rourke, n.d.; Bradley, 2006). Currently, however, there is no comprehensive study written on Ecuadorian Spanish phonology.ⁱⁱⁱ With the goal of analyzing where Ecuador falls in the *andalucismo* debate and whether or not the lowland and highland dialects display the phonological differences observed by other linguists, I traveled to several regions of Ecuador to observe and document the current speech habits of the natives.

I traveled to six cities: Quito, Olmedo, Manta, Salinas, Ibarra, and Otavalo. I selected these cities based on my study abroad programs' field excursions, natives' suggestions, level of safety, and accessibility via public transportation. In order to ensure that I recorded everyday speech, I sought participants who seemed to be highly involved in daily society. The majority of my participants were taxi drivers, street vendors, and tour guides. In total, there were nine male and four female adult participants. On average, the recorded interviews lasted between two and five minutes.^{iv}

In data analysis, I focused on three phonological processes described below. These processes are the main characteristics discussed in the *andalucismo* debate. With the recorded audio, I counted the number of times that the environment for one of the phonological rules arose and calculated how many of those times the rule actually applied. For analyzing the data, I used an average audio listening program.

Findings

I focused on the distinctions between Ecuadorian highland and lowland Spanish in relation to how each dialect treated the three processes of syllable final /s/ deletion, alternation of syllable final /r/ and /l/, and deletion of intervocalic /d/. The majority of my data supports the findings of other linguists. That is, in general there are phonological differences between the highland and lowland speech of Ecuadorian Spanish. These phonological differences can be found between the pronunciation of syllable final /s/, intervocalic /d/, and syllable final /d/. The one exception is the alternation between syllable final /l/ and /r/: there were no distinctions between highland and lowland Ecuadorian Spanish because there were no instances in which participants from either region altered the sounds. In this brief summary of my thesis, I will focus on my data for syllable final /s/ and intervocalic /d/ deletion. Below, I summarize the results of the two phonological processes with respect to the data I collected.

Syllable Final /s/ Deletion

In line with the findings of Cotton and Sharp (1988), Toscano (1953), and Lipski (1994), there was a clear division between highland and lowland dialects. Participants from the coast delete syllable final /s/, and participants from the highlands do not (Toscano 1953, p. 118; Lipski 1994, p. 248). The coastal deletion rate is 66%, whereas the highland deletion rate is zero. Although syllable final /s/ deletion is high in the coast, not all the participants delete /s/; those who do apply the rule, do not do it in every possible instance.

Example of /s/ Deletion

Note: Ø indicates the site of a deletion (of one or multiple sounds), as in *quiereØ* {a variant of "standard" *quieres* 'want. present. 2nd person. singular'}

Male taxi driver No. 2 in Manta (coast), 01:40:
¿Por ejemplo que quiereØ comprar, que tu digaØ?
'For example what do you want to buy, what would you say?'

Example of /s/ Retention

Male clinic tour guide in Otavalo (highland), 00:12:
Buenos días con todos. 'Good day to all.'

Deletion of Intervocalic /d/

Again, there exists a difference between coastal and highland dialects. There is a 9% rate of /d/ deletion in the coastal regions, and a 0% in the highland regions. This finding contrasts with Lipski (1994, 247), who says the intervocalic /d/ is “very weak and frequently falls” in the coastal dialects of Ecuador. This contradicting outcome is probably due to the limited amount of instances in which intervocalic /d/ occurred, the length of the interviews, and social factors such as education level of the participants.

Example of Intervocalic /d/ Deletion

Male taxi driver No. 2 in Manta (coast), 05:45:
EstaOo Unidos, ah bueno. ‘The United States, oh ok.’

Example of Intervocalic /d/ Retention

Female school director in Quito (highland), 00:52:
No todos los libros da el estado. ‘The state does not provide all of the books.’

Apart from the one speaker from the coast who did not display any coastal features, my participants’ speech patterns indicate persistent phonological differences between highland and coastal Ecuadorian Spanish. My findings do not specifically support one school of thought over the other. I establish that Ecuador behaves like the counties of Colombia and Venezuela, since the only Ecuadorian dialect that strongly relates to Andalusian Spanish is that of the coast. Additionally, Ecuadorian Spanish presents several phonological traits not readily affiliated to peninsular Spanish. Two of these features are deletion of unstressed vowels and retraction/devoicing of /t/ (Penny, 2000, p. 157; Terrell, 1981, p. 116). Table 1 gives an overview on the data collected on syllable final /s/ deletion/retention and intervocalic /d/ deletion and retention:

Conclusions

Even though pro-*andalucistas* present data that provides insight into the early colonists’ demographics, we have no way of determining their final destination and how the majority of them spoke. If it is true that different groups populated Ecuador’s different geographic regions, I question who were the colonizers of the highland region. The coast may show clear indications for Andalusian colonists’ presence, but we only have theories and assumptions for the highlands. Historically, scholars turn to the Castilians as being the Spanish inhabitants of the highlands. However, today Castilian Spanish is not the same as Ecuadorian highland Spanish. Were they similar in the past? Has Castilian Spanish evolved due to close contact with Andalusian Spanish while Ecuadorian Spanish remained the same with limited regional influences?

In sum, neither the pro-*andalucista* nor the anti-*andalucista* theory alone completely describe Ecuadorian Spanish’s highland and lowland phonological differences, and therefore I question whether or not either of them can completely describe all of Latin American’s Spanish diversity. I propose that these theories be combined for a more holistic approach. Further, rather than impose a blanket theory over all of Latin America, each country’s history and linguistic situation should be taken into account.

My research is still preliminary, and I interviewed only a very small portion of the population. My hope is simply to have contributed to the overall discussion and to spur future research. A more conclusive study would take place over a longer period of time and include data from all regions of Ecuador. If given the opportunity in the future, I would set out to further continue this study, deeply analyzing Ecuadorian Spanish from all regions with various sociolinguistic factors in mind, such as speakers’ ethnicity, socioeconomic class, age, education, and gender.

Regions	Total # of syllable final /s/	Syllable final /s/ deletion percentage	Syllable final /s/ retention percentage	Total # of Intervocalic /d/	Intervocalic /d/ deletion percentage	Intervocalic /d/ retention percentage
Coast	174	66%	34%	58	9%	91%
Highlands	493	0%	100%	51	0%	100%

Table 1.

Endnotes

- ⁱ I will only focus on the phonological aspect of the argument.
- ⁱⁱ The majority of the literature that discusses the *andalucismo* debate and the theories that hypothesize the influences of Latin American Spanish rarely address the multiple topics within the debate. The *andalucismo* debate is a multifaceted subject; scholars look from colonial times to current times for data, they discuss the Spanish dialects of Spain and various Latin American dialects, and the main topics of interest vary from sociolinguistic issues such as origins of colonizers, colonization tactics, language contact, and dialect leveling to phonological issues such as phonological changes. Often scholars focus on one time period and one specific aspect of the *andalucismo* debate. This makes the *andalucismo* debate very complicated to comprehend, because the majority of data and arguments are never discussed in one single body of text.
- ⁱⁱⁱ For studies that discuss Ecuadorian Spanish, please see Toscano, 1963; Cotton and Sharp, 1988; Lipski, 1994; Penny, 2000; Lipski, 2007; Gómez Rendón, 2008; Clements, 2009.
- ^{iv} The length of these interviews was determined largely by the circumstances in which they were recorded. Unlike laboratory data collection, field data collection must adapt to the daily necessities of the individuals involved. Thus the interviews began as soon as the individuals felt comfortable talking with me and they ended when another customer came along or, in the case of talking with taxi drivers, when we reached our destination. Nevertheless, typically many instances of the phonological environments of note in my study did arise during the interview span.

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Deformation of Serpentinites from the Bay of Islands Complex

Angela Kwon, Oberlin College

Angela is a senior geology major at Oberlin College (graduating December 2013!). After spending her Mellon research fawning over her beloved serpentinite rocks, she plans on switching her focus to water for graduate school. She loves cooking and eating food and is an avid Instagrammer of food photos.

Abstract

Factors that control fault movement include the mineralogy of wall rocks, temperature and pressure, displacement rate, and presence of water. Laboratory studies indicate that fault surfaces coated by serpentine exhibit low resistance to slip. Focusing on serpentinites that formed under moderate temperature and pressure conditions, I studied changes in the character of the rocks' minerals from different locations in the Table Mountain massif of the Bay of Islands Complex located in western Newfoundland. By utilizing optical microscopy and scanning electron microscopy (SEM), I have observed how the serpentinites record both physical deformation in the rock microstructures and chemical changes in the assemblage of minerals found in the rocks.

Introduction

The Bay of Islands Complex (BOIC) is a massive slab of rock that was transported on a now inactive, laterally extensive thrust fault that lies within the Humber Arm allochthonⁱ of western Newfoundland. The complex has been deformed via folding and erosion, and the fault at its base is now exposed around the margins of four massifsⁱⁱ: Table Mountain, North Arm Mountain, Blow Me Down Mountain, and Lewis Hills. The BOIC is composed of an ophiolite suite, which is thrust sheets of oceanic crust and mantle layered as deep-sea sediments, pillow basalts, sheeted dikes, gabbros, and peridotite. Ophiolites may be incorporated into mountain belts during ocean basin collapse and continental collision. Field examination of rocks from different parts of this laterally extensive fault suggests fault slip occurred under different conditions at different locations. Temperature and pressure increase from west to east. For my research, I am focusing on rocks along the fault from the Table Mountain site that formed under moderate temperature and pressure conditions in which the mineral serpentine is stable.

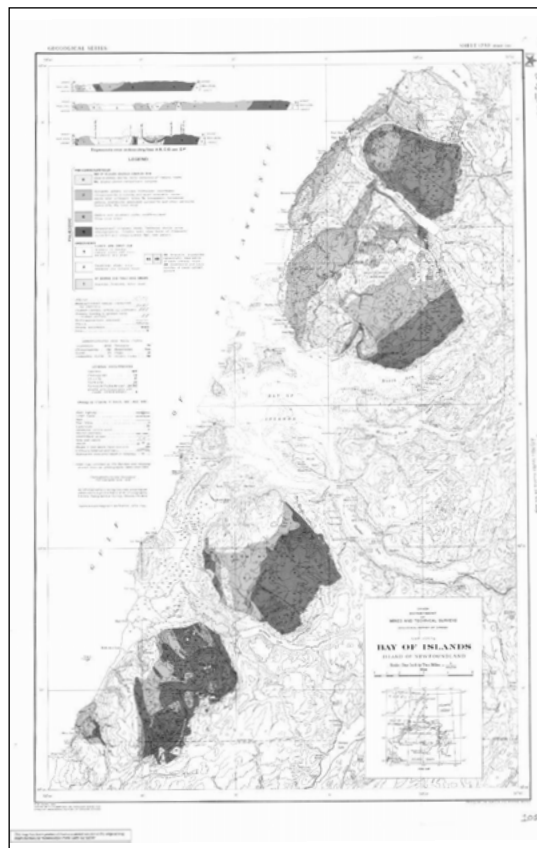


Figure 1. Map of the BOIC (Canada 1958). Heading north to south: Table Mountain, North Arm Mountain, Blow Me Down Mountain, and Lewis Hills.

Serpentine ($\text{Mg}_3\text{Si}_2\text{O}_5(\text{OH})_4$) is a hydrated magnesium sheet silicate that forms by low-temperature metamorphism, and serpentinites are metamorphic rocks composed mainly of serpentine minerals. In the mineral serpentine, sheets of silicon-oxygen tetrahedra are bound to sheets of magnesium-oxygen-hydrogen octahedra. The lateral dimensions of these two types of sheets in the crystal structure of serpentine differ and form a mismatch (Nesse, 2000). As a result, there are three types of serpentine: lizardite, chrysotile, and antigorite. Though the three types all have similar colors, habits, and occurrences, they are distinguishable through X-ray diffraction practices. Laboratory studies indicate that fault surfaces coated by serpentine exhibit low resistance to fault slip due to the weak bond strength between the tetrahedral and octahedral sheets. If a fault has high resistance to slip, stress can build up until the fault finally ruptures, rapidly releasing energy and causing catastrophic events like earthquakes. Faults with low resistance to slip, on the other hand, exhibit a slow, steady movement. For that reason, I have been studying the formation and deformation of serpentinites along the fault at the base of the Bay of Islands complex.

As ultramaficⁱⁱⁱ rocks are serpentinized, the original textures of the rock may be preserved (creating what is known as pseudomorph textures) or altered (creating what is known as nonpseudomorph textures) (Wicks, 1988). For example, undistorted olivine readily alters to serpentine along grain boundaries and fractures, resulting in a type of pseudomorph texture known as mesh texture (Wicks, 1997). In context of the fault rock samples, Wojtal and Mitra (1988) argue that the pseudomorph serpentine texture indicates pre-faulting serpentinization and the nonpseudomorph texture developed syn-faulting by distorting and recrystallizing existing serpentine. Theoretically, serpentine deformation should be greatest near the fault and diminish with distance from it (O'Hanley, 1991). In the BOIC samples, I observed a mesh texture after olivine in rocks far from the fault surface at the Table Mountain site. In thin section, the mesh texture has olivine or optically distinct serpentine in the mesh center and is surrounded by serpentine in the mesh rim. Serpentine crystals develop at right angles and replace olivine at a uniform rate (Wicks, 1997). With increased deformation, the olivine in the mesh microstructures is completely replaced by serpentine. Serpentinites record the deformation changes associated with faulting through visible changes in microstructural geometry,^{iv} variations in the chemical composition of the serpentine textures, and changes in the assemblage of minerals found in the rocks.

Methods

Optical Microscopy

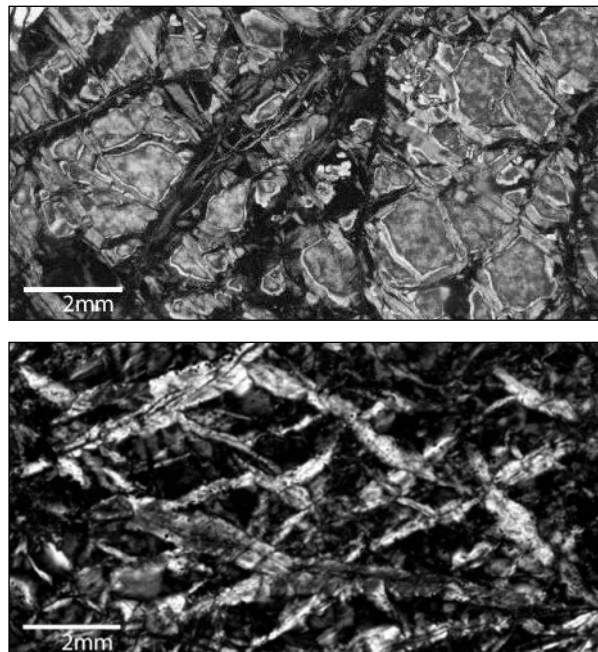


Figure 2. Examples of microstructural textures in thin section. Sample 8188 (top) shows a mesh texture with olivine centers and serpentine rims. Sample 83173 (bottom) shows a distorted mesh texture completely composed of serpentine.

I measured angles between serpentine crystals within cells of the mesh and distorted mesh textures to try to confirm increased deformation closer to the fault in samples from the Table Mountain site. The samples were split into two groups according to distance from the fault. I measured 50 angles in each group and used the program StatPlus:mac to construct histograms for each group to compare the results with a normal bell curve and also between each other. The samples far from the fault surface had serpentine in the mesh rim and olivine in the mesh centers, while the samples 20–30m from the fault appeared fully serpentinized with serpentine in both the mesh rims and mesh centers.

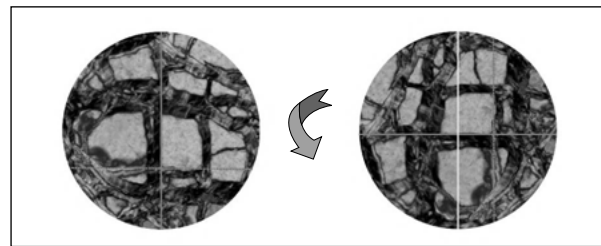


Figure 3. To measure angles, I would line up one side of the mesh with the y-axis, and then rotate the microscope stage counterclockwise until the adjacent side was parallel to the y-axis. I recorded the angle value by calculating the change in degree value marked by ticks on the stage.

Scanning Electron Microscopy

In addition to optical microscopy, I used a scanning electron microscope (SEM) to see if there was any variation in chemical composition of the serpentinites in relation to proximity to the fault zone. I also looked for compositional variations with the microscopic structures. Serpentinized peridotites undergo recrystallization as deformation intensity increases. I looked at seven thin sections in total: two for sample 83171, one for 83172, two for 83173, and two for 83174. Using back-scattered electrons signals (BSE), I acquired approximately 30 spectra per thin section. I took compound weight percentage from the observed data and used spreadsheets to derive possible chemical formulas for minerals that are present in the samples.

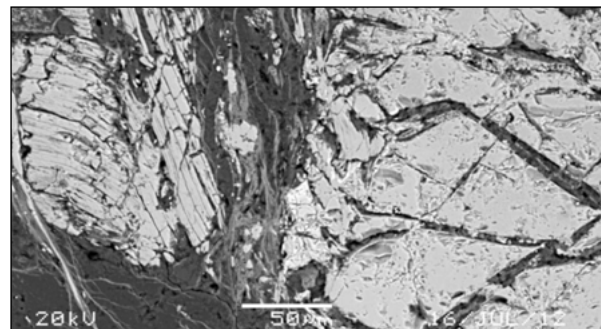


Figure 4a. SEM image of sample 83174 in thin section with a serpentine background (8ab) and two picotite grains.

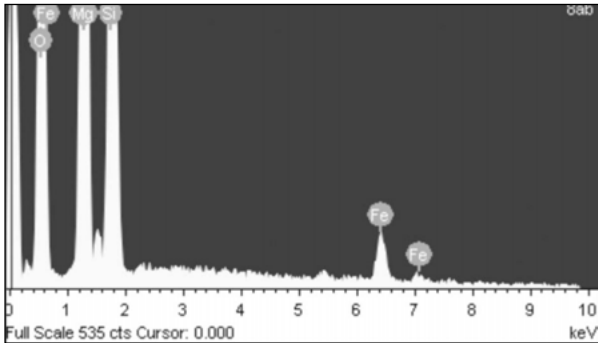


Figure 4b. Corresponding spectra acquired for point 8ab showing peaks for O, Mg, Si, and Fe (serpentine with trace iron).

Results

Optical Microscopy

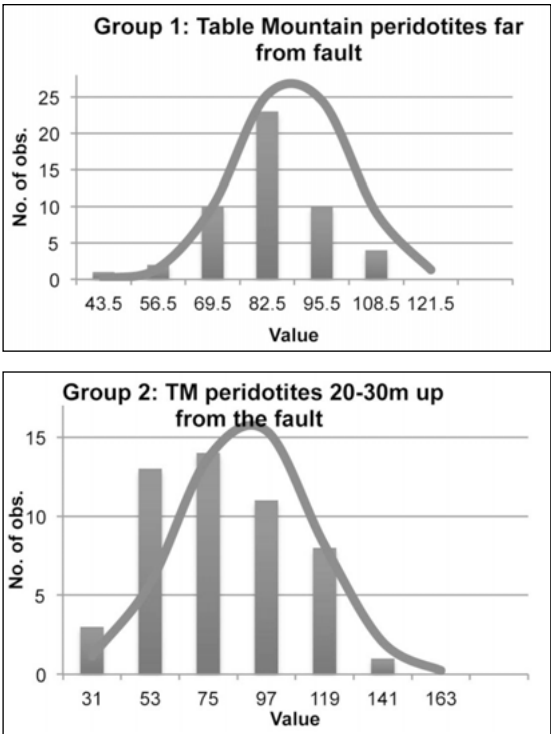


Figure 5. Histograms of mesh texture angle measurements from samples collected from the Table Mountain massif site. The graph for Group 1 (top) displays the mesh texture angle values from samples collected far from the fault surface. The graph for Group 2 (bottom) shows the deformed mesh texture/bladed texture angle measurements from samples collected 20–30m from the fault surface.

The 50° angle values I measured from Group 1 gave a mean of 88.56°, a standard deviation of 13.3, and a range of 65 (minimum = 50°, maximum = 115°). The normal bell curve for both groups was determined by the StatPlus:mac program. The 50° angle values I measured for Group 2 gave a mean of 89.42°, a standard deviation of 25.39, and a range of 102 (minimum = 42°, maximum = 144°).

Scanning Electron Microscopy

There were four main minerals that I think I observed in all of the samples from Table Mountain: serpentine $[Mg_3Si_2O_5(OH)_4]$, picotite $[(Mg,Fe)(Al,Cr)_2O_4]$, magnetite $[FeFe_2O_4]$, and possibly chlorite $[(Mg,Fe,Al)_3(Si,Al)_4O_{10}(OH)_2(Mg,Fe,Al)_3(OH)_6]$.

compd	% oxides	8ab
SiO2		51.44
MgO		44.09
FeO		4.47
Al2O3		0
CaO		0
Cr2O3		0
moles oxides		
SiO2		0.86
MgO		1.09
FeO		0.06
Al2O3		0.00
CaO		0.00
Cr2O3		0.00
moles cations		
Si		0.86
Mg		1.09
Fe		0.06
Al		0.00
Ca		0.00
Cr		0.00
sum		2.01
nom to X cat		5
norm factor		2.48
Formula		
Si		2.13
Mg		2.72
Fe		0.15
Al		0.00
Ca		0.00
Cr		0.00
sum VI		2.87
mineral		serpentine
composition		Mg3Si2O5(OH)4

Figure 6. An example of the Excel spreadsheet calculations to determine mineral compositions. Values for 8ab (serpentine) in sample 83174.

Discussion

Looking at the histogram for Group 1 (far from the fault), almost all of the observed data fits under the normal bell curve. Although the mean at 89.42° for Group 2 (20–30m from the fault) is closer to 90° than the mean of the angles from Group 1, the standard deviation of 25.39 is nearly double that of Group 1. The range of Group 2 is also greater at 102, which further supports that deformation is greater closer to the fault with a greater variation in mesh cell angles. The Group 2 data shows a slight skew to the left, but that might just be because I measured more acute angles of supplementary angles.

After analyzing the SEM results, the four samples collected from different locations at the Table Mountain Group 2 site all seem to have those main minerals. In sample

83171, which was collected approximately 25m up from the fault surface, I observed serpentine, magnetite, chlorite, and a small amount of picotite and augite. Sample 83172, which was collected approximately 10m up, had serpentine, chlorite, and contained a lot more picotite and magnetite grains than sample 83171. Sample 83173 was collected 20–30m up and was mostly serpentine and chlorite with a small amount of magnetite, augite, and picotite. The SEM results for sample 83173 looked similar to the 83171 results, which makes sense because both were collected 20–30m up from the fault surface. Sample 83174 differs from the other samples because it is a foliated serpentinite that contacted meta-sedimentary rocks. My analysis indicates serpentine, picotite, chlorite, and higher amounts of augite than the other samples.

Conclusions

In the Table Mountain site samples, I was able to confirm that both physical and chemical changes occur as deformation increases with proximity to the fault surface. The peridotites far from the thrust fault have some olivine, orthopyroxene, and clinopyroxene. Mesh textures with serpentine and olivine exhibit essentially no evidence of deformation and little variation from the ideal chemical composition. The observed mesh textures in thin section resemble idealized serpentine textures, but not with long-range results. In peridotites closer to the thrust, olivine, orthopyroxene, and clinopyroxene are no longer present. Serpentine, augite, picotite, magnetite, and possibly chlorite become the main mineral components of the serpentinitized peridotites, which serves as evidence for recrystallization and deformation.

For my second summer of research, I have started to use X-ray diffraction (XRD) to determine which of the three types of serpentine occurred at the different sample sites and look at transitions among serpentine minerals and textures. I would also like to use XRD to confirm the minerals from my SEM data. In addition to continuing analyzing my SEM data for the Table Mountain samples, I have started looking at samples from the Blow Me Down massif.

Endnotes

- ⁱ A large block of rock which has been moved from its original site of formation, usually by low angle thrust faulting.
- ⁱⁱ A compact groups of mountains.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Magnesium- and iron-rich.
- ^{iv} Continued distortion of the rock leads to changes in the angles between serpentine crystals in the mesh.

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A Multi-Plate Artificial-Dielectric for Terahertz Radiation

Aaron Sharpe, Minyang Ma, Rajind Mendis, and Daniel M. Mittleman, *Rice University*

Aaron Sharpe is a senior at Rice University in Houston, TX. He is majoring in physics and minoring in math. Aaron is a Native American member of the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma. He conducted this research in Dr. Daniel M. Mittleman's lab at Rice University with the aid of Rajind Mendis, who supervised the project, and Minyang Ma, who aided in assembling the experiment and in data taking.

Abstract

Parallel conducting plates function as an artificial-dielectric medium with a frequency-dependent index of refraction for terahertz radiation. Using multiple parallel plates, we demonstrate a 1-D lens capable of focusing terahertz radiation. Additionally, we discuss the initial results from a multi-plate prism capable of refracting terahertz radiation.

Introduction

Terahertz (THz) radiation falls between the infrared and microwave regions of the electromagnetic spectrum. Whereas microwaves and optical light already have existing efficient waveguide structures, the search is ongoing for an ideal THz waveguide that simultaneously provides low loss, low dispersion, and 2-D confinement. THz waveguides have demonstrated promise for applications such as high-speed interconnects, spectroscopy, sensing, imaging, microscopy, and signal processing. Of all the THz waveguides investigated to date, the parallel-plate waveguide (PPWG) has shown the most promise.

This THz PPWG is almost exclusively used in its transverse-electromagnetic (TEM) mode, since it has no cutoff frequency and, therefore, no group velocity dispersion (GVD). The TEM mode is the lowest order transverse magnetic mode. Transverse magnetic modes exist when the input electric field is polarized perpendicular to the plates. On the other hand, when the input electric field is polarized parallel to the plates, only transverse electric modes can exist. Until recently, the lowest order transverse-electric mode (TE₁) of the PPWG was virtually unexplored in the THz region, mainly due to the dispersive effect caused by its inherent cutoff frequency given by

$$f_c = c/2b$$

where b is the plate separation and c is the speed of light. Since broadband THz pulses consist of frequency components extending from almost DC up to several THz, this low-frequency cutoff would cause the loss of frequency components below the cutoff and high GVD for frequency components near the cutoff.

Recently, it was found that by increasing the plate separation and by matching the input beam size to the plate separation, one could move the cutoff to low frequencies while also selectively exciting the TE₁ mode [1]. Subsequently, the PPWG operating in the TE₁ has been exploited for a variety of applications, including as an artificial-dielectric medium that can be made to function as a 1-D lens [2]. The PPWG can be utilized as an artificial-dielectric medium due to its dispersive properties and the fact that its effective refractive index is less than one. The effective refractive index for an air-filled PPWG is given by the expression [3]

$$n = \frac{c}{v_p} = \sqrt{1 - \left(\frac{f_c}{f}\right)^2}$$

where v_p is the corresponding phase velocity. This relation illustrates that n varies from a value close to unity at high frequencies to zero as the frequency approaches the cutoff. Thus, a THz wave propagating in the TE₁ mode inside the PPWG encounters a medium with a refractive index in the range, $0 \leq n < 1$. This implies that the PPWG functions as a 2-D dielectric medium. Although this is a new concept in the THz regime, it was recognized in the microwave region in the 1940s [4–5].

1-D PPWG Lens

A convergent PPWG lens based on this artificial dielectric was recently demonstrated in Dan Mittleman's lab at Rice University [2]. Because the artificial-dielectric medium has a refractive index less than that of free space, one needs to use a PPWG lens with a concave geometry to achieve a positive lensing effect. The PPWG structure utilized consisted of two parallel plates separated by 1mm. A THz beam propagating through the lens undergoes focusing in one dimension; i.e., in the direction parallel to the inside plate surfaces.

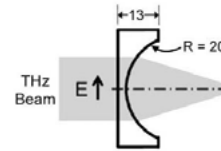


Figure 1. Schematic of one plate of a multi-plate PPWG lens. The width of the input face is 40mm. All dimensions in the figure are in mm.

We are currently extending this work to a multi-plate PPWG lens. Figure 1 shows a schematic of the top view of our lens, which is comprised of 17 stacked metal plates. We constructed the plates out of card stock paper and then used aluminum tape to cover the surfaces. The plates were spaced 1mm apart using shards of glass slides. Each plate of the lens

has a radius of curvature of 20mm, a width of about 13mm, and a length of 40mm.

In our measurements, THz pulses are generated and detected using a conventional THz-time-domain spectroscopy system based on fiber-coupled photoconductive antennas. The focal length of the lens is frequency dependent—about 35mm at a frequency of about 0.2 THz. To compare the behavior of our multi-plate PPWG lens to that of the 2-plate PPWG lens discussed in [2], we image the electric field at the output of the PPWG lens in a plane perpendicular to the axis of propagation. The THz receiver is raster-scanned in a $20 \times 30\text{mm}^2$ grid, in steps of 1mm. The detected time-domain waveforms are Fourier transformed, and their field amplitudes are used to plot two-dimensional false color plots. These plots, shown in Figure 2, give the electric field distribution with a PPWG lens present (top panel) and absent (bottom panel). Both are at a frequency of 0.2 THz. In Figure 3, we plot one-dimensional line profiles of the normalized electric field amplitudes corresponding to a horizontal cut along the central axis of the PPWG lens with and without the lens in place. The color plots and profiles show that we are indeed able to obtain focusing in the horizontal axis, as expected.

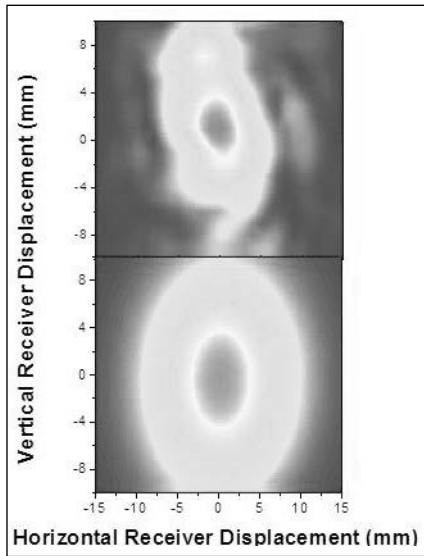


Figure 2. Two-dimensional color plots showing the electric field distribution measured in a plane perpendicular to the axis of propagation (a) with the PPWG lens and (b) without the PPWG lens.

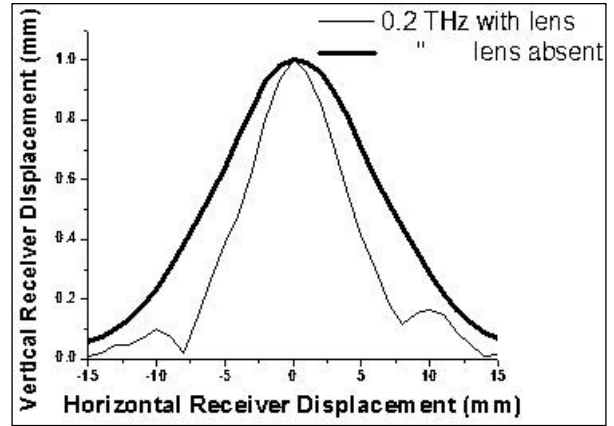


Figure 3. Line profiles corresponding to the color plots shown in Figure 2. They give the detected electric field amplitude at the output of the waveguide, when the receiver is scanned across the horizontal axis centered between the plates.

PPWG Prism

A PPWG prism capable of refracting THz radiation based on this artificial dielectric was also recently demonstrated in Dan Mittleman's lab at Rice University [2]. THz radiation propagating through the prism will undergo refraction in the same manner as a traditional prism. A schematic picture of one of the plates used in this experiment is shown in Figure 4.

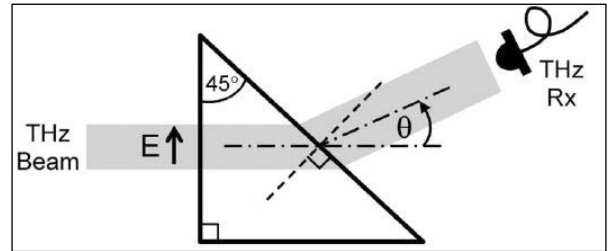


Figure 4. Schematic of one plate of a PPWG prism. The width of the input face is 38.1mm.

We are in the process of designing a new 2-D PPWG lens that focuses in both the directions parallel and perpendicular to the plate surfaces. However, we would first need to demonstrate that it is possible to achieve refraction perpendicular to the plate surface. To do this, we constructed a multi-plate prism as shown in Figure 5. The plates are made of stainless steel that was laser-cut to our specific design parameters. Preliminary results shown in Figure 6 are promising results of refraction perpendicularly to the plate surface. However, because there is slight nonuniformity of the plate separation due to the fact that the plates are not perfectly flat, the refraction is far from ideal (red curve in Figure 6). We had to reduce the beam size in order to reduce the effect of the nonuniform spacing. We are currently in the process of attempting to fabricate a better prism with more uniform plate spacing.

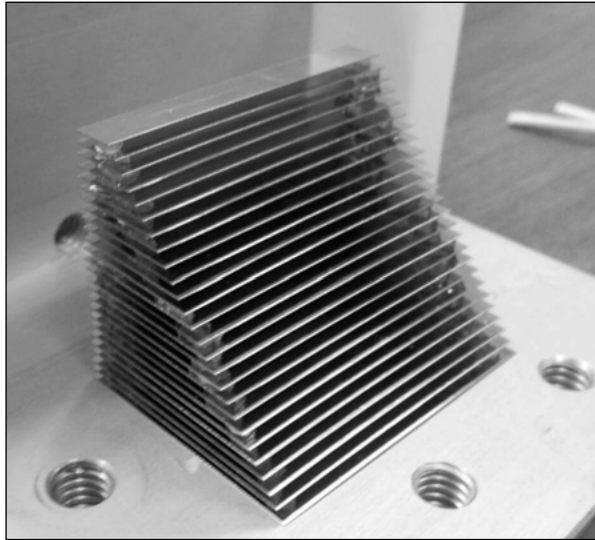


Figure 5. Actual picture of our Multi-Plate PPWG prism. The plates are made of 178 μ m steel. The input face is 40mm in width. The plate lengths (along the propagation direction) range from 5mm to 35mm.

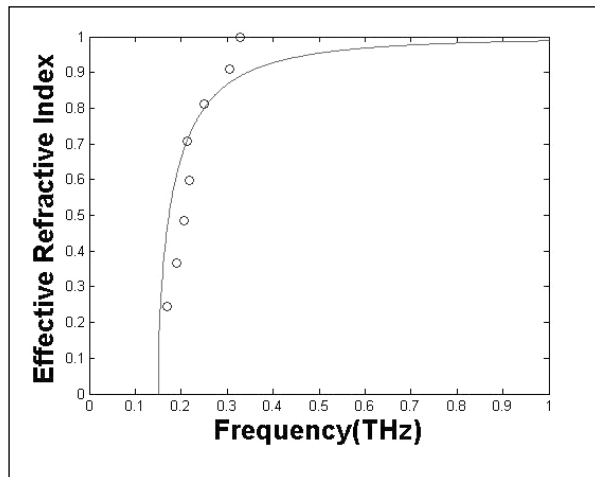


Figure 6. Effective refractive index of the PPWG prism. The red curve shows the expected index. This data is for beam with a diameter of 7mm.

Conclusion

We have been able to demonstrate focusing with a multi-plate artificial dielectric 1-D lens. Additionally, we have observed refraction using a PPWG prism. However, the observed refraction is far from ideal due to nonuniform spacing between the plates of the prism. This preliminary work has shown that a method for achieving uniform plate spacing needs to be devised before we attempt to construct a 2-D lens.

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The Effects of Chronotype on the Re-Entrainment of the Circadian Clock after Traveling West

Chenjerai Muchapirei, *University of Cape Town* (South Africa)

Chenjerai Muchapirei is a molecular biology honors student from Zimbabwe. Currently, he is working on methods to improve the production of a protein from the malaria parasite, Plasmodium falciparum, in E.coli bacteria as a first step in the study of that protein.

Abstract

There are a variety of factors that influence how quickly one readjusts one's internal biological clock following rapid trans-meridian travel. Identification of these factors would improve advice to travelers, allowing more fruitful trips where they can perform at their best soon after arrival at their destination. This preliminary study was designed to determine whether an individual's diurnal preference has an influence on how quickly their biological clock is readjusted. Although the sample size was too small to draw any meaningful conclusion, the data suggest that after traveling west, diurnal preference does have an impact on the rate of readjustment of the biological clock, with evening types readjusting faster than morning types.

Introduction

"Time flies when you are having fun," according to an old saying; but, as most twenty-first-century jet passengers will tell you, time spent flying is not fun. Jet lag is the condition that many travelers experience subsequent to air travel across more than three time zones (Waterhouse, Reilly, Atkinson & Edwards, 2007; Jackson, 2010). The symptoms of jet lag include sleep deprivation and loss of appetite (ibid.).

More and more people spend large amounts of their lives traveling. For these individuals, jet lag is a serious threat to their performance. This is especially true for business executives and top government officials who may, for example, have to jet from Paris to Tokyo to take part in a meeting in which decisions will be made that impact millions of lives. It seems obvious that a cognitively impaired, sleepy person would be the last person you would want to be making the decision on what to do about the euro.

We all possess a biological clock that determines when in the twenty-four-hour day certain biological processes and events occur. This clock is called the circadian clock, and it influences our metabolism as well as our behavior. The clock does not have a period of exactly twenty-four hours, and there are slight variations in people's circadian clocks as a result of our unique genetic makeup (Koukkari & Sothorn, 2006). When our biological clocks are disrupted by travel and social activities, we experience a variety of minor health effects. While it may seem that the value of maintaining a

"correct" circadian clock is somewhat diminished in the fast-paced world of today, nothing could be further from the truth. Chronic disruption of our biological clocks, such as that experienced by shift workers, often results in a variety of severe, negative health outcomes. Circadian rhythm disruption is not a trivial issue; the International Agency for Research on Cancer classifies it as Class II carcinogen alongside diesel exhaust fumes (IACR). It is also known that sleep disturbance is a contributing factor in the development of Type 2 diabetes (Martins, Andersen & Tufik, 2008; Mallon, Bromann & Hetta, 2005).

Additional information on jet lag would assist in developing strategies that help alleviate its symptoms. Previous studies have suggested that the direction of travel is a determining factor in the length of re-entrainment (readjustment period), with readjustment for travel in the eastern direction being longer than that for the western direction (Jackson, 2010; Eastman and Burgess, 2009; Young and Kay, 2001). This study sought to determine whether chronotype, which is reflective of the endogenously determined time of day at which a person's mental and physical faculties are at a peak, has an effect on the rate of readjustment after traveling west. Most people do not exhibit a strong preference, but certain people do fall into two extreme categories (Eastman and Burgess, 2009). These extremes correspond to people who wake up extremely early and are active in the very early part of the day, informally referred to as larks; and those with an extreme evening preference who wake much later in the day and go to bed in the early hours of the morning, informally referred to as owls (Kerkhof and Van Dongen, 1996).

One hypothesis to explain inter-individual variation in re-entrainment is that people who are morning types would take a longer time to re-entrain their circadian clocks when traveling west and vice versa. This is because re-entrainment should occur as a result of phase delay (a resetting of the biological clock which results in the clock being readjusted to later time), such as when people travel rapidly west to a destination where their subjective night is coincident with the local day. The evening types should readjust a little faster because their body temperature rhythms naturally lag behind those of the morning types. The predictions of the theory would be correct based on two assumptions: the first being that re-entrainment subsequent to westward travel occurs via phase delay; and the second being that the genes involved in determining chronotype do not have products that interact with the genes that are involved in re-entrainment through environmental cues (*zeitgebers*).

Materials and Methods

Four volunteers (average age twenty-two) were recruited as unpaid research subjects. Subjects were all in self-reported good health and reported no sleep complaints prior to departure. Subjects were all advised not to take amphetamines, pemoline, modafinil, soporific drugs or hypnotics, or melatonin within three months of the trip. Subjects included three females, referred to as X, Y, Z; and a male participant, referred to as A. The University of Cape Town Science Faculty Ethics Committee approved the study's protocol (SFREC 013_2012).

The chronotype of the subjects was established by making use of the Horne-Östberg questionnaire, which asks the individuals nineteen multiple-choice questions. The responses each receive a score, and the total score is used to determine the chronotype. Scores below 30 indicate that the person is an extreme evening type, while scores above 59 suggest the person is a morning type (Horne and Ostberg, 1976).

The participants flew across six time zones. From the second day, post-arrival participants were asked to take recordings of their oral temperature as well as test their mental agility at intervals not exceeding three hours. The first day of the study beginning upon arrival consisted of participants familiarizing themselves with the mental agility tests. This was done to overcome any learning effects. The mental agility was measured as the ability to memorize a series of seven-digit random number sets (Koukkari and Sothorn, 2006). The number of correct numbers scored was divided by the amount of time taken to remember the numbers in the set to obtain the mental agility. Subjects were advised not to measure oral temperature thirty minutes subsequent to exercise or eating something hot or cold.

Results and Discussion

The Horne-Östberg scores showed all the female participants—X, Y, and Z—to be moderate morning types, from their scores of 65, 67, and 67, respectively. The male participant was identified as an extreme evening type, with a score of 25. A comparison of the rhythms of A to X, Y, and Z should enable tentative conclusions to be drawn on whether chronotype has an effect on re-entrainment of the circadian clock because both chronotypes (larks and owls) are represented in the sample.

The first variable considered was mental agility. The results in Figure 1 were confusing for a number of reasons. First, there seemed to be no relationship between chronotype and the time of day at which mental agility peaked. In addition, with the exception of subject Z, all the subjects showed a sudden spike in mental agility scores on the second

day of the experiment, and the higher scores were maintained into day three and four. This might be indicative of learning effects (i.e., practice or familiarity improved their ability to perform the task), meaning that it was impossible to satisfactorily analyze these results with respect to variance due to circadian rhythm.

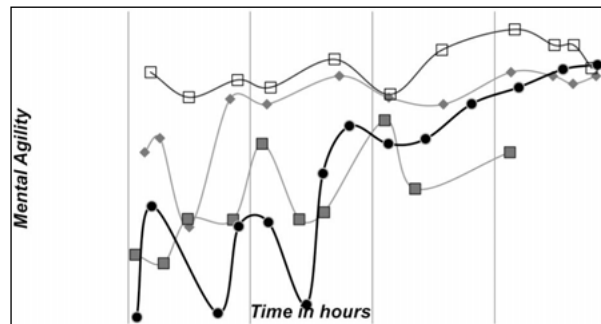


Figure 1. Mental agility scores are plotted against time. Mental agility was recorded from the second day after arrival. Participants are depicted as follows: X, diamonds; Y, solid square; Z, open square; A, circle.

The next variable I considered was the oral body temperature. The core body temperature is directly controlled by the circadian clock. The literature shows that morning type subjects would have earlier phased body temperature rhythms than evening types (Kerkhof and Van Dongen, 1996). Individual A seems to be quicker to entrain than X, Y, and Z. The oral temperature minimum for individual A occurred at midnight on days two, three, and four of the study (Figure 2, closed arrows) as opposed to the first day, when oral temperature minimum occurred slightly before midnight (Figure 2, open arrow). This is in contrast with X, Y, and Z, for whom no such pattern can be observed. The scatter of the oral temperature minima of X, Y, and Z suggests that morning types had widely varying ease of re-entrainment.

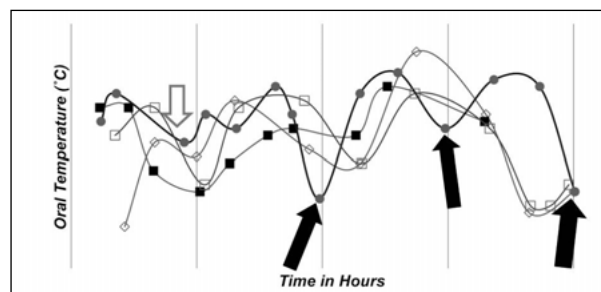


Figure 2. Oral temperature versus time. Oral temperatures were self-recorded by the participants from the second day after arrival. Participants are depicted as follows: X, diamonds; Y, solid square; Z, open square; A, circle. Arrows indicate oral temperature minima for participant A.

A previous study by Waterhouse et al. (2002) seeking to establish whether chronotype has any influence on the rate of re-entrainment could not establish a significant connection between the two variables. The results of the current

study should be read with caution, because the study suffered from significant shortcomings. The first shortcoming was that the sample size of four was very small. As such, it was not possible to control for other confounding factors such as sex, age, etc. It was also not possible to perform any sort of statistical analysis owing to the small sample size. The Waterhouse et al. (2002) study cited above also had a small sample size with only eight participants in either the lark (7) or owl (1) categories.

One advantage this study had over the Waterhouse et al. (2002) study was that in the current study the participants crossed six time zones. In the Waterhouse study, they crossed ten time zones, which falls within the +6-hour to +12-hour time range in which antidromic (phase delays in response to eastward travel) responses are observed (Eastman and Burgess, 2009). This means that the Waterhouse et al. (2002) study may have failed to establish a relationship between chronotype and rate of re-entrainment because of the confounding effect of antidromic responses. It has been proposed that the fastest rate of re-entrainment possible is half a day for every hour of time difference when traveling west, which is consistent with the results of participant A, who was seemingly entrained on the third day (Figure 2) (Jackson, 2010).

This study is the first-ever study to examine the relationship between chronotype and re-entrainment rates subsequent to westward travel. As a result, it provides some important first insights that may be used in later research. The data suggests that as expected evening types readjust faster than morning types subsequent to westward travel.

In the future, I would like to see more studies like this one carried out with larger cohorts. I would like these studies to include travel in both directions with further investigation into the role that genotype plays in readjustment. The results of such studies may help travelers make decisions based on their chronotype.

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Finding Modernity in Rodchenko's Synthetic Portrait

Claire Dillon, *Northwestern University*

Claire is a senior studying art history and Italian at Northwestern University. She works as the editorial assistant for Art Journal and editor-in-chief of Northwestern Art Review. She is excited to apply to PhD programs in art history next winter.

Abstract

The Western tradition of art history usually studies Russian modernism from the perspective of the avant-garde, thereby excluding other forms of modern art from this narrative. This is due in part to the legacy of early scholars of modernism, who often favored abstraction over realism. The writings of the Russian avant-garde artist Aleksandr Rodchenko are characteristic of this historical bias against realist modern art. In his 1928 essay entitled "Against the Synthetic Portrait, For the Snapshot," Rodchenko enumerated the limitations of realistic painting, or the synthetic portrait, which he believed is an un-modern art form. However, in reality, many of the paintings Rodchenko dismissed exhibit the characteristics he attributes to modern art. This paper applies Rodchenko's definition of modern art to the study of two realist paintings from this time period, *The Worker Correspondent* (1925) by Viktor Perel'man and *Female Textile Workers* (1927) by Aleksandr Deineka. Its aim is to challenge the traditional critical reception of Russian realism through an investigation of these realistic modern works.

Knowledge of Russian modern art is incomplete in the Western tradition of art history. While avant-garde artists such as Malevich, Tatlin, Lissitzky, and Rodchenko are well represented and respected, entire factions of Russian modernists are too often excluded from this narrative. This is due in part to the legacy of Western art historical scholarship. When the renowned American scholar Alfred Barr traveled to Russia in 1927, his experiences with avant-garde artists helped shape the Western history of modern art. As one of the most influential figures in this history, Barr largely introduced these artists to the Museum of Modern Art and, by extension, to the rest of the United States. However, Barr's records are far from comprehensive. His focus on the Russian avant-garde reflected his belief that the development of modern art was a teleological progression towards abstraction. This linear perspective excluded the work of many modernists who were interested in realism and, therefore, did not follow Barr's model. By prioritizing the work and ideas of the Russian avant-garde, Barr contributed immensely to the history of modern art while limiting this history to include only a select group of artists.ⁱ

Aleksandr Rodchenko, a member of the Russian avant-garde who featured prominently in Barr's diaries, shared similar ideas regarding the definition of modern art. In his 1928 essay, "Against the Synthetic Portrait, for the

Snapshot," Rodchenko's discussion of the limitations of realistic painting, or "the synthetic portrait," is representative of realism's exclusion from common understandings of modern art. The belief that realism was too simplistic to capture the modernity of contemporary life fails to appreciate the modern qualities of realistic paintings from this time period. Nevertheless, these ideas were not only shared by Barr and Rodchenko but have continued to affect understandings of modernism.

American critics continued to dismiss Russian realists in subsequent decades. In 1939, Clement Greenberg associated realist paintings with "kitsch" and called them "a shortcut to the pleasure of art that detours what is necessarily difficult in genuine art."ⁱⁱ The modern realists of the 1920s became negatively associated with Stalin's Socialist realism, and this mindset was only aggravated by Cold War politics. In a 1978 publication of Barr's diary, the afterword described how the Russian avant-garde was "undermined swiftly and importunately" by the growing influence of realist painters in artist associations such as AKhRR (Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia), whose "simplistic and narrative art" was a product of "humble social origin and of very limited cultural experience."ⁱⁱⁱ The simplicity described in these critiques resonates with Rodchenko's analysis of realism. Ironically, however, AKhRR was Russia's most influential artist group in the 1920s; however, it is never mentioned in Barr's text. This archaic condescension towards realist painting has defined common understanding of Russian modern art for nearly a century. Therefore, critical reception of Russian realism has advanced very little.

Through a re-examination of two realist paintings, *The Worker Correspondent* (1925) by Viktor Perel'man and *Female Textile Workers* (1927) by Aleksandr Deineka, this study investigates and challenges Rodchenko's rejection of realism and, by extension, challenges the validity of realism's marginalization in the broader landscape of extant scholarship on Russian modern art. This paper argues that Rodchenko overlooked the modern and revolutionary qualities employed by his realist contemporaries, who used painting to engage with ideas of mutability, multiplicity, and laterality—ideas that resonated with contemporary definitions of modern art.

In "Against the Synthetic Portrait, For the Snapshot," painting is defined as a synthetic, complete entity that deviates from Rodchenko's understanding of effective modern art. His argument operated on the premise that "a photograph is a chance moment, whereas a painted portrait is the sum total of moments observed."^{iv} The synthetic portrait's sum total is a complete but inaccurate summary, because it transmits a fully rendered message produced by the artist's subjectivity and idealization. This does not allow for further

interpretation, because the artist has already created his or her own interpretation and presented it, in its finite entirety, to the viewer. This synthesis condenses moments into a single representation, which Rodchenko claimed is unmodern, conservative, and, therefore, inaccurate as a depiction of reality.

Rodchenko denounced realistic painting based on its lack of modern qualities, specifically mutability and multiplicity. He compared the synthetic portrait to eternal truth. He stated, "Modern science and technology are not searching for truths, but are opening up new areas of work and with every day change what has been attained."^v Here, Rodchenko introduced the concept of change, or mutability, as a defining characteristic of modernity. Regarding multiplicity, Rodchenko believed that, "There will never be eternal airplanes, wireless sets, and a single system of rejuvenation. There will be thousands of airplanes, motorcars, and thousands of methods for rejuvenation. The same goes for the snapshot."^{vi} Rather than relying on one technological model, as described by the "eternal airplane," Rodchenko predicted that multiple models would exist simultaneously in the modern age. The snapshot is Rodchenko's solution to the issues associated with modern approaches to representation.

In Rodchenko's view, the idea of multiplicity is a function of photography's laterality, a modern characteristic in which more than one snapshot can contribute to the multiple meanings of a series using a nonhierarchical structure. The inherent multiplicity of a photographic series offers viewers several different images of the same subject, which each possess an equal amount of importance. This contrasts with traditional painting, in which the artist's composition directs the viewer's attention to the most important elements of an artwork. The photographic series is therefore lateral; rather than present viewers with a pre-established vertical hierarchy, the series is decentralized because each photo is emphasized to an equal extent. While it is true the technology of photography is better suited for the recording and reproduction of multiple images, Rodchenko's interpretation failed to explore the modern qualities of paintings that were created in the Soviet Union during his time.

The Worker Correspondent (1925) by Viktor Perel'man draws on the tradition of figurative oil painting, but it is not a synthetic portrait as Rodchenko's text contended. The painting depicts a male worker in a black jacket seated at a table, gazing off toward the right edge of the canvas. The pen in his right hand hovers above a stack of paper, and he appears to be caught in the action of writing. In the background hangs the factory's "wall newspaper," for which the pictured worker correspondent would report.^{vii} This painting actively engages with the modern concepts of laterality, multiplicity, and mutability that Rodchenko described in his text. The painting is

lateral in that it illustrates workers' involvement in the creation and dissemination of information, which breaks down social hierarchies. Similar to the nonhierarchical distribution of emphasis in a photographic series, *The Worker Correspondent* bestows an importance on the working class that was reserved for the aristocracy in previous generations. Traditional hierarchies are thus subverted by the action of painting a member of the proletariat. Furthermore, depicting the working class's role in disseminating information emphasizes their significance over that of the former ruling class. The worker correspondent therefore represents "the possibilities of art as a (mass) communicative language."^{viii}

The newspaper also recalls Rodchenko's interest in multiplicity and laterality. Like a series of photographs, the wall newspaper presents a collection of independent documents that represent multiple, and perhaps opposing, "sum totals" from several working-class authors. This idea challenges Rodchenko's analysis of painting, because it highlights Perel'man's depiction of a collection of separate components rather than a summarized whole. Finally, the large question mark on the newspaper subverts any notion of a synthesized portrait. This symbol introduces mutability, or a potential for change, into the painting because it allows the viewer to contribute and, thereby, complete the piece.^{ix} This painting was intended for display in front of proletariat audiences, who would have recognized the collaborative nature of the newspaper. The question mark invites the workers to mentally draft their own submissions. Such open-endedness encourages a multitude of different interpretations, creating what Rodchenko described as "a whole lot of snapshots taken at different times and in different conditions."^x By opening their work to the viewer's analysis instead of presenting an artist's prescribed and synthetic summary, realist painters posed a challenge to Rodchenko's dismissal of the medium.

Aleksandr Deineka's *Female Textile Workers* (1927) is another painting that complicates, rather than synthesizes, the work's subject matter. This painting depicts three barefoot female figures wearing white shifts, performing various tasks in a textile factory. The figures work independently and seem disconnected from one another, thereby constituting a lateral series of painted "snapshots." These individual figures represent separate documented moments that together communicate information about women workers. Instead of presenting a synthetic summary as Rodchenko claimed, these snapshots invite the viewer to mentally complete the artwork. Like the newspaper in *The Worker Correspondent*, this picture is, therefore, not a synthesis but a compound, which depicts these figures in ambiguous positions that solicit contemplation from the viewer. This opens up the possibilities of interpretation rather than limiting their definition and significance to that of the artist's sum total.

The relationship between the figures in *Female Textile Workers* recalls the ideas of mutability and multiplicity outlined in “Against the Synthetic Portrait, For the Snapshot.” Upon further inspection, the composition becomes difficult to interpret. The central figure appears to be working with a spool that is suspended in mid-air before the viewer. It is impossible to fully interpret the painting because this central figure interrupts the viewer’s spatial comprehension. The figure to the right is also disruptive; she appears to exit not only the frame of the painting but also the composition itself, as she steps into what appears to be negative space. When presented with these incongruities, the viewer must interpret the painting without help from the artist. Like Perel’man’s question mark, the white space requires viewers to fill in the blanks and accordingly make sense of this non-synthetic image. The result is a multiplicity of analyses, or sum totals, that are dictated by the audience, not the artist. This approach challenges Rodchenko’s generalization that paintings merely present the artist’s isolated sum total. By opening his painting to the completion of others, Deineka, like Perel’man, was able to incorporate modern ideas of multiplicity and change into his work.

Further examination of realist paintings by modern artists suggests Rodchenko’s rejection of realism should be investigated and challenged. Works such as *The Worker Correspondent* and *Female Textile Workers* introduced ideas of mutability, multiplicity, and laterality into the realm of realism, contrary to Rodchenko’s claim. For decades, the modern and revolutionary qualities employed by Russia’s realist painters have been overlooked, and Western scholarship has instead focused on Rodchenko and other members of the Russian avant-garde. By questioning this tradition and investigating alternative forms of modernism produced in Russia during this time period, scholarship on modern art can recover this lost history.



Figure 1. Viktor Perel'man, *The Worker Correspondent*, 1925.



Figure 2. Aleksandr Deineka, *Female Textile Workers*, 1927.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- i Alfred H. Barr, “Russian Diary 1927–1928,” *October* 102: 10–51, 1978.
- ii Clement Greenberg, “Avant-Garde and Kitsch” (1939), reprinted in Francis Frascina (ed.), *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, 28. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.
- iii John E. Bowlt. Afterword to *October* 102: 51–52, 1978.
- iv Aleksandr Rodchenko. “Against the Synthetic Portrait, For the Snapshot,” *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*. Ed. John E. Bowlt, 251. New York: Viking, 1976.
- v Ibid., 251.
- vi Ibid., 252.
- vii Christina Kiaer. “Fairy-tales of the Proletariat, Or, Is It Socialist Realism Kitsch?” *Socialist Realisms: Soviet Painting 1920–1970*, by Matthew Brown and Matteo Lanfranconi, 196. Milano: Skira, 2012.
- viii Ibid.
- ix Angelina Lucento. “Toward a Cultural Revolution: Figuration and Communication under NEP, 1921–1928.” Paper presented at Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, February 21, 2013.
- x Rodchenko, “Against the Synthetic Portrait,” 254.

Reviving Revolution: The Role of Market-Driven Transnationalism, Democracy, and Agents

Nima Hassan, *Harvard University*

Nima is a senior at Harvard University. Originally from Minnesota, she majors in sociology (with an additional interest in development and Africa). Currently, she is carrying out thesis research on the Barbadian “development miracle” and enjoying her last year in Massachusetts.

Abstract

Theorists who predicted the demise of revolution must now confront the empirical reality of the protest movements of the Arab Spring. How can we reconcile the recent resurgence of large-scale protests and regime change in light of a literature that predicted the opposite? By analyzing secondary accounts of the Tunisian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Libyan revolutions, I seek to identify where such theory—focusing on the work of Robert Snyder—went wrong. I conclude that Snyder misinterpreted the effect of certain structural variables, specifically: the post-Cold War international context, the rise of market liberalization, and the increased popularity of democratic principles. Rather than having pacifying effects, these developments have proven destabilizing. In addition, I argue that Snyder neglected the role that marginal elites could play in modern revolutionary movements. Finally, I argue that while the events of the Arab Spring demonstrate that revolution has yet to fade away, they also suggest that revolutions have become more difficult to consolidate.

In his work “The End of Revolution,” Robert Snyder famously posited that liberalism and its associated structural factors (market-based economics, transnationalism, and democracy) would render revolution obsolete. This prediction seems to have been disproved by the powerful protest movements that have recently swept the Middle East, removing decades-old dictatorial regimes from their perch. I argue that analysis of the Arab Spring reveals that the structural variables Snyder theorized would contribute to world pacification have actually proven to be destabilizing in nature. That is, market liberalization, democracy, and persistent foreign intervention are actually giving rise to revolutions, even as they sometimes make it difficult to consolidate such protest into final, stable regime change. I also argue that agents, specifically marginal elites (a group identified by Snyder for their role in previous revolutions), remain important contributors to revolution and social transformation.

In brief, Snyder argues that revolution was born out of a post-WWII context involving the Cold War and state-led modernization (Snyder, 1999). Colonial regimes were vulnerable to regime change because colonial powers were a highly visible target for all ills and faced a broad-based, cross-class nationalist opposition. The post-colonial trend

towards national integration and state-owned enterprises worked in a similar manner. Since independence-era modernization was frequently led by the government, resources were concentrated in the hands of public officials. These public representatives very often engaged in corruption and graft, giving rise to cronyism. As this misbehavior was patently tied to the state, post-colonial governments often became a conspicuous target for opposition movements. This dynamic interacted with the Cold War political climate to produce very conflictual domestic politics in much of the world. Funds for such internal dissident movements were also abundant during that period.

Thus, the end of the Cold War—and the subsequent drying up of financial support for would-be revolutionaries—was supposed to make rebellion against the state much less common. The delegitimization of state-led modernization and rise of private firms was also thought to contribute to world pacification, with fewer national economic resources being entrusted to state officials and instead being directed to private actors. It was envisioned that these changes would not only reduce corruption but also dampen revolution by relocating power from a single, highly visible state to a multiplicity of firms—thus creating a more diffuse political target. Snyder writes, “The spread of market-based economics and the decline in state ownership of production weakens the chances that revolution will occur. Revolutionaries need a target, and the state becomes a much more vulnerable target if it has a large role in capital accumulation” (Snyder, 1999, p. 15).

Contrary to Snyder’s claims, liberalization has not necessarily led to the marginalization of the state or reduced corruption. On the contrary, in Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria, market liberalization was very much tied to cronyism, exacerbating the issue (Ayeb, 2011; Hinnebusch, 2012; Kandil, 2012). Privatization of state-owned industries was carried out in a context in which special connections (*wasta*) prevailed rather than a Weberian “rational” bureaucracy. Thus, previously state-owned resources were sold at a pittance, and contracts were given to political affiliates (or, in the Tunisian case, family members), enriching only a very narrow segment of the population. This clientelistic system was highly apparent in Tunisia. It was even more evident in Egypt, as demonstrated by Hazem Kandil in his analysis of the country’s post-neoliberal reform real estate boom:

The fact that only four percent of the country is inhabited, with the rest classified as public land, allow[ed] the regime to allocate land for select property developers. . . . at whatever price and under whatever conditions it cho[se]. Politically linked businessmen dug assiduously into this gold mine: beginning from the 1990s, gated compounds, masquerading as American-style suburbs, mushroomed

around the capital; holiday resorts spread over tens of thousands of acres on the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts; and real estate speculation became the most lucrative investment in town. (Kandil, 2012, p. 206)

In Egypt in particular, this newly empowered super-elite proved very hard to rein in, as they used their newfound wealth to co-opt a host of long underpaid government officials (Kandil, 2012; Ayeb, 2011). Finally, in both Syria and Egypt, the switch to market liberalization led to a narrowed political base, to the misfortune of the Assad and Mubarak regimes which depended on the loyalty of subsidized rural farmers. With IMF reforms stressing slashed social welfare spending (and the remaining state revenues being leached by corruption), these regimes ended up extending their patronage to too small a constituency (Hinnebusch, 2012).

Furthermore, the recent rise of a global middle class—thought to be resistant to social upheaval due to fearing the loss of their newly won property—was also predicted to reduce the likelihood of revolution. This has not necessarily been the case. Firstly, mismanaged market liberalization warped pre-existing political coalitions and robbed neo-patrimonial regimes of their already tenuous connections to society. For example, because much of the Syrian middle class was employed by the state, the austerity measures that followed the country's financial crisis in the 1980s contributed to the group's decline in earning power (Hinnebusch, 2012). Secondly, because the transition to market-based economics gave rise to industries that employed relatively few people (e.g., finance, hospitality, other forms of construction) rather than manufacturing, it did not lead to general improvements in living standards (often quite the opposite) (Kandil, 2012; Hinnebusch, 2012; Ayeb, 2011). Finally, income from the petty bribery engaged in by middle-class state officials was sidelined by the rise of party capitalists who, empowered by irresponsible privatization, no longer needed such officials to act as "middlemen" (Kandil, 2012, p. 219). Kandil argues that the marginalization that occurred as a result of the neo-liberal reforms incited, rather than inured, the middle classes to revolutionary fervor, writing, "With the clock ticking away toward September 2011 [when Hosni Mubarak was to transfer power to his capitalist-allied son, Gamal], the middle class expected nothing less than their total ruin. When a call went out to make a final stand against the regime . . . they had only their chains to lose" (Kandil, 2002, p. 219). Contrary to Snyder's argument, it is unlikely that the experience of privatization has made the market gain credence as the primary mechanism through which individuals (at least in the Middle East) can create a better life, as opposed to the lobbying of the state. Indeed, given the fact that the majority of people

who profited from market liberalization were well-connected crony capitalists, the opposite is likely true.

Market-driven transnationalism (for the two are deeply intertwined) also contradicts Snyder's argument that the international context has become less conflictual since the end of the Cold War. Not only are there still strategic national interests, strategic *corporate* interests now play a major role. Rather than have global integration promote stability, the inability to withdraw from the world economy has actually deprived national governments of tools to balance the interests of varying constituencies. For example, despite seeking to create a "social market" that would allow him to retain his rural base and attract an urban business clientele, the alienation of the U.S. and Western Europe forced Assad to adopt extreme market liberalization at the expense of egalitarianism in order to attract Chinese, Turkish, and Arab investment (Hinnebusch, 2012). Like in Egypt, this investment was largely in tertiary industries (luxury hotels, banking, etc.) that did not create jobs on a large scale or lead to a "trickle-down" effect. Thus, the vagaries of international politics—including negotiations with Israel, the Iraq War, and the assassination of the former prime minister of Lebanon—upset the fragile Syrian coalition and contributed to the current revolution (Hinnebusch, 2012).

International politics also shaped the national political coalition in Egypt. Prior to the decline of the Soviet Union and Egypt's resulting switch of alliances to the U.S., the military was a major player in Egyptian national politics (part of the security-military-executive triad that governed the country) (Dalacoura, 2012; Kandil, 2012; Springborg, 2011). However, the U.S. sought to balance Egyptian weapons capabilities with those of the Israeli Defense Forces and thereby weakened the power of the Egyptian officer class. In addition, the U.S. heavily shaped the war policy of Egypt, engaging it in the Persian Gulf War (with U.S. military advisors rating its contribution as "mediocre") and supporting the demilitarization of the Sinai Peninsula. Furthermore, inflation eroded the generous (but fixed) U.S. contribution to Egypt's military budget—which itself went parsimoniously supplemented by a coup-fearing Hosni Mubarak. Meanwhile, the security services were empowered to police an ever more repressed general society. The continuing influence of international politics is also evident in the contrasts between Egypt and Tunisia. While the latter's revolution was executed without much external involvement—with the exception of the French government—the former was implicated in major U.S. strategic interests (Dalacoura, 2012; Springborg, 2011). Egypt is not only the Arab world's most populous state, it is also the home to the Suez Canal—the shipping lane through which oil, the lifeblood of the world capitalist system, is directed. Thus, the end of the Cold War did not spell the end of client states

—a state of affairs most visible in Syria, where Western-funded opposition seeks to dislodge Assad's ever more degenerate Iranian- and Russian-backed regime.

The global spread of democracy was also predicted to lead to a diminished motivation for revolution, as regime change would occur through the ballot box rather than through violence. Revolutionary leaders would also not claim to “speak” for the people (Snyder, 1996).¹ However, if democracy is to spread, regime change and social change (i.e., revolution) are needed to bring it into existence. How else, then, are nondemocratic states to become democratic? While reform, rather than revolution, is a possibility, many observers have argued that the autocratic state seeking to mend its ways is frequently ousted before it gets the chance to reform. Thus, the states that most need to implement democracy are the least able to inaugurate it through reform—thereby giving rise to revolution (Dalacoura, 2012; Kimmel, 1990). Snyder seeks to resolve this problem by adding another exception to his end of revolution thesis. He argues that while social revolutions are over, liberal revolutions (those instituting democracy, individual rights, market-based economics, etc.) may persist. The supposed liberal revolution exception reveals the authors tendency toward conceptual *deus ex machina*. Exceptions that ought to disconfirm Snyder's thesis are instead arbitrarily granted distinct terminology and set off to one side. These exceptions are problematic because they seem to argue, “Except for the regimes most likely to be revolted against (neo-patrimonial regimes), and the ideologies that revolutions are most likely to be fought for (liberal revolutions), revolutions are unlikely to occur.” This gives the impression that the author is using contrived means to define contradictory evidence out of existence (or, rather, to convince the reader such evidence is not salient) in the hopes of preserving the theoretical model.

Similarly, Snyder claims that, “Although many regimes throughout the world exhibit some neo-patrimonial traits, highly personalistic rulers who are detached from their society have today become few in number” (Snyder, 1999, p.11). The basis of this theoretical distinction is unclear—how many neo-patrimonial traits are needed to characterize a regime as “neo-patrimonial?” Snyder implies that the only true types of neo-patrimonial regimes are those with leaders who cultivate a cult of personality and remain completely unaccountable to their citizens (e.g., North Korea and Equatorial Guinea). The distinction seems unfounded, and it seems likely that there are more neo-patrimonial—and thus more revolution-prone—states than he perceives. Much African governance, for instance, tends to be highly neo-patrimonial; indeed, study of the continent's politics has even generated a term for the phenomenon: “prebendalism” (Castells, 1998).

There are fewer theoretical problems to the argument that democracy will lead to the end of revolution. Agitation for democracy cannot be tied to agitation for market-driven economics (under the umbrella term “liberal revolution”) when collective action directed toward the two diverged in the Middle East. For example, as described above, the 2011 protest movement in Egypt can be understood as a non-elite rejection of the economic marginalization that occurred as a result of the neo-liberal reforms of the 1990s. But, even more tellingly, this redistributionist protest was accompanied by a desire for greater respect of human rights by the region's authoritarian regimes. For instance, an end to the abuses committed by the police apparatus under Mubarak (e.g., torture and bribery) was a consistent demand of Egyptian revolutionaries. As Kandil observes, the U.S. State Department's 2006 human rights report on the country “warned that a ‘culture of impunity’ had spread throughout the security sector; citizens had become practically fair game” (Kandil, 2012, p. 196). Thus, privatization and democratization were not necessarily twin trends. Indeed, since market-driven inequality was a major factor precipitating the Arab Spring, democratic revolutionaries seem as likely to seek a modification of market-based economics as its adoption.

Finally, not only are the structural variables discussed above unlikely to lead to the end of revolution, Snyder's analysis ignores the role of agents of change in contemporary revolts, even as he outlined the role played by marginal elites in earlier revolutions. Traditional merchants in the French Revolution, clerics in the Iranian Revolution, and radical intellectuals (supposedly fearing their loss of status in the transition to market-based society) were all motivated to support their respective social movements because they were marginalized by the existing or incipient structure (Snyder, 1999). Despite these insights, the theorist neglects to entertain the notion that marginal elites would persist and thus play a role in future revolutions. Indeed, the case of the Egyptian revolution can be read as a classic case of marginalized elites supporting regime change. The military sought to regain their previous power by using popular dissent to neutralize their rival, the security apparatus, and oust the authoritarian regime that marginalized them.

Furthermore, by replacing Mubarak with a theocratic executive (the Muslim Brotherhood) distrusted by the U.S., the military ensured that their balancing power would be preserved by external powers (circumventing the authoritarian tendency to neutralize the military and empower the police) (Kandil, 2012). Now the military is in the position to dispose of such democratically elected Islamists altogether (Kirkpatrick, 2013). Granted, someone always has something to lose in any societal change. In some ways, highlighting the agency of marginal elites only reveals the obvious—that

powerful marginalized groups are likely sources of opposition. Due to the role of randomness in historical evolution (Kimmel, 1990; Kandil, 2012), like every other variable identified in relation to revolutions, marginal elites are an important, but not *sufficient*, precondition.

In conclusion, many of the factors identified by Snyder did not lead to the end of politicized regime change and social transformation. However, such characteristics may make revolutions more difficult to resolve. Spontaneous, leaderless social organizing allowed Egyptian protesters to evade detection by security forces, but this same trait meant that revolutionaries were fragmented and thus unable to organize an electoral challenge to existing Mubarak-era institutions. This meant that the revolution was easily co-opted by the military and the opportunistic but short-lived Muslim Brotherhood (Kandil, 2012). More tragic than the *plus ça change politics* of Egypt is the protracted conflict in Syria, where external intervention has combined with the viciousness of Assad's regime to produce a zero-sum civil war (Dalacoura, 2012; Hinnebusch, 2012). Such a state of affairs recalls Durkheim's pessimism regarding revolution, in which he writes:

. . . [W]hen people speak of destroying existing societies, they intend to reconstruct them. But these are the fantasies of children . . . [O]nce our social organization is destroyed, centuries of history will be required to build another . . . It will not be the sun of a new society that will rise, all resplendent over the ruins of the old; instead men will enter into a new period of darkness . . . [W]e must avoid acts of destruction that suspend the course of social life and civilization. (qtd. in Kimmel, 1990, p. 38)

However, such a prescription—to bear with the status quo because the alternative is worse—is hard to accept, given the utter abusiveness and malefaction of many of the world's political regimes. As destructive as revolutions often are, one cannot help but also recall Tocqueville's somewhat pithier observation that, “[What] makes men lose power is that they have become unworthy to exercise it” (qtd. in Kimmel, 1990, p. 30).

Endnotes

- ⁱ Hegre et al. make a similar analysis on the impact of democracy on civil war in the 2001 article “Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change and Civil War.”

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Law of the Land, Law of the Lord: How Latino Immigrants Manage Immigration Enforcement and How Religion Helps Them Cope

Leticia Garcia-Romo, *Princeton University*

Leticia, a Salinas, CA, native, graduated from Princeton University in 2013 with a degree in sociology and certificates (minors) in Spanish and Latino studies. She will be teaching transitional bilingual kindergarten in San Pablo, CA, for a couple of years while getting a master's degree in education. She plans to pursue a PhD in sociology to continue conducting research on Latinos, immigration, religion, and education.

Abstract

Given a context of record numbers of deportations, how do immigrants manage this constant risk of deportation? Through face-to-face interviews with nineteen Latino immigrants conducted from November 2012 to February 2013 in Salinas, CA, and Princeton, NJ, I analyze how immigrants fear and understand immigration enforcement, what strategies they employ in order to reduce the risk and fear of deportation, and what role they believe religion plays in this process. The participants see themselves as assets to the country who would further benefit it economically if they were given legal status. They are also highly conscious of the way they behave, refraining from crime and vices such as drinking. Finally, immigrants believe the community of the church is the one that provides support—albeit limited and temporary. The sense of comfort comes from knowing they are following God's commandments by helping their community and not necessarily from the community itself.

José¹ arrived at the United States at age fourteen when he left Mexico, running away from his abusive father. Having lived in the U.S. for twenty-one years and having three U.S.-citizen daughters, José now considers the U.S. to be his home. He fears that, if deported, he will not be able to provide for his family in Mexico. However, his greatest worry is that Mexico is too dangerous for his daughters. He tells me, "The people, just because they see that one comes from the U.S., think that one has a lot of money, and they kidnap the children." Despite all the fear and worry, José finds comfort in the community he found in the U.S. and, more specifically, in his local Catholic Church. In time of hardship and pain, he tells me, "It is the same community; we are the ones who help each other."

Introduction

In this paper, I explore the strategies that Latino immigrants employ in order to either avoid or cope with the risk of deportation. My research is important given a context of record numbers of deportations under the Obama administration (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Motel 2011), and studies that show that Latino immigrants live under constant risk and fear of being detained and deported from the country (Hagan, Castro, and Rodriguez 2010:1816; Hagan et al. 2010; Hagan et al. 2011; Friedmann et al. 2011). My study

explores mental and emotional ways to cope with their risk and worry of deportation as well as more physical and tangible ways to actually avoid detention and removal from the country. For example, my study investigates the way immigrants understand their status and presence in the U.S.

I found that the participants see themselves as assets to the country who would further benefit it economically if they were given legal status. This identity serves as a strategy for coping with their immigration status. In order to actively avoid detainment, the participants are also highly conscious of the way they behave, refraining not only from crime but also what they call vices, such as drinking. They do not want to give law enforcement any excuse to remove them from the country. Finally, my participants rely on their faith as a coping mechanism. Some scholars have found that churches provide immigrants with resources at different stages of migration, including before emigrating and once they arrive to the U.S. (Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Hagan, Rodriguez, and Castro 2011). Taking a different approach in examining individuals rather than institutions alone, my research looks at the role participants believe religion and faith play in coping with and giving meaning to the fear and actual consequences of immigration enforcement. It looks at the material and spiritual resources religion and faith continue to provide the immigrants years after settlement in the U.S. The participants believe the community of the church is the one that provides support—albeit limited and temporary. The sense of comfort does not necessarily come from the community itself but from the knowledge that they are following what they believe God has commanded them to do. I go to those and other answers by asking the following research question: How do Latino immigrants manage and give meaning to immigration enforcement and their relationship to it, and, more specifically, what role do they believe religion and faith play in coping with deportation?

Literature Review and Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

As Brabeck and her colleagues report, "Increasingly, the persons affected by detention and deportation are parents and workers, without criminal records, who migrate from Latin American countries" (Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2008; Brabeck et al. 2011:5). Given this, I expect my participants to see themselves as parents and workers who are wrongly seen as criminals and as threats to the community.

Hypothesis 2

Since immigrants' status is similar to the "illegal or semilegal status" of the ghetto residents in Goffman's study (Goffman 2009:356), I expect immigrants to adopt

strategies of secrecy and unpredictability similar to those of the ghetto residents in response to the danger of deportation that comes from encounter with authorities.ⁱⁱ

Hypothesis 3

In terms of religion, a few studies show how religion provides resources for individuals to cope with their immigration experience or other challenges and hardships. Most of this research is focused on the role of religion in providing spiritual resources right before and during the process of migrating to the U.S. or in providing material resources once migrants are in the U.S. (Hagan and Ebaugh 2003:1145; Friedmann et al. 2011:160). We know that religion provides a community of support and that it also provides narratives and rites that immigrants can adopt and adapt in order to give meaning to their situations of hardship (Hagan et al. 2011; Mooney 2009). I expect religion to continue to play a role after immigrants have settled rather than just upon initial arrival.

Methodology

Between November 2012 and February 2013, I conducted nineteen interviews with Latino immigrants in Salinas, CA, and Princeton, NJ. I focused on Latino immigrants because they account for most of those being deported (Simanski and Sapp 2012:4–5). I found the Princeton participants at the local Catholic Church and the Salinas participants through two personal contacts. Sixteen participants were from Mexico, two from Guatemala, and one from a Central American country. Most were undocumented, but a few had a visa or permanent residency status. All were at least nominally Catholic. All interviews were semistructured and were conducted face-to-face in Spanish. All participants received a five-dollar gift card after the twenty- to sixty-minute interview.

Findings

Most of my research participants expressed feeling criminalized and stigmatized for being in the country without authorization; however, they provided a counter-narrative by making an economic case for their presence in the U.S. Some of the participants were confused about whether or not being in the U.S. was a criminal act but felt that the country viewed them as criminals. Furthermore, they felt that the U.S. saw them as individuals who were taking advantage of the country. On the other hand, the participants viewed themselves as necessary workers who were responding to a demand for labor. They also saw themselves as contributors to the economy and to the country, rather than takers. For example, a woman in Salinas, Veronica,ⁱⁱⁱ said, “I think [the U.S.] should have a little more compassion with us, because, the truth is, we do not cause harm to anything, because we do our work. We are

working, we are not breaking the laws, and they are not supporting or feeding us.” Here, Veronica is responding to the belief that immigrants are breaking the laws and that they are using up services, such as welfare, rather than working. Furthermore, the participants believed that if the U.S. gave them the opportunity to work legally, they would contribute to the country even more. For instance, several participants explained that if they were granted legal status, they would have to pay more taxes and that they would be able to buy more things, further benefiting the economy. Andrés,^{iv} for example, drives a decrepit car, so he will not lose much if the police take it away. “But if they gave us work permits and licenses,” he asserted, “I assure you that right now I would be paying for a car, and that helps the economy.” These immigrants are claiming that, contrary to how the U.S. sees them—as individuals unfairly taking benefits from the country—they are actually here because the country needs them and that, if the U.S. gave them full inclusion into the country, they would further contribute to it. This allows the immigrants to cope with the view that they believe the U.S. has of them.

As might be expected, participants believed that staying out of legal trouble was an important coping strategy for dealing with their status as immigrants. My research shows that, in addition to a commitment to following the laws of the U.S., participants adhered to a deeper level of vigilance that involved extra care in everything they did. For instance, José, a man who has been living in New Jersey since he was fourteen, offered the following advice to undocumented immigrants: “Follow the laws of the country in which we live. Respect the laws, do not fall into vice, do not do dumb stuff, so that we do not create an opportunity to be detained even more easily.” José advised immigrants to stay out of trouble with the law not just because the U.S. deports criminals but because he believes that any little norm they break would make it even easier for the U.S. government to justify their deportation. This not only means not breaking any laws but not engaging in what they called “vices” such as drinking and going out to bars and nightclubs. Therefore, immigrants felt that they have to be extra careful and behave extra well so that, as Lucia and others mentioned, they are not stopped and deported for “any little thing [that they do].”

In terms of religion, the participants believed that it was usually the church community (its congregants), and not the church institution itself, which provided help to immigrants in times of hardship. As José explained, “It is the community itself; we are the ones who help each other.” The more religious among the participants I interviewed expressed finding comfort in the sense that they were following God’s commandments and trusting in what they believed was “His will” for them. When talking about community and support for each other, the more actively religious participants tended to talk about it in terms of the

participants themselves helping others. As Jesús^v told me, they help their community because, “We know it’s a commandment, a Christian duty, that we must take care of our neighbor; that’s why we do it.” The participants expressed that it is part of their faith to follow God’s commandment to help each other. Additionally, the belief in the salvation that comes with following God’s commandments and God’s will served as another important coping mechanism for the participants in my study. For example, Fatima^{vi} explained that she teaches her teenage daughters that, “As long as they follow God’s will, they will be okay . . . We are here because God wills it, and if we leave, it is because God wills it . . . As long as they die with faith in Christ, they will have eternal life.” Their life might be hard, but they believe that as long as they are with God and do what “He commands,” there is hope for a better life and an even better and more important afterlife.

Discussion and Conclusion

In conclusion, in this paper I looked at the way Latino immigrants in Salinas, CA, and in Princeton, NJ, managed and coped with their risk of immigration enforcement. The participants felt that the U.S. was deporting workers who made important contributions. They also felt that the U.S. needed their labor and that they could further benefit the country if the country allowed them to integrate legally. This gave the immigrants a counterargument to the idea that they were lawbreakers and welfare abusers.

Similar to Goffman’s findings (2009), the undocumented immigrants in my study also tried to avoid places that might lead to sanction by law enforcement. Furthermore, immigrants said that they do not want to give the police or immigration enforcement any excuse to deport them. Although they believe that they are good, responsible citizens, they made sure not to get in any legal trouble. They move beyond not engaging in serious crime, such as killing or stealing, to refraining from what is less serious—and actually legal to do—such as drinking and going to dances or bars at night. In their view, they actually behave *better* than those who have legal status. These practices also provide the immigrants in my study with a narrative that counters their stigmatized image as criminals and lawbreakers.

Religion also helps immigrants cope with immigration enforcement. Like several scholars, I found that the church is a provider of material resources for immigrants who are at risk of being detained and deported (Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Friedmann et al. 2011; Mooney 2009). However, I also found that participants believed that it was not the church institution but the church community that helped those who face deportation. Their sense of community arises from their feelings of religious duty and provides the support they need

in moments of hardship. Although this sense of community is important, they did not cite community as something that helps them feel less worried. They were actually aware that the community could not do much to help because of their vulnerability due to their immigration status. Therefore, it is not about what they can get out of the community but what they put in which gives them comfort and protection.

Endnotes

- i For confidentiality purposes and to protect the participants’ identities, I have changed the participants’ names in this paper.
- ii Goffman conducted ethnographic research in a Black ghetto in Philadelphia, where individuals are trying to avoid contact with the police. She found that everyday spaces are places of danger for both immigrants and young people of color (Goffman 2009:345; Brabeck et al. 2011:4). Goffman found that since everyday sites are dangerous, “One strategy for coping with these risks is to avoid dangerous places, people, and interactions entirely . . . a second strategy is to cultivate unpredictability . . .” (Goffman 2009:353). Through a different methodology, my study will explore whether or not immigrants adopt similar strategies.
- iii Veronica is an immigrant from Mexico living in the U.S. without authorization since 1994. She reported that she attends mass weekly or bimonthly, depending on work.
- vi Andres has been living in California without authorization since 1990. He attends weekly mass.
- v Jesús, who lives in New Jersey, has a work permit but has been working on getting his residency since 1993. His employer is considering no longer sponsoring his application. Jesús attends weekly mass and helps with other church activities.
- vi Fatima, from Mexico, lives in New Jersey with a work permit. She has been waiting eight years for her legal permanent resident application to go through. She attends mass at least once a week, and she also helps at other church events.

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Surviving in the Margins: Examining the Survival Strategies of Low-Income Jamaican Women

Jallicia Jolly, *Williams College*

Jallicia is a senior at Williams College majoring in women's, gender, and sexuality studies and concentrating in Africana studies. Her research interests include examining the interplay between gender, class, race, and resistance in the Caribbean. She has recently spent time as a visiting student at the Goldman Public Policy School at University of California-Berkeley and as a researcher at an HIV/AIDS psychosocial group in Kampala, Uganda.

Abstract

This paper examines the everyday realities of eight low-income Jamaica women in downtown Kingston and exposes their unconventional representations of resistance. Ethnographic research conducted between January 2012 and June 2013 reveals that local women employ innovative coping mechanisms to covertly and overtly combat economic and social inequity. These strategies include establishing informal support networks, participating in the informal sector, and relying upon their faith in God. This paper discusses the viability of these survival strategies to fulfill their short- and long-term needs.

Look how long Jamaica oman
—Modder, sister, wife, sweetheart—
Outa road an eena yard deh pon
A dominate her part!ⁱ

(Look how long Jamaican woman
—Mother, sister, wife, sweetheart—
In public and at home
Dominating her part!)ⁱⁱ

—Louise Bennett

Introduction

This ethnography focuses on the experiences of eight women who live and work in downtown Kingston.ⁱⁱⁱ Drawing critically from structured and unstructured interviews, home and work visits, newspapers, and conversations, I examine their representations of resistance to destructive economic and social forces.^{iv} Through personal and collective survival measures including networking with family and community members, the exchange of goods and services, and adjustments in consumption, low-income Jamaican women have compensated for the lost social services and declining earnings that have accompanied Jamaica's deteriorating socioeconomic conditions. These survival strategies are transgressive acts that allow low-income Jamaican women to address their practical needs—food, shelter, child care, and employment. By defending their own interests, Jamaican women expand the boundaries of social convention and challenge unequal social and economic structures.

The paper begins with a brief definition of resistance. After explaining the social, economic, and cultural contexts of Jamaica, I will discuss three salient themes of this ethnography—low-income Jamaican women's development of informal support networks, participation in the informal labor sector, and strong belief in God.

Defining Resistance

I define resistance as the ideological and physical efforts, whether conscious or unconscious, that challenge dominant forms of power and minimize threats to one's quality of life.^v In this paper, I refer to resistance as the various coping mechanisms developed by low-income Jamaican women. Coping mechanisms, which are often viewed as covert forms of resistance, suggest a level of compliance with and accommodation of hardships that accompany relations of domination.^{vi} Though they are not traditionally viewed as explicit contestations of the status quo, these survival strategies can provide the consciousness needed to subvert dominant systems of oppression, motivate action, and strengthen individual and collective agency. Such strategies share a collective recognition of inequities that can help create the conditions for resisting domination and exploitative social and economic relations.

Context

The previous discussion of resistance necessitates an explanation of the economic, social, and cultural conditions that strengthen Jamaica's inequities. Low-income Jamaican women carry the heaviest brunt of neoliberal economic and social policies. These policies have reduced government investments geared towards enhancing the social and psychological welfare of its citizens.^{vii} The shift in responsibility and cost for the education, health care, and the well-being of dependent members of society solely to household and communities disproportionately and negatively affects low-income women who have traditionally assumed primary responsibility for sustaining Jamaica's social fabric.^{viii} As the country's providers, caretakers, and workers, low-income Jamaican women juggle multiple responsibilities. Although they are at the nexus of these socially ascribed roles, they are placed at the very bottom of the social and political hierarchy because of the intersections of their race, gender, and class. This triple oppression is further compounded by Jamaica's rigid color hierarchy, which glorifies light-skinned bodies and promotes images of middle-class respectability and femininity while creating what society deems "uncivilized" elements of lower-class Black Jamaican culture.^{ix}

Low-income Jamaican women's "triple" political identity, coupled with Jamaica's social conditions, cultural traditions, and economic institutions, underscores the need

for strategic responses to current socioeconomic conditions.^x While at first low-income Jamaican women's strategies appeared as merely extensions of individual responses as the economic situation worsened, their responses have developed into organized, conscious, and politicized tools of subversion. These tools allow them to strategically appropriate cultural values and traditions, which enables them to ameliorate the effects of poverty and to develop autonomous spaces that can combat classism, sexism, and racism.

Salient Themes

Collectivity: Familial and Communal Networks

Examining the resistance of low-income Jamaican women facilitates an understanding of how they establish and maintain social relations in order to secure their daily means of existence.^{xi} The participants are all involved in familial and communal networks that include immediate and distant relatives, neighbors, close friends, and community members. These networks are not only sources of emotional and financial support but also provide reciprocal exchanges—which often include childcare responsibilities, health care services, and economic responsibilities.^{xii}

Ms. F.L., a forty-one-year-old fish vendor and single mother of four, spends twelve hours a day collecting, preparing, and selling fish in the market.^{xiii} Because her demanding schedule makes it difficult for her to dedicate time to household chores, she pays a friend to take care of her children on the weekend and holidays. Similarly, Ms. G., a “higgler” and single mother of two, often depends on her sister, Ms. G.G., or other close relatives to assume domestic responsibilities.^{xiv} While her mother and aunt care for the children in Portland, she works fourteen hours a day selling fruits and vegetables in the market.^{xv} While these closed networks and insular communities allow low-income Jamaican women to tap into existing resources to meet their financial and domestic needs, they also provide emotional support. After the death of her daughter, Ms. G. relied primarily on her immediate family and her faith for strength, perseverance, and motivation to continue surviving.

Informal networks and insular communities help create innovative ways for low-income Jamaican women to tap into existing resources and negotiate daily tasks. Greater access to private, familial resources not only allows women to confront the financial and emotional burdens that arise from having limited access to basic resources and being primary caretakers but also allows them to adjust to different patterns of distribution and consumption as they become more crucial for household survival. These economic and social adjustments counteract the lack of formal-sector

income and compensate for the lack of employment opportunities in the formal labor market.

Informal Work

Economic trends have restrained the long-term tendency of women's employment. Nevertheless, all of the participants have secured positions that have allowed them to confront conditions of underemployment and their practical needs. Seven of the eight women are self-employed bar owners, cooks, and street vendors; the eighth works as a newspaper distributor. Some of the women manage two businesses simultaneously in order to earn extra income to support their families. Two of the women are both bar owners and cooks, while another owns a convenience and clothing store and manages a gambling business.

Ms. B.B., a fifty-five-year-old bar owner, cook, and ex-community leader, has been self-employed for twenty years. She rejects government entitlement programs and references the banks as a more legitimate financial resource that can provide the training and skills needed to help people start businesses.^{xvi} Like the other seven participants who lack access to steady wage labor, Ms. B.B.'s business supported her immediate and, at times, extended family and helped pay for children's primary and secondary school tuitions. In describing how her business helps sustain her family, Ms. F.L. states:

There is not much opportunity for women my age fi work. So mi buy fish from Grenich Farm Fishing Beach and den mi carry it to the market fi cum sell. Mi buy it from di fisherman dem . . . It support mi well innuh. It support mi coz mi have it fi almost twenty years. So it support mi, from mi young . . . Sometimes tings bright, and the next minute it nuh bright . . . Ah it mi use and send my children dem to school, pay mi rent, light bill, water rent and everyting . . . It nuh mek mi depend pon nobody. It shows me dat mi have the strength fi survive.^{xvii}

(There is not much opportunity for women my age to work. So I buy the fish from Grenich Farm Fishing Beach and then carry it to the market to sell. I buy it from the fishermen. It supports me well, you know. It supports me because I have had it for almost twenty years. So it has been supporting me since I was young . . . Sometimes things are bright, and the next minute it is not bright . . . I use it to send my children to school, pay my rent, light bill, water, and everything . . . It makes me not depend on anyone. It shows me that I have the strength to survive.)

While Ms. F.L. is employed in a precarious labor force with positions that are less economically and socially valued, she has gained a sense of her potential capabilities,

autonomy, and agency. Like the other women, performing unskilled tasks and distributing cheap goods and services allow her to “make ends meet” and afford food, shelter, school tuition, and monthly bills. Though all of the women have to make economic adjustments due to fluctuations in consumer demand and the market, self-employment allows them to solidify an informal economic network beyond the traditional labor market, which provides them with steady employment and expands community members’ access to essential goods.

Faith

The women’s references to God increased as they discussed experiences of frustration, hardship, and emotional pain. Their constant praising of “the Lord” not only reflects their complete trust and confidence in God amidst adversity but also suggests that faith in God can provide the inspiration, hope, and courage needed to overcome their onerous realities. Ms. T., a single mother of two and a newspaper distributor, describes God as a source of strength that she relies on when she feels vulnerable and helpless. She states:

Sometimes mi don’t know how mi mek it. At times, mi ask God fi help mi, fi guide mi, fi watch ova me and my children. Mi ask him fi giv mi help and strength. Fi nurture mi. Witout im, mi nuh kno ow mi survive. Lawh! God!^{xviii}

(Sometimes I don’t know how I make it. At times, I ask God to help me, to guide me, to watch over me and my children. I ask him to give me help and strength. To nurture me. Without him, I don’t know how I would survive. Lord! God!)

Asking God for protection and strength provides Ms. T. with the inspiration and guidance she needs to confront daily obstacles. Her unwavering faith not only provides her with a sacred space to channel her frustrations but also allows her to sustain the willpower to negotiate the complexities she encounters as the sole breadwinner of her family with a job of low productivity, low quality, and low pay. Like Ms. T., Ms. V., a forty-four-year-old mother of two, uses her faith to reject intensified poverty and inequality. While explaining the importance of personal will and her relationship with God, Ms. V. states:

If dem luv God dem wud go out dere and luk it. Fada God help dose who help themselves . . . so if you sit down and don pull tru, nobody will come . . . And in return you would get help. Fada God said “Ask. Any child who seeks, that child be found.” Nobby ah guh feed yuh. You have to go and luk it.^{xix}

(If they love God they would go out there and look for help. Father God help those who help themselves . . . so if you sit down and don’t pull through,

nobody will come and take you up. You have to go out there and ask . . . And in return you would get help. Father God said “Ask. Any child who seeks, that child will be found.” Nobody is going to feed you. You have to go and seek help.)

While most of the women discuss the connection between human resilience and faith in God, Ms. V. emphasizes the importance of self-help in displaying one’s love for God. By describing human agency as an act of love for God, she reveals how everyday acts to confront cyclical poverty can be sacred and transformative. The women’s resolute conviction in God provides them with sustained responses to social degradation because it gives them the confidence to assert their agency in their households and ownership of their lives.

Envisioning Resistance

Low-income Jamaican women’s creative coping mechanisms reveal the systematic and cumulative patterns of resistance that allow them to navigate destructive spaces and disrupt particular structures of power. Using these strategies to exert a purposeful agency has allowed them to preserve hope, resilience, and regenerative powers, which has enabled them to promote specific political, economic, and social interests. The path towards transformation, reformation, and alleviation will require a close examination of low-income Jamaican women’s experiences in order to effectively address structural inequity and develop meaningful strategies for human development.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ “Jamaica Oman” is a poem by Louise Bennett, a Jamaican writer, educator, and poet who used patois dialect to capture the life and struggles of Jamaicans. This poem represents the multiplicity of Jamaica women’s experiences and identities.
- ⁱⁱ I have translated to English from patois, a native dialect that is widely spoken in Jamaica. Though the spelling and pronunciation of many words in patois vary from those in standard English, I am using a common-sense translation to communicate the participants’ ideas and opinions.
- ⁱⁱⁱ In Winnifred Brown-Glaude’s *Higglers in Kingston: Women’s Informal Work in Jamaica*, Alejandro Portes, Jose Itzigsohn, and Jose Carlos Dore-Cabral coin the phrase “upside-down ice cream cone” to describe the distinct geographic structure of Kingston. The small Brown and White elites are concentrated uptown, and the predominantly poor Black communities are concentrated primarily in downtown Kingston, the core of Jamaica’s informal economy and the central location for street vendors.
- ^{iv} For a total of three months, between January 2012 and June 2013, I lived in Kingston and observed the daily lives of eight women who live and work in downtown Kingston. I relied primarily on participant and active observations from home and work visits conducted in three different sites: Coronation Market and two neighboring communities—Franklintown and Raytown. This project also incorporates insights from local newspapers, archives, and conversations with market vendors, students, researchers, and government officials.
- ^v The concept of resistance is hardly new to Jamaican women. Protest and resistance among Jamaican women have traditionally embodied an explicit critical consciousness grounded in the memory of colonial

patterns of domination and its racial, gender, and class particularities. Historically, the legacy of Nanny—the folkloric matriarch and leader of the Windward maroons in the early eighteenth century—has become a strong icon of women’s power and role in combating oppression. During slavery, women who engaged in covert forms of resistance through acts of sabotage, feigned compliance, insolence, and open revolts severely hampered the efficient operation of different modes of production. These explicit disavowals of the social order have manifested in culturally coded responses to inequity that have helped Jamaican women denounce unjust situations and preserve hope and dignity. For more information about resistance in Jamaica’s history, refer to Beverley Mullings’ “Sides of the Same Coin?: Coping and Resistance among Jamaican Data Entry Operators,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 2 (1999), 294; Roberts, “The Art of Not Being Governed,” *Perspectives on Politics* 9, no. 1 (2011), 84–88; L. Mathurin, *The Rebel Woman in the British West Indies during Slavery* (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1975), 22.

- vi Beverley Mullings, “Sides of the Same Coin?: Coping and Resistance among Jamaican Data Entry Operators,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 2 (1999), 293; J.C. Scott, “Everyday Forms of Resistance” in *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, ed. by F. Colburn, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1989), 21.
- vii Beverley Mullings, “Neoliberalization, social reproduction, and the limits to labour in Jamaica,” *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 30, no. 2 (2009), 174.
- viii *Ibid.*, p. 175.
- ix Deborah A. Thomas, “Modern Blackness: ‘What We Are and What We Hope to Be,’” *Small Axe* 12 (September 2002); Deborah A. Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Deborah King, “Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology,” *Signs* (University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- x Claudia Jones, “An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!” in *Words of Fire*, ed. by Beverly Guy-Sheftall, (New York, NY: The New Press, 1995), 119.
- xi Beverley Mullings, “Neoliberalization, social reproduction, and the limits to labour in Jamaica,” *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 30, no. 2 (2009), 176.
- xii “Pardnas,” which translates to partner, is an organized method of saving outside of the formal banking system. While all of the participants entered these agreements throughout their lifetime, four still participate.
- xiii For the purposes of confidentiality, I have assigned names to all of the participants.
- xiv A higgler is a street vendor responsible for the distribution of cheap goods and services to the poor.
- xv Portland is a parish in the west of Jamaica. Its capital is Port Antonio.
- xvi Ms. B.B., Surviving in the Margins interview, June 13, 2012, 6:00 p.m. Transliteration by the author.
- xvii Ms. F.L., Surviving in the Margins interview, June 13, 2012, 2:30 p.m. Transliteration by the author.
- xviii Ms. T., Surviving in the Margins interview, May 28, 2013, 6:30 p.m. Transliteration by the author.
- xix Ms. V., “Surviving in the Margins interview, August 2, 2012, 3:00 p.m. Transliteration by the author.

The Muslims Are Coming! and *The Axis of Evil*: An Examination of Stereotype-Based Jokes in American Muslim Stand-Up Comedy

Marissa Hicks Alcaraz, *University of California-Los Angeles*

Marissa received her BA in Middle Eastern and North African studies from UCLA and is currently enrolled in the cinema studies MA program at New York University. This paper is an excerpt from a larger project looking at how American Muslim comedians utilize satirical humor by depicting mainstream stereotypes of a Muslim identity as a way to liberate themselves from such monolithic and discriminatory representations.

Abstract

Over a decade has passed since the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, yet reports indicate that anti-Muslim sentiment continues to grow in the United States. By examining the constructive use of jokes that refer to stereotypes in American Muslim stand-up comedy, I hope to clarify the transformative properties of this genre and its ability to seriously challenge discriminatory social conditions. This study applies discourse and content analysis in order to explore the creative engagement of American Muslim comedians with their audiences and to better understand the subversive power of humor and its relationship to identity. Informed by humor criticism and Ted Cohen's theory on humor, this project challenges the notion that stereotype-based jokes only serve to reinforce stereotypes by documenting its use as an explicit tool for social change. In exploring how American Muslim comedians are engaging humor to both challenge misrepresentations and heal American communities through laughter, my project will contribute to a growing body of research on the efficacy of performance as social change, nonviolent community resistance against dominant discourse, and the transformative properties of humor.

In the last decade, there has been a growth in creative responses from American Muslim communities to the heightened hostility toward Muslims since the September 11th, 2001 attacks. One such response has been American Muslim stand-up comedy. American Muslim comedians have become an important feature in the landscape of popular culture. The combination of repressive social and political conditions and the advancement of digital technology have contributed to the explosion of amateur and experimental performance in the United States. Today, many prominent American Muslim stand-up comedians use their comedy to confront monolithic and discriminatory representations of Muslims.

However, the political impact of humor, especially stereotype-based humor, has been highly debated in recent scholarship. The potential for audiences to miss the non-literal interpretation of a joke has led some scholars to question the effectiveness of stereotype-based humor as a form of criticism. Simon Weaver (2010) and Jaclyn Michael (2011), for instance, argue that the polysemic expression has the

ability to reproduce stereotypes and xenophobic ideologies. Yet, Amarnath Amaringam (2011) and Jonathan Rossing (2012) maintain that the polysemy of stereotype-based humor makes it an effective method of critique because it empowers groups by transforming stereotype ideology into a joke itself, rendering the stereotypes meaningless. This debate persists as many comedians continue to utilize satire not only as a tool for critique but as a counterstrategy against constraining power structures. Joining the group of contemporary satirists who speak critically of social and political issues, American Muslims have stepped into the spotlight, adopting satire as a serious means of resistance against anti-Muslim discourse.

By analyzing American Muslim stand-up performances I aim to answer the following question: What will deconstructing stereotype-based jokes in *The Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil* tell us about their ability to challenge mainstream representations and misconceived notions of Muslims and Islam? I hope to contribute to humor and media scholarship by investigating the use of stereotype-based humor as an explicit tool of resistance, social and political critique, and empowerment. A number of American Muslim comedians have gained nationwide popularity in recent years by touring widely, giving lectures and making speeches, granting interviews, posting sketch-comedy videos, and producing popular documentaries. I analyze the *The Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil* through discourse and content analysis to examine the polysemic jokes and styles of self-representation by comedians involved in the tour. Finally, I rely on humor criticism to analyze the results of my research, which will allow me to better understand the subversive power of American Muslim stand-up comedians.

Post-9/11 America: Social and Political Context Informing *The Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil*

The growth of anti-Muslim sentiment in post-9/11 America has caused a social and political urgency for the American Muslim comedians of *The Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil* comedy tours. Through humor, these comedians expose, mock, and confront unconstitutional policies and racist attitudes toward American Muslims.¹ However, it was not the attacks alone that triggered the adverse reaction of anti-Muslim sentiment. In the days following 9/11, popular news stations broadcasted endless hours of coverage, reinforcing the shock and devastation of the event for millions of American viewers. As the government pursued its investigation, distorted images of Muslim fundamentalists flooded the media, vilifying dark-skinned men with beards and women wearing a *hijab* (headscarf). Through a growing emphasis on security and surveillance,

the media has consistently represented Muslims as violent extremists and anti-American (Shaheen, 2008 and 2009).

Amid public support for discriminatory legislation in the name of security, a range of media (from the news to TV dramas to films) have engaged in debates regarding appropriate or justifiable ways to secure the nation (Alsultany, 2012). While the Bush Administration made efforts to strengthen relations with American Muslims as well as to distinguish the U.S.'s war against Islamist extremism from the faith of Islam, the administration also implemented counterterrorist policies at the expense of the civil liberties of American citizens. Such policies permit the indefinite detainment of terrorist suspects without trial and warrantless wiretapping activities, justified in the name of national security. For instance, in 2008 the USA PATRIOT Actⁱⁱ permitted extensive surveillance of American Muslim communities by the New York Police Department. The NYPD scrutinized where American Muslims ate, prayed, and worked. Such baseless attempts to hunt terrorists violate constitutional rights of American citizens, divert resources, and alienate American Muslim communities (Aziz, 2011). It is within this context that second-generation American Muslims have turned to humor as an alternative strategy for empowerment. American Muslims are now part of the long history of marginalized groups to challenge ethnic subordination and collectively process these negative consequences through the use of comedy.

The Muslims Are Coming! and The Axis of Evil Comedy Tours

In 2010 and 2011, Dean Obeidallah and several other American Muslim comedians, including Maysoon Zayid and Negin Farsad, toured the American South as part of *The Muslims Are Coming!* comedy tour. The goal of the tour was to perform for audiences whose knowledge of Muslims may have been solely through the media. They aimed to dispel anti-Muslim stereotypes and to encourage dialogue between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. The comedians created a space for meaningful discourse in several ways. The tours included discussions after their free stand-up shows and participation in community activities with locals. The comedians set up street-side booths, encouraging locals to ask them questions and learn more about Islam and Muslims. In 2013, Farsad and Obeidallah released a documentary of the tour which they coproduced and costarred in.

Obeidallah was also involved in the *The Axis of Evil Comedy Tour*. The title refers to the term initially used in President George W. Bush's State of the Union Addressⁱⁱⁱ in which he accused North Korea, Iran, and Iraq of supporting terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction. The comedians mock the term, which has reverberated in American discourse on the Middle East, as they joke about

having tried to bring in comedians from these three countries to be a part of the tour. The adoption of the "axis of evil" as the title of their comedy tour highlights the absurdity of the term and inflammatory rhetoric associated with it. The show was featured on *Comedy Central* in 2008 and toured throughout the Middle East. Other comedians featured in the tour include Ahmed Ahmed, Aron Kader, and Maz Jobrani.



Figure 1. *The Muslims Are Coming!* comedy tour, ca. 2010. Maysoon Zayid, Dean Obeidallah, Negin Farsad (*The Muslims Are Coming!*)

Ted Cohen's Humor of the Oppressed in *The Muslims Are Coming!*

Superiority theorists like Aristotle, Plato, and Thomas Hobbes argued that we laugh at the misfortunes of others because it makes us feel superior. Later, Francis Hutcheson (1725) expressed what became a key concept in the evolving theory of humor: laughter as a response to the perception of incongruity. Hutcheson argued that laughter is caused by the presentation of unexpected, but fitting, frames of interpretation. Examples of incongruity humor are one-liners and bits.^{iv} The punch line at the end of a short joke or a bit surprises us because it is usually unexpected, yet fitting. Finally, Sigmund Freud (1960) provided the third pillar of humor theory when he contended that laughter is a form of relief from built-up emotional tensions or nervous excitement. Freud argued that daily social and psychological constraints keep us from expressing our thoughts and feelings, and it is through the laughter of jokes that we can speak to the things we are forbidden to talk about, thus releasing built-up tensions.

An example of a joke that encompasses all three dominant theories is a bit by Obeidallah which subtly refers to the association of Arabs and Muslims with terrorists:

Do you guys know that under the PATRIOT Act any book checked out at any public library, the government can find out the name of that book? Honestly, do you really think that there are books in the library, [with] titles that would give guys in Al-Qaeda away? Like *You're Al-Qaeda, I'm Al-Qaeda*. Or, *Chicken Soup for the Terrorist Soul*. It scares me, President Bush

wants to know what you're reading. Do you know why? Because he's jealous. (*Axis of Evil Comedy Tour*, 2008)

First, this joke encourages the audience to enjoy their sense of superiority over former president George W. Bush. Second, Obeidallah takes advantage of the incongruity principle through his use of absurd book titles. Finally, laughter generates relief by opening up discourse to a topic that in many settings is rendered inappropriate; in this case, the violation of rights as a result of the PATRIOT Act. While none of these major theories of humor account for all the reasons for laughter, each of these theories hold valuable aspects that explain the different reasons for laughter.

Ted Cohen (2001), philosopher of aesthetics, maintains that these theories should be used comprehensively. He adds to the theory of incongruity by suggesting that it may be possible to take these theories to be narrow descriptions of an "anomaly." Cohen offers two answers to why humor is amusing when it does happen to be incongruous or anomalous. On the one hand, anomalies can be amusing or pleasant when we have power over the structures that constrain us; in other words, the perception of freedom from external constraints gives us pleasure. On the other hand, anomalies can also provide the ability to recognize the "powerlessness" to understand and rid the world of these structures. Such jokes can be used as a way to let off steam. Cohen's theory can help us better understand why jokes based on stereotypes, for example, makes us laugh and have the ability to bring relief to audiences.

Wordplay and wit, Cohen explains, give a sense of power to break free from normal structures of language. He points out that other forms of humor, such as anomalies, similarly provide a sense of freedom:

More generally, the humor of anomaly regularly involves the placement and action of things—including people—in circumstances not regularly permitted by society or by nature. This is, perhaps, the humor of *freedom*. It is our freedom, at least in imagination, from the linguistic, social, cultural, and natural constraints that are the inhibitions of our normal lives. (Cohen, 2001)

Philosophy scholar Adrian Bardon explains that this answer suggests that, "Cohen finds that humor can be a kind of rebellion against external constraints" (2001). By using the tools of humor criticism, I aim to analyze the content and word play of jokes performed in *The Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil* in order to determine their message and their use under repressive conditions.

In this way, comedians are using jokes that involve Muslims in circumstances that are considered taboo or

inappropriate by mainstream society. Take bits by Maysoon Zayid in *The Muslims Are Coming!* and by British comedian Shazia Mirza. Unlike Zayid, Mirza often wears *hijab* and is a practicing Muslim. An example of how she brings relief to repressive circumstances for Muslims post-9/11 is her opening line: "Hi. My name is Shazia Mirza. At least that's what it says on my pilot's license" (2001). Since the 9/11 attacks when nineteen Muslim Arabs took control of four commercial airplanes with the intent of flying them into the World Trade Center in suicide attacks, a Muslim pilot to many Western societies is considered inappropriate, especially those who show their observance openly through dress or physical appearance. Mirza uses humor to challenge the association of observant Muslims with aircraft hijacking, breaking free of social constraints that may inhibit Muslims from participating in Western social life.

Maysoon Zayid, on the other hand, is Muslim by culture and does not wear *hijab*. She takes a slightly different approach to stereotypes of Muslim women: "I was really excited . . . to get married because it was time for me to get revenge. I've been a bridesmaid 17 times. I finally had a chance to get back at my friends . . . You know what I did? I just put them all in *burkas*" (*The Muslims Are Coming!* 2011). The implications of the jokes differ in that for Mirza, the anomaly of a Muslim female pilot wearing *hijab* in the post-9/11 period is liberating. Zayid, on the other hand, sees the *burka* as a constraint, and it becomes an anomaly that a Muslim woman could see the *burka* as a nuisance. Breaking away from Western perceptions which regard the attitudes of Muslim women toward the *burka* as monolithic becomes a liberating experience for Muslim women like Zayid. Both bits, however, bring into relief the overlapping power structures implied by the *hijab* and *burka*.

On the other hand, when an anomaly is so extreme and exaggerated, one may find humor in the very powerlessness it evokes. Aron Kader, one of the comedians featured in *The Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil*, illustrates this technique with regard to the stigma attached to Arab and Muslim names:

My grandfather, when he immigrated to this country, his name was Abu Khadir [when the letters *kh* appear together in Arabic, they are pronounced like the Spanish *j*, like in the word *roj*—meaning red] but then at Ellis Island they changed his name to "Kader." So my last name is Kader, so if I ever have a child, and if it's a boy, I'll definitely call him Al, Al Kader. (*Axis of Evil Comedy Tour*, 2008)

This bit presents an acknowledgment of how Arabs and Muslims names are subject to scrutiny as they are often associated with "terrorist names." Even though it may remind Arabs and Muslims of the powerlessness over these

stereotypes, as Cohen suggests, it still generates laughter. Obeidallah similarly confronts the stigma of Muslim names: “It could be more challenging for us. They could give hurricanes Muslim names. That wouldn’t help. Turn on the news: ‘Hurricane Mahmoud is coming. Run for your life, Mahmoud’s a killer!’” (*The Muslims Are Coming!*, 2011). This anomaly recognizes the powerlessness to the constructed associations of violence with Muslims, but at the same time it provides a feeling of freedom from the world of these constraining power structures. These examples support Cohen’s expansion on the concept of incongruity as it helps to explain joke-making under oppressive conditions.

Conclusion

I have found that the comedians from the *Muslims Are Coming!* and *The Axis of Evil* comedy tours perform their own unique experiences with anti-Muslim discrimination, which is dependent on their ethnic, social, and religious background. Their comedy often depicts mainstream constructions of a Muslim identity, such as the “Muslim terrorist,” and challenges such depictions by highlighting their absurdity. For the comedians, depicting stereotypes of Muslims in their performances is a way to emphasize the flaws of those stereotypes and to reconstruct them on their own terms. Stereotype-based jokes by American Muslim comedians are embedded with their own interpretations and anomalies that challenge traditional stereotypes. By negotiating and performing their personal experience with anti-Muslim stereotypes and discrimination, they are able to constructively critique repressive power structures toward Muslims in post-9/11 America while bridging cultural gaps between Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

Endnotes

- ⁱ See Bakalian and Bozorgmehr (2009), Cainkar (2009), and Howell and Jamal (2008) for studies on post-9/11 backlash and discrimination against American Muslims.
- ⁱⁱ The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001 (USA PATRIOT Act) was signed into law by the Bush Administration as a response to the terrorist attacks on 9/11. The act broadened the capabilities of the FBI, CIA, and federal prosecutors to identify and disable terrorist networks, both foreign and domestic.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Bush, George (2002). *President Delivers State of the Union Address*. Retrieved from <http://georgewbush-Whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>
- ^{iv} Bits refer to short jokes delivered by stand-up comedians during a performance.

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Self-Consciousness vs. Consciousness: It's More Personal Than You Think

Ming-Fui Chai, *Haverford College*

Ming-Fui Chai is a philosophy major at Haverford College, PA. The Houghton, MI, native and Mellon Mays Fellow recently presented this paper at the 23rd World Congress of Philosophy in Athens, Greece. Chai translated Taiwanese philosopher Mou Zongsan's work on Hegel into English. She is currently studying abroad at Oxford University.

Abstract

In this paper, I argue that making the distinction between consciousness and self-consciousness will help to decisively address Reid's objection to Locke's doctrine about personal identity. By incorporating our contemporary understanding of consciousness and memory, we see how Locke's doctrine can remain relevant in today's globalized world and multicultural communities.

Locke's chapter on "Identity and Diversity" in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* is regarded as the first modern conceptualization of the theory of personal identity. According to Locke, our identity persists with the continuity of consciousness.ⁱ Yet, this theory has also been attacked relentlessly by later philosophers, especially Reid in his famous "brave officer" example.ⁱⁱ Despite alleged flaws in Reid's understanding of Locke, and a long list of philosophers who have tried to address his misunderstanding, so far no one has been able to satisfactorily put the debate to bed.ⁱⁱⁱ In this paper, I argue that making the distinction between consciousness and self-consciousness will help to decisively address Reid's objection to Locke's doctrine about personal identity. Our modern understanding of self-consciousness has allowed us to see Locke's doctrine of personal identity in a new light, and allowed it to be relevant in today's globalized world and multicultural communities.

Locke's Theory of Personal Identity

According to Locke, our identity persists with the continuity of consciousness.^{iv} In other words, I am now the same person as at an earlier time, t_1 , insofar as I am conscious of my thoughts and actions at t_1 . For example, I am conscious of the apple on the table right now. I am also aware of the apple on the table at an earlier time, t_1 . It may or may not be the same apple—this is not important here. What is important is that I am also aware of my consciousness of the apple at an earlier time. By virtue of being conscious of the apple, I know that I am conscious of my presence at that time. This means I can "backdate" my identity to that earlier time. The argument also works the other way. Knowing that my identity persists over time means that I can have reasonable confidence it is still the same table I am seeing, because I remember having seen the table yesterday, and the person who saw the table yesterday is the same

one who is looking at the table now. In other words, self-identity is the ability to ascribe previous actions and thoughts to oneself. I remember myself having spilled the coffee, and I hold myself responsible for the action. The word "remember" is synonymous with memory.

Modern Understanding of Memory

In modern psychology, there are three types of memory; namely, procedural, semantic, and episodic. Procedural memory applies to skills and sequence. For example, I remember how to operate a chainsaw. Semantic memory refers to general knowledge of the world. For example, I remember that the *Titanic* sank in 1912 even though I was not alive then and did not experience the tragedy myself. I recall myself learning of the incident through a secondary source like a history textbook or newspaper article. The third type, episodic memory, however, is the most relevant to our discussion on personal identity. It requires one to have personally partaken in the event, or episode. Also called "recollective memory" or "personal memory," only I, who have first-personal experience of an event, can adequately describe how it has impacted me personally. For example, the sadness of personally experiencing the loss of a loved one is much more intense than listening to anyone relating his own account of a similar event.

Reid: Locke is Contradicting Himself

Based on the above, it seems that equating personal identity—which is defined by Locke as "one's continuity of consciousness"—with memory is reasonable. Locke argues that if we can remember having an experience, then we in fact have that particular experience. But Reid asks, what if we cannot remember having the experience? Reid argues that Locke's line of argument means that if one cannot remember having the experience, then he did not have the experience and is therefore not the same person as the one who had the experience earlier. This sounds ridiculous! Reid illustrates his point using the "famous brave officer" example:

Suppose a brave officer to have been flogged when a boy at school, for robbing an orchard, to have taken a standard from the enemy in his first campaign, and to have been made a general in advanced life: Suppose also, which must be admitted to be possible, that when he took the standard, he was conscious of his having been flogged at school, and that when made a general he was conscious of his taking the standard but had absolutely lost the consciousness of his flogging.

These things being supposed, it follows, from Mr. LOCKE's doctrine, that he who was flogged at school is the same person who took the standard, and that he who took the standard is the same person

who was made a general. When it follows, if there be any truth in logic, that the general is the same person with him who was flogged at school. But the general's consciousness does not reach so far back as his flogging; therefore, according to Mr. LOCKE's doctrine, he is not the person who was flogged. Therefore the general is, and at the same time is not, the same person as him who was flogged at school.^v

Reid thinks that Locke's doctrine will commit him to two contradictory attitudes. On one hand, the general is not the same person as the child because he cannot remember that he stole from the orchard and got flogged as a child. But, on the other hand, transitivity allows for the general and the boy to share a personal identity despite a break in consciousness since $A \equiv C$ if $A \equiv B$ and $B \equiv C$, where A is the general, B is the brave officer who took the standard, and C is the child who stole apples and got flogged. In other words, if the general is identical with the brave officer, and the brave officer is identical with the boy, then by the transitivity of identity, the general is identical with the boy. Reid believes that this will produce a dilemma for Locke because the general is identical with the boy and that he is not.

Is Locke mistaken, or is Reid mistaken in understanding Locke? Reid equates continuity of consciousness with memory, and by doing that, he says that Locke is contradicting himself with his brave officer paradox. But, did we not just spend time establishing that personal identity, which is the continuity of consciousness, is synonymous with memory? The traditional defense of Locke, including that of Loftson, has been to say that memory is only a subset of consciousness. I can be looking at an apple right now, and that does not require any memory. But, the apple is undeniably part of my consciousness.

Additionally, it can be argued that Reid seems to not have understood Locke's distinction between a "man" and a "person." He writes, "A *man* may be, and at the same time not be, the *person* that did a particular action."^{vi} Reid uses the terms "person" and "man" interchangeably, but Locke distinguishes between man (II.xxvii.6, 8) and person (II.xxvii.9, 10).^{vii} He says that "man" is the nonrational, physical body of ours that has a bodily shape or figure. This is opposed to a "person," which "is a thinking, intelligent being, that has reason and reflection."^{viii}

Limitations of Distinction Between "Man" and "Person"

However, this differentiation sounds almost trivial. Firstly, we indeed use the words "man" and "person" interchangeably in our daily lives.^{ix} Secondly, what do we mean by "man" and by whose standards? Locke and his fellow British philosophers like Berkeley, Hume, and even Reid himself lived from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, when

Britain was at the height of its colonial and imperialist power. Being an endorser of the slave trade,^{x, xi} Locke probably had the barbaric men the British saw when they conquered new lands and the African slaves in mind when he talked about "man." "Person" probably referred to elites like himself. This also means that at the time of writing, Locke would never expect his readers to be from such a diverse background.

There is also another pitfall to overemphasizing the distinction between "man" and "person." According to Locke, the "man," or, generally speaking, our body, has no role in our self-consciousness and therefore does not partake in personal identity, which is the continuity of self-consciousness. It follows that bodily incontinuity is inconsequential to the persistence of the person or personal identity as long as there is a continuity of self-consciousness.^{xiii} Therefore, from a Lockean viewpoint, those who lost their limbs in the recent Boston Marathon bombings are still the same person as before because of the continuity of consciousness—a person who experiences such an ordeal can usually remember exactly where he was at that time. Unfortunately, Locke seems to have ignored the life-changing aspects of such a mishap. Besides the physical impairment, there is also the psychological trauma that one has to endure, including constant nightmares of the ordeal and having to suffer from social stereotypes like ableism.^{xiii} Suggesting that someone who had his legs amputated is still the same person and living the same life as before is ludicrous and borders on being inhumane. His world is nothing short of being turned upside down. Indeed, the body is not only important to the functioning of a person but also his social interactions and psychological well-being. The nonrational part of ourselves—i.e., what Locke calls "man"—is intricately related to the rational and thinking part of ourselves—i.e., the "person." The distinction between man and person is suddenly not so clear.

The traditional ways of defending Locke are sound. However, they are incompatible with today's globalized world and multicultural communities. Also, they sound almost trivial and can even be inhumane. Perhaps most importantly, they fail to deal with Reid's objection of Locke's doctrine of personal identity decisively. It seems that Reid's equation of continuity of consciousness with memory both supports and contradicts Locke. To come up with a viable solution to deal with this deadlock, we will first turn to the work of American philosopher Wilfrid Sellars. In his *Empiricism and the Philosophy of Mind*, Sellars talks about the "myth of the given."^{xiv} He argues that we cannot understand our capacity for knowledge by appealing to something given, which is something merely natural or causal and not conceptually mediated. We come to be minded through our acculturation into a public language. To address these concerns, we need to distinguish between consciousness and

self-consciousness. He says, “We are not giving an empirical description of [a particular] episode or state; we are placing it in the logical space of reasons.”^{xv} To put it simply, when we see an apple and say, “This is an apple,” we are not merely describing the red, round object but also *involving* our own rationality and the knowledge that we have.

This is in tandem with what Locke says: “Consciousness always accompanies thinking.”^{xvi} In modern German philosopher Sebastian Rödl’s^{xvii} words, Locke really means to say, “*Self-consciousness* always accompanies thinking.” In other words, when we think or introspect, we are necessarily aware of our own selves. In Rödl’s book, *Self-Consciousness*, self-consciousness is the ability to know oneself *as oneself* through first-person unmediated knowledge.^{xviii} I know that I am doing something because I am the one doing it.^{xix} To quote from Locke, “When we see, hear, smell, taste, feel, meditate, or will anything, we *know* that we do so.”^{xx} Rödl calls this the “unmediated cognitive access” of a self-conscious being.^{xxi}

Distinguishing Between Consciousness and Self-Consciousness

One may ask, why do we need to distinguish between consciousness and self-consciousness? Perhaps we need to answer another question first. What allows us to say with confidence that it is the same apple and table before that break in consciousness, i.e., when I shift my eyes away from the apple? Surely it would be absurd to suggest that we need to stay up the whole night and fix our eyes on the apple on the table. It turns out that it has to be the confidence in our own identity, knowing that we are still the same person as before. But, more importantly, we have learnt to trust what we see, or generally speaking, our judgment. But, how do I learn to trust my own judgment? It is through developing my own self-consciousness. This can be conceived as a two-stage process. As children growing up, we develop consciousness of our surroundings. Under the guidance of our parents and teachers, we pick up words and link it to the things around us, such as an apple. This is what Sellars mean by acculturation into a public language.^{xxii} We learn how to utter the word “apple.” But, what makes us go beyond mere mental conditioning? For instance, a parrot can also be taught how to utter “apple” when presented with one. But, it does not know what it is saying. We are not too different as children until we develop our own rational ability. At that time, outward experiential learning also involves inward questioning. There starts to be an awareness of one’s own self; that is, the realization that I myself am having the sensation. Such a realization requires rationality and thought. For instance, a bear is conscious of an apple on the table, but it can never be conscious of itself as conscious of the apple on the table.

Moreover, we become reliable in judging things arising from our consciousness over time. It sounds almost absurd that when we see an apple, we have to stop and think if it is really an apple. It simply does not occur to us that we can be wrong. Ultimately, this confidence in the reliability of our consciousness of objects around us is still not as strong as the consciousness of our own selves. The latter is a “higher form” of consciousness. This is not dissimilar to the “person” in Locke’s distinction between “man” and “person.” Rationality is needed to “access” this form of consciousness. It is a kind of consciousness that has to be known from within oneself, or, in Rödl’s words, a first-person and unmediated access. Such knowledge has several important implications, but, most importantly, it allows us to own the action, and allows us to hold each other responsible for our actions.

This “consciousness of consciousness” is precisely what Rödl calls self-consciousness. Adding the word “self” allows us to distinguish between the “lower” and “higher” level of consciousness. It is introspection that makes our identity *personal*. It is the ability to introspect that makes one a *person* with self-consciousness; that is, the ability to *know* oneself as oneself. We have seen that it is not merely cosmetic but necessary to prevent critics of Locke’s theory from misunderstanding his definition of personal identity. Replacing “consciousness” with “self-consciousness,” Locke’s definition becomes “continuity of self-consciousness.” Reid’s allegation that Locke is contradicting himself by equating personal identity with memory does not hold water, not when Locke has clearly meant self-consciousness and the only type of memory compatible with the continuity of self-consciousness is the third and last memory we talked about earlier—episodic or personal memory. Only the person in question can adequately describe his own personal experience—not even his closest friends and relatives because such access is first personal and unmediated.

Conclusion

Previous critics and defenders of Locke fail to explicate the difference between consciousness and self-consciousness, until modern German philosopher Rödl comes up with his book *Self-Consciousness* that incorporates elements of our contemporary understanding of consciousness and memory. Even then, no one as of now has linked our modern understanding of self-consciousness to Locke’s doctrine of personal identity. By making this move, we can not only decisively address the misunderstandings of philosophers like Reid but also see how Locke’s doctrine can remain relevant in today’s globalized world and multicultural communities.

The solution is to incorporate Sellars' role for the community and Rödl's understanding of self-consciousness. For the former, the community profoundly affects and shapes a person's identity. If a diverse community were to prosper, its members must be aware of the way power and privilege informs their interactions and identities. No one can fully express how he feels when he feels victimized in society, perhaps through historical baggage or social stereotypes. This is unmediated cognitive access. Sellars says that the community that we grow up in and acquire our rationality in needs a common language. That common language is not just linguistically oriented or defined. It is mutual trust and understanding by means of respectful communication and collaboration.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, edited by Kenneth P. Winkler, Hackett Publishing Co., Indianapolis, USA, II.xxvii.10, 1996. All references will be made to this text unless otherwise stated.
- ⁱⁱ Reid, Thomas. *Inquiry and Essays*, edited by R. Beanblossom and K. Lehrer. Indianapolis, USA: Hackett Publishing Co., 1983.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Loftson, Peter. "Locke, Reid, and Personal Identity," *The Philosophical Forum*, vol. XXXV, No. 1, 2004.
- ^{iv} Locke, *Essay*, II.xxvii.10.
- ^v Reid, *Inquiry and Essays*, 216–18.
- ^{vi} *Ibid.*, 217.
- ^{vii} Locke, *Essay*, II.xxvii.6, 8–10.
- ^{viii} *Ibid.*, II.xxvii, 8–9.
- ^{ix} However, there has been a move towards using "person," which is a more gender-neutral term than "man."
- ^x Welchman, Jennifer. "Locke on Slavery and Inalienable Rights," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1995.
- ^{xi} Glasner, Wayne. "Three Approaches to Locke and the Slave Trade," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 51, no. 2, 1990.
- ^{xii} Locke, *Essay*, II.xxvii.10.
- ^{xiii} Discrimination against disabled or handicapped people.
- ^{xiv} Sellars, Wilfrid. *Empiricism and the Philosophy of Mind*, Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- ^{xv} *Ibid.*, 36.
- ^{xvi} Locke, *Essay*, II.xxvii.9.
- ^{xvii} Prof. Dr. Sebastian Rödl (1967–) is currently a professor at University of Leipzig, Germany.

^{xviii} Rödl, Sebastian. *Self-Consciousness*, Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

^{xix} *Ibid.*, 17.

^{xx} Locke, *Essay*, II.xxvii.9.

^{xxi} Rödl, *Self-Consciousness*, 9.

^{xxii} Sellars, *Empiricism*, 10.

What a Life! Sexual Identity as Necessary in *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* by Junot Diaz

Leah Barlow, *Hampton University*

Leah received her BA in English from Hampton University in 2013. She is currently a master's student in English at Georgetown University, where her research interests are in African-American women's literature and postmodern critique.

Abstract

This is a portion of a senior thesis completed in the spring semester of 2013. The paper focuses on Junot Diaz's *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* and analyzes the placement of a major character, Beli Cabral, as a function of the trope of the hypersexualized Caribbean woman. I argue that Diaz inserts Beli to combat normalized standards of beauty; however, ultimately, he only further marginalizes her voice.

The trope of the "exotic woman," a sexualized image used to subjugate women from the Caribbean, functions as a postcolonial understanding of women's sexuality in Junot Diaz's *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. The novel, written in 2007, is told through the lens of Yunior, a chronic womanizer and roommate of the title character. Diaz uses Yunior to show how male youth in the Dominican Republic typically conceptualize Dominican women. Belicia (Beli) Cabral, the title character's mother, represents for this familiar trope of the "exotic woman." However, in attempting to write the marginal space occupied by women of the Dominican Republic through Beli, Diaz fails to navigate the objectification of the "exotic" body. Diaz makes three key mistakes when writing Beli Cabral. First, he writes her into a pre-constructed framework of women who are hypersexualized, setting up the reader's understanding of Dominican woman as defined by their physical characteristics and ability to gain male attention. Second, Yunior, the "womanizer," is used to tell Beli's story despite his placement in the text as that of the perpetually youthful jock, thus undermining Beli's own agency. Third, Diaz fails to fully disengage characteristics of the exotic woman trope—naiveté and hypersexuality—in writing the women in the text, and by doing so steps away from challenging Western ideas of beauty and into reinforcing Western ideas of fetishism.

Diaz inserts Beli's character into a narrative occupied by hypersexualized women. These women challenge Western ideas of beauty but, in doing so, are reduced to a sexualized body. Before Beli is introduced into the text, Maritza, a classmate of Oscar, is described as a "ghetto Mary Jane, hair as black and lush as a thunderhead . . . body fine enough to make old men forget their infirmities" and the "flyest guapa in Paterson," who "might not have been good at much—not sports, not school, not work—but she was good at men" (Diaz 18). Maritza is set up in contrast to Olga, another classmate of Oscar's, whose "breasts, when they

finally emerged, were floppy and terrifying" (Diaz 16). The contrast between the beautiful Maritza and the "huge and scary" Olga lies solely in their ability to attract men. Likewise, the women who are friends with Oscar's sister, Lola, are "not too smart but fine as shit: the sort of hot-as-balls Latinas who only dated weight-lifting *morenos*" (Diaz 26). Again, the reader is introduced to women whose sexuality and ability to attract men define them in the text. Even Jenni Munoz, who is "gothic" and intelligent, is still reduced to a sexualized being by the narrator: "Girl was luminous. Beautiful Jibara skin, diamond-sharp features . . . had the biggest roundest tits you've ever seen . . . on actual Halloween she dressed up as—you guessed it—a dominatrix . . . Never seen a body like that. . . ." (Diaz 182). The reduction of Jenni to a sexualized being only further cultivates the world of sexualized women that exists in the text.

It is into this world that Diaz inserts Beli. He first gives the reader the perception that Beli is in control of both her body and her romantic choices and thus a full participant in her sexualization. However, the text says otherwise; the attention that Beli's body brings her as an adolescent is unwanted. She was "furious at the world for this newly acquired burden," since stepping outside of her home with her new body is equivalent to "stepping into a Danger room filled with men's laser eyes and women's razor whispers" (Diaz 93). Her disdain for the focus placed on her identity as synonymous with sexuality can be seen when Beli first meets her future lover, the Gangster. While they are dancing, Beli jerks away from the finger the Gangster places under her chin—a patriarchal and clearly sexually driven gesture (Diaz 119). He asks her name, to which she replies, "Hypatia Belicia Cabral" (119). The Gangster tells Beli that she is wrong; her name is "Beautiful" (Diaz 119). The juxtaposition of Beli's name as an expression of her identity against the Gangster's name for her, which focuses on her physical appearance, proves Beli's resistance to her sexuality as a marker of her identity when she first meets what will become her lover. In reality, all the Gangster wants to do is "suck Beli's enormous breast, to fuck her pussy until it was mango-juice swamp, to spoil her senseless until Cuba and his failure there disappeared" (Diaz 124). Beli is nothing more than a sexualized being to the Gangster; despite this, Beli falls in love, and once she finds out she is pregnant "[hears] the wedding bells loud and clear, and [sees] in her mind's eye the house that had been promised" (136). In fact, the narrator Yunior states that the Gangster's love for Beli is "the real deal: pure uncut unadulterated love" (Diaz 125).

However, whereas Beli refuses to be sexualized by the Gangster, she seems to have no problem recognizing and accepting the power her body yields her as she shifts from anguish towards her newly acquired male attention:

Beli, who'd been waiting for something exactly like her body to happen her whole life, was sent over the moon by what she now knew. By the undeniable concreteness of her desirability which was, in its own way, a Power . . . Hypatia Belicia Cabral finally had power and a true sense of self. (Diaz 94)

It is this newfound identity in sexuality that later prompts Beli to tell her daughter, Lola, that if she “eats more platanos [she] will suddenly acquire her same extraordinary train-wrecking secondary sex characteristics” (Diaz 52). Beli's identity becomes fully immersed in her own sexuality—“after her face and hair, her chest is what she is most proud of” (Diaz 52). The juxtaposition of Beli as pointedly discontent with an identity marker as “Beautiful,” as the Gangster calls her, but a narrative voice that states that her “true sense of self” comes with the recognition of her sexualized body as powerful reveals a point of contention in Diaz's writing from the margin. By choosing to reveal Beli's narrative through a male lens, the reader is limited to a male-dominated perspective of Beli that focuses solely on Beli's identity as attached to her sexuality. In particular, Diaz's choice to use Yunior, a womanizer who sexualizes every woman in the text outside of Beli's grandmother, Inca, severely hinders the depth of attention given to Beli's identity outside of her sexuality. This forces the reader to ask: Who is this side of Beli who, at least to some extent, defines herself by her full name in an attempt to assert her identity? Diaz is never able to answer that question for the reader because he sets up a characterization too complicated for his narrator and, therefore, only further marginalizes Beli.

The trope of the exotic Caribbean woman contradicts Western standards of a pure and innocent beauty, sexuality, and femininity. By reading this trope of the exotic woman into his novel, Diaz seems to be writing this marginal space as the “fabric of social experience” in his texts (Ashcroft et al. 103). *The Empire Writes Back* defines the margin as “the condition constructed by the posited relation to a privileged centre, an ‘Othering’ directed by the imperial authority” (Ashcroft et al. 102). In Diaz's text, the Caribbean is displaced within a majority space, yet he writes that displaced narrative as normative. To that extent, Beli's sexuality defines her as Other within the text, and yet the very writing of her character is an example of an attempt made by the writer to create a normative narrative defined by the sexual appeal of women deemed “exotic.” As seen in previous examples, the women who are described as desirable in the text are curvaceous. Despite identifying her as “gothic,” Jenni is appealing because of her body shape; one that Diaz writes as exclusive to the women of the Caribbean (182). Additionally, Beli's large breasts and “supersonic culo” are the physical features that are able to “tear words right out of niggers mouths” (Diaz 92). Diaz is playing on an understanding of beauty

that is discussed by Kant and cited in Nick Zangwill's “Aesthetic Judgment.”

In matters of taste and beauty, we think that others ought to share our judgment. That's why we blame them if they don't. It is because the judgment of taste has such as aspiration to universal validity that it seems “as if [beauty] were a property of things.” (Zangwill)

According to Zangwill, Diaz is revealing the subjectivity of beauty that is considered universal. In the same vein, Verene Shepard's *Women in the Caribbean History* provides background to stereotypes that persist about women of African descent, and, specifically, women in the Caribbean. Shepard states that historical accounts about women were “often written from the White male colonizer's point of view and did not always paint a positive picture of Caribbean women” (xviii). Additionally, history “gave the impression that those who were not White, were at the bottom of the social ladder” (Shepard, xviii). Cunningham's article, “‘Their Ideas of Beauty Are, on the Whole, the Same as Ours’: Consistency and Variability in the Cross-cultural Perception of Female Physical Attractiveness,” provides a further analysis and evidence of ideas of beauty prior to Western influences and those same ideas after some Western influence. The article states that Western ideas of beauty for women were characterized by lighter skin for both Black and White American men, but that ideas about weight and body shape differed between the two (276). Interestingly, this aligns directly with Yunior's expression of the “fine” women in his neighborhood—many of who had curvy body shapes. In “Fiction is the Poor Man's Cinema: An Interview with Junot Diaz,” Diaz discusses the relationship African-American and Latino writers have to the work that they produce and to their communities:

I had so many negative models, so many Latinos and Black writers who are writing to White audiences, who are not writing to their own people. If you are not writing to your own people, I'm disturbed because of what that says about your relationship to the community you are in one way or another indebted to. You are only there to loot them of ideas, and words, and images so that you can coon them to the dominant group. (Cespados and Torres-Saillant 900)

In writing the hypersexualized images of Caribbean women into his text as not only normal but highly desirable, Diaz is providing evidence of his choice to write from the margin of perceptions of beauty, and thus “write to [his] own people.”

Diaz attempts to engage a postcolonial writing of his novel for the reader, revealing women's roles and sexuality

outside of the scope of what is considered within Western norms. Although the author aims to shift the center, Beli as a sexualized being is problematically inserted into *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. The very ideas of beauty that Diaz places into his novel to engage the margin only further marginalize the women in his text who are described through a lens that focuses on their physical attributes. Western ideas of beauty are combatted, while patriarchy and misogyny are overtly maintained. Thus, Diaz's attempt to write the margin is not successful.

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The Bureaucratic Representation of Latino Parents by Latino School Leaders

Angie M. Bautista-Chavez, *Rice University*

Angie is currently a first-year graduate student in Harvard University's Department of Government Doctoral Program. Her research interests include local politics, race and ethnicity politics, education policy, and immigrant incorporation. Angie is a 2013 Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellow and a 2013–2014 American Political Science Association Minority Fellow.

Abstract

Can Latino school administrators represent, both passively and actively, the needs of Latino parents? Taking schools as the bureaucracy of interest, I examine the extent to which Latino educational leaders are associated with programs directly benefitting Latino parents. I find some evidence that passive representation can lead to substantive benefits for parents.

The theory of representative bureaucracy is premised on the idea that a bureaucracy that employs a cross-section of American society will produce policy outcomes that reflect the interests and needs of all groups (Selden, 1997). The theory suggests that when personnel in a bureaucracy reflect those of its jurisdiction in characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and gender, the bureaucracy will be more responsive to the public interest by ensuring that the interests of these groups are represented in the formulation and implementation of policies and programs (Greene et al., 2000). The central question in this paper is whether the extent to which a bureaucracy employs people of diverse demographic backgrounds (passive representation) leads to the pursuit of policies reflecting the interests and desires of those people (active representation) (Selden, 1997).

I situate my study in the context of public education, focusing on schools as the bureaucratic institution of analysis and on school administrators as the personnel of interest. Whereas most studies of bureaucracy have focused on the relationship between schools and students, I focus on the relationship between schools and parents. In particular, this work examines Latino leadership within schools and seeks to answer whether Latino administrators can substantively represent the needs of not only their students but also their student's parents. The research questions central to the study are the following: Do Latino administrators advocate for Latino parents in immigrant communities? Specifically, are Latino administrators more likely than non-Latino administrators to support developmental programs that directly benefit Latino parents? Focusing on parents is a unique way to expand on previous work, because it tests how far passive representation can actually reach to become active representation. By focusing on parents, the scope of the standard theory is tested. Ultimately, I provide evidence to suggest

that Latino school administrators can, in some settings, actively represent the needs of Latino parents.

Literature Review

Political scientists have long studied concepts of representation. A key distinction in this body of literature is between “descriptive” and “substantive” representation (Pitkin, 1967). Hanna Pitkin (1967) best articulates the distinction: Descriptive representatives “stand for” a particular group because they share characteristics with the group such as race, ethnicity, or gender; substantive representatives “act for” a group by providing representation of the group's interests. The first concept draws a link between a group and a representative based on a demographic characteristic; the second draws a link between a group and a representative based on interests and values. For example, the ability of Latinos to elect a Latino mayor would ensure descriptive representation. If the Latino mayor pursued a policy agenda that advanced the interests of Latino voters, then the relationship between them is both descriptive and substantive.

Scholars of representative bureaucracy argue that similar forms of representation operate within bureaucracies. Within this body of literature, representation is categorized as “passive” or “active.” The terms are similar to the terms “descriptive” and “substantive,” respectively. Scholars in this body of work examine the extent to which the public-sector workforce shares the racial, ethnic, gender, and other demographic characteristics of the population it serves and how representation along these attributes shapes organizational attitudes and behaviors (Coleman, Brudney, and Kellough, 1998). A bureaucracy has passive representation if the bureaucrats share the same demographic origins as the general population, and it has active representation if it produces policy outputs that benefit the individuals who are represented (Meier, 1993). Scholars in this field find that passive representation is linked to active representation when 1) the demographic characteristic is highly salient, such as race; 2) individual bureaucrats have discretion to act; and 3) bureaucratic policy-decisions are directly relevant to the groups it serves and shares demographic characteristics with (Meier, 1993).

Theories of representation have been tested at the congressional and state as well as school board level. Early work on school boards in the United States explored the policy consequences of electing African American representatives to school boards. Is a school board with African American board members more attentive and responsive to the interests and needs of the African American community than a school board with no African American board members? Stewart et al. (1989) provide empirical evidence to suggest this may be the case. Stewart et al. (1989) found a

statistically significant and positive relationship between African American school board officials and the number of African American school administrators in a district. This relationship provides empirical support for the argument that African American school board members advocate for the hiring of more African American school administrators. In fact, the authors also found this relationship between African American administrators and African American teachers. These findings are encouraging in light of previous research that suggests African American teachers positively affect the educational opportunities and experiences of African American students.

The “developmental sequence” of representation described above (Stewart et al., 1989; Fraga and Elis, 2009), has also been found to exist among the Latino community as well. In a study investigating the determinants and consequences of Latino political representation in the field of K-12 education, Leal et al. (2004) found that Latino representation on school boards is significantly and positively associated with Latino administrators. Furthermore, the percentage of Latinos in administration was found to be the most important determinant of the presence of Latino teachers. These empirical findings contribute to the body of evidence suggesting that Latino elected officials and bureaucrats actively work to increase the number of Latino personnel within schools. These findings are important, because evidence has shown that Latino representation on school boards is also associated with policy outcomes of interest to the Latino community. For example, Leal and Hess (2000) found that the percentage of school board members who are Latino is significantly and positively associated with funding for bilingual education programs. This relationship holds even after controlling for the objective student need for bilingual education. Shockley (1974) found the election of a Latino majority to the city council and the school board in Crystal City, TX, resulted in a variety of policies outputs that benefited Latino students. For example, along with the election of a Latino majority, bilingual-bicultural education programs were implemented, and more Latino teachers and administrators were hired. Together, the work on African American and Latino school board members, administrators, and teachers support the theory that African American and Latinos can actively work to make a bureaucracy more responsive to the African American and Latino communities the bureaucracy serves.

While many studies have explored the relationship between Black and Latino education leaders and the consequences for Black and Latino students, some studies are now looking at the effects these leaders have on parents. More recently, Shah (2009) linked symbolic effects of Latino administrative representation to Latino parental involvement. Shah found that when Latinos serve as school board

members, as principals, or as teachers, their presence is significantly related to positive effects in Latino parental role constructions, self-efficacy, and perceptions of invitations to participate. These positive effects manifest as increased parental participation in the school life of their children (*ibid.*). While Shah’s findings give us insight into how descriptive representation may increase the levels of Latino parental participation, the question remains whether Latino administrators and principals are taking an active role in meeting the needs of Latino parents.

Theory and Hypothesis

This paper tests the link between passive representation and active representation by focusing on school policies and programs as the main outcome variable. I theorize that passive representation leads to more school policies and programs that directly benefit students as well as parents. I hypothesize that the racial and ethnic identity of a school administrator matters and that it positively influences their attitudes and behavior towards parents of their same racial or ethnic group (coethnic). I expect these attitudes to manifest in the form of favorable policy and programs toward their coethnic group. More specifically, I expect that schools with a greater presence of Latino school administrators are more likely than schools with a lesser presence of Latino school administrators to be associated with policies and programs that directly serve the direct needs of not only Latino students, but also Latino parents.

This study is of particular importance, because studies have shown immigrant parents exert very few demands on schools (Ruiz-de-Velasco, Fix, and Clewell, 2000). Even with respect to limited English proficient (LEP) students, studies have found a low level of advocacy among immigrant parents. The demands are especially weak with respect to recent immigrants living in communities where poverty and low English-literacy levels undermine parents’ ability to monitor school performance. Given this information about immigrant communities, if Latino parents exert few demands on schools, how then, do they attain benefits from local institutions? One way is via active representation at the school-level. As persons with shared experiences and culture, and as key figures in hiring decisions that influence the racial and ethnic composition of teachers and school staff, Latino principals may have a great influence on the policies and programs that are implemented at their school. Building on previous knowledge about minority administrators and principals, I apply the theory of representational bureaucracy to schools and administrators. I propose that when Latinos hold an elite position in the organizational structure of schools, serve communities of Latinos and have the agency and jurisdiction to make important decisions concerning the kinds of programs that are implemented by the school, they will

implement programs that not only benefit Latino students but also Latino parents. I expect that this relationship will be stronger in schools where more Latinos hold leadership and decision making roles.

Methods

To investigate this hypothesis, the following is tested: Schools with a greater presence of Latinos in leadership and decision-making roles will be associated with a greater number of programs that are directly beneficial to Latino parents. For the purposes of this study, I use survey data from a study conducted in 2007 and 2008 surveying principals and parents in three Chicago communities and three New York communities. The three Chicago communities are Pilsen Lower West Side, Humboldt Park/West Town, and Armour Square/Bridgeport. The three New York communities are Washington Heights, University Heights, and Chinatown. In the Chicago survey, 824 parents or guardians participated, and in the New York survey, 845 parents or guardians participated.

Studying New York and Chicago is both interesting and appropriate. As traditional immigrant gateways, New York and Chicago are homes to established minority communities, as well as recent immigrants (Singer 2004). As established communities of racial and ethnic minorities, these cities provide us with a context in which we can investigate the increasing presence and racial and ethnic minorities in leadership positions. Furthermore, the 2010 Census showed that 36% of New York and 22% of Chicago's populations were foreign-born. That New York and Chicago both have large immigrant populations allows us to explore whether schools are implementing policies and programs that benefit their student and parent communities.

Dependent Variables

For a bureaucracy to engage in active representation, the bureaucracy must make decisions that affect the minority group represented (Meier, 1993). Schools make numerous decisions that determine the access to and quality of education received by an individual student and parent. The nature of the programs studied in this analysis are parent outreach programs that directly benefit parents, either through educational development or by providing resources to make school-parent interactions not only more feasible but also more effective. The main dependent variable in this study is a measure of the programs made available by schools to parents. This variable is operationalized as an index variable that measures the presence or absence of the following: bilingual teaching staff; parent liaison, staff member, or volunteer whose job it is to communicate and involve parents; childcare during parent or school meetings; interpreter for parents

with low English-speaking abilities; classes for adults, such as GED, ESL or continuing education. Together, the total number of observations for this continuous variable is 1,666. The range of this variable extends from 0 to 1, with a mean of 0.687 and a standard deviation is 0.207, indicating that most schools provide at least one form of program.

Independent Variables

The main explanatory variable is whether or not leadership figures of a school are Latino. To operationalize the presence of Latino administrators, a variable is used specifying the percentage of decision-making figures within a school that are Latino. This variable, "Latino Administrators," was made available through the existing data set used for this study and holds a total of 1,458 observations. The values of this continuous variable range from 0 to 1, with the mean at 0.324 and the standard deviation at 0.343. I expect that as the percentage of Latino administrators increases, there will be an increase in the parent programs discussed above.

Controls

School characteristics capture school-level demographic and institutional features. These variables control for the student composition of schools and structural factors that may influence the resources available to implement parent programs. The type of institution, public or private, is controlled for, as well as the school status as a Title I school. Title I schools receive federal funding for programs such as free or reduced lunch, which include families with incomes at or near the poverty level. Measures of student demographics are also included, specifically percent Asian, percent Latino, and percent Black.

Results and Analysis

To test the hypothesis that schools with a greater presence of Latinos in leadership and decision-making roles would be related to a greater amount of parent programs, a multivariable regression is used. Specific to New York, the coefficient for Latino Administrators is 0.049. This means that for every unit of increase in the percent of Latino administrators, there is a 0.049 unit increase in the dependent variable, parent programs, while holding all other variables constant. By the p-value threshold of 0.10, the coefficient for Percent of Latino Administrators is statistically significant, as indicated by its p-value of 0.085. This finding tells us that there is a significant and positive relationship between the presence of Latino administrators and the parent programs that are made available by schools for parents. The coefficient for Percent of Latino Administrators in Chicago is 0.002. However, Percent of Latino Administrators is not statistically significant, because its p-value is 0.949.

Estimates of Parent Programs			
		New York	Chicago
<i>Latino Representation</i>	Latino Administrators	0.049* (0.028)	0.002 (0.025)
<i>School Characteristics</i>	Public School	0.148** (0.048)	0.227 (0.195)
	Title I School	0.051 (0.047)	0.081** (0.039)
	Percent Asian	0.002 (0.029)	-0.001 (0.003)
	Percent Black	0.001 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)
	Percent Latino	0.001 (0.003)	-0.008 (-0.003)
	Percent White	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.006* (-0.004)
	Constant	0.417	0.483
	N	729	703
	R ²	0.129	0.119
	Adjusted R ²	0.120	0.110
Note: *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05			

Conclusion

This study explores the extent to which Latino leaders in schools represent, both passively and actively, the needs of the Latino parent community. The bureaucratic representation literature posits that a bureaucracy can engage in active representation when bureaucrats make decisions that affect the minority group represented (Meier 1993). Taking schools as the bureaucracy of interest, I study the extent to which Latino education leaders were associated with programs that directly benefit the Latino community.

This study employed data from principal and parent surveys and school-level data to investigate relationships between administrators, principals, and parents. The only time Latino leadership was significantly related to parent programs was in New York. This finding may indicate that the link between passive and active representation is likely to increase when members of a minority group work together

and support each other. However, as indicated by the weak relationship found in Chicago, it appears that Latino administrators are not enough to bring about these programs. In particular, it is not clear whether a larger portion of Latino administrators reflects a larger Latino population, which may be the main force driving the need for such programs. Learning from this study, a revised model should address the current methodological weaknesses. The types of programs implemented in a school or district are related to the type of population served. Population measures and parent resources should be included in this model for a better understanding of the relationship between the availability of parent programs and parent need. Such resource and need measures can include percent college educated and household income because places that have higher incomes or population of higher education levels are less likely to need or use these parent programs.

Despite the limitations of the model, this study gives us a better understanding of the relationship between Latino administrators, principals, and parents. This is a unique way to challenge and expand older bureaucratic representation research, because it allows us to test how far passive representation can actually reach to become active representation. While the base theory tells us passive representation can lead to active representation, most work has focused on the immediate beneficiary. By focusing on parents, this body of research can move beyond the standard theory to test the scope of passive representation. These results are encouraging, as they show that in some cases, passive representation can extend to parents, a form of indirect beneficiary.

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"A Common Fate": The Role of Muslim Leaders in the Philippine Independence Movement, 1935–1941

Joy Sales, *Grinnell College*

Originally from Chicago, Joy graduated from Grinnell College in 2013 with a BA in history and German. She is currently a first-year doctoral student in the history department at Northwestern University. She studies the intersections of U.S. imperialism and the Filipino-American diaspora in the twentieth century.

Abstract

This article is a section of my MMUF project. The larger work focuses on *datus*, the formal term for local Muslim leadership in the southern Philippines. I examine *datu* political participation in the Philippine independence movement from 1917 to 1941 and these leaders' negotiations with U.S. colonial administrators and the Philippine's leading political party, the Nacionalistas. Instead of concentrating on the American and Nacionalistas' roles in shaping politics, I highlight *datu* involvement in early Philippine political history. Primarily using interviews with *datus*, I analyze the ways these leaders redefined Muslim-Filipino relations. *Datu* leadership in this period was significant, because it was a critical time when minority groups participated in the process of nation-building in the Philippines. Considering Muslim-Filipino separatism in the 1960s until the present day, the role of *datus* in the independence movement served as an early political critique of the Philippine government's totalitarian policies, and a unique time in which *datus* sought to find a place for local governance in an era of formative nation-building.

The mid-1930s represented a turning point in Philippine history. After approximately 400 years under colonial rule—first under Spain, then under the United States—the Philippines was on its way to gaining independence. Under the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1935, U.S. Congress and the Philippine Legislature transitioned the country from a colony to a Commonwealth. Filipinos, with the exception of the country's foreign and military affairs, would be self-governing. More importantly, Congress and the Legislature agreed that the islands would gain independence in 1946.ⁱ

Independence was the biggest political issue of the early twentieth century in the Philippines, because the ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse Filipino peoples all had legitimate and often conflicting answers to one major question in the nation-building process: Who constituted the Philippine nation? In this paper, I focus on Muslim leaders, formally called "*datus*," and their attempts in the 1930s to include Muslim voices in Philippine politics. I argue that Muslim participation in the Philippine independence movement was significant because it represented a unique time when Muslims redefined historically hostile relations with Christian-Filipinos and instead emphasized national unity.ⁱⁱ

The first Muslims in the Philippines were missionaries from Malaysia and Indonesia. By the end of the late fourteenth century, most of them had established communities in Mindanao, the southernmost island group of the Philippines. From 1521 to the late 1800s, the Spanish tried integrating Mindanao into their colonial government, but Muslim anti-colonial resistance prevented Hispanicization of the province.ⁱⁱⁱ Thus, in the Spanish period, Muslims, the largest minority group of the Philippines (around five percent of the population), developed their societies culturally isolated from Filipinos. However, Mindanao's cultural isolation ended when the Philippines sought independence from Spain. The Philippine Revolution in 1896 was the first time Filipinos and Muslims had a common cause. Philippine revolutionaries demanded "eradication of corruption in the government . . . and assertion of the dignity of the Filipino," while Muslim leaders wanted to expel the Spanish once and for all from Mindanao.^{iv} Despite both groups' goals for independence, sovereignty in the Philippines transferred from Spain to the United States after the Philippine-American War in 1898. U.S. imperialism overtook the revolutionary government and aimed to shape Philippine society under the U.S. republican tradition.^v

At this point in Philippine history, most scholars focus on two groups during the nation-building process: the American actors or the elite Philippine political party, the Nacionalistas. Scholarship on the American period mainly underscores power relations between the United States and the Philippines, with the United States as the main wielder of power.^{vi} Until the emergence of transnationalism as a focus in historical inquiry, historiography on Philippine independence concentrated on the colonizers.^{vii} More recently, historians have taken a transpacific approach to the American empire and have attempted to show more of the Philippine perspective. However, as Paul A. Kramer admits, Philippine racial and machine politics mirrored that of the U.S., revealing that "the Philippines was becoming absorbed into U.S. history."^{viii}

When scholars have focused on Philippine actors in the independence movement, they typically point to the evolution of the Nacionalistas, the leading political party in the national legislature. The party advocated independence "under the protectorate of the United States," and its leaders, Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon, were part of the *mestizo* elite and also rising stars in Philippine politics, largely due to U.S. patronage from prominent senators.^{ix} Historians Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso argue that the Nacionalistas monopolized political power and its leaders advocated self-governance.^x Indeed, the Nacionalistas largely controlled the trajectory of Philippine independence, but centering the history of Philippine politics on this party

ignores a major underlying question: what roles did minority groups have in the formation of the new republic?

Instead of concentrating on the American and Nacionalistas' roles in the independence movement, I aim to bring Muslims from the periphery to the center of Philippine political history. The main agents in this story are the Muslim leaders, or formally called "*datus*." *Datus* are famous in Philippine history because they represent "political and social organization that provided a framework for unity and resistance to colonization."^{xi} Since migrating to the Philippines, *datus* have led thousands of separate, local communities within Mindanao, and each leader defined membership in his community. Being Muslim was not a significant marker of identity. Rather, *datus* distinguished their communities through ethnicity and geography. For hundreds of years, these communities developed fairly independent of one another, and the *datus*' commitment to local autonomy posed a major obstacle to hundreds of years of centralization and integration under the Spanish colonial government, the American imperialist government, and then the Philippine government.

However, because of the independence movement, *datus* wanted to change this image of Muslim separatism and resistance because it alienated them from the movement. Until the late 1920s, the U.S. administration treated Mindanao as a separate entity from the rest of the Philippines, creating what Manuel Quezon called a "dual government."^{xii} In response, *datus* critiqued U.S. policies and allied themselves with the Nacionalistas. For example, Datu Ariraya of Iligan, Lanao, stated, "We are not like carabaos that Americans can pull to one side and Christian Filipinos to another. We have proper convictions, and we do not want the dismemberment of our country and the separation of our territory from that of our Christian brothers."^{xiii} *Datus* wanted to show the Philippine government that the Muslim community was loyal and shared the same objective for independence. This showing of loyalty was especially important because the *datus*, many of whom were members of the legislature, knew that independence was inevitable under the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Therefore, they needed to make sure that Muslims would have a voice in the new government and make sure that Muslims were not treated as some peripheral interest group but instead also treated as Filipinos.

My paper seeks to answer several questions: How did *datus* challenge this notion and this image of Muslims resisting outside influence? How did they show their support for independence? At the same time, in what ways did they defend their rights to local autonomy in a time when the Philippine government, particularly the leading political party, the Nacionalistas, argued that local autonomy was

incompatible with national unity? The most apparent change that shifted Muslims' attitudes toward independence was the shift in the demographic of *datus* after the late 1930s. The *datus* of the 1930s represented a new generation of young, Western-educated leaders who recognized print media as a useful political tool because newspapers enabled *datus* to reach the Filipino public and key political leaders. While examining interviews and personal letters in newspapers such as the *Manila Tribune* and the *Philippine Free Press*, I found that *datus*, without sacrificing their traditional claims to local autonomy, consciously and publicly advocated integration of their communities to the prospective independent Philippines.

Newspaper interviews with "integrationist" *datus* were an important component of this mission. Integrationist *datus* were leaders who advocated Mindanao's active participation in forming the new republic. Abdurrahman Ali, a young *datu* and vice-president of the Sulu Mohammedan Student Association, interviewed many integrationists for various newspapers. For example, Datu Umbra Amilbansa of Sulu emphasized the theme of unity and brotherhood between Filipinos and *Moros*^{xiv}—a major shift from the theme of separatism, which historically marked Muslim-Christian relations for the past four centuries. Datu Amilbansa's perspective represented the new role of *Moro* leaders in the 1930s; they wanted to collaborate with Filipino leaders regarding the process of independence:

The Christian and Mohammedan Filipino are brothers by blood, by tradition and history, by manner and customs, by language and by a common fate. We differ only in religion, but we are not going to allow our religions to interfere in our unity as a people. Both peoples are devotedly loyal to their country and perhaps their loyalty to their fatherland is unsurpassed in all history. Their courage and patriotism is unquestioned. But as a people we still lack the feeling of unity. Our Moro brothers have yet to be brought closer to their Christian brothers so that they may feel that they are an integral part of the Filipino nation. It is time to discard the idea of provincialism—of the proud and independent Sulu.^{xv}

Datu Amilbansa offered a solution which, he argued, would also change Muslim-Filipino relations for the better. He emphasized the tradition of Christian and Muslims fighting for "a common fate" or independence in order to show that unity was possible. Yes, the *datu* system was famous for resisting colonialism, but the new *datus* downplayed their system's separatist undertones. They instead stressed that resistance represented Muslims' centuries-long goal for an independent Philippines. In the last sentence of the interview, Amilbansa dismissed the idea

of an independent Muslim community. This refutation was important because, from the perspective of the Philippine government, local autonomy translated to disunity. Similarly, in the same article, Ali claimed, “And if I may be quoted as an example, what I love most is the Filipino flag; second, the Moroland and its people.”^{xvi} Both Amilbangsa and Ali argued that the Muslim community was willing to prioritize national interests before local interests. However, they contended that Filipinos must meet them halfway and welcome the Muslims as equal participators in politics.

Datus promoted brotherhood, but they also recommended that peaceful Muslim-Christian relations meant maintaining Muslim autonomy. In the *Philippine Free Press*, Ali argued, “The Moros believe that they can best contribute to the success of the Commonwealth government by showing they are capable of running their own local government The Moros are willing to give up their right to local autonomy should they fail in their attempt at self-government.”^{xvii} Additionally, leaders, who were also Assembly members, like Datu Sinsuat of Cotabato and Sultan Sa Ragain of Lanao, advocated local autonomy because, “The success of the new Philippine Commonwealth in the Moro region will be best secured by making the Moros participate in a manner which will enable them to be responsible for conducting their internal affairs.”^{xviii} Sinsuat and Sa Ragain made these arguments in reference to the history of Muslim relations with outsiders, like the Spanish and Americans, which involved treaties that conceded to *datu* management of their respective communities. Even though the new *datus* supported independence, they also wanted to preserve the political structure of their local communities, and they argued that their autonomy would further Mindanao’s integration. Unlike the older generation, their desire for autonomy did not stem from fear of Filipino rule; rather, autonomy had been consistent in over four hundred years of Muslim political history. By refashioning their rationale for autonomy, the *datus* showed the Philippine government how Muslim-Christian relations were mutually beneficial.

In conclusion, the 1930s represented a dramatic shift in loyalties in the Philippines’ Muslim communities. A new generation of *datus* emerged, seeking to validate Muslim interests in the national government. Using the media to voice their political opinions, *datus* attested that independence had always been a common cause between Muslims and Christians. Many Christian-Filipinos perceived that the history of Muslim colonial resistance represented Muslim resistance to integration. However, *datus* challenged this perception by reinterpreting resistance as their desire for an independent Philippines. To emphasize Filipino unity, *datus* in the legislature coined the term “Muslim-Filipino” to show their allegiance to independence, to argue that Muslims were Filipino, too, and to assert that they deserved just as much

attention from their political leaders. Furthermore, Muslim political participation revealed another perspective of governance, proposing that local and national leadership had compatible goals. Instead of a strong federal government dictating local affairs, *datus* proposed a diffused responsibility and local control. This method represented a middle ground between the largely provincial colonial government under the Spanish and the executive-centered, centralized Philippine government of the twentieth century.

Even though *datus* made their interests public, their ultimate objective for local autonomy ultimately failed because the Philippine government perceived that local autonomy and national unity were mutually exclusive. Additionally, because of American-inherited racial politics, the Philippine government still did not consider Muslim-Filipinos as Filipinos.^{xix} Despite the falling out between Muslims and Christians, the debate over Philippine independence represented the potential for peaceful Muslim-Christian relations, successful integration of Mindanao into the Republic of the Philippines, and the inclusion of Muslim voices in Philippine politics.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 140.
- ⁱⁱ Many Filipino leaders in this period used Christianity and Catholicism interchangeably. Therefore, when I use “Christian-Filipinos,” I refer to Catholic-Filipinos.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Luis H. Francia, *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2010), 45; Rosalita Tolibas-Núñez, *Roots of Conflict: Muslims, Christians, and the Mindanao Struggle* (Makati City: Asian Institute of Management, 1997), 9–10; Luis Camara Dery, *The Kris in Philippine History: A Study of the Impact of Moro Anti-Colonial Resistance, 1571–1896* (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1997), 9–11.
- ^{iv} John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880–1895* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 28–29.
- ^v Abinales, *State and Society*, 117.
- ^{vi} H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), ix.
- ^{vii} Frank Hindman Golay, *Face of Empire: United States–Philippine Relations, 1898–1946* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), x.
- ^{viii} Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 6.
- ^{ix} Abinales, *State and Society*, 137–139.
- ^x Ibid.
- ^{xi} Núñez, *Roots of Conflict*, 10.
- ^{xii} Manuel Quezon, “Administration of Affairs in Mindanao,” in *Messages of the President to the President and Congress of the United States* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1937), 358.
- ^{xiii} “We Have Our Convictions, Datu Claims,” *Philippine Tribune*, August 22, 1926.
- ^{xiv} *Moro* is a term describing Muslim-Filipinos. It originated from Spanish colonists’ interactions with Muslims in the Philippines. Many separatist movements today prefer using *Moro* in order to reinforce their Islamic identity.

- xv "The Awakening of the Moros," *Manila Tribune*, January 12, 1936.
- xvi Ibid.
- xvii "Proud, Independence-Loving, We Believe We Are Entitled to Fair Treatment from Our Christian Brothers," *Philippine Free Press*, November 30, 1935.
- xviii "The Awakening of the Moros," *Manila Tribune*, January 12, 1936.
- xix Manuel Quezon, "Development of Lanao," in *Messages* (1938), 194–196; Quezon, "The Right of the Filipinos to Independence," *Filipino People* 1, no. 2 (October 1912), 2; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 158.

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The United Nations' Response to Slavery and Human Trafficking

Melissa Manzanares, *Whittier College*

Melissa will be graduating from Whittier College in the spring of 2014. She is a native of Whittier, CA. After graduation, she plans to take a year off before attending graduate school in international studies. In her year off, she intends to work for a non-profit organization that provides humanitarian assistance.

Abstract

This article focuses on how the United Nations defines the terms “slavery” and “trafficking in persons” and examines some of the issues and limitations of these terms. It is an excerpt from a larger essay that analyzes several United Nations’ conventions and resolutions that address slavery and human trafficking.

Despite international efforts to eradicate human trafficking, it is the third-most profitable crime and fastest-growing criminal industry in the world (United Nations 2011; UNHCR 2010). Almost every country in the world serves as an origin, transit, or destination for trafficked persons, and it is estimated that there are between ten to thirty million slaves in the world today (UNODC, n.d.; Tanneer 2012). In fact, there are more slaves today than at any point in history (Skinner 2008, 2). This paper will examine how the terms “slavery” and “trafficking in persons” have been defined by the United Nations’ 1926 and 1956 Slavery Conventions and the 2000 Trafficking Protocol and will argue that both terms are imprecise, highly contested, and are thus used in an inconsistent and fragmented manner by United Nations’ actors. This disagreement prevents Member States from effectively addressing the human rights violations of slavery and human trafficking through unified policy.

United Nations: Deliberative Body

In the article, “What Are Human Rights? Four Schools of Thought,” Marie-Bénédicte Dembour argues that there is a lack of agreement on the nature of human rights. She identifies four schools of thought: natural, deliberative, protest, and discourse. The United Nations is a deliberative body and is well described by Dembour’s description of the deliberative school. The deliberative school “conceives of human rights as political values that liberal societies choose to adopt . . . For them human rights come into existence through societal agreement” (Dembour 2010, 3). As a deliberative body, the United Nations establishes human rights by “identifying, agreeing, and entrenching principles” through conventions and resolutions (Dembour 2010, 4–5). This paper examines the United Nations’ most significant slavery and human trafficking conventions. Specifically, it analyzes the international definitions put forward by these conventions and how United Nations actors use them.

Defining Slavery: The 1926 and 1956 Conventions

Despite having committed to agreed-upon definitions of the terms “slavery” and “trafficking in persons,” several actors, both external and internal to the United Nations, have interpreted the terms differently. For example, in *Trafficking and Global Crime Control*, Maggy Lee states that human trafficking is an “imprecise and highly contested term” (2010, 16). I will argue that “slavery” is also imprecise and highly contested and that the usage of these terms is further complicated when they are used interchangeably.

The term “slavery” was first defined by the 1926 Slavery Convention. The convention was written by the League of Nations and was amended and adopted by the United Nations in 1953 (United Nations 1953). The Convention defined slavery as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (United Nations 1953). The 1926 Convention, however, did not define what the “powers attaching to the right of ownership” are. This ambiguity has raised concerns about how broadly the term slavery can be used to describe trafficking, forced labor, debt bondage, and other situations.

According to Anne T. Gallagher in *The International Law of Human Trafficking*, the definition was intended to be narrow; she argues that the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery distinguished slavery from other practices by describing debt bondage, serfdom, servile marriage, and child servitude as “institutions and practices similar to slavery” (Gallagher 2010, 179–181).

The United Nations’ 1956 Supplementary Convention did provide a better understanding of the narrow breadth of the term slavery by distinguishing it from “lesser” “slave-like” practices (United Nations 1956). However, it did not include reference to the more recent term “human trafficking,” which is frequently utilized by international actors in tandem with the term “slavery” and other related terms. This raises the question of whether slavery and human trafficking are different phenomena. Kevin Bales, sociologist and cofounder of the nonprofit organization Free the Slaves, argues that they are not different phenomena and describes human trafficking as “the process of enslaving a person” (Bales and Lize 2005, 11). He further argues that legal ownership is no longer a relevant condition of slavery (Bales 1999, 24–26). Slavery has achieved *jus cogens* status; it has become an international norm that is peremptory in nature and from which no derogation is allowed under any circumstances (Hossain 2005, 73). In other words, slavery is illegal everywhere and at all times. Considering this, the definitions put forward by the 1926 and 1956

Conventions are problematic because they make slavery dependent on the condition of ownership. Thus, some would argue that these definitions no longer appropriately describe modern slavery. However, in 1953, an Economic and Social Council Slavery Report asserted that slavery can occur even when there is no legal ownership and identified six characteristics of the “powers attaching to the right of ownership” (Gallagher 2010, 179–184). This report appeared to provide room for understanding slavery and human trafficking as the same phenomenon. Despite this, the United Nations has continued to define slavery and human trafficking as different practices.

Defining Human Trafficking: The 2000 Protocol

The term “trafficking in persons,” more commonly referred to as “human trafficking,” was defined by the United Nations’ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons:

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (United Nations 2000)

“Trafficking in persons” is an umbrella term, then, that requires three elements to be present: the acts, means, and purposes of exploitation (UNODC n.d.). The term “human trafficking” describes the process by which a person can assert control over another for a range of different types of exploitation. Slavery is only one of the purposes of exploitation described. What this means in practical terms is that although the term “human trafficking” can be used to describe slavery and several other less severe circumstances of exploitation, the terms cannot be used interchangeably. The term “slavery” does not fully encompass the meaning of “human trafficking,” since the latter also describes other types of exploitation such as sexual exploitation, forced labor, practices similar to slavery, servitude, and the forcible removal of organs.

Some scholars, such as Joel Quirk and Maggy Lee, believe that it is helpful to view human trafficking as a spectrum or continuum in which slavery is the most severe type of exploitation. As Quirk states in “The Anti-Slavery Project: Linking the Historical to the Contemporary,”

human trafficking can be seen as a “diverse spectrum ranging from cases where there were no obvious differences between service and slavery, to intermediate cases where there were clear parallels but differences of degree, to cases that stretch the link with slavery to a breaking point” (Quirk 2006, 594). Likewise, Lee states that, “Trafficking is best understood as a ‘continuum’ which involves various degrees of force, exploitation, and positions of vulnerability” (Lee 2010, 6).

This conceptualization of human trafficking as a spectrum or a continuum provides a viable way of describing both slavery and lesser forms of exploitation. Furthermore, this conceptualization is in agreement with the United Nations’ official definitions. Despite this, United Nations actors have used these terms in an inconsistent and fragmented manner. Primarily, they do this by referring to situations as “contemporary forms of slavery” or as “slave-like practices,” without distinguishing these occurrences from “traditional” slavery. Furthermore, they use these phrases interchangeably with the term “human trafficking,” despite the implied difference in severity.

One example of the fragmented and inconsistent usage of these terms is illustrated in speeches made by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. In 2007, he gave an opening speech for an exhibition titled “Lest We Forget—The Triumph Over Slavery.” He appealed to memories of the banning of the transatlantic slave trade and urged his listeners to “remember that even today, many millions of our fellow human beings are subjected to slavery-like practices” (United Nations 2007). However, he contrasted these “slavery-like practices” from slavery a few moments later by stating, “This exhibition tells more than the story of the triumph over the slave trade.” Mr. Ban implied that although slavery-like practices continue to persist, slavery had been abolished. In spite of this, Mr. Ban concluded his statement by saying, “Let us be inspired by their struggle. And let us finish the job that is still before us,” making it unclear how he believed slavery-like practices differ from slavery and whether slavery was eradicated (United Nations 2007). Furthermore, in March 2010, Mr. Ban made another statement in which he said, “Slavery and slavery-like practices continue in many parts of the world. Today we salute all victims of slavery and we commit ourselves to ensuring that this practice, in all its forms, is eradicated” (United Nations 2010). This statement provided more confusion regarding Mr. Ban’s understanding of human trafficking, slavery, and slavery-like practices. Unlike his 2007 statement, Mr. Ban seemed to be stating here that slavery continues in modern forms. However, he still does not elucidate the difference between practices.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s press release that announced their launch of a report entitled “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons” offered another

example of inconsistent usage of the terms. The press release included quotes from the Executive Director of the Office on Drugs and Crime, in which he used the terms human trafficking and slavery interchangeably. He stated that, “It’s sick that we should even need to write a Report [sic] about slavery in the 21st century. More must be done to reduce the vulnerability of victims, increase the risks to traffickers, and lower demand for the goods and services of modern-day slaves” (UNODC 2009).

A third example of the inconsistent and fragmented usage of the terms slavery and human trafficking occurred during a Third Committee meeting on international drug control. Mr. Ervin Nina, an Albanian delegate, discussed United Nations and Albanian counter-trafficking initiatives throughout his speech. For the majority of his speech, he consistently used the phrases “human trafficking” or “trafficking in persons;” however, at the end of his speech, he stated that Member States “must unite to combat the gruesome reality of the modern day slavery. Unless we all cooperate to implement a sound, multidisciplinary approach which addresses trafficking in persons from a human rights perspective the majority of trafficking cases will continue unaccountable for, the victims will not receive the necessary protection, and the impunity will persist” (Nina 2012). His use of both terms interchangeably suggested that the Albanian government views them as the same practice.

Understanding Slavery and Human Trafficking

Although various United Nations actors use the definitions of “slavery” and “human trafficking” inconsistently, the complex and sometimes contradictory discourse surrounding these topics affirms that these issues have seized the international agenda as important issues that need to be addressed. However, the international community must continue to clarify these definitions if it hopes to develop further standards that address these horrendous crimes. Furthermore, appropriate usage of the term “slavery” to describe the most exploitative human trafficking situations is necessary as other terms often remove us from the atrocities that slaves have experienced and continue to experience today.

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Experimental Investigation of Garnet, Cordierite, and Gedrite Nucleation from Chlorite + Quartz Mixtures at 8kb Pressure

Samantha Blanchett, *Smith College*

Samantha Blanchett is a member of the class of 2013 at Smith College. She majored in geosciences and chemistry. Her aspiration is to become a geochemistry professor who focuses on environmental issues.

Abstract

Experiments were performed at 8kb pressure and at temperatures ranging from 610°C to 750°C to study the nucleation of garnet from chlorite + quartz mixtures during metamorphism. Nucleation describes the process of when a mineral first begins to form on the microscopic level and the atoms align into the particular orientations of its crystal lattice. Minerals begin to grow during metamorphism because of chemical reactions that occur in response to a change in physical conditions. However, the density and distribution of nuclei and the resulting rock texture is not well understood. In the experiments described in this paper, I sought to discover what specific experimental conditions would promote garnet nucleation and what mineral textures would occur. Although garnet did not nucleate in most experiments, cordierite and gedrite did nucleate. I found that for cordierite, the addition of water decreases nucleation rates relative to growth rates and that an increase in temperature increases nucleation rates relative to growth rates.

Introduction

Knowing about the history of the Earth gives valuable insight into how the Earth may function in the future. As geologists, we observe rocks in the field in order to uncover the geologic history of that area. Metamorphic rocks have been created from other rocks subjected to high temperatures and pressures under mountain ranges that cause changes much like those that occur in firing a clay pot in a kiln or in deforming steel to make a tool. Although geologists have learned through experiments what the maximum temperatures and pressures are required to produce a specific metamorphic rock, many details of the rock's history remain unknown. The experiments presented in this paper were undertaken to discover what information garnet textures such as crystal location and size, which depend on garnet nucleation and growth, provide about how that metamorphic rock was formed and, therefore, the geologic history of that area. In these experiments, I sought to discover what specific experimental temperatures and pressures and mass ratios of chlorite, quartz, biotite, and muscovite would promote garnet nucleation and what textures would result from each set of conditions.

Garnet nucleation was much more difficult to achieve than expected, and, therefore, little information was obtained on the nucleation of garnet. However, there was a significant

amount of knowledge gained about the nucleation of cordierite and gedrite and the textures that were produced.

Methods

Various minerals were weighed, mixed together, and ground into powders. For each experiment, a different powdered mineral mixture was placed into each of four gold-lined holes within a nickel container (Table 1). This container was placed into a piston cylinder press and exposed to 8kb pressure and temperatures ranging from 610°C to 750°C for lengths of time ranging from 4 days to 18 days (Table 2) (Blanchett, 2013). These temperatures were selected because thermodynamic calculations were performed using the computer program Theriak Domino (de Capitani and Petrakakis 2010) with the Holland and Powell (1998) database. Thermodynamic calculations indicated that, for the given bulk composition, garnet would become stable relative to chlorite and quartz at 590°C and 8kb. Temperatures above 590°C were used in order to promote garnet nucleation. The experimental procedures were based on those of Morse et al. and Ayers et al. (2004, 1992). After experimentation, each sample was analyzed on a scanning electron microscope (SEM). X-rays produced when the electron beam of the SEM strikes a sample can be used by an instrument called an energy dispersive x-ray spectrometer (EDS) to quantify the relative proportion of the different elements in the sample. Experiments 1–3 were unsuccessful and are not presented in this paper.

	Hole 1	Hole 2	Hole 3	Hole 4
Exp 4	Chl+Qz	Chl+Qz +water	Chl+Qz +Grt	Chl+Qz +Grt+water
Exp 5	Chl+Qz	Chl+Qz +water	Chl+Qz +Grt	Chl+Qz +Grt+water
Exp 6	Chl+Qz	Chl+Qz +water	Chl+Qz +Grt	Chl+Qz +Bio+Mus+Grt
Exp 7	Chl+Qz +Grt+water	Chl+Qz +water	Chl+Qz +Grt	Chl+Qz +Bio+Mus+Grt
Exp 8	Chl+Qz +Grt+water	Chl+Qz +water	Chl+Qz +Grt	Chl+Qz +Bio+Mus+Grt

Table 1. Mineral mixtures for Experiments 4–8. Exp = Experiment; Chl = chlorite; Qz = quartz; Grt = garnet; Bio = biotite; Mus = muscovite.

	Temp (°C)	Length of Reaction
Exp 4	610	7 days 23 hours
Exp 5	650	6 days 22 hours
Exp 6	750	10 days 20 hours
Exp 7	750	4 days
Exp 8	750	17 days 22 hours

Table 2. Temperature and length of each experiment. All experiments were performed at 8kb.

Results and Discussion

Nucleation of Garnet

These experiments attempted to nucleate garnet at temperatures around 600°C. According to Theriak Domino calculations, a chlorite + quartz + muscovite + biotite mineral mixture should become unstable relative to garnet at 590°C and 8kb. According to Hsu (1968), chlorite + quartz becomes unstable relative to garnet at temperatures ranging from ~550°C to ~600°C for a wide range of pressures. Hsu's (1968) results applied specifically to Fe-rich chlorite, whereas the chlorite used in these experiments was more Mg-rich.

Nucleation of garnet occurred only in Experiment 8 (750°C, 8kb, 17 days and 22 hours) hole 4 (chlorite + quartz + muscovite + biotite + garnet) (Figure 3). This experimental temperature is 160°C above the temperature at which Theriak Domino calculated garnet would be stable at 8kb, and garnet appears to have nucleated from a silicate melt rather than the chlorite + quartz assemblage. Length of the experiment is a deciding factor for the nucleation of garnet. At 750°C and 8kb for 17 days and 22 hours, garnet nucleated (Experiment 8), but when that same sample was run for 10 days and 20 hours, garnet did not nucleate (Experiment 6). It is interesting that the nucleated garnet crystals are so small, because seed garnet crystals grew rims in Experiment 8 hole 4 that are larger than these nucleated crystals. It is possible that this garnet nucleated in the melt during the rapid temperature decrease (quench) at the end of the experiment.

Nucleation of garnet did not occur for most of the experiments because at 650°C and above, the nucleation of cordierite and gedrite was more rapid than the nucleation of garnet. Once the chlorite and quartz had reacted to form cordierite and gedrite, there was less thermodynamic motivation to nucleate garnet (Figure 4). Garnet was stable, as evidenced by growth of garnet rims on seed crystals. Perhaps if Experiment 4 (610°C, 8kb, 7 days and 23 hours) were run for a longer period of time, garnet would have nucleated as planned from the chlorite + quartz mixture.

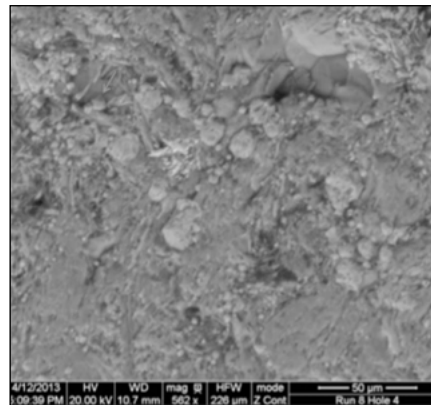


Figure 3. Back-scattered electron image (BSED) of nucleated garnet in hole 4 (chlorite + quartz + muscovite + biotite + garnet) of Experiment 8 (750°C, 8kb, 17 days and 22 hours). The red arrow points to one crystal of nucleated garnet. Most of the similar, light gray crystals in the figure are gedrite, and most of the darker-gray crystals are cordierite. These minerals were identified using an x-ray spectrometer (EDS) which works with the SEM.

Cordierite and gedrite x-ray spectra observed with the scanning electron microscope are similar to chlorite x-ray spectra. Because of this similarity, it was not until the last experiment that I realized that the chlorite had been consumed in experiments above 650°C. If this had been recognized sooner, I could have developed a different plan to nucleate garnet from chlorite and quartz mixtures.

Garnet Overgrowth

At 8kb, the tipping point for garnet overgrowths on seed crystals occurred between 650°C and 750°C. There is no clear trend between the size of the garnet rim and the length of the experiment. Generally, the garnet rim becomes more Fe-rich as the experiment becomes longer. Water seemed to promote garnet overgrowth. Garnets without a rim tend to be more Fe-rich (Figure 4).

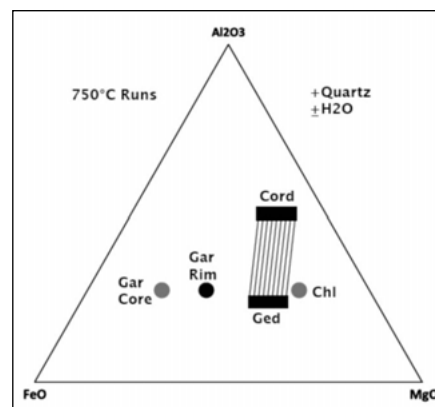
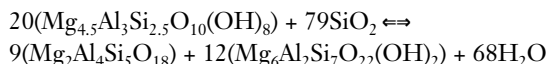


Figure 4. AFM diagram in mole percent for the reactants and products in Experiments 6–8. This figure summarizes the observed mineral compositions and includes tie lines connecting the compositions of cordierite and gedrite that occur together.

Between 610°C (Experiment 4) and 650°C (Experiment 5), there is a tipping point at which chlorite and quartz become unstable relative to cordierite and gedrite. The Mg-end member of the cordierite-gedrite-forming reaction may be written:



In this reaction, quartz is consumed, so one would expect to see significantly less quartz in all of the experiments that contained cordierite and gedrite. It is uncertain why less quartz was not observed in all experiments at 650°C and above (Experiments 5–8). Perhaps a separate quartz-creating reaction occurred after the above quartz-consuming reaction was completed.

In their 2.07kb experiments, Fleming and Fawcett (1976) found that chlorite becomes unstable and cordierite becomes stable above ~590°C–600°C. Their experiments were for magnesium-rich chlorite. The evidence presented in this paper shows that at higher pressures, the upper stability of chlorite is slightly higher.

Nucleation of Cordierite

In Experiment 5 (650°C, 8kb, 6 days and 22 hours), both samples with added water have cordierite crystals that are larger than those in the dry samples. The same holds true for Experiment 7 (750°C, 8kb, 4 days). Once the length of the experiment is increased to 10 days and 20 hours (Experiment 6), there is no clear trend for the effect of water on cordierite crystal size. This evidence indicates that the addition of water decreases cordierite nucleation rates relative to growth rates at lower temperatures and for shorter experiments.

Cordierite crystals are generally smaller and more numerous in experiments at higher temperatures. This evidence indicates that an increase in temperature and duration of the experiment seems to increase nucleation rates relative to growth rates of cordierite. For Experiments 5–8, cordierite nucleated homogeneously throughout the sample.

Conclusions

Garnet nucleation from chlorite + quartz crystals did not occur in experiments at 8kb and at temperatures from 610°C to 750°C that lasted one week. Perhaps garnet will nucleate between 590°C and 650°C if the experiment is run for a longer period of time. Muscovite and biotite react to form a melt at 8kb and 750°C that promotes the nucleation of garnet. Water does not seem to affect the nucleation of garnet.

These experiments promoted the nucleation of cordierite and gedrite from chlorite and quartz at 8kb and temperatures from 650°C to 750°C. Increases in the temperature of the experiment seemed to increase the nucleation rates of cordierite and gedrite relative to growth rates. These results will aid in the interpretation of metamorphic rocks that contain cordierite and gedrite. They also provide a foundation for future experiments about nucleation during metamorphism.

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Finding the Warrior

Maryam Aziz, *Columbia University*

Maryam is a warrior-scholar who grew up in small-town New Jersey. As a sophomore, she stopped reading literature in an aesthetic vacuum and began to use it within the larger goals of African American studies. Now, her research focuses on highlighting the community work of African American and Latino martial artists.

Abstract

This paper is a revised version of the first chapter of Maryam's undergraduate thesis. The thesis explores the role Black martial arts masters and their arts had in attaining Black empowerment and agency during the Black Power Era in Newark and New York City. It does so by using Black Arts Movement Literature and martial arts philosophy as lens for understanding martial arts practice.

The term "martial arts" is a broad category that conjures images of Bruce Lee brilliantly waving a pair of deadly *nunchaku*. However, martial arts are more than the fantastical achievements of East Asia. They are developments that stem from "man's . . . [age-old obligation] to battle, weaponless, the hostile forces of . . . enemies among his fellow human beings" (Funakoshi viii-ix). Far from being relics of the past or the fantasy of film, I see these fighting arts as a vehicle within which to further understand the twentieth-century struggle for Black Power. If Black Power is, as Amy Ongiri argues, the "conceptually diffuse" idea that asserts the necessity for "economic independence and cultural self-determination," there is space to locate the martial arts within the Black Power Movement (Ongiri 2). Unlike for other categories of self-expression, there is no research on how masters of martial arts such as karate have interacted with the African American community. In my undergraduate thesis, I argued that martial arts played an equal part in the development of African American communities as any other means of empowerment or artistic vision. I sought to link martial artists to a larger narrative of institution-building, self-defense, and self-determination by correlating their rhetoric and goals to those of Black Arts Movement [BAM] writers, painters, and musicians.

To demonstrate this, I combined close reading, philosophy, performance analysis, and oral historical accounts. Both chapters of the thesis begin with close reading of BAM works for the Black Power ideals they tackle. Subsequently, I analyzed a work of East Asian martial arts philosophy and related it to how martial arts could serve as a means of Black self-determination. Finally, I provided examples of how this theoretical usage materialized in the 1960s and 1970s. Examples included oral histories from instructors and representations used in Blaxploitation films and nationalist cartoons. As a revised version of the first chapter of my thesis,

this article ties together the usage of "warriorhood" in Amiri Baraka's poetry to the term's transnational history and its application by Karate Master Mfundishi Maasi.

This collective of ground workers found the inspiration to strive for economic independence and cultural self-determination in Amiri Baraka's poem "Black Art." It was his most famous poem of the period and arose out of the BAM ideal of producing art that spoke up for the "Black realities" of urban ghettos (Collins 8). It was not a manifesto on what he hoped Black artists would be but what he believed they *had* to be. Though a literal reading of his poem can be appropriate, I choose to read it hyperbolically, as one prophetic symbol of verse. In the 1965 manifesto, Baraka proclaims, "Let Black people understand/ that they are . . . / warriors and sons/ of warriors" (303). Baraka urges Black people to remember they are warriors by blood: to be descended from a warrior means that one has inherited a legacy of warriorhood. Remembering this lineage is crucial for Baraka. Because warriors are individuals who are engaged energetically in a cause, Baraka knows his artist wing of the Black Power army requires aesthetic warriors ("Warrior"). Black Power needs individuals who are willing to zealously act on behalf of their communities' self-determination. Baraka outlines that Black poetry, and, by metonymic representation, all Black art, is "bullshit" unless it is action. That is why he calls for art or "poems that kill" (Baraka 302-303). Poems cannot literally "shoot" or "come at you," but Baraka does not expect them to (302-303). He does not expect Black poets to be able to create poems "with fists" that beat people unconscious. However, he expects Black artists to be aesthetic warriors who write words that are as strong and direct as these actions. He expects them to understand that their words can have strong consequences and that they should be used to powerfully advocate and educate.

In fact, Baraka says art is not "Black art" at all unless it is utilitarian, and it is not utilitarian if it does not represent Black reality. In using the word "utilitarian" to describe Baraka's point, I am not referring to the philosophy of utilitarianism. Rather, I am using utilitarian to describe Baraka's injunction for Black poetry and Black art to be tangibly useful.

For Baraka, Black art cannot be created solely for aesthetic. Black people have too much to accomplish for their art to not have self-advancement purposes, he argues. By extension, this art should be created by those uncompromisingly engaged in the struggle for the Black empowerment. Put simply, Black poems are born when the pen forcefully strikes the page, angered by the weak "negroleader" who emasculates himself and his people by performing fellatio between the "sheriff's thighs . . . [while] negotiating coolly for his people" (Baraka 303). Art has power, but it needs

powerful determination. Blacks cannot plead to politicians who do not represent or negotiate for them (Baraka 302). In between his violent lines, Baraka calls for art with power, art that produces change, and artists who are willing to write the change and affect it. He is arguing that utilitarian art arms people with the defenses necessary to combat an unjust system. Baraka believes that a true Black artist equips his people to deal with those “cops” and individuals who are symbolic of a violent system (Baraka 302). Therefore, by figuratively bringing “fire and death to whities ass,” art can convince its readers that they can literally do so (Baraka 302).

Furthermore, Baraka tells “Black people [to] understand/ that they are . . . / sons/ of warriors” because the “sons/ of warriors Are poems &/ poets” (Baraka 303). Black artists are not just descendants of warriors. They are warriors themselves. As warriors, they can practice arts that free them from “racist, Irish policemen,” “rich Jews” who control the neighborhood, and “sell-out” Black politicians (Baraka 302). Baraka exclaims: “We want a Black poem. And a/ Black World” (Baraka 303). BAM artists want Black poetry. They want action they control that does not sit quietly pleading for acceptance. Black art will not ask its people to be “refin’d” and to “join th’ angelic train” of White America (Wheatley 220). Remembering their warrior lineage, Black artists will become people who “clean out the world for virtue and love” and create art that “[screams] poison gas on beasts” of all forms (Baraka 303). Often, warriors fight for someone else’s peace. Japanese samurai often fought for the visions of peace of others. Baraka calls for the Black warriors of his era to fight for their own visions. When he said, “Let the world be a Black poem,” he meant to let Blacks create a reality and an aestheticism that they control through the agency of the warriors they descended from and could become.

Baraka wants all Black people to claim a dormant warriorhood. However, can he literally mean that African Americans are born from lines of warriors? And, even if they are, is there truly significance to claiming this history? When Baraka speaks of artistic warriorhood, he is making a tie between art and conflict and how a poet can be a ground worker or warrior for Black Power. Yet, he is also making the claim that all activist-artists are inheritors of the warrior legacy. And, though Baraka never explicitly mentions martial arts, his repeated use of “warrior” suggests the intertwining of aesthetics, self-determination, and self-defense that martial artists practice. Martial artists are literally warrior-artists, aesthetically trained in combat arts meant to be defensive acts of defiance.

A corroboration of this intertwining can be found in the life and work of an undefeated swordsman of feudal

Japan, Miyamoto Musashi. He is considered a grandfather of modern Japanese martial arts and of *bushido*, which means way [*dō*] of the *bushi* or “warrior” (Musashi xvi). Musashi’s classic, *The Book of Five Rings: A Classic Text on the Japanese Way of the Sword*, has been a pivotal text for practitioners of Japanese martial arts. It “analyzes the process of struggle and mastery over conflict that underlies every level of human interaction” (Musashi, back page). He uses it to delineate a clear tie between artist and martial artist within the warrior. His initial statement about “the way of warriors” is that it requires “familiarity with both cultural and martial arts,” an implication Baraka also makes (Musashi 5). Since Baraka has already reminded Black artists that they are the offspring of warriors, it is natural that they practice both the “cultural” arts, such as poetry writing and music making, and the “martial” arts, such as karate and jujitsu. Moreover, it is possible for them to use martial arts in their engagement with cultural self-determination.

Subsequently, Musashi says true martial arts have to be practiced in “such a way that they will be useful at any time” and taught in “such a way that they will be useful in all things” (Musashi 6). This is the core principle of Baraka’s “Black art.” If martial arts are meant to be useful, then Baraka constructs a logical argument about African American warriors. The warrior Baraka describes fits the definition standardized by Musashi. Because martial arts are utilitarian arts by definition, Baraka’s warriors can produce and practice martial arts that fit under the broader category of “Black art.” What are the martial arts if not arts that directly speak to their practitioners’ realities? Karate, born on the Japanese-occupied territory of Okinawa, grew out of the flames of subjugation. Karate-Do, or the Way [*Dō*] of the Empty [*Kara*] Hand [*Te*], resulted from an ordinance that specified that Okinawans could not carry weapons. Their traditional martial art further developed under the reality of their situation; i.e., the necessity to defend themselves despite being denied basic rights. Okinawans transformed farm tools into extensions of their empty hands, creating the weapons that *karatekas*, or students of karate, avidly study today: staffs that carried buckets of water, specialty knives that cut bamboo, and sickles that threshed wheat. If the Okinawans developed karate as “actionary” art to their reality, African Americans can certainly use it as a reactionary art to their reality. Karate can be just as useful to the Black community as the poems of Baraka and Sanchez.

Almost prophetically, Musashi proclaimed that in “individual martial arts also, you can threaten by means of your body, you can threaten by means of your sword, and you can threaten by means of your voice” (Musashi 63). If being a warrior means threatening through your body, the tool or “sword” at your disposal, and your voice, the enactors of Black empowerment fit this mold. The martial

artists, or “body,” worked in conjunction with Black Power organizations, the “sword,” and BAM poets, the “voice.” Together, they can engage in “flustering opponents . . . in such a way as to prevent them from [maintaining] a steady mind” and crushing Black Power (Musashi 64).

We find a direct link between Musashi’s widely-cited warrior philosophy and Baraka’s warrior poetry in the life and teachings of Shaha, or “learned elder,” Mfundishi Maasi. A Jersey boy whose given name is William Nichols, Shaha Maasi was born in 1941 and has been practicing the martial arts since his days as a young man in the Marine Corps. Stationed at the Quonset Point Naval Air Station in Rhode in 1959, he and his fellows trained in karate, jujutsu, and judo under a staff sergeant who had studied the first in Okinawa and the latter two in Japan. A year later, he would study kempo under a platoon sergeant at Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii. After returning to Newark in 1962, he began training under James Cheatham, the sensei and operator of the only Black dojo in the city. Master James Cheatham demanded much from his student’s physical training. Maasi transitioned well into study under Cheatham because the challenges, physicality, and discipline fit well with the “state of mind” he had developed in the service (Maasi). Cheatham was a member of the Nation of Islam’s Newark chapter and taught many of the Fruit of Islam [FOI], or young men’s division, members. Maasi would himself become responsible for providing the martial arts instruction to Newark’s Mosque #25. Looking back, Maasi remarks that it was highly “rewarding to see Black men unified toward a common purpose” through his instruction (Maasi). When Cheatham died in a plane crash in 1966, his school disbanded, and Maasi founded his own school, the Hakeem Martial Arts Association. This particular school remained open until the “insurrection”—or the infamous Newark Riot of 1967 (Maasi). Maasi recalls “that pretty much shut everything down,” as Newark had one of the most violent and serious riots during that “Long, Hot Summer of 1967” (Maasi).

During the turbulence of the late 1960s, Maasi also became the bodyguard for Amiri Baraka (Hinton 85). This proximity to Baraka’s mind only furthered Maasi’s own intellectual curiosities. Despite Newark’s sociopolitical problems, writers and activists like Baraka “facilitated a rising or broadening of consciousness” (Maasi 2013). In fact, Maasi considers the time a “Black renaissance” (Maasi 2013). From the beginning, he sought cultivation of his mind and body. He read through martial arts classics by karate grandmasters Mas Oyama and Hidetaka Nishiyama while sweating through Cheatham’s workouts (Hinton 87). Soon his “body” met the “voice” of Baraka’s poetry, and together they became part of the warrior community wielding the “sword,” working together on the Committee for a Unified NewArk [CFUN]. CFUN was founded for the primary purpose of mobilizing

Newark’s African American community (Woodward 44). Specifically, it sought to involve African Americans in shaping the politics and economic policies of the city (Smethurst 80).

By being in the environment of Baraka the literary artist, Maasi the martial artist became exposed to the former’s belief that African Americans should proudly claim the achievements of their African ancestors. Baraka’s own research into African contributions to global civilization, culture, and advancement impacted Maasi greatly. Maasi related them to martial arts: if martial arts are cultural arts and Africans contributed to world culture, African Americans are or can be present-day cultural warriors of martial arts (Hinton 92). Alan Lee, a master of soft Chinese styles, taught Maasi that the global origins of martial arts need to be traced back, before China and India, to Egypt (Hinton 92–93). Is it a coincidence that Kara Katash, an African martial art loosely translated to “Black Mongo,” has the “kara” of karate? Is it a coincidence that in both terms, Kara is the descriptor, meaning “black” in the first and “empty” in the second?

Thus, it is not surprising that the arts Maasi learned in the military became useful teachings for him to share with his Newark community. If African Americans had a hand in the cultural history of martial arts via their lineage, would it not make sense for them to utilize these arts again in the twentieth century? For Maasi, a true master is not simply a “dojo master” or someone who succeeds on wooden floors and in front of glass mirrors. A real master translates his skills onto the streets and into the political spheres of Newark just as samurai translated their skills onto the battlefield. Training is not useful if it has not been tested; one has to face “death many times” in the face of a threatening White socioeconomic and political society (Hinton 91). One has to be “isolated on mountaintops” of organizing meetings, meditating about the next step (Hinton 91). One has to succeed on the battlefield, as when the Committee for a Unified NewArk helped elect Kenneth Gibson, the first Black mayor of Newark (Hinton 85).

Maasi argues that the entirety of life is a test and a “battle ground” (Hinton 92). Thus, being an African American martial artist during the Black Power era goes beyond the act of defending the body from police or fighting White society. For Maasi, being a warrior means understanding the struggles of your brothers and advocating on behalf of them. Being a warrior means fighting tirelessly to service your community and its children and their public school education. Being a warrior means fighting for streets that are safe for anyone of any age to walk down without fear of assault or murder. Thus, African American warriors develop at the juncture where the classical warrior of Musashi fuses with the modern, urban warrior of Baraka.

They go “beyond what’s happening to me [or the “I”] to what’s happening to [the] people” (Hinton 92).

Post Civil Rights Movement, African Americans were tasked with seeing the reality of the “condition of our [their] people” (Maasi 2013). Given the ethos of the era, action needed to be taken by individuals not fearful of the consequences. Before men and women could take up the ranks as the community’s first line of defense, they had to defend and interrogate their own identities. Black youth were still growing up in a society that shaped their self-images in negative ways. Black theorists did their part to undermine this by identifying how the images started and persisted. Martial arts instructors also played a crucial role by supplying a means of overriding these images, defeating them, and washing them out of communities. Mfundishi Maasi’s own goal was to train individuals who, rather than instilling fear in others, “moved beyond fear” themselves (Maasi 2013). “Having moved beyond fear,” he explains, “the warrior is able to be compassionate as well as disciplined” (Maasi 2013). Fearless warriors stand at the forefront of battles, and Maasi was training his warriors to be at the vanguard of a sociocultural war with their city.

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User Interface for a Multi-Robot System Network: Maximum Area Triangulation Problem

JahTrent Smith, *Rice University*

JahTrent Smith has been studying computer science for six years since high school in Dallas, TX. He hopes to receive his BS in computer science with a focus on robotics from Rice University in May of 2015. He aims to promote youth interest in the technology fields while earning his PhD.

Abstract

This paper presents my contribution to the Multi-Robot Systems Lab solution to solving the Maximum Area Triangulation Problem (MATP). The solution is to produce a covering and exploration of an unknown environment by a fixed number of robots such that the covered region is maximized. The resulting triangulations represent a physical data structure that is a compact representation of the environment. My job was to visualize the characteristics of the network on a computer screen and create a Graphical User Interface (GUI) that will aid in researching the algorithm.

In the Multi-Robot Systems Lab, we use an industriously advanced and low-cost robot called the r-one, which makes it practical for large-scale systems.ⁱ Many practical applications of multi-robot systems, such as search-and-rescue, exploration, mapping, and surveillance require robots to disperse across a relatively large geographic area. Unlike single robots (or small teams), large populations can maintain coverage of the environment after the dispersion is complete, which is ideal for surveillance or monitoring applications. However, these networks become increasingly complex as the network size increases or the transmission speed, megabits per second (Mbps), is altered for communication. Thus it becomes important for the observers of these networks to visualize the flow of data or an individual robot's error messages.

The r-one has a 2.4GHz radio with 2Mbps data rate that it uses to communicate on a physical radio network with the other r-one robots. Figure 1(a) shows the r-one robot and its radio sensor. With these attributes, the robots are able to determine any state or network information that the other robots wish to transmit. Within this robot communication network, the explorative triangulation algorithm is executed through each addition of a robot to the current network configuration.



(a) The r-one robot

(b) Robot network

Figure 1(a). This r-one robot is in host mode, so it is receiving radio transmissions from the network in Figure 1(b) and providing the user's serial port with information from every robot.

Figure 1(b). This robot network has some robots with APRIL Tags that are providing position information to the APRIL camera in Figure 3.

The author of this explorative triangulation algorithm, and my coworker, is SeoungKyoŏ Lee, who is a current graduate student of Rice University. His approach to exploring an unknown space starts with two "gate" robots that are placed at the entrance of the unexplored space. By adding one robot at a time, with each robot creating one triangle, the network builds upon itself and results in some robots "discovering" other triangles in the process of creating its own. Figure 2 illustrates this process more in depth.

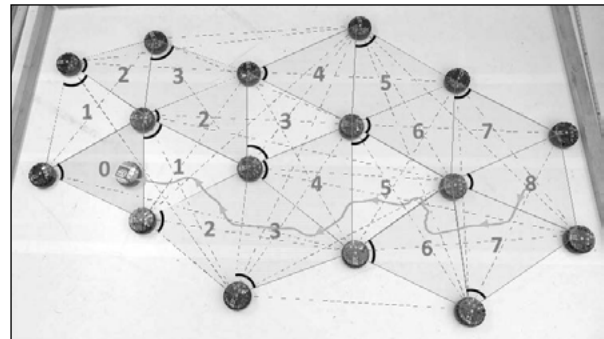
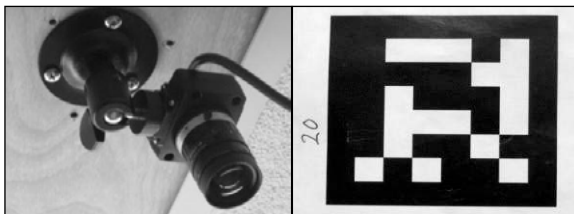


Figure 2. A sample triangulation and navigation experiment result with 17 r-one robots. Each robot either creates a new triangle (dark green triangles) by moving toward unexplored regions or discovers a new triangle (light green triangles) by examining local network geometry. Each robot distinguishes the planar network of triangulation from the original radio network in dashed gray lines, and builds a distributed physical data structure by storing all information of triangles that each robot creates or discovers. This physical data structure guides a robot from any initial location to goal triangle by broadcasting hop information of each triangle to its adjacent triangles. Each number is the minimum number of triangle "hops" needed to get to the goal triangle from any given triangle. The red arrow line depicts the trajectory of the sample navigation test from the start (rightmost) triangle to the goal (red) triangle.

In order for the robots to be visualized, a global positioning system must be interpreted so that the robots can be plotted to scale on a screen. The Multi-Robot Systems lab uses an APRIL Tag camera calibration suiteⁱⁱ which uses a set of APRIL Tag families allowing a unique black-and-white gridded pattern matching system to each robot. For simplification, each robot has an APRIL Tag that matches its assigned internal and external identification number. Figure 3 shows

the APRIL camera and an example of an APRIL Tag for a designated r-one.

My goal was to further our understanding and applicability of the Triangulation Algorithm by bringing these two data systems (the radio and the APRIL camera) together to create a program that displays the positions of the robots to scale while providing key information about the algorithm such as network size, triangle data, or history of the network. However, the APRIL Tag system only provides a position/orientation to ID matching scheme. The real visualization of the network comes from the radio communication system.



(a) The APRIL camera

(b) APRIL Tag for the number 20

Figure 3(a). This camera is mounted on the ceiling above the experimentation space.

Figure 3(b). These APRIL Tags are placed on robots below the camera so that the camera can provide global positioning system for the robots.

The GUI is only able to receive information about the network through connecting one of the r-one robots to a serial port on a computer using a USB cable. We alter the state of this robot slightly to become a host robot so that it can receive messages instead of transmitting them. The GUI reads from the data on the designated serial port to determine the messages that the other r-one robots are broadcasting. The encoding of the messages that are transmitted are also purely under programmer domain. Thus a message protocol was established for the data parser to understand and decode what the robots transmit. It is formatted based on a series of tokens that are delimited by spaces. The tokens are then split into smaller sub-tokens delimited by commas. For example, a token containing triangle information may look something like:

t,12,19,2, 19,13,3

This can be interpreted as follows: the first sub-token represents the character, *t*, which lets the parser know to interpret the remaining sub-tokens having the format of a triangle token. The next two sub-tokens tell us that robots with the IDs 12 and 19 compose the left and right vertices of the triangle respectively. The fourth sub-token gives us more information on this triangle. Any multiple of three sub-tokens following the first four represents a different type of triangle, constructed versus discovered. So in this case, another triangle was formed from the robot transmitting this

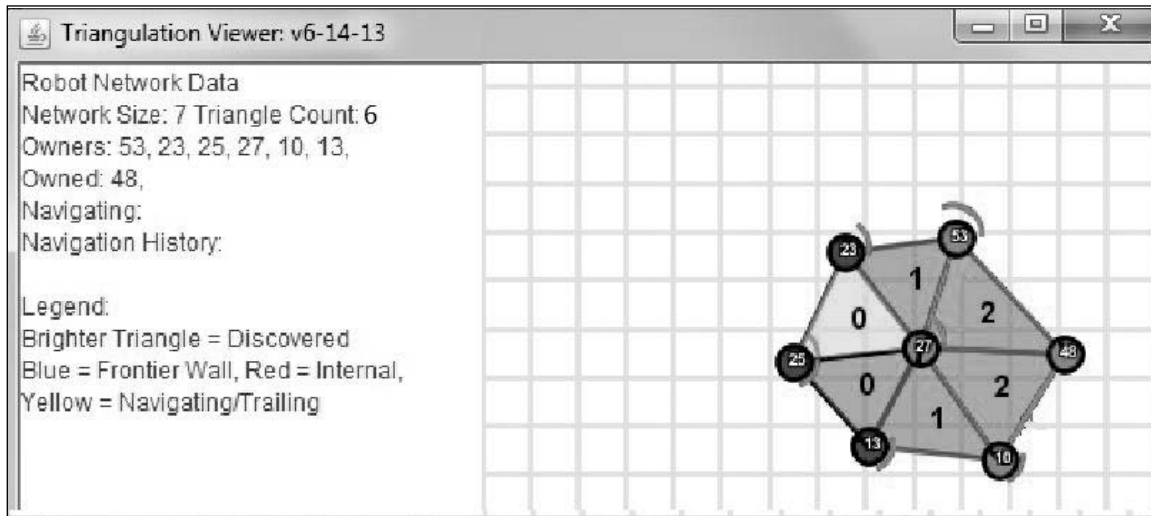
message with robots 19 and 13. Using this principal of transmitting radio messages, any information the algorithm determines or computes within the scope of the user interface can be interpreted for displaying purposes.

The most challenging aspect of this project comes from combining these two data systems. The APRIL camera transmits its information on a server through a Local Area Network. Various clients such as my program connect to the server to request the service that the APRIL camera provides. The position information is updated on a separate computer that has to remain connected to the APRIL camera. On the other hand, the GUI can be executed on any platform that supports Java. The GUI's challenge is to synchronize a transmitted message from a certain robot to the correct position of that robot from the APRIL camera. For this to happen, the client connected to the APRIL camera needs to have position information at the same time the GUI is parsing a transmission from that robot. To increase the probability of this happening, we operate the radio transmissions and the APRIL Tag server at full speeds. In theory, this allows the GUI to update in real time without lag through a high synchronization ratio.

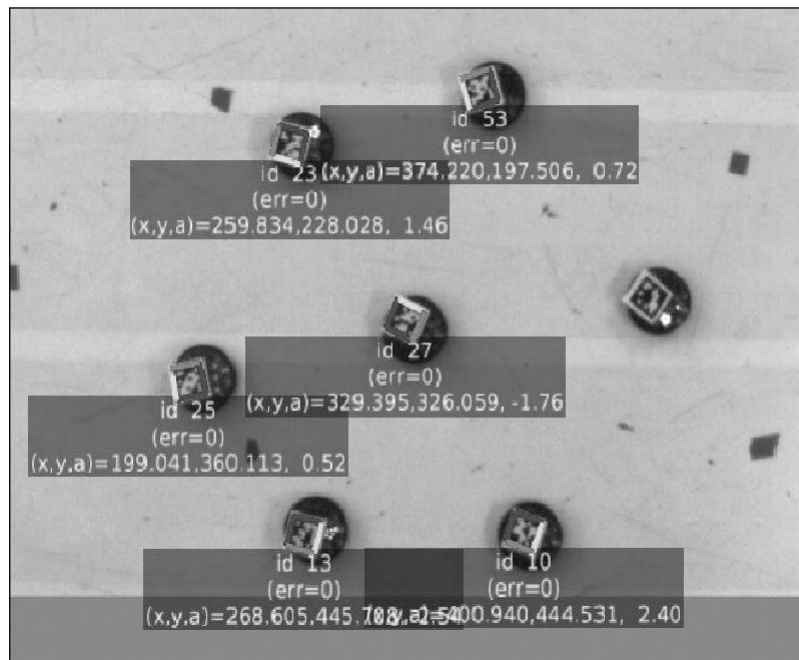
In order to make storing and displaying information a contained duality, I supplemented a library that uses synchronization-based data structures to display the desired objects. Thus, each object displayed on the GUI has a state in computer memory that is updated and maintained containing its network, position, and display information. We save this information, because the APRIL camera and the radio network both have noise which results in gaps in transmissions or robots that disappear from time to time. The GUI updates and upkeep the current data while simultaneously displaying and retrieving new data filtered for error. Figure 4 shows the actual orientation of the network (APRIL camera perspective) with the view from the GUI perspective.

The provided package for the GUI allows the user to understand the network and find any problems or bugs in the algorithm. For example, each triangle has a variable called hops provided in the triangle token. The hops of a triangle are determined based on its distance from the first triangle. So all triangles touching the first triangle have hops equal to one and any at the next level have a hops equal to two and so forth. For large networks, it becomes tedious to check each individual robot for the messages it transmits, but the GUI allows the user to visualize all incoming and previous data.

Large multi-robot networks need to be monitored for troubleshooting and tracking purposes. This GUI package has been and will be abstracted and used for future experiments in which the radio and position data for an r-one network need to be studied. By further abstracting the



(a) View from the GUI



(b) View from the APRIL camera

Figure 4(a). This program takes the information from the radio network and the APRIL camera in (b) to create this interface for understanding the network.

Figure 4(b). This program is run on another computer to visualize what the camera server observes before it sends it to its clients.

input parameters, a user can define the type of formatted data the GUI should expect from any r-one network, similar to the triangle tokens mentioned above. All of the robots are loaded with the same program, so the data that they all output is of the same format but in large volume. The GUI is capable of extracting large amounts of data from the robot network and combining (if necessary) it with other data sources to create a robust and adaptable tool for aiding research.

Acknowledgments

I worked with some exceptionally talented people this summer. I would like to thank Dr. McLurkin for being my Mellon Mays mentor, S.K. Lee for his insightful help and support, and Jamar Brooks, who is a second-year undergraduate at MIT who branched my work for another type of GUI.

Endnotes

- i J. McLurkin, A. Lynch, S. Rixner, T. Barr, A. Chou, K. Foster, and S. Bilstein, “A low-cost multi-robot system for research, teaching, and outreach,” Proc. of the Tenth Int. Symp. on Distributed Autonomous Robotic Systems DARS-10, November.
- ii APRIL Robotics Laboratory. “Camera Suite.” APRIL Robotics. Wiki. Web. June 2013.

What Remains to be Seen: An Exploration of Intersectionality through Cinematic Representations of Black Women's Rape

Diana Ruíz, *Duke University*

Diana Ruíz recently graduated with high distinction from Duke University, where she majored in women's studies and earned a certificate in Arts of the Moving Image. Her academic projects and filmmaking reflect her engagement with feminist, queer, and critical race theories.

Abstract

In this excerpt from my 2013 women's studies honors thesis, I argue that filmic representations of Black women's rape offer a unique insight into intersectionality as a key feminist methodology. In the longer text, I historicize and analyze Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985), Spike Lee's *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), and Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* (1991) in order to show the filmic language and performative functions that many representations of Black women's rape share. Shaped by patriarchy, slavery, and capitalism, I consider Black women's rape on film as a cultural artifact and phenomenon designed to normalize the denigration of Black women's bodies, sexuality, and agency. I hope to point towards future possibilities of representing the historical weight and lived realities of Black women's rape; I read these films for what they have made visible while also looking for what remains to be seen.

In this project, I aim to demonstrate the ways in which cinema may complicate, perpetuate, and re-present Black women's rape as a technology of Western, capitalist patriarchy that produced and continues a legacy of slavery. Filmic representations of Black women's rape also provide a rich landscape for interrogating the limits of intersectionality as the main framework for theorizing Black women's subjectivity and epistemic positioning. Drawing from its roots in gender and legal studies,¹ I am interested in using intersectionality as a lens because it offers a paradigm for evaluating the political purchase and weight of race, gender, and sexuality on screen. To be clear, my use and understanding of intersectionality is one that rejects the notion that multiple identities can be disarticulated from one another or hierarchized; intersectionality dreams of the possibility of subjects moving through a world that values the significance of plural identities and their overlapping, flowing, and unpredictable relationship with one another. Film's temporal malleability and infinite representational possibilities offers an opportunity to deepen and bring to vision multiple intersections of gender, race, and sexuality at work in the living history of Black women's rape.

Crafting alternative filmic representations of sexual violence against Black women may intervene in strongholds of historico-ideological production and move towards a radical reclamation or revisionist agendas of Black women's race, gender, and sexuality. The history of cinema is rife with

degrading and exploitive images of hypersexualized and sexually abused Black women; these representations ameliorate the manifestation of larger social anxieties and assurance of cultural and lived domination. Recent years have produced alternative narratives and images contesting the legacy of Black women's rape on screen. In my full project, I consider Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985), Spike Lee's *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), and Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* (1991) as case studies, reading them for both their limitations and their contributions to representing Black women's rape as a particular, historically situated facet of Black women's lived experiences. *The Color Purple*, *She's Gotta Have It*, and *Daughters of the Dust* form a constellation based on several points of convergence. They feature Black women as the central figures of the film's narrative, they deal with the presence of rape in Black women's lives (as an event, as a constant fear or threat), and they all emerged at a moment of political and social gain for Black women in the United States as a result of anti-sexist and anti-racist work of the decades preceding their production. What is at stake in interrogating the messages encoded in filmic representations of Black women's rape is the prospect of what Black women's sexuality, subjectivity, and lived experiences can look and feel like and the potential for broadening these images. *The Color Purple*, *She's Gotta Have It*, and *Daughters of the Dust* reveal the impact of Black feminism in U.S. cinema. These three films chart a history of depictions of sexual violence forced upon Black women, point towards certain gains, and attest to what remains to be seen. Their complex contributions vary by how they articulate their aesthetic and political filmmaking practices, yet they all work with similar elements of the psychic and material consequences of enslavement, rape, and the limited understandings of Black women's sexuality they produce.

Cinematic representations of rape reveal a matrix of power and values written upon the violated bodies on screen. Rape is a means and an end by which patriarchy secures women's subordination by negating their subjectivity, their agency, and insisting on their silence; it is both the act and the threat that haunts the ways that women are able to move through the world. Rape permeates society in several ways. I consider rape in some of its many forms: as a concrete event in film, as a cultural phenomenon, and as a technology of patriarchy. We derive what we think rape is (or isn't) from our particular vantage points and modes of access to prevailing ideologies in our cultural landscape. The cinematic apparatus normalizes the circumstances that warrant or mollify rape as well as whom to accept and expect as rape's victims and perpetrators.

Watching rape on film, viewers visually and psychically participate in the desire to see women's subordination, which in turn ensures patriarchy's stability. When the violated

woman is Black, we witness the messy convergence of gendered denigration with racial domination inextricable from the history of enslavement. Black feminist scholars such as Angela Davis, Darlene Clark Hine, and Hazel Carby have shaped the body of knowledge linking the intersections of race, gender, rape, and enslavement. As Angela Davis makes clear, “Rape itself was an essential weapon utilized by the White master to reinforce the authority of his ownership of Black women. . . . Rape served not only to further her oppression, but also as a means of terrorizing the entire Black community.”ⁱⁱ Envisioning different sets of Black women’s images poses a challenge, since the cinematic apparatus thrives on the degradation of Black women’s images and is, therefore, complicit in crafting and perpetuating a dehumanizing iconography of Black women. The visual cue of a Black woman’s body in film has been shaped to signify particular tropes: rape, sexual excess, and the ease with which Black women’s bodies are controlled under patriarchy. Black women’s bodies are synecdoche for a larger history of patriarchal, capitalistic dominance. Raped by her master and forced to breed with other slaves under captivity, Black women’s sexuality still bears the scars of their assigned cultural value under slavery. Depicted as seductive, alluring, lewd, and even predatory in their promiscuity, the figure of the Jezebel encouraged Black women’s sexual shaming.ⁱⁱⁱ Against this deep-rooted set of images, I hope to demonstrate how rape absorbs and organizes histories of Black women’s cultural capital and how hegemonic and radical forces or institutions utilize film to construct a Black women’s discourse. By Black women’s cultural capital, I am referring to the language, images, stories, and affective realms associated with Black women that lead to or limit their social mobility in a White supremacist patriarchal society; the cinematic apparatus often shapes these elements. Through the images they put forward, each of the films I consider work toward revising the historic distortions of Black women’s filmic representation and filling in the gaps where they have been erased completely. In doing so, these films articulate desires for alternative representations of Black women’s lived experiences.

Although rape on film can certainly solidify perceptions of Black women as exploitable ground, film’s ability to simultaneously depict multiple viewpoints and a scope of subjective experience make it an important place and method of exploring intersectionality’s claims about Black women’s value. Among its other features, film’s materiality and temporal malleability allow for a unique engagement with intersectionality’s intricacies and complications. Influential feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey calls attention to film’s “privileged relation to time,” which upon “preserving the moment at which the image is registered, inscrib[es] an unprecedented reality into its representation of the past.” In depicting rape, film represents diegetic power relationships

between the victims and perpetrators; these power relationships as well as the ideological implications the filmic rape is steeped in are crystallized and recast whenever the film is played.^{iv} Rape on film adopts a kind of facticity through its permanence across time. Through my readings of *The Color Purple*, *She’s Gotta Have It*, and *Daughters of the Dust*, I hope to illuminate the ways in which film is uniquely equipped to articulate, explore, and “grapple with the messiness of subjectivity” within intersectionality’s framework.^v I would like to see rape visually materialized as intersecting images formed by attention to contested histories of Black women’s rape and plural iterations of lived experience surrounding rape, all while resisting the voyeuristic representation of rape that proliferates in cinematic history.

As an important tool for exploring this race and gendered intersection to which Black women’s rape on film attests, Kimberlé Crenshaw’s notion of intersectionality unpacks the meeting points and overlapping locations of oppression for Black women’s race and gender.^{vi} According to critical theorist Jennifer C. Nash, Crenshaw’s argument doesn’t account for the complexity of Black women’s subjectivity and plurality of experiences. Working with Black feminist values such as the differences in experience that proliferate under the category of “woman,” I build upon Nash’s critique in order to demonstrate how filmic representations of Black women’s rape can reveal a world in which Black women’s experiences and subjectivities are varied, multifaceted, and told from their own perspective. In this paper and in my own filmmaking practice, I am interested in reparative, reclamatory filmic representations of Black women’s rape that articulate the “messiness of subjectivity” Nash meditates upon. By “reparative” representations of Black women, I mean that I would like to see the weighty and consequential history of sexual violence in Black women’s lives accounted for and validated as a major socio-historical phenomenon that continues to shape the treatment of Black women in the United States. Alongside this project of collective memory, my desire to see a “reclamatory” representation involves opening up the space for Black women to reclaim or re-imagine what Black female sexuality could look like without the denial that rape represents, or more agential ways to express sexuality.

Film allows us to explore the “contradictions, absences, and murkiness”^{vii} of intersectionality, to illuminate the nuances and details that proliferate within and between identity markers such as Black and woman. We can read films in search of who we are, who the cinematic apparatus wants us to be, and how we come to identify in the world. Rape on film has narrowly determined many of these trajectories. Through formal stylistic and narrative choices that I detail in my longer thesis, we witness how films such as *Daughters of the Dust* open the possibilities for Black women’s identities

not to be cast as unitary but instead as constantly negotiating race and gender as processes shaped by ideology.

Building on films such as *Dash's*, my ideal film explores some of the breadth of experience under the rubrics of identity politics that are profoundly meaningful and vital to some while also countering this notion with accounts of exclusion, insufficiency, and resistance to identity markers and categories. My ideal film "about" sexual violence against Black women would indeed motion towards collectivity in its form and content, but it would express utopia in a plural, inconclusive, open-ended voice and visual economy. Perhaps filmed through visual metaphor or spoken through poetry, sexual violence would permeate the film in a nebulous, hazy way. Its imprecision and abstraction would resist the political purchase of legibility so that it could not be taken up for exploitation under a dominating gaze or institution, thereby denying the traditional spectacle of rape entirely. In an effort to imagine uncolonized bodies, the camera would not frame, cut, or fragment the body into commodities and fetishes. Women's bodies and sexuality would be reconstituted as independent of and resistant to the economy of the male gaze. My ideal film would respond to the historical and lived crisis of Black women's rape while gesturing towards a notion of gender difference that does not rely on the threat of rape.

This envisioning is indeed utopian, but I would not want to see a film completely removed from the way we have been trained to understand the signs and the narratives of rape. Instead, the film would cultivate critical viewing practices, leaving the spectator uncomfortable with the production of rape as a technology of patriarchal capitalism and hopeful towards crafting a new vocabulary for interpreting sexual violence under dominating institutions.

What remains to be seen in cinematic representations of Black women's rape is a kind of filmic space that allows for plural, contradictory, fragmented, dynamic, and unpredictable intersections of identity, experience, and meaning.

Endnotes (Chicago Style)

- ⁱ Kimberlé Crenshaw. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics." *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989).
- ⁱⁱ Angela Davis. "JoAnne Little: The Dialectics of Rape" in *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*. Edited by Joy James. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1998), 154.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 69.
- ^{iv} Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second*. (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2006), 9.

^v Jennifer C. Nash, "Re-thinking Intersectionality." *Feminist Review* 89 (2008): 4.

^{vi} Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241.

^{vii} Nash, 3.

The Twilight Between the Victim and the Perpetrator

Margaret Wang, *Princeton University*

Margaret Wang is a senior studying East Asian studies with a certificate in teacher preparation at Princeton University. She hopes to pursue a joint law degree and PhD after graduating to study comparative education policy between the United States and China. Her research currently focuses on how English education in China has affected the achievement gap between rural and urban schools. She loves to run in her spare time and hopes to own a bakery shop in the future.

Abstract

This paper examines the implications of race relations that emerged after the Los Angeles riots and the Rodney King trial in 1992 by putting literature, specifically Anne Deavere Smith's *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992*, in conversation with the legal case *Koon v. United States* (1996). Whereas *Koon v. United States* appeared to simplify racial antagonism through the quantification of injury, *Twilight* challenges the boundary between the role of a victim and a perpetrator and thus questions the traditional direction of blame in tort cases. Through Smith's analysis of the ambiguity of boundaries that exists in both public discourse and the legal area, the calamity of the Los Angeles race riots that ensued even after the cases reached an official verdict questions the objectivity of the judicial system.

On April 29, 1992, the Los Angeles riots erupted after the Rodney King trial verdict, leading to 53 deaths, 2,000 injuries, 7,000 arrests, and \$1 billion in property damage. The material damage, however, was supplementary to the psychological calamity that quickly ensued from this event. Following the acquittal of the four White police officers who brutally beat Rodney King, the resurfacing Black-versus-White racial conflict contrasted King's lugubrious plea of "Can we all get along?" with violence, looting, and destruction. The conventional race-relations model also gradually became complicated when this racialized discord began to involve Hispanic Americans and Korean Americans. As minorities, or the supposed "victims," victimized each other as a form of grief, the direction of blame became further convoluted by the aftermath of this riot (Cheng 176).

The complexity of the riot led to two significant yet different reactions: one of jurisprudence and one of literature. In the realm of jurisprudence, one of the officers, Stacey Koon, was given a light sentence of thirty months for violating King's civil rights. After a Court of Appeals rejected that 1993 ruling, however, the case was considered again in *Koon v. United States* (1996). The 1996 Supreme Court decision sided with Koon, five to four, and therefore did not lead to a stricter sentence.

As for the literary reaction, Anna Deavere Smith explored the "shades of that loss" through a one-woman play that portrayed the diverse voices of public perception. She based the material on 200 interviews she personally conducted following the King case and the L.A. riots (Smith xxi). In *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992*, she mimicked the words, articulation, accent, mannerisms, and dress of these real-life characters to create a montage of "the race canvas in America" (Smith xxi). The revaluation of the civil rights case in *Koon v. United States* seemingly confirmed firm boundaries between the roles of the victim versus the perpetrator by quantifying the degree of injury through departure determinations, which was a standard of review procedure the court used to methodically recalculate the length of imprisonment. However, by complicating the direction of blame and abstracting the term "enemy," *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992* questioned the objectivity of the sentencing guidelines and problematized the simplification of roles in racial tension.

The merging of two (often separate) lenses of race relations illuminates the current law's inability to completely resolve the King trials and, thus, other racialized tort cases. This loss is evident through the frustration and calamity of the L.A. race riots that followed even after the cases reached an official verdict.

In determining the offense level and the length of Koon's punishment, the sentencing guidelines in the tort case's verdict seemingly clarified who to blame and how much to blame in the King trials. The 1993 *U.S. v. Koon* had originally established Koon as the perpetrator of 18 USC §242 (the deprivation of rights under color of law), which clearly dichotomized Koon as the White injurer and King as the Black victim. In fact, even the severity of the punishment seemed to be objectively calculated through the U.S. Sentencing Commission Guidelines Manual, a standardized sentencing procedure used in the federal courts system to calculate the severity of the crime and a corresponding punishment. Based on the committal of civil rights violation and the severity of injury, the adjusted offense level was determined to be twenty-seven out of forty-three, which was high enough to mandate seventy to eighty-seven months of imprisonment. The manual also established guidelines for upgrading or downgrading the offense level through an analysis of the context in the crime, outlined by departure determinations. Therefore, due to 1) King's violent resistance to arrest, 2) "widespread publicity and emotional outrage which have surrounded this case" leading to possible prison abuse, 3) "successive state and federal prosecutions," 4) "Koon's clean criminal record," and 5) "anguish and disgrace these deprivations [such as job disqualification] entail," the offense level was lowered to nineteen, thus sentencing him to merely thirty months of imprisonment for violating another man's civil rights (Koon). Although

seemingly lenient, the rigid evaluation system appeared to provide an objective procedure to determine blame in racialized tort cases, simplifying racial antagonism into merely two agents with a quantified degree of injury.

The decision, however, was inconclusive. Disagreements over the amount of injury and blame led to *Koon v. United States* (1996), which focused on the controversy of whether the departure determinations should have actually mitigated the punishment. On the surface, *Koon v. United States* focused strictly on the appellant's and Sentencing Commission's scope of power, or, in other words, the standard review and exact procedure in determining departures (Hofer 8). But, as the Commission admitted, "It is difficult to prescribe a single set of guidelines that encompasses the vast range of human conduct potentially relevant to a sentencing decision," therefore alluding to the actual conflict of determining the level of injury and blame (Koon). After all, the bases for departures implied that outside factors such as societal pressure and the actions of others inherently affected the level of offense, obscuring who or what exactly are the perpetrators. Secondly, the back-and-forth cases aimed at revising the verdict echoed dissatisfaction with the sentencing guidelines and also highlighted the inability to accurately quantify blame and injury.

In parallel to the conflict of calculating departure determinations, Smith's exploration of the ambiguity of blame in *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992* recognized the false dichotomies of victim and perpetrator in the case on a literary level that sheds light on the dissonance in determining the tort case's verdict.

Specifically, Smith expanded the complexity of the conflict between the police (supposedly law-abiding citizens) and gang members (supposedly law-disobeying citizens)—which served in public discourse as a representation of White versus Black conflict—into a multifaceted "war zone" without strict boundaries between the various "sides."

Smith's ability to achieve this rested on the literary form of *Twilight*. She arranged the performative transcripts of each interviewee's testimony strategically in the sections Prologue, The Territory, Here's a Nobody, War Zone, and *Twilight* to culminate in a diversified understanding of the King trials. As Anne Cheng argues in *The Melancholy of Race*, Smith's docudrama "opened the audience up to a series of multiple 'presences' that flicker and vanish but do not wholly depart" (Cheng 173). Throughout the docudrama, the "flicker" produced a dissonance when the reader moved on to the next character, as exemplified in the first three testimonies: Rudy Salas, Sr.'s "My Enemy," Stanley K. Sheinbaum's "These Curious People," and Michael Zinzun's "When I Finally Got My Vision/Nightclothes." In "My

Enemy," Salas bluntly epitomized the *physical* enemy as the White cops by expressing his "insane hatred for White policemen" for brutally beating him and questioning his son because of his Hispanic background (Smith 3). Already, the stereotypical attachment of justice and good in police officers is contradicted, implying that the police could, in fact, take on the role of "the enemy."

This flickering echo of "enemy," however, contradicted the next testimony, from the former president of the Los Angeles Police Commission. Sheinbaum placed the policeman in a sympathetic light and as a possible victim by stating: "This city has abused the cops. Don't ever forget that" (15). Yet, once again, Smith created confusion with Zinzun's opening statement that followed: "I witnessed police abuse" (16). Smith's strategic oscillations removed these characters from associated groups, which have been conventionally cast as either victims or perpetrators. She valued the need for individual judgment and recognition of other injurious factors. These rapid transitions between narratives also gave meaning to the Rodney King case as more than a cop versus criminal or even White versus Black tension. After all, from the fluctuation of who is the victim or perpetrator, the police (or Whites) as a whole can no longer be blamed, and the criminal (or Blacks) as a whole can no longer be merely sympathized with. Smith's work highlighted the fact that, just as blame cannot be settled by easy appeal to the fixed group affiliation, blame cannot be based on mere sentencing guidelines. Blame is rendered as ambiguous, as this concept parallels the difficulty in reaching a satisfying verdict for the Rodney King trials.

Twilight's transition to the War Zone section goes beyond the issue of police abuse and Black versus White antagonism, exploring how the King trials perpetuated multiracial tension through the riots. However, the identification with being a victim or a perpetrator remains blurred, as characters in this "war zone" exhibit traits of being both the injurer and the injured. Cheng points out that, in Paul Parker's chauvinism against Korean Americans, he "consolidates his Blackness the way that Whiteness has historically consolidated itself: in counterdistinction to the racialized other" (Cheng 176). The victimization of Korean Americans, as portrayed in testimonies such as Mrs. Young-Soon Han in "Swallowing the Bitterness," also reflected the multiracial tension resulting from the seemingly simple Black versus White antagonism. As the Black victim mimicked the oppressive White perpetrator, Smith questioned the obvious objects of sympathy in the context of the King trials and the L.A. riots. Furthermore, even Parker (the White juror who acquitted Koon) exhibited the disposition of a victim. Smith presented this Parker as stating:

We've been portrayed as White racists./ One of the most disturbing things, and a lot of the jurors/ said that/ the thing that bothered them that they received in the mail/ more/ than anything else,/ more than the threats, was a letter from the KKK/ saying, "We support you, and if you need our help, if you want to join/ our organization,/ we'd welcome you into our fold."/ And we all just were: No, oh! God! (Smith, 73)

Through his testimony, Smith exposed the suffering of the least likely victim in the Rodney King trials. Although he is not completely a victim, he is also not completely a perpetrator since he victimizes another perpetrator. The disposition of the newly associated role does not negate the original, however; the characteristic of a perpetrator in Parker does not negate his victimization, and likewise it does not negate the White juror's role as a perpetrator. Specifically, these testimonies put these characters in the "twilight zone," or the limbo, between strictly being the victim or the perpetrator. Smith thereby blurred the direction of blame. Whereas the judicial reaction to the Los Angeles riots attempted to quantify blame by quantifying how much of an "enemy" one was, *Twilight* demonstrated the actual complexity of the racial riots. Smith's goal was not to redefine who was the "true" victim or the perpetrator. She affirmed that she was not trying to find a "solution to social problems," but rather to expose the arbitrary nature of these identifications (xxiv). After all, the identification depended on the various perspectives of each testimony. To some extent, this ambiguity of blame reveals that there is an inherent tension in these tort cases involving civil rights and racial violence since the law attempts to understand what is "typical" in order to follow sentencing commission guidelines that rely on one seemingly objective perspective.

Smith also re-analyzed and abstracted the term "enemy" to further convolute the direction of blame since the enemy became intangible and sometimes a mental infliction within the victim himself. In the section of *Twilight* that featured Gil Garcetti's "Magic," Garcetti attempted to define the aura that classifies police officers as the opposite of an enemy—a law-abiding, trustworthy citizen. He stated: "For the most part people have a respect for police,/ even people who are annoyed by police./ At least in a courtroom setting/ that *magic* comes in" (74). Although Garcetti tried to rationalize this sense of trust, he failed to clearly identify the stipulations of attaining this trust. Instead, he reverted to an abstract feeling, a sentiment based on instincts and ungrounded supernaturalism: magic. His inability to legitimize the trust towards police officers forces us to re-evaluate the conditions that one has for a "friend" and, therefore, the opposite—the "enemy." Do we arbitrarily determine who is the enemy based on subjective typecasts?

At this point in Smith's docudrama, the narrator on stage is herself reminded of the definition of enemy in the prologue. She then returns to Salas's testimony, "My Enemy." Although Salas initially labeled the enemy as "those nice White teachers" and police, his reflection on unjust encounters with the police revealed the enemy to be more abstract (2). He testified: "I wonder what is it,/ why/ did I have this madness/ that I understood this?/ It's not an enemy I hated./ It's not a hate thing, the insanity that I carried with me started when I took the beating/ from the police" (2). As he recalled the unfair treatment from police toward his son, his sentences became shorter and less lucid. He reflected: "One night/ cop pulled a gun at his head./ It drove me crazy—/ it's still going on,/ it's still going on./ [. . .] the Alhambra cops, they pulled you over/ and, aww, man . . . / My enemy" (6–7). Cheng calls this moment a form of grief in which "the emotional impact and after-effects of those racist encounters become reduced to 'it,' 'madness,' 'insanity,' 'this thing that came in'" (Cheng 172). Salas's incoherence and intense psychological impact from the police's actions implied that the enemy, initially labeled as something tangible, was, in fact, intangible. Just like the "magic" that characterized the police as a friend is abstract, the characteristic that labels the police as an enemy is also made abstract. In fact, the repetitive diction referring to psychological instability and insanity implied that the enemy could be partly created by the police and partly created by Salas's own internalized rage. Perhaps more specifically, he is angry at some aspect of racism rather than the White policeman; but, again, exactly what the enemy is and if it even exists is unclear. Therefore, beyond highlighting the ambiguity of the enemy, Smith also explored the actual intangibility and abstraction of the term enemy.

Overall, the judicial reaction strongly juxtaposed the literary reaction to the Los Angeles riots and the Rodney King cases. Whereas *Koon v. United States* affirmed the direction of blame through the quantification of injury, *Twilight* challenged the boundaries and content of the categories of the victim and perpetrator. As law professor Zahr Said states, "Literary texts and methods [help] students investigate how the law conceives of, and expresses, duties and losses among parties . . . [and serve] as a focal point for several interrelated themes and problems that recur in tort jurisprudence, including how to determine blame" (Said 171–172).

Instead of being in conflict with a racialized case, literary expressions like *Twilight* actually serve as a supplement to the legal approach of determining a proper base offense level and calculating departures from the sentence guidelines. This is not to say that the law must mimic the role of literature and is flawed in this manner. Rather, it is imperative to understand the relationship between the different lenses. In

this case, the inability of legal guidelines to resolve the issue perhaps can be better understood by the multiracial, or *multiperson*, conflict Smith presented in her docudrama. And although these ambiguous boundaries do not exist in the legal field, literary performances provide a space, a “twilight zone,” for those in between a victim and a perpetrator.

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This Lady's Choice: Bella Swan as Third-Wave Feminist

Thai Matthews, Wellesley College

Thai Matthews, a senior English major at Wellesley College, is published in the Valley Humanities Review and is currently studying medieval literature at Oxford University. Though intrigued by everything from twentieth-century American history to twelfth-century troubadours, Matthews is invested in using popular fiction as a barometer of social development.

Abstract

This paper uses Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* series as a window into new forms of feminism that transcend the identity politics of the second wave. In doing so, it responds to critics who overlook the role of individual agency in the main character of Bella Swan. In the series, Bella becomes a third-wave feminist for a new generation of girls who face increasing instances of sexual assault, domestic violence, and media-inspired body-image issues.

An outpouring of recent criticism has found much to fault in Stephenie Meyer's novels *Twilight* (2005), *New Moon* (2006), *Eclipse* (2007), and *Breaking Dawn* (2008). The young adult series is popularly accused of reinforcing the traditional values and viewpoints of an oppressive American patriarchy; the male character of Edward Cullen is taken to represent these viewpoints. Interestingly, many critics challenge Meyer's series by taking a platform that is itself traditional. They tend to assume that the standard of feminism established by the "second wave" is both definitive and absolute. This paper uses the *Twilight* series as a window into new forms of feminism that transcend the identity politics of the second wave.

What the majority of scholarly analysis surrounding the *Twilight* novels fails to recognize is the innovative interpretation (and presentation) of how the main female character, Bella Swan, practices her right to transcendental, or "third-wave," feminism. Bella Swan complicates the reader's expectations for a twenty-first-century young woman privileged with opportunity and means. She rebels against the mold into which she is supposed to fall as a heroine of post-second-wave young adult literature by wielding, in place of politicized rhetoric, an ironclad personal will.

The *Twilight* series tell the story of Isabella (Bella) Swan. Bella moves to live with her father in Forks, WA, after observing that it makes her mother happier to accompany her new husband on his travels than it does to remain home with teenaged Bella. Bella's decision to live with her father is only the first of several very adult choices that she makes independent of parental guidance. She soon meets the enigmatic Edward Cullen and, after a series of life-threatening events from which Edward saves her, the two begin a friendship that quickly leads to romance. Upon discovering that Edward is actually a vampire, Bella decides to remain a part

of his world regardless of the dangers. Throughout the course of the series, the young couple is tested by separation, blood feuds, vampire law keepers known as the Volturi, and antagonism from various family members on both sides until at last they surmount all of these odds and are married. Bella's plans to become a vampire after their marriage (despite Edward's staunch opposition) are halted when Bella conceives a child. This half-human, half-vampire, "Other" child brings the Volturi to Forks, triggering a new string of conflicts that ultimately results in a battle that Bella practically wins singlehandedly due to her new vampire powers of defensive telepathy. When the battle is won and the Cullens are announced victorious, Bella and Edward at last have the peace that four books have seen them steadily long for.

Yvonne Abraham's 1997 article "Lipstick Liberation" loosely outlines the three phases of feminism thusly: "The first wave—the women's suffrage movement—began feminism by planting the idea that women deserve equal rights under the law. But it's the second wave that has defined modern feminism" by demanding that women (majority White) claim a presence in the workplace and gain emancipation from a patriarchal system (137). Those women who are coming of age today find themselves in the grip of third wave feminism, which:

... defines itself primarily in contrast to the second ... the upshot of their work is that traditional second wave feminism has made women's lives more difficult than they should be ... Too political, overly pessimistic, stuck on conspiracy theories, not mindful enough of women's individual experiences. (137–139)

It is perhaps this "individual experience" that ought to be investigated within Meyer's *Twilight* series.

Rebecca Housel asserts in her essay "The 'Real' Danger: Fact vs. Fiction for the Girl Audience" that Bella is an unadulterated product of what psychologist Jean Twenge labeled "Generation Me." Generation Me is defined as individuals born between the early 1970s and throughout the 1990s whose sense of selfhood is utterly self-contained; it overrides their sense of being part of larger units like families or societies (182–183). Thus, Housel frames *Twilight* (and Bella) in terms appropriated by Jean Twenge when she writes:

Narcissism, a term originally coined by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), describes a lack of empathy for others, an exaggerated sense of entitlement, and an excessive selfishness ... Bella exhibits classic narcissism in her choices throughout the *Twilight* saga, showing that her character not only is a reflection of GenMe, but also expresses the crux of the GenMe problem. (Housel 182)

If Bella is a narcissist, concerned solely with obtaining what she sees as her rightful place in the supernatural world order of Meyer's creation, then the character is less an antifeminist figure than she is aggressively representative of her times and generation. Yet, critics like Housel miss Meyer's revision of second-wave feminism. In Meyer's formulation, Bella frames her gender in the terms of her personhood, setting her own standard of feminism that is itself founded on her own individualized choices. The manner in which Bella practices and asserts her womanhood is determined primarily by the way in which she first practices and asserts her *selfhood*. Bella is first a rebel who, when she sees a chance to rescue herself from real-world dangers facing women, takes the opportunity with both hands. By defining herself as a rebel, she also becomes a third-wave feminist for a new generation of girls who face increasing instances of sexual violence, domestic violence, and media-inspired body-image issues.

Critic Melissa Miller's article "Maybe Edward Is the Most Dangerous Thing Out There: The Role of the Patriarchy" examines what she claims is an antifeminist message at work in the plot that ultimately witnesses Bella's transformation from human to vampire. Miller writes, "Bella only finds her inner-strength by conforming to the masculine standard put forth by Edward . . . in this case by becoming a vampire" (Miller 167). Her argument conflates Bella's desire for Edward with her desire for vampirism. Miller asserts that, "If the Edward/Bella union is to succeed, Bella must change, for all the reasons stated in the books" (Miller 168). However, the text features the character of Edward explicitly outlining the four options available to him and Bella. He tells another character in the series:

"From the second that I realized that I loved her, I knew there were only four possibilities. The first alternative, the best one for Bella, would be if she didn't feel as strongly for me—if she got over me and moved on The second alternative, the one I'd originally chosen, was to stay with her throughout her human life. It wasn't a good option for her, to waste her life with someone who couldn't be human with her, but it was the alternative I could most easily face But then it proved much too dangerous for her to live in such close proximity with my world So I chose option three. Which turned out to be the worst mistake of my very long life, as you know. I chose to take myself out of her world, hoping to force her into the first alternative. It didn't work, and it very nearly killed us both. What do I have left but the fourth option? It's what she wants I've been trying to delay her, to give her time to find a reason to change her mind, but she's very . . . stubborn. You know *that*." (*Eclipse* 501)

Bella's determination to become a vampire *in spite of* Edward's objections is a testament to how drawn she is to the advantages of vampirism, their relationship notwithstanding. The physicality of vampirism alone would forever liberate her from fearing situations like the one she finds herself in chapter eight of *Twilight*, when walking alone at night puts her at risk of being assaulted both physically and sexually. In this case, vampirism promises what the target audience of mainly female *Twilight* fans desire to possess: a blend of power and femininity, the emancipation from both personal body image anxiety and the physical vulnerability of being a woman. Becoming a member of the Cullen clan also ensures that Bella will have unrestricted access to unlimited financial resources (*New Moon* 13).

Bella articulates that her desire for vampirism reflects a desire to be a better self—a tougher, faster, fiercer self, free of all worries physical, financial, or psychological. Bella says of her situation: "I knew I needed to be able to take care of myself and protect the ones that I loved I needed to be strong" (*New Moon* 537). In choosing vampirism, Bella does not choose to forego a life of freedom and options; she rather chooses a life full of more freedoms and more options.

bell hooks asks in her landmark work, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, "Do women share a common vision of what equality means? Since men are not equals in White supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal class structure, which men do women want to be equal to?" (hooks 19). Hooks helps us to understand how Bella's character transcends the question of women being equal to men by becoming, in fact, superior to *all* classes of men. When Bella is reborn as a vampire in the culminating novel of the *Twilight* series, *Breaking Dawn*, she not only surpasses human males in qualities of strength, speed, heightened senses, etc.—she usurps Edward himself because, as a new vampire, she is more physically potent than her husband. She is also the undisputed captain of defense in the Cullen family's confrontation with the Volturi. Bella's ability to protect herself and her allies from the host of Volturi superpowers makes the difference between diplomacy and massacre. This impermeability remains with Bella even after her young vampire abilities diminish. Simply put, she will always be the most powerful member of the Cullen clan.

The art of Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* series lies in the complexity of the paradox she creates. She constructs a self-contained plot and knows when she is disturbing her readers and how she is disturbing them. Yet, she continues to proceed along the path regardless of how the reader might respond to events. Condemnation of Bella's actions is anticipated by the narrative and reflected by the attitudes of other fictional characters, most notably Bella's friend, Jacob Black, and her father, Charlie. It is important to note here

that Jacob and Charlie are male figures whom Bella has no problems defying. Bella considers their opinions; then she promptly dismisses them.

To insist, as critic Ashley Donnelly does, that a “very clear patriarchal dynamic and heteronormative role-play . . . dominates the series” (Donnelly 186) is to reinforce patriarchy and ignore oft-stated wishes in the text. It is to deny female agency and undermine female independence by, when Bella exhibits both agency and independence, declaring her incompetent. Additionally, by relying solely upon concepts like patriarchy and heteronormativity to imply that Edward Cullen’s character is the problematic element, critics assert that by engaging in a romantic relationship with him, Bella condones his behavior. This confusion between Bella condoning Edward’s behavior versus Bella overcoming his fallacies results in proposing that Edward, as an alleged patriarchal metaphor, usurps Bella’s importance in her own story. This, in turn, implies that Edward’s failings are Bella’s fault. Blaming the female for the behavior of the male—holding her responsible for his actions—is itself a betrayal of all waves of feminism because it undermines the female personhood, devalues the female mind, and, in the case of the *Twilight* novels, strips Bella Swan of her (fictional) humanity by turning her into a mere means of appraising maleness.

Merely debating what is feminist or antifeminist about the *Twilight* series is an oversimplification of the text through polarization. This surface argument overlooks the subtleties at work in what is a contemporary *bildungsroman*. The *Twilight* novels layer the literary coming-of-age process with a paranormal element that outstrips the traditional protagonist’s transformation from child to adult by instead transitioning Bella Swan from human to immortal. Bella’s emotional alienation from her peers, from her parents, and from general society is all succinctly captured in the first chapter of the first book.

I didn’t relate well to people my age. Maybe the truth was that I didn’t relate well to people, period. Even my mother, who I was closer to than anyone else on the planet, was never in harmony with me, never on exactly the same page. Sometimes I wondered if I was seeing the same things through my eyes that the rest of the world was seeing through theirs. (*Twilight* 10)

Bella’s internal isolation in the human world contrasts sharply against the instant (and ardent) connection she feels to the supernatural world of vampires and werewolves, blood feuds and ancient folklore.

That the strength of her new relationships so greatly outshine any previous attachments should indicate to the reader that the story of Bella Swan’s coming to Forks is very

much a metaphor for Bella Swan arriving into her own life. Her primary role as caretaker for emotionally dependent parents is slowly supplanted as other relationships begin to take precedence: Bella’s romance with Edward leads to camaraderie provided by the Cullen siblings, guidance from the Cullen parents, and ultimately the dual emotional and semiprofessional fulfillment of choosing to be both a mother and a Cullen clan defender. Meyer utilizes the paranormal element as a kind of literary sleight of hand, allowing it to emphasize the trademark themes of loss, death, and emotional maturity of the traditional *bildungsroman*. Bella is thereby able to experience all three. Bella literally dies to her old life (losing all that that entailed) and steps across the divide into a new one as a different person in every sense of the word—introspectively and biologically.

“We’re doing this your way,” Edward concedes at last. “Because my way doesn’t work. I call you stubborn, but look at what I’ve done. I’ve clung with such idiotic obstinacy to my idea of what’s best for you, though it’s only hurt you . . . I don’t trust myself anymore. You can have happiness your way. My way is always wrong.” (*Eclipse* 617)

Bella refuses to accept happiness anyone else’s “way.” When confronted with this fact, Edward accepts it. That is the ultimate romance because it is the ultimate freedom, what Edward is finally able to present to Bella. It is only after he acquiesces to her demands that Bella marries him and fully transitions into his world. She is not the antifeminist icon critics accuse her of being, nor are these books emblems for the patriarchy. Bella is no one’s lamb led sweetly to the slaughter but rather a swan in the truest sense of the metaphor.

Criticism objecting to the fictional Bella’s decisions must be careful not to discount her right to make them by attempting to evade the narrative context that inform her choices. Simply assailing the religious convictions of the author, or dividing a story that layers third-wave feminism, paranormal action, and a modern approach to the *bildungsroman* into a facile laundry list of “is-feminist”/is-not feminist” is a refusal to deal with the text directly and strips a complex character of whatever agency these same critics claim they want her to exercise. Bella rankles critics because she is critical of them in turn; her refusal to soften the impact of her decisions by either adapting her own logic to the reader’s rationale or attempting to gain reader sympathy for her plight is an outright rejection of expectation.

Towards the end of the series, once her decision to be with Edward and to become a vampire is finalized, Bella says, “I’ve chosen my life—now I want to start living it” (*Eclipse* 616). Neither beholden to audience opinion nor swayed by unfavorable judgment, Bella Swan-Cullen may just represent the new face of today’s American feminist.

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Weapons of Mass Creation

Mack Curry IV, *Hampton University*

Mack is a first-year MFA student at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, VA. When he writes poetry, he likes to primarily revisit different experiences. Doing this allows his poems to have more of an authentic and relatable viewpoint to them. When a person reads or hears his poetry, he knows he's done something right when they say "I feel that." His current plans are to complete his MFA by 2016, enter into a creative writing PhD program after that (preferably at Vanderbilt), graduate as Dr. Mack Curry by 2019, and be a college professor with his own publishing company.

Weapons of mass creation will soon destroy a nation.
Mass fast food to have you past due for a heart attack or two.
Borderline diabetic sticking to becoming sickened by a McDougle
and a three piece order of fried chicken.
Don't you get it? These weapons have been designed
to stay in neighborhoods where those who resign
have complexions similar to yours and mine.
Weapons of mass creation will soon destroy a nation.
The drama that we see on reality TV is a formality
because in actuality the synthetic originality is fake.
It only survives off of the ratings from when we feed into it.
Why do we do it?
Obsession to fake housewives and a need to have Love and Hip Hop in our lives.
To the viewers, no disrespectin', just know that these are weapons.
However, we should never forget the weapons of mass creation designed
to uplift a nation. These include education, face to face conversation, true
creativity instead of imitation.
Not remaining complacent. Staying in your lane
but not in the same life station. Stop sitting around blaming the system.
Playing the victim. Obtain the knowledge so that you can know the symptoms
and gain a glimpse of the solution.
We are all the weapons of mass creation so recognize your gift.
The real question is this, will you choose to destroy or will you help to uplift?

The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2013

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