



The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2017

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

The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2017

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

Preface

It is with great pride that we share with you the 2017 edition of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal.

For 30 years, the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF) program has worked to promote diversity in the faculty of higher education, specifically by supporting students from underrepresented minority groups in their goal of obtaining PhDs. With the MMUF Journal, we further seek to provide an opportunity for students to experience academia through exposure to the publishing experience. This experience offers an introduction to the journal submission process, including manuscript preparation and editor-guided revision of scholarly work for publication, and provides an audience for student work. For most students, the MMUF Journal is their first experience in publishing a scholarly article.

In the 2017 Journal, readers will find articles by 27 authors from 18 colleges and universities that are part of the program's member institutions. These students share with us a diverse range of scholarship, including research conducted under the MMUF program, introductions to senior theses, and analytical class essays. The papers presented here represent a wide diversity of subjects, from history to anthropology to African studies, that reflect the full range of MMUF-supported disciplines.

The diversity of articles presented here provide a window into the ways in which academic discourse is both timeless and timely. In this publication, you will see students examine classic literature, such as work by Jane Austen or W.E.B. Du Bois, and explore historical moments, to bring a new voice to the table. These scholars also demonstrate that scholarship is not an absolute argument but a timely, constantly evolving conversation. Most notably, Chayanne Marciano's paper, "*Williamsburg*" of the Caribbean?: *Analyzing the Politics of Reinvestment and Revitalization in Santurce, Puerto Rico*, was forced to include a postscript that details the impact of Hurricane Maria on the district of Santurce. Other papers similarly demonstrate the way that scholarship is constantly shaping, and being shaped in response to, important shifting events at the local and global level.

It has been an honor to work with these young scholars to bring their work to fruition. It is with great pride and excitement that we share their work with you.

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Illuminating Paradise: The Motif of the Moon in Vicente Aleixandre's *Sombra del Paraíso*¹

Angela Acosta, *Smith College*

Angela Acosta graduated from Smith College with bachelor's degrees in Spanish and English Language and Literature and a concentration in Translation Studies. Her Mellon Mays project considers how Spanish history and Vicente Aleixandre's biography manifest themselves in his poetry collection Sombra del Paraíso. Angela visited archives in Madrid and Málaga, Spain during summer 2016 to learn about the origins of Sombra del Paraíso and its historical moment. She uses translation and literary analysis to preserve the cultural and literary legacy of the "Generation of 1927" and thus increase the visibility of Spanish literature in the Americas. She is currently enrolled in a PhD program in Iberian Studies at The Ohio State University's Department of Spanish and Portuguese.

Abstract

This article discusses how historical and biographical information about Vicente Aleixandre (1898–1984) shapes his conceptions of paradise and paradise lost in *Sombra del Paraíso* (*Shadow of Paradise*) (1944). Vicente Aleixandre was a Spanish poet and member of the "Generation of 1927" who lived in Spain during the Spanish Civil War and subsequent dictatorship. He draws inspiration from his childhood in Málaga, the "City of Paradise," to depict paradise in his book of long poems written at the midpoint of his career called *Sombra del Paraíso*. The book's six sections alternate between depictions of paradise and paradise lost to create a sense of nostalgia for paradise. Aleixandre does not explicitly state whether each poem belongs to the world of paradise or paradise lost, yet his descriptions of these archetypal worlds clearly differentiate the emotions and images associated with each. I do a close reading of specific poems in the collection to examine the motif of the moon as an example of Aleixandre's imagery of paradise. I argue that the image of the moon allows readers to differentiate between paradise as a bright place and the moonless paradise lost.

Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank Professor Rueda and Professor Harrette for being my Mellon Mays mentors and Professor Fulton, Mellon Mays Faculty Coordinator at Smith College, for her insight and support editing this article. I would like to acknowledge the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Centro de Documentación at the Residencia de Estudiantes, and the library at the Centro Cultural Generación del 27, Diputación de Málaga for allowing me access to their archival materials.

Introduction

"Para ti y todo lo que en ti vive, / yo estoy escribiendo."

"For you and all that lives in you, / I am writing."

– Vicente Aleixandre, "Para quién escribo"

Imagine a bright paradise with rolling hills and baby animals that suddenly falls into the shadowy darkness of paradise lost. This fallen world became reality for Spanish poet Vicente Aleixandre (1898–1984) when the government of the Second Spanish Republic was forced into exile following the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) ("The Second Spanish Republic"). The year 2016 marked the 80th anniversary of the coup d'état that began this war, a moment of Spanish history that was once only remembered as the Victory of Francisco Franco's Nationalists. Now, as historians uncover Republican narratives about the war and Franco's subsequent dictatorship, they also unearth the defining literary texts from the Generation of 1927 poets, including Aleixandre.² Spanish history and Aleixandre's biography are intertwined in *Sombra del Paraíso* (*Shadow of Paradise*) (1944) because images of rotten passion and childhood nostalgia capture the harsh reality of living through the Spanish Civil War and dictatorship. While Aleixandre does not directly reference these historical events or classify the poems as belonging to either paradise or paradise lost, his striking imagery such as the motif of the moon sets apart the worlds of paradise and paradise lost. One can see the moon kissing the grass in paradise, for example, while paradise lost is so full of shadows that one becomes disoriented in the darkness. In this article, I will argue that the moon is a manifestation of the presence of light in *Sombra del Paraíso* because it establishes the division between the bright paradise and dark paradise lost. As the epigraph states, Aleixandre writes for everyone, even those who do not read his work. His legacy lives on as he welcomes a new generation of readers to tumble through paradise into paradise lost.

Vicente Aleixandre y Merlo was born in 1898 in Seville, Spain and he moved to Málaga, Spain soon after. Málaga is a coastal city in the southern province of Andalucía that developed industrially with textile factories and a port in the first decade of the 1900s. In his new biography of Aleixandre, Emilio Calderón explains that despite the riots and famines that occurred during this period of Málaga's history, Aleixandre grew up in a bourgeois family (43). He had a happy childhood playing on the beaches of Málaga while he attended school with his lifelong friend and fellow poet of the Generation of 1927, Emilio Prados (Calderón 59, 75). His father, Cirilo Aleixandre, was a railroad engineer and young Vicente Aleixandre explored Andalucía from the windows of trains (De Luis 63). The bright Sun Coast and the geography of Málaga's hills and coastline inspired Aleixandre's conception of paradise. Vicente Aleixandre's family moved to Madrid in 1909, but Aleixandre always fondly remembered his time in Málaga.

In the summer of 1917, Aleixandre began reading poetry and he realized its potential as a medium through which he could contemplate his identity (Calderón 115). Aleixandre's friend and soon-to-be member of the Generation of 1927, Dámaso Alonso, gave him an anthology of the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío (Calderón 117). Aleixandre began teaching Spanish mercantile law in 1920, but his health began to deteriorate in April of 1925 due to tuberculosis of the kidneys (111, 135). While recovering from his illnesses, Aleixandre started writing poetry and he joined the Generation of 1927, a talented group of Spanish poets known for their surrealist style and collegiality (146). They drew inspiration for their innovative poetry from Golden Age texts and the name "Generation of 1927" acknowledges the 300th anniversary of the baroque poet Luis de Góngora's death (183). Sadly, the paradise of the Generation of 1927 fell into the shadows during the Spanish Civil War when several poets died, and others went into exile. Aleixandre entered an internal exile in Spain in 1939, during which time he composed *Sombra del Paraíso* (413). Franco's fascist censors approved the anthology, which became a pivotal work that inspired the postwar generation of poets (419).

The Motif of the Moon in *Sombra del Paraíso*

The moon appears frequently in *Sombra del Paraíso* as well as in the works of the other poets of the Generation of 1927. In Vicente Aleixandre's case, the moon forms the background of the poems and he describes it as if it were a person who helps him feel connected to the rest of the universe. The title *Shadow of Paradise* raises the question of the existence of paradise lost located within the shadow of paradise. Critics have examined the interplay of the motifs of light and shadow throughout Aleixandre's work, yet there has been little attention to the title as a central way to read the book.³ Moreover, critics do not point out that "paradise" appears only once within the collection in "Los poetas" ("The Poets").⁴ With the book's title in mind, one can reflect on how the imagery depicts paradise and paradise lost, which helps classify the poems accordingly. One such image, the moon, suggests a new way of understanding paradise as being composed of the moonlight that travels between the paradisiacal poems in the collection and disappears in the dead and dark world of paradise lost. Considering that the poems alternate between depictions of these archetypal worlds, I suggest that the moon provokes a feeling of nostalgia for the paradise that the poetic subject views from the shadows.

Literary critics of Aleixandre's work once found themselves confined to the words on the page without the ability to discuss historical or biographical information about Aleixandre. The first critic to analyze Aleixandre's

poetry was his friend Carlos Bousoño, who wrote a thesis in 1949 called *La poesía de Vicente Aleixandre* (*The Poetry of Vicente Aleixandre*), which became a book with the same title. The first wave of critics of Aleixandre wrote between the 1950s and 1970s, decades that correspond with the era of Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975). Bousoño looks intently at Aleixandre's imagery while José Luis Cano's biography primarily includes facts pertinent to his publications. Little by little, critics from the 1980s to the present day have discussed Aleixandre's experiences during the Spanish Civil War and the interpretation that Aleixandre's childhood in Málaga represents his personal paradise. Despite minimal references to Málaga in *Sombra del Paraíso*, the most notable being "Ciudad del paraíso" ("City of Paradise"), the joyful tone of "City of Paradise" permeates the other paradisiacal poems.

The Moon as a Lover in Paradise: "Luna del Paraíso" ("Moon of Paradise")

Setting foot in Aleixandre's paradise is reminiscent of entering the Garden of Eden since it contains green forests and meadows that reveal a mild climate. However, it is difficult to describe Aleixandre's paradise because he does not mention either its inhabitants or the scenery in detail. The Garden of Eden, per the descriptions in the Bible, contains all species of flowers, trees, and animals. Nevertheless, there are no references to specific people in Aleixandre's paradise because he focuses on images that encompass universal themes, such as love and death. In "El río" ("The River"), Aleixandre explains that there are valleys "not tread on by men's footsteps" (line 20), because men do not interfere in this virginal paradise. Every day the moon and sun guide the poetic subject through paradise, illuminating these primeval valleys with daylight and moonlight to ensure that paradise never descends into the territory of paradise lost. The Garden of Eden is geographically located on the peak of a mountain, but it not clear where Aleixandre's paradise is located. In this section, I will discuss two appearances of the moon in the poem "Luna del paraíso" ("Moon of Paradise").

This long ode to the moon located in the third section of the collection mentions the word "moon" twelve times, more than any other poem in the collection. The poetic "I" enjoys making love with a woman in the moonlight and he recounts, "And over her celestial body, over her leafy radiance / I kissed your light, white moon hugging her" (Aleixandre 44–45). He does not focus on the sexual encounter, but rather how the moon illuminates the lover's body, and, in a sense, he also makes love with the moon. Therefore, the moonlight serves as a way for the poetic subject to channel his sexual energy.

The full moon in “Moon of Paradise” guides the poetic subject through his sexual encounter and it ensures that the scene takes place in paradise. The eleventh stanza focuses on the effect of his kiss on the moon and woman, which mixes the descriptions of these characters to highlight the illuminated sky. Aleixandre switches pronouns and verb tenses to make the descriptions of the moon and lover more ambiguous. I use female pronouns for the lover to follow the convention of Harter’s translation, but the original poem simply calls the lover “you.”

Besé sobre su cuerpo tu rubor, y en los labios,
I kissed your blush over her body, and on her lips,

roja luna, naciste, redonda, iluminada,
red moon, you were born, round, illuminated,

luna estrellada por mi beso, luna húmeda
moon made starry by my kiss, humid moon

que una secreta luz interior me cediste.
that gave me a secret inner light.

(Aleixandre 50–53)

The prevalence of the past tense in the poem suggests that the poetic subject recounts an earlier moment of paradisiacal bliss. The stanza begins with the verb “kissed” to signify that this scene took place in the middle of an already completed ecstasy when he mistook the moon for his lover’s body. The “red moon” (51) is the product of an eclipse, but the reddening could also describe the woman’s lips in the previous line. The poetic subject first kisses the lover, but later the moon is “made starry by my kiss” (52) as if the kiss had created the stars, considering that the adjectives “red” (51) and “humid” (52) describe both the woman and moon. In addition, the kiss exerts control over the sky and the lover on Earth. Once the poetic subject kisses the lover, the kiss travels towards the moon and makes it humid. The “round, illuminated” (51) full moon shines on Earth as brightly as the sun and its roundness emphasizes its smooth surface. At the end of the stanza, the moon gives up “a secret inner light” (53) to the poetic subject, which provides a light that shines for him during the “secret” nocturnal sexual encounter. He remembers paradise while recounting the moment of ecstasy because the moonlight obscures his present reality. Furthermore, he confuses the woman’s body with the moonlight and he decides to love both as if they were interchangeable. The double ecstasy implies that the moon sets the scene for paradise.

Likewise, the poetic subject tries to possess the moon so that he can remain in paradise. It should be noted that Aleixandre does not use conventional expressions for describing the phases of the moon in Spanish. Nevertheless, I incorporate common descriptions of the phases of the moon in my English translation to help readers visualize the images while reading.

Noches tuyas, luna total: job luna, luna entera!
The nights were yours, totally eclipsed moon:
oh moon, full moon!

Yo te amé en los felices días coronados.
I loved you in the happy crowned days.

Y tú, secreta luna, luna mía,
And you, secret moon, my moon,

fuiste presente en la tierra, en mis brazos humanos.
you were present on Earth, in my human arms.

(Aleixandre 64–67)

The fourteenth stanza of “Moon of Paradise” emphasizes possessive pronouns, as is evident from the phrase “the nights were yours” (64), to prove that the moon belongs to the poetic subject while it rules in the sky. Perhaps it is a “totally eclipsed moon” (64) because it devours the sun to become the only light source. The moon not only illuminates paradise, but it is also a spotlight that only shines for the poetic subject. However, this possession makes him seem selfish because he expects the moon to illuminate his sexual encounter and preserve the “happy crowned days” (65) in paradise when the moon offered him guidance. He repeats the phrase “secret moon” (66) to hide his love for the woman by invoking a celestial body only meant for him. Finally, the moon appears on Earth when the poetic subject tells the moon, “you were present on Earth, in my human arms” (67). Once the moon is on Earth, the poetic subject physically holds the moon as if it were his lover with whom he has a strong emotional connection. This seems strange because the moon’s other appearances benefit all of paradise, but here he wants it for himself to avoid entering the shadows of paradise lost.

A Disorienting Fallen World: “La Verdad” (“The Truth”)

When immersing oneself in the dark world of paradise lost, one does not know what dangers lurk in the shadows. These moonless poems lack the sense of direction that distinguishes the moon’s role in paradise. The birds and light still appear, but these images are inverted in paradise lost to focus on darkness, isolation, and silence. It is a world of shadows in all senses of the word: the echo of voices, the shadow of light, and the memory of animals. For example, the poetic subject in “The Truth” declares, “Birds, no: memory of birds” (Aleixandre 5), such that it is a world defined by the memory of the beings that inhabited paradise. The past paradise, the Second Spanish Republic, gives way to the present paradise lost, Franco’s dictatorship. Consequently, both the reader and poetic subject become disoriented because the light has disappeared, and nothing remains to guide them. The moonlight and the creatures of paradise disappear due to the drastic descent into paradise lost such that the poetic subject only recalls the memory of paradise.

A frightening encounter with paradise lost takes place in “The Truth,” which is a short poem located in the second section of the collection. The poetic subject introduces the dangerous beings of paradise lost that make noise in the shadows to show the absence of the harmony of paradise. For example, the birds become a mere memory and the ashes substitute the lover that has disappeared. Even love putrefies, and erotic passion turns into a fierce expression of absent love when the poetic subject states, “to kiss a dry branch / is not putting those bright lips on a breast” (8–9). This means that paradise lost cannot replace paradise despite the attempts to substitute the lover’s breast with a branch. Finally, the “putrid” (17) sexual passion takes hold of the poetic subject’s mind until the light erupts into a fire that destroys everything because nobody can live in this worn-out world. Thus, the moon’s disappearance causes irreparable damage to paradise, banishing the poetic subject to the shadows.

Similarly, the notable absence of the moon adds to the poetic subject’s sense of isolation.

¿Qué sonríe en la sombra sin muros que ensordece
What smiles in the wall-less shadow that deafens

mi corazón? ¿Qué soledad levanta
my heart? What loneliness lifts

sus torturados brazos sin luna y grita berida
her tortured arms without moonlight and,
wounded, screams

a la noche? ¿Quién canta sordamente en las ramas?
into the night? Who sings mutedly in the branches?
(Aleixandre 1–4)

The series of unanswered questions creates a tone of unease showing the fear for the unknown that exists in paradise lost. For example, the shadows are “wall-less” (1) because they cannot be contained. The shadows deafen the poetic subject’s heart because the emptiness disturbs him, creating a visceral effect in his heart. The loneliness is a character in this tragic poem, whose body has “tortured arms” (3) to denote the wound caused by the lack of moonlight during a total solar eclipse. The third line means “arms without moon,” but I changed the phrase to “arms without moonlight” because the poetic subject focuses on the moonlight instead of possessing the moon as a physical entity as the poetic subject of “Moon of Paradise” does. Moreover, the loneliness screams an unanswered plea for help, but the darkness injures it. The poetic subject cannot define the loneliness and he asks, “What loneliness?” (2) to introduce the idea that there are multiple levels of loneliness that inundate him. Hence, he feels scared because he cannot orient himself in this world without paradise’s lights, sounds, or moonlight. His disorientation in a moonless world forms the basis for his nostalgia for paradise and proves the necessity of the moon in paradise.

Conclusion

The stark opposition between the bright paradise and moonless paradise lost demonstrates the difference between Aleixandre’s life during the Generation of 1927’s prime and the hardships that Spain faced during Franco’s dictatorship. Moreover, the feelings associated with these archetypal worlds are not unique to the situation in Spain but apply to other national conflicts. The moon shows the importance of light for the survival of paradise, yet the circadian rhythm ensures that the moon continues to appear and disappear just as the poems alternate between depictions of paradise and paradise lost. The stress and disorientation that the poetic subject faces in paradise lost, compared to his feeling of ecstasy in paradise, demonstrates that the moon is an essential element of paradise. The moon divides paradise and paradise lost, yet no poem bridges the gap between them. If a substitute for the moon existed in paradise lost, then it could perhaps reconcile these two worlds. Since none exists, readers must rely on the moon to unpack the meaning of the shadow of paradise.

Endnotes

- 1 All translations from *Sombra del Paraíso* are my own. I aim to capture the imagery of Aleixandre’s poems in English to describe the worlds of paradise and paradise lost. Hugh Harter’s 1987 translation of *Sombra del Paraíso*, *Shadow of Paradise*, informs my translation decisions because he uses a high academic register that was approved by Vicente Aleixandre.
- 2 The male poets most frequently attributed to the Generation of 1927 are Rafael Alberti, Vicente Aleixandre, Dámaso Alonso, Manuel Altolaguirre, Luis Cernuda, Gerardo Diego, Jorge Guillén, Federico García Lorca, Emilio Prados, and Pedro Salinas (Calderón 183–196). Women writers and Latin American poets who visited Spain also participated in this surrealist literary movement and I intend to study the Generation of 1927 as a transatlantic movement.
- 3 In “Chiaroscuro in *Sombra del Paraíso*: The Kiss in Paradise,” Kessel Schwartz explains that the interplay of light and darkness symbolizes the cosmic love in *Sombra del Paraíso*, but he does not center his study on the motif of the moon. Carlos Bousoño describes the multitude of images of Aleixandre’s paradise in *La poesía de Vicente Aleixandre (The Poetry of Vicente Aleixandre)* without referring to the importance of the moon in *Sombra del Paraíso*.
- 4 The word “paradise” appears in the following lines from “Los poetas”:
Ángeles desterrados
Angels banished
de su celeste origen
from their celestial origin
en la tierra dormían
dream on Earth
su paraíso excelso.
of their exalted paradise.
(Aleixandre 14–17)
- 5 The poetic voice in this poem describes poets as exiled angels who inhabit the fallen world of the Earth, which refers to an origin story for his collection based on the lived experiences of Spanish poets in the early twentieth century. This origin story frames the way that Aleixandre imagines the archetypal worlds of paradise and paradise lost in the rest of the collection, but he does not refer to poets outside of the poems “El poeta” and “Los poetas”.

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Everyday Faith: Black Women's Appropriation of Religious Space and Ritual in Pruitt-Igoe

Candace Borders, *Washington University in St. Louis*

Candace Borders graduated from Washington University in St. Louis in 2017, where she received her BA in American Culture Studies with a focus on the construction of race and ethnicity in America. Her research is concerned with the ways African-American women experience and theorize their lives at the nexus of race, gender, sexuality, and public assistance. She developed an honors thesis that examined Black motherhood and agency in St. Louis' notorious Pruitt-Igoe housing project. She will pursue a joint PhD in American Studies and African American Studies at Yale University in the fall of 2018.

Abstract

There is an eerie calm that accompanies the abandoned, 57-acre forest where the Pruitt-Igoe Homes once loomed over north St. Louis. Infamous for its high rates of crime and dramatic demolition in 1972, Pruitt-Igoe is both remembered and forgotten. While the project's notoriety has endured in popular thought and scholarly works, the lived experiences of Pruitt-Igoe's tenants have largely gone ignored. Within five years of the housing project's construction, the modern-era project was inhabited by a majority of female-headed households. These Black women existed at the intersection of poverty, segregation, and state-surveillance, caring for their children in a project that is heralded as the symbol of the failure of modern housing design. While two notable ethnographies exist that touch on motherhood in Pruitt-Igoe, one focuses on women in adolescence and the other engages a problematic Black matriarchy framework. Their complex existence, and the ways in which they navigated and advocated for their families within the space of the housing project, is an essential component in creating a complicated narrative of Pruitt-Igoe's deep impact even after its demolition. Through collecting stories and memories from their children, my research curates a narrative of Black motherhood in Pruitt-Igoe that transcends the often one-dimensional understanding of Black women and their families.

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She was a Christian woman. And she believed in the Lord and she trusted in the Lord.¹

– Quincie, 63

Introduction

As Quincie recounts it, her mother's faith in God manifested itself in the "phenomenal" way her mother, Geneva, made ends meet as a single mother. She remembers how her "strong Christian mother" raised twelve children in St. Louis' notorious Pruitt-Igoe housing project. Throughout her interview, Quincie shares that her mother's religious faith and practices were necessary to raising children as a single woman receiving welfare. It was only "by the help of God" that Geneva could garner the strength to live and survive in Pruitt-Igoe during the 1960s. In recalling her mother's insistence on attending church every Sunday and praying before every family meal in Apartment 818, Quincie marveled at how Geneva utilized her own faith in God to transmit these same values and practices to her children. Geneva made a deliberate decision to "live out" her faith in God, as well as teach her children to develop their own religious understandings—something that Quincie believes was necessary to her family's survival in Pruitt-Igoe. For Quincie and my other interlocutors, their mothers' religious consciousness was central to their upbringing in Pruitt-Igoe and a vessel through which they made sense of their lives in a housing complex wrought with violence.

In the majority of my interviews, my interlocutors centered their mothers' religious consciousness, explaining how religion affected approaches to household and reproductive labor. I use the term "religious consciousness" to refer to the ways that Black women performed what womanist theologian Delores S. Williams describes as an appropriation of scripture and religious rituals.² Williams roots her understanding of womanist theology, Black women's liberatory relationship with religion, within the story of Hagar.³

Hagar was a biblical figure who eventually became the first woman in the bible to liberate herself from oppressive social structures. As a slave, captive to masters Sarah and her husband Abraham, Hagar eventually escaped from imprisonment with her son Ishmael. Wandering through the desert hopelessly, Hagar prayed to God for survival and eventually freed herself. Williams argues that God's involvement with Hagar's life was not rooted in God liberating Hagar, but rather of Hagar turning her victimhood into radical survival: "Liberation in the Hagar stories is not given by God; it finds its source in human initiative."⁴ I posit that Black mothers in Pruitt-Igoe "lived out" their religious consciousness, constructing (sacred) "spaces of safe discourse"⁵ to develop strategies of survival in Pruitt-Igoe. Black mothers utilized their own scriptural knowledge and religious practices to raise their children to have a strong sense of self while navigating

a racist world, and to see the possibility for a meaningful life in Pruitt-Igoe. In other words, Black mothers operated from what I term an *ethic of empowerment*, or a worldview where the physical, material, and economic constraints of Pruitt-Igoe did not define their lives and the lives of their children. It is through this ethic that we begin shift the axiom of power to privilege and understand Black women's motivations, hopes, and struggles as the center of intellectual analysis.

While my interlocutors remembered their mothers actively harnessing their faith-based beliefs to ensure the survival and empowerment of their families, scholars have historically pathologized Black women's religious faith. When the religious practices of women in Pruitt-Igoe are analyzed, scholars such as sociologist Lee Rainwater pathologize and essentialize Black women's religious consciousness. Rainwater argues that the religious faith of many single Black mothers in Pruitt-Igoe was adaptive and pathological by engaging a framework that views Black women's religious consciousness as a coping mechanism.⁶ When describing the religious practices of a single mother raising eight children, identified as Mrs. Madison, Rainwater writes, "She was displaying a kind of obsessive elaboration of placing her trust in God."⁷ Rainwater continues by positing that the spiritual faith of many mothers in Pruitt-Igoe was illogical and that their energy was better spent engaging an active role in caring for their children rather than blindly relying on religious faith.⁸ Black women's religiosity is thus defined as an irrational coping mechanism in the face of oppression that the single, Black mother continues to perpetuate through her inability to solve her problems on her own.

Counter to Rainwater's interpretations, womanist theologians seek to uncover the long history of Black women leading faith communities as a form of self-liberation. In fact, Williams cites religion as a historical foundation for Black women to garner strength in the face of institutionalized racism: "The economic, spiritual and physical assault upon black life in America by white people and white-controlled institutions has caused the African-American mother to try to develop survival strategies her family can use. She has not always been successful, but she has depended upon her religion to help her develop these strategies and to muster the courage to survive when survival gave no promise."⁹ For many single mothers in Pruitt-Igoe, their religious consciousness functioned as a catalyst for perseverance in the face of racist structures and helped them develop acts of resistance against oppression. Black women in Pruitt-Igoe similarly had a dynamic religious consciousness that was meant to do this work of both developing survival strategies for their families as well as work toward a collective liberation.

This text is concerned with the following motivating questions: What strategies did Black mothers curate and utilize in order to care for their children? And how do these strategies reveal the ways that Black mothers asserted their agency and worked toward Black liberation within an urban site of systematic disempowerment? I argue against claims for Black women's religious beliefs functioning as merely coping mechanisms in the face of hardship; instead, I posit that Black mothers in Pruitt-Igoe actively "lived out" their religious consciousness through appropriating religious practices and texts. This religious consciousness then aided women in developing the strategy of sacred space formation to both survive and resist oppression in Pruitt-Igoe, all while teaching their children to do the same.

Background

The racialized history of housing development in St. Louis laid the foundation for Pruitt-Igoe's construction. Completed in 1954 and touted as a solution to St. Louis' housing crisis, Pruitt-Igoe was imagined as a way to address the city's major loss of its white, middle-class population to the suburbs. As Black "slums" north of the central business district continued to expand and more whites moved westward, city officials and the local business community feared for a drop in downtown property values. Utilizing funds from the 1949 Housing Act, St. Louis officials engaged in large-scale plans for "slum clearance" and housing redevelopment, largely in historically Black neighborhoods, with the intention of creating housing that would attract suburban middle-class whites back to the city.¹⁰ From the same federal funds, the St. Louis Housing Authority marked and cleared lands for the construction of public housing for families displaced by "slum clearance."¹¹ Pruitt-Igoe was one of these projects. Built on a 57-acre tract of land just north of downtown St. Louis, the housing complex physically kept poor Blacks in a concentrated, state-surveyed area. It was conceived both as a "dumping ground for families left behind by slum clearance"¹² and to prevent "Negro expansion"¹³ into other parts of downtown.

By 1958, conditions in Pruitt-Igoe began to deteriorate as rates of crime and violence increased, maintenance was neglected, and occupancy rates began to slide.¹⁴ Design features, such as skip-top elevators and glazed internal galleries, that were originally integrated into the design as ways of improving livability in a high-rise building, actually exacerbated the problems residents were facing. In 1972, the remaining residents were moved into 11 buildings and the first three buildings in Pruitt-Igoe were leveled with explosives. The spectacle of this detonation, well-documented by local and national news outlets, solidified the project's embodiment of the failure of modern housing design and high-rise public housing.

Today, the architectural failure that Pruitt-Igoe has come to symbolize has dominated both public imagining of the housing project and scholarly articles and books. The now abandoned lot-turned-forest only hints at the life once lived there. The project's former residents have endured in popular thought as Pruitt-Igoe's helpless victims, while the stories of struggle, joy, and possibility, from women like Quincie, have become lost beneath the overgrowth.

Methods

This text relies on IRB-approved interviews with 11 different Black women who grew up in Pruitt-Igoe (Table 1). The women have given consent to use of their first names in this piece. Both the commonalities and varied experiences of my interlocutors are integral to the findings in this text, as historian Rhonda Y. Williams asserts: "Oral histories play a critical role, because interviews allow for the possibility of uncovering the motivations and views of marginalized groups, the varieties of experiences, and the continuums of struggle."¹⁵ My interlocutors were all raised in households where their mothers was the primary caregiver and their fathers were absent or forced out of the home by "no man in the home" laws.¹⁶ Each of them shared memories from their time living in Pruitt-Igoe and an intimate knowledge of their mothers. Significantly, the women in my interviews reveal common themes of childhoods defined by their mothers' religious consciousness.

Name(s)	Age	Family Details	Time in Pruitt-Igoe
Terri and Toni	56	Twins; lived with mother and 8 siblings	4 years
Jacque and Penny	71; 66	Sisters; lived with mother and 10 siblings	13 years
Quincie	63	Lived with mother and 8 siblings	13 years
Betty and Mary J.	84; 50	Mother and daughter; Betty raised Mary J. and 6 other children	10 years
Mary S.	67	Lived with mother and siblings	13 years
Marcia	63	Lived with mother and 5 siblings	3 years
Darlene	62	Lived with mother and 4 siblings	17 years
Charlene	63	Lived with mother and 6 siblings	5 years

Table 1. Interlocutors' names, ages, family details, and number of years lived in Pruitt-Igoe.

Sacred Gesturing: Black Women Building Liberatory Space at Home

She hosted bible class. It was not only with us, but with the kids in the building too. If we remembered or recited the bible verse that she would give us at the beginning of the week, that weekend she would have the game. And it consisted of all these strings laying over a bookcase where you could see the strings, short and long. And she would call us up and give us a bible verse and if we could recite it, we had the opportunity to go and pull the string. Whichever string we wanted off the bookcase. And at the end of the string was a gift and that's how she rewarded us for getting into the bible and learning the bible and retaining that information. So she done a lot of things to keep us occupied by teaching us the bible. And not only us, she involved the other kids in the building. They enjoyed coming to our house.¹⁷

While Penny's answers were more concise than that of my other interlocutors, when she started discussing her mother's bible study class she had a lot to share. Penny nostalgically recalled how her mother, Prudence, hosted bible study on Saturdays in their Pruitt-Igoe apartment during the 1960s. Every Saturday, Prudence hosted a form of bible study (some Saturdays it was a candy store where the currency was memorization of bible verses) that actively engaged her own children and children from apartments on the floor. While at the time the game appeared to Penny and her siblings as just that, it served the dual purpose of keeping children occupied while also teaching them about the bible. Prudence attached not just learning the bible, but also retaining the information to a reward system that created an incentive for her children to start developing a religious consciousness. Penny remembered how it was the children's responsibility to look through the bible and learn the scriptures on their own. Penny, her siblings, and friends had to engage with scripture on their own and, in the process, develop a personal relationship to the bible and grow their own faith in God.

Black mothers' *ethic of empowerment* emerges at a deeper level as engaging in scripture allowed for children to develop an understanding of their lives in Pruitt-Igoe outside of the assumptions placed on tenants in the housing complex. Collectively, my interlocutors demonstrate that constructing their own worldview and modes of self-definition through scripture was important to making meaningful lives in Pruitt-Igoe. The religious consciousness of their mothers aided in this act of self-definition and worldview construction through engagement with biblical texts. Penny's neighbor, Quincie, emphasized how the act of learning scripture during Prudence's Saturday bible study classes influenced how she continues to use scripture to make sense

of her own life. Biblical study guides Quincie's daily life, helping her to make sense of difficulties and obstacles she faces. In *Troubling in my Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil and Suffering*, theologian Clarice J. Martin argues that for Black women, biblical study functions as a way to oppose racial suffering and oppression.¹⁸ Martin asserts that Black women have used "biblical traditions to marshal evidence against all claims that racial suffering and evil is philosophically and morally defensible."¹⁹ For interlocutors, learning stories from the bible empowered them to construct worldviews where they saw themselves as agents of their own lives, rather than being subject to the oppressive structures around them. For example, making sure that her children engaged in scripture, carefully chose verses on their own, and then set those verses to memory, Penny's mother prompted them to define themselves through biblical text rather than stereotypes made about the residents of Pruitt-Igoe.

As an integral part to Black women's *ethic of empowerment*, their religious consciousness functioned to help their children self-identify with biblical stories while also empowering mothers through their role as teacher. My interviewees recount that studying biblical stories with their mothers was a way to learn from their mothers' experience-based knowledge. For example, Prudence consistently acted as both mother and teacher in her everyday life raising twelve children and this role was especially pronounced during their Saturday bible study classes. As bible study teacher to her children, Penny's mother utilized the string game to curate specific biblical teachings that she wanted her children to absorb and transmit her own interpretation of scripture to them. From her position as teacher and mother in a space upon which she had control, Penny's mother found power in transmitting her own knowledge. Patricia Hill Collins argues for the way that Black women historically utilized their own experiences and familiarity with scripture to pass down to their children. She posits, "Stories, narratives, and Bible principles are selected for their applicability to the lived experiences of African-Americans and become symbolic representations of a whole wealth of experience."²⁰ The majority of my interviewees explained how the act of learning from their mothers, in and of itself, affected their own self-perception.

Through weekly bible study classes, Penny's mother also demonstrates the ways Black women in Pruitt-Igoe physically and metaphorically transformed the cold, concrete walls of their apartments into religious and sacred spaces. Prudence's apartment served the dual function of providing literal shelter and spiritual shelter to grow the religious consciousness of Penny and her siblings. Her apartment thus transcended what planners originally intended for the living space (public housing as a way to keep poor Blacks concentrated to one area) to become a space for empowerment and,

therefore, resistance.²¹ For many of the women I spoke to, their apartments in Pruitt-Igoe served as spaces of safety and refuge away from other elements of life in the housing complex. Charlene remembered how Black mothers living on her floor would open up informal candy shops and hair salons, transforming their apartments into sites for community gathering.²² Marcia even recalled how when she felt unsafe in her building, once she got into her apartment and bolted the door, "nobody could get through."²³ My interlocutors demonstrate the way that their mothers worked to detach their apartments from the violence and crime associated with life in the larger Pruitt-Igoe housing project.

Prudence's apartment became both a physically safe space as well as a spiritually safe space for her both her own and neighboring children. Quincie similarly remembers how she would go to Prudence's apartment and find a candy store set up to get them to learn the bible: "And so she created a candy store within the apartment and what she would do is we would earn the candy by learning bible verses. So it was a two-fold thing: we were learning at the same time and also getting rewarded by memorizing of verse and different things like that. She taught a bible class down in the projects and different other family members would come and we would have a bible class."²⁴ The physical change in Prudence's apartment occurred simultaneously with a spiritual transformation into a space of fun, freedom, and safety. Quincie and Penny have happy memories about Saturday bible study classes in that apartment. For them, the apartment became a space where they could explore the bible through trial and error. It was a safe space where they relaxed and enjoyed time with other children; they were immune from the environment on the other side of the heavy, steel door.

Black women have historically transformed places in which they find themselves into what Collins defines as "spaces of safe discourse."²⁵ The religious space that Penny's mother created in Apartment 818 exemplifies how Black women constructed sites where their children could engage in discourse without experiencing surveillance or sanctions. By transforming apartments into "spaces of safe discourse," Black women in Pruitt-Igoe empowered themselves and their children to engage in learning and a dialogue of resistance rooted in scripture. Children were able to learn from and identify with stories from the bible, thus defining themselves through scripture rather than the stereotypes about Black folks in Pruitt-Igoe. While Black mothers utilized their religious consciousness to transform their apartments into sacred spaces, these spaces weren't strictly for religious practices: they become spaces of resistance and empowerment. Black mothers in Pruitt-Igoe drew upon their *ethic of empowerment* to physically engage and remap the meaning of their apartments in Pruitt-Igoe. Importantly, this physical

and rhetorical remapping ensured the wellbeing of children and provided the important groundwork for the possibility of Black liberation and empowerment within Pruitt-Igoe.

Conclusion

I have argued that Black mothers utilized an *ethic of empowerment* to purposefully “live out” their religious consciousness as a way to create safe, sacred spaces within their apartments. These women engaged in physical and rhetorical remapping of space in Pruitt-Igoe to transform their apartments into sites of empowerment and liberation. It was through these spaces that my interlocutors began to define their worth through scripture and religious teachings, rather than through the stereotyped characteristics placed upon public assistance recipients. My hope is that this work serves as an account of the ways Black mothers in Pruitt-Igoe moved through the obstacle course of poverty, racism, and state-surveillance to create and imagine lives for themselves and their children. The examples of Black mothers’ creativity, ingenuity, and struggle that emerge from this text reveal and demand the humanity and personhood of Black women. While even Pruitt-Igoe’s residents themselves have come to symbolize the failure of the housing project, my interlocutors remember their lives, and their mothers’ experiences, as more than a difficult quest for survival in a hostile environment. These Black mothers constructed lives of possibility for their children grounded in their beliefs that Black life was more than coping with poverty, stigmatization, and discrimination. Undergirding this demand for Black liberation is Black women’s *ethic of empowerment*, their motivation to fight for survival as well as move toward the liberation of themselves and their families.

Endnotes

- 1 Quincie Humphrey, interview with the author, November 5, 2015, transcript.
- 2 Delores S. Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk* (MaryKnoll: Orbis Books, 1993).
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., 340.
- 5 Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 111.
- 6 Lee Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Families in a Federal Slum* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970).
- 7 Ibid., 100.
- 8 Ibid., 101.
- 9 Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk*, 32.
- 10 Joseph Heathcott, “Modeling the Urban Future: Planning, Slums and the Seduction of Growth in St. Louis, 1940–1950,” *Planning Perspectives* 20 (October 2005): 383.
- 11 Katharine G. Bristol, “The Pruitt-Igoe Myth,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 3 (May 1991): 164.
- 12 Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 100.

- 13 Chad Freidrichs, *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: An Urban History*, Digital, Documentary (First Run Features, 2011).
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- 15 Rhonda Y. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women’s Struggles Against Urban Inequality*, *Transgressing Boundaries: Studies in Black Politics and Black Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 17.
- 16 Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 226.
- 17 Penny McCoy, interview with the author, November 25, 2015, transcript.
- 18 Emilie Townes, *Troubling in my Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil and Suffering* (MaryKnoll: Orbis Books). Kindle Edition.
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- 22 Charlene Moore, interview with the author, August 4, 2016, transcript.
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The Kebab Truck: A Study of the Turkish and Moroccan Ethnic Economy in Oxford

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Abstract

In Oxford, United Kingdom, migrants from Turkey and Morocco are overly represented in the fast-food mobile catering industry of kebab trucks. This pattern of employment is best described by the concept of an ethnic economy, which emphasizes the existence of co-ethnic and familial employment/self-employment within a private economic sector. This article seeks to highlight the positive and negative attributes of the migrant's experience within the United Kingdom. Four different participants offered to tell their story and the ways in which their transnational ties, meaning the connections they utilized to access and navigate their space, facilitated their entrance to the United Kingdom and their employment in the kebab industry. For all the advantages of the ethnic economy, this study also seeks to illuminate the consequence of the ethnic economy and constraints migrants face in extending their social mobility and networks in Oxford. While the ethnic economy is beneficial to a migrant's survival in the city, it has also limited their social mobility and constricted their career paths to the demanding kebab truck trade. The ethnic economy in Oxford has serviced a high demand for employment amongst migrants in the United Kingdom; however, it is only a band-aid to a potentially larger problem in the general labor market.

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Introduction

Oxford, United Kingdom has become home to a growing network of Turkish and Moroccan migrants, who enter the United Kingdom in search of new opportunities and find themselves in Oxford because of the growing "Kebab Truck" industry. The clustering of mobile caterers across the city center has become a valued Oxford tradition—each evening the sun is replaced by the bright neon lights of the Kebab truck and alluring aromas of cheesy chips, donner kebabs, and falafel. Yet more importantly, at the heart of every truck lies Turkish or Moroccan entrepreneurs and employees, whose employment pattern has come best to be described as an ethnic economy. In this article, the concept of ethnic economy is used to describe the pattern of self-employment and employment of co-ethnic migrants from Turkey and Morocco into the Kebab industry of Oxford.

This article is based on interviews with migrants who currently own and work in Kebab trucks each night. The results of the study highlight the ways in which their transnational ties—the connections they utilize to attain capital, labor and access in their business—have facilitated as well as hindered their opportunities in the United Kingdom. This research acknowledges the ways in which each participant's transnational ties have aided in their migration and settlement to the UK but has also constricted their employment to the Kebab industry, which is a rather exhausting and strenuous night trade that provides limited social mobility and community support amongst neighboring kebab trucks.

Visualizing the Transnational Connections of the Kebab Truck

Studies have found that the immigrant's experience of marginalization and exclusion in the general labor market has prompted the current overrepresentation of ethnic entrepreneurship in the self-employed populations of the United States and Europe (Light and Gold, 2000; Walhbeck, 2007; Bhimji, 2010). This phenomenon has been defined as an ethnic economy, which refers to the network from which migrant groups gain the social capital and resources they need to maintain a private sector of self-employed immigrants and co-ethnic employees (Light and Gold, 2000). The ethnic economy can be thought of as a positive alternative to unemployment, by providing immigrants with the ability to create their own opportunities and assist other migrants through their success.

However, understanding the pathway and actual opportunities of an ethnic economy is contingent upon the migrant's transnational ties, which define the networks, multiplicity of identities and cultures that provide the resources and social capital they utilize (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt,

1999). Current research has conceptualized the process of migration as one within “social fields,” which are defined as a set of local and national networks of power that embed all individuals into multiple “legal and political institutions” (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p. 48). In social fields, social relationships are structured by power and it is this power that shapes an individual’s utilization of the ethnic economy, from the capital they raise, to the labor they recruit (Light and Gold, 2000).

Therefore, transnational ties can not only be used to analyze benefits certain ethnic groups can reap in resources, connections and international capital within an ethnic economy, but also to help illuminate constraints and consequences they can face from their exclusion from the mainstream economy. In fact, studies have found that migrant entrepreneurship has been predominantly contained to fast-food and street vending outlets, which can often be economically precarious and labor intensive (Wahlbeck, 2007). Current research has therefore utilized transnational ties to analyze pathways that have led Latin and Central Americans to the growing taco truck industry across the United States, as well as Turkish migration to the kebab and pizza industry in Finland (Wahlbeck, 2007; Bhimji, 2010).

In a similar spirit, this study has contained itself to the understanding transnational ties within the growth of the “Kebab truck” in Oxford, United Kingdom, which is predominantly run by Turkish and Moroccan migrants. An analysis of transnational ties is used to understand the participant’s decision to migrate, their connection to the Kebab industry and the resources they use to run their business—from the employees they hire, to the relationships they foster in the kebab community.

Methodology

Although Oxford University has no IRB or IRB equivalent, all participants were approached on the street while they were working in their trucks and gave informed consent before beginning any interview. I introduced myself as a visiting student at Oxford University interested in conducting research on their migration and their feelings about the mobile catering industry. Men are overly represented in the kebab industry; the only woman working in a kebab truck was approached for an interview, however because of her limited knowledge of English, she opted to have her son be interviewed in her place. Therefore, all participants in this research are male; two from Morocco and two from Turkey. All four are now citizens of the United Kingdom and all, except for the son, are the truck owners and initiators of the business.

All participants worked from 6pm to as late as 3:30am shifts and had limited free time to meet during the day. Therefore, all interviews took place on the street during the truck’s off-peak hours at the most convenient time of the kebab truck owners, which ranged sometime between 7pm to 11pm. Interviews typically lasted between 30 to 45 minutes, beginning with each answering brief questions about their age, place of birth, date of migration and how long they have been working in the kebab industry. The interviews were facilitated in English with semi-structured interview questions, guided by topics that covered: life before migration, reasons for migration, involvement into the kebab industry, obstacles and challenges of having a kebab truck, interactions with other kebab trucks, and the participant’s connection to their origin country and family. After reading the transcripts, quotes were selected that illuminated how their transnational ties shaped decisions to migrate and participation in the Kebab industry.

Transnational Connections in Migration and Kebab Employment

My interviews cement the importance of transnational ties in the facilitation of Turkish and Moroccan migrants into the kebab industry. None of the participants arrived to the United Kingdom with the intention of establishing a business of their own or working in the Kebab industry. Their reason for migrating to the United Kingdom was instead tied to transnational connections, be it family or friend connection to the country and to the kebab industry. Two of the participants migrated as children with their parents who had family in the United Kingdom who encouraged them to come to the UK for employment, while the other two migrated as young adults after personal connections encouraged them to travel to the United Kingdom for further opportunities. Brief bios are provided to cement how their transnational ties both facilitated their migration to the United Kingdom and their employment into the Kebab industry.

Participant 1: Currently 40 years old, Participant 1 is Kurdish and migrated from Turkey in 1999 at the age of 22. In Turkey, he worked for his father in their family-owned bakery. However, at the age of 22, he decided to migrate to the United Kingdom to escape the police harassment he faced due to his perceived connections to the political group, PKK (Kurdistan Worker’s Party).

The PKK could come to me and I would help them, I would give them money, just a few 200–300 pounds. . . . The police knew and they would ask me many questions and threaten me. I have a cousin in Istanbul. I told him my story and he said he knew

one guy who could do something for me. He told me I could go to the UK, because he could get me a job... so I said okay.

His cousin became his transnational tie to the United Kingdom and Sheffield, where for seven years he lived and worked in a local kebab shop his cousin connected him to. After Sheffield, he moved to Oxford and attempted to open a Turkish bakery, however had limited social capital to attain an affordable location to rent. Instead his work in Sheffield connected him to three different co-ethnic employers of kebab trucks who collectively helped Participant 1 gain the necessary capital and experience to buy the Kebab truck he has now had for 3 years.

Participant 2: Participant 2, 40 years-old, migrated from Morocco in 1997 at the age of 19. In Morocco, his mother was a cook for celebrities and events. As a child he learned a love for cooking from his mother and he grew up dreaming of moving to Spain; only 16 kilometers from his hometown. When he was 17, he began studies in university, in which he focused on languages; particularly, in learning French and had intentions of pursuing Spanish. However, his father died in the middle of his studies, leaving him with minimal financial support and opportunities to continue university.

I went to the Uni, for about 2 years, but when my father passed away I stopped going... My father use to support me when I was a student, but once he died I got no support from no one... The UK was my friend's idea to be honest. He told me to come to the UK to maybe do some studies. But once I lifted studies, I lifted it and I did not have the appetite for it no more.

Shortly after arriving in the UK, he applied for employment at the Job Center in Oxfordshire, which led to a job at a French bakery that he had for three years. However, after the company moved to London, Participant 2 was encouraged by his friend from Morocco, who had a familial connection to the kebab industry, to work for a kebab truck in town. In this scenario the friend was the transnational tie that assisted Participant 2 in finding a job in a kebab truck, which eventually helped him gain the necessary capital to open a business of his own. Participant 2 has since had his Kebab truck for nearly 20 years.

Participant 3: Participant 3 is 30 years old and migrated from Turkey with his family in the 1995. He was 8 years old when his father decided to move to the United Kingdom for employment opportunities that extended family members had found. After a series of odd jobs, his father and mother decided to start a truck that would sell hamburgers during the day. However, after speaking with friends, who had also migrated from Turkey and had opened

a kebab truck themselves, his parents decided to convert their business into a kebab truck in 1998.

"[My mum] knew people around in Oxford who had the Kebab truck who told them they should do it too. The burger truck wasn't making as much money as the kebab, so they decided why not, they had the truck and other people were doing it, so they thought it would be a good job to have too."

Participant 3 is reliant on his parent's transnational ties, which are what have defined the type of employment he has sought out in the UK. As a child, he grew up aiding his parents in the kebab truck and now as an adult, he has become an active partner in the business. He has recently transitioned into a larger management role in the family truck and works in the kebab truck 2-3 days a week. His father, now retired, remains at home, while his 60-year-old mother has retained sole ownership of the truck.

Participant 4: Participant 4, 38 years old, migrated from Morocco with his family at the age of 7 in 1986. Participant 4's uncle encouraged his family to migrate to the United Kingdom and join his work in the Kebab industry. In the late 1980s, his uncle had moved to Oxford and opened a kebab truck in town through the help of a friend. As Participant 4 grew up, he often worked with his uncle, but after secondary school he worked in a series of unstable jobs in security and customer service, before taking over for his uncle.

"When I was younger I use to come and help my uncle in the truck, and even then, I was always very attracted to his job early on; to work for myself and in the mean time to work with students. From working with my uncle, I got the idea and I liked it... When my uncle retired, I was taxi driving and I really didn't like it, so I decided to come back do this instead and now I've only been working on this on my own for the past 6 years."

It is clear from the narratives shared by each participant's opportunities to migrate to the UK and find self-employment in the kebab industry in Oxford was facilitated by some form of transnational tie to a family member or friend in the kebab industry. For Participant 1 the transnational ties his cousin had to the United Kingdom created the pathway for his journey to Sheffield and eventually Oxford. For Participant 2 the networks he used to find employment once in Oxford, were due to familial connections that he attained through a friend who knew of other migrants in the kebab industry. Transnational ties also define the network, resources and social capital that they utilize, like Participant 3 who has inherited the kebab truck from his parents and Participant 4 who took up his uncle's trade after his retirement (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999). According to

Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999), understanding the pathway and actual opportunities of an ethnic economy is contingent upon the migrant's transnational tie.

Constraints within the Ethnic Economy

However, from interviews on their feelings about the Kebab industry itself, it does also appear that the social capital each migrant has access to has also limited their ability to branch out of a rather strenuous and exhausting trade. While the networking within the ethnic economy provided all four participants with employment and helped them avoid the marginalization and exclusion they faced in the general labor market it can also discourage, if not limited, their ability to work outside of the Kebab industry (Light and Gold, 2000). While the ethnic economy is a network that migrants can use for social capital and resources, it is only beneficial for employment within the private sector that kin immigrants have already been able to find employed within (Ibid). Although the kebab industry is an opportunity for self-employment, it is also a strenuous and repetitive trade with late-night work days of 6pm to as late as 3:30am.

Ownership over one's business was reiterated by all four participants as empowering. They referenced how their employment within this ethnic economy allowed them to attain the necessary capital to purchase their own truck, "be the boss" and have the "freedom" to interact with a variety of students, teachers and community members (see also Light and Gold, 2000). When asked about how they felt about the money they made, they reiterated the kebab truck as a guarantee for "getting the bills paid" and "paying the mortgage."

However, their satisfaction with their self-employment was also weighted by all four participants' reiterated feelings of distaste for the repetition and exhaustion of the Kebab industry. It appears as if their transnational ties facilitated employment that helped them survive and support their family, but also discouraged viable interests in pursuing different careers in the United Kingdom. For example:

Participant 1: "When I came to Oxford, I wanted to open a bakery like my parents did in Turkey. Make Turkish bread and sweets. But it was too hard to find a good place to rent, I did know anyone like in Kebab. It was too much headache. I could not find someone I knew to rent me space, so instead I decided to get a Kebab truck."

Participant 2: "This is my business, I am happy with that. I am working here and I am the boss.... But after I lost my job at the French Bakery I wanted to open a restaurant or something. I love to cook and I have lots of experience. But it was too

much time, too much money. My friend told me a kebab truck is better, because Kebab is so easy, but it is too easy for me."

Participant 3: "I got to a stage when I had to decide if I wanted to go to Uni or do my own business like my mum and dad. My dad told me that if I went to Uni I was going to waste time and I was going to waste money, so he told me that I should instead take his business, so even though I kind of wanted to go, I took his advice."

Although all four participants have expressed an appreciation for the liberty and independence that owning a kebab truck provides, it is clear from their testimonials that entering the kebab industry was less than ideal. Studies show that ethnic economies provide its members with the necessary social capital and resources to find employment (Light and Gold, 2000). However, for both Participant 1 and 2 these transnational ties could not facilitate the necessary capital they needed to open up their own bakeries. As Wahlbeck (2007) concludes in his own study of employment pattern for Turkish migrants in Finland, ethnic economies can be beneficial, but they can also contain a migrant's opportunities to specific fast-food and street vending industries. While transnational ties are beneficial, they cannot resolve the underlying exclusion that migrants face in entering other economic sectors.

The Reproduction of Transnational Connections in the Kebab Economy

Although each participant expressed notable dissatisfaction in the kebab trade, they recognized the restrictions they faced in entering other professions. The lack of other employment has made them highly dependent on the success and vitality of their kebab truck. In fact, their dependency has only forced each participant to continue the reproduction of these transnational ties, through further employment of other migrants and family into the Kebab industry. Studies of ethnic economies have previously emphasized that employees see co-ethnic and other immigrants as the most reliable and trusting employees for their business (Wahlbeck, 2007). Their transnational ties serve as an easier channel in which migrants can utilize their transnational connection to attain quicker and more trusting employees. However, this employment pattern consequentially reinforces and contains Turkish and Moroccan employment to the Kebab industry.

All four participants within this study reiterated the importance of trust in finding the appropriate employees. Two of the four participants emphasized flexibility, trust and commitment, amongst other migrants. While Participant 3 and Participant 4, who entered the kebab industry because

of family connections, emphasized the importance of keeping their business within the family itself.

Participant 3: “It’s very hard to get the right person to work with my mum. It’s sort of a trust issue, but also just you need a certain kind of person. We want someone like us. Honestly, I wouldn’t employ anyone if I could. I would just work with my mum if I could.”

Participant 4: “This is a family business, my cousin works with me. We keep it in the family.”

Employees are viewed as vital to running the business smoothly, due to the intensive nature and demand of catering to often numerous and intoxicated costumers. However, when family is unavailable, the next best choice, as emphasized by participant, is a co-ethnic migrant.

Participant 4: “Moroccan people, they are very good for mobile catering business. . . . They are honest, they are serious, they are reliable. . . . They will work, because they understand that it is about business. That’s why we keep it in the family and why there are many Moroccan people who will keep running this business.”

However, participants who have children in the United Kingdom did equally express a strong opinion against their child’s involvement in the kebab industry. Because each participant often reiterated a hope in providing their children with a better future and education than they had, they expressed hesitancy in passing on their trade to their children. This perhaps insinuates that their utilization of co-ethnic relationships and transnational ties in employment are the participant’s way of taking advantage of the social capital their ethnic economy does provide them.

Networking amongst Kebab Truck Owners

Lastly, given the importance of family and ethnic connections amongst employers in selecting employees, my investigations also wanted to verify whether their sense of trust in co-ethnic migrants extended to networking amongst the Kebab truck community, who are predominantly Turkish and Moroccan. The results, however, were interestingly differentiated by the numbers of years in which the participant had worked in the Kebab industry. Participant 1 and Participant 4 who have respectively spent three and one years working in the kebab truck, both expressed kindness and trust towards other kebab truck owners, while Participant 2 and Participant 4, who have spent respectively six and twenty years in the kebab industry, instead emphasized their disinterest in interacting with other Kebab truck owners. In asking Participant 1 about his interactions with the kebab community he referenced an anecdote in which he assisted a fellow kebab truck owner with his truck.

“When his kebab truck was broken for maybe about a month I would take his kebab truck from Whitney and then bring it back for him. I never charged him money for it and he loved me very much and I of course wanted to help him. And I know that though today he needed help, tomorrow I may need the help and I know he would help me no matter what. He is a very good guy and I am a good guy to him.”

Similarly, Participant 3 in fact expressed connection to Participant 1, when asked about his interaction with the rest of the Kebab community.

“I know him pretty good. He is a funny guy. He is Turkish. I have brought vegetables to him before to his truck. I have helped him out and when I see him we always talk.”

On the other hand, both Participant 2 and Participant 4 expressed disinterest in extending social networks or relationships towards the other kebab trucks in town.

Participant 2: “To be honest with you, I have nothing to do with them. Honestly, I am just in this truck, that’s it. I am not interested. I’m not obsessed with them or anything like that. I’m just focusing on this and this truck. They have got their way and I have got my way.”

Participant 4: “This is work. We all have our own work. Each business has its own people and its own costumers. This is my family business, so I focus on me and my family. I know the different people who are working, but I do not talk to them.”

Interestingly these distinctions are also divided by country of origin, since both Participants 2 and 4 do happen to be from Morocco, while 1 and 3 are from Turkey. However, given the negative feelings that the participants shared about the Kebab truck, it seems more likely that the duration of participation in the Kebab industry may play a larger role. It is plausible that longer time in the trade magnifies its negative attributes and limits the individual’s desire to extend their network in the kebab industry. In fact, Participant 2, who has worked in the kebab industry for 20 years, expressed the most negativity towards the trade.

Participant 2: “My life is boring in the UK to be honest with you. I’m only working, that is what I do, that is it, nothing special. The kebab truck is very hard, I would do anything else if I could.”

However, further research would have to be conducted to determine whether time is the culprit. Perhaps through follow-up interviews, that could comparatively show the effects of time on their feelings towards their employment and the kebab community. Though the final results are rather mixed, this does illuminate a limitation in the types of

transnational ties that participants in the kebab industry create amongst other co-ethnic and migrants within their community. Although transnational connections aid migrants in locating allies that will employ them and provide them with the necessary capital to find employment, the kebab community socially remains much more isolated.

Conclusion

This research indicates that the ethnic economy in Oxford has facilitated Moroccan and Turkish migrants with employment opportunities in the Kebab industry. Their transnational ties to their family and friends have assisted in their migration to the United Kingdom as well as their employment into the Kebab industry. Once they entered the ethnic economy, their transnational capital and resources then provided them with the liberty and benefits of self-employment. However, even with the advantages they have been able to attain, the limitation of their transnational ties within the kebab economy have also consequentially constricted their mobility into other career paths. Overall the ethnic economy in Oxford has serviced a high demand for employment amongst migrants in the United Kingdom; however, it remains important to understand that its existence is only a band-aid to a potentially larger problem in the general labor market. Ultimately this study contained itself to voicing each participant's personal experience, both positive and negative, within the kebab industry, but seeks to potentially illuminate a need for further study of the more general structural and economic issues with the integration of migrants within the United Kingdom.

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“Never in My Backyard”: Aesthetics of the Message and Immigration Counter-Narratives in the Chicana/o Poster

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Abstract

The Chicana/o art movement emerged as part of the larger Chicano movement during the 1960s and 1970s. This paper explores the Chicano poster as emblematic of the oppositional milieu of the 1960s and 1970s, questions the absence and dismissal of Chicana/o posters in canonical art history to disrupt “regional hegemony”—or the absence of regional histories and cultural particularities in the educational narratives of the nation that teach students of racial and ethnic difference that culture “always lived somewhere else—never in my back yard” (Saldívar 160). Through an analysis of Rupert Garcia’s *Cesen Deportación!* (1973), I argue that the poster is a manifestation of “oppositional consciousness” of the Chicano movement, particularly regarding immigrant rights. The visual and formal complexities of the poster that works against anti-immigrant discourse during the 1960s and 1970s continues to counter hegemonic beliefs concerning immigration issues of today. Lastly, the poster embodies an important historical moment in the U.S. as they remain absent from larger art historical discourses. Thus, the general goal of this project is to respond to the overarching belief that culture never lives at the margins and question the exclusivity of the American art history canon.

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Introduction

In 1972, Malaquias Montoya created *Vietnam Aztlán*, a five-color silkscreen poster that depicts colliding brown and yellow fists interspersed with the words “Vietnam Aztlán.” The central images of the poster are portraits of Vietnamese and Chicano men linked by the shadow of their helmets and hair. The diptych portrait is followed by the words “Chicano Vietnam” and the repetition of the brown and yellow fists, meeting in solidarity, what some call “fist

bumping.” The image concludes with “fuera,” which translates to “get out.” The poster’s visual and linguistic elements bridge the racial and ethnic struggles against the U.S. military intervention in Vietnam and discrimination experienced by Chicanas/os in the U.S. The poster is emblematic of Chicana/o movement ideology and its “rich complexities and contradictions” as “a movement both nationalist and internationalist, class conscious and culturalist, reformist and revolutionary” (Lipsitz 72).

Using the form of the poster (color, image, and text) as a cultural text, I analyze Rupert Garcia’s *Cesen Deportación!* (1973).¹ His poster *End Deportation!* (1973) opposed the forced removal of Latinas/os from the U.S. and, in particular, opposed anti-immigration sentiments in mainstream U.S. culture during the early 1970s, a period of mass migration of Central Americans to the United States that coincided with major geopolitical events, specifically the Central American civil wars.² Through Garcia’s poster, I explore the centrality of immigration issues to Chicana/o art and political ideology and how artists exposed the omitted narratives of United States immigration history, while creating a sense of empowerment for the Latina/o community. I position Garcia’s *Cesen Deportación!* (1973) as a synthesis of aesthetic and formal qualities exemplary of poignant counter-narratives regarding immigration at the height of the Chicano movement

The Chicano Movement: A Snapshot

The Chicano movement was an eruption in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s, encompassing political mobilizations, student activism, and land rights movements, spearheaded by Mexican-Americans who had endured systemic discrimination for over a century in the U.S. Chicana/o art emerged within the political movement as artists responded to the call to make art for “el movimiento” and the advancement of “la causa.” Early Chicana/o art addressed issues ranging from rural labor exploitation to U.S. imperialism, and mass deportations of immigrants. The artwork was political, yet Chicana/o artists valued the message as much as their aesthetic achievements. Chicana/o artists critically engaged and empowered the Chicana/o community through art-making while proposing counter narratives to the dominant culture in the U.S. Nevertheless, they remained invested in formal concerns in their work.

Produced in large quantities using the silk-screening printing process, Chicana/o art posters exist “somewhere between the unique art object and the mass media,” blending “the formal qualities of both in order to reach an audience neither cares about: urban exiles in search of community” (Noriega 23). Silk-screening allowed for mass reproduction of a single image and the dissemination of political, cultural,

and community messages. Often, Chicana/o artists constructed images by drawing on visual elements of U.S. mainstream culture but reconfiguring them as political messages. Additionally, Chicana/o artists drew inspiration from the work of José Guadalupe Posada and his use of printmaking, as well as the work of Mexican Muralists during the early twentieth century and the decades after the 1910 Mexican Revolution (Jackson 29–34, 74–76). Posada used his engravings to satirize and critique the upper classes of Mexico who centralized power and wealth in the capital, which led to a populist uprising.

Rupert Garcia draws on the ideological underpinning of Posada and Mexican Muralists, that “art in the service of a political as well as a cultural revolution was not only possible, but a personal imperative” (Favela 8).³ Chicana/o artists were aware of the historical significance of these prints as well as others made in the western hemisphere prior to the Chicana/o movement.⁴ Poster art was important in providing counter narratives to long-standing myths in U.S. history and mainstream culture.

Counter narratives in Chicana/o art, according to Victor A. Sorell, pertain to the relationship between “linguistic” and “non-linguistic” signs, which occur in all forms of Chicano/a art—from the mural to the poster (141). This merging of “linguistic” and “nonlinguistic” simply refers to the use of text and imagery in Chicana/o art to present a political message. But the text in Chicana/o posters is not the only sign that *means*. The confluence of “linguistic” and “extra linguistic” signs in Chicana/o art reveals the process of meaning-making that can be unpacked through visual analysis of the posters.⁵ Text in posters can be analyzed for its rhetorical effect(s) as one would do with a literary text. Non-linguistic elements hold symbolic meaning, which is how artists negotiate and visually present complex concepts. When read in relationship to one another, the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the poster reveal a message that is only present when these two elements are juxtaposed.

Art critic and Chicana art historian, Terezita Romo, has developed the study of the symbiotic relationship between text and image in Chicana/o posters through a critical lens that she calls the “aesthetic of the message,” a concept for understanding the simultaneity of the visual and textual elements of the poster (92–93). Romo defines “aesthetics of the message” in *Malaquias Montoya* (2011) as the synthesis of “multiple stylistic influences into a whole that is artistically and politically much greater than its individual components” (7). For Romo, “aesthetics of the message” allows for the analysis of the aesthetics of the poster and its message, without privileging one over the other. This framework of analysis posits text within the image as integral

to the aesthetic construction of the image. The message of the poster is part of its aesthetic experience.

When read as an artistic and cultural object, the poster reflects a synthesis of Chicana/o political ideologies, counter-narratives, and artistic complexity. As artistic production that is at the border of fine art and mass media (Noriega 23), the poster is a historical text through which we can begin to understand the centrality of the struggle for immigrants’ rights to the Chicano movement. Posters allow a critique of the United States and, specifically, its state policies and practices against immigrant communities, by subverting dominant understandings of citizenship through the borrowing of dominant images, synthesis of image and text, and irony. This visual analysis demonstrates some of the ways in which the poster, as an artistic form, begins to visualize the untold and unpopular narratives surrounding immigrant issues in the United States, while presenting oppositional messages against the dehumanization of undocumented communities.

Rupert Garcia: An End to Deportations

Combining the visual and textual to create, then disseminate a counter narrative against the status quo, Rupert Garcia invokes the border in *Cesen Deportación!* (1973) to encourage discussions of immigration centered on the detrimental effects of mass deportations on families and communities. He does so by visualizing barbed wire as a symbol for the border in combination with “minimal composition” or the “clean lines of the stark barbed wire against a deep background, and the strident message in yellow.”⁶ The use of flat shapes, bold and limited colors, and sharp lines are a formal appropriation of Pop Art aesthetics. According to Ramón Favela (8), “the subject matter of American pop art was derived essentially from American commercial mass circulation arts, including sensational newspaper and magazine photographs proclaiming American values, mythological or real,” which artists, most notably Andy Warhol, used to highlight the consumerist and mass reproduction culture of the U.S.⁷ Pop Art is characterized by neutrality, detachment, and debasement as a result of mass reproduction of images and objects in American culture in the early 1960s. The political aspect of Pop Art was the attempt to disrupt the hierarchy between high and low art through the use of mass consumer objects as the subject of the artwork. What makes Garcia’s work significantly different from that of pop artists is that it does not deal with already accepted cultural icons, like that of the Campbell Soup can, on neutral terms; instead Garcia takes a political position in his use of popular and advertisement culture (Diaz 17).

The red, yellow, and black colors in *Cesen Deportación!* (1973) gesture to international solidarity of Chicanas/os with third world liberation and anti-U.S. imperialism movements. Color combinations in Garcia's work on the one hand attract the viewer to the image, but as Favela (12) discusses, "symbolic colors, especially those that allude to specific racial and political associations in the popular imagination, are important elements" in his work. The red and yellow of the poster visually recall the Vietnamese or Chinese flag. In the "popular imagination" these flags were understood as symbols for communism, the antithesis of U.S. capitalism. The system of deportation, the subject of the poster, is part of a larger capitalist system, which depends on disposable, cheap immigrant labor. Through colors, Garcia establishes solidarity between the Vietnamese people fighting for their homeland and undocumented people seeking to establish a new home in the U.S., both resulting from U.S. military intervention with the goal of preventing communism at the global scale. Garcia proposes a visual narrative in which immigration is a result of larger political, social, and historical forces, which counters mainstream narratives of immigrants as criminals. Aesthetically the poster links the struggle for immigrant rights in the U.S. to the anti-war movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Garcia inverts the use of Pop Art aesthetics for the sake of subversion.

The central element of the poster, the barbed wire, is a symbol that connotes an unpopular history and subverts the mainstream ideology of the border as a structure of safety and stability (Herrera-Sobek 155). Employing the barbed wire as a sign of the geopolitical border allows for conversation on the fractured immigration system. The composition speaks about the broken immigration system, which Favela frames as Garcia's expression of "social and political alienation plastically as a visual fragmentation of figures, shapes, and forms with tension-bound formal dislocations" (16). The barbed wire violently bisects the composition, which parallels the violence enacted by the immigration system on communities of color. The poster's date of production serves as a fulcrum point from which we can begin to tell the unpopular narrative regarding the immigration system at the time. During the "1960s the INS recorded more than 1 million, and during 1970s over 7 million arrests of undocumented immigrants" many of which were eventually deported.⁸ Mass deportation of undocumented people was central to the political practices of the United States during the 1970s, but it was an unpopular subject. This is the main difference between Garcia's political posters and Pop Art: he dealt with issues affecting the masses, rather than what was popular.

In addition to the flat shapes, the poster includes the phrase "*Cesen Deportación!*" in bright yellow, which loosely translates to "end deportation." By keeping the phrase in the singular, "deportation," Garcia is not only demanding

the end of deportations, but also demanding an end to the system of deportation. *Cesen Deportación!* (1973) is a call for a humane immigration system that is not based on the rupturing of families. Garcia uses Spanish to amplify the voices from the margin and strategically conveys the sentiment of undocumented people. Garcia appropriates the impersonality that characterizes Pop Art aesthetics for the sake of keeping undocumented people safe. He accurately voices their demand without demanding that they step out of the shadows and be the subject of his work. The synthesis of Pop Art aesthetics and the unspoken reality of millions of detainees bring forward the untold narrative regarding United States' practices against undocumented communities.

Conclusion

Garcia's work reveals alternative possibilities for understanding current immigration issues in the U.S., with the hope of catalyzing a humane solution. His work is a clear example of why Chicana/o posters are important to American art history, but also to American historical consciousness in the twenty-first century. *Cesen Deportación!* (1973) moves beyond the notion of art for art's sake to address an inhumane immigration system for the sake of entire communities. Chicana/o posters allow artists to synthesize aesthetics and political messages in a way where they offer perspectives towards immigration that could possibly help make sense of the withstanding immigration issue in the United States as historically constructed. The vast number of posters created during the Chicano movement begs the question: Why are they not a significant part of American Art history? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that they speak to power and offer alternative ways to conceive history. Even though they are excluded from the art historical canons, by turning to the work of Chicana/o artists we can begin to imagine possible solutions to issues that have persisted throughout time.

Endnotes

- 1 Garcia's work can be accessed online via Calisphere: <https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/hb6489p440/>.
- 2 In her essay "Where Are The Chicana Printmakers?: Presence and Absence in the Work of Chicana Artist of the Movimiento," (2001), Holly Barnet-Sanchez notes, "Posters and prints demonstrating solidarity with struggles of Third World groups of nations, particularly Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, were produced in conjunction with fundraising or consciousness-raising events throughout the latter part of the 1970s through the 1980s" (121). Similarly, "throughout the 1980s, Chicano artists—both veterans of the Viet Nam era and those of a younger generation—produced many powerful posters opposing U.S. intervention and expressing solidarity with the liberation movements throughout Central America and the Caribbean," notes Carol A. Wells in her catalogue essay "La Lucha Sigue: From East Los Angeles to the Middle East" (2001). Both authors point to the impact the civil wars in Central America had in Chicana/o poster production during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980, and disrupt the notion that artists post 1975 were commercially driven.

- 3 In "The Pastel Paintings of Rupert Garcia: A Survey of the Art of the *Unfinished Man, Inside-Outside*," Ramón Favela notes that Rupert Garcia "would not view many original works of Mexican social realist art until his first trip to Mexico City in 1973," which is the same year that he turns "his energies to producing silkscreen posters and serigraphs" (1986, 8). *Cesen Deportación!* (1973) marks an important year in Garcia's consciousness raising and maturation as an artist.
- 4 Carlos F. Jackson in *Chicana and Chicano Art: Protest.Arte* (2009, 69), expounds on significance of the poster and notes the inspiration Cuban posters provided Chicana/o artists. Rupert Garcia, as noted by Jackson, was "inspired by Cuba's OSPAAAL posters and by the death of Cuban communist revolutionary Che Guevara," and created his 1968 poster *Right On!*.
- 5 Victor A. Sorell, in "Articulate Signs of Resistance and Affirmation in Chicano Public Art" (1991), considers "the extent to which the Chicano mural, poster, and placa can and do function discursively—through both their means and their ends—by engaging in and contributing actually or virtually to Movimiento rhetoric" (141). I find Sorell's consideration of both the image and text as part of the "Movimiento rhetoric" important to my project, but I find his separation between text and image limiting.
- 6 In *Malaquias Montoya* (2011, 84–85) Terezita Romo offers this description of the work of Rupert Garcia to contextualize the use of the barbed wire as a trope in the work of Malaquias Montoya and other Chicano artists.
- 7 According to Jonathan Fineberg in *Art Since 1940: Strategies of Being* (2011), "the only meaningful definition of pop art derives from this concept of culture as mediating the terms in which one experiences the world," meaning that mass reproduction and detachment from objects was the reality which Americans experienced (234).
- 8 In "The History of Mexican Undocumented Settlement in the U.S." (1997), Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo proposes these numbers as a reflection of the anti-immigrant sentiments in the United States and as a way for measuring the flux of undocumented people based on deportations in the United States (118).

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Linguistic Attitudes towards Velar *r* in Puerto Rican Spanish

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Abstract

One of the Spanish sounds consists of the alveolar trill, which appears in words, such as *rosa*, *arroz*, and *Israel*. In certain areas of Puerto Rico this sound is produced with a velar articulation and is commonly referred to as “la *r* arrastrá” (“the dragged *r*”). Velar *r* has been associated with rural origin, lack of education, and speech impairment. Numerous studies have investigated the linguistic and social factors that influence the use of this sound (Graml, 2009; Medina-Rivera, 1999). This study, however, is aimed at extending research on the linguistic attitudes associated with the use of velar *r* in Puerto Rico. Twenty younger participants took part in this study. Half of them were residents of San Juan, the capital, and the other half were residents of Naranjito and Comerío, two towns towards the central area of the Island, where velar *r* is more frequently used (Navarro Tomás, 1948; Vaquero, 1972). They completed a matched-guise test, in which they listened to a series of guises with and without velar *r*, and provided their judgments regarding aspects, such as the speakers’ origin, social class, level of education, and personality. The topic of the recordings was also controlled so that half of them fell into a more formal language context category and the other half comprised an informal language context. Results showed that guises with velar *r* received more negative judgments regarding level of education, social class, professionalism, and speaking ability, than those with alveolar *r*. Moreover, participants from the capital tended to exhibit less negative attitudes towards velar *r* than those from the central region. Finally, velar *r* pronunciation was more negatively viewed in the formal context guises than in the informal ones. These results confirm variations in participants’ opinions based on place of residence and the formality of the communicative context; and they are discussed in light of previous studies on this topic (Delforge, 2013; López Morales, 1979).

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Introduction

In Spanish, there are approximately nineteen consonantal sounds and five vocalic sounds. One of the consonants is classified as the trill (/r/) and it is commonly known as the rolled *r*. It is standardly produced by several vibrations of the tip of the tongue against the frontal area of the roof of the mouth known as the alveolar ridge (Alba, 2012). This sound appears at the beginning of words, such as *rosa* ‘rose’ and in the middle of words, such as *arroz* ‘rice,’ *alrededor* ‘around,’ *enredadera* ‘vine,’ and *Israel*. In Puerto Rico, many residents do not always produce the standard alveolar trill. Instead, they pronounce a non-standard velar sound, which surfaces when the back part of the tongue makes contact with the back part of the roof of the mouth. The velar *r* sound has been widely studied by scholars from different perspectives. The earliest studies conducted in Puerto Rico focused on documenting its use in certain areas of the Island (Navarro Tomás, 1999; Vaquero, 1972). In his book on Puerto Rican Spanish (1999; first edition from 1948), Navarro Tomás reported that the use of velar *r* can be heard all over Puerto Rico, although it is more frequent in the Northwest and the Southeast areas of the Country. He observed the use of velar *r* in many municipalities, which were examined further in subsequent studies. Some of the towns where researchers have documented velar *r* are, in the Northern portion of the Island, Aguadilla, Quebradillas, and Arecibo; in the Southern part, Lajas, Yauco, Ponce, and Patillas; in the East of the Island, researchers have reported it mostly in Fajardo; Rincón, Cabo Rojo, Joyuda, Mayagüez, and Hormigueros are the Western towns where it has been found. Although velar *r* has been reported in Bayamón, most zones in the metropolitan area of Puerto Rico, such as Santurce and Guaynabo, have been reported to display less pronunciation of velar *r* (Hammond, 1987). Finally, in the center, velar *r* pronunciation has been documented by Navarro Tomás and studied further by others in Las Marías, Maricao, Sábana Grande, Barranquitas, Cayey, Coamo, and Aibonito. Naranjito and Comerío are two northern-central municipalities in which Navarro Tomás documented the presence of velar *r*; however, they have not been revisited nor have they been studied from an attitudinal perspective. The present study will focus precisely on these areas of Puerto Rican towns.

Navarro Tomás (1999) describes the trill as one of the sounds that generates the greatest degree of difficulty in Puerto Rican pronunciation. In fact, other studies report that the alveolar trill is difficult to acquire in Spanish, both as a first language and as a second language (Dalbor, 1980). Interestingly, because of these difficulties, certain language instructors (e.g., Dalbor, 1980) even recommend

teaching learners of Spanish the velar sound, so that they have an alternate pronunciation for the standard alveolar trill. Several researchers have examined the influence of extralinguistic factors, such as place of residence, socio-economic class, gender, age, interlocutor, and context or situation of speech on the use of velar *r* (e.g., Dalbor, 1980; Dillard, 1962; Graml, 2009). Other studies have considered linguistic factors as well: word type (proper names, e.g., *Raúl*, versus other grammatical categories, e.g., *rosario* ‘rosary’), linguistic context (word initial position, e.g., *radio*, intervocalic position, e.g., *carro* ‘car,’ and after /l/, /n/, and /s/, e.g., *Israel*). Other researchers have focused on the attitudes associated with the use of this nonstandard variant (e.g., Delforge, 2013; Graml, 2009; López Morales, 1979; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). The following subsection presents a summary of their findings.

Previous Research on the Linguistic Attitudes Associated with the Use of Velar *r*

The use of non-standard velar *r* has traditionally been criticized and an effort has been made in schools to lead students to abandon that pronunciation in favor of the alveolar trill. The use of velar *r* has been stereotypically linked to speakers of rural origin, who lack formal education. It has even been associated with a speech impairment. In the 1966 edition of his book, Navarro Tomás refers to this pronunciation as “anomalous” and he expresses his desire that formal education eradicate it in most cases, limiting its presence to the speech of the most isolated, uneducated speakers in Puerto Rico (cited in Vaquero, 1972). Medina-Rivera (1999) mentions that the use of this non-standard variant is constantly made fun of by Spanish speakers from other countries who have had contact with Puerto Ricans. Dillard (1962) also refers to the stigma attached to velar *r* as she explains that speakers tend to control their pronunciation in favor of more prestigious variants when they are interviewed.

In his 1979 study, which analyzes linguistic attitudes associated with velar *r*, López Morales finds that 66.5% of the participants in his Puerto Rican sample had a negative opinion towards the use of velar *r*. Among the participants, 72.4% admitted that this non-standard pronunciation originated in rural zones. Moreover, 35.6% of the sample related velar *r* to the lower sociocultural levels. Finally, 25.6% considered that the pronunciation of velar *r* was due to an anatomical speech impairment. In addition, the researcher’s findings exhibited a relation between participants’ attitudes and social characteristics, such as sex and origin. For instance, women displayed negative opinions towards the use of velar *r* more so than men. In addition, more negative attitudes towards velar *r* were registered

in the metropolitan area (70.4%) that in the rest of the Country (North—61.6%, South—43.1%, East—62.0 %, West—53.6%, Center—58.3%, pp. 201–202, 213).

Most previous studies examining the attitudes associated with velar *r* have used interviews or surveys in which participants are asked to directly respond to several questions regarding their perception of this sound. A more recent attitudinal study examined participants’ attitudes with both a direct measure (an interview with open-ended questions) and an indirect measure (a matched-guise test) (Delforge, 2013). In this study, the researcher compared the attitudes of speakers from San Juan, the capital, with those of speakers from the South of Puerto Rico (Yauco, Ponce, and Patillas). Delforge reported that the results differed between the direct measure and the indirect measure of linguistic attitudes. During the interview, participants generally did not associate the use of velar *r* with any particular trait. A reduced number of the participants (less than 15%) associated it with rural speech, with low levels of education, and with a speech impairment—known in Spanish as *frenillo*—, as has been found in previous studies. With the matched-guise test, the negative attitudes were more noticeable. The participants from the capital and those from the South associated the use of velar *r* with rural speech. Although the San Juan participants did not provide different opinions towards the alveolar trill and velar *r* with respect to intelligence, they associated velar *r* with less polite speakers. However, regarding the qualities of reliability and kindness, velar *r* received slightly more positive judgments than the alveolar trill. The Southern participants judged velar *r* more favorably than the alveolar trill with respect to intelligence, politeness, reliability, and kindness. Delforge concluded that Puerto Ricans’ attitudes towards velar *r* are more positive than had been reported in previous studies. Although the San Juan participants exhibited less positive attitudes than the Southerners, the results for both participant groups turned out to be more similar than expected. Given that there is quite a bit of research on its use, the present study focuses on the linguistic attitudes associated with velar *r* in Puerto Rican Spanish. In the following sections, we present the goals of the present study, we describe the methodology used, we discuss the attitudinal results associated with the use of velar *r*, and, finally, we conclude with a general discussion of the results.

The Present Study

As stated above, the main goal of the present study is to examine the linguistic attitudes associated with the use of velar *r* in Puerto Rican Spanish among speakers from San Juan (SJ, the capital) and two towns in the Northern-Central

part the Island (NC, Naranjito and Comerío). Previous research on this topic has been conducted in three Southern towns and two additional Northern towns. We have chosen to include the capital because the linguistic norm is usually based on the speech of speakers from large, metropolitan cities. Additionally, there is a need for updated data on this sound in the capital. The Northern-Central towns have been included as a contrast because of their inhabitants' use of the velar sound, and because the linguistic attitudes in these towns have not been examined in previous studies.

Methodology

Participants

The participants in this study were recruited by means of the snowball technique, by which the first participants put the researcher in touch with other possible participants known to them. As a result, ten Puerto Rican inhabitants of SJ and ten of the NC part of Puerto Rico between eighteen and thirty-five years of age took part in this study. The participants from each area had been living in their respective towns for more than 75% of their lives. They were equally distributed by sex, resulting in five women and five men belonging to each of the two areas examined, as displayed in Table 1. They were either college students or they had jobs in the towns where they resided.

San Juan		Northern-Central (Naranjito and Comerío)	
Women	Men	Women	Men
5	5	5	5

Table 1. Participants

Materials, Design, and Procedure

In this study, the matched-guise test was used to discover the participants' attitudes toward velar *r*. Ten different recordings of approximately 30 seconds each were prepared with a voice recorder. Five of them centered on a formal topic (a news report) and the other five were recorded to mimic an informal narration of events, such as the one that would take place during an everyday conversation. This was done to see of the topic or content of the recordings influenced participants' opinions of the speakers. Four of the ten recordings were the experimental guises. These four were recorded by the same person—the researcher, who is from Naranjito and uses velar *r* in her informal speech. She made two recordings of each of the two speech types (i.e., the formal news report and the informal narration). In one of them, she made sure to use the alveolar trill and in the other she used the velar *r*. The remaining six recordings were simply distractors, recorded by different people (two men and one

woman), and they were included to help conceal the main study goal from the participants. The participants were asked to listen to the ten recordings with a pair of sound-isolating headphones. Although they were only listening to four different people in the recordings, they were told that the ten recordings were made by different people. This aspect of the matched guise test allows the researcher to examine the participants' attitudes towards pronunciation instead of extraneous factors, such as voice quality. After listening to each of the recordings, the participants were asked to complete a short survey about the person they had just heard. The survey included nineteen questions. Eight of them referenced different speaker qualities, such as intelligence and kindness. To provide their opinions, the participants used a 5-point Likert scale, in which 1 represented a low value of the particular quality and 5 represented a high value. Seven other questions inquired about the speakers' demographic characteristics (e.g., place of residence, level of education). The final question was optional and asked participants to provide any additional opinions of the speaker in the recording.

The study complied with the requirements of the University of Puerto Rico-Río Piedras's Institutional Review Board. The study sessions were held in an office in the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico (for the SJ participants) or in an office in Naranjito or the participants' homes (in the case of the NC participants). When the participant arrived to the meeting place, the researcher explained the consent form to him or her, which stated that the study researched the communication skills among speakers from different towns of Puerto Rico. This was done in hopes of concealing the specific goal of the study. After reading and signing the consent form, the participant completed a short questionnaire on demographic (sex, age, level of education) and language background (language acquisition, language use) information. Then, the participant completed the matched-guise test by listening to the ten recordings and answering the survey about each one. Completing the entire study took approximately 30 minutes. Participation was voluntary and participants did not receive any compensation.

Results

The results of this study were analyzed by the place of residence of the participants (SJ and NC part of Puerto Rico), by type of *r* used in the guises (i.e., standard alveolar trill or non-standard velar *r*), and by the topic discussed in the guises. For each variable, we first examined the personality traits (Likert scale responses), for which we conducted *t*-tests using SPSS. We, then, analyzed the demographic characteristics (closed-ended answers) by means of Chi-square tests.

Trait	Alveolar <i>r</i>			Velar <i>r</i>		
	Northern-Central	San Juan	t-test	Northern-Central	San Juan	t-test
Intelligent	4.5	4.0	$p = .019^*$	3.4	3.9	$p = .047^*$
Polite	4.7	4.2	$p = .034^*$	3.1	3.5	ns
Professional	4.4	4.2	ns	2.6	3.3	$p = .016^*$
Successful	4.4	3.7	$p = .002^*$	3.1	3.6	$p = .086$
Responsible	4.7	4.0	$p = .008^*$	3.7	3.8	ns
Trustworthy	4.7	4.2	$p = .069$	3.4	4.1	$p = .043^*$
Kind/Nice	4.5	3.9	$p = .077$	4.0	4.2	ns
Good Oral Expression	4.9	4.5	$p = .052$	2.3	3.6	$p < .001^*$

Table 2. Personality traits for each type of *r* by participant group

Table 2 displays the results regarding the personality traits for each type of *r* by participant group. With respect to alveolar *r*, the NC participants tended to display more positive opinions of the guises than the SJ participants, and the independent-samples *t*-tests confirmed that this difference reached significance or marginal significance with all but

one trait (i.e., professionalism). In contrast, for velar *r*, the NC participants proved to have more negative opinions for all traits than the SJ participants, and this difference reached significance or marginal significance with all traits, except politeness, responsibility, and kindness.

Trait	Alveolar <i>r</i>			Velar <i>r</i>		
	Northern-Central	San Juan	t-test	Northern-Central	San Juan	t-test
Urban/Rural Area	Urban 65%	Urban 100%	$p = .004^*$	Rural 70%	Rural 80%	ns
Metropolitan Area	55%	80%	ns	15%	20%	ns
Countryside	35%	0%	$p = .004^*$	85%	80%	ns
Jíbaro	25%	0%	$p = .017^*$	75%	40%	$p = .025^*$
College Education	85%	70%	ns	30%	55%	ns
High/Mid/Low Social Class	Mid 80%	Mid 90%	ns	Mid 70%	Mid 85%	ns
Speech Impairment	0%	0%	ns	45%	45%	ns

Table 3. Demographic characteristics for each type of *r* by participant group

Table 3 exhibits the demographic characteristics for each type of *r* by participant group. Focusing first on alveolar *r*, the significant results pertain to the area of origin. Although both groups of participants tended to associate the alveolar *r* guises with a person from urban origin, the SJ participants did so significantly more than the NC participants. Both groups also dissociated the alveolar *r* guises with countryside and *jíbaro*¹ origin, but the SJ participants did so significantly less than the NC participants. With respect to the other traits, both groups of participants tended to associate alveolar *r* with the metropolitan area, with college-level

education, and with the mid social class. As expected, they did not link the use of alveolar *r* with any speech impairment. Regarding to the velar *r*, participants from both groups tended to associate the use of this non-standard sound with rural and countryside origin more than with urban and metropolitan area origin. They also associated this pronunciation with mid and low social classes. About half of the participants from each group linked the use of velar *r* with speech impairment. The only significant difference between groups appeared with the *jíbaro* trait, which the NC group associated more with velar *r* than the SJ group.

	Northern-Central			San Juan		
Trait	Alveolar <i>r</i>	Velar <i>r</i>	t-test	Alveolar <i>r</i>	Velar <i>r</i>	t-test
Intelligent	4.6	3.4	$p < .001^*$	4.1	3.9	ns
Polite	4.7	3.1	$p < .001^*$	4.3	3.5	$p = .002^*$
Professional	4.5	2.6	$p < .001^*$	4.2	3.3	$p < .001^*$
Successful	4.4	3.1	$p < .001^*$	3.7	3.6	ns
Responsible	4.7	3.7	$p = .002^*$	4.0	3.8	ns
Trustworthy	4.7	3.4	$p < .001^*$	4.2	4.1	ns
Kind/Nice	4.5	4.0	$p = .025^*$	3.9	4.2	ns
Good Oral Expression	4.9	2.3	$p < .001^*$	4.5	3.6	$p < .001^*$

Table 4. Personality traits for each participant group by type of *r*

Table 4 presents the opinions on personality traits towards the guises with alveolar *r* and velar *r* for both participant groups. For each trait, it is evident that the NC participants had significantly more negative opinions of velar *r* than of alveolar *r*. The largest difference in mean ratings for both types of *r* surfaced with the trait of good oral expression (4.9 for alveolar *r* and 2.3 for velar *r*). The

SJ participants displayed more negative opinions of velar *r* in all except one trait: kindness. However, when compared to the NC participants, the difference between the SJ participants' judgments of alveolar *r* and velar *r* was reduced, which is why it only reached significance with the traits of politeness, professionalism, and good oral expression.

	Northern-Central			San Juan		
Trait	Alveolar <i>r</i>	Velar <i>r</i>	t-test	Alveolar <i>r</i>	Velar <i>r</i>	t-test
Urban/Rural Area	Urban 100%	Urban 20%	$p < .001^*$	Urban 65%	Urban 30%	$p = .027^*$
Metropolitan Area	80%	20%	$p < .001^*$	55%	15%	$p = .008^*$
Countryside	0%	80%	$p < .001^*$	35%	85%	$p = .001^*$
Jíbaro	0%	35%	$p = .004^*$	25%	75%	$p = .002^*$
College Education	70%	55%	ns	85%	30%	$p < .001^*$
High/Mid/Low Social Class	Mid 80%	Mid 90%	ns	Mid 80%	Mid 70%	$p = .006^*$
Speech Impairment	0%	45%	$p < .001^*$	0%	45%	$p < .001^*$

Table 5. Demographic characteristics for each participant group by type of *r*

Table 5 displays the demographic characteristics judged for alveolar *r* and velar *r* by each participant group. As with the personality traits, the differences between the NC and SJ participants' opinions towards each type of *r* were mostly significant. The NC group strongly associated alveolar *r* with the urban and metropolitan areas, and with

college education. The SJ participants did so to a lesser degree. When turning to velar *r*, it is evident that both NC and SJ participants judged it as characterizing a *jíbaro* from the countryside without college education. Interestingly, both participant groups significantly associated the use of velar *r* with a speech impairment to the same degree.

Trait	Alveolar <i>r</i>			Velar <i>r</i>		
	Formal Topic	Informal Topic	t-test	Formal Topic	Informal Topic	t-test
Intelligent (NC)	4.7	4.4	$p = .081$	4.1	3.4	$p = .010^*$
Professional (NC)	4.8	4.1	$p = .010^*$	–	–	–
Responsible (NC)	5.0	4.3	$p = .025^*$	–	–	–
Trustworthy (NC)	4.8	4.5	$p = .081$	–	–	–
Good Oral Expression (NC)	5.0	4.7	$p = .081$	3.0	2.3	$p = .066$
Good Oral Expression (SJ)	4.8	4.2	$p = .005^*$	–	–	–

Table 6. Personality traits for each type of topic by type of *r*

Finally, Table 6 displays the participants' judgments towards the guises divided by topic and by type of *r*. In this case, only the significant results are shown and the particular group that presented the significant results is revealed in parentheses next to each trait. Both with alveolar *r* and velar *r*, if the speaker was talking about a formal topic, she received more positive ratings, mostly by the NC participant group. The SJ group, nonetheless, also generated higher ratings with the formal topic guises with respect to the trait of good oral expression.

Discussion and Conclusion

By means of the matched-guise test, this study examined the attitudes towards velar *r* displayed by twenty speakers from San Juan and the Northern-Central part of Puerto Rico (Naranjito and Comerío). When comparing both groups of participants, the results show that the attitudes displayed by the NC participants are more extreme than those exhibited by the SJ participants. In other words, the former have more positive attitudes towards the standard alveolar *r* and more negative attitudes towards the non-standard velar *r* than their counterparts from the Puerto Rican capital. When both types of *r* are directly contrasted, it is evident that participants from both groups tend to display better judgments towards alveolar *r*; the difference between opinions towards alveolar and velar *r* is particularly significant for the NC participants.

Therefore, we see that the Puerto Rican speakers who tend to use the non-standard velar *r* are those who have the more negative opinions towards that sound. They associate alveolar *r* users with being more intelligent, polite, professional, successful, responsible, trustworthy, kind, and well-spoken than velar *r* users. Regarding the demographic characteristics, the results show less differences between both groups; NC and SJ participants associate the use of alveolar *r* with speakers from urban and metropolitan areas

who have college education. Meanwhile, the use of velar *r* is linked to *jíbaro* speakers from a rural, countryside region, who may have a speech impairment. These findings replicate those reported in previous studies with respect to personality traits and demographic characteristics (Delforge, 2013; Graml, 2009; López Morales, 1979; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). It was also discovered that the participants' opinions are influenced by the topic of speech; hence, their attitudes improve when the speakers talk about formal topics. Once again, this is particularly significant with the NC participant group. This finding should be taken into consideration when designing future studies with this data collection technique. No significant differences based on participant sex arose: male and female participants from both Puerto Rican towns exhibited similar judgements towards alveolar and velar pronunciations.

For future research on this topic, the methodology can be modified in several ways. More guises should be included, especially distractor guises, in the matched-guise test. The experimental or target recordings should include guises, not only by females, but by males as well. This addition would allow us to examine if participants are influenced by the sex of the speaker when they judge their speech. It would be beneficial to collect data from a larger group of participants. Moreover, conducting a study with the same data collection technique, but with participants from other Puerto Rican towns would provide an updated comparison of linguistic attitudes towards velar *r*. Finally, a further study could consider the attitudes that Spanish speakers from other countries display towards Puerto Rican velar *r*.

Endnote

- 1 The term *jíbaro* is used to refer to a mountainous country dweller and is also used to describe the speech of this type of Puerto Rican inhabitant (urbandictionary.com).

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To Find the Beauty in Labor

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Abstract

By analyzing the sociopolitical and literary implications of Nikky Finney's "Dancing with Strom," from her fourth collection of poetry, *Head Off & Split* (2011), this article probes the dominant American inclination to gloss over and/or blatantly deny its storied racist past. The central work is a critical analysis of the relationship between the poem's formal elements and themes of black labor and kinship ties in opposition to American white supremacy. In the culminating pages of the article, I interrogate the critical reception of Finney's work, reading these critiques as symbols of the perceived legitimacy of black radical thought within the forum of poetry. I argue that Finney's latest work furthers a tradition of black women poets who strive to pay homage and give voice to the black ancestors whose pain and labor have been forgotten.

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Unearthing the Perpetual Beauty of Black Labor

He is as tall as Abraham Lincoln. Here, on his wedding day, he flaunts the high spinning laugh of a newly freed slave.

— Nikky Finney, *Head Off & Split*, 2011

When I was a young black girl growing up in Baltimore, my grandmother took me to the National Great Blacks in Wax Museum on North Avenue, a short bus ride from her

house on Maryland Avenue. While I cannot remember if I saw wax figures of known "great blacks" like Martin Luther King Jr. or Rosa Parks, I will never forget how my eyes were drawn to the wax figure of a black slave woman: wrapped in shadows, half naked, her arched back recoiling from the blow of a whip. Her pain had been immortalized, so that no one could forget how America's exploitation of black slave labor has wrought sustained, intergenerational trauma upon black people. I could not help but want to look away, though my memory has kept the image of this black slave woman alive for more years than I can recall. Today, as I refuse to watch the many viral videos of black death at the hands of federal and state authorities, I am also drawn back to that moment at the wax museum, where those haunting visuals of state violence proclaimed that black labor, black bodies, and black pain have been exploited as a historic American pastime.

Not everyone has the opportunity, or the sensitivity, to feel the weight of such visuals of black pain. In such moments, black women poets are a group of people who fill this sensory void. Black women poets labor with language to illuminate the pain, the beauty, and the joy of black people's work. Throughout her poetic career, Nikky Finney has focused on the stories and voices of black people, specifically honoring the roots her family left for her. As she meditates on her familial roots, Finney exposes the ways in which past and present black labor, performed for the American nation, is essential to historical constructions of blackness as a forum of identity. Finney's roots are deeply black in character and blackened by the manipulation and theft of her family's labor. In this way, blackness, and race in general, is written along sociopolitical lines of contribution to the creation of the nation and society of America.

Published in her latest book of poetry, *Head Off & Split*, "Dancing with Strom" (2011) reflects Finney's labor to hone her craft and speak power to her truths. This autobiographical yet historically oriented poem depicts Strom Thurmond's invasion of her brother's wedding reception. Finney presents this moment of violation of black roots and labor as another manifestation of Thurmond's status as an enactor of Southern white power and control. Engaging with Finney's "Dancing with Strom" and her poetry's critical reception teaches us about legacy and inheritance. I argue that "Dancing with Strom" works to reveal the ways in which black folks inherit the labor, energy, and memories of their ancestors, who fought to build black lives and traditions under duress. I also posit that Jan Gretlund and Kwame Dawes' critical engagements with Finney's poetry reveal different rubrics for valuing personal and political inheritance and testimony within the poetic form. The juxtaposition of poetry and literary criticism within this paper showcases how Finney's work refuses to allow narratives of

American history to disregard this country's abuse of black labor and pain.

At ease, Finney confronts the white hands, bodies, and symbols that press against her sacred black family. She begins the poem with two epigraphs written in 1948, one by Strom Thurmond, "South Carolina Senator and Presidential Candidate for the States' Rights Party," and one by Modjeska Monteith Simkins, "Civil Rights Matriarch." As Thurmond declares "there's not enough troops in the army to force the southern people to break down segregation and accept the Negro [pronounced Nigra]," and Simkins vows to "fight Thurmond from the mountain to the sea," these epigraphs represent political, racial, and gendered polarizations of sociopolitical voice within this time (Finney 63). These voices set the scene, presenting a duel to signify the empty, violent promise of interracial interaction in South Carolina. As oppressors cling to systemic subjugation, black people resist. Before we ever touch the verses of the poem, we know something dangerous must unfold within its lines.

When Finney says that her brother is "as tall as Abraham Lincoln," the present and the past collide, violently (2). The reference to Abraham Lincoln automatically evokes the dominant historical narrative that touts the Emancipation Proclamation as a fantastic achievement of progress, one that gave Lincoln a legacy much greater than he should have been granted with a mere rhetorical gesture. The dark side of the reference shows that very little changed for black Americans once the papers of that apparently historic document were signed. That Finney connects the Lincoln legacy of political gestures that fall short of real change to her perception of her brother's wedding is eerie, as it anticipates Thurmond's arrival, both within American history and at her brother's wedding. While Finney's invocation of Abraham Lincoln introduces the historical precedent of white men's right to legally and symbolically define the movements and liberties of black folks, the appearance of Strom Thurmond confirms it.

Finney watches Thurmond command the scene of her brother's wedding reception with a highly critical eye. When she writes,

If I walk down I imagine he will extend his
hand, assume I am next in his *happy ducky*
line, #427 on his dance card. His history
and mine, burnt cork and blackboard chalk,
concentric, pancaked, one face, two histories,
slow dragging, doing *the nasty* [,] (21–26)

Finney identifies the historical relationships surfacing between Thurmond and her family, and with black folks in South Carolina more generally. The boldness of enjambling

"his / hand" belies the fury that peaks in Finney's italicization of "happy ducky," as she is under no false pretenses about what this intrusion on her family's communal space symbolizes (21–22). Uninvited, Strom Thurmond became the center of attention in a private black space that his whiteness rewrote as available for public consumption. Once he was the focal point of the reception, he made the black folks revolve around him in such formation that if Finney had danced with him, she would have been reduced to "#427 on his dance card," a quantification not unlike taking stock of the property a white slave-owner could manipulate, sell, and do "*the nasty*" to (23, 26).

"*The nasty*" of "his history / and mine . . . slow dragging" speaks of bodies pressed too closely to one another (26, 23–24). The bodies in question are of central importance in this conversation about touching, pressing, and feeling black and white bodies against one another. As Clymer notes,

. . . interracial intimacy is simultaneously an emotional and a legal infrastructure, a site through which ideas of family and property have been constructed and shaped each other. To understand interracial intimacy in this way is to see it as a mix of affect and economics, a politics of wealth management in a racialized country where sex and intimacy can both threaten social hierarchy and be used to reinforce it. (6)

Clymer declares that there is emotional and economic capital being negotiated within the spatial, sexual, and romantic intimacy of black and white bodies. Pushing that notion forward, this moment of "*the nasty*" becomes a dark, sinister parody of black women's history where "happy dark[ies]" line up to dance with the proudest symbol of South Carolinian white supremacy and suppression (22–23). Thurmond's presence is a type of forced, innuendo-laden intimacy that invokes a narrative of forgetting and forgiving what has past, namely his own legacy's relationship to "one face, two histories" (25). Thurmond would have America forget that his eldest child was Essie Mae Washington-Williams, "born when he was a 22-year-old man and her mother, Carrie Butler, [was] a 16-year-old black maid in his father's house" (washingtonpost.com). Yet Finney exists among the "many others [who] had long understood Mr. Thurmond to have had an interracial child," thereby invoking a collective, intergenerational memory of white men's bodies touching enslaved and unfree black women's bodies without concern for those black women's consent (nytimes.com).

In the past and the present, Thurmond's intimacy with black women's bodies is a direct affront to Finney because of the openly racist political labor he performed to subjugate black people. Yet the reality of Thurmond's

involvement in interracial sex “was not contrary to [his] goals as a segregationist. On some level, it was entirely the point” (newyorker.com). That is, Thurmond’s interruption of the wedding was such a severe violation because his behavior belongs to a white tradition of invading black women’s bodies that is “enshrined, if ignored, in the history, fiction, and lore of American racial history” (newyorker.com). Finney recognizes the complexities of Thurmond’s racist engagements with blackness, and like the labor inherent in Essie Mae “[keeping] the senator’s secret . . . when he was alive,” Finney labors to illuminate the troubling nuances of Thurmond’s white male history of dominance (washingtonpost.com). While the historical Thurmond screams from the epigraph that segregation is forever, the poem’s Thurmond dances with “it’s-never-too-late-to-forgive-me *chivaree*” that uneasily re-inscribes the white man as powerful even in spaces built for black intimacy (91).

Not only is family sacred for Finney, but so are the products of their labor. If the first half of the poem shows us black and white bodies pressed against each other with the past between them, then the second half reveals how this bodily pressure has denied black liberty throughout American history. Here, Finney invokes the tangible histories that blacks have built for themselves on stolen, “American” soil. She notes:

History does not keep books on the
handiwork of slaves. But the enslaved
who built this Big House, long before
I arrived for this big wedding, knew
the power of a porch. (206–210)

In this passage, physical labor becomes an articulation of collective black knowledge and power. Outside of the records of American history, “the enslaved” “knew,” revealing an unrecognized but enduring self-humanization that black slave communities cultivated (207–209). When Finney juxtaposes the capitalized plantation “Big House” with her brother’s “big wedding,” she shows how the historical narrative of American progress collides with the reality of forced black labor by illuminating and prioritizing unwritten black knowledge (208–209). The plantation house is a recognizable symbol of the antebellum South, where a “big wedding” or elaborate ceremony for black union, would have been completely unfamiliar (209). What connects this ceremony to the plantation house is the porch, an architectural creation devoted to black relaxation, communion, and observation. Denied entry to white standards of company and entertainment, black folks carved out this space for themselves, to pass down oral histories and traditions, even while white people like Strom Thurmond strove to demarcate racial, social, and legal boundaries between white and

black people. What black folks inherit, Finney proclaims, is the very architecture and landscape of America, which white people claimed as their property. As with black bodies, this claim is not a case grounded in reality. By recognizing “the power of a porch,” “this native necessity of nailing down / a place,” Finney gives voice to the labor of her black ancestors and restores the black voices that created space with their hands (210–212).

Finney’s revisions of white supremacist narratives of American history have profound consequences. As Kraver notes, Finney holds the layers of the past and present during her mother’s dance with Strom Thurmond, “dig[ging] beneath the surface of the stories of South Carolina and locat[ing] the history of her people,” thereby honoring their labor and sacrifice (140). In her “vigorous” approach to locating black identity within geographical locations, Finney fights to unearth her history from white supremacist modes of historical amnesia (Kraver 140).

The undeniable radical tilt of Finney’s work makes it susceptible to a wide variety of negative critiques. While “Dancing with Strom” is hailed as Finney’s highest moment of artistry, against which all her poems should be judged, Gretlund claims that “Finney at times is crusading so furiously and works so close to her anger that the distance needed to make the poetry universally relevant (i.e. as true at one time as another) in order to make it a part of the American experience, simply is *not* there” (6). While this declaration reads as an objective critique of poetic style and form, Gretlund’s words are politically charged. To dictate how Finney should respond to injustice and how she should create during moments of turmoil is to re-inscribe the oppressive silencing of black women’s voices. To critique Finney’s poetic mission to recover black voices as “crusading” and “work[ing] so [read: too] close to her anger” polices the tone that Finney deliberately and creatively chose to present (Gretlund 6). By policing Finney’s tone, Gretlund’s criticisms deny Finney’s poetic, cultural, and historical project the legitimacy that it demands. By focusing on universality, a concept responsible for the continual whitewashing of poetic form and content, Gretlund erases Finney’s intent to uncover a facet of black American history that has been deliberately silenced.

Other critics like Kwame Dawes attempt to meet Finney where she is: amid a deeply personal, yet communally significant political project. Reflecting on the weight of Finney’s verses, Dawes recognizes the risks of Finney’s refusal to adhere to the strict standards about how poetry should look and sound, and how poetry should engage its audiences. In a letter to her, Dawes comments:

What is more telling about [the weight and reach of your poems] is that you are aware of the problems inherent in speaking these ideas so boldly, and you reflect, in the very content and form of the poetry, your own struggle with the contradictory instincts of control and abandon which are so critical to the poet. The tension creates a kind of vitality that is at once daring (because of its vulnerability) and refreshing (because of what it ultimately achieves). (275)

Unlike Gretlund, Dawes appreciates the energy and political investment of Finney's poetry because she subjects her own body to critique by speaking plainly and specifically about the lives and legacies of the black folks who labored before her. In "Dancing with Strom," she has taken the narrative poem's emphasis on storytelling and themes of love, family, and heroism and rewritten the expectations, scope, and potential of the narrative poetic form by refusing to silence the nuanced realities of oppressed black folks. Instead of condemning Finney's "crusading" like Gretlund (6), Dawes can relate to the danger that criticisms like Gretlund's pose to Finney's work, as they reflect a dominant imperative to maintain whitewashed considerations of poetic artistry and agency as well as of American history. Dawes echoes this awareness, arguing that Finney's poetry "is a dangerous cry because it demands from people an examination of those very things that Americans regard as evidence of their accommodation of the races" (275). By reading racist, oppressive histories into Thurmond's encounter with her family, Finney unsettles notions of American post-raciality. By shedding light on the labor of those black folks who built and maintained American culture, she becomes another target in a tradition of vocal black women who fought against traditions of oppression.

Throughout her career, Finney pays homage to her black ancestors while cementing her place as a black community activist. In several interviews, Finney describes the impact her mentor, Toni Cade Bambara, had on her formation of poetic voice and purpose. Finney states that Bambara "believed that writing should be as beautiful as it was political . . . her definition of a writer in the community wasn't just someone who wrote about the fictitious lives of imagined people but someone who stepped in, to the real lives of people, and lent something tangible and concrete to the moment" (Thompson 15). Not only does Finney draw from more distant slave ancestors who labored to create physical space for black folks, but also from her own mentors who prioritized creating artistic and political space by honoring the voices of their contemporary black communities. When Finney says, "If I set myself away from life and only imagine what people are when I sit down to write, then I'm not doing what I'm supposed to be doing as writer or human being,"

she reveals that illuminating the dynamics, demands, and desires of her black communities is a central political imperative for her work (Thompson 16). This comment illustrates the significance of sustained connections between the black woman poet and the community she represents. In this way, Finney might be compared to a griot, because her poetry reflects her interpretation of her community's struggles, frustrations, and desires.

Finney's work cannot be restricted by limits on poetic form and style because she belongs to a black women's poetic tradition that radically centers the beauty of real black people, voices, and stories. Yet speaking truth is an inherently dangerous, radical practice because these black women give voice to narratives that do not submit to dominant considerations of American progress. Finney's own grandmother "was afraid for me, for what might come back around. I was not writing out of any state of fear of reprisal. She had raised me to be this way in the world but she was still not prepared for me to be. No one who loves anybody like she loved me ever is" (Thompson 21). Her grandmother's fear is so compelling because there is an intergenerational knowledge of the dangers in resisting the narratives that have been carefully constructed to contain blackness and black voices. Finney has inherited a voice that dares to be strong, loud, and brave, but there is no safety for her if she uses it. In the tradition of black women poets who came before her, Finney perseveres in hopes that the collective, intergenerational labor of black women poets will continue to rebuild the forms, the historical narratives, and the political imperatives that poetry can hold.

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“Fanny’s on the Big Screen”: The Troubles of Fanny Price’s Transition from Page to Screen

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Kiara Downs is a recent graduate of Whittier College where she obtained a BA in English and a self-designed major entitled Framing Society: Theatre and Film. She has done extensive work looking at the intersections of English, Film, and Sociology. She would like to carry this focus into a doctoral program in either Film or Performance Studies. She is currently taking the time to enjoy her alumni status and apply to graduate school.

Abstract

This study focuses on Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* (1814) and its two film adaptations (1999 and 2007). The novel is often regarded as Austen’s least popular novel due to its heroine Fanny Price. Critics such as Auerbach, Despotopoulou, and MacIntyre comment on Fanny’s lack of charm, likeability, and appeal among audiences. This paper addresses the interiority of Fanny the audience accesses through the narration style, free indirect discourse, and how it shapes the perception of her character. This analysis later moves into a study of the two films and how they portray Fanny. It will specifically focus on how the changing of narrative style in the films affect the understanding of Fanny’s character and how she is perceived by the audience. This paper argues that the use of free indirect discourse is vital to gain a complete understanding of Fanny’s character and why she is least popular among all Austen heroines.

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“Fanny’s on the Big Screen”: The Troubles of Fanny Price’s Transition from Page to Screen

There is frequent dispute on how to approach Jane Austen’s most “boring,” “passive,” “charmless,” “selfish,” “holier-than-thou,” “wet blanket” of a heroine (Auerbach 209, Despotopoulou 573, Jenkins 354, MacIntyre 242). Fanny Price is the protagonist of Jane Austen’s 1814 novel *Mansfield Park* who perplexes many Austen critics and adapters in regards to her place among the world of Austen’s leading ladies. She is starkly different from other Austen leading ladies in her behavior, thoughts, lack of likability, and character arc (or lack thereof). However, this textual understanding of Fanny does not always translate onto screen. In analyzing the role of Fanny’s character in the novel, many critiques focus on her passivity, moral consistency, lack of charm, and her attitude toward other characters. All these aspects

are crucial in understanding popular attitudes towards the novel and why they might vary toward the film adaptations. The novel follows Fanny as she takes up residency at Mansfield Park with her uncle, aunt, and cousins. Although a great amount of scandalous drama ensues after the arrival of the Crawford siblings, morals are a constant companion to Fanny and play a substantial role in the novel. It is the lens through which Fanny observes and judges the world around her. While these morals are still present in the films, the ways they are presented differ from the novel. This is largely due to the narration style and the type of interiority to which the audience is allowed access in the novel. The use of free indirect discourse is integral to understanding Fanny and her morality; however when that narration is lost in the films, the understanding of Fanny is altered and so too are the negative opinions of *Mansfield Park* and its heroine.

Fanny Price: Morality, Charm, and FID

Free indirect discourse (FID) is a narrative style that Austen employs in all her works. It does not tell an exclusive account of one character’s perspective like first-person, nor does it objectively observe the action of the fabula (sequence of events) like third-person omniscient. FID takes place in the middle between the personality of a character and the omniscient narrator. Mieke Bal describes FID as “a form of interference between narrator’s text and actor’s text. Signals of the personal language situation of the actor and of the (im)personal language situation of the narrator cross, without explicit reference to this” (50). The narrator allows for interiority by slipping in and out of the character’s consciousness: peering into the character’s mind and using their personal language to describe the world about them. FID uses the narrator as the mediator between the character’s thoughts and the reader without compromising the emotional authenticity of the character. This kind of interiority is what the audience is exposed to when reading about Fanny. They are allowed access to Fanny’s thoughts and perspective of the world around her.

For example, at the end of the novel, when set to return to Mansfield after visiting Portsmouth (her childhood home), the narrator states,

When she had been coming to Portsmouth, she had loved to call it her home, had been fond of saying that she was going home; the word had been very dear to her; and so it still was, but it must be applied to Mansfield. *That* was now the home. Portsmouth was Portsmouth; Mansfield was home. (Austen 292)

This passage emphasizes the feelings and clarity that Fanny is overwhelmed with as she realizes where she truly considers home. These are thoughts that could easily be told in first or third person saying, “When coming to

Portsmouth, I loved to call it my home,” or “Fanny still called Portsmouth home.” FID stands apart by giving the audience insight into Fanny’s mind with personal language and situations, mediated through the narrator. This interiority is key to understanding Fanny’s world and her role within *Mansfield Park*, but it does not mean that the audience enjoys their experience in her mind.

Mansfield Park has often been described as Austen’s least popular novel and sometimes a failed novel. Many identify the source of its unpopularity as Fanny. Anna Despotopoulou states that *Mansfield Park* “has often in the past been tainted by negative criticisms of the heroine’s priggish insistence on rules of conventional morality” (569). Later, Joyce Jenkins plainly says, “Fanny Price is very difficult to like” (35). Following the same sentiment, Lionel Trilling asserts, “Nobody, I believe, has ever found it possible to like the heroine of *Mansfield Park*” (206). She is not a beloved protagonist because audiences are given access to her judgmental and insecure thoughts. The audience’s role runs uniquely parallel to Fanny’s role in the novel as they are the silent observer of all they read happening at Mansfield. They are in a position of spectating as the narrator gives accounts of Fanny silently condemning those around her. This is especially seen when Mansfield puts on a play which Fanny strongly but silently disagrees with. The narrator emphasizes Fanny’s silent judgement saying, “Fanny looked on and listened, not unamused to observe the selfishness which, more or less disguised, seemed to govern them all, and wondering how it would end” (Austen 93). The audience is able to feel Fanny’s disgust for the families “selfishness which [. . .] seemed to govern them all.” This moral gaze is cast on everything Fanny experiences, often passively in an unassuming corner, which causes many to dislike her character.

Fanny’s moral judgement is especially strong when interacting with the Crawford siblings that visit Mansfield and disrupt Fanny’s boring life. Mary and Henry Crawford are socialites who bring entertainment and pleasure to the dull Mansfield Park. However, their presence challenges Fanny both morally and romantically. They both have a unique ability to get under her skin and reveal to the audience just how scathing her thoughts can be. When Edmund, her cousin and romantic obsession, agrees to take part in the play *Lovers Vows*, Fanny internally combusts.

She could think of nothing else. To be acting! After all his objections—objections so just and so public! After all that she had heard him say, and seen him look, and known him to be feeling. Could it be possible? Edmund so inconsistent. Was he not deceiving himself! Was he not wrong? Alas! It was all Miss Crawford’s doing. (Austen 95)

The audience is truly exposed to the passionate anger/disappointment Fanny feels toward Edmund and shameless jealousy she feels toward Mary. This monologue is passionately coursing through Fanny’s mind but is being intercepted and relayed by the narrator using FID. When Fanny is with Mary, the potency of her morals is especially emphasized because FID shows Fanny’s hypercritical and often disparaging opinions of Mary. Austen sets Mary opposite of Fanny as both a literal and symbolic counterpart. Literally, Fanny and Mary are opponents in the field of love, competing for Edmund’s affection. Symbolically, Mary opposes Fanny with a charming personality and lack of morality. Mary’s love for appearances and a lifestyle provided by wealth is central to her character. It is evident as Fanny spends more time with her that she increasingly dislikes Mary and her disregard of morals. The interiority gained by the narrator’s access to Fanny regarding these meetings often focuses on Mary’s ignorant and awe-evoking statements. When Mary asks to make a habit out of their time together, Fanny is described as attending but “deriving no higher pleasure from her conversation than occasional amusement, and *that* often at the expense of her judgment, when it was raised by pleantry on people or subjects which she wished to be respected” (Austen 143). At face value, Fanny is being sweet and spending time with a friend in need of a companion. However, narration reveals the capricious and unamused opinions of Fanny’s psyche. Her critical gaze is constantly being cast onto others, though she rarely raises her voice to address the discrepancies she finds. This relentless interior judgement and criticism of others circles back to the reason audiences are not drawn to her character.

In “Feeling as One Ought about Fanny Price,” Nina Auerbach comments, “The silent, stubborn Fanny Price appeals less than any of Austen’s heroines” (33). When compared to other charming Austen heroines, like Elizabeth, Emma, and the Dashwood sisters, Fanny falls short of their much more dynamic and appealing personalities. This is also relevant in her rivalry with Mary. Fanny’s character is far less likable because Mary’s entire demeanor is built primarily on charm, which Fanny lacks. A criticism introduced by philosopher Alasdair Macintyre in his book *After Virtue* argues that Fanny’s lack of charm only allows audiences to see her virtue. Macintyre asserts, “charm is the characteristically modern quality which those who lack or simulate the virtues use to get by in the situations of characteristically modern social life” (Macintyre 242). This is to say that Fanny is not able to use this charm to pave her way through the novel like Mary Crawford. Navigating the social world of 1814 is made easier by charm, yet Fanny is not meant to share in that fate. As a result she is often overlooked both by her family and love interest and the attention is directed toward Mary. She is outspoken, confident, and set in her way of life and beliefs, stating, “I am not born to sit still and do nothing.

If I lose the game it shall not be from not striving for it" (Austen 135). Ordinarily, Mary Crawford would be seen as the heroine of the novel due to her charm and independent nature. However, due to morality being a central pillar to the novel, charm is therefore not the concurring trait. Macintyre addresses the contrasting ideas saying, "Morality is rather meant to educate these passions; but the outward appearance of morality may always disguise uneducated passions" (Macintyre 241). Joyce Jenkins furthers this argument adding, "charm of manner makes the nature of the underlying principles difficult to discern" (350). Fanny is able to prevail in this novel because her core is morality and her passionate feelings are governed and educated by morality. Charm is Mary's veil to hide the uneducated passions and moral discrepancies she harbors. It was only when Mansfield had no desire for charm that they realized the Mary's lack or morals. Though Fanny's morality is not relatable with audiences, it centers the novel and disregards charm, leaving an unpleasant taste for the book overall.

While Fanny's relationship with Mary is unpleasant, her relationship to Henry is far worse. It is through her interactions with Henry that FID is recurring and distasteful. However, this time, it is not solely Fanny's interiority that is aggravating, but also the subtle opinions of the narrator. Louise Flavin studied the role of FID in *Mansfield Park* and noticed that "the narrator [of *Mansfield Park*] is the most strongly opinionated of any in an Austen novel" and "this narrator is nearly always serious and judgmental, commenting on Henry Crawford's weakness and Fanny Price's goodness" (137). When it comes to Henry Crawford, the reader gets a double dose of disdain from both Fanny and the narrator. The opinion of the narrator is subtle and somewhat undetected due to its close layering to Fanny's opinion. When first arriving at Mansfield, the narrator is not impressed with Henry and describes him in a way that later proves to align with Fanny's opinion. The narrator introduces Mr. Crawford saying, "Henry, though not handsome, had air and countenance," and continues later saying "Her [Mary's] brother was not handsome: no, when they first saw him he was absolutely plain, black and plain" (Austen 31, 33). Fanny is later described to "think Mr. Crawford very plain, in spite of her two cousins having repeatedly proved the contrary" (Austen 36). Both the narrator and Fanny are extremely critical and unamused by Henry. While his initial behavior may warrant that critique, their opinions later become relentless. Henry falls for Fanny and makes an attempt to change his ways and win her heart, yet relentless morality keeps Fanny from changing her opinion of him.

The relationship between the narrator and Fanny is one that gives depth to the novel. It gives shape to the story and the characters within it. FID allows for the audience to get a true understanding of Fanny as an immobile but

opinionated character. It is through her gaze that the audience interprets the fabula and other characters. This is why the employment of FID is crucial in the telling of this story. As this paper moves forward, it will address how adopting other forms of narration style, when telling *Mansfield Park* through a visual medium, affects the understanding and perception of Fanny and the story.

Narrative Style in Film Adaptations

In her book, *A Theory of Adaptation*, Linda Hutcheon identifies three forms of adaptations: ones that borrow or are the literal translation; ones that are made as commentary or interception; ones that transform or reinterpret the text (Hutcheon 16). A literal translation aims to take the source and adapt it to most accurately reflect the source, like the 2007 Iain MacDonald adaptation of *Mansfield Park*. An adaptation of interception takes the original source and tweaks the source to convey an argument to support a critique of the source, like the 1999 Patricia Rozima adaptation of *Mansfield Park*. But regardless of which form of adaptation the film takes, they are all valid and autonomous pieces of work. This paper will not work to assign value or validity to the adaptations that are analyzed. It is simply meant to identify the ways in which adapting the narration and main character affect the way the source is received. In George Haggerty's article "Fanny Price: 'Is she solemn?—Is she queer?—Is she prudish?," he states, "the real action of the novel takes place in Fanny's responses to everything around her." Understanding this, it is critical for Fanny to be portrayed in a manner that is loyal to the novel to truly grasp the essence of her character and story. A large factor of understanding Fanny in the novel is the kind of interiority free indirect discourse allows. Hutcheon acknowledges a cliché in adaptation theory: Interiority is the terrain of the telling mode; Exteriority is best handled by showing and especially interactive modes (Hutcheon 52). Hutcheon emphasizes that though these modes of telling do excel in either interiority or exteriority, they are not mutually exclusive. A telling mode can beautifully convey the exterior and the showing mode can successfully develop the interior (Hutcheon 52–55). The purpose of analyzing these films and their style of narration is not to argue against Hutcheon's idea, but to assert that the interiority of Fanny is changed when changing modes of narration. The 1999 adaptation begins in third person narration, but is later taken over by Fanny's first person perspective. While it does show Fanny's interiority, the film gives her character far more agency. In opposition, the 2007 adaptation was shot entirely in third person and did not allow access into Fanny's thoughts. This film includes very little interiority, changing the dynamic of Fanny's character as well.

Patricia Rozima's 1999 adaptation does a great job of incorporating interiority into the film. Unfortunately, the interiority offered is that of a first-person narration style. Though the film begins with a third person omniscient narrator who introduces the story and young Fanny, the narration is soon assumed by Fanny exclusively. This drastically changes Fanny by giving her agency. The novel's narration allowed the audience to peer into her mind, without giving Fanny control of what the audience does and does not know about her. It is voyeuristic in a sense and allows her character to maintain its air of shyness and complacency because she does not know that her judgmental thoughts are being exposed. Unlike the novel, Fanny is now telling her own story. From a technical perspective, there are multiple scenes where Fanny breaks the fourth wall and speaks directly to the audience: reading letters she has written or directly stating her feelings on a topic. This gives an impression of a far more powerful and strong Fanny. In addition, many of her emotions and moments of contemplation are captured by the camera in medium and close-up shots. Viewers often see the camera linger on a silent, but visibly emotional, Fanny as she reacts to people or situations. This is aided by Frances O'Connor's great ability to bring Fanny's emotions to the surface through her wide array of expressions. Asserting that this film gives Fanny more power is not to say that the film does not portray her to be shy. She still sits quietly and observes; however, she is given far more agency in moments alone because of her ability to take command of sharing her own thoughts and feelings.

These passionate emotions are also given to the audience by the narrative changes the film makes. Patricia Rozima's 1999 adaptation of *Mansfield Park* sought to creatively reinterpret the text to reflect arguments from Edward Said's book *Culture and Imperialism* which addresses *Mansfield Park*'s mention of slavery. Said argues that the utterance of slavery in the novel reflects the imperialistic time in which Jane Austen lived. In referencing this argument, Rozima weaves the topic of slavery into the film as a major plot-point, giving Fanny purpose and passion (*Mansfield Park*, Groenendyk). The film highlights slavery as Mansfield's primary income in the storyline and sets Fanny wildly opposed to it. Now her morality is heavily motivated by denouncing slavery rather than morality for morality's sake. In addition to giving Fanny further agency and power, this also gives the audience reason to support Fanny's morality as a crusade, rather than an annoying characteristic. The first-person narration exposed the audience to a more passionate Fanny with agency, which obscures many qualities of the novel's Fanny and ultimately the understanding of the novel itself.

While the telling mode has many ways it can represent that interiority, it fails to do so in the 2007 adaptation,

unlike the 1999 adaptation. The downfall of Fanny in the 2007 adaptation is the loss of interiority due to its third-person narration. In *Mansfield Park* (2007) the film does a good job of creating an exterior representation of the way other characters view Fanny's reserve. Yet, their entire characterization of Fanny is dependent on that exteriority. The audience is not given insight to Fanny's thoughts and inner workings. Fanny is far quieter, reserved, and complacent in the film. She is quiet and shy, just as in the novel; however, due to losing the interiority of Fanny's mind, the film loses the potency of Fanny's character. Other characters are constantly calling Fanny "sweet," "moral," "quiet" and "kind" (*Mansfield Park*, MacDonald). Instead of forming their own opinion of Fanny and her complexities through appropriate interior representation, the audience is *told* how they should view and characterize Fanny. FID allows for a large enough gap from both the opinions of the character and narrator to allow the audience to devise their own understanding of Fanny's character. The audience is not being told who she is, but rather coming to and understanding of who she is by observing her interior thoughts and external actions.

A further problem with the films artless characterization of Fanny is that these words essentialize and flatten out her character. The film mistakes complacency and silence as kindness and ignores the fact that Fanny has an opinion (plenty, in fact), though it is internalized. In reviewing the arguments of Linda Hutcheon, the 2007 adaptation is a literal adaptation; and in many ways it does a good job of staying loyal to the novel. However, in its attempts to be faithful, it oversimplifies Fanny by only showing her actions as a result of third-person narration. It changes small but integral things that are key to understanding Fanny and the type of female she represents. And as Fanny is the moral pillar of the novel, audiences lose much of the argument embedded in that character.

Free indirect discourse is a trademark narration style in Austen novels. While this form of narration is difficult to adapt into film, it does not condemn all other Austen adaptations to *Mansfield Park*'s reality. Many other Austen films are very successful and highly acclaimed. This is largely because the use of FID is not as consequential of a factor in other narratives. Many other adaptations can thrive with only first or third person, while *Mansfield Park* is centered in the mind of Fanny, requiring the use of FID to have a holistic understanding of the story. Fanny's character is complex and drives the entire novel. FID plays a large role in her interactions with other characters and informs audiences of Fanny's motivations. Portraying her complexity correctly is crucial to the understanding of the adaptation. This creates a dilemma when addressing the adaptation of this film. The two films that alter Fanny and do not entirely capture her complexity are generally successful because Fanny is far

more personable. However, if a film can create a FID narration style, would the film gain any success or likability? Illustrating this point: if Fanny is the primary reason why this novel is considered unsuccessful, would it be in the films best interest to portray her accurately at all? This question would surely create conflict in the consideration of future film productions of the novel; however, we have a responsibility to take the beauty and strength of Austen's classic work and fairly represent it on the big screen.

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After Back-to-School Night: Lasting Parent Involvement and Support Staff in Elementary Schools

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Abstract

This article focuses on understanding how school staff (teachers, administrators, and office staff) work together to successfully engage parents in a Title 1 elementary school by specifically examining the means of communication between parents and these stakeholders. Prior research has identified the positive relationship between parent engagement and student achievement. Despite the importance of parent engagement, previous research has not explored the role of office staff and other support staff in understanding how and why parents are engaged in their children's education. In addition, there are few case studies which holistically examine schools in their community context. This research uses Dr. Joyce L. Epstein's framework of overlapping spheres of influence to examine how different stakeholders unite to educate children. Based on 39 quantitative surveys taken by parents and 6 interviews findings suggest that while research often overlooks the role of office and support staff in cultivating and maintaining relationships with parents, these individuals are an important part of the school community and often have the most regular contact with parents. In addition, differences between the cultural capital of school staff (and across different school staff members) and parents are crucial to understanding parent engagement.

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Introduction

Research on students of color and low socioeconomic status consistently reports lower levels of achievement and educational attainment in this country (Condrón and Tope, 2013; Hartney and Flavin, 2014; Kober, 2009; Reardon, 2011). Researchers have since produced a wealth of work identifying the various barriers students identified as low-income and/or of color face, that their white, wealthier peers do not. One area this research has focused on is parent involvement. Parent involvement is shown to have an impact on student achievement. This research recognizes the importance of this, and aims to further explore parent involvement by investigating the role that school staff play in supporting parent involvement at the school researched in this case study. Most research is focused on how teachers and principals foster environments to support parent involvement, but this project is focused on exploring those roles in conjunction with the role of office and support staff in cultivating these environments in schools.

Background

Dr. Joyce Epstein is widely recognized for her work which puts understanding the relationship between home, school, and community in the center of students' education and life. Epstein's (1995) work is rooted in her theory of overlapping spheres. This theory postulates that within education, it is most beneficial when families, schools, and communities all share a common mission. She argues that these three aspects of a child's life overlap significantly and impact their development. Based on this theory, Epstein and Sanders (2000) define parent involvement in six different subfields. These categories include: parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making and collaborating with the community. This framework for understanding the collaborative relationship between parents and schools will serve as the definition of parent involvement for the purposes of this research and is one of the most widely cited across sociology, education and psychology.

Across the field of education and sociology the majority of scholars agree that parent involvement has a positive impact on academic achievement (Wilder, 2014). A meta synthesis of nine analyses conducted by Wilder in 2014 on parent involvement and academic achievement showed that while the relationship between the two is positive, the extent to which this relationship is positive is heavily dependent on the way in which achievement is measured. Some of the measures frequently used to operationalize achievement include grades, standardized tests scores, reading acquisition rates, and teacher ratings. Similarly, Jeynes (2005) found this

positive correlation in a meta synthesis across 41 studies, arguing that it holds true across racial and gender groups.

Given the impact that parent involvement can have on students, it is crucial that schools recognize this and find innovative ways to go about engaging parents. Galindo and Sheldon (2012) conducted research focused on the role of parents' involvement on kindergarten academic growth. They found a strong positive relationship between efforts to increasingly engage families, increased involvement of those families, and in turn, higher reading and math skill levels at the end of kindergarten. This research relies on data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (ECLS-K) Kindergarten Class of 1998–1999, which not only identifies the importance of parent involvement in schools, but also confirms the role of the educators and schools in conducting outreach with parents.

A variety of barriers of involvement have been explored through research. Hill and Taylor (2004) found that when studying parents of color, parents often said they felt under qualified or uncomfortable engaging in activities that require them to communicate with administrators and teachers, the majority of whom are white, in part due to the cultural gap between the two groups. Crea, Reynolds and Degnan's (2015) research suggests that language barriers were one of the biggest deterrents of parents getting involved. In addition, parents stated the lack of access to technology impacted their ability to engage with school staff (Crea et al., 2015). Whereas teachers and administrators often emailed, parents faced a variety of challenges accessing and operating such platforms. Other scholars discuss the impact of perceptions of teachers on parents, in which parents feel judged by teachers and administrators (Day, 2013; Lawson, 2003; Murray, Finigan-Carr, Jones, Copeland-Linder, Haynie and Cheng, 2014). Teachers and administrators play vital roles in engaging parents and, as the research suggests, a variety of barriers exist within the mechanisms of communication between these stakeholders and parents.

Despite the wealth of research about teachers and administrators, it is important to note that these individuals only account for two of the stakeholders within schools. Very few researchers included office and support staff in their research and discussion of how parents interact with schools. Comer and Haynes (1991) investigated two low-income schools and focused on transforming the school ecology to further promote child development and learning. One of the key components in doing this was increasing parent involvement. One of the mechanisms to do this was the creations of a leadership team which included parents, teachers, administrators and professional support staff as well as nonprofessional support staff. Ultimately, Comer and Haynes (1991) argue

that parent involvement programs are most effective when implemented within "a broader context of improved relationships among the significant adults in the lives of children" (277). Given the importance of recognizing all stakeholders in schools and the limited inclusion of office and support staff in the majority of prior research, this research focuses on including these stakeholders as well as teachers and administrators to understand parent involvement practices.

Methodology

This study relies on a mixed methodological case study involving combination of surveys and interviews to best understand how parents, teachers, school staff and administrators interact with one another however only the quantitative portion of the communication indicator is explored in this paper. The research detailed in this case study took place at a predominantly Latino suburban elementary school which serves K–8 students in Southern California. The school serves approximately six hundred students, 61% of whom identified as socioeconomically disadvantaged. When asked about the study, the administrator responded positively. This study relied on a convenience sampling strategy to collect both survey and interview data over three months. Participants were recruited both in person at school meetings and events as well as through the Facebook page of the school. The only requirements to participate in this study were that participants were over the age of 18 and were affiliated with the elementary school studied. A total of 39 parents completed surveys and six people participated in interviews. The average age of participants in the study was 40 years old. Only three of the participants were male, and the remaining 36 were female.

The parent survey had approximately 20 questions. The survey took most respondents less than 10 minutes to complete. After collecting the surveys, the surveys were numerically coded in Microsoft Excel. A data analysis program, SPSS, was then used to analyze these data.

Results

Central to Epstein's 6 types of involvement are the forms of home to school communication. Within this, Epstein (2006) specifically identifies that these channels are meant to communicate regarding school programs and progress between school and home and vice versa. Four quantitative questions focused on the communication between parents and various stakeholders. The first question was intended to gain an overview of which members of the school community parents spoke with most.

Table 1: Parents Responses on Communication Between Stakeholders

Stakeholder	Most Common Communication Interval	Daily	Weekly	Every Month	At Academic/School Events
Principals	At Academic/School Events	5 (12.8%)	8 (20.5%)	4 (10.3%)	22 (56.4%)
Teachers	Weekly	10 (25.6%)	12 (30.1%)	9 (23.1%)	8 (20.5%)
Office/Support Staff	Weekly	13 (33.3%)	16 (41%)	6 (15.4%)	4 (10.3%)
Other Parents	Daily	19 (48.7%)	11 (28.2%)	2 (5.12%)	7 (17.9%)

After taking the results from Table 1 and aggregating the more frequent forms of contact (daily and weekly) and the less frequent forms of contact (every month and at academic/school events) a clear trend appears as seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Aggregated Parents Responses on Communication Between Stakeholders

Stakeholder	Daily & Weekly	Every Month & At Academic/ School Events
Principals	13 (33%)	26 (66%)
Teachers	22 (56.4%)	17 (43.6%)
Office/Support Staff	29 (74.4%)	10 (25.6%)
Other Parents	30 (76.9%)	9 (23.1%)

While most research does not explore the role of office and support staff, when examining who has the most contact with parents, it becomes clear that these stakeholders, overwhelmingly, have more contact. Contact with the principal, the key decision maker, is much more rare. Teachers, who are often responsible for determining their individual classroom policies, are almost split between the two categories, with the daily and weekly communication, slightly overweighing the forms of less frequent contact.

Across the four quantitative questions a variety of trends emerge about communication patterns between parents and the various stakeholders on school sites. These data suggest that office staff/support staff and other parents have the most frequent contact with parents. Teachers are the following stakeholder which has the most frequent contact with parents. By far, the Principal has the least frequent contact with parents.

Each stakeholder was asked about communication practices through interview questions. Teachers and office staff were asked how often and through which mechanisms they interact with parents and whether this communication would be characterized as positive, negative, or neutral. Both teachers and office staff characterized this communication as positive. Office staff and support staff stated they mostly interacted with parents in person and over the phone. Teachers stated they communicated with parents over the phone, text, and email as well as in person but highlighting that they prefer email over other forms of communication because it allowed them more flexibility to

reply. Parents cited speaking with school staff through the phone, email, and in person. Parents were also asked when walking on campus who they feel most comfortable speaking to. While one parent stated anyone, the majority of parents said they feel most comfortable with the people who interact with her child. Lastly, it is important to note that of the stakeholders who participated in interviews, only office staff and support staff included welcoming and helping parents and their children as part of their jobs. These questions reveal a variety of patterns across communication between stakeholders in addition to the modes of communication between stakeholders.

Discussion

These data suggest that teachers and principals, the stakeholders which most often take on the role to engage parents, have the least amount of contact with parents. This is incredibly important to note, especially when considering the decisions which principals are charged with making. While teachers and principals possess structural power, their interactions with parents are rather limited given their wide variety of responsibilities, as my research confirms. In addition, as Crea et al. (2015) and Hill and Taylor (2004) discuss, parents often have difficulty interacting with these stakeholders. The culture of teachers and principals tends to be the most in contrast with parents, especially when we compare the cultures of teachers and principals in comparison to parents, and parents in comparison to other parents from their community. In this respect, parents often have more commonalities with other parents.

The stakeholders that had the most communication with parents aside from other parents were office and support staff. The majority of parents expressed that they have weekly or daily contact with these staff members. In addition, office and support staff in this case study all had deep ties with the community, including having children who currently or previously attended the school. In addition, in comparison to teachers, office and support staff cited using more direct forms of contact over teachers. In person interactions and over the phone contact are more direct forms of communication yielding rapid responses in comparison to other forms like text or email. Given this connection to the community, and the frequency in which they were in contact with parents, and mode of communication office and support staff could be utilized as a consistent connection between schools and the families they serve.

While schools play the primary role in formally educating the children in the community, they are also community institutions. When examining schools as more than a vessel that serves students, the role of families and the greater community becomes increasingly prominent. As prior research identifies, students are most successful when parents are involved in their child's schooling—whether that be formally in school or outside of the school. Recognizing that not all parents may have the knowledge or capital to help students with content, involving parents in activities outside of the classroom gives all parents the opportunity to add to their student's educational experience. This opens the door for stakeholders, like office and support staff as well as other parents, to provide other opportunities for parents to engage in. While some forms of this currently exist, these efforts are not consistently organized and the majority of involvement is centered around classrooms. These stakeholders provide an opportunity for schools to engage parents who are often marginalized in formal education settings or deemed 'hard to reach' as Day (2013) discusses. Utilizing the frequent contact and connections office staff and other parents build with parents is crucial to fostering an environment where involvement in school becomes more comfortable and therefore, by definition, more accessible to all parents. Teachers and principals should work in tandem with these stakeholders to identify a wide variety of opportunities to engage parents in supporting their children's development and education.

Conclusion

The role of office and support staff as well as other parents in involving parents cannot be ignored. This data suggests that these stakeholders have the most frequent contact with parents and that they may be the most well equipped to engage them. As discussed by Wilder (2013), Jeynes (2005) and Galindo and Sheldon (2012), the impact

of parent engagement on academic achievement is significant. Ultimately, the goal of schools is to consistently build upon and improve students' academic achievement. Given the positive impact parent engagement has on academic achievement, it is vital that schools find as many ways to engage parents as possible. While in many schools this work falls on teachers and principals, this data suggests that these stakeholders have less contact with parents in comparison to office and support staff as well as other parents. This research in conversation with other researchers suggests that leveraging the power and connections of other parents and office and support staff helps mitigate and address many of the barriers to parent engagement including cultural and linguistic barriers. Given this, this research suggests that office and support staff as well as other parents have a wide variety of untapped potential to engage other parents. Future research should examine the impact of consistent formal involvement in parent engagement initiatives of office and support staff as well as other parents as well as work to identify the support office and support staff need to effectively carry out this work. Office and support staff as well as other parents play important roles in the lives of parents and students and thus should be considered partners in efforts to engage parents.

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Violent Play: Ritual and Colonialism in *Skyrim*

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Abstract

In the videogame world of *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* dragons have returned and the Empire's reach looms over the sovereign hopes of the northern province of Skyrim. The colonial struggle simulated by *Skyrim*'s narrative development inscribes play with a generative function regarding the meaning of the simulation. Violent play in the game is part of the process of production and completion of a ritual atmosphere. David Carrasco's work concerning Aztec ritual place great importance on the notion of synesthesia. Taking cues from Carrasco, I argue the experience of a limited synesthesia during violent play elides the transmission of political and ontological messages about colonialism. This essay deploys religious sacrifice theory to consider the capabilities of video game design and the meaning-making relationship between colonial simulation and visceral gameplay.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the guidance and support I received from Professor Bill Hart and Alicia Muñoz here at Macalester during the Mellon Mays program. Additionally I thank my academic advisor Erik Davis, my excellent peers throughout the college, and my friends and loved ones who challenge and support my work daily. I am also lucky to have a supportive family who I do not get to see nearly enough. I hope all of them enjoy what I create, especially Torianna.

In their 2016 roundtable article, Heidi A. Campbell, Rachel Wagner, Shanny Luft, Rabia Gregory, Gregory P. Grieve, and Xenia Zeiler argue for Religious Studies scholars to think comprehensively about religion and gaming.¹ To promote exploration of new topics, approaches, and theories on religion and video games, Campbell et al. survey the intellectual landscape of the subfield of Religious Studies interested with games. What they uncover are various untapped lines of inquiry ripe for discussion and study.

I pick up on Grieve's concern for the relationship between religious ideas of sacrifice and violence in games. Grieve implores the researcher to examine the relationship violence has with religion or religious ideas. He points to religious sacrifice as a "coherent model."² Sacrifice and

sacrificial violence are perennial points of interest for scholars of religion. David Carrasco investigated particular Aztec rituals, including ritual sacrifice, and his model is my chosen beginning point for constructing a theory on violent video game play. In this paper I draw on David Carrasco's 1995 work *Give Me Some Skin* to help make sense of the relationship between violence, religion, and empire in *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim*. I argue for (1) understanding *Skyrim* as an artifact which evaluates the player against an artifactual model of colonialism and (2) that violent play is generative of that colonial model and thus contributes to a violence based definition of colonialism. The experience of violent play in *Skyrim* transcends the game's bounds and overlaps with the meaning-making purpose of religious sacrifice.

The method of critical play is the primary tool for uncovering data about *Skyrim* and studying violent play. Critical play involves contextualizing an interpretation and analysis of the messages divulged during gameplay in broader discussions relevant to the content under analysis. As a hermeneutical tool, critical play should be understood as situational. Two people playing the same game under the same circumstances will likely generate different meanings through unique play. This paper, does not attempt to universalize nor essentialize played experiences of *Skyrim*. Rather, among the emergent experiences of playing *Skyrim*, those that involve violent play and colonial messages are singled out as entry points.

I. *Skyrim*: Artifact and Violent Colony

The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim, is one role-playing game [RPG] in the *Elder Scrolls* series.³ It is touted as one of the greatest games in history. More than 30 million copies of the game were sold by 2016. Like many games in its genre, *Skyrim* is deeply violent. Its popularity and currency, along with the depth and intricacy of content informed the choice to focus on this game for analysis.

Set in the far north of the fictional continent Tamriel, the *Skyrim* for which this installation is named is a province of the Empire. The political and ontological situation of *Skyrim*, the province, is a tense and dynamic one. On the one hand, the Empire, backed by the high elf constituency, The Aldmeri Dominion, attempts to establish tighter control over *Skyrim* and its people. The Nords, the local race of *Skyrim*, are being colonized by the Empire. Narrative, religious, and historical tropes all help the game to recall colonial narratives. On the other hand, *Skyrim* is under attack from an ancient enemy of a very different sort. The dragons of *Skyrim*, long thought to be extinct mythological beings, return under the leadership of Alduin, the Black Dragon. This conflict realizes a deep ontological problem facing *Skyrim* and its inhabitants. Simultaneously, the realm

is under attack by a magical force which disrupts normal ontology and a political force is pressing against political normativity in *Skyrim*. While the two major narratives have similarities and are foregrounded here to give a better sense as to what broad themes *Skyrim* deals with, they are by no means the only compelling forces in the game. An underlying mechanic of the game propels both narratives. Violent play is the engine for progression through the game.

In *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* violence is the dominant mode of play. Unless the player configures a particularly non-violent player character, violent play earns the player the most experience points toward levelling up their character and their capacities. Most of the player character's skills and capacities deal with combat. Light and heavy armor skills, destruction and restoration magics, one-handed and blocking skills, even stealth skills all provide combat advantages and or contribute to disadvantages. Violence dominates *Skyrim* while exploration, alchemy, conversation, reading, and other semi-peaceful play modes fill out the rest of the game.

To begin to understand *Skyrim* as an artifact one can recall Veli-Matti Karhulahti's simple definition. Video games are simply artifacts that evaluate performance.⁴ "Performance" needs some defining as well; within this framework performance consists of all play in the liminal space of the game which can be evaluated as such. Screaming at the screen in frustration or documenting headcanon online⁵ do not constitute performance evaluable by the game. Liminal spaces like video games separate themselves from the rest of the world in order to open up space for their particular configurations of play. These spaces come with rules, however, and only some actions can be input into the game.

Play is "the free space of movement within a more rigid structure."⁶ This "free space" in *Skyrim* is dominated by violence. While travelling *Skyrim* the player may encounter bandits, dragons, trolls, and Imperial soldiers as well as peaceful villagers, skittish wildlife, friendly spirits, and guardsmen of the local resistance, the Stormcloaks. Some of these characters attack the player character on sight. Others will not attack the player unless incited. To a significant degree the game lays down basic rules making violence the primary mode of play. Life and death are codified in *Skyrim* and violence is the often the best way to navigate this dichotomy. The rigid health-point system determines when a player character is killed or when the player kills another character. While playing *Skyrim* the player often enters into violent interactions with other entities. For example, trying to enter a city in which the player previously committed a crime will draw the attention of local guards. When they approach the player the guards threaten to imprison the

player or make them pay a fine. Sometimes the attack the player character outright to exact justice. The player can resist or submit to these demands by trying to run away, paying the fine, or engaging in violent play. At this point the game's evaluation is at least two-tiered. First, the game determined one of the player's previous behaviors to be "criminal" in the gameworld. This evaluation prompts the guards to interrogate the player character. Second, the game evaluates the player's choice to pay a fine, be taken into custody, or to fight and kill the guards. It is important to point out that all of these choices are dynamic, procedural, and interactive; if a player attacks a guard but quickly sheathes their weapon, the guard will settle for this act of acquiescence and will stop attacking the player character and put them in jail.

Since play in *Skyrim* is so often dominated by violence, preparation for violence, or the aftermath of violence, it can be said that much of the evaluative processes of the game are concerned with violence. These evaluative processes are hidden deep within the coding of the game and the processing done by the game console. Instead of showing the player the computed evaluations, the game expresses these evaluations as audiovisual feedback. In the above example, the game sends the guards to speak with the player in response to earlier crimes. Should the player attack the guards, blood, screams, dramatic music and controller vibration assault the player's sensory organs. Violent play thus produces a violent image on the screen and other stimuli meant to simulate real violence or recognize the liminality of the violence. Feedback like this drives further play which the game can continuously evaluate. As the player moves through *Skyrim*, the province, they engage with *Skyrim*'s colonial expressions. At one level *Skyrim* sets the rules by which player actions are punished or rewarded at the level of play. At another level the game creates *Skyrim* as a place in which colonial relations are expounded narratively and through play which is evaluated against the narrative framework.

The basic colonial relation simulated in *Skyrim* employs key tropes of our colonial histories. Two examples will help to support this claim. First, the Empire attempts to outlaw worship of a local Nord hero-God. The late Tiber Septim was a Nord of *Skyrim* who led the Empire at one point and after his death became a god; his name became Talos. The worship of Talos is outlawed by the Empire, mirroring patterns of religious control deployed by colonial empires.⁷ Along with defining and constructing religion in the Americas, for example, evangelical strains of Christianity that developed in the 18th century often tried to outlaw and stamp out indigenous worship of gods other than the Abrahamic one. On the other side of the world, and centuries later, Chinese central authority has outlawed the

presence of images of the Dalai Lama in household across the region of Tibet. Second, military interaction between the local Nords and the Imperial forces accompanied by the Thalmor are important to consider. The player is given the choice between joining forces with the Imperial Legion or the Stormcloaks, the Nordic resistance. In fact, the player can resolve the so-called civil war of *Skyrim* if they are so inclined. In fighting through the civil war, the player gets involved in a relationship with one of the two sides, the colonizers or the colonized. Of course this is a very basic simulation of the agency of an individual caught up in colonial conflict—yet it overestimates the freedom of these agents because the player character is essentially out of the normal time of the game.

The colonial military and religious relations in the game establish the fact of a colonial construct in *Skyrim*. The colonial model of *Skyrim* includes militarism, religious control, uneven trade, and other tropes of colonialism. The role of violence can be illuminated by approaching *Skyrim* as a sort of ritual. Ontological and political meanings are created and explored to give colonialism a recognizable texture through violent play. The grounds for this comparison rest on the liminality of video games and rituals and the concomitant relation between colonialism and violence. Violent play is the key to engaging with the colonial system and drawing out its meanings.

II. Unifying Violent Play

Active interaction with video game simulations brings the player into a special relationship with the game. In a way the game becomes didactic through its outputs and the player may be enlightened to some messages beyond the surface level representations in the game. David Carrasco claims synesthesia “in the ceremonial atmosphere awakens the whole human organism to the ontological and political messages of rituals.”⁸ The emphasized aspects of a ceremonial atmosphere are its iterability and separateness from the usual world order. A ritual atmosphere for a Catholic mass will be different than that of playing a video game. A collection of artefactual systems and interactive simulations of those systems establish a liminal space of experience for the player. In *Skyrim* the gameworld is an iteration, a simulation with obscured references to the real world. Gameplay is repetitive and repeatable across alternate characters. It often allows the player to try again after failing a task. Within this separated gameworld, as within ritual, ontological and political messages can be brought onto the horizon of the human organism’s focused consciousness. One can explore the particular messages conveyed by the ritual of play in countless games, but here I am interested in *Skyrim*’s ontological and political messages about colonialism.

In *Skyrim* synesthesia is operationalized to convey these messages about colonialism. *Skyrim* relies on gameplay to bring messages of ontology and politics to light in order to interpret them through further play. Violent play is the generative category that exposes the messages contained in the colonial model. Violent play is not sufficient for generating meaning; the rest of the gameworld is requisite; it establishes the context from which messages can arise through play. Yet, to achieve a synesthetic “awakening,” or a religious experience, the game must engage the player beyond just textual or graphical depictions of the gameworld as used to be current in video games.

As discussed above violent play produces a package of stimulation. Audiovisual feedback concomitant with violent play combine to produce synesthesia. It is the multifaceted aspect of experiencing a video game, the fact that it operates in unity upon the player’s senses, which enables the synesthetic experience. Synesthesia brings into view the meanings of ritual. Carrasco’s example of synesthesia during the Aztec month of Tlacaxipeualiztli (The Flaying of Men) can help understand how synesthesia might work in conveying messages:

The dangers of the battlefield are eliminated as the enemy weapons are dismembered, their obsidian blades removed and replaced with the swaying feather. The attack takes place in a five-to-one ratio in which the enemy is worn down, weakened, wounded, and killed, and his heart is “torn from him.” All this is surrounded by a dancing, drumming, whistling, horn-blowing ensemble of warriors, priests, gods, and lords amid a display of shields. The senses are awake to more than they can handle, and the message is monumental. [Anonymous Conqueror’s] text emphasizes not just the defeat of the enemy but his defeat, surrender, sacrifice, and transcendence into the Aztec cosmos. The text tells how he is finished off when “he throws himself down as dead, he wished . . . he might perish,” which he does when the deity impersonator, the left-handed one, extracts his heart and “giveth the sun to drink.”⁹

Upon the sacrificial stone an enemy captive is made to fight against Aztec god impersonators until he dies. The stone delineates the space of the ritual, yet everyone in the city is gathered to watch and be immersed in the ritual. The violence is at once viewed and acted, but separate from the space of the ordinary person. The warriors take up the personas of the gods. There is pacing and meticulousness to the “battle.” The violence concludes with offering up a powerful object, the enemy’s heart, up to the sun. It cannot be said that the violence is justified by the ritual nor that the ritual is justified by the act of violence, these conclusions are too simple.

Instead the violence is essential to the meanings of the ritual. Carrasco argues for the importance of Aztec military conquest to a dialectical normalization of the empire's distinct ritual and everyday situations. "[T]he ceremony as a perfect battle is a middle place, the pivotal place in a process of production and completion. It is both the end point and the starting point."¹⁰ The ritual, in conjunction with the rest of those rituals performed during Tlacaxipeualiztli, brings home, literally, the meanings of the battlefield and empire. Those meanings are up for debate and were likely in flux during different iterations of the month's rituals, but they were the ritually conveyed messages.

For Carrasco, these meanings are well conveyed through a synesthetic experience for the average Aztec. The role of violence, then, is simply part of expressing the messages of the ritual; it adds to the synesthesia experienced by the viewers and actors. It is, as part of the ritual, part of "a process of production and completion,"¹¹ and helps disseminate meanings. This model can be deployed to understand how the synesthesia *Skyrim* invokes through violent play is essential to generating meanings of colonialism which transcend the game's liminal space. In short, synesthesia in *Skyrim* is a kind of religious experience that transcends the bounds of the ritual atmosphere.

While empirical data on synesthesia is under continued debate, Lawrence E. Sullivan argues that synesthesia, "[t]he symbolic experience of the unity of the senses enables a culture to entertain itself with the idea of the unity of meaning."¹² Where most games fail, unlike the rituals of the Aztecs, is providing a greater diversity of smells and touch sensations. Still, the sensory organs of the player often have a hard time absorbing the broad spectrum of stimulations transmitted by a game. The confusion of the senses that violent play in *Skyrim* can cause the player might be sufficient to "awaken" the player to the political and ontological messages being conveyed by the narratives of colonization and cosmological upheaval.¹³ Even if violent play is not sufficient for helping to transmit these messages, it is sacralized by its effects on player progress narratively and developmentally.

To compare violent play with the Aztec ritual described above, both are ceremonially situated, involve violence apart from the daily reality, and bring into consciousness messages about empire and colonialism. Functioning in a similar role as violence in the Aztec ritual, violent play in *Skyrim* is a part of the ritual of playing the game which brings up messages about colonialism.

Violent play in *Skyrim* is acted out in a system modelling colonial ideology and colonial experience. It is part of the production and completion of the idea of colonialism in the game. This is the meaning deeply hidden in the

evidence of violent play, that the process of producing and completing the colonial model in *Skyrim* hinges on violence. Thus, *Skyrim* delivers a political and ontological message: colonialism can be understood through engrossing, ritualized violent play.

Instances of violent play in *Skyrim* can thus be analyzed to uncover the messages conveyed to the player about colonialism. The evaluative processes of game described by Karhulahti bring about a sort of reflective practice through the colonial model of *Skyrim*. In this liminal model violence as violent play completes and initiates an understanding of the colonial messages about violence, state, and sovereignty. For example, when the player engages with the civil war, they can choose between the two sides. One quest the player receives when working with the Stormcloak leader, Ulfric Stormcloak, is "The Liberation of Skyrim." The quest requires the player to free several areas of Skyrim from the control of the Imperial Legion. One site that requires liberation is Fort Sungard. The annihilation of Imperial forces at the fort is requisite for success. Following the successful battle at the fort, the player returns to Ulfric and receives praise and deepened knowledge about the significance of the battle. Without the fort serving as an Imperial outpost, the silver mines of the Reach, a western hold of Skyrim, the resistance has secured greater sovereignty and security in the region. The violence committed to secure this sovereignty does more than clear out a fort of Imperial soldier. Violent play manifests the liberation of a colonized area and leads to an explanation where colonialism includes a struggle for resources. Ulfric says, "[n]ow that the Empire has been driven from the Reach we can put a stop to the raping of her silver mines."

Killing Imperial soldiers simulates the death, cruelty, and irreconcilability of some colonial situations. Violent play in a game like *Skyrim* suggests that not all things can be solved peacefully in a world where people are tied together in complex ways which put their lives at risk on a daily basis. *Skyrim* does not bring these messages across perfectly or monolithically. Nor does it produce an airtight synesthesia. Still, it is hard to evade the deep questions violent play brings up and it is engaging to look beyond the experience points and cool sword acquired from killing a lone Imperial scout to reflect on what *Skyrim* says about the safety of individuals under colonialism.

While violent play does not convey the message directly, violence is required for conveying political messages in a ritualistic manner. Sovereignty and security are the base assumptions for nation-states and the instrumentalization of violence towards those ends is a concern that *Skyrim* is in discussion with. This message transcends *Skyrim* as it not only calls up real-world formulations of the nation-state

to inform how to construct a believable experience for the player but it presents violence as a category that can generate understandings and knowledge for the player which can inform them beyond the limits of the gamespace.

Thinking Forward

This study shows how video games can define and discuss complex interlocking systems like colonialism through their dominant modes of play. My methodology hinges on the fact that critical play of a video game can open up new modes of grappling with real life systems of oppression. It is therefore my goal to illuminate the successful (i.e., popularly understood, played, and loved) ways in which video games disseminate a vocabulary, critical practice, and conceptual framework to players. What I hope can emerge from studies and critical analyses of modes of play is a greater consciousness of the video game medium. With more nuance, we will develop deeper capabilities in video game design. Synesthesia should not be the goal of games. Refining political and ontological messages towards cultural growth and understanding should. We must design new modes of play that are not violent; at the same time we need to design more tools to discuss colonialism which can heal us can bring about greater consciousness.

Endnotes

- 1 Campbell, Heidi A.; Wagner, Rachel; Luft, Shanny; Gregory, Rabia; Grieve, Gregory Price; Zeiler, Xenia "Gaming Religionworlds: Why Religious Studies Should Pay Attention to Religion in Gaming." *Journal for the American Academy of Religion* 84, no. 3 (September 2016).
- 2 Ibid., 657.
- 3 When I introduce a video game I refer to the game's website and a gameplay trailer on YouTube. For *Skyrim*, see: <http://www.elderscrolls.com/skyrim/> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PjqsYzBrP-M>.
- 4 Karhulathi, Veli-Matti. "Defining the Videogame." 2015. *Game Studies, the International Journal of Computer Game Research* 15, no. 2.
- 5 Headcanon is akin to the notion of meta-narratives. The player may imagine a backstory for their character that is not evident or playable in the game and thus exists in their head and may influence the way someone makes choices in the game but not the actually content and progression of the artifactual player character.
- 6 Zimmerman, Eric. "Narrative, Interactivity, Play, and Games: Four Naughty Concepts in Need of Discipline." Chap. IV, In *First Person: New Media as Story, Performance, and Game*, edited by Wardrip-Fruin, Noah and Pat Harrigan, 154. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2004.
- 7 "Skyrim: The Talos Mistake." UESPWiki. Accessed 4/20, 2017.
- 8 Carrasco, David. "Give Me Some Skin: The Charisma of the Aztec Warrior" 1995. The University of Chicago Press Journals. The University of Chicago Press.
- 9 Ibid., 20.
- 10 Ibid., 26.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Sullivan, Lawrence E. "Sound and Senses: Toward a Hermeneutics of Performance" 1986. The University of Chicago Press Journals. The University of Chicago Press.
- 13 The latter being simulated by the return of the dragons.

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Anti-Japanese Sentiment along the U.S.-Mexico Border in the Early 20th Century

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Abstract

This article examines the concept of Orientalism and its development into anti-Asian sentiment in the Americas while focusing on the Japanese migrant population in northern Mexico during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Orientalism is defined by Edward Said as imaginings created and reproduced by Western nations regarding Asian countries and persons of Asian descent that were usually invoked to describe Asians as inferior. These ideas eventually transformed into anti-Asian sentiments that were often used as a justification for subordination of individuals of Asian descent. In addition to the discussion of Orientalism and anti-Asian sentiments, this article analyzes the increase in Japanese migration that resulted from changes in immigration legislation. During this time period, Japanese migrants in Mexico sought job opportunities in railroad construction, mines, agriculture, and fishing. While some of these migrants viewed settlement in the northern states of Mexico as an opportunity to get closer to the United States, others hoped to remain in northern Mexico. Ultimately, this article seeks to assess how anti-Asian sentiments spurred anxieties towards Japanese settlement near the U.S.-Mexico border that led to the surveillance of Japanese individuals in northern Mexican states.

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In an immigration document issued to Akimoto Sono Juan by the Migration Services of Mexico, there are front and side profile photographs of Akimoto, a detailed physical description, and lists of his occupations and current and former addresses. Akimoto was a single Japanese man who migrated to Mexico through the port of Salina Cruz, Oaxaca in 1906. After arriving at a southern Mexican state, Akimoto moved north to Tampico, Tamaulipas, where he worked as a fisherman. A similar migration document shows Japanese migrant Abe Kiku Shoji, who migrated to Mexico

through a port in Manzanillo, Colima in 1923. Abe was also a single man who moved north to Mazatlán, Sinaloa, where he worked as a merchant.¹ Japanese migrants settled in or moved to the northern Mexican states of Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Sinaloa, and Nuevo León because of contracts with companies that found them jobs or connections with Japanese migrants already in Mexico.²

Japanese migration to Mexico and other Latin American countries was influenced by the United States' restrictive immigration policies, such as the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a result, Japanese migrants, like Akimoto and Abe, arrived to Mexico as free or contract laborers between 1907 to 1928. During this period, Japanese migrants in Mexico moved to the northern Mexican states of Baja California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas due to the availability of jobs, while other Japanese migrants moved to northern Mexican states in order to be closer to the United States. Due to their increased migration and presence near the United States-Mexico border, the U.S. government officials would track the movements of Japanese migrants settling in northern Mexico, speak to locals about their encounters with Japanese migrants, and send reports to the United States government with that information.³

In the present paper, I argue that anti-Asian sentiment in the United States increased anxieties near the border and led to the creation of reports on Japanese migrants and Japanese Mexicans in northern Mexico. First, I introduce Orientalism and its influence on anti-Asian legislation in the United States. Subsequently, I discuss Japanese immigration and settlement in Northern Mexico. Finally, I provide examples of reports by U.S. government officials on the presence of Japanese migrants near the U.S.-Mexico border during the early twentieth century.

Orientalism and Anti-Asian Immigration Legislation

The term "Orientalism," coined by Edward Said, refers to hegemonic ideas about Asia and people of Asian descent that Western societies constructed and reproduced. This idea led to the circulation of negative stereotypes associated with individuals of Asian heritage that were used to justify Asians' subordination to Western societies. Moreover, Said argued that Orientalism reflected the "large political concerns of three great empires- British, French, and American."⁴ The start of Asian migration to the Americas gradually shaped ideas of Orientalism, built negative stereotypes, and provided a basis for discrimination and exclusion during the early twentieth century. Discrimination and exclusion began with local laws that targeted Asian workers, communities, and businesses. The dissemination of ideas originating from Orientalism led to the development of a

transnational anti-Asian sentiment in the Americas, which Erika Lee calls “hemispheric Orientalism.”⁵ Although at times Asian migrants would be targeted as a group based on the same ideas in one hemispheric Orientalism, different stereotypes stemming from Orientalism distinctly shaped the experiences of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Indians, and Southeastern Asians across the Americas.⁶

By 1874, the United States, Mexico, and other countries in the Western Hemisphere prohibited the migration of Chinese coolies, or indentured servants.⁷ When Chinese coolie migration began, they were seen as an indispensable source of cheap labor, but this changed when the Chinese were depicted as “conniving, diseased, dirty, and uncivilized” based on preconceived ideas derived from Orientalism.⁸ The ban on coolie migration forced countries in the Western Hemisphere to seek alternative labor sources.

Coincidentally, during this era, Japan’s transition from the Tokugawa Shogunate to the Meiji Restoration in 1868 put an end to the feudal period and began Japan’s push for political, economic, and social modernization. Consistent with the government’s goal to grow globally, the Japanese government lifted the country’s emigration ban in 1885 to begin government sponsored migration and establish international trade.⁹ The ban of Chinese coolies and the lift of Japan’s emigration ban influenced the increased migration of Japanese laborers to Hawaii and the United States.¹⁰

However, in the early twentieth century, United States exclusion policies prevented immigration from Japan and redirected Japanese migration to Latin America. The Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 between the United States and Japan restricted the distribution of passports to merchants, students, and the family, wives, and children of Japanese who were already U.S. residents. In addition, the agreement stated that Japanese migrants could not enter the United States through Mexico, Hawaii, or Canada.¹¹ The Gentlemen’s Agreement, like the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, was an example of anti-Asian restrictions and regulations that the United States passed in order to limit the migration of Asians into the country. For this reason, private Japanese emigration companies shifted to Latin American countries to continue to send out Japanese laborers.¹² Additional anti-Asian legislation was enacted in the United States to hinder the advancement of Asian communities by preventing land ownership and restricting citizenship. Anti-Asian legislation included the Asian Land Law of 1913, which prevented Asian migrants from owning land, and the Cable Act of 1922, which revoked the citizenship of American women marrying Asian migrants.¹³ As a result of this legislation, Japanese sought opportunities to work or purchase land in Mexico.

Japanese Migrants in Mexico

The changes in migration policies in Japan and Mexico opened the path to a group of twenty-eight Japanese migrants who started the first Japanese colony in Mexico. The Enomoto Colony, named after the Japanese Foreign Minister Enomoto Takeaki, was located in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. The colony did not grow as expected because the Mexican government failed to provide assistance, the colony was not prepared to cultivate coffee, and the Japanese migrants contracted diseases such as malaria and yellow fever.¹⁴ Despite the colony’s lack of success, Japanese continued to migrate to Mexico and other countries in Latin America.

Following the signing of the Gentlemen’s Agreement, additional groups of Japanese workers migrated to Mexico not only from Japan but from the United States. Historian María Elena Ota Mishima groups Japanese migration from 1890 to 1978 into seven waves of migration, the third through fifth of interest here. The third wave of Japanese workers migrated to Mexico under contract from 1900 to 1910, the fourth wave of undocumented Japanese migrants from 1907 to 1924, and the fifth wave of professional Japanese workers, which included Japanese doctors, pharmacists, and veterinarians, from 1917 to 1928. The migrants in these three waves found jobs and settled in the Northern states of Baja California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas.

Japanese settling in Mexico at this time favored Northern Mexico because of its ample employment opportunities and proximity to the United States.¹⁵ While some Japanese migrants migrated north because of their contracts with emigration companies that found them jobs in Mexico, others had connections with Japanese migrants who were already in northern Mexico.¹⁶ By 1910, the northern states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Sonora had 1,188 Japanese residents, almost half of the 2,216 Japanese residing in Mexico. Meanwhile, in 1920 the Mexican census reported there were 547 Japanese in those same northern states, and the decrease in the number of Japanese in this area was a result of the Mexican Revolution.¹⁷ Immigration documents issued to Japanese migrants by the Mexican government indicate that they worked as merchants, doctors, farmers, fishermen, and barbers.¹⁸ Although not all Japanese migrants were interested in moving to the United States after settling in Northern Mexico, ideas embedded in hemispheric Orientalism caused U.S. officials to discriminate against them based on stereotypes that classified Asians as “inassimilable Orientals.”¹⁹

U.S. Anxieties

The discrimination against Asian populations in the United States crossed the U.S.-Mexico border into Mexico. A news article published in *The Washington Post* on July 15, 1907 reports on the arrest of five Japanese individuals attempting to enter the United States through Laredo, Texas. These five Japanese individuals were sent to San Francisco, where they would be deported to Japan.²⁰ This incident exemplifies the effect of the growing anti-Asian sentiment on the United States government's enforcement of the Gentlemen's Agreement on Japanese near the U.S.-Mexico border. Historian Eiichiro Azuma describes these incidents as the responses of anti-Asian supporters to the "Japanese problem" and suggests that "it reawakened the U.S. sense of ownership about its hemispheric 'backyard'."²¹

Government officials near the border pressured the United States government to investigate the formation of large Japanese colonies in Northern Mexico. U.S. government officials had trouble directly controlling Japanese migrants settling throughout Northern Mexico and prospering in agriculture because they could not pass anti-Asian legislation to prevent Japanese expansion near the border. Throughout the early twentieth century, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States received multiple letters and reports with sensational accounts declaring the possible formation of large Japanese colonies from U.S. government officials near the border.²²

In 1914, E. M. Blanford, who worked for the Department of Justice in El Paso, Texas, sent a report titled "In re Japanese Colonization scheme on the west coast of Mexico. Of probable interest to some Department of the Government." The report sent to the Department of Justice communicated an encounter with a mine owner in Chihuahua who was troubled after he met a Japanese Civil Engineer during a trip to Hermosillo, Sonora and decided to share this encounter with the U.S. authorities. In his report, Blanford writes of a Japanese engineer "and farming expert who stated that he had been looking for a suitable place in Mexico for colonization of 100,000 Japanese."²³ The existence of a large Japanese settlement near the border meant that Japanese would have access to easily enter the United States, to create additional settlements, and to acquire large concessions in Northern Mexico. While the U.S. government could enact anti-Asian laws to keep Japanese migrants out and prevent their economic prosperity within the U.S., there were limitations to the actions they could take to control Japanese communities in Mexico.²⁴

Similarly, Francis J. Dyer, an American consul at Nogales, Sonora, wrote a letter on March 22, 1919 to Secretary of State Robert Lansing concerning a report of

two Japanese groups considering purchasing the rich land in Sonora. According to the report of Arturo del Toro, one Japanese group expressed a desire to invest millions of dollars towards buying land and the other group was allegedly disguised as tourists to lower any suspicions that they were interested in purchasing land in Sonora. Dyer voiced his concerns against this "Japanese menace" and stated that a presence of Japanese settlers near the border could facilitate the settlers' access to the U.S. or it would allow them to use the vast resources in Sonora to build a large colony near the border. "Japanese menace," "Japanese problem," and Yellow Peril were phrases used to describe Japanese migrants and originated from anti-Asian sentiment. In response to these concerns, Dyer asks for help from the government to investigate the Japanese groups and prevent them from having "a back door entry to the United States."²⁵ The production of similar documents demonstrates how hemispheric Orientalism influenced anxieties felt by U.S. government officials concerning Japanese migrants and Japanese Mexicans.

Interest in surveilling the U.S.-Mexico border was a result of fear in the U.S. towards the open movement of Asian migrants in Northern Mexico. Despite the existence of anti-Asian immigration exclusion laws, Asian migrants continued to have access to the U.S. by crossing border without permission. The start of the U.S. Border Patrol in 1924 policed and prevented the entry of undesired populations, including Asian migrants.²⁶ In Congressional Hearing from March 5, 1928 on Immigration and Border Patrol, Representatives discuss the status of the U.S. Border Patrol four years after its establishment. The discussion included a debate over the presence of Chinese and Japanese migrants near the border and their status as "aliens ineligible to citizenship," which prevented their entry.²⁷ Border enforcement targeted Asian migrants near the border under the same anti-Asian ideas that were used to justify exclusion and discrimination of Asian communities in the U.S.

Conclusion

Overall, Japanese migration shifted from the United States to Latin America as a result of restrictive policies based on anti-Asian sentiment. Despite the restrictions and regulations on Japanese migration in the United States, United States government officials were still troubled by the presence of Japanese migrants and settlers near the United States' "hemispheric backyard." The continuous arrests of Japanese individuals and reports about their movement near the U.S.-Mexico border were a result of the emergence of hemispheric Orientalism in the United States and Mexico.²⁸ In future research, I will continue to assess the formation of communities of Japanese migrants and Japanese Mexicans in northern Mexico. It is important to continue studying

communities of Japanese and Japanese Mexicans near the border to analyze how they altered the social and economic relationships between the Japanese and Mexicans living in northern Mexican states and the diplomatic relationships between Mexico, the United States, and Japan during the early twentieth century. This study will add to the current literature on the Japanese diaspora in Latin America, the history of the displacement of Japanese communities in the Americas during WWII, as well as the changes in migration patterns in the late twentieth century.

Endnotes

- 1 Secretaria de Gobernación Siglo XX, Departamento de Migración, Japoneses, 134689, Caja 01 Abe-Fuji. Archivo General de la Nación. Exps: 3, 4, 6, 21, 30, 38, 44, 131, 218, 283.
- 2 María Elena Ota Mishima. *Siete migraciones japonesas en México 1890–1978*. (México: El Colegio de México, 1982), 51.
- 3 Special Agent of Department of Justice to United States Government, El Paso, Texas. “Japanese Colonization scheme on the west coast of Mexico. Of Probable interest to some Department of the Government,” June 22, 1914, NARA, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Japan, 1910–1929, Collections Deposit Library, Austin, Film 26390; American Consulate General to Secretary of State, Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. “Japanese and Americans Are Negotiating for Rich Lands in Sonora, Mexico,” March 22, 1919, NARA, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Japan, 1910–1929, Collections Deposit Library, Austin, Film 26390 (decimal 894.20212/178).
- 4 Edward W. Said. *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
- 5 Erika Lee. “The ‘Yellow Peril’ and Asian Exclusion in the Americas.” *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007), 538.
- 6 In the United States, treatment of Asian groups varied: Japanese were seen as superior to Chinese, Indians were seen as “acceptable” because of they were arriving from a British empire, Filipinos were considered “U.S. Nationals.” Moreover, each group had different experiences in countries across the Americas.
- 7 Elliott Young. *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era Through World War II*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 21–94. The ban on coolie migration in the U.S. was on 1862.
- 8 Ibid., 13; David FitzGerald, and David A. Cook-Martín. *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 90–91.
- 9 Shelley Sang-Hee Lee. *A New History of Asian America*. (New York: Routledge, 2014).
- 10 Ibid., 38–45.
- 11 Ibid., 44.
- 12 Ayumi Takenaka. “The Japanese in Peru: History of Immigration, Settlement, and Racialization.” *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 3 (2004): 77–98.
- 13 Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 85, 111.
- 14 Ota Mishima, *Siete migraciones*, 35–45; Jerry García, *Looking like the Enemy: Japanese Mexicans, the Mexican State, and U.S. Hegemony, 1897–1945*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 24–26.
- 15 Eiichiro Azuma. “Japanese Immigrant Settler Colonialism in the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands and the U.S. Racial-Imperialist Politics of the Hemispheric ‘Yellow Peril.’” *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 2 (2014): 255–276.
- 16 Ota Mishima, *Siete migraciones*, 51.
- 17 Ibid., 26–27; Daniel M. Masterson, and Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The Japanese in Latin America*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 33; Iyo Kunitomo, “Japan and Mexico, 1888–1917.” PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1975, 74.

- 18 Secretaria de Gobernación Siglo XX, Departamento de Migración, Japoneses. Archivo General de la Nación.
- 19 Lee, “The ‘Yellow Peril,’” 549–550. The term “inassimilable Orientals” was used for immigrants from Japan, India, Korea, and the Philippines.
- 20 “Five Japanese Arrested.” *The Washington Post*, Jul 15, 1907.
- 21 Azuma, Japanese immigrant settler colonialism, 263.
- 22 Ibid., 272.
- 23 Special Agent of Department of Justice to United States Government, El Paso, Texas. “Japanese Colonization scheme on the west coast of Mexico. Of Probable interest to some Department of the Government.”
- 24 Azuma, Japanese immigrant settler colonialism, 275.
- 25 American Consulate General to Secretary of State, Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. “Japanese and Americans Are Negotiating for Rich Lands in Sonora, Mexico.”
- 26 Kelly Lytle Hernandez. *Migra!: A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*. (California: University of California Press, 2010), 76.
- 27 U.S. Congress. House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. *Immigration Border Patrol. Congressional Hearing, 1928-03-05, 1928*.
- 28 Azuma, Japanese immigrant settler colonialism, 267.

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Radical Narratives of Muslim Male Youth: A Critical Investigation of the Media Rhetoric of Radicalization

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Abstract

The purpose of this research paper is to understand the how media outlets in the U.S. circulate the “radical Muslim male youth” image throughout the world. Although many liberal news outlets may not appear to have explicit bias in contributing to violent characterizations of Muslim youth, they utilize implicit biases that support similar stereotypes. I conduct a textual analysis of mainstream media reports and examine them for implicit bias against Muslims, especially youth. My analysis focuses on post 9/11 reports and bases the findings on a typological contrast of explicit and implicit bias within a range of liberal media sources. I use a socio-political approach to understand how the media uses assumptions about Islamic religious practices to further construct this narrative. I find evidence demonstrating that although radicalism discourse is generally used to profile Muslims negatively with regards to their religiosity, the identification of race, gender, and age can also be used to further divide Muslims into specified categories along a spectrum of radicalism. Through my exploration of the term “radical,” I problematize the use of “radical Islam” in media as way of criminalizing and surveilling the transnational Muslim community.

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Introduction

In his book, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*, Khalil Gibran Muhammed discusses the historical criminalization of blackness. According to Muhammed, black criminality rose to the national spotlight during the era of the Great Migration of Black southerners to the North. During this time, White Progressives attempted to provide a social explanation to the problem of black crime. However, what these self-described liberals failed to do was to trouble the very idea of “black crime.” Muhammed says, “Notwithstanding their opposition to discriminatory policing, these white sociologists remained quietly ambivalent about the link between black culture and crime.”¹ He argues that although many White liberals began to recognize and acknowledge the inherent racism against Black Americans in U.S. policing and penal codes, they failed to challenge the apparent racism within the discourse of crime itself.² While racism was a part of the story, it was not considered to be a complete explanation for what they saw as an inherently Black issue. Similar to the White sociologists Muhammed describes, contemporary liberal media discourse fails to challenge the constructed link between Islam, radicalization, and ultimately violence. Just as black criminality loomed in the American subconscious, within the political context of transnational violence, Muslim communities are continuously discussed within the frame of violent extremism, radicalization, and terror. What then does it mean to characterize Islamic religious practices as a stepping point for radicalization?

My central research question is: How the characterization of Muslim male youth as radicals is transnationally circulated through mainstream liberal media discourse? To answer this question, one must first understand the literal juxtaposition of “Muslim,” “male,” “youth,” and “radical.” Why has Muslim, more specifically the young Muslim male, become a normalized descriptor of the radical individual?

Although conservative media discourse is often criticized for their unchallenged assumptions of “radical Islam” and “Muslim terrorists,” I argue that liberal media outlets are just as, if not more, responsible for contributing to the narrative of the Muslim radical. Because many liberal news outlets are considered neutral, their inherent biases can be overlooked and subconsciously accepted within U.S.-American society as truth. In this article, I analyze mainstream media reports of two post 9/11 events that occurred during the Barack Obama administration, and examine them for implicit bias against Muslims, especially youth. I examine the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombings and the 2015 arrest

of 14-year-old Ahmad Mohamed for allegedly bringing a clock bomb to school. I used *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*, based on the political leanings of their audience according to *The Pew Research Center*.³ Each of these journals reflects a point on the spectrum of liberal media perspectives. *The Wall Street Journal* caters to a mix of liberal and conservative readers while *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* incrementally attract more liberal readers. Through national coverage, these incidents gained widespread attention and shaped conversations of “home grown” terror, immigration, and Islam in America.

Theory and Methods

During Western colonial imperialism of non-western regions, white Euro-America was hailed as the single source of cultural capital. Decades of colonial control assisted in creating a variety of discourse that would support the social, cultural, political, and economic superiority of the white colonizer. Through colonial discourse, the colonizer could reinforce hierarchical inequalities by establishing who he was by defining which characteristics he was not. This process of identity formation through creation of an inferior “other” is exactly what Edward Said describes as the epistemological nature of Orientalism.⁴ Although Said describes Orientalism primarily as a binary relationship between the culturally advanced white West and the culturally backwards brown East, orientalist effects have penetrated virtually every site outside of the Western domain. The idea of “the East” is not simply relegated to the physical region, but rather broadly symbolizes people, practices, ideas, beliefs, and norms that oppose the essential definition of “the West” as a space of white hegemony.⁵ Muslim youth directly fall into this “Other” category because of a religious identity that challenges Western assumptions about the role of religion in society, a racial and ethnic identity, and an age category that threatens the long-standing adult hegemony.

Talal Asad describes in his book, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, that Western religious epistemology bases its assumptions on what religion is and how and where it should be practiced, on the socio-historical evolution of Christianity.⁶ Non-Christian religion can therefore never be completely accepted as “religion” because it does not inherently meet the definition of Western Christianity. Islam, in particular, is viewed in Western society as contradicting what religion *should* be in society. Islam has too intimate of a relationship with the private and public life, the political and religious, the secular and the sacred. Religion in a hegemonic society should be regulated to the personal. It should not be seen—especially if culturally oriented in non-Christian, non-Western, and non-white contexts.

But the socio-political paranoia of the West’s relationship with Islam extends much deeper than many other non-Christian “Eastern” religious traditions. Islamic-based epistemology departs from hegemonic modes of thinking which characterizes Muslims as social anomalies, or radical subjects. Whereas a crime identifies a criminal, a radical’s sole crime is the lens through which they perceive the world—in essence, a thought crime. Engaging in Islamic practices regularly is seen as having an almost toxic affect to the practitioner. The assumption that practices core to Islamic religiosity are indicative of radicalization, contributes to the idea that Islam is a religion in opposition to the modern, read Western, world. News reports on “radicalized” Muslim subjects, note key behavioral changes that usually stem from increased religious participation through Islamic religious rituals and practices such as praying, attending the mosque, or abstinence.⁷ Western-developed nations prevent refugee youth from Muslim majority countries from immigrating to their countries, for fear that they may “infect” Western citizens with their radical Muslim beliefs.⁸ The caricature of the foreign brown Muslim male as “parasite” has become a synonymous depiction of Islam.

Media representations reinforce images of this perceived “Muslim parasite” by acting as a mouthpiece for the state through narrative constructions of radicalized Muslims, which further serve to render bias policies against Muslims, banning refugees from majority Muslim nations, and surveillance of Muslim communities, all as intelligible actions. The liberal media of the West has become the symbol of the Foucauldian understanding of modernity as a neoliberal commitment to producing capitalist discourse on subjects with limited power. Discourse produced within the context of the cultural era of modernity, with its emphasis on capitalism, science, social institutions, and secularism, creates widespread tools of surveillance and regulation of citizens.⁹ According to Michel Foucault, discourse is not only the production of epistemology or meaning, but it is the result of power and subjectivity. The Muslim male then becomes what Gayatri Spivak labels as the subaltern.¹⁰ Spivak describes the subaltern as an individual outside hegemony, or who does not benefit from hegemonic society.¹¹ At its core, the term subaltern refers to the most marginalized groups within society.¹² Depending on what lens is used to determine marginalization, the subaltern can refer to disadvantaged segments of society based on class, gender, race, age, or in this case religion.¹³ Spivak provides a useful critique for understanding the way knowledge, and therefore discourse, can reflect colonial motives through the production of truths about the Other as a commodity to be understood from the lens and voice of hegemony. My definition of the subaltern is not merely based on one marginalized identity, but rather the intersecting experiences that come from oppression. Within liberal media discourse,

the Muslim male inhabits a disadvantaged position based on multidimensional oppressions. Linking concepts such as terror, extremism, radicalism, fanaticism, and radicalization to Islam and Muslims, whether through text, image, or speech, is achieved through heuristic techniques. These techniques include stereotypes, common knowledge, profiling, and intuitive judgment that all serve to silence the Muslim male subject, creating a subaltern Muslim masculinity that is unable to access the socio-political benefits of Western hegemonic patriarchy because his identity threatens Western hegemony.

Central to the narrative construction of the radical Muslim are assumptions of gender roles within Muslim contexts. Gender is consistently highlighted within political and media discourse as a defect of Muslim communities. One need not look further than the way the hijab, or Muslim woman's headscarf, and the way Muslim women choose to dress have become topics of frequent debate within international human rights and policy circles. Ironically enough, political and media discourse presents Muslim gender roles within hyper-rigid hegemonic categories. Muslim men are categorized as overly aggressive, strict, violent, and apathetic, whereas Muslim women are labeled passive, weak, submissive, and oppressed. Though these categorical archetypes play off hegemonic interpretations of masculinity and femininity, they ultimately distance perceived notions of gender performance by Muslims from dominant notions of acceptable gender traits by polarizing Muslim masculinity and femininity to opposing extremes. This not only gives intelligibility to overarching stereotypes about Muslim men and women, but also becomes a tool used by the state to achieve imperialist and neoliberal goals in the name of gender equality.

Perhaps what is most interesting is how the perceived issue of gender inequality within Muslim communities has become adopted by both politically conservative and liberal voices alike. Although within America feminists attempt to acknowledge the different feminist realities concerning race and class, many of these same voices are largely uncritical of the monolithic narrative told about Muslim women, and men. Hegemonic American feminism assumes Western logic to "[liberate] indigenous women from native patriarchal cultures," as Saba Mahmoud writes.¹⁴ This imperial feminist rhetoric thrives because of orientalist imaginaries about Muslim men and women, and capitalist US-American foreign policy that is willing to use gender equality as a tool of militaristic pursuits. Kwok Pui-Lan identifies this rhetoric of "saving brown women from brown men" as colonialist feminism.¹⁵ Equally important to the image of the submissive Muslim woman is the construction of the dangerous Muslim man. This dangerous brown man narrative contributes to the production of discourse on Muslims that are formulated through the aims of the state. Muslim women's

liberation is used as an ideological excuse to support western militarism because of hegemonic narratives that view Muslims as non-normative.

Juxtaposed against Muslim women's liberation is Muslim men's violent radicalization. Images of Muslim men in newspapers, magazines, and movies depict angry bearded men ideologically locked in mindless religious tradition. However, throughout these images one can also note that it is not just Muslim men presented this way, but also Muslim boys and adolescents. The Muslim male represents a capacity for violence that is understood by broader society to be not only innate but also perhaps even generational. This perceived intrinsic violence amongst Muslim male subjects contributes to the hegemonic hyper-vigilance with regards to Muslims, but particularly Muslim males. This suspicion stems from colonialist logic that sought to emasculate the brown man using cultural, political, economic, and religious spheres of influence that asserted the dominance of Euro-America as the sole source of cultural capital, and the standard for masculinity.¹⁶ Brown men are therefore pawns of white patriarchy, classified as either effeminate or dangerous, but in each case reduced to the physical or emotional. Similar to patriarchal constructions of women, brown men are not allowed to be rational beings. Although they are often symptomatic of the violent characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, they are subsequently locked out of hegemony and instead are victims of the patriarchy that is produced.

A Case Study

To demonstrate how the archetype of the radicalized young Muslim male manifests within mainstream liberal media, I examine *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times* as three journals representative of the mainstream liberal "voice" in U.S.-American media. Besides the implied political lens, these journals are also characterized by their reputation and reach. As major media outlets, these journals have the funds, resources, and reputation that give them a higher level of perceived "truth" within society. Therefore, the articles, images, and other forms of discourse produced by these journals have an even higher impact on broader social, political, and economic conversations.

In the case of the Boston Bombings, articles focused on the Tsarnaev brothers' immigrant background. Although they were both U.S. citizens, each of the articles found it important, and almost necessary to make connections between their relationship with their parents' native Chechnya and their acts of violence. An article by *The Wall Street Journal* focused on immigration and Islam as the primary causes for the radicalization of the oldest Tsarnaev brother, Tamerlan. The article highlights the

relationship Tamerlan had with his mother, Zubeidat, who “in recent years, had shared a powerful transformation to a more intense brand of Islam.”¹⁷ The article describes this “transformation” in terms of the two’s intentional adherence to follow mainstream Islamic religious practices, such as Zubeidat’s donning the Muslim headscarf or hijab and Tamerlan’s regular prayers. But perhaps more interesting is how the article suggests that what is perceived as a more heightened Islamic awareness was the cause of problems that would ultimately occur within the broader U.S.-American society. This is outlined in the description of Tamerlan’s father, Anzor Tsarnaev. The article notes:

Anzor Tsarnaev said he was “outraged” by his son’s decision to drop boxing. He said Tamerlan told him that a Muslim must not punch another man in the face. Anzor said he grew up in Soviet times, when it was taken for granted that Muslims didn’t have to follow such strict rules [...] He said the tensions over Tamerlan’s strict adherence to religion, along with his own health problems, weighed on him and his marriage. He became “very depressed,” he said. Eventually, Anzor left his wife, and left the U.S.¹⁸

Anzor’s described religious apathy serves to further distance Tamerlan and his mother as not only Muslims, but Muslims who are too aligned with Islam that they are shunned by other Muslims. This separates Muslims into two categories, nominal “good” Muslims and practicing “bad” Muslims. Similar to Asad’s theoretical analysis of religion, once religious beliefs extend into the public realm and can be identified, it is no longer welcomed within Western hegemony. *The Wall Street Journal’s* observation of Anzor’s background as a Muslim within the context of Soviet Russia is interesting because it both distances and embraces Anzor. Because Anzor’s Islam is not reflected on his body or in practices that can be seen to the public eye, he is valued; however, he is also a responsible culprit of the attacks. As a Muslim immigrant from a lesser known region of Soviet Russia, he is the archetypal Muslim male parasite. Without him there would be no Tamerlan, and therefore no Boston Bombings.

Similarly, in the case of Ahmed Mohamed, who was wrongly accused of bringing a bomb to school, articles focused on the publicity he garnered after his release from police custody. A headline from *The New York Times* read, “Handcuffed for Making Clock, Ahmed Mohamed, 14, Wins Time with Obama.” This headline indirectly credits critics of Ahmed who claimed that the arrest was a deliberate attempt by Ahmed’s family to receive attention from the U.S.-American public. Ahmed did not “win” time with President Obama. Claiming that he did makes light of the fact that he was profiled based on his identity as a teenage Muslim boy. Media coverage of Ahmed’s arrest either

emphasized his family as being “patriotic all-American” Muslims who were “just like everyone else,” or glossed over his arrest as not a symptom of the larger problem of Islamophobia within U.S.-America. In an article by *The Wall Street Journal*, Ahmed’s arrest is described as a pattern of wrongful arrests of students based upon a “zero tolerance” policy adopted after Columbine—not a problem of Islamophobia. The article attempts to draw parallels of Ahmed’s treatment with that of Jason Anagnos, a 9-year-old White boy who was accused of creating a false public alarm by bringing what a teacher assumed to be a bomb to school.¹⁹ The article claimed that Ahmed’s arrest, like Jason’s, was a symptom of post-Columbine school policies that punished students for anything that remotely seemed threatening. While this argument seems reasonable, the article loses credibility with its complete disregard for how race, class, religion, and other overlapping identities map out the experiences of students, especially within state funded educational institutions. To say that Ahmed’s arrest is an effect of larger policy changes within the public system would be a justifiable assertion; however, the article goes through great lengths to emphatically assert the nonexistence of Islamophobia. The article states:

By Wednesday, Ahmed was famous [...] Well, good for Ahmed. The teachers at MacArthur High and the Irving police certainly deserve criticism for overreaction and heavy-handedness. But the story has also been put into the service of a pernicious myth about “Islamophobia.” [...] Reading between the lines of the Ahmed Mohamed story, it sounds as though the young man’s father had connections among Muslim activists and knew which buttons to push to call national attention to the case. One can hardly fault him for doing so, for what happened to Ahmed was a genuine outrage even apart from the dubious claims of “Islamophobia” or racism.²⁰

The Wall Street Journal exemplifies how liberal media implicitly contributes to the negative stigmatization of Muslims. Although the article acknowledges the wrongdoing of authorities, school officials, and the local police in the way they treated Ahmed, it does not attempt to challenge hegemonic assumptions about Islam. Instead, it contributes to these assumptions by implying that Muslims, especially Muslim Americans, have produced Islamophobia to create a legitimate victimization for themselves within society. This implication ignores the history of Islamophobia since the beginning of the Crusades, and the Eurocentric lens of colonial empire. Denial of this historical reality not only ignores contemporary issues of injustice, but also contributes to anti-Muslim bigotry that fuels backlash against Islam and Muslim communities.

Conclusions

Despite the variations of each event and news journal, each case study shares common themes regardless of the journal it was reported in. *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times* all focused on religious affinity to Islam, citizenship, “Americanness,” and family relations as key contributing factors to radicalization. These thematic patterns not only reflect dominant assumptions about Muslims, but also U.S.-American identity and nationalism as well. This provides significant socio-political implications for the future of immigration policy, Muslim American communities, and Muslim communities abroad. The media characterization of Muslims is constantly used as a mechanism for which to serve the transnational socio-political and economic aims of Western nations. Though Islam and Muslims have been continuously defined through the Eurocentric lens of colonialism, the advent of 9/11 and the subsequent militaristic goals of the global “War on Terror” only intensified the rhetoric that made anti-Muslim bigotry and policies possible. Liberal media’s innocuous suggestions that violence directed against the U.S. and Western democracies stems from Islamic ideology ingrained in Muslims since childhood, are not just problematic because they have roots in orientalist racism, but also because they are transnationally circulated throughout the world as “Truth.” Not only do Western conservative political voices promote the idea of “radical Muslim youth,” but Western liberal discourse also plays a key role in circulating implicit ties between Islamic religiosity and radicalization of youth. As Western nations experience a resurgence of ethnonationalism with the election of Trump, the advent of Brexit, and French policies directed against Muslim citizens, it is increasingly critical to deconstruct media-portrayals and interrupt orientalist narratives to alleviate the socio-political impact of liberal media discourse on young Muslims.

Endnotes

- 1 Khalil Gibran Muhammed, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 245.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 “Ideological Placement of Each Source’s Audience,” Pew Research Center, last modified October 20, 2014, http://www.journalism.org/2014/10/21/political-polarization-media-habits/pj_14-10-21_mediapolarization-08/#.
- 4 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 18–19.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- 7 Alan Cullison, “Turn to Religion Split Suspects’ Home,” *The Wall Street Journal*, last modified April 22, 2013, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324235304578437131250259170>.

- 8 Michelle Chen, “Trump’s ‘Muslim ban’ doesn’t just target eight countries. It’s stoking hatred against Muslims in America,” *NBC NEWS*, last modified April 25, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/trump-s-muslim-ban-doesn-t-just-target-eight-countries-ncna868971>.
- 9 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).
- 10 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’: Revised Edition, from the ‘History’ Chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason.” In *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, edited by Morris Rosalind C., 21–78. Columbia University Press, 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/morr14384.5>.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Saba Mahmood, “Feminism, Democracy, and Empire: Islam and The War of Terror” in *Gendering Religion and Politics: Untangling Modernities 2009*, ed. Hanna Herzog and Ann Braude (London: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2009), 81.
- 15 Kwok Pui-Lan, “Unbinding Our Feet” in *Postcolonialism, Feminism, and Religious Discourse*, ed. Laura Donaldson and Kwok Pui-Lan (New York: Routledge, 2002).
- 16 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’: Revised Edition, from the ‘History’ Chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason.” In *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, edited by Morris Rosalind C., 21–78. Columbia University Press, 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/morr14384.5>.
- 17 Alan Cullison, “Turn to Religion Split Suspects’ Home,” *The Wall Street Journal*, last modified April 22, 2013, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324235304578437131250259170>.
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- 19 James Taranto, “Stand with Ahmed: But Against the Islamophobia Myth-makers,” *The Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/stand-with-ahmed-14425970>.

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Flour as Power? An Examination of the Representation of Flour-Based Provisions in Militia Documents of the Spanish Caribbean Colonies, 1599–1904

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Abstract

This research will investigate the role flour and flour-based foodstuffs had in the Spanish Caribbean colonies, as they have been traditionally associated to Middle Eastern cereals which are not successfully harvested in the region. Thus, access to these products during the colonial period was limited to importation. Nonetheless, some institutions of power possessed privileged positions regarding the acquisition of exotic foodstuffs. Because of this, this study chose to focus on the militia by examining military and navy documents regarding provision supplying in the Spanish Caribbean militias. The quantity of mentions of flour-based provisions to non-flour ones was compared and the situations in which they were mentioned were analyzed. Flour-based provisions were found to be an important part of the militia diet, being the most mentioned with a ratio of 2 to 1 with respect to non-flour provisions. In addition, the situations in which they were mentioned indicated that they were considered valuable luxuries, rewards, and staples. This study aspires to contribute to discussions of how certain foodstuffs can possess both tangible and symbolic power in colonial situations.

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Introduction

Flour and flour-based foodstuffs have been traditionally associated to Middle Eastern cereals and their significance is entangled with Judeo-Christian symbolisms (Azcoytia Luque 2004; Earle 2012). For some authors, wheat (*Triticum sp.*) was an important crop in fifteenth-century Europe, strongly associated with the daily food of both elites and the lower classes (Domingo 1997; Earle 2012). On the other hand, Ruiz (2001) stresses the importance of other cereals (barley, oats, and rye) for the lower classes and wheat products for the elites in fifteenth-century Iberia.

Archaeological research at La Isabela (Hispaniola), the first Spanish settlement in the New World, indicates that during the first years of European colonization of the Americas, Europeans strived to continue having their previous European diet and were reluctant to incorporate Amerindian foods (Deagan and Cruxent 2002). Earle (2012) hypothesizes that this initial reluctance to accept Amerindian foods may have been because they believed their bodies were essentially different from those of the indigenous peoples, and since food is the object that shapes bodies, they had to continue having a European diet to avoid dying or becoming Amerindians. With respect to this, other authors have alluded elsewhere to the wheat-wine-olive trilogy (see Constable 1994; Fahd 1997; Mira Caballos 2015), the consumption of which may have been an embodiment of Europeaness. In this sense, wheat was to European as maize was to Amerindian (Earle 2012).

While this initial reluctance was not the same for all Amerindian foods, for all contexts and for all Europeans, there is ambivalence among historians and archaeologists as some historical records emphasize this segregation between Amerindian and European (see García Acosta 1997), while others show more openness by the part of Europeans to “eating like Indians” (see Rodríguez-Alegría 2005). In a previous paper, I discuss a case where although there appeared to be reluctance to eating cassava in Puerto Rico by a high ecclesiastical figure (a bishop of Puerto Rico) in 1644, cassava or manioc bread appears to have quickly turned into the main imported staple on the island since the early fifteenth century because of its accessibility (Fernández-Pérez 2016).

It is an accepted fact that Old-World cereals did not grow successfully in the Caribbean islands and thus had to be imported from elsewhere in order to be consumed (Deagan and Cruxent 2002; Fernández-Pérez 2016; Parry and Keith 1984). However, it is important to mention here that Faucher et al. (2016) have recently found archaeological evidence of barley in Barbuda.

In Puerto Rico, there were many endeavors to produce wheat locally, and while in some cases harvesting was successful, its results were limited and never reached mass production (Moscoso 2001). Because of this, it is safe to assume that almost all of the wheat flour and their products that was consumed in the island, arrived through importations from Spain, New Spain, and foreign countries (Fernández-Pérez 2016; López Cantos 1975; 1977; Tanodi 2010). Although, as I mentioned above, the colonial diet appears to have shifted after these first decades to the consumption of Amerindian products that could be produced or bred locally, such as cassava in Puerto Rico (see Fernández-Pérez 2016) and muskrat and turkey in Hispaniola (see Reitz and McEwan 1995), some institutions of power in the Spanish Caribbean, such as the Church, the governance, and the militia, possessed privileged positions regarding the acquisition of exotic foodstuffs (Johnson 2011; Tanodi 2010).

Therefore, the general objective of this research is to explore the roles and meanings flour and flour-based foodstuffs had in one of these Spanish institutions, the militia, throughout time. However, a cautionary note is that up until the nineteenth century, the governance and the militia were intertwined, where the military chief was the same as the political chief (Marchena Fernández 1983). This area of research has been poorly studied for the Spanish Caribbean, and has the potential of contributing to historical, archaeological, and anthropological problems related to the relationship between food and power.

To achieve this general objective, this study assessed documents related to the Spanish militia in Puerto Rico, recovered from the military and navy archives of Spain, as well as the San Juan National Historic Site archive. These documents were selected to identify, firstly, the food provisions mentioned, which could be correlated with consumption or demand. Secondly, to compare the ratio of flour-based provisions to the rest of the food provisions. Thirdly, to understand the roles flour-based provisions played in the military diet by examining the situations in which they are mentioned. Lastly and building on the latter, to approach the “meanings” flour-based provisions may have had: what they meant to people and what people signaled by consuming them (see Mintz 1985).

Historical Context

Cassava bread, made from manioc and produced by the community of Cangrejos near San Juan, seems to have been the primary bread for the military garrison in Puerto Rico up until the nineteenth century (Flores Román et al. 2009). This is observed in the 1765 instructions and military

regulations, where it was ordered that, because of the lack of wheat bread in Spain, the veteran troops must eat cassava (Torres Ramírez 1968). In other parts of the empire, the officer's diet usually differed from that of the soldiers because it contained wheat bread (Marchena Fernández and Gómez Pérez 1992). However, in Puerto Rico the local government encouraged the process of acculturation of the European newcomers because it was cheaper to feed troops with local products than with imports (Sued Badillo, n.d.). Apart from cassava, the diet of the military community throughout the centuries included: rice, tubers, plantains, maize, beans, vegetables, fruits, meat, and fish, which were produced in San Juan's hinterland (Abbad y Lasierra 1866; Flores Román et al. 2009; Moscoso 2001; Sepúlveda 1989; Sued Badillo, n.d.).

In the nineteenth century, the soldiers' diet became more varied because Puerto Rico received provisions from a greater number of markets, including those from the United States, Canada, and several European countries (see Flores Román et al. 2009; Gilbert 1977; López Cantos 1985; Morales Carrión 1952; Moreno Lázaro 1992; O'Flanagan 2008; Sonesson 2000). Consequently, the massive importation of Spanish and North American flour caused the bread made from wheat flour to slowly displace the old bread made from cassava. In addition, more cheese, nuts, chickpeas, dates, rice, codfish, hams, chocolate, and even canned preserves were imported, but the main components of the soldiers' diet remained the same as in the previous centuries (Flores Román et al. 2009).

This research will explore the relationship between food and the Spanish colonial militia throughout time, focusing on flour and flour-based foodstuffs. It is commonly assumed that soldiers and officials were supplied wheat flour, but the reality seems to indicate that supplying wheat flour to the colonial Caribbean was fraught with problems and locally available foodstuffs may have been more significant as daily sustenance (Johnson 2011). However, the symbolic power that wheat flour and wheat bread possessed, may have made these products highly sought by the militia. Thus, militia documents may shed light into this query.

Methodology

To fulfill the objectives of this research, I consulted the National Digital Archive of Puerto Rico interchanging the words San Juan and Puerto Rico and using the following keywords: *víveres* (food provisions), *abasto* (supply), *mantenimiento* (maintenance), *bastimento* (provision), *vitualia* (provision), *mercadería* (merchandise), *frutos* (produce), *comestible* (edible), *suministro* (supply), *alimento* (food), *alimentación* (diet), *abastecimiento* (supplying), *comida* (food), *dieta* (diet),

cocina (kitchen), *mercado* (market), *harina* (flour), *pan* (bread), *bizcocho* (biscuit), and *galleta* (cracker). All military and political documents that mentioned food for the Spanish Caribbean colonies were selected. In total, 38 documents were retrieved from this source [33 from the *Archivo General de la Marina “Álvaro de Bazán”* (GMAB), three from the *Archivo General Militar de Madrid* (GMM), and two from the *Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid* (MNM)]. I used the same keywords to search the Finding Aid of the San Juan National Historic Site Resource Records Collection (SJNHS). A total of six documents were retrieved from this source (five from the *Archivo General de la Nación de México* and one from the *Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid*).

Non-digitalized documents were omitted by this methodology. However, since this is a preliminary study, the selected methodology is useful to get a sense of the pattern that appears to emerge regarding food provisions. In addition, the methodology limited the sample to documents that mentioned Puerto Rico in any part of the document, in some of which Puerto Rico was not directly related to the food provisioning. Instead of discarding them, this study will use this sample to make generalizations of the wider Spanish Caribbean. Finally, the food provisions in these documents can most likely be related to imported and exported provisions from various Spanish military ports. Locally produced and distributed provisions for the militias are not mentioned but should be investigated elsewhere.

In total there were 44 documents, most of which were files and loose letters from the commanders-in-chief of the Navy of both Havana and Puerto Cabello, the Ministry of War and Overseas (*Ministerio de Guerra y Ultramar*), commanders of squadrons or ships, the Viceroy of New Spain, and the governors of Caracas and Puerto Rico. In addition, some Royal Cédulas and Orders were included. They range from 1599 to 1904, where the majority (60%) fall between 1779 and 1834. One document from Puerto Rico in 1904 was included because, although the island was no longer a Spanish possession since 1898, the file is still promoted to a Spanish institution.

If the provisions were not specified in the documents, only the mentioned general keywords were marked, which in this case were: *viveres* (provisions), *dieta* (diet), *alimentación* (diet), *abastecimiento* (supplying), and *frutos* (fruits).

It is important to note that while this research presents an overview of the provisions that were supplied to military garrisons in the Spanish Caribbean, since the analyzed documents do not have a chronological or document type consistency, the results represent an approximation to food provision supplying. This is because documents related to the food supplied to the military communities in the Spanish colonial period are scarce. However, the value of this study is that it provides a stepping point for the future incorporation of more lines of evidence about food and military communities in the Caribbean during the Spanish colonial period.

Results and Discussion

Of the 44 documents, only 26 specified provisions and the rest limited to the general keywords mentioned above. In **Table 1**, each document is shown with their specified provisions, the archive to which they belong, the archive code, the year, the quantity of mentions by provision-type, and the ratio between flour and non-flour-based provisions. The specified provisions consist of: flour, bread, biscuit, cracker, rice, salt, codfish, pork, coffee, sugar, cheese, chickpea, cocoa, manioc, plantain, and wine. The food provision with most document mentions is flour with 17. It is important to note that although flour was the category with most mentions, only in two documents that came from the military archive (GMM) in Spain is it specified as being either of wheat (documents 5611.17 and 5146.19) or manioc (document 5611.17). In another document (GMAB 4707.112), flour is referred to as *harinas extranjeras españolas* (foreign Spanish flour). Thus, it will be assumed here that when not specified as being from either manioc, maize, rice or any other foodstuff that can be prepared into flour, flour in these documents refers to wheat flour.

Following flour in quantity of mentions are the three flour-based provisions: bread, biscuits, and crackers. This is an interesting find because it seems to indicate that the imported food provisions with most consumption or most demand in Spanish Caribbean militias were flour-based provisions. If the flour and flour-based categories are joined, they total 23 document mentions; and if the non-flour categories are joined, they total 11 document mentions. This means that the ratio of flour and flour-based provisions to the non-flour ones is 2 to 1.

h

Archive	Code	Years	Food Provisions																	
			Flour	Bread	Biscuit	Cracker	Flour based	Rice	Salt	Codfish	Pork	Coffee	Sugar	Cheese	Chickpea	Cocoa	Manioc	Plantain	Wine	Non-flour
SJNHS	128-1	1599	X				X													
MNM	Not clear	1653			X		X													
SJNHS	128-23	1683																		
MNM	Not clear	1741																		
SJNHS	131-80	1741																		
SJNHS	132-107	1779	X				X													
GMAB	4.51	1786	X			X	X					X								X
GMAB	12.126	1791																		
GMAB	12.127	1791																		
GMAB	12.137	1791																		
GMAB	13.64	1792		X			X													
GMAB	21.50	1793	X	X	X		X													
GMAB	17.59	1794																		
GMAB	17.81	1794																		
GMAB	17.82	1794	X				X													
GMAB	17.84	1794																		
GMAB	17.91	1794	X				X													
GMAB	17.98	1794			X		X													
GMAB	18.24	1794	X				X													
GMAB	19.54	1795	X	X			X													
GMAB	21.107	1796	X		X	X	X	X			X		X	X						X
GMAB	132-134	1798																		
GMAB	33.23	1803		X			X													
GMM	5611.17	1803	X				X									X				X
GMAB	41.37	1806																		
GMAB	44.68	1809	X				X													
GMAB	58.54	1817																		
GMAB	58.51	1817		X			X													
GMAB	85.24	1820	X	X	X	X	X													
GMAB	69.49	1821																		
GMAB	69.44	1821	X				X				X				X					X
GMAB	4707.112	1834	X				X				X	X								X
SJNHS	135-44	1848				X	X		X		X							X	X	
GMAB	305.7	1860																		
GMAB	99.23	1862																		
GMAB	315.1	1863																		
GMAB	315.2	1864																		
GMAB	315.3	1864	X				X	X	X											X
GMAB	315.4	1864															X			X
GMAB	315.6	1864							X											X
GMAB	315.11	1864	X				X													
GMAB	320.9	1865																		
GMM	5146.19	1898	X				X	X		X										X
GMM	5611.19	1904								X										X
Mentions			17	6	5	4	23	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
Ratio			23				2	11												

Documents analyzed for this study with their specified provisions, the archive to which they belong, the archive code, the year, the quantity of mentions by provision-type, and the ratio between flour and non-flour-based provisions.

To examine the roles and meanings flour-based provisions played in the military diet, the documents were divided into six categories where one document could fit into more than one category: transportation of provisions, *situado*, battles and captures, scarcity, *arribadas*, and payments, loans, and fees. For this article, a document from each category was summarized and analyzed.

Case 1—Transportation of Provisions

Here flour does not exclusively relate to wheat, is in a letter from 1803 (GMM 5611.17). In it, the Governor of Puerto Rico answers a Royal Order that stated that the military must be supplied with manioc flour instead of already made cassava bread or wheat flour, because manioc flour is cheaper and can be preserved longer. However, the Governor says that people in Puerto Rico are not accustomed to produce manioc flour, and that this shift is neither advantageous nor economical.

This document presents an insistence to continue to provide soldiers with either wheat flour, which can be made to wheat bread, porridge, and other products, or to provide them with already made manioc bread or cassava, even when there was a product allegedly more cost-efficient: manioc flour. This may indicate that the reasons for selecting specific food products did not depend only on the food from which it was made, but also on the form or stage in provision in which it was acquired (see Samuel 1999). In addition, it is a possibility that the reluctance of the governor may be due to the fact that the importation of manioc flour would have eliminated the importation of wheat flour.

Case 2—Situado

The Royal Situado or simply *situado* was an annual payment that the Viceroyalty of New Spain had to provide its territories. Among the *situado* documents, a file promoted by a vessel commander and squadron chief in 1794 (GMAB 17.91) informs about the transportation of the riches of the *situado* with the Infantry Regiment troop of Puebla, from Veracruz to Havana and others of the Windward Islands (including Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo). Regarding food provisions included among the riches of the *situado* are: *viveres*, *frutos* and flour. As can be seen, the only specified food provision is flour. This find indicates that flour was not considered in equal category with the other *viveres*, rather it was a type of special food provision imbued with economic as well as political value.

Case 3—Battles and Captures

A file from 1809 promoted by the commander-in-chief of the Havana Navy (GMAB 44.68) notifies the departure of a brigantine and a merchant vessel in commission to Santo Domingo, driving provisions and medicines for the patriotic Spanish troops that fought against the French. Among these

provisions, the only specified is flour. In this case, flour is used as a politically embedded gift to reward patriotism and loyalty to the Spanish Crown, and to keep reproducing this loyalty among its subjects.

Case 4—Scarcity

In a letter from 1599 (SJNHS 128–1), the Governor of Puerto Rico requested that specifically flour and other foodstuffs be provisioned because there has been scarcity ever since the pirate attacks. In addition, he adds that the supplying of flour would also be beneficial for slave production. This document has two statements that seek to justify provisioning: scarcity and the feeding of the enslaved population. It is more likely there was scarcity of flour-based foodstuffs and not of all foodstuffs. If this is true, scarcity is being used as a political statement to justify provisioning. In addition, as Johnson (2011) has previously pointed out, that enslaved people were fed wheat flour when it is so luxurious is unlikely and this could have also been used to justify provisioning. Thus, in this example, flour appears to have been a highly insisted upon and demanded product, where hyperbole was often used to justify provisioning. Moreover, the scarcity argument alludes to the fact that flour may have been perceived by some as a staple or necessity.

Case 5—Arribadas

Arribadas refer to un-scheduled arrivals, many times because of unprecedented or disastrous situations. In a document from 1792 (GMAB 13.64), the commander-in-chief of the Havana Navy announces the *arribada* of a vessel in Puerto Rico to gather food provisions because their stored bread had begun to rot since it had been trapped in Icos (a small island close to Puerto Rico) due to the bad weather. They do not specify if they possessed other food provisions on board, but the damaging of the bread was sufficient to plead help, provisions, and an un-scheduled entry to Puerto Rico. This case illustrates how bread was considered a staple by some, while it was also recognized as a politically powerful entity that could be used to justify the bending of rules and regulations, where hyperbole or the scarcity exaggeration may have also been at play.

Case 6—Payments, Loans, and Fees

A Royal Order contained in a 1786 document (GMAB 4.51) indicates that flour must not be included among the taxed provisions to pay for militia clothing in Havana. While other products will be taxed with this purpose, flour will not be. This may be due to the fact that the economic value of flour was already expensive and inaccessible to most, even without the fee, and they wanted to ensure a regular purchase of flour (see Fernández-Pérez 2016; Tanodi 2010). Thus, similarly to the *arribada* case above, this case presents a relaxation of rules and regulations with regard to flour possibly because its supply was considered a necessity.

Conclusions

Flour-based provisions were the most mentioned in the assembled militia documents, with a ratio of 2 to 1 with respect to non-flour provisions. There are two primary lines of explanation that can be taken with these results. The first is that flour-based foodstuffs were demanded and consumed by the Spanish militias because they had the role of a staple and were considered necessities. Cases 4, 5, and 6 allude to this, where supply was justified and ensured with what I interpret as a scarcity hyperbole and/or with the relaxing and bending regulations. In Case 1 there is a reluctance to substitute wheat flour and cassava with an allegedly more cost-efficient product, which could be tied with it being regarded as a necessity. In addition, the *situado* shipment in Case 2 may also be presenting flour and flour-based products in a staple category.

However, this is only a partial explanation because I am not quite convinced flour and flour-based products were actually the daily sustenance of the militia because they appear to have not been supplied in a regular or consistent way throughout the centuries (see Fernández-Pérez 2016; Johnson 2011; López Cantos 1975). Therefore, the second line of explanation is that the prevalence of flour-based provisions in these militia documents is due to its role as a power-embedded food entity. This is not to say that people only consumed these foodstuffs to represent power, but that the mere act of acquisition and consumption by the military indexed power relations and inequality with respect to the rest of the population. If we go case by case again focusing on these foods as power-embedded, a significant pattern emerges. The reluctance to substitute wheat flour in Case 1 could be due to its prestigious quality. In Cases 2 and 3, flour is signaled out as different from other foodstuffs by the provisioning ports or entities: as one of the riches of the *situado* (in the former) and as a gift for rewarding loyalty (in the latter). The last three cases exemplify how these products or the scarcity of them had the power to bend regulations. Thus, following Mintz (1985), while flour and flour-based products for the Spanish militias may have been conceptualized as staples or necessities, what the Spanish militias signaled by consuming them was power. In addition, the Crown's potential to supply flour and flour-based products signaled its own power over its colonies. Thus, flour access and consumption were in a sense an embodiment of power.

While locally available products were also consumed by the militias, here I have focused on the roles and meanings of wheat flour and its products in a place where it was not able to be locally mass-produced. For a future project, the consumption of the militia could be compared with that of other Spanish institutions, as well as with the people that did not belong to any of these institutions. In addition, archaeology may shed light to the material aspects of this consumption, including that of both locally available and exotic food products.

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Blurring Lines & Crossing Boundaries: Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did*

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Abstract

Within British Victorian literature during the 1890s, gender and sexuality play a key role in who the characters are and how they are perceived by others. Inspired by the social transition from the innocent, obedient, traditional “angel in the house” persona to the independent intellectual “new woman,” a new literary genre known as “new woman” fiction grew in popularity as authors questioned the roles expected of women and wrote of heroines who often strive to deviate from societal norms. In looking at this trend, my study looks at Grant Allen’s *The Woman Who Did* (1895), examining what influenced the creation of this novel and how it is an important reflection of the *fin de siècle*. By studying Allen’s novel and comparing his version of the “new woman” to what society perceived of her, I will be seeing what role the new woman was expected to play and if a male author could enter the conversation and make an important contribution without changing the initial intent of the “new woman” figure. In examining these ideas, my research argues that while the new woman was a symbol of freedom and equality, Allen’s novel both defines who the new woman is and shows that she was often trapped within a man-made social construct.

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During a time in history in which women stepping away from traditional gender roles were called “new women,” it is clear when examining Victorian literature that gender and sexuality play a key role in who the characters are and how they are perceived by others. With a feminist movement occurring in an effort to gain more independence and an outraged public, authors often participated in the “new woman” debate through literary works. One piece of literature in particular plays a significant role in defining the “new woman”: Grant Allen’s 1895 novel, *The Woman Who Did*. Focusing on the possible realities of the progressive

and often political young women emerging at the time, Allen tells the story of a deacon’s young daughter, Herminia Barton, who engages in a free love union and ultimately becomes a martyr after taking her own life. Selling 25,000 copies in Britain alone and an additional 10,000 copies in the first year, the novel was highly popular with many audiences (Morton 149). However, the novel was held in low regard by feminists and reviewers (Morton 149). With the novel being a direct reflection of the social atmosphere at the time, this study looks closely at the novel and culture of the late 19th century in order to examine what influenced the creation of this novel and how it is an important reflection of the *fin de siècle*. In addition, the paper will also look at the social perceptions of the “new woman” and the role she was often expected to play. I will be analyzing these facets while questioning whether a male author could enter and make an important contribution to the conversation without changing the intent of the “new woman.” This research argues that while the “new woman” figure was a symbol of freedom and equality, Allen’s novel attacks Victorian society itself and shows that the “new woman” was trapped within a man-made social construct.

In order to understand why Allen’s novel was the most popular and controversial during that time frame, one must understand the context. With women stepping forward and speaking out against the restriction of the Married Women’s Property Act of 1880 and the continuous use of the Contagious Diseases Act in which state agents could lock, detain, examine, and forcibly treat suspected prostitutes, it became clear to the public that a feminist movement was occurring. Thus the “new woman” became a public enemy and a source of fascination as writers created a different kind of literary genre: the “new woman” genre (Ledger 19). While the “new woman” genre became immensely popular, its novels were heavily scrutinized as the press mocked the “new woman” figure.

Nevertheless, the public’s increasing fascination with the genre continued to grow after Grant Allen published his novel *The Woman Who Did*. Known for his work with scientific field, it wasn’t until 1886 that he began to look at the “woman question.” Being a male author, Allen pushed against the notion that “new woman” literature was strictly female, thus becoming the first male author who engaged with the genre and its ideas. However, Allen did not become recognized for his new woman fiction until the publication of *The Woman Who Did*. Touching on this popular subject, Allen offered his own literary version of the “new woman” who had characteristics of both the public perception and the women who surrounded Allen in day-to-day life. Humanizing her, Allen’s novel tells the story of Herminia Barton, the young daughter of a clergyman, who in her quest for freedom defies her upbringing to pursue a lifestyle

that challenges societal norms. In her journey Herminia meets Alan Merrick whom she falls in love with and later persuades to agree to her terms of free love. After his death, she has to face her own convictions, societal scorn, and her daughter's resentment of being illegitimate. However, in the end Herminia commits suicide as an act of love for her daughter.

In being a British male, Allen was able to draw attention and question the way society treated women and how it perceived those who strove for change. Due to fear, the “new woman” was constantly under fire during this point in history. Doctors often stated that the “new woman” was especially dangerous because her education starved her uterus (Showalter 40). With little evidence, doctors used this logic to inform the public that it was impossible to maintain exercise and education without destroying a woman's ability to be a mother and nurse to the future of England: the children (Ledger 18). Newspapers such as *Punch Magazine* portrayed “new women” as women who were physically weak and unable to engage in sexual relationships nor achieve any happiness (Showalter 171). Many men felt that young women pursuing education was a direct infringement on their “exclusive right to the education that would ensure [their] supremacy, [thus they would often] counterattack with every unflattering epithet in the book: learned ladies are . . . positively hermaphroditic; freakish, unnatural, desexed, undesirable, probably sterile, and wholly unattractive creatures” (Shapiro 517). Women who adhered to the “angel in the house” virtue also lashed out and critiqued the “new woman” harshly, writing that she was a woman who “does anything specifically unfeminine and ugly . . . a woman who smokes in public and where she is forbidden, who dresses in knickerbockers or a boy's shirt . . . who flouts conventional decencies and offends against all the canons of good taste” (Ledger 16–17).

Though seemingly unfair, when looking at England's history it is clear where this fear stems from. Up until the 1890s, England had embraced the idea of womanly perfection embodied by Coventry Patmore's idea of the “angel in the house,” a term derived from his poem of the same name. Describing Victorian domesticity through a woman with a devout disposition and angelical countenance “largely untroubled by wayward personal desires—including erotic longing,” Patmore only reinforced the idea that the woman's place was in the household and that she was pillar of strength both for her husband and her country (Adams 129). This idea of the “quiet domestic nest” and the perfect woman largely stemmed from the public spectacle in 1820 in which King George IV led a public trial to divorce his much-detested wife Caroline on the grounds of adultery after he was crowned king (Adams 128). Being that the former king and his wife were a picture of domestic simplicity,

a highly valued reassuring stability contrasting that of the American and French revolutions, this trial caused the public to really examine the morals of the monarchy (Hunt 718). It is because of this public scrutiny; the king lost the trial after his own infidelity became part of the investigation. While the Queen had become a symbol for women and rose from the trial victorious, afterward her public image declined as it became clear that a new emphasis on morality and respectability would become ingrained into the culture and expected of everyone, even royalty (Hunt 721–722).

With the trial fresh in public's mind along with the new moral code, the angelic ideal was appealing and easy to grasp. Popular among men for offering an image of complete submission while “enforce[ing] a disjunction between female morality and female power,” the “angel” became a figure that was crucial to “ensuring the continued subordination of women” as the male aggression that was consistently present within Victorian culture persisted (Adams 129). Women recognized this and feminists often resented the “angel” declaring that she was a way to box women in, insisting that “of all women's enemies, the worst are those who insist that woman is an angel. To say that woman is an angel is to impose on her” (Hellerstein 140). With the extended control of the Contagious Diseases Act and the restriction of the Married Women's Property Act of 1880, women began to openly fight back and campaign against the reigning parliament members (Roberts 86). As a consequence, the “new woman” was often portrayed as an angry instigator or described as “a creature who dyes her hair and paints her face . . . a creature whose sole idea of life is fun [and] unbounded luxury; and whose dress is the chief object of such thought and intellect as she possesses . . . she lives to please herself [and] does not care” (Lynn Linton 1–2). This sentiment was upheld by many journalists and anti-feminists who often gave the women nicknames such as the “shrieking sisterhood,” a stark contrast to the actual “new woman” who in most cases was a “middle-class woman who did by choice the things working-class women had always done through necessity: live[d] apart from her parents' home, earn[ed] her own living, [went to] places unchaperoned, [and took] responsibility for her own sexuality” (Mitchell 852). As public disapproval grew, the attributes of the “new woman” along with her appearance worsened.

However, Allen approaches the “new woman” controversy in a different manner. Throughout his novel, Allen makes it clear on where he stands in regards to the “new woman” and the ideal “new woman.” While she was not seen as someone to aspire to be like, Allen writes of a “new woman” different than the normative “butch” or “manly” woman portrayed in literature and the cartoons published by *Punch Magazine*. Rather, he writes of a woman who strives for equality between the sexes even if it leads to her

ruin. Peter Morton discusses this content, stating that Allen was, “probably the first and perhaps last British novelist to show an educated middle-class woman who, in cold blood, puts herself into the position of bearing a bastard out of pure principle, with the resolve of using the child as a blunt instrument against bourgeois sensibilities” (Morton 153). Herminia, overall, is a character that pushes her readers to think of what it means to be a “new woman” and the obligations that follow. Advocating for free love, Allen argues that society would only improve if women were encouraged to “develop equally every fibre of her own nature than one exhibiting the spectacle of a smug world winking complacently at the substitution of prostitution for marriage through the springtide of manhood” (Clodd 156). Through his character, Allen paints the harsh struggle an individual must undergo when believing that civilized mankind will wholly displace an institution and that the spirit must be freed from the bondage of the flesh (Clodd 161).

Placing much of himself within Herminia, Allen was often misunderstood and became the subject of speculation and scandal. Knowing little of the author himself, many argued that “a man who attacked the institution of marriage and defended free love must be libertine; [and] declared that his separation from his wife was notorious whereas the fact is that he was never happy on rare occasions that he was away from her” (Clodd 162). Defending an unpopular new notion, the author found himself surrounded by gossip much like the “new woman” and his protagonist. Allen, however, stood firm stating, “No man or woman can go through life in consistent obedience to any high principle. We must bow to circumstance” (Clodd 161).

Through his writing Allen sets to prove a different kind of argument about the “new woman,” something he does well by touching on core themes such as feminism, pre-marital sex, and birth out of wedlock; themes that were the sole focus of the discussion in both society and literature. The book itself remains important due to the fact that Allen does something that not many have done within the “new woman” genre: he exposes the “notorious double standard which enabled ostensibly respectable Victorians to turn a blind eye to prostitution [as well a point out how] mistresses were tolerated as long as they were not made visible in ‘genteel’ society” (Ledger 14).

With Herminia’s firm anti-marriage stance, education, sexual relations outside the confines of marriage, birth to a free child, and rejection of societal norms, she is everything that the conservative Victorians fear. Her worst offense, however, is her defiance itself and her refusal to repent. Believing that through her suffering she is trailblazing a path toward freedom for her sex, she ultimately boxes in what the “new woman” can and can’t do as she criticizes

and scorns those whom she believes has failed. Reflected in the scene in which Harvey Kynaston proposes to her, she retorts, “If I were to give way now, as George Elliot gave way, as almost every woman who once tried to live a free life for her sister’s sake, has given way in the end, I should counteract any little good my example has ever done or may ever do in the world . . .” (Allen 65).

With her scorn and high morality in the “wrong” set of beliefs, Herminia is the perfect anti-mirror for the critics of the “new woman.” While Herminia gives up a lot of her autonomy for her lover by resigning her job, going abroad to avoid gossip, and registering as “Mr. and Mrs. Merrick,” she remains strong. However, a confrontation with her daughter leads her to commit suicide, leaving the reader with the question of whether Herminia truly is “the woman who did” or a failure. Allen gives no answer and cuts off the novel with the words “The End,” leaving many conflicted. Although Allen leaves the final judgement of Herminia to his reader, he does allude to his feelings toward her in the last line before the bolded *The End*. Writing “Herminia Barton’s stainless soul had ceased to exist forever” (Allen 86), these lines show that the actions and decisions Herminia had made in her lifetime were neither a sin nor waste, rather it is the darkness of society that has halted the progress that Allen believes mankind must make.

While the American reviewers were hostile, some of the early “British reviewers were favorable and respectful” writing that it was “one of the most remarkable novels of the nineteenth century” and that they believed Allen’s “sincerity to be undeniable, and Herminia’s sentiments very noble and eloquent” (Morton 154). However, the book itself was never respected by feminists and those who supported the movement (Morton 154). Many claimed that Allen was an enemy who was attacking the wrong areas, only showing that the “new woman” has nothing to gain but everything to lose as punishment for breaking away from the safety of marriage (Showalter 52). Criticized for his harsh treatment of his heroine and attack on women’s education, his novel was labeled as a non-feminist work (Ledger 15). Critics today stand by that verdict, with Vanessa Warne and Colette Colligan agreeing with the 19th century critics that Allen was a man who behind the thin veil of independence and freedom longed to maintain the traditional woman figure (Warne 22). Yet even with this commentary, it was the best-selling novel when released. Though evident that Allen could not entirely set aside his masculinity, when looking at this debate, one must look at the novel and determine if this character is a realistic portrait of the “new woman” and whether it is a realistic depiction of society during that point in history.

Though considered scandalous and anti-feminist, Allen's novel was successful not only by the number of printed copies sold but in the way it produced conversation about who the "new woman" truly was. Not long after Allen's novel was published, Victoria Crosse published her novel *The Woman Who Didn't* in 1895 as a response and Mrs. Lovett Cameron wrote *The Man Who Didn't*. Lucas Cleeve, a male writer, also wrote a response called *The Woman Who Wouldn't*, published also in 1895. Each dealt with the protagonist in the novel being placed in a similar situation as Herminia Barton, yet the protagonist is not focused on free-love. Rather, these novels defend the institution of marriage whereas Allen seeks to dismantle it. The novel thus somewhat accomplished what Allen set out to do. Whereas it fails in stirring sympathy or credibility within the feminist community, the book highlights relevant issues and incites conversation. In having his character remain a mouthpiece for his ideals, Allen shows how the institution of marriage is only another means of boxing-in women and that because of the way society is structured women cannot survive if they strive for change. Thus, through this novel, Allen shows that women should be able to have similar rights to men, rather than engage with the idea of keeping up appearances and subjecting one's self to prostitution, being a mistress, or being the foolish wife who looks away from her husband's practices.

Unlike her predecessors, Herminia does not engage with the institution and Allen shows the potential fate of women who do so. The obstacles she must overcome are large and deafening as she is turned away from family, jobs, and even her own daughter, something that would not have occurred if she were male. In addition, Allen exposes the rigidity in the Victorian moral code and strong ties to the church by showing how a smart able-bodied woman with much to contribute to society is cast off with her daughter because of her refusal to depend on men. With this heroine, Allen has accomplished something within the "new woman" movement: defining who the "new woman" was (Morton 156). Prior to the novel, there was no set idea of who the new woman was. Thus, magazines and authors were free to adapt the new woman however they pleased in order to support their claim. Yet because Allen wrote of a different kind of "new woman," one who willingly set aside her personal well-being and chose to deliberately go against the status quo, women were now forced to really look at the "new woman" figure now that a man had entered the "new woman" genre. Granted, Allen's heroine is vastly different than others in which she shows that the "new woman" as a whole is evolving. Though she dies, it is not a condemnation by the author as many would argue; it is a mercy as she is written as a martyr. Her death is not condemning her to failure; rather it is done to help her daughter instead of some dramatic fashion of self-pity. Through his work Allen

shows that he sees the "new woman" as an actor with agency who could go face to face with the hypocrisy of the Victorian time period. Whereas Allen is often shown to be against the "new woman's" cause, in actuality he is sympathetic, providing a way for discussion and empowerment, though it does not stem from what he originally intended.

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Visualizing and Understanding Code-Switching

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Abstract

The purpose of this work is to visualize some of the fundamental details of code-switching (C-S) in four different language-tagged corpora with novel approaches that can be applied to any language pairing. Although there has been much work done in the area of modeling code-switching, most of it revolves around: prediction of C-S (Solorio and Yiu, 2008), language identification (Lui et al., 2014, King and Abney, 2013), or formal grammar models (Joshi, 1982). Thus far, no in-depth analysis has been done on modeling the details of C-S, such as the switch lengths or switch frequency of speakers, in a large dataset and with a language-agnostic approach. Most attempts to describe the interactions between languages in a mixed corpus (LIPPS Group, 2000) only quantify the ratio of languages represented. Additionally, current work in computational linguistics has only just begun to describe C-S across corpora (Gambäck and Das, 2016). In this paper, I demonstrate new methods for visualization of the span length and span frequency of several corpora, compare results to supporting and related work in the same vein, and discuss future possibilities for research using this technique.

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Introduction

In the past forty years, much of the work in code-switching (C-S) has been purely theoretical, based on developing formal models to describe and generate C-S (Sankoff et al., 1981). However, very little work examines the question of differentiating and identifying C-S patterns across large datasets under the same theoretical framework. Do bilingual speakers switch differently depending on where they come from? In particular, do bilingual speakers of the same languages switch between them differently? This paper attempts to answer the latter question by demonstrating differing patterns of C-S use through the graphical representation of its language switches. In addition, I offer them as new analytical tools for use by other researchers in the field of computational linguistics. In the following sections, I introduce the study of C-S in this work, overview related literature, outline the corpora under study, motivate the new visualizations, present the data and graphs from the analysis, discuss the results, and conclude with ideas for future work.

Code-Switching

As a working definition, C-S is the ability on the part of bilinguals to effortlessly switch between their two languages in casual speech (Bullock and Toribio, 2009). Most scholars divide types of C-S into two broad categories: intersentential switching, where the speaker switches outside the sentence or clause level, and intrasentential switching, where the speaker switches within a sentence. These are also known as “alternation” and “insertion,” respectively (Muysken, 2000). In this work, I offer an additional, computational perspective on the C-S of mixed-language texts and new methods for visually highlighting differences in them. For the most part, the particular C-S features of large mixed-language texts have not been measured or described due to a variety of factors, the most evident of which is cost. Past studies have focused on particular groups of small sizes but have not compared across different populations (Lipski, 1985; Poplack, 1980). This paper offers a view into the intrinsic features of C-S, such as the average span of a code-switch, i.e., the length in words in a single language before a switch to another language, the rate of code-switching, and the primary language of a text to visualize different patterns of C-S across corpora.

Related Work

Recent efforts to classify corpora at a deeper level, such as the work done by Kilgarriff (2001) and Pinto et al. (2011) have restricted their objects of study to monolingual corpora. Kilgarriff (2001) applies statistical measures to word frequencies of differing corpora to detect similarity, a separate task from comparing differences in C-S across corpora. Pinto et al. (2011) derive unique measures and methods for clustering documents in similar domains together, but this is again based on word frequencies, which do not detect patterns of mixed-language use. In both cases, the measures apply to the entire corpus and do not display the patterns inherent in the texts. For multilingual corpora, the LIPPS Group (2000) developed a metric based on the Gini coefficient to measure the complexity of a mixed corpus. However, their “M-metric” is a simple ratio of language tokens and does not take into account intra-corpus patterns of language mixing. To that end, Gambäck and Das (2016) developed a Code-Mixing Index (CMI) to measure the C-S in various corpora. By defining an objective measure at the utterance and corpus level, they are able to classify the amount of C-S present in social media texts and apply the same principles to other texts. However, Gambäck and Das (2016) make no attempt to visualize the differences in C-S as I do in this paper, although they could do it at the level of speaker utterances or larger chunks of text using their CMI.

Description of Corpora

There are various studies on the variances in C-S across different populations. For example, some work seeks to classify the C-S of specific groups based on the speakers’ level of fluency (Lipski, 2008; Poplack, 1980). Yet, there is no significant research demonstrating that patterns of C-S can vary either across languages or within dialects of the same language nor is there serious work visualizing these differences across corpora. In pursuit of that goal, the corpora under investigation are the books *Killer Crónicas* (KC) by author Susana Chavez-Silverman, *Yo-Yo Boing!* (YYB) by author Giannina Braschi, the transcript of the French-Canadian film *Bon Cop, Bad Cop* (BCBC) by director Eric Canuel, and the *Spanish in Texas* (SpinTX) corpus (Bullock and Toribio 2013). KC, YYB, and SpinTX were chosen to highlight the differences in three English-Spanish corpora and BCBC was chosen to illustrate the similarities across different language pairings, i.e., English-French compared to English-Spanish. KC, YYB, and BCBC consist of over 10,000 words automatically annotated for language. BCBC consists of over 15,561 words automatically annotated for language, and SpinTX contains over 500,000 words likewise annotated.

The following three examples demonstrate the C-S involved in the first three corpora:

1. *Sí, ¿y lo otro no lo es?* Scratch the knob and I’ll kill you. (YYB)
(Yes, and the other isn’t? . . .)
2. Anyway, *al taxista right away le noté un acentito*, not too specific. (KC)

... , I noticed an accent right away from the taxi driver, ...)
3. *Et s’il y a quoi que ce soit, ma carte*. I’m sorry, I don’t understand you. (BCBC)
(And if anything, my card . . .)

Although we have language switching in all three examples, the nature of the C-S in each is different. The second example demonstrates frequent intrasentential switching of language while the first and third show switching at the borders of sentences.

Methods

In the context of this paper, a “language switch” is defined as any point where the source text switches language. For KC, YYB, and SpinTX this is a switch from Spanish to English or vice-versa and for BCBC it is a switch between French and English. The second example above contains four language switches. As such, it presents a very high rate of language switching consisting of short spans, or monolingual runs of text: “Anyway,” “*al taxista*,” “right away,” “*le noté un acentito*,” and “not too specific.” However, in the first example we see only one language switch. Here, the average length of a span in English is higher since “Scratch the knob and I’ll kill you” is a seven-word span. In order to demonstrate these concepts in a more visual manner, I present a plot of the converted extract of YYB (Example 1) in Figure 1. Here, we can see that there are only two spans of length seven: “*Sí, ¿y lo otro no lo es?*” and “Scratch the knob and I’ll kill you.” The average span length is seven for each language and across languages.

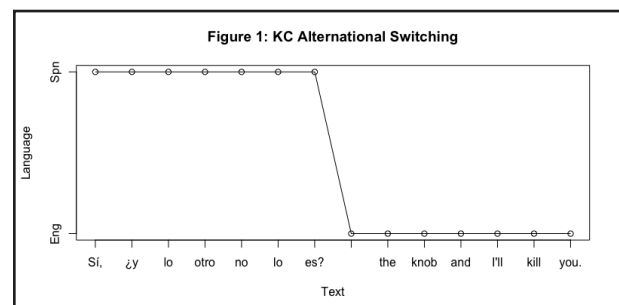
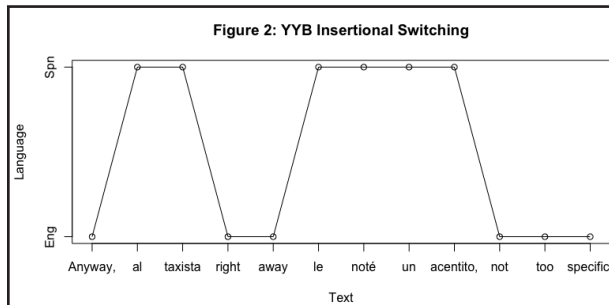


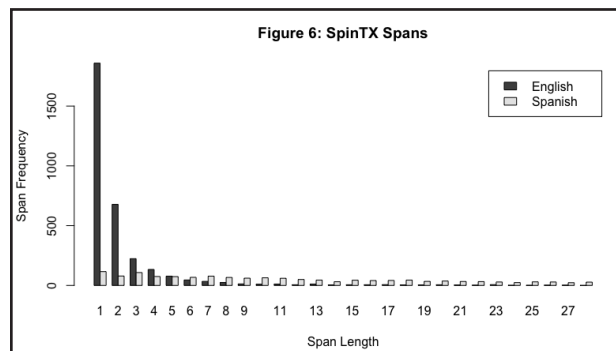
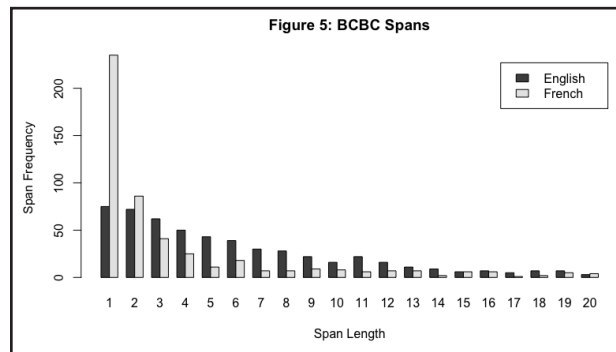
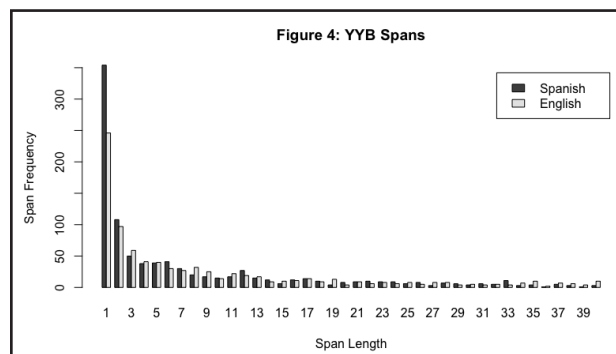
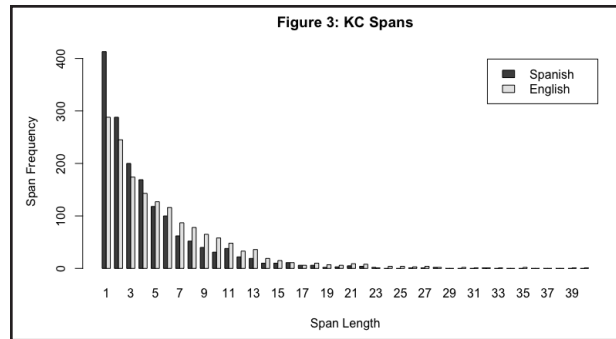
Figure 2 shows a plot of a converted extract of KC (Example 2). Here, we can see that there are two separate occurrences of spans of length two: “*al taxista*” and “right away” between a short span of length one, “Anyway,” and larger spans of length four and three: “*le noté un acentito*” and “not too specific.” Now, the average span length is two for English, three for Spanish, and 2.4 across languages.

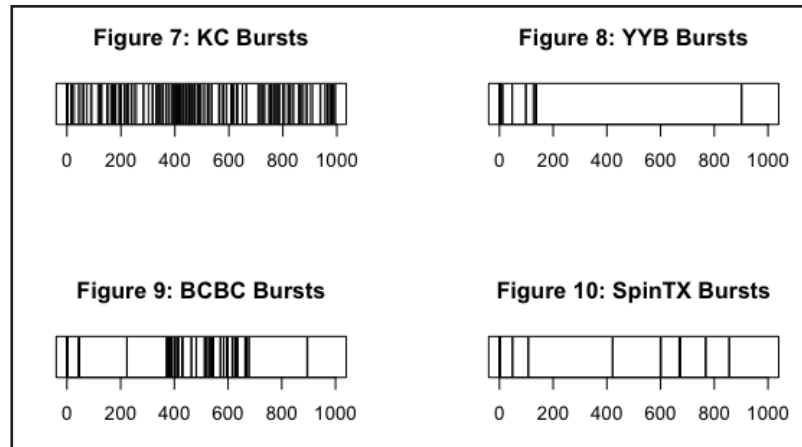


By performing the same analyses on corpora of greater size, it is possible to isolate and identify the average span length and the base frequencies of language-switching particular to a corpus. In addition, we can model the switching between languages in all corpora as a complex system and apply the methods of the physicists Barabási and Goh (2008) to leverage this information into a complete, chronological view of a corpus. In this way, we can extend the information gleaned from Figures 1 and 2 to the entire corpus.

Results

After running a complete analysis of both KC and YYB, we can transform the data into a histogram displaying the total counts of spans according to the length of the span of words. Figure 3 shows a histogram of span counts in Spanish and English across the entire KC text. Figure 4 displays the same information across YYB. As shown in both, KC and YYB display a rapid exponential decay for longer spans with short spans being the most probable. Figures 5 and 6 show similar information for BCBC and SpinTX, although both BCBC and SpinTX are weighted much more heavily towards one language than another unlike KC and YYB. Lastly, Figures 7–10 demonstrate the regularity or non-regularity of C-S by marking a random sample of one thousand consecutive words in each corpus with a darkened line for every language switch (i.e., English to Spanish/French or vice-versa) in the style of Barabási and Goh (2008). Additionally, these plots display the same information as Figures 1 and 2 in a much more compressed format.





At a glance, we can see that Figure 7 shows the regular pattern of frequent switching present in KC. However, Figures 8–10 (YYB, BCBC, and SpinTX) display few instances of sporadic switching overall, with Figure 9 (BCBC) being the next highest in terms of language switches. It is interesting to note that Figures 8 (YYB) and 9 (BCBC) present a different character of switching from Figure 10 (SpinTX) despite the fact that they are all modeled after real speech. As such, the amount of C-S present in these works appears to represent the amount one would hear in oral speech, which is much lower and represented by Figure 10 (SpinTX). To my knowledge, these three types of plots represent a wholly original way of viewing C-S that allows quick recognition of the important differences in C-S across corpora.

Discussion

In combination with Figures 1 and 2, Figures 3–4 and 7–8 display a multi-level insight into the nature of C-S in the text. While Figures 1 and 2 display local information about C-S relative to a sentence, 3 and 7 display global information across the entire corpus. As such, we now have a better view of how C-S occurs in both corpora at the corpus level and the sentence level. In particular, Example 2 together with Figure 4 suggest that any random sentence from KC, but not YYB, would more likely consist of short, switched spans. In addition, Figure 3 suggests that C-S is much more prevalent in KC compared to YYB. Combined, the figures imply that, although both corpora are written in English and Spanish, there is a concrete difference in the ways that the authors switch between them. Looking at Figures 5 and 6, we see that the last two corpora for BCBC and SpinTX display a different pattern of C-S relative to KC and YYB. In BCBC, English is much more common on average in BCBC except for one-word spans on French. In SpinTX,

short spans of English are extremely frequent, although the Spanish displays a heavier tail of Spanish use. Finally, Figures 9 and 10 complement Figures 5 and 6 by displaying the same frequency information of the spans on a smaller scale, but in chronological order, giving a visual representation of what C-S looks like across the texts. In aggregate, all of these plots support the classification and intuition behind the different types of C-S we saw in at the beginning in our three examples.

Conclusion

I have presented three new approaches to visualizing C-S in a corpus, allowing other researchers to pinpoint locations of interest, such as highly switched utterances or long spans of monolingual text bounded by different languages in large corpora. These visualizations concretely illustrate the C-S within a text in a language-independent manner at the global, corpus level although they could be easily mapped to the sentence or clause-level. In the broader context of computational linguistics, these visualization methods can be applied to any mapping of words to tags. However, given that the methodology outlined in this paper solely relies on the set of language tags from a corpus, the plots are only capable of describing the language-specific features of a corpus. Furthermore, the current visual approach is constrained to identifying the patterns of only two languages in language-tagged corpora. Despite this limitation, the visualizations present a strong agreement with existing theoretical work and offer additional insight into sub-corpora patterns. Future work could build to extend the analysis, perhaps by extending the visualizations to higher dimensions to account for more than two languages or by developing more formal and rigorous metrics to quantify the differences in C-S and complement what we see in the figures above.

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Mapping Access: The Mental Health and Dis/ability Crisis in the West Bank

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Jasmine Kasheboon Khoury is a Palestinian-American from Long Island, New York. She recently graduated magna cum laude from the City College of New York with a Bachelor's degree in Anthropology. Her academic focus in anthropology allows her to study the ways cultures evolve and collide, phenomena that have always captured her attention. For the past three years, she has researched mental illness and dis/ability amongst Palestinians within the CUNY Pipeline Program and the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship. Jasmine plans to continue her studies in graduate school within a PhD program in Anthropology. Her passion for justice in Palestine has grown from being a member of a multi-generational legacy of Palestinian liberationists. This led her to research the availability of health facilities for mentally ill individuals. She hopes to use this research to raise awareness about insufficient healthcare available for people in the West Bank. Recently, her focus has been on bringing to light the narratives of Palestinian-American women through Storytime. Her goal is for her projects to give Palestinians a "seat at the table."

Abstract

Mental health and access to care rarely enter the conversation about Palestine. Instead, the conversation often revolves around peace talks and occupation. This paper highlights the value a mental health perspective can add to our understanding of the conflict and life in Palestine. Central to this paper is the necessity to look at how physical barriers are limiting Palestinians access to healthcare in the West Bank with mental illnesses or dis/abilities. In order to present the different obstacles that Palestinians are experiencing, I analyze documents from the World Health Organization, articles describing the status of the health facilities, mental health statistics, and a cartographic analysis of maps of the West Bank that display the barriers, settlements, and placement of health facilities. Throughout this project it has come to my attention that barriers and environmental racism limits access to mental, physical, and emotional care for Palestinians in the West Bank.

Acknowledgements

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The Arab-Israeli conflict has had a significant impact on access to mental health facilities and hospitals for Palestinians in the West Bank. People with mental illness and dis/abilities in the West Bank have health facilities, but the access to those facilities are restricted due to barriers and security checkpoints. The Israeli government is implementing these checkpoints that restrict access to facilities thus causing extreme hardships for a person to care for the wellbeing of their body. Mental illness has increased as violence and barriers have in the West Bank. This paper will explain how physical barriers implemented by the Israeli government have limited Palestinians with dis/abilities or mental illnesses within the West Bank and their access to health facilities. This will be done through a description of the history of the creation of the West Bank, a cartographic analysis, mental health statistics, and dis/ability studies research.

Historical Context

Palestinians within the West Bank are already excluded from Israel because they are part the occupied territory of the West Bank. Within this occupied territory Palestinians in the West Bank are being controlled by the Israeli government. Tom Shakespeare's concept of Disability Social Exclusion describes society's use of dis/ability or "abnormality" as a reason to exclude people from a society (Shakespeare, 97). Since the creation of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Israeli government has controlled the lives and resources of the Palestinian communities. Through apartheid power, the Israeli government has occupied the West Bank and used different forms of force to contain Palestinians. One of these forms being environmental racism—when a marginalized group is forced to live in an environment that is detrimental to their health. The Israeli government is also using their political support as a form of power and tactic of exclusion to cleanse the Palestinian population. *Tibur* is a Hebrew word for cleansing and in mid-May of 1948 it was more specifically used in Palestine as a form of ethnic cleansing. This meant the removal of Palestinians from their land that officially became Israel on May 14, 1948 (Pappe, 2007). When Palestinians were forced off of their land, they migrated to refugee camps in Jordan and Egypt.

In 1967, the Six Day War began which was fought between Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. This war was only six days because of weapons that Israel received first from France then from the United States and the intense training that the Israeli army received (Friedman, 2015). With the feeble preparation by Jordan and lack of weaponry that Palestinians owned, this war resulted in Israel taking control over the refugee camp that Jordan created for Palestinians. Today, that refugee camp is the occupied territory of the West Bank. The Israeli government created a 25 foot high and 403 miles long separation barrier in 2002 to restrict Palestinians from entering Israel. Israel did this

because they feared Palestinians were a terrorist threat. The length of the wall is increasing because it continues to be expanded into the Palestinian territory. With this wall came checkpoints that make it difficult for Palestinians to reach Israel. The wall acts as a legitimate barrier being that it provides the Israeli army the ability to refuse Palestinians access to Israel. This is especially important because there is an uneven amount of resources in the West Bank versus Israel, resulting in Palestinians having to cross the border in order to access exclusive resources. These exclusive resources being: health facilities and sufficient medical equipment.

Access: What Makes It Impossible?

Through research that the World Health Organization and visitpalestine.ps has compiled, it has been established that there is a population of Palestinians in the West Bank with mental illnesses and that there are primary hospitals for these people to access, 50 to be exact. Referring to the maps attached to this paper: Figures 1.0 and 1.1 are from 2006 and show where clinics are placed in the West Bank (the map is in halves to show a larger view). Figures 2.0 and 2.1 are from 2016, also in halves, and show checkpoints, earth mounds, road barriers, roadblocks, prohibited roads, construction sites, and Jewish settlements. Both of these maps are from different years and do not show the current status of restrictions and hospitals within the West Bank. Based on news coverage and the current political climate in Israel, the restrictions in the West Bank have increased.

The West Bank separation wall is the red line in Figures 1.0 and 1.1 and continues throughout the entire West Bank. This wall has created many health assistance difficulties for Palestinians wishing to go to Israel for health care. Israeli hospitals have more funding towards their health sector, especially because the United States government gives the Israeli government 3.8 billion USD every year. As a result, within the Israeli hospitals there is the latest equipment, a large number of beds, and more physicians with extensive training. To cross the separation wall, each resident in the land of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank must present an identification card.

These identification cards are marked with a color pertaining to which territory the individual is from. Palestinians from the West Bank can only pass through the border to Israel for work from 5am to 7pm. Unfortunately, at the checkpoint a Palestinian can be denied entrance into Israel by Israeli soldiers without a reason presented by the soldiers (Bornstein, 2003). A person who needs medical help in an Israeli hospital can apply for a permit. If the permit is approved, it provides a temporary Israeli identification card to allow direct access to the hospital that is needed (WHO, 2013). Although this is a simple process, many Palestinians

get denied. If a person has a dis/ability and needs their guardian or dependent to join them for the hospital visit there is still a possibility that the person with the dis/ability gets approved for the permit but their needed dependent gets denied (WHO, 2013). Ultimately, there is a way to access health facilities in the Israeli side of the border, however this particular permit process is complicated, inconsistent, and unlikely to get approved.

Accessing hospitals within the West Bank is no easier than obtaining a permit from the Israeli government. As stated earlier, many health facilities are being controlled by governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Local health centers are the ones that are providing community mental health services. Within these mental health facilities, similar to primary hospitals, they are understaffed (Marie et al., 2016). Along with this, Giacaman and Mikki discuss how "... more patients became unable to reach the psychiatric hospital in Bethlehem due to movement restrictions on roads" (Giacaman et al., 2003). The restrictions that are shown on Figures 2.0 and 2.1 attached display restrictions to reach hospitals in general is a difficulty, but to reach psychiatric hospitals, like the one in Bethlehem, can take hours to arrive to. If we refer to Figure 2.1 there is a display of the obstacles a Palestinian from Hebron must go through to reach the psychiatric hospital in Bethlehem. The travel from Hebron to Bethlehem includes four large obstacles: Farsh al Hawa Road Gate, Al 'Arroub Road Gate, Ras al Joura Checkpoint, and the Halhul Roadblock. These are only the larger barriers without recognizing the smaller barriers that a Palestinian traveling will come across. Al 'Arroub Road Gate alone includes a 15-kilometer detour and two extra checkpoints during this detour. Palestinians who need immediate care are therefore limited to accessing the facility in Bethlehem because of barriers created by the Israeli government. These difficulties may also remove the person's motivation to seek help.

With all these difficult roadblocks, literal and figurative, how long does it take for someone to travel from one part of the occupied territory to the next? George Gavriliis (2006) gives readers an example of this difficulty of traveling through his article, "The Forgotten West Bank." Gavriliis' example is using the cities of Ramallah and Bethlehem, which are only 20 kilometers apart in distance and would usually take a person an hour drive to. He tells readers that, "in practice roadblocks and checkpoints mean circuitous detours and long waits even for Palestinian officials" (Gavriliis, 2006: 69). Gavriliis is comparing the amount of time it takes to drive 20 kilometers in Palestine being the same amount of time it takes to drive from Washington D.C. to Baltimore. Not only is there a lack of efficient primary or psychiatric hospitals, but it will also take Palestinians over two hours to reach a facility.

Mental Illness in the West Bank

Palestinians in the West Bank with mental illness or a dis/ability are having difficulty with reaching health facilities. These barriers they are experiencing include the yellow circles, blue X's, the red and blue circles with X's in the middle, and black triangles in Figures 2.0 and 2.1. These barriers are particularly problematic because the number of Palestinians with mental illness has increased in recent years in the West Bank. According to the Palestinian Authority, after the second Intifada, which took place between September 2000 and February 2005, the rates of Palestinians in the West Bank with mental illnesses increased. During these years, the initiation and completion of the West Bank barrier also took place. The creation of this barrier resulted in land confiscation, increased number of checkpoints, and thus, an expansion of control over the West Bank (Giacaman et al., 2011). With the second Intifada and the barrier being created happening at the same, this created an increase in stress, anxiety, and depression. This expansion of land power over the West Bank also solidified power over Palestinians in the West Bank. Entrances to Israel where facilities are more efficient than those in the West Bank are now more complicated to go through. Political and social uprisings were occurring more often because of this barrier, therefore putting children at risk. In 2005, a series of exams completed by Gaboulaud Espie and analyzed by Mohammad Marie showed that, "Among 1254 patients, 15.3% reported depression, 17.3% anxiety disorder (other than PTSD or acute stress disorder), and 23.2% post-traumatic stress disorder [PTSD]" (Marie, et al. 2016). This is especially important considering that during and after the second Intifada a large percentage of children witnessed shootings, the murders of both friends and strangers, and experienced body searches from the Israeli government, therefore, conditions make children more prone to mental illnesses.

Out of the 51,228 Palestinians injured from 2000 to 2004, 12% are experiencing permanent dis/ability (Qouta, et al., 2005). Children are especially affected by the situations that occurred during the second Intifada in the West Bank having added physical and mental dis/abilities onto them. The majority of these children are experiencing dis/ability in the upper parts of their body, such as their heads, eyes, and ears. This relates to mental illness because children in this environment surrounded by war, political uprising, discrimination, and extreme violence forces them to grow up too soon and miss out on their childhood. Growing up in such a harsh environment causes a child to have difficulty forming their identity. For a child to experience intense violent situations that places their physical health into question creates psychological consequences as well (Qouta, et al., 2005). Within the West Bank, children are often homeschooled. Unfortunately, public and

private schools exist only in Israel, in the major cities in the West Bank (Ramallah, Hebron, Nablus, East Jerusalem, and Jenin) or around Jewish Settlements in the West Bank. If a child wants to be educated in a school environment they must go through the multiple checkpoints to reach Israel. To create a visual, referring to Figure 2.0, if a child lives south of Nablus, in order to get to school, they must travel through earth mounds, road gates and possibly the Beit Furik Checkpoint. These barriers can cause detours, body searches, and a refusal to enter the city. Therefore, this affects the children's ability to attend school.

Children in the West Bank are restricted not only by the barriers that are implemented by the Israeli government but also by fear. Being that they are at a young age, this fear has been acquired in the years in which they have lived through the trauma of occupation in the West Bank. Fear, anxiety, and violence is affecting the psyche of children. The West Bank separation wall does not make it easier for children to cope with what they are experiencing especially because of the difficulty accessing health facilities that are meant to assist them through these psychological obstacles.

Facilities in the West Bank

With the existence of many human rights organizations, NGOs, the Palestinian Ministry of Health, and Community Health Clinics, there has been an increase in advocacy for the status of health facilities in the West Bank. Ramallah, heart of the West Bank, had the most listings of medical centers. Fifty-two facilities exist in Ramallah alone. These centers ranged from specialized, dental, family, physiotherapy, surgical, maternity, blood diseases, and physical therapy (visitpalestine.ps). Placement of hospitals in the West Bank didn't appear on Google Maps. Instead, the websites of NGOs, Red Crescent Society, Governmental, and International Assistance had an expanded network of hospitals.

Out of the 52 medical centers in Ramallah, only 50 are primary in the West Bank in total. 2014 reports displayed that the majority of hospitals that are in the West Bank are in major cities such as: Ramallah, Hebron, Nablus, East Jerusalem, and Jenin (visitpalestine.ps). However, there are not hospitals in areas that are more secluded or in farmland, which is where most Palestinians live. If a Palestinian living in a village needs access to a hospital they must travel to one of the main hospitals in Ramallah, Hebron, Nablus, East Jerusalem, and Jenin (Sana Kasheboon, 2017). To see the difference of clinics in the main cities versus the rest of the West Bank, Figures 1.0 and 1.1 display the most symbols representing clinics and hospitals in these main cities. There are 3,502 number of beds in total in the West Bank, which equals to 1.3 beds per 1,000 persons (Palestinian

Central Bureau of Statistics). There is a total of 41 staff in the West Bank who are specialized to work in these 50 facilities (WHO, 2015). There are 2.7 million people in the West Bank which means there is a lack of efficient number of beds and professionals to assist the Palestinian population with health care needs.

Along with this insufficient amount of specialized professionals and beds; the budget towards health in the West Bank is very low. Only 2.5% of the total health services funding for the West Bank goes towards mental health. Those mental health facilities are not overseen by any human rights review board, therefore the rights of Palestinians in these facilities are being violated without penalties towards the violator. There is also not a review board to keep track of the expenditures of the 2.5% of funding. The overall funding towards health from the Ministry of Health is only 98,421,543.00 USD (WHO, 2006). To build a hospital costs on average 800 million USD. Since the funding towards health facilities in general is so low; the funding towards mental health facilities is not strong because of the amount of money needed to create and manage a hospital and the physicians within it. Within the West Bank there are hospitals, which have physicians (albeit a small amount of them),

and the hospitals are located in very populated areas. With a combination of lack of funding for staff and equipment and a lack of geographical ability for Palestinians in villages, there then is a lack of access to get sufficient care.

Conclusion

Limiting access to healthcare is a cruel, violent, and dehumanizing dismissal of basic human rights. By removing these barriers, people with mental illnesses or dis/abilities can gain access to hospitals without the restrictions and obstacles that are surrounding them that are being implemented by the Israeli government. Every day, every Palestinian in the West Bank has to adapt to the new checkpoints, earth mounds, road gates, and detours that the Israeli army enforces. This continuous inconsistency, fear, and limitations creates mental illnesses for Palestinians. The social uprisings and violence creates dis/abilities for Palestinians. These barriers and the environmental racism is limiting Palestinians in the West Bank access to mental, physical, and emotional care. Without these obstacles Palestinians in the West Bank could have health care support and space to live a better, more humane life.

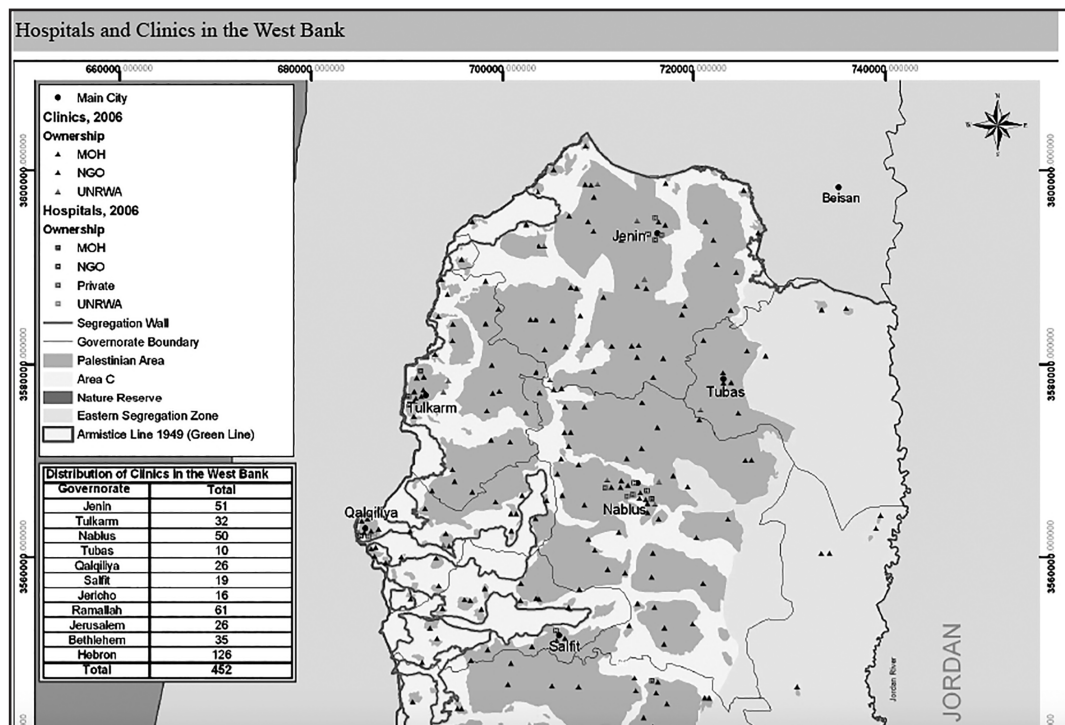


Figure 1.0, 2006

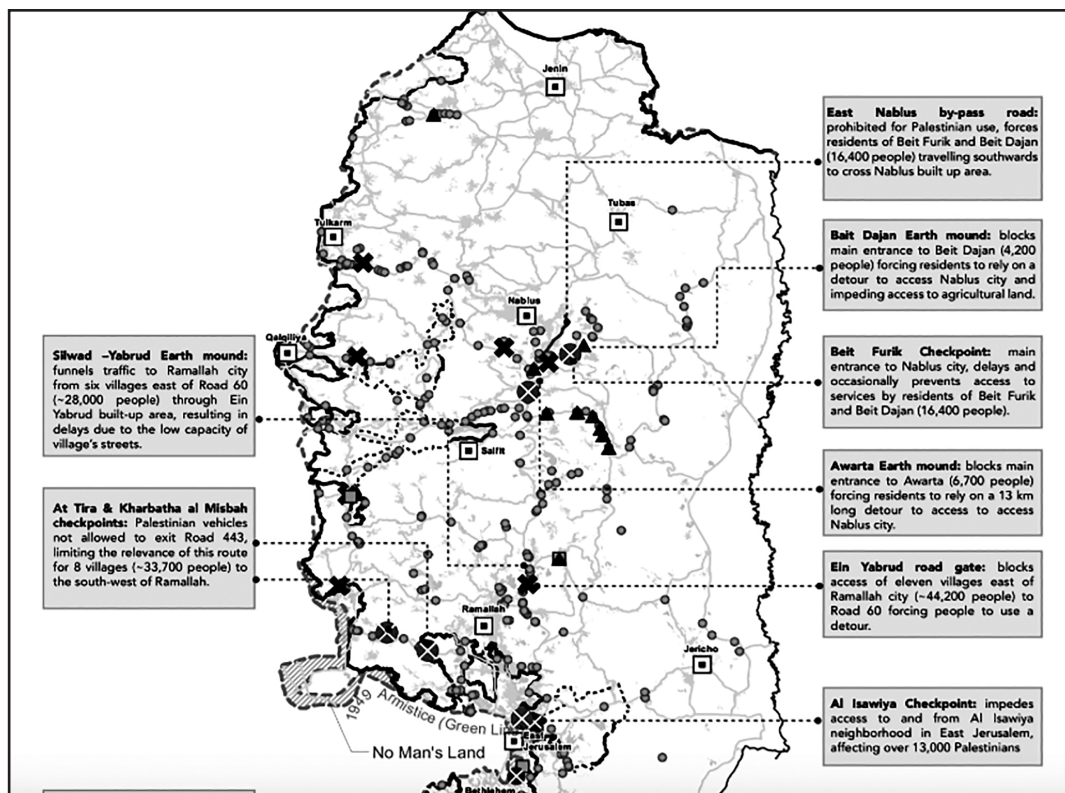


Figure 2.0, 2016

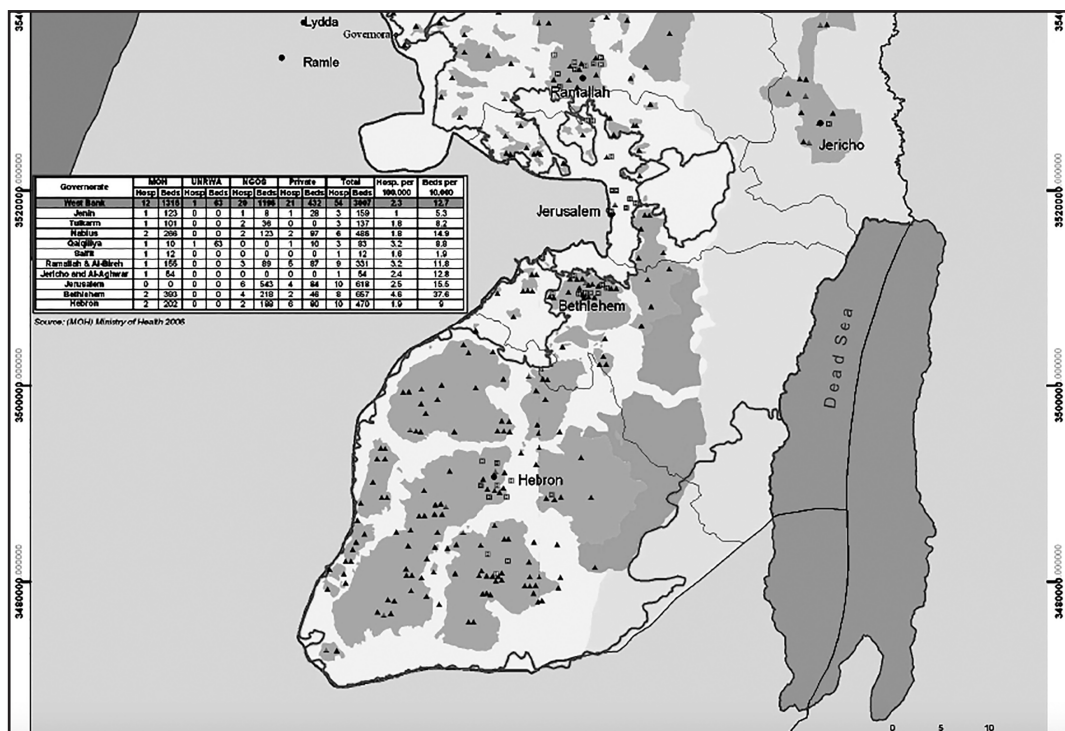


Figure 1.1, 2006

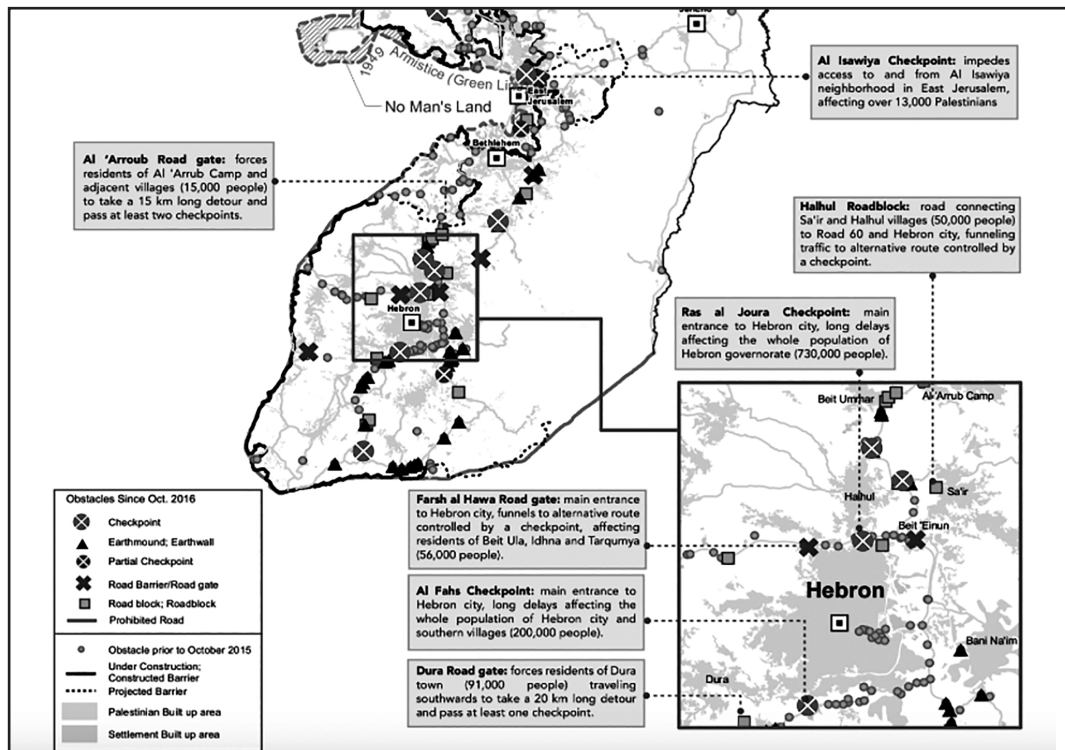


Figure 2.1, 2016

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Sugar Workers United: The Effects of Interethnic Asian Relations in Hawaii on Labor Organizing in the Early 20th Century

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Abstract

Laborers working on Hawaiian sugar plantations have had a long history of striking to fight for better wages and working conditions. However, historians often do not acknowledge interethnic organizing within these strikes until the 1946 strike, which brought together Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, and Native Hawaiian sugar workers. Using archival research, I complicate oversimplified versions of these labor movements and use race and class to evaluate earlier instances of interethnic solidarity.

Acknowledgements

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When more than 25,000 sugar workers in Hawaii went on strike in 1946, they led what became one of the most successful strikes in Hawaiian history. Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, and native Hawaiian sugar workers united to fight for better wages and working conditions, and together they shut down 33 out of 34 plantations across Hawaii. Within three months, workers succeeded in pressuring planters to increase their wages. Solidarity among workers of all ethnic groups was crucial in securing better compensation during the 1946 strike.

Although some historians have portrayed the 1946 strike as the first instance of cross-racial solidarity, these laborers did not suddenly shift from racial division to racial unity; their paths had continually crossed for decades, and there had been smaller instances of collaboration before. This essay examines one of the first significant examples of interethnic labor organizing in Hawaii, when Filipino and Japanese workers went on strike for higher wages in 1920. While Lon Kurashige and Alice Yang's *Major Problems in Asian American History* includes documents that portray laborers as united during the 1920 strike, these sources fail to capture the complexity of race and labor relations at the time. Through more extensive archival research, I complicate and challenge the narrative of racial harmony. Beginning with a 1909 strike and moving to the 1920 strike, I use newspapers and congressional hearings to analyze how various groups depicted race relations among sugar laborers in Hawaii, focusing on how certain ideals of racial harmony contrasted sharply with planters' intentional racial division of laborers. Even though historians can acknowledge that

the narrative of racial harmony was inaccurate, in focusing on race, they tend to only see racial solidarity in 1946. By examining sources more closely through the lens of ethnicity and class, however, we can see how those factors were instrumental in forming both interethnic solidarity and white opposition to such unity. Ultimately, I contend that class-consciousness was more decisive in bringing together different groups of laborers than ethnic identity alone.

In early 20th century Hawaii, there were many conflicting views on the growing ethnic and racial diversity of the islands. On one hand, there were some who saw Hawaii's large immigrant population as a threat. For example, a Californian testified in 1930 to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to exclude Filipino immigrants from California because he did not want the state to become another Hawaii, a state he claimed was "hopelessly lost to the white race" and where white men could not find work.¹ On another front, some politicians viewed Hawaii as a place where racial fusion was an inevitable and positive aspect of the future. Contrary to ideas that intermarriage produced inferior individuals, one American official spoke approvingly of racial mixing in Hawaii, claiming that the Hawaiian-American children of the future would be known for their unique beauty and would perform just as well as those of Anglo-Saxon background.² This official wrote in 1932 that race prejudices in Hawaii are "practically non-existent" due to nonwhites' modest backgrounds and that inciting prejudice where it did not exist is "an act as malicious as the introduction of the plague."³ Such an accepting view towards ethnic differences and assimilation can be understood as a part of white conceptions of "Aloha culture," wherein all kinds of people from all backgrounds are welcomed and celebrated. Alluding to this Aloha culture, *The Washington Post* wrote in 1907 of Hawaiian officials who asserted, "the whites of Hawaii are entirely willing to see the islands overrun with Japanese . . . the races live in perfect harmony."⁴ In this article, the *Post* critiqued such lofty claims about racial harmony, arguing that politicians rarely challenge notions of racial harmony in deference to powerful white sugar planters. Given that they relied heavily on cheap migrant labor, sugar planters worried that raising any sense of ethnic divisions could lead to worker retaliation. Acknowledging such problems might have drawn awareness to the exploitative strategies that fueled such divisions in the first place. As demonstrated by these two conflicting accounts, the reality of race relations throughout Hawaii's history is held in the tension between pictures of Hawaii as a place of racial concord and one of racial conflict.

Divide and Rule: How Ethnic Grouping Impacted Class Solidarity

While cheery, the narrative of interracial harmony ignores the intentional divisions that shaped Hawaii race relations at the time and had been rampant for decades. Planters often manipulated racial divisions in their recruitment of workers and would use one or more ethnic groups to break the strike of another. In addition to dividing the labor force by race and ethnicity, planters also separated workers by paying different ethnic groups unequal wages. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) spoke of the divide and rule strategy in one of their newsletters from 1883, when they encouraged planters to bring Portuguese laborers to Hawaii as a means of neutralizing the Chinese workforce. They explained that planters “lay great stress on the necessity of having our labor mixed. By employing different nationalities, there is less danger of collusion among laborers, and the employer, on the whole, secures better discipline.”⁵ Divide and rule was more than simply categorizing workers by ethnicity or diversifying the labor force; in trying to promote this policy and minimize “collusion,” planters were trying to divide workers who otherwise might form class solidarity.

This attempt to erode class-based alliances by manipulating race or ethnic relations brings to mind the racialization of plantation labor in Virginia following Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676. In the years following the rebellion, Virginia planters expanded their Black slave labor force significantly and increased the rights of poor whites so that even the poorest white servants would no longer see any class ties to Black slaves.⁶ While the divisions that planters in Hawaii created were less drastic, they also brought in new groups of laborers and kept workers separated by ethnicity with a similar intention to divide workers who might otherwise join together against planters.

Sugar planters utilized this divide and rule strategy to break many strikes, including the Great Strike of 1909. When 1500 Japanese workers went on strike at Aiea sugar plantation in 1909, it made headlines across the island. A Japanese-language newspaper reported that 250 Chinese workers had struck with the Japanese, and that “things seem rather serious unless the plantation gives way to the strikers’ demands.”⁷ Based on initial reports, the strike seemed poised for success.

That conclusion, however, turned out to be overly optimistic. Rather than organize with the Chinese, the Japanese workers coerced them to strike the morning-of, and within days, the vast majority of the Chinese were back at work. Just as quickly as more Japanese sugar workers went on strike at other plantations throughout Honolulu,

plantation owners brought in 1,300 Chinese, Portuguese, and Puerto Rican strikebreakers.⁸ Given that Portuguese and Puerto Rican laborers were getting paid \$4.50 more than the Japanese workers’ \$18 per month for the same amount of labor,⁹ it is understandable why the Japanese did not necessarily see them as allies in the same struggle. And because Japanese workers had primarily organized among themselves and did not mobilize other laborers to back their demands, their strike was not as effective as it could have been.

Differential wages based on ethnicity, a tool of the divide-and-rule strategy, thus seem to have succeeded in making worker solidarity more difficult to achieve. To be clear, breaking the strike came at a steep price for planters—bringing in hundreds of new workers at a higher wage cost planters nearly double per day what it would have cost to pay Japanese laborers at their normal rate.¹⁰ So why did plantation owners pay more for new labor instead of agreeing to Japanese demands? While it is possible there were racial motivations driving these decisions, I contend that planters’ primary motivation was to keep power out of the hands of the working class. By replacing Japanese strikers and completely dismissing their demands, planters effectively created a sense of powerlessness among workers and signaled that the ruling class would not address worker demands, regardless of whether or not they could financially afford to do so.

In the December following the 1909 strike, the president of the HSPA called for an increase in immigration from the Philippines as one way of “obtaining supplies of fresh labor.”¹¹ Just as the HSPA had previously advocated for bringing Portuguese laborers to weaken the Chinese workforce more than 25 years earlier, they continued the same strategy by looking to Filipinos. From 1910 to 1920, the Filipino population in Hawaii grew from 2,361 to over 20,000 as planters brought thousands of laborers from the Philippines in an effort to weaken and prevent potential strikes.¹² Based on the use of non-Japanese strikebreakers in 1909, the influx of Filipino laborers, and the lack of major uprisings in the years proceeding the strike, one could say that the divide and rule strategy was successful in dissolving the 1909 labor organizing efforts.

A decade later, government perspectives on the 1920 Oahu Sugar Strike also reflected the divide and rule strategy. Testimonies given at a congressional hearing in 1921 on the “Hawaii Labor Problem” demonstrated a steadfast denial of any collaboration between non-whites, as well as strong anti-Japanese sentiments among government officials. Chairman of the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, Walter Dillingham, claimed that the 1920

strike was “exclusively Japanese” and that “the national lines were drawn as clear as a razor cut.”¹³

Signs of Interethnic Organizing

However, as prominent as the divide and rule strategy was, documents reveal there was also racial collaboration. During this same hearing, a coalition of Filipino and Japanese agricultural laborers submitted a report together decrying their work conditions, but officials ignored this evidence of collaboration.¹⁴ Hawaii Governor Wallace Farrington reiterated that all the strikers were Japanese and went further, accusing the Japanese of trying to control the entire sugar industry. However, the *Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer* reported that there was “no doubt” that Filipino strikers were being supported by the Japanese Labor Association.¹⁵ I argue that Dillingham and Farrington’s refusal to acknowledge that Filipinos were also involved in the strike signifies how deeply committed they were to the divide-and-rule mindset, which upheld the existing class system. To admit that there might be interethnic solidarity between the Japanese and Filipinos was to threaten the existing labor hierarchy.

The proposed solution to a labor shortage in Hawaii in 1921 demonstrated the strategy of keeping laborers divided into ethnic categories in order to keep them in line. Ironically, almost four decades after the HSPA had called for an increase in Portuguese workers to deal with their potential Chinese problem, planters asked Congress in 1921 to make an exception to the Chinese Exclusion Act and allow Chinese laborers to come to Hawaii to fill the labor shortage. Again and again, planters’ go-to solution was to bring yet another group of laborers, from the Portuguese to the Filipinos to the Chinese. One overseer at an agricultural company wrote to Congress, “the Chinese coolies seem to be our only salvation” and praised the “industrious and peaceable” qualities of the Chinese.”¹⁶ This characterization is markedly different from the HSPA’s description of Chinese workers as “shrewd and clannish” in 1883, at a time when they feared Chinese collusion.¹⁷ What the overseer really seemed to be saying was that planters could depend on the Chinese, at least for the time being, to work hard and accept any working conditions, as opposed to the Japanese and Filipinos, who might strike.

Beyond showing dedication to the divide and rule strategy, planters’ responses to the 1920 strike revealed the salience of ethnic stereotypes. Planters’ failure to recognize Filipino organizing is not only a testament to the depth of anti-Japanese sentiment at the time but also seems to be indicative of how officials saw Filipino laborers as inferior and incapable of leading a strike. Indeed, notions of Filipino

inferiority extended beyond the agriculture industry: a Californian who testified in favor of excluding Filipino immigrants claimed that they were unassimilable and that contractors were bringing the less intelligent Filipinos because “they are more easily controlled.”¹⁸ Even Royal Mead, a representative of the HSPA who acknowledged that Filipinos participated in the 1920 strike, dismissed Filipino participation as a result of being controlled by the Japanese and said that their involvement in the strike was short-lived. In contrast to Mead’s characterization of Filipino laborers,¹⁹ an article published at the end of March 1920 affirmed that the strike at that point still involved both Filipino and Japanese workers and reported that the end of the strike seemed “as far off as ever.”²⁰ Nevertheless, Dillingham, Farrington and Mead all seemed to be willfully ignorant to the notion that different ethnic groups might intentionally collaborate together. Furthermore, their portrayal of Japanese strikers as conspiring nationalists and concurrent invalidation of Filipino activism appear to be rooted in racist stereotypes, which served to keep attention on ethnic identity as opposed to class. Planters never acknowledged that Japanese and Filipino workers could have similar class interests, although I posit that the divide and rule strategy by its very nature was an implicit acknowledgement of the threat of class-consciousness.

Evaluating the Role of Class

While there are clear racial undertones throughout the 1921 congressional hearings on the labor shortage in Hawaii, the testimonies cannot be analyzed on race alone. Much of the conversation, which was concerned with how to deal with the proclaimed labor shortage in Hawaii, reflected a denial of class conflict in the sugar industry. For instance, Mead repudiated that the 1920 strike had to do with class organizing and instead characterized the strike as “a nationalistic movement” led by Japanese who wanted to “control the industry.”²¹ Similarly, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a headline a month after the strike began that read “Japs Scheme to tie up Hawaiian Industry.”²² The notion that the Japanese refused to be Americanized and were conspiring to control the sugar industry was a common theme in both mainland newspaper coverage during the strike and the congressional hearing the following year. However, two major sources disputed this nationalistic portrayal of Japanese laborers. One was the president of the Central Labor Union of Honolulu, George W. Wright, who seemed to be the only person at the Congressional hearings who was willing to consider that the laborers who went on strike had a legitimate cause for concern. He argued that the 1920 strike was not nationalistic, but rather a “bona fide economic movement of the plantation laborers” that occurred because planters “absolutely antagonized their employees.”²³ *The Honolulu Advertiser*,

one of Hawaii's largest newspapers, corroborated this part of Wright's account and published an editorial that claimed, "everyone knows that [the strike] was not nationalistic."²⁴ The significance of Filipino and Japanese laborers striking together is not only that interethnic Asian solidarity was possible, but also that such solidarity could be based on class-consciousness.

Poor treatment under the divide and rule strategy led to many workers across lines of ethnicity and class getting fed up with the system. Planters and politicians may not have seen that frustration, but it was there. Whereas many officials at the 1921 Congressional hearing regarded the 1920 strike as irrelevant to the labor deficiency, Wright attributed the shortage to a direct consequence of the way planters had treated strikers. Contrary to the logic of the divide-and-rule strategy, which is supposed to maintain efficiency by placing different ethnic groups in labor competition, Wright's argument suggests that the divide-and-rule strategy in fact had led to the labor shortage. In creating the race-based wage divisions that were supposed to break the 1920 strike and make workers distrust each other, planters instead bred distrust and dissatisfaction directed at the entire labor system. Planters offered Filipinos higher bonuses during the strike to encourage them to return to work, and this strategy worked in the short term. However, once the bonuses evaporated, Filipino workers no longer had an incentive to put up with their poor working conditions.²⁵ They knew that they could be paid more for their labor. Perhaps it was these interests of the working class that led to the labor shortage.

Conclusion

In the end, many planters and some historians considered the 1909 and 1920 strikes as failures, but I assert that such a conclusion is oversimplified. These "failed" strikes set the groundwork for the 1946 uprising, which secured thousands of workers better wages. We must complicate the notion that the strikes were unsuccessful, and in doing so, we must examine the sources that regarded these movements as failures. For example, many California newspapers denigrated the 1920 strike: *The San Francisco Chronicle* reported in May of that year that the sugar strike was "an absolute failure" and that plantations were all "operating to full capacity."²⁶ However, the man making those claims, Dean Witter, was an investment banker, and his words must be considered in context. As someone whose firm was tied up in the sugar industry, it would have been advantageous for Witter to present the plantations as successful in order to boost his own company and reassure investors. Similarly, many of the people who testified to Congress about the labor shortage in Hawaii and minimized the aftereffects of the 1920 labor strike had ulterior motives for doing so. Regardless of how many times they claimed that the strike

had not contributed to the labor shortage and was unsuccessful, their accounts revealed numerous ways the movement had an impact. For example, Mead estimated that the damage to their crops as a result of the strike and the cost of bringing strike-breakers was nearly \$12,000,000.²⁷ He also said that after the Japanese returned to work, their monthly bonus was reduced but their basic wage was increased 50 percent.²⁸ Why then, would Mead and other officials claim the strike was inconsequential? Given how dependent planters were on Asian labor, admitting that laborers had shaken up the sugar industry would have threatened planters' authority and transferred power to the striking workers.

In order to understand major advances in Asian American history, such as those following the 1946 strike, I argue it is necessary to credit the importance of smaller preceding strikes. Contrary to notions that white Americans saw all Asians as the same or that there was perfect harmony among races, ethnic divisions used in Hawaii's sugar industry indicate that Haole planters were very much aware of different ethnic groups and were willing to manipulate those differences for economic gain. Representation of this dynamic is missing from *Major Problems*. While Kurashige and Yang provide documents that depict both positive and negative racial attitudes toward Asian immigrants in Hawaii, they do not address how economic interests over Hawaiian plantations fueled both ethnic division and collaboration. Historical accounts from newspapers and congressional testimony show that strategies of division may have worked in the short term to break labor movements, but workers grew wary of these tactics over time. Whereas most strikes led by a single ethnic group failed, the 1946 strike succeeded because worker unity thwarted Haole planters' divide-and-rule strategy to pit different ethnic groups against each other. Unlike before, when one ethnic group would break the strike of another, laborers from all ethnic backgrounds developed class solidarity as they identified a shared working class struggle and common enemy in the planters. Building on the alliance between Filipino and Japanese workers during the 1920 strike, the 1946 uprising brought together all ethnicities to not only demand better pay and working conditions for everyone, but also protest the system of segregation itself. Now, almost a century later, with workers throughout the country still fighting against poor treatment and low wages, and with pan-Asian American solidarity in a precarious state, we can learn from the 1920 strike. Like the laborers in Hawaii, our path toward justice means resisting methods of division and abolishing the hierarchies that separate us. Only by destroying the system that pits us against each other will we achieve equity and fairness.

Endnotes

- 1 Lon Kurashige and Alice Yang, *Major Problems in Asian American History* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2016), 178–180.
- 2 Ibid., 170.
- 3 Ibid., 171.
- 4 *The Washington Post*, “Hawaii’s Problem,” Aug. 28, 1907.
- 5 Samuel T. Alexander, G.N. Wilcox, William O. Smith, and A. Unna, “Report of the Committee on Labor,” *Planters Monthly* 2 (November 1883), 245, Special Collection, University of Hawai‘i, Manoa, quoted in Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii’s Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 73, and in George Sanchez, “Why are Multiracial Communities So Dangerous?” *Pacific Historical Review* 86, no. 1 (2017): 156.
- 6 T. H. Breen, “A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia 1660–1710,” *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 1 (1973): 16–17.
- 7 *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, “High Wage Conspirators Stir Up a Strike at Aiea Plantation.” May 10, 1909. From Library of Congress.
- 8 *Hawaiian Star*, “Mixed Labor Replacing Japanese: Army of Strikebreakers Operating Sugar Mills.” May 17, 1909. From Library of Congress.
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- 10 *Hawaiian Star*, “Mixed Labor.”
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- 12 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Immigration and Nationalization, *Labor Problems in Hawaii: Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, 67th Cong., 1st sess., 1921, 225.
- 13 Ibid., 228.
- 14 Kurashige and Yang, *Major Problems*, 166.
- 15 *The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, “Hawaiian Letter.” March 06, 1920. 154.
- 16 U.S. Congress, House, Committee, *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 474.
- 17 Samuel T. Alexander, G.N. Wilcox, William O. Smith, and A. Unna, “Report of the Committee on Labor,” *Planters Monthly* 2 (November 1883), 246, Special Collection, University of Hawai‘i, Manoa.
- 18 Kurashige and Yang, *Major Problems*, 180.
- 19 U.S. Congress, House, Committee, *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 357.
- 20 *The Ogden Standard*, “Sugar Plantation Strike Still Seems Far Off.” March 24, 1920. From Library of Congress.
- 21 U.S. Congress, House, Committee, *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 299.
- 22 *Los Angeles Times*, “Japs Scheme To Tie Up Hawaiian Industry.” Feb 10, 1920.
- 23 U.S. Congress, House, Committee, *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 707.
- 24 Ibid., 656.
- 25 Ibid., 381.
- 26 H. H. MacDonald. “Hawaiian Strike Is Failure, Declares Investment Banker”; *The Chronicle*. May 29, 1920.
- 27 U.S. Congress, House, Committee, *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 352.
- 28 Ibid., 352.

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The Socio-cultural Impacts of Ethno-Racism in Italy as Functions of the Global Economic North/South Divide

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Abstract

Through direct observation and the constant questioning of my roots in Italy, my Black American identity seemed superior to my African identity. Black Americans are in the elevated minority status, while Africans are relegated to negative stereotypes substantiated by colonial and imperial history, as well as economic and political crises of African states. Through my research it was evident that although Italy's racist history is not rooted in slavery; it is linked to economics and cultural differences of the regional and global geographical North/South divide. Post-unification within Italy's borders, the economically deprived and darker toned Southern Italians experienced racialized treatment from the affluent lighter skinned Northerners. These racial discriminations often negatively linked Southern Italians to colonized Africans, signifying an already assumed racial superiority by Northern Italians. Although racist discourse was minimized after WWII, the influx of African immigrants in the 1990s led to a resurgence of ethno-racism built along the confines of economics, culture, skin color and geographical location. Using Cecil Kyenge as a case study, it is evident economic ascension does not remove racial bias, especially when one's roots are marked in the global African South. This essay nuances Italy's specific racism, as engrained within a regional internal, and global external North/South divide, exacerbated by economics as well as skin color.

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The question, "*Where are you from?*" often elicits a conditioned response concerning country or nationality, often in appraisal of one's identity. In Italy, inquisitions about my roots garnered high admiration for my American identity, in contrast with a less enthusiastic reception of my Kenyan identity. These perceived differences in attitudes about American Blackness versus African Blackness suggest that Black Americans in Italy are received as elevated

minorities, while Africans are relegated to stereotypical statuses of refugees, asylum seekers or economic migrants. Hence, Black Americans are recognized as "model minorities," affluent tourists, and "valuable" cultural contributors, as juxtaposed against Black Africans who are seen as immigrants, poor "takers" and "burdens to Italian society."¹ Perceptions of Blackness and Africanness as different tend to demarcate African immigrants in an impoverished economic status, a distinction further substantiated by colonial and imperial history, as well as the economic and political crises of African states. Thus, in Italy, while skin color remains a marker of migrant distinction, social class and cultural difference play a larger role in the discrimination against African immigrants. Under these circumstances, the experiences of darker skinned Africans inextricably tie racism to economic deprivation.

Racism and economic deprivation are further linked to geography. Class divides between Northern developed countries versus Southern developing countries tend to lead to a negative stereotyping of immigrants from the global South. This economic stereotyping becomes racialized, as often those in economic need are darker hued than the general populations of the societies in which they seek refuge. This racialized stereotyping is also constructed internally, as in Italy, where the demarcation of the affluent lighter-skinned populations of the industrial North stand in contradistinction with the economically ailing, darker-skinned populations of the agrarian South. This work will demonstrate the inseparability of racial justice, economic justice, and geography in the context of African immigrants in Italy. First, I will examine the parallels between the internal regional Italian North/South divides and global North/South divides. Second, I will link racialization of Africans to class and cultural identity, concluding with a case study of ophthalmologist and politician Cecil Kyenge, whose experiences reveal that economic advancement does not cure cultural racism.

The Global vs. the Regional: The North and South Divide in Italy

Southern Italians were the initial victims of racial thinking. Since unification, a geopolitical fault line opened along what could be seen as a virtual black/white axis already racializing Italy, the South making sense through the metaphor of Africa (Pugliese, 2008). For instance, sociologists such as Alfredo Nicefero used the model of "otherness and primitiveness" to declare the Italian South as a place to be colonized, aligning it directly with non-western sites where colonization occurred (Greene, 2012). Seen as having dubious African and Oriental histories and cultures, the South was thus encoded with a set of racialized presuppositions. Northern whiteness was thus privileged over the

problematic South (Pugliese 2008). This classification of the Italian South allowed both the legitimization of Italy's "civilizing" mission and the assertion of scientific superiority of Italians over other "primitive" people (Greene, 2012). Viewing Southerners as "incomplete, static and backward," European powers inserted imperial teleologies ensuring Southern assimilation to western norms (Greene, 2012). A similar rhetoric of derogatory analogies can be noted in Italy's [70 years of] colonial ventures in East Africa (Greene, 2012).

Derogatory analogies were also coupled with derogatory terminology that signified racist discourse. For instance, Pugliese (2008) argues that Southern Italians were subjected to labels such as *Cafone*, which at first referred to poor rural folk, with no pejorative connotations. However, after Italy's unification, *cafone* morphed into a term that signified "primitive, barbaric, uncivilized, vulgar and backward" (Pugliese, 2008, p.1). The North's use of this term scripted Italian Southerners as "bands of savage and petty criminals" (Pugliese, 2008, p.1), depoliticizing the Southern struggle against unification (Pugliese, 2008). This phenomenon was part of an essential strategy that made Southerners ashamed of their own origins through the extirpation and white washing of this historic memory (Pugliese, 2008). Violence inflicted upon the South generated "interior estrangement," therefore positioning Southern Italians as *in* Italy, but not *of* Italy (Pugliese 2008, p.6). In fact, Pugliese (2008) quotes Marzocco's argument that the Southern question involved nothing less than the cultural, then economic, and subsequent political subordination of the South by the North. Southern culture was perceived as merely provisional in relation to the transformative philosophy that justified Northern-imposed unification.

Further, the subjugation of the Italian South was exacerbated by Northern Italian monetary fears. Zanotti (1993) asserts that the dominant image was no longer of the poor southerner invading the affluent North, but rather of the North running the risk of being as poor as the South. This argument rests on ethnic particularism, which is a critique of Italian political corruption, and the expense of state subsidies, feeding on unemployment fears, broken-down services and narrowing economic prospects. The strength of the ethnic case lay in its emotional aspect, negating the economic one of "we can't afford jobs or assistance to southerners" (Zanotti, 1993, p.183). Thus, there was no longer an ethnic appeal with a strong economic basis but rather a regional/cultural appeal combined with complex economic variables (Zanotti, 1993). Regionalism, consequently, remained an infinitely regressive sub-division that linked perceived economic stereotypes to the intensification of cultural racism.

Similarly, Southern Italian racialized economic stereotypes have influenced the manner in which non-western immigrants are perceived. This cultural shift has, as a result, intensified the racialization of Africans coming from the global South. Hein De Hass (2008) in his article, "Myth of Invasion," adds that there is an underlying argument that poverty and wars alone have triggered mass migration across from Africa. Therefore, images of "extreme poverty, starvation, tribal warfare and environmental degradation" amass into the stereotypical image of "African misery" as the assumed cause of the swelling tide of northbound African immigrants (De Hass, 2008, p.1305). Various authors also argue that migrants to Italy are often depicted as "desperate" victims of traffickers and criminal-run smuggling gangs (De Hass, 2008). In fact, both politicians and the media employ exaggerated jargon such as "massive invasion" and "plague" to describe this phenomenon (De Hass, 2008), further increasing negative stereotypes against African immigrants.

Unlike Southern Italians, however, African immigrants are not inserted into Italy's narrative of progress and future transformation. Migrants from the global South are deemed *extracomunitari*² and permanent interlopers (Pugliese, 2008). Often they are neglected and perceived as economically and politically disenfranchised subjects. In fact, some immigrants are forced into the category of the "living dead," relegated to finding shelter in cemeteries, on the outskirts of Italy's metropolitan cities (Pugliese, 2008). This ethnic regionalism initially led to transitions from targeting "Sicilians" and "Napolitans" to attacking Black Africans (Zanotti, 1993). We must analyze what transformed these initial shocks against what is "different" in Italy into a socially accepted or institutionalized racial behavior.

Racism in Italy

Historical hatred was never erased from the Italian past, but rather morphed and extended to new immigrants. In the past, "racism" was often found under the guise of "anti-black" prejudice against immigrants, who were not unified by somatic traits, but rather by their lower class status as poor laborers from outside the European community (Zanotti, 1993). These stereotypes persisted even after the original immigrants left; hence the newest immigrants attracted the same stereotypical identification and discrimination that was directed against these original groups (Zanotti, 1993). This shift led to neo-fascists who were once against Jews turning against "blacks," non-European migrants (Zanotti, 1993). Moreover, most of the itinerant hawkers identified by Italians as *vu cumprà* and *Marocchini* initially came from Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya but subsequently came from countries such as Sudan, Somalia, Cape Verde, Eritrea, Senegal, and Nigeria. Consequently,

negative terms for hawkers were racialized, erasing cultural difference and portraying “African Blackness” as negative.

Unfavorable perceptions and racist behaviors against Black Africans became subtler and structured, even as more opportunities for coexistence developed (Zanotti, 1993). Italian societal transformation led to a reinforcement of the right wing, paralleled by a weakening left (Zanotti, 1993). These shifts encouraged restrictive political responses to immigration, as well as a stimulation of social-national and regional reactions against integration (Zanotti, 1993). Further, African cultural exchange was not always viewed in a positive light, manifesting in a cultural clash instead of cultural understanding. Although racism in Italy is often regarded as an ideology defeated in Mussolini’s WWII government, undercurrents of racism had the potential of becoming bigger than liberal opinion was prepared to meet (Zanotti, 1993). This was evident in the new Italian nationalism described as an ideology, which, with very little extension, legitimated racism by resting on the notion of inscriptive nationality (Zanotti, 1993). Subsequently, the role of nationalism in assimilation or racism, in conjunction with a severe economic crisis, remained a significant factor in states protecting their resources against “non-productive, non-nationals” (Zanotti, 1993, p.180). Thus among those favored, for instance, would be a “low cost” Italian-speaking Pole who would more likely be assimilated into Italian society than a sub-Saharan African in need of “special cultural treatment” (Zanotti, 1993, p.180). Inherently, these ideas and policies contained within them racist dogmas.

Data collected on Italian attitudes towards immigrants more recently further demonstrate undercurrents of xenophobia and racism. According to Lombardi-Diop and Romeo (2015), a study conducted in 2015 by several European countries showed that 69% of Italians believed immigrants are a burden to Italy because they take jobs and social benefits. About seven in ten people surveyed also stated that immigrants were socially dangerous, especially when it comes to crime. Further, 45% declared immigrants as more to blame for criminal acts than other groups. Additionally, 77% of Italians held skeptical views on integration, believing immigrants want to be distinct from Italian society (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo, 2015). This data indicates a resistance by Italian society to accepting new immigrants.

Resistance to new members of Italian society has led to racial prejudice functioning under the broader conditions of cultural racism, especially against darker skin sub-Saharan migrants. Arguably, there exists an intertwining of biological and cultural racism in Italy (Pugliese, 2008). Widespread racial prejudice is manifested in the perception of racial difference as a pollutant and source of contagion, causing the “degeneration of the white race” (Pugliese, 2008, p.30). This

racialized prejudice, in some cases, produced racialized violence against immigrants, which was evident in Italy’s past. For instance, in 1989, Jerry Essan Masslo a political refugee from South Africa was brutally murdered by a local mob in the southern agricultural town of Violla Litterno. More recently, in 2013, two men of Senegalese origin, Maudou Samb, and Mor Diop were gunned down and killed in the streets of Florence by far-right extremists. During this racist attack, three other men, Moustapha Dieng, Mor Sougou, and Cheikh Mbengue, all Black Africans, were severely injured. In fact, it is documented that 2011–2014 saw an increase from 156 to 998 hate crimes in Italy (Lombardi-Diop & Romeo, 2015). Skin color appears to brand African immigrants as targets for racist violence.

Street Racism and Cecile Kyenge

In Italy, racism appears to exist both at the “street” level and at the institutional political level. At the street level, individuals and groups hurled derogatory slogans and exhibited violent behavior or actions towards migrants (Zanotti, 1993). One such person who has publicly experienced street racism is Cecile Kyenge Kashetu, a Congolese-born Italian politician and ophthalmologist (“Cécile Kyenge Kashetu Archives,” 2017). Kyenge moved to Italy in the 1980s to study medicine in Rome; she then obtained a position in Modena where she met her husband—a native Italian—and they bore two children. Kyenge founded the intercultural Association (DAWA³) to promote cultural understanding, integration, and cooperation between Italy and Africa. As the spokesperson of “March First,” an association working to promote rights of migrants in Italy, Kyenge was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for the Democratic Party in Emilia-Romagna in February 2013. Two months later, she was appointed Minister of Integration in Enrico Letta’s government and currently serves on various committees in the European Parliament. Throughout her career, Kyenge has fought for immigrant rights, especially supporting the introduction of a *Jus soli* law granting citizenship to immigrant children born on Italian soil, since under the current laws, Italian nationality is passed on by blood (“Cécile Kyenge Kashetu Archives,” 2017). Despite her professional and economic success, street-level ethno-racism remains a factor in her life.

Since Kyenge’s appointment, resistance against immigration has taken a more brutal turn, with Kyenge experiencing constant bouts of both street and institutional racism. For instance, Mario Borghezio a member of the European Parliament for Italy’s anti-immigration Northern League stated, “Kyenge wants to impose her tribal traditions from the Congo. . . . She seems like a great housekeeper . . . but not a government minister” (Faris, 2006). He added that Africans in large measure had “not produced great

genes” (Kington, 2013). Additionally, the neo-fascist websites have received Italian government investigation on the denigration of Kyenge as a “Congolese monkey” and “the black anti-Italian.” Another local councilman called for Kyenge to be raped, while another party member and former Berlusconi minister compared Kyenge to an orangutan, before bananas were lobbed at her as she attempted to make a speech. Another rightwing deputy mayor compared Kyenge on his Facebook page to African prostitutes who lined local roads, while a well-known Italian winemaker Fulvio Bressan called her a “dirty black monkey” (Kington, 2013). Insulting Kyenge was described in *La Repubblica*, one of Italy’s leading newspapers, as “a national sport” (Withnal, 2013). Such displays of racism have migrated to Italian soccer stadiums that subjected Mario Balotelli, a Black football player to the same ill treatment. Often crowds would chant at him that “there is no such thing as a Black Italian” (Faris, 2006). While Balotelli is infamous for his justified temper, Kyenge responds by attributing her attacks to a small minority and declaring she is “black and . . . proud of it” (Faris, 2006).

Kyenge’s biggest challenge is convincing Italian society that although there is no shortage of cultural diversity in Italy, there is always room for more diversity. She states “diversity, sharing something you don’t have, offers a huge amount” (Kington, 2013). Unfortunately, Italian culture welcomes perceived affluent American (Northern) culture, but does not want perceived degenerate African (Southern) culture. Resistance against migrants raises the question of whether or not Kyenge’s appointment as minister is deeply backed politically, or whether she will remain a token. In fact, Kyenge’s ministry has no budget in a divided government, which prioritizes fixing Italy’s battered economy (Kington, 2013). While her appointment is symbolically meaningful, migrants such as Mohamed Tailmoun, a spokesperson for Rete G2, states “we are not looking for symbolic acts, but concrete ones. What’s important is Kyenge is able to obtain a majority in Parliament” (Faris, 2006). Kyenge’s and other immigrant experiences not only suggest that Italian culture is often unwelcoming to diversity, but they also expose the existence of racist discourses and actions linking victims to an impoverished and criminalized geographical South, regardless of their accomplishments.

Conclusion

Evidence of ethno-racism in Italy has become highly visible through an increase of sub-Saharan immigrant rights violations and violence. While Italy does not confront a racist past rooted in slavery, it hosts a specific ethno-racism engrained within its regional North/South divide, as well as the global North (European/Western) and South (African) divides. Ethno-racism is still in the process of being codified, notably through the intensification of xenophobia and

political pressure to clamp down on irregular immigration. An emerging nationalism and regionalism, and a prioritization of ethnicity has further led to the marginalization of immigrants, especially dark-skinned sub-Saharan Africans. Furthermore, as evidenced by Cecil Kyenge, economic advancement does not exempt affluent immigrants from racist behavior. As globalized immigration transforms Italian culture, Italy will be forced to confront its racist past and its current underlying ethno-racism and to contend with the implications of an increased sense of nationalism, nativism and xenophobia within Italian society.

Endnotes

- 1 Ideas based on personal observations of Italian society and newspaper articles.
- 2 Outside European Union.
- 3 Kiswahili word meaning “medicine.”

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“Santurce is Our Williamsburg”: Analyzing the Politics of Reinvestment and Revitalization in Santurce, Puerto Rico

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the politics of reinvestment and revitalization in Santurce, a district located in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Once considered an area of urban blight, Santurce is now being reimagined as an incubator for artists and aspiring entrepreneurs. Through an interrogation of the efforts led by private investors, artists, and state officials to revitalize the area, discourse analysis becomes a primary methodological tool for identifying how each group shapes the shifting narrative of Santurce. For example, while the art festival “Santurce Es Ley” (SEL) appears to embrace culture as a tool for community-building, close examination reveals its power to restructure spaces as inclusive or exclusive. I conclude that these discursive and material representations of “authentic urban life” threaten the livelihoods of long-time residents and silence their aspirations for Santurce.

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This paper analyzes the politics of reinvestment and revitalization in Santurce, a district located in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Once considered an area of urban blight, Santurce is now being reimagined as an incubator for artists and aspiring entrepreneurs. Through an interrogation of the efforts led by private investors, artists, and state officials to revitalize the area, discourse analysis becomes a primary methodological tool for identifying how each group shapes the shifting narrative of Santurce. For example, while the art festival “Santurce Es Ley” (SEL) appears to embrace culture as a tool for community-building, close examination reveals its power to restructure spaces as inclusive or exclusive. I conclude that these discursive and material representations of “authentic urban life” threaten the livelihoods of long-time residents and silence their aspirations for Santurce.

In recent years, the reinvestment and revitalization¹ in Santurce, a district located in San Juan, Puerto Rico, has gained considerable media attention. For instance, a January 2015 *Wall Street Journal* property report described Santurce as a neglected, graffiti-stained neighborhood that has now “become a hipster destination” with its relatively affordable housing, museums, art galleries, and vibrant nightlife.² Bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the north, the Martín Peña Channel to the south, Isla Verde to the east, and San Juan Bay to the west, Santurce houses the largest population in the capital city. Its proximity to key tourist sites, such as Viejo San Juan and the Luís Muñoz Marín International Airport, makes the barrio a particularly attractive space for commercial and residential development. Areas like Calle Loíza boast walkable streets, engendering a type of cosmopolitan consumption not obtainable if travelling by car.³ These features of Santurce’s landscape act as not only a magnet for young, skilled professionals to travel and stay in the area, but also mark racial and class differentials. The ideal tourist, who then, perhaps, becomes a resident or property-owner, contrasts with the working-class Puerto Ricans and Dominican immigrants currently residing in Santurce. Perceived widely by Puerto Ricans as still marked by a visible African heritage,⁴ Santurce has lately been subject to frequent comparisons to Williamsburg, Brooklyn in digital media.⁵ The Williamsburg referenced here represents not the industrial, white ethnic communities of the 1940s, nor the working-class, Black and Puerto Rican communities of the 1960s, but rather the “mainly white cultural mix of artists and musicians” who have produced the bohemian, middle-class reputation now associated with the Brooklyn neighborhood.⁶

In this paper, I argue that these analogies negate Santurce’s history and spatial identity as a black space, while promoting the neocolonial assumption that its residents are incapable of utilizing the space to its fullest “exchange value.” This occurs simultaneously with efforts led by local artists and artist-led spaces, state enterprises, and private real estate firms to revitalize and rebrand the neighborhood as a

premier site of arts and culture in the Caribbean. I aim to reflect the work that culture is asked to do in the rebranding of Santurce. Drawing on Arlene Davila's analysis of culture in neoliberal urban development as a "proper repackaging . . . for public consumption," I locate a discourse of capital investment in newspaper articles, property reports and governmental policies that demonstrate the intended uses of culture as capitalist strategy.⁷ For example, the art festival "Santurce es Ley" (SEL) appears to embrace culture as a tool for community-building, but close examination reveals its power to restructure spaces as inclusive or exclusive. I conclude that these discursive and material representations "authentic urban life"⁸ threaten the livelihoods of longtime residents and silence their aspirations for Santurce.

The reinvestment and revitalization in Santurce is a recent manifestation of modernizing urban planning projects—often unethical and violent—sponsored by mainland U.S. state agencies in collaboration with Puerto Rico's civil governments. From the time of the 1898 U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans have been forced to navigate a colonial regime that has subjected them to experiments in the realms of military and public health under the guise of progress and democracy. Rexford G. Tugwell, who served as Puerto Rico's last U.S. appointed governor from 1941 to 1946, intended to "use Puerto Rico 'as a social laboratory' for projects that he was unable to put into practice" in the United States.⁹ His modernizing urban development projects justified the forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women as a means of "population control" and justified the displacement of families and social networks as "slum clearance." Tugwell believed that through urban planning, Puerto Rico would be cured of its economic and social ills.

Santurce became a target barrio of the Tugwell administration's slum clearance initiatives. Residents of Santurce trace their origins to the eighteenth century, when communities of maroons and free blacks founded San Mateo de Cangrejos—taking advantage of the Spanish government's 1664 royal decree manumitting enslaved Africans from non-Spanish colonies who emigrated to Puerto Rico for work. San Mateo de Cangrejos included the urban centers known¹⁰ today as Santurce, Río Piedras, and Hato Rey, as well as the municipalities of Loíza and Carolina. Starting in the twentieth century, Tugwell's modernization policies, that continued under the island's first democratically elected governor Luis Muñoz Marín, jeopardized the livelihoods of *cangrejeros*. Industrialization, sparked by the influx of U.S. capital, accelerated the displacement of poor and working-class communities in Santurce, where homes were built from "whatever materials they could scrounge: wood, zinc, stone, corrugated metal, [and] cardboard palm fronds."¹¹ Because of this unsystematic style of construction, government officials have often referred to Santurce as a slum.

The physical displacement of Santurce's longtime black, working-class community is typical of the whitening processes that have characterized modernization in the Caribbean. Although Puerto Ricans proclaim a racial democracy, the case of Santurce demonstrates how factors such as class position and residence act as markers of race. This myth of racial democracy, propagated by a discourse of racial equality and unanimous claims to a multiracial lineage, evades the existence of color- and place-based discrimination. As articulated by Zaire Dinzey-Flores, this "evasion of race" in Puerto Rico, in fact, breeds other "forms of racism."¹² Today, private investors who import elements of a gentrified, or "upscaled," version of Brooklyn contribute to a grossly classist and racist form of urban planning and development. While revitalization initiatives aim to beautify abandoned walls or buildings in an under-resourced neighborhood, these efforts are rarely executed with favorable prospects of longtime residents in mind.

Journalists, artists and residents frame the commercial endeavors led by the public and private sectors in Santurce as an example of gentrification. Commonly understood as following a linear model, gentrification facilitates the arrival of artists, middle- and upper-class professionals, and luxury residences as sequential developments, which cause an "inevitable" displacement of poor and working-class residents.¹⁴ Media attention focuses on the arrival of artists and the manifestations that arise as a result of their collaborations on different projects. This is highlighted in an August 2014 *La Respuesta* article, which posits SEL artists as "light-skinned Boricua bourgeoisie who felt more comfortable in a gentrifying Williamsburg with white hipsters than their Nuyorican kin."¹⁵ Signifying a raced and classed difference between the SEL artists and the Nuyoricans displaced as a result of gentrification in Williamsburg, the author criticizes the artists for participating in the street art festival. Yet, while the focus on artists reflects the most conspicuous changes, it elides the market logics driving projects of urban renewal and revitalization.

For that reason, I analyze the changes occurring in Santurce through the lens of what Martin Manalansan terms "neoliberal governance," defined as policies that "seek to delimit governmental intervention, increase privatization, and remove the safeguards of welfare services."¹⁶ These processes are facilitated through the proliferation of public-private partnerships, which take the place of local government in providing services to its residents. Moreover, this framework centers state policies as pivotal to neighborhoods undergoing demographic and economic shifts. It also foregrounds a structural analysis, rather than one that focuses on the role of artists or small businesses.

Methodology

Discourse analysis can call attention to the collusion of private and public spheres. Specifically, I investigate how the phrase “Williamsburg of Puerto Rico” and its variants, including *Williamsburg sanjuaneros*, make legible to private investors the emergence of street art, artist-run galleries, and niche restaurants in Santurce. Discursive analogies to Brooklyn and Williamsburg, as much as material changes, can shape the identity of a neighborhood. For example, Miriam Greenberg, in her study of the rebranding of New York City in the 1970s, emphasized the contributions of media-based discourses in contesting images that evoked danger and crime.¹⁷ This form of rebranding, launched by the Koch administration, intended to thwart the fiscal crisis in part by depicting New York City as an ideal site for investment. In the case of Santurce, I explore the ways in which local government officials, media outlets, developers, and artists produce a discourse that allows the neighborhood to be re-presented as an incubator for artists and aspiring entrepreneurs, rather than an area of urban blight.

This analysis examines web-based media coverage, property reports, and travel blogs on the renewal initiatives spearheaded by private-equity firms, artists, and state officials in Santurce. I collected articles and blog entries between March 2011, when governor Luis Fortuño officially declared Santurce the *Distrito de las Artes*, and March 2016, when media outlets began to report that the sixth edition of SEL would be its last rendition. I built a portfolio of media articles from the webpages of the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, two widely circulated newspapers in the United States that are believed to exemplify the political orientations of moderates and conservatives, respectively, and *El Nuevo Día*, the newspaper with the highest circulation in Puerto Rico. I then conducted electronic searches to identify any missing articles, using the key terms “Santurce Es Ley” and “Santurce [and] Williamsburg.” I chose to include travel blog entries to better understand how tourists’ actual experiences related to the comparisons between Santurce and the Williamsburg neighborhood in Brooklyn.

U.S. newspapers heavily approved of the strategies implemented by private investors in Santurce, while Puerto Rican newspapers generally remained neutral. However, this changed in September 2014 once the hedge-fund Putnam Bridge Funding (LLC) announced that it would invest \$108 million to complete construction of the commercial and residential complex La Ciudadela. Most Puerto Rican newspapers favorably portrayed this project as a source of news and a step toward reducing pejorative stereotypes of the area. Both news sources praised SEL. Critiques of the urban art festival appeared only in the University of Puerto Rico’s campus-run newspaper, *Díálogo*, which focused on

the displacement of low-income residents by expansion of La Ciudadela.

My focus on government officials and policies and real-estate investors is a first step to understanding the changes occurring in Santurce. In the future, I hope to expand this analysis to include interviews with artists, business-owners, and residents living in Santurce, as well as an ethnographic observation of the space itself. For now, by honing in on the ways in which private and state actors described Santurce and its transformations, I was able to uncover how fluidly the tenets of neoliberalism appear in public policy.

Authentication and Silence: Constructing a Creative Barrio through Discourse

El millonario inversor estadounidense Nicholas Prouty, que tiene gran parte de su fortuna invertida en Puerto Rico, comparó hoy el céntrico barrio de Santurce, en San Juan, con el neoyorquino Williamsburg, reconocido por su multiétnica comunidad “hipster” y su importante actividad artística y cultural. “Santurce es nuestro Williamsburg,” dijo hoy este millonario empresario a los cientos de asistentes que acudieron hoy a la inauguración de la conferencia inversora impulsada por el Gobierno de Puerto Rico para tratar de atraer inversión extranjera que le ayude a superar la crisis en la que la isla lleva envuelta cerca de una década.¹⁸

The U.S. millionaire investor, Nicholas Prouty, who has a large part of his fortune invested in Puerto Rico, today compared the central neighborhood of Santurce in San Juan to New York’s Williamsburg, renowned for its multiethnic, “hipster” community and its important artistic and cultural activities. “Santurce is our Williamsburg,” said this millionaire businessman to an audience of hundreds who attended the inauguration of the investment conference promoted by the Governor of Puerto Rico to try to attract foreign investment that will help him overcome the crisis that has engulfed the island for about a decade.¹⁹

The analogue of Santurce as a Puerto Rican “Williamsburg” is no accident. This comparison, which comes up frequently in real estate developers’ discourses, authenticates Santurce as a “creative city.” Authenticity, as conceived by Mary Bucholtz, must always be achieved through the use of language.²⁰ Alongside the material transformations of Santurce, language plays a significant role in how it becomes constructed as an ideal place for reinvestment. The passage above quotes a speech given by Nicholas Prouty, CEO of Putnam Bridge Funding, at the 2016 Puerto Rico Investment Summit (PRIS) held in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Organized by Governor Alejandro García Padilla, the

PRIS represents one of the various strategies employed by García Padilla to alleviate Puerto Rico's dire fiscal crisis by attracting U.S. capital to invest in economic development initiatives. With the multi-million dollar construction and expansion of La Ciudadela, Prouty has emerged as a primary investor in the capital city, and namely, Santurce.

In his speech, Prouty invokes a strategic comparison of Santurce and Williamsburg. He declares Santurce as "our Williamsburg," referring to art galleries and cultural activities as evidence of their similarities. Although the two locales are already linked by the migration of Puerto Rican diasporic communities, this piece of history does not translate easily into a profit-making strategy. "Culture" as signified by consumption spaces, i.e., cafés, museums, and boutiques, has shown its capacity for financial promise. The process by which gentrification took place in Williamsburg stands as a testament to this. Moreover, by associating Santurce with Williamsburg, Prouty attempts to invite other investors to see Santurce as place where they should spend their money and expect capital gain. Prouty's use of "our" may to convey a sense of collaboration with Puerto Rican officials and state actors, but given the context of where this statement was made and who was present in the room, the "our" also belongs to private investors.

The perceived pervasiveness of "Williamsburg aesthetics" constitutes a value for real estate and private equity firms to tap into when marketing Santurce. To elaborate, I turn to David Coffey, a real estate agent from Toronto, who in 2015 penned an article titled "The Brooklyn Effect." Coffey defines the Brooklyn Effect as the impact of "a neighborhood that has risen from humble or scrappy beginnings to become a centre of cool with distinctive independent businesses all around."²¹ He adds, "The Brooklyn Effect, whether you live in Brooklyn or not, has become synonymous with living in a hipster neighborhood with funky artist spaces, experimental restaurants and stylized general stores."²² These statements illustrate the expediency of the Brooklyn Effect; even Paris boasts a shopping center called "Brooklyn" that sells "artisanal jams" and "knitted beanie caps."²³ Remarkably, there is no mention of the working-class communities of color pushed out by the arrival of these amenities. In fact, they go unnamed, and this silence renders them invisible. The only reference to the displaced residents appears in the reference to "humble or scrappy beginnings," thus, producing these communities through a language of pathology. Tending to these silences emphasizes how Williamsburg serves as a metaphor for the displacement of longtime, working-class residents. The repackaging of Brooklyn aesthetics elsewhere provides an illusion of community-building, veiling the restructuring of spaces as socially exclusive.

Further authenticating Santurce's identity as encapsulating the "Brooklyn effect" are travel blog entries found online, in which writers detail their time spent travelling in the neighborhood. Replicating the erasure of longtime residents found in Coffey's report, travel writers and tourists often make no mention of the majority of Santurce's population who are not artists. For example, an entry on *ArtSlant* describes Santurce as "full of young artists, young yuppies [and] several underground clubs," and Calle Loíza as "a street brimming with independently owned boutiques, bars, and galleries."²⁴ The sole focus on attractions and youth hides the fact that families have lived for generations in Santurce. The resilience of *cangrejeros*, who built their own residences and stymied decades of severe neglect, is completely ignored. Instead, Santurce seems to represent only a repository of spaces that primarily serves transient outsiders.

Conversations around the organizing of Santurce Es Ley (SEL) have too often ignored some of the harmful social changes promoted by the festival. On May 20, 2010, Angel Alexis Bousquet celebrated the one-year anniversary of his gallery opening by organizing SEL, the "pop-up" art festival believed to have pioneered Santurce's transformation. As a collaboration between local artists, artist-run galleries, and contemporary art spaces, SEL featured gallery tours, musical performances, and live graffiti and mural painting in the streets of the Calle Cerra. Most of the participating artists were formally trained, which distinguishes their work from the graffiti art and *grafiteros* often associated with urban blight in Santurce. Since its inaugural edition, SEL has featured murals proposed by international artists from Australia, to France, to Peru. In addition, SEL has expanded to host festivals elsewhere in Puerto Rico, including on Culebra, a small island off the eastern coast of Fajardo, and most recently, Ponce, the city widely regarded as the island's western capital city.²⁵ The saying "*Buscamos crear ciudad a través del arte*," that is "We strive to create a city through art," is commonly heard throughout the festival.

In a 2014 *New York Times* article profiling SEL, Bousquet celebrated the "potential" of Santurce by stating, "If gentrification means that more artists are going to move here and make it a better place, then sign me up... We're taking broken places and fixing them."²⁶ The framing of Santurce as a "broken place" denies the existence of community life that existed before the inception of SEL. Additionally, the statement provided appears to position SEL artists as authorizing the changes in Santurce, consequently silencing the voices of longtime residents. This is a striking example of how interdiscursivity—appropriated pieces of language—are "fitted into a person's own set of ways of meaning."²⁷ Bousquet, who values community-led art initiatives in Santurce, appropriates the language of investment and privatization, in spite of its contradictions.

Such ambivalence and contradiction often characterize the ways in which individual actors negotiate neoliberal logics.

David Ley argues that “artists are the colonizing arm of the middle-class,” who inadvertently advance the spatialization of tastes and sensibilities which alienate working-class communities.²⁸ In the case of SEL, the presence of street art attracted professionals and tourists to visit and stay in the area, making it palatable to those who usually would not visit Santurce. In conjunction, media attention to SEL also displaced local narratives and views on the changes occurring in the neighborhood. In a 2016 interview with *Diálogo*, Bousquet lamented the rise of corporate sponsorship and refuted claims that SEL aggregates processes of displacement in Santurce.⁹ More conscious of the contradictions of his brainchild than he had been previously, Bousquet expressed his regrets about SEL, including how in the process, Santurce had become a spectacle, offering itself for the aesthetic gaze. This sentiment speaks to the precarious position that urban artists occupy when living in low-income neighborhoods. Their artistic careers benefit from cheap rents and large studio space, but their income mostly relies on the capital provided by middle-class consumers. In turn, the middle-class pines for innovative and novel styles in the realm of arts and culture as a form of leisure. The symbiotic relationship between the middle-class and the artist plays out spatially, as the private and public spheres aim to exploit this dynamic for financial gain.

Another crucial group shaping the discourse on the revitalization of Santurce is the Senate of Puerto Rico. A 2014 article from *Metro Puerto Rico* interviewed two senators on the development of Santurce after the Senate adopted resolution 789. The author of the measure, Senator Ramón Luis Nieves shared that he intended to “revitalize Santurce from the perspective of creative industries.”³⁰ The focus on creative industries and enterprises reflects the structural shift from “manos a la obra,” which characterized the boom of manufacturing jobs created during the mid-twentieth century, to “mentes a la obra,” or highly skilled jobs inaccessible to most on the island.³¹ Moreover, the appropriation of developers’ language is also present in resolution 789’s preamble. It reads as follows:

*Es de rigor que Santurce se convierta en una zona viva, con gente que camine por sus calles, den rienda suelta a la creatividad e innovación, que consuma y apoye los negocios locales del sector; disfrute de sus parques, conciertos al aire libre, restaurantes, exposiciones, en fin, que puedan experimentar una vida urbana plena.*³²

*It’s essential that Santurce become a lively area, with people who walk the streets, give free rein to creativity and innovation, who consume and support local businesses in the sector; enjoy parks, outdoor concerts, restaurants, exhibitions, in short who can experience a full urban life.*³³

This excerpt authenticates Santurce as a bustling and prosperous neighborhood with new potential to support “a full urban life.” Its Brooklyn Effect assets, in the form of residential complexes and commercial buildings, make the revitalization a “good investment,” which attracts new consumers. However, the undisclosed premise is that “full” restoration necessitates the physical displacement from the neighborhood of Santurce’s black, working-class residents. Further, it entails the imposition of a version of middle-class consumer culture, alienating Santurce residents who may not have access to leisure or resources to shop at local businesses, visit exhibitions, or attend outdoor concerts. Ultimately, this quote implies violently inaccurate claims about the residents who have lived in Santurce prior to its redevelopment, incorrectly inferring that their lives were “lifeless” and “empty.”

In the redevelopment of Santurce, comparisons to Williamsburg and the arts have been critical in attracting businesses, consumers, and tourists to the area. Neoliberal discursive logic emphasizes the collaboration between private and public groups to facilitate renewal and modernization, while this same discursive logic renders invisible the livelihoods, aspirations and desires of Santurce’s longtime residents. In addition, as exhibited by private investors, along with the artists and political actors who adopt this grammar, comparisons to a gentrified Williamsburg negates race, and moreover, blackness. With priorities set on ways to effectively extract profit from Santurce, there is little regard for the immediate needs of these communities. As long as civic government’s cultural policies authenticate Santurce through the discourse of developers, the fate of Santurce’s residents and what they desire from this revitalization project may remain unknown and ignored. Perhaps, if *cangrejeros* were asked to cite an example of a U.S. neighborhood undergoing similar demographic and social changes, instead of saying Williamsburg, they might just say Harlem.

Postscript

On September 20, 2017, the eye of Hurricane Maria struck Puerto Rico. With winds of 155 mph, the Category 4 storm devastated the island that was already grappling with oppressive debt and decrepit infrastructure. As of this writing in December 2017, the aftermath of the hurricane has left thousands of people dead—a direct result of hospitals operating without stable electricity and households lacking access to clean water or telecommunication, among a host of

other issues. Having witnessed weeks of mainstream media coverage of the apocalyptic conditions facing island-bound Puerto Ricans, it is of utmost importance to use this space to consider the ways in which the impacts of Hurricane Maria affect the future of Santurce.

Due to substantial structural damages, many businesses along Calle Loiza remain shuttered and unable to operate, with others abandoned. *El Nuevo Día* reported that lack of fuel to keep generators running has led to the closing of small businesses.³⁴ The few shops and restaurants that are open function in a limited capacity—either shortening their hours of operation or restricting what can be sold from their inventory. These conditions make Santurce vulnerable to additional collusion between the public and private spheres to create policies and incentives that benefit elite classes, while marginalizing those in greatest need of public services. Additionally, the Puerto Rican government's tax incentives for U.S. corporations and investors will facilitate their purchase of abandoned businesses and properties, accelerating the twin processes of displacement and upscaling in Santurce.

Nevertheless, grassroots community-building that began and has been sustained since the hurricane hit Puerto Rico poses a potential form of resistance. Inadequate relief efforts by local and federal governments placed artists based in Santurce in a position to directly tend to the needs of community members. El Local, an independent artist-run space dedicated to showcasing art and live music, has reshaped itself into a volunteer-run community kitchen, serving meals from morning until evening to whoever stops by. El Local also offers access to their generator and Internet service to residents, in addition to free haircuts and massages.³⁵

Santurce-based exhibition space El Lobi has also adapted its mission to the obstacles posed by Maria, transforming its space into a donation drop-off site. In addition to collecting essential supplies for Santurce, El Lobi has recently called for a collection of supplies to send to the isolated mountainous municipality of Utuado, designated by FEMA as a disaster area.^{36,37} Artists who take on hurricane relief in the community may help to weaken the class and social barriers that once separated them from local residents; by so doing, they have the potential to help forge a multi-vocal resistance against impending privatization.

Endnotes

- 1 The words *reinvestment* and *revitalization*, as some researchers have noted, carry the negative implication that sites designated for redevelopment have not been valued or "vitalized" by longtime residents. These terms generally do not account for the pre-existing emotional and spiritual (re: non-monetary) meanings held by residents about their neighborhoods. In this paper, I borrow my uses of the terms *reinvestment* and *revitalization* from Neil Smith. Smith defines "reinvestment" as "the movement of capital . . . into the built environment . . . in response . . . to [an] approaching or already present economic crisis" (1996, 83), and "revitalization" as "a restructuring of urban space" into a place for profit rather than a place for living (1996, 84).
- 2 Liam Plevin, "Investors Hope for Revival in Puerto Rico's Santurce Area," *Wall Street Journal*, January 15, 2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/investors-hope-for-revival-in-puerto-ricos-santurce-area-1452014669>.
- 3 According to the 2012–2016 American Community Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, 81.5% of the working population in Puerto Rico commute to work by driving alone. (See U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, "Selected Economic Characteristics," 2012–2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, <http://factfinder.census.gov/>.) Over the past 10 years, Puerto Rican state officials have adopted "walkability" as a principal policy goal to combat automobile dependency and facilitate revitalization. For instance, the Territorial Ordinance Plan of the Municipality of San Juan (TOP) developed by Mayor Jorge Santini outlines greater pedestrian access as one of its strategies for rehabilitation in Santurce, as well as Río Piedras, Miramar, and Old San Juan. For a discussion of the TOP, see Tischa A. Muñoz-Erickson, "Multiple pathways to sustainability in the city: the case of San Juan, Puerto Rico," *Ecology and Society* 19, no. 3 (2014).
- 4 Isar Godreau, *Scripts of Blackness: Race, Cultural Nationalism, and U.S. in Puerto Rico* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015).
- 5 See, for examples, Maryam Siddiqi, "Take a walk on Puerto Rico's hipster side," *National Post*, February 26, 2015, <http://nationalpost.com/g00/life/travel/take-a-walk-on-puerto-ricos-hipster-side>; Rafael Lopez Ramos, "Santurce: the 'Williamsburg' of Puerto Rico," *Catalyst Review*, February 2014, <http://catalystreview.net/santurce-the-williamsburg-of-puerto-rico>; Kathleen Squires, "Neighborhood Guide: Santurce, San Juan's Hipster Haven," *Fodor's Travel*, January 12, 2015, <http://www.fodors.com/world/caribbean/puerto-rico/san-juan/experiences/news/neighborhood-guide-santurce-san-juans-hipster-haven-11133>.
- 6 Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 44.
- 7 Arlene Davila, *Culture Works: Space, Value, and Mobility across the Neoliberal Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 15.
- 8 The phrase "authentic urban life" is used by Sharon Zukin to denote the middle-class consumer tastes popularized by the upscaling of Williamsburg and the East Village in New York City which have come to represent an authentic urban experience. Zukin, *Naked City*, 30.
- 9 Michael Lapp, "The Rise and Fall of Puerto Rico as a Social Laboratory, 1945–1965," *Social Science History* 19 (1955): 172.
- 10 Federico Ribes Tovar, *Historia cronológica de Puerto Rico: Desde El Nacimiento De La Isla Hasta El Año 1973* (New York: Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, 1973), 116.
- 11 Rosa Carrasquillo, *The People's Poet: Life and Myth of Ismael Rivera, an Afro-Caribbean Icon* (Pompano Beach, Florida: Caribbean Studies Press, 2014), 16.
- 12 Zaire Dinzey-Flores, *Locked In, Locked Out: Gated Communities in a Puerto Rican City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 134.
- 13 David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 14 Launched in June 2013, *La Respuesta* is an online magazine concerned with the experiences and perspectives of Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States.
- 15 Xavi Burgos Peña, "Gentrification, Island Hipsters, and Diaspora Communities," *La Respuesta*, August 6, 2014, <http://larespuestamedia.com/santurce-gentrification-colony/>.

- 16 Martin Manalansan, "Race, Violence, and Neoliberal Spatial Politics in the Global City," *Social Text* 84–85 (2005): 141.
 - 17 Miriam Greenberg, *Branding New York: How a City in Crisis was Sold to the World* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
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 - 19 My translation.
 - 20 Mary Bucholtz, "Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (2003): 398–416.
 - 21 David Coffey, "The Brooklyn Effect," *Bosley Real Estate*, September 24, 2015, <http://www.davidcoffey.ca/the-brooklyn-effect>.
 - 22 Ibid.
 - 23 Sam Schechner, "How Does Paris Stay Chic? It Imports Brooklyn," *Wall Street Journal*, September 16, 2015, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-does-paris-stay-chic-it-imports-brooklyn-1442408401>.
 - 24 Brandon Queen, "A Tale of Two Barrios: How Santurce and Rio Piedras Embody San Juan's Street Art," *Art Slant*, March 10, 2014, <https://www.artslant.com/ny/articles/show/38742-a-tale-of-two-barrios-how-santurce-and-r%C3%ADo-piedras-embodiment-san-juans-street-culture>.
 - 25 SELs iterations in Culebra and Ponce were marketed as "Culebra Es Ley" and "Ponce Es Ley," respectively.
 - 26 Ashley Winchester, "In a San Juan Neighborhood, an International Arts Festival," August 5, 2014, <https://intransit.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/08/05/in-a-san-juan-neighborhood-an-international-arts-festival/>.
 - 27 Barbara Johnstone, "Prior Texts, Prior Discourses," in *Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Barbara Johnstone (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 166.
 - 28 Ley, *New Middle Class*, 191.
 - 29 Hermes Ayala, "Bousquet y el proceso de introspección de Santurce es Ley," *Dialogo PR*, March 12, 2016, <http://dialogopr.com/bousquet-y-el-proceso-de-introspeccion-de-santurce-es-ley/>.
 - 30 "Buscan en Santurce una 'ciudad creativa,'" *Metro Puerto Rico*, August 25, 2014, <https://www.metro.pr/pr/noticias/2014/08/25/buscan-en-santurce-una-ciudad-creativa.html>.
 - 31 For a discussion of the economic development initiatives that transformed Puerto Rico's agrarian-based economy to one centered on manufacturing and tourism, see James L. Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).
 - 32 Ibid.
 - 33 My translation.
 - 34 Libni Sanjurjo Melendez, "Sanjuaneros meten mano en sus calles tras las recientes inundaciones," *El Nuevo Día*, October 11, 2017, <http://www.elnuevodia.com/noticias/locales/nota/sanjuanerosmetenmanoensucallestraslasrecientesinundaciones-2365251/>.
 - 35 Klaus Biesenbach, "Free electricity, wifi, meals and free massages and free haircuts for the neighborhood at the artists space #ellocal," *Instagram*, October 29, 2017; Or "Free..."? <https://www.instagram.com/p/Ba2ai0FBrWW/>.
 - 36 el_lobi_, "Amigas y amigos de El Lobi," *Instagram*, October 25, 2017 https://www.instagram.com/p/Baro-IgHSHu/?taken-by=el_lobi_.
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Militarized Notions of Leadership: Experiences of JROTC Latinx Youth at a Local High School

Jazmin Ocampo, *Pomona College*

Jazmin Ocampo received her degree in Sociology from Pomona College in 2017. As an undergraduate student, she found solace in organizing with communities outside the college campus, but also became heavily involved with on-campus student organizing, particularly with women of color. Jazmin has strong roots in Chicago, where she currently works at Mikva Challenge, an organization empowering youth and enabling adult decision makers in the city to view young people as active community leaders. She coordinates a program for a group of 20 students and utilizes a transformative learning process built on youth voice and youth expertise.

Abstract

The Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) promotes itself as a leadership program that may alleviate socioeconomic disparities some low-income students of color face. Research demonstrates that this program indeed provides practical benefits to some students, such as employment support, and improved rank upon entering the military. However, there is a lack of attention to how the JROTC's militarized notions of leadership operate within the public school system. This qualitative research study examines the JROTC program by highlighting the voices of Latinx JROTC youth at a public school in Southern California. This article assesses how the JROTC frames leadership for these students: in this case, namely by promoting authority and obedience. I argue that this militaristic framing of the program in a high school educational setting does not provide students with tools to understand structural inequalities, creating drawbacks in their leadership development.

Acknowledgements

Thank you, Gilda Ochoa, for always reminding me of my inner strength and helping me discover how I want to use it with others. Thank you to everyone who contributed to this article in any way. This article is dedicated to young people seeking to make a difference, caught between multiple worlds, and yet still resilient.

A row of framed portraits decorate the upholstered red wall above me. The labeling reads "CHAIN OF COMMAND." Wearing a satin red tie, Donald Trump's portrait squints down on me as his caption reads, "President of the United States of America: Honorable Donald J. Trump." The sequence follows with portraits of the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Army, Chief of Staff of the Army, and the list goes on to Sergeant Rodriguez, the Junior Reserves Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) instructor of the classroom where I am sitting. I am a researcher taking field notes. As a former JROTC cadet, I am interested in the ways the program shapes educational experiences for high school students. According

to the U.S. Army JROTC website, the mission of the JROTC is to "motivate young people to become better citizens." The program explicitly relates citizenship to students' sense of obligation and duty to serve others (Pérez, 2015). However, the program's leadership expectations serve the U.S. military's culture and interests, namely by molding cadets into obedient leaders. This focus on obedience fosters an educational space where students learn more about respecting and obeying higher rank, rather than questioning and thinking critically about authority and established ideas.

Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of capital, as well as theories of race and militarism, this article examines how social capital impacts Latinx's educational conditions. I analyze excerpts from my qualitative research study that highlight the testimonies of Latinx JROTC students at Pius High School¹ in Southern California, discussing leadership as an emerging theme from interviews and field observations. Findings from my study suggest that students want an education that better equips them with critical thinking skills and that is more intentional about providing spaces for students to process their socialized and racialized experiences.

Educational opportunities for Latinxs students are still disproportionately limited. Research shows that Latinxs especially are poorly served by U.S. public education compared to their White counterparts (Gándara, 2015). Pipeline programs for students in disproportionately under-resourced schools have alleviated some of these inequalities. For example, participating in the JROTC program may be considered as an alternative opportunity for academic success and social mobility for Latinxs.

However, the JROTC program has long been debated by people who champion its leadership aspects and those who oppose its militarized nature (Pérez, 2015). Since 1916, when the JROTC came to fruition with the National Defense Act of 1916, it has undergone multiple modifications. Today, some public schools offer the program as an elective course, an alternative to the physical education requirement. Other public schools are established as JROTC academies, embedding the program throughout the four years of high school.

Conceptual Frameworks

By considering the ways in which educational policies and legal histories continue to shape today's U.S. education systems, we can better understand how relations of power reproduce inequalities that disproportionately limit Latinxs' opportunities for academic success. For example, despite the legal end to racial segregation in schools, Latinx students are still concentrated in large urban school systems, such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, where overall graduation rates are less than 60 percent (Tienda & Mitchell, 2006). Low-resourced school conditions set the stage for Latinxs to not meet their academic potential. Author Jay MacLeod (2008) builds on Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) theory on socio-economic and cultural capital to argue that schools track students based on their socioeconomic and racial backgrounds. In other words, social class is a determining factor in educational success or failure, despite the system's claim of meritocracy (MacLeod, 2008). Furthermore, stemming from the context of "tough on crime" policies and charged by a culture that criminalizes youth of

color, schools are increasingly enforcing prison-like tactics, such as zero-tolerance policies where students caught breaching school rules face more severe penalties, including suspensions, expulsions and sometimes police interventions (as reviewed in Ochoa, 2013). In this way, tracking is highly based on behavior and how the school interprets academic success, but not all students encounter the same surveillance, restrictions, and consequences. National trends show poor, working-class, Latinx, and Black students are more likely to receive harsher punishments than their middle- and upper-class White schoolmates (as reviewed in Ochoa, 2013). School authorities interpret student behavior through racialized lenses where race and socioeconomic class meet. In other words, our education system systematically reproduces inequalities that disservice Latinxs and favor the elite or dominant class.

Much of the current discourse on these inequalities make the Latinx community and other communities of color vulnerable to regulation from outside entities. The JROTC program, for example, targets “less affluent large urban schools” and populations who are “at risk” (Berlowitz, 2000, p. 394). Such racially coded language tracks students based on not only their racial and social identities, but also their presumed affiliations with drug and gang activity. As Ochoa (2013) explains, Latinx youth experience strict punishments by school administrators for wearing certain clothes, colors, or haircuts, justified by their presumed association to gang activity. The JROTC’s directed recruitment alludes to a group of peoples’ deficiencies and reinforces notions that deem these communities as not being able to help themselves, prompting outside entities to intervene. This charity-like mentality perpetuates unequal relations of power that criminalize and put blame on these communities without addressing larger structural systems of power and views military-like discipline as the solution.

For example, the militarization of Latinxs is not a new phenomenon, but historically bound. Military ties funnel resources into educational programs, such as the JROTC among others, and into recruitment campaigns like the “Yo Soy El Army” (2001–2005) campaign. This Latinx-targeted recruitment initiative by the U.S. Army emerged during a period of Latinx population growth in the United States, unemployment, especially among young Latinxs, and the U.S. military’s need to fill the lower ranks of the all “volunteer” force during wartime (Plascencia, Waterson, & Pérez, 2015, p. 157). Campaign practices such as this one essentially target the Latinx population as a commodity for military power; and inadvertently homogenize Latinxs, viewing them as perfect candidates for social control.

Methods

I conducted my qualitative research at a local high school in Southern California where Latinxs make up eighty-six percent of the student population. My alma mater’s pre-established relationship with the school enabled me to introduce myself to the JROTC class. By sharing about my background as a former JROTC cadet from Chicago, I slowly established relationships with students who opted into participating in my research. Sergeant Rodriguez and Colonel Roberts generously welcomed me into their classroom for field notes. In the span of five months I conducted six focus group sessions, each varying between thirty-five minutes and two hours

long in length, four in-depth hour-long interviews, and roughly ten hours of field notes. After transcribing my field notes and interviews, I highlighted reoccurring themes and analyzed what students said about their educational experiences in their JROTC classroom.

Discussion

In discussions with students and instructors, I noticed a disjuncture between what the JROTC program claims to facilitate, i.e., leadership, and what students experienced. For example, students expressed they thought the leadership component meant they would have an input on the curriculum. But governed by the Department of Defense, the JROTC curriculum is essentially fixed and does not create much space for leadership in that way. Rather, as explained by two JROTC instructors I interviewed, the curriculum’s framing of leadership focuses more on knowing how to follow and give clear efficient instructions. In this way, leadership works within a framework of command and follow. However, students expressed a more complex understanding of leadership; one that considers their input in decision making and in the atmosphere of the classroom. Students expected their voices to be included in decision-making processes, some curriculum building, and expected to be encouraged to think critically about the social world around them. Instead, they shared that most of their experience was being instructed to memorize preset definitions from their textbooks. Students also expressed feeling like their JROTC curriculum did not make room for discussions on race and racism, which they find are significant topics in their lives. I highlight these next themes to explore how students demonstrated an understanding of leadership and critical thought and exposed the importance of clearer communication between faculty and students.

As a sophomore at Pius High School, Victor Barrera shared his decision of not continuing in the JROTC program next year due to it being “boring” from excessive amounts of worksheets and the low level of engagement these worksheets offered. Worksheets typically entailed filling-in-the-blank, and defining key terms with definitions provided in the textbooks. When I asked him what he would add to the curriculum he said, “Questions about the world, ya know? You gotta understand people.” Victor’s classmate, Kevin Mendez, felt similarly, and compared the class to detention. “It doesn’t feel like I’m in a ROTC program. It feels like I’m in a detention center kind of.” Kevin described an experience with an In-School Suspension, a form of punishment found in schools. He talked about the menial work handed out to keep students busy and in their seats. While JROTC is not promoted as a reform program, Kevin’s experience speaks to an assumption that assigning worksheets to students will help discipline students by keeping them busy. Work that simply expects students to copy definitions from a book onto a worksheet creates a “boring” atmosphere where students do not feel stimulated or challenged. Kevin’s description also speaks to MacLeod’s (2008) literature, which explains how students who are not part of the dominant class, e.g., low-income students of color, experience routinized forms of discipline as part of their schooling. Kevin’s comparison is crucial when considering how militarized forms of social control affect every day experiences in the classroom.

This is not to say that discipline itself is a negative practice. It may be a helpful component of the learning process, but when it simply keeps students busy without challenging substance, it creates a void. Discipline alone can have ramifications that push out students when they feel targeted. Hearing students express that they expect more from their JROTC class enabled me to ask more about the changes they would like to see. Considering that the JROTC promotes itself as a “premier leadership program,”² I wondered if the students had tried to initiate change.

During my one-on-one interview with Victor, he shared about the various times he and other students suggested, to their instructor, changing the structure of the class, but nothing came from it. While the program associates leadership with rank, being in command, and being able to instruct other cadets, as in the military, Victor’s idea of leadership goes beyond that. He draws an association between leadership and listening, suggesting that listening is a component of leadership. His testimony suggests that when a school administrator or faculty member does not practice being a good listener and genuinely considering others’ input, they are not exercising leadership. This connects to Kevin’s feelings of disengagement. The seemingly punitive routinized structure and the lack of a critical thinking component, speak to students’ experiences in the classroom, and challenge the JROTC’s claim of being a premier leadership program. Students demonstrated a level of creativity, which enabled them to be critical of obedience and have a vision for change. Moreover, Victor and Kevin’s feelings of disengagement echo literature that discusses the marginalization of Latinxs in schools and the negation of viewing them with agency (Rodríguez, Martínez, & Valle, 2016). Victor’s testimony suggests that overlooking student creativity and initiative in the classroom may not only stifle their critical thinking skills, but may also discourage student participation.

Discussions from students also included thoughts about President Trump’s coming into office. Students discussed this in conjunction with how race plays a significant role in their educational aspirations to defy common stereotypes that portray Latinxs as academically unsuccessful. Students demonstrated being keen to negative stereotypes that deem them inferior. In focus groups, some students disclosed times when they felt singled-out in school for their race and/or cultural background. One student described how such stereotypes suggest that society at large “don’t see [Latinxs] graduating.” With the lack of knowledge about racial/ethnic histories in their courses, students often rely on stereotyped messages as their main source of information about one another (Ochoa, 2013, p. 172). Student testimonies demonstrated that these stereotyped messages shape young Latinxs’ self-perceptions, infringing on their academic and professional aspirations. By highlighting students’ voices, I learned that in spite of the power and pervasiveness of stereotypes, many students’ perceptions of leadership involve resisting and combating the negative discourses and practices that target their identities. Many students expressed a personal drive and commitment when they discussed complex topics about society, such as race and racism, culture, and stereotypes, and how they affect their interactions and relationships with peers and teachers.

Although the JROTC curriculum promotes leadership, discussions with students and faculty revealed that the framing of leadership does not include preparing students to unpack aspects of their identities that not only affect their educational experiences, such as race and racism, culture, etc., but also impact their leadership development. While leadership can be broadly defined, the program dictates specifically what consists of leadership. When students spoke-up to authority figures at their school, they felt that their opinions and suggestions were not taken seriously.

My research locates authority as a dominant factor in the JROTC’s culture of leadership. The Chain of Command not only illustrates power rankings, but also mandates students’ deference towards our military leaders. As I wrote ideas for this research on relations of power, I could not ignore President Trump’s photo framed as the head leader of our country. For students participating in this JROTC program, the Chain of Command reminds them that leadership involves falling in line and adhering to leaders above them. The program expects young cadets to know and respect the Chain of Command and people in it. Conversations with students demonstrated their eagerness to exercise a creative license where they have more opportunity to unpack inherited notions and values so that they may think critically about how they would like to shape the world around them as leaders. While authority and discipline can be important aspects of leadership, the militaristic framing of these aspects in a high school educational setting does not provide students the necessary tools to think deeply about the pre-established and systemic realities they face. In fact, a militaristic teaching of leadership may stifle the intuitive and hopeful curiosity students already have about the adversarial experiences they live, as demonstrated by some of the students I interviewed. Thus, a radical rethinking of the JROTC’s role in our public schools is necessary to address some of the racial/ethnic hierarchies that persist.

Endnotes

- Names of people and places have been changed to pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality with participants.
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Epistemological Resistance in the Work of W.E.B. Du Bois: Mobilizing Racial Analysis into a Critique of Social Science

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Abstract

This paper argues that Du Bois's ostensibly political project for the betterment of society is also a fundamentally epistemological one that critiques the very foundations of White American thought. By analyzing the arguments Du Bois makes in his "The Conservation of Races," "Sociology Hesitant," and parts of *The Souls of Black Folk* (primarily the first and last chapters), this paper argues that in form and content, Du Bois's political project for Black liberation transforms from an essentialist celebration of racial identity in "The Conservation of Races" into an epistemological project that explicitly and implicitly critiques American forms of knowledge production and truth in *The Souls of Black Folk*, before expanding beyond racial lines in "Sociology Hesitant." This paper then connects this project to contemporary liberation movements.

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Over the course of his life, W.E.B. Du Bois built a large—and sometimes contradictory—body of work examining sociology and the issues facing Black America. In his 1897 "The Conservation of Races," he advances a culturally essentialist notion of Blackness and argues for the self-promotion of the Black race. Six years later, in *The Souls of Black Folk*, he calls for justice and equality for Black Americans, while also introducing critical ideas like the veil and double consciousness. Two years after that, in "Sociology Hesitant," he outlines a critique of sociology as a field and suggests new modes of analysis that embrace uncertainty. This sequence of arguments reveals that at its core, Du Bois's ostensibly political project for the betterment of society is in

fact an epistemological one that critiques the very foundations of White American thought. In this paper, I will first summarize the different arguments that Du Bois makes in "The Conservation of Races," "Sociology Hesitant," and parts of *The Souls of Black Folk* (primarily the first and last chapters). I will then outline how, in viewing both the form and content of these texts, Du Bois's political project for Black liberation transforms from an essentialist celebration of racial identity in "The Conservation of Races," into an epistemological project that explicitly and implicitly critiques American forms of knowledge production and truth in *The Souls of Black Folk*, before expanding beyond racial lines in "Sociology Hesitant." Finally, I will connect this project to that of social liberation movements today.

In "The Conservation of Races," Du Bois defines race and outlines the approach of the brand-new American Negro Academy, a group founded to promote Black scholarship and culture. He begins by writing that while Black communities have a religious inclination to dismiss racial differences and often discuss cross-racial brotherhood as imminent, they must also acknowledge that race exists and that the Black-White racial relation is definitive of their age. Beyond the forms of discrimination Black communities face on the ground, he wants to address the larger, philosophical question of what race actually is and how each of the races has developed. From the outset, he dismisses physical characteristics as the only basis for racial distinction. Instead, he argues that races are distinguished by their spiritual and psychical properties and their shared conceptions of the ideals of life, which manifest in their respective histories, traditions, and impulses. Crucially, however, although they interact with cultural and geographic histories, these distinctions are not wholly socially constructed; as Du Bois writes, they originate in the physical differences between the races, yielding contributions that are unique to their respective groups. It is the role of Black Americans, then, to improve themselves so that they can make their own unique racial contribution under the broad banner of American civic identity. In this way, Du Bois's model is pluralistic rather than assimilationist; he writes that Black Americans ought to keep and celebrate the unique aims, feelings, and ideals of their race, while also living in harmony with other races with which they share laws, language, and religion. To this end, then, Du Bois's American Negro Academy aims to build up the Black race and its specific contributions—eradicating immorality, crime, and laziness—until it can fulfill its unique mission in a hypothetical future America absent of prejudice.

In *The Souls of Black Folk*, published six years later, Du Bois departs from this essentialism and shifts some of the burden of Black advancement from Black communities onto the structures and society that have failed them. In the forethought and the first chapter of the text, he

introduces the idea of the color-line, the division between Black people and White people that permeates all of society (5). Marking this division is the Du Boisian veil, which shuts out Black people from the world of White people (10) and makes Black experiences inaccessible and invisible to the White majority. This invisibility, however, is not two-sided; while White people do not have to consider the experiences of Black people, Black people are constantly evaluating the world—and themselves—through a White lens (11). Calling this phenomenon double consciousness, Du Bois writes that it results in a split selfhood that cannot balance between Blackness and Americanness as defined by mainstream Whiteness (11). Subsequently, the Black subject is torn between two worlds with two different aims—one urging her to live up to the standards of White America, the other to be true to her Blackness (11). Indeed, the incoherence engendered by double consciousness not only prevents the Black subject from being deemed adequate in White society—it also leaves her out of touch with the artistic ideals that Du Bois holds are central to her Blackness (12). Despite historical attempts from abolition to reconstruction, structural changes have failed to address or alleviate this divide (13–4); instead, Du Bois argues that only education can open the doors to a form of complete self-consciousness (14). With such an education, the Black subject can accept that she must be herself, not live up to White standards (15). Further, she can recognize the burdens of ignorance and prejudice that have been foisted upon her people and through such recognition begin to develop a way to move forward (15). Crucially, this education cannot consist of static ideas from the White past; instead, it must integrate the racial ideals of Black communities (15). Such integration in both ideology and the arts—which Du Bois aims to begin in this text—would thenceforth enrich the lives of both Black and White Americans (16).

Later in the text, after making his case through a variety of literary and sociological techniques, Du Bois concludes with “The Sorrow Songs,” a chapter in which he describes the ways in which Black slave songs speak to the Black experience (155). He argues that such music is the most beautiful thing that America has produced and a key part of its cultural heritage, despite its frequent erasure and dismissal (155). Through a thorough assessment of several songs, Du Bois argues that music was the medium through which the slave delivered her message to the world over the centuries (156–7), a message not only of difficulty and suffering but also of the search for rest (159). It is this belief in eventual justice that Du Bois finds most striking, writing that such sorrow songs spoke of the hope that the veil would be transcended and freedom achieved (162). In the same spirit, Du Bois rebuts those who assume that marginalized races are forever doomed to backwardness and who deny the hope expressed in the sorrow songs. Instead, he calls such an

assumption ignorant, writing that White American notions of progress are limited and that Black communities have always been foundational to America’s infrastructure and culture (162). Du Bois ties this critique to a larger critique of sociological knowledge, challenging the assumptions of Western scholarship to account for the contributions of Black communities in the American nation-building project (162). He then ends the chapter with a final sorrow song looking forward to freedom and a prayer to the reader for truth and righteousness (163–4).

Some of these themes from *The Souls of Black Folk* reemerge in “Sociology Hesitant,” written two years later and ostensibly addressing a different subject entirely. In this article, Du Bois critiques the seeming incoherence of sociology as a field and suggests a new framework through which to analyze human and social behavior. He writes that as Western civilization has developed through literature, economics, and imperial expansion, interest in tracing and understanding human behavior has increased. While early sociologists treated society as the unit of analysis, attempting to identify patterns and similarities in human interaction, such a focus ultimately led to a stark disconnect from the very people making up those societies (39)—and to metaphysical musings about the history of social ideas rather than a systematic study of the behaviors of society’s constituent parts (40). Du Bois argues that this disconnect results from the always-unpredictable and difficult-to-account-for character of human behavior (40), which remain even as sociologists posit so-called scientific models and patterns to explain human society. But rather than accounting for this unpredictability, sociologists, in accordance with the dominance of empirical physical science, dismissed it—instead replacing the changeable individual with a rationalized economic man or denying the presence of unpredictability at all (42). And while some scholars of the time did in fact conduct quantitative sociological work that engaged with uncertainty, Du Bois writes, the discipline itself still suffered from a lack of coherence and alignment to the physical sciences (43). To mediate between these predictable and unpredictable aspects of human life, Du Bois suggests a new model in which the physical sciences and sociology are complementary, with the former studying natural law and the latter studying human wills (43). Sociology, therefore, is defined as the field through which scholars study “the limits of chance in human conduct” (44)—that is, the field through which they understand and track the unpredictability of human behavior. In this way, Du Bois presents a more coherent vision for sociological analysis which not only bridges the qualitative and the quantitative, the social and the physical, but also yet again questions the foundations undergirding such categories in the first place.

It is precisely this challenge to White American epistemologies that is so essential to Du Bois's project. Indeed, while his ostensible political project throughout the first two texts is the classical education of Black communities, what he is really after, as *The Souls of Black Folk* and "Sociology Hesitant" reveal, is a renegotiation of the foundational assumptions of White American thought. In more specific terms, Du Bois positions the essentialist Black culture he defines in "The Conservation of Races" as an epistemology oppositional to White American thought, providing a radical critique of White American knowledge and truth production in *The Souls of Black Folk* which he later solidifies in race-neutral terms in "Sociology Hesitant." Indeed, he establishes his racial claims as epistemological ones early in "The Conservation of Races," when he describes racial differences as "spiritual" and "psychic," related to a people's "conscious striving together for certain ideals of life." Within his formulation, these ideals are the foundation for every race's particular mode of knowledge production, yielding nations that variously hold rigid elements like "constitutional liberty and commercial freedom," "science and philosophy," and "literature and art" as basic units of their collective psyche. For the Black race, Du Bois writes, this epistemological underpinning is the "touch of pathos and humor amid [America's] mad money-getting plutocracy," which has yielded a "subtle sense of song" and softened and enriched America's sense of self. Crucially, he defines this Black epistemology not as a subset or part of the larger White American epistemology, but rather as something separate from it, casting it as "amid" that larger epistemology and writing that such a contribution is one that "no other race can make." It is this Black epistemology through which Du Bois launches his critique of White American epistemologies in *The Souls of Black Folk*.

The Souls of Black Folk, then, is not only a sociological text that uniquely studies Black life; it also presents and operates as a critique of White American epistemologies. In the text, Du Bois elaborates on the notions of epistemological difference he established in "The Conservation of Races," portraying the divide between Black and White epistemologies in an even starker light through the image of the veil. In invoking this image, Du Bois not only argues that the two races exist within different epistemologies; he also declares that existing within the White American epistemology precludes access to the Black epistemological world. His project in *The Souls of Black Folk*, then, is to raise the veil between these two epistemologies, "that you may view faintly its deeper recesses" (5), which he proposes to do by inserting elements of the Black epistemology that challenge the very foundations of the White epistemology itself. For example, when he writes of "the bright ideals of the past—physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands" (15) that have for so

long dictated Western notions of knowledge and truth, he complicates this notion of freedom, arguing that "we black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness" (16). Indeed, he explicitly states that Black culture poses "a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great republic" (16). Later in the text, he again critiques assumptions about "the meaning of progress, the meaning of 'swift' and 'slow' in human doing, and the limits of human perfectability" (162), describing them as assumptions that are "veiled" (162) within the White American epistemology. Perhaps most radically, he challenges White American notions of ownership and cultural production, asking, "Your country? How came it yours?" (162) and arguing that those who have given "[their] song, [their] toil, [their] cheer, and warning" (163) to the nation—all things he views as fundamental to Black epistemologies—are constitutive of the country, not just those who settled it, governed it, and profited from it, as White notions of progress would dictate. In this way, Du Bois explicitly sets out on a project to undermine White American epistemologies via the incursion of Black ones.

But *The Souls of Black Folk* does not only accomplish this task through its explicit content; the form of the text itself acts as a critique of the White American scientific norms of the time. Du Bois writes in the first chapter that the account of "the striving in the souls of black folks" he is giving is told "in many ways" (16), and continues in the rest of the text to use poetry, songs, nonfiction personal narrative, and fictional stories to encapsulate what he views as the Black experience. For a sociological text that claims to be illuminating a social problem, such a technique is highly unusual: Du Bois explains it himself as a way to include in the text "the greatest gift of the Negro people" (155). Indeed, he writes at length about the value of including the sorrow songs, which he describes as a "haunting echo of these weird old songs in which the soul of the black slave spoke to men" (154). In such a statement, he indicates that the form of the text is designed to bridge the epistemological gap between Black and White by resuscitating the very soul of those whose voices are veiled. In addition to this bridge, the inclusion of the songs interrupts the White narrative of how "life was joyous to the black slave, careless and happy" (156) that has been fundamental to the broader White American epistemology that rests on notions of America as a land of liberty for all people. Such an interruption is similarly the case in other chapters like "Of the Coming of John," where Du Bois enters the mind of the Black protagonist to portray him as subject rather than object as he is consistently portrayed in White American epistemologies. *The Souls of Black Folk*, then, not only operates as an interruption to White American epistemologies in its content; it also operates as such in its form, subverting rational White norms of sociological analysis.

Du Bois takes this subversion—and his broader epistemological challenge—a step further in “Sociology Hesitant,” expanding it from the racial context into broader sociological terms. Indeed, his discussion of the tensions between the observable laws of physical science and the uncertainties of human behavior echo the contrast he drew in *The Souls of Black Folk* between rigid foundations of White epistemology like physical freedom and political power on the one hand, and the more tenuous and subjective tenets of Black epistemology, such as “simple faith and reverence” (16), on the other. In extrapolating from this contrast to devise a new definition for sociology, Du Bois interrupts the epistemological project undertaken by many historical sociologists which assumed an unchanging and concrete truth about society and studied it as such. Indeed, Du Bois’s interjection into the field of sociology is so groundbreaking precisely because it centers chance and uncertainty, ideas ostensibly contradictory to sociological scholarship’s historical focus on fixed truth and laws. Just as he hopes to temporarily lift the veil, then, Du Bois in this sociological project hopes to reconcile “two separate realms of knowledge, speaking a mutually unintelligent language” (43)—those of “the science of man and physical science” (43). In this way, Du Bois’s “Sociology Hesitant” allows him to expand his previous work beyond the racial realm, revealing that his political and intellectual projects hold at their core an epistemological project that subverts dominant tenets of White American epistemologies using ideas and themes from Black ones.

But Du Bois, of course, was never simply a theorist; if he was interested in making epistemological claims, then he was also always interested in their potential to fundamentally transform ways of thinking and acting in the real world—and it was this dualism and complementarity that remains so essential. This tendency is evident even before his project became a sociological one: in “The Conservation of Races,” after all, he sets an intellectual agenda for “practical” work that “[has] direct bearing upon the situation of the Negro.” But the project did not reach its full potential until it became simultaneously political and intellectual, until it became a call for pluralism, for example, that itself interrogated the grounds upon which White American assimilationist notions of that pluralism rested. Within this Du Boisian formulation, to make claims challenging dominant White American epistemologies was also necessarily to begin envisioning practical alternatives to them, whether via his Negro Academy or via a sociological project that dialectically integrates both the natural sciences and human uncertainty. The recourse for Du Bois the activist, then, could never be the purely political project of working within an unjust system, leaving its assumptions unchallenged. The very White American epistemological tenets like nationalism and individualistic capitalism that underlay that system

had to be challenged, and to interrupt them using alternative epistemological frameworks was the only way forward. The solution, therefore, could not be an uncritical political appropriation of capitalistic success, or Black militarist mimicry: it had to be a more radical interruption that married both political and intellectual critiques.

Such a politico-epistemological project has become increasingly salient in today’s era, where the alternately radical and liberal hopes of the late 20th century have faded into a global malaise. In this political climate, activists have been increasingly calling not only for changes within the system, but also questioning the ideological foundations of the system itself. Whether it is Black Lives Matter organizers questioning the basis and history of prisons and the police force, indigenous organizers interrogating the basis of land seizure and the existence of the United States at all, or undocumented organizers calling for a reimagination of borders and the nation-state, contemporary movements for liberation are constantly interrogating the fundamental frameworks upon which the current world is built in addition to challenging the policies within those frameworks. Du Bois’s project was similarly critical, moving beyond mere structural changes—whether past, like emancipation, or present, like educational reforms—to an intellectual evaluation of the epistemologies upon which the structures themselves were based. Indeed, for both Du Bois and these activists, these political and intellectual projects necessarily involve the leveraging of unique (often racialized) experiences and epistemological insights to interrupt dominant White American epistemological norms. This view from behind the veil, as it were, acts as a challenge not only interpersonally between discussants of different races, but also to the dominant episteme’s ideas of truth and morality. In other words, Du Bois’s call to transcend the veil did not merely urge interruption of White narratives with Black ones, but also interruption of scientific-rationalist ideas with those that embrace human arts and uncertainties. Similarly, many modern social movements urge not only a re-centering of marginalized voices, but also a subversion of the epistemological standards (i.e. rationalism, individualism, nationalism, the profit motive) that delegitimize those voices and experiences in both academic and political spheres. And while Du Bois did use an essentialized notion of race-based epistemology that may perhaps be problematic for social constructivists today, the fact remains that his framework for employing and introducing alternative epistemologies—whether Native, subaltern, or otherwise—can make critical interventions in and against the dominant Western order, and help us all re-envision the horizon of political possibility.

Over the course of nine years and these three texts, then, W.E.B. Du Bois outlined and built on a political project that held epistemological interruption and

transformation at its core. Beginning with the essentialism that established these epistemologies in “The Conservation of Races,” followed by the confrontation and interruption in form and content between Black and White epistemologies in *The Souls of Black Folk*, and concluded by the expansion of this confrontation and interruption beyond racial lines in “Sociology Hesitant,” Du Bois clearly makes an argument that transcends concrete policy issues like combating crime in Black communities and the education of the talented tenth. Rather than simply working within an unjust system, or advocating a replication of White American modes of political and intellectual power, Du Bois’s project was a visionary one, calling his readers to interrogate the foundations of that system and to examine both political and intellectual alternatives to it from outside of White American epistemologies. Groundbreaking in both activism and scholarship, Du Bois’s work set the groundwork for many similar interventions calling for a politico-epistemological reassessment of the status quo. From Black Lives Matter to free borders, these movements are simultaneously questioning systems and their foundations, sometimes yielding interventions—in the spirit of those of Du Bois—that imagine new worlds from within different epistemologies. And given the political climate of the day, as democrats become increasingly cynical and progress remains elusive, these interventions, it seems, may be more important today than ever.

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¡EL CHISME! Gossip as a Barrier to Contraceptive Care for Adolescents in Urban Nicaragua

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Cristina is a senior from Harvard College studying Sociology and Government in Latin America. Ethnically Nicaraguan, Taiwanese, and Scottish, Cristina grew up in Managua, Nicaragua. On campus, Cristina is highly involved in Harvard Association Cultivating Inter-American Democracy and the Harvard Organization for Latin America. As a potential professor and researcher, she hopes to further democracy in her country by promoting women's rights.

Abstract

Contraceptive care is widely and cheaply available in Nicaragua, yet for the last four decades, the country has had one of the highest teenage pregnancy rates in Latin America (World Bank, 2015). The purpose of this study was to understand the barriers that exist for contraceptive care among youth aged 14 to 19 in the peri-urban community of Nejapa in the city of Managua, Nicaragua. In 2016, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted as part of a community-based participatory research (CBPR) intervention for improving access to contraceptive care for teenage girls. Interviewees revealed that the greatest barrier to contraceptive access was not lack of motivation to higher education, lack of knowledge about contraceptives, nor religious conviction as discussed in previous research, but rather a lack of privacy in clinics and gossiping community members. My positionality as a young Latina living in the same neighborhood as the participants, afforded me the trust I needed to understand alternative narratives and reflect the lived experiences of the girls. These insights have important implications for future policies and programs created to reduce teenage pregnancy.

Acknowledgements

Funding was provided by the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program (MMUF). I would like to thank Dr. Jocelyn Viterna, Harvard Professor of Sociology, for her generous mentorship throughout the study. I would also like to thank the community of Nejapa, Nicaragua and all the girls who opened their lives to me for this project. Finally, I would like to especially thank AMOS Health and Hope and Dr. Laura Chanchien for helping facilitate the process of CBPR.

Introduction

According to the United Nations Population Fund, Nicaragua has the highest teen pregnancy rate in Latin America. Almost three of every 10 women between the ages of 20 and 24 had their first pregnancy before the age of 18 (World Bank 2015). Teenage pregnancy can have drastic economic and social consequences on families furthering the cycle of poverty (WHO 2014). Previous research on adolescent pregnancy in Nicaragua has found that adolescent girls face numerous barriers to contraceptive care including lack of perceived gravity in having a child, lack of sex education, religious upbringing, or home instability (Berglund 1997; FNUAP 1999; Sato 2005). Despite significant research and numerous interventions, teenage pregnancy rates in Nicaragua have remained in the 20% to 30% range for more than 20 years (Nicasalud 2016). While teenage pregnancy is a complex problem with multiple factors, the lack of effective solutions in Nicaragua may in part be due to the fact that research has traditionally been done by either foreigners or adult Nicaraguans. A critical voice is missing at the table-- that of the youth themselves.

As a young Latina woman from the community of Nejapa, I am part of a longer term youth empowerment program with the non-profit Fundación AMOS which uses the framework of community based participatory research (CBPR) methods. CBPR is defined as:

A collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings. CBPR begins with a research topic of importance to the community and has the aim of combining knowledge with action and achieving social change to improve health outcomes and eliminate health disparities. (Kellogg 2007)

The CBPR approach is a way to bring teenage girls to the table, and is the framework within which my research is positioned.

Methods

This ethnographic sociological study was approved by the Harvard University Ethics Review Board and carried out in Sector III in the community of Nejapa in Nicaragua in the months of June and July in 2016. The Economic Urban Census of Nicaragua (ENDESA 2014) states that Barrio Nejapa has an estimated population of 4,148 of which 600 are youth under the age of 18. In keeping with CBPR principles, this research began by working with the community of Nejapa to identify their strengths and needs. The community and youth leaders identified teenage pregnancy as an issue of importance through Photovoice—a participatory methodology that helps participants identify

priority needs through critical analysis of photos they take of their communities (See Figure A) (Wang 1997). A research agenda which included in-depth qualitative interviews was developed with both the staff and community leaders.

Female participants between the ages of 14 and 19 were then identified with the help of a community health worker through convenience sampling. Verbal informed consent was obtained from each participant and no individuals refused to participate in the study. Interviews were conducted in Spanish in a private location and lasted between 30 and 90 minutes (n= 20). For the purpose of this paper, any quotations used were translated into English. The interviews were transcribed, coded and analyzed using qualitative coding analysis and grounded theory.

Additionally, as part of the ethnography, I lived in Nejapa with a host family for two months taking field notes on my personal experience, positionality, and the experience of other teenage girls in the community of Nejapa.

Results

Contrary to narratives found in the literature (Berglund 1997; FNUAP 1999; Zelaya 1996), my research revealed that the teenage girls interviewed all aspired to education. While they believe in God, they did not all see religion as a barrier to accessing contraception. They had knowledge of contraception, but saw *chisme*—"gossip"—in the clinics and in their community as the main barrier to accessing contraceptive care. Figure B provides the full scope of barriers mentioned during the interviews and the respective percent of girls who mentioned the barrier. Below I describe the key themes that emerged in the study.

Education

"*Quiero ser alguien en la vida*"—"I want to be someone in life"

While literature states that girls are not afraid of getting pregnant or even have a desire to get pregnant, the 20 interviews demonstrate that girls do believe that pregnancy is serious and that their priorities are not in creating a family (FNUAP 1999). Girls described that getting pregnant would be "*catastrophic*," involve a lot of "*crying*," and would result in "*feeling bad and powerless*." All girls wanted to continue on to higher education and discussed their plans to stay in school. To many girls, education was equivalent with *ser alguien en la vida* or to "be someone in life." The girls perceived their ability to be someone of importance in their community only if they acquired an education. Furthermore, when asked about what an ideal Nejapa woman would look like, none placed emphasis on having a baby or even retaining physical appearances. Instead, girls emphasized an ideal woman would "*have a good job and would be educated*."

Religion

"*Creo en Dios pero...*"—"I believe in God but..."

Previous research identifies religiosity as an important barrier to contraceptive care (Berglund 1997; Zelaya 1996). While 100% of females "*believe in God*," 60% of those females followed their statement with "...*but I don't like church*." Only 40% actually attend church once a week voluntarily. As my Baptist host family explained to me, religious means "*you go to church every week; if not people talk*." According to one community health worker, failing to meet this minimum requirement of church means exclusion from the religious community. While religiosity may hold an influential position in the community structures and culture, for most girls religion did not play a key role in their personal lives. Furthermore, when asked about their opinion of the church on contraceptives, several girls stated "*God would understand*" if they were using contraceptives because they "*could not afford another mouth to feed*."

Knowledge

"*Gorritas e Inyecciones*"—"Condoms and Injections"

Of all girls interviewed, 85% had knowledge of at least three or more kinds of contraceptives from sex education at school and 75% understood they could be acquired either at a nearby pharmacy, the AMOS Clinic in Nejapa, or the Nejapa Ministry of Health Government clinic (MINSA). The most common contraceptive method the girls knew were injections followed by condoms and pills. This is supported by the national Nicaraguan statistics, which also tell of a similar preference and knowledge of contraceptive use (ENDESA 2014). Girls stated they had learned about contraceptives during science class in high school or by watching a family member such as an aunt, sister, or mother use them. Additionally, the average score on the *gorrita* knowledge test adapted from the WHO (Cleland) was 70%, which demonstrates that most girls had a good understanding of how to use a condom.

"Chisme"—Gossip

"*La gente habla*"—"The people talk"

Mentioned by 90% of teenage girls interviewed, gossip was the most powerful barrier to accessing contraceptives. Specifically, adolescents said nurses would gossip to others about their sexuality and their problems, which led to girls distrusting clinics. One girl stated,

"*I really don't know but I would not feel very comfortable talking about my life [to the doctor].... Sincerely, I would feel very uncomfortable because the people of this community will look at you weird if you do something [out of the norm] and tell other people.*"

Another girl said that it would give her “shame” to talk about her intimate things with the doctor because, “*Supposedly, as I say, we shouldn’t trust in many people [in the community].*” There were mixed reviews when it came to clinics—some girls believed that their doctors would treat them very nicely and kindly and others thought they would treat them like “sluts” for asking for contraceptives.

Participants also believed gossip would spread. One narrative that emerged from the interviews was that of a woman who went to the clinic after she gave birth to pick up more birth control.

“The whole community was talking. They said ‘Imagine! She was just pregnant and now she is going to start having sex again after so little time?! SLUT!’”

Another girl explained that if she were to go shopping, people would watch her “buying stuff.” She explains further that,

“The barrio is horrible because the reality is that there is always one person that is gossiping. You never know if they will say you bought this or you bought that.”

The watching eyes of neighbors play an important role in ensuring that girls follow the standards that the community has determined—that girls should not access contraceptives.

Discussion

Of all the barriers to contraceptive care mentioned, gossip was by far the biggest barrier. Gossip can likely be attributed to the structure and history of the community of Nejapa. Local legend has it that the Nejapa community began with one family settling on the land a few decades ago. Today, many people are related to each other in some way. These family ties allow gossip to travel extraordinarily quickly, as previous studies on gossip have found (Lavery 1974). One girl comments that, “*gossip can [even] spread through the community in 3 hours—everyone will know your secrets.*” In fact, gossip persists as a stereotype for Latinos (Paz 2009), and more recent studies confirm that lack of confidentiality in Nicaraguan clinics is a major deterrent for adolescent girls (Dunaev and Stevens 2016; Lion 2004; Townes 2017).

In fact, the culture of gossip creates a situation akin to the Panopticon. The latter was an architectural plan for prisons designed in the 1800s by Jeremy Bentham. In a Panopticon prison, inmates see a tall outline of a tower from which they are watched, but the inmate cannot verify when he is being looked at in any one moment because the tower glass is tinted. Michel Foucault (1977) used the Panopticon to explain social control—power must be both visible and unverifiable. Gossip is both of these—it can be seen passing from person to person but it is difficult to verify

when you are being watched and gossiped about. In the world of Nejapa, a tower of adults watches teenage girls and through gossip, the adults enforce the sociocultural norms of Nicaraguan society, namely: 1) *Machismo*—belief that men should be dominant and have multiple sex partners and engage in unprotected sex; 2) *Simpatía*—which promotes traditional female role emphasizing sexual submission; and 3) *Familismo*—traditional family values that conflict with sexuality in adolescent girls (Marín and Marín 1991).

The personal narratives of the girls suggest a gossip-powered panopticon and the significant concern that they would be seen as “sluts” if they attempted to access contraceptives. Especially in a neighborhood seemingly engineered to proliferate gossip, no one can be trusted—not even the nurses or doctors who administer care.

This research has implications for the development of policies and interventions to reduce barriers to contraceptive care for teenage girls in Nicaragua. My unique position as an outsider and insider allow me to be a “bridge” to access information (Muhammad et al. 2015), in part because I share age, ethnicity, and geographic space with the girls I interviewed and trust from having worked in youth empowerment in the community. However, I am also an outsider as a student at a prestigious university in the United States, affording me power and privilege due to my class and educational position. I am acutely aware of this positionality and committed to use it to collaborate with the communities. To address the complex issue of teenage pregnancy, this study showed the usefulness of including the voices of the teenage girls. The study results have already been shared with the community clinics in the community of Nejapa, and these clinics have already taken steps, such as sealing all check-up rooms so that people in the waiting room do not hear the doctor counseling patients, to facilitate a greater level of confidentiality.

Conclusions

Nicaragua continues to struggle with high rates of teenage pregnancy. Using a CBPR approach in the community of Nejapa to study barriers to contraceptive use from the perspective of the youth, revealed that girls were highly motivated for their futures, did not see religion as a prominent barrier to accessing contraceptives, and had a good understanding of contraceptives, contrary to what has been previously shown in the literature. In this peri-urban community, the ultimate barrier to contraceptives for teenage girls lies in local chisme and a lack of privacy in the clinic—a situation further exacerbated by the community history. If we are to address the complex, multi-faceted issue of teenage pregnancy, a research agenda should be developed with the participation of teenage girls—ultimately, to improve opportunities for teenage girls in Nicaragua to reach their dreams.



Figure 1. The photo the youth took during Photovoice to represent unwanted teenage pregnancy in Nejapa.

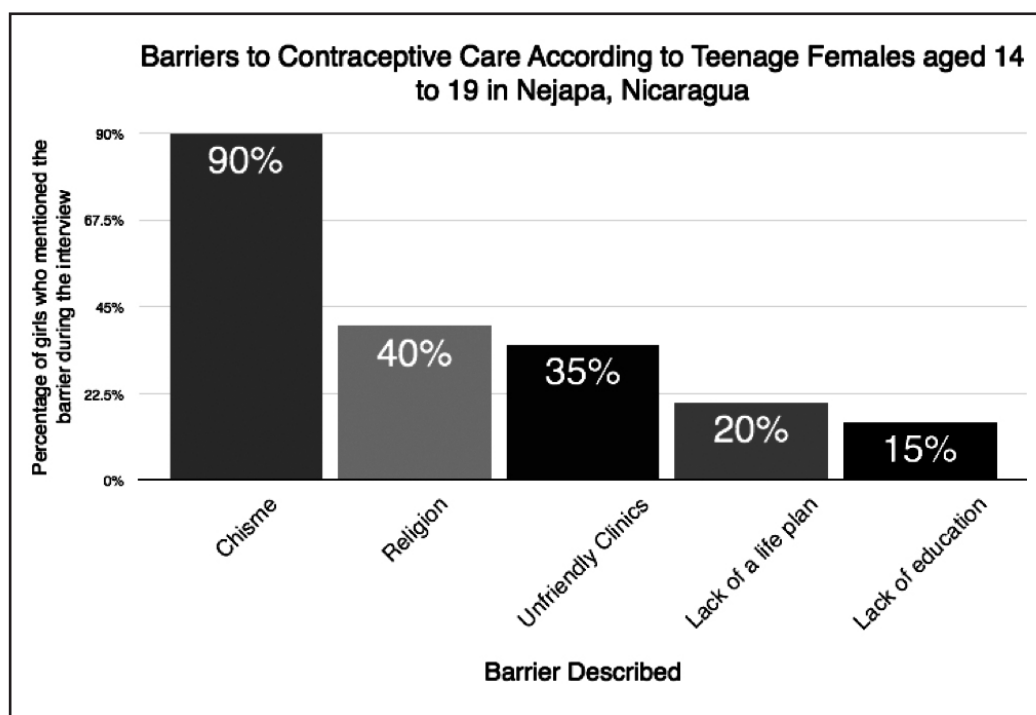


Figure 2. Barriers to Contraceptive Care According to Teenage Females Aged 14 to 19 in Nejapa, Nicaragua (n=20)

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“One of the Boys”: How Female Journalists Take a Credible Stance On-Air

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Shelby Perea is a recent alumna of the University of New Mexico. She graduated summa cum laude from the Communication and Journalism department. While at UNM, Shelby researched linguistic phenomenon performed by broadcast journalists. Now, she is a reporter in Albuquerque.

Abstract

Like many other fields, journalism was historically male-dominated. At a time when more women are becoming reporters and humans of 2017 encourage inclusivity, are there any lingering effects of a male-dominated history? This research aims to answer that question in terms of the linguistic phenomena of pitch alteration. It establishes whether Albuquerque, female broadcast journalists are manipulating their pitch on air versus off air. It also aims to understand why in situ of a broader historical and cultural context.

Acknowledgements

I am so grateful to have had mentors who helped me create a research thesis out of a rudimentary observation I noticed at work.

How do viewers of broadcast news determine if journalists are trustworthy? For effective news delivery, viewers must believe the journalist presenting them with information is credible and, therefore, journalists must present themselves as credible. This paper analyzes the linguistic patterns of female journalists in broadcast news—who make up 39 percent of the news workforce (ASNE Newsroom, 2017)—with the goal of seeing whether those linguistic patterns contribute to female journalists’ credibility.

Working in a television newsroom for nearly three years, I had a firsthand account of the linguistics shifts that occurred on air versus off air. I had once asked one of the reporters if she had been trained to talk a certain way for television. “No, you just pick up how a reporter is supposed to sound,” she told me. She also emphasized that no one is going to take a female reporter seriously if her voice is “high and squeaky.” After this conversation, I sought to investigate if women in the newsroom were changing their voices and, if so, to discover why. The reason for this research moved past personal curiosity. Rather, it contributes to a growing conversation on male-dominated perceptions of authority and women’s attempts to verbally navigate and assert themselves that space.

Through statistical analysis, this paper aims to answer whether female broadcast journalists in Albuquerque lower their pitch on air. It also aims to understand female broadcast journalists’ on-air performance through focus group interviews. Through the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data, this investigation explores a preliminary hypothesis: Female journalists are lowering their pitch and the goal of this linguistic change is to sound more credible.

Pitch and gender have been studied in a few different contexts. In 1994, Spender found society perceives a connection between low pitch and masculinity and, similarly, high pitch and femininity. However, Spender (1994) points out that this notion is not completely biologically enforced because pitch varies among men and women. Goodwin (2012) adds to this conversation with the study of learned gender roles in children. Goodwin (2012) shows that boys and girls are actively and consciously imitating gender norms of language. She found that girls were using higher pitch and boys were using lower pitch even though none of the children had undergone puberty (Goodwin, 2012). In *Man Made Language*, the authors studied women in leadership roles, and go so far as to say that if a woman “talks like a woman she no longer represents herself as a manager” (Ehrlich, Meyerhoff, & Holmes, 2014, p. 39).

Literature Review

Pitch is a commonplace aspect of language heard in everyday conversation. However, pitch and other small aspects of speech can also serve as a linguistic marker for broader aspects of identity. Linguists and linguistic anthropologists have studied pitch in situ of culture for years and have come to the consensus that pitch can signify an individual’s culture or their membership in a particular cultural group. Researchers have also come to the consensus that language is a way to show cultural attitudes both verbally and nonverbally, as well as intentionally and subconsciously (Jaffe, 2009). Literature from gender studies, linguistics, communications, and journalism contribute to this research.

Slobe (2016) studied the way women in a sorority use raised pitch for certain words as a linguistic marker to signify group exclusivity. Slobe (2016) analyzed intonational forms among women in a Texas sorority and how the intonational forms indicated rank and inclusiveness within the sorority. Similarly, Mendoza-Denton (2008) showed how certain utterances can also be indicators of gang affiliation and leadership within those gangs. Podesva (2007) showed how men in the homosexual community use “falsetto” in constructing a gay persona. Podesva wrote, “Falsetto bears an expressive meaning, and... this meaning can be used to construct a diva persona and perhaps a gay identity” (2007, p. 497). Each of

these researchers found how different groups altered pitch as a way to assert an identity.

Bucholtz (2004) introduced setting as a vital component of the study of linguistic markers of identity. She asserted that identity was perhaps more malleable than understood previously and may change based on location and situation. Bucholtz (2004) highlighted “markedness” in terms of identity; she explained this as the hierarchical structuring of differences. In addition, she showed how markedness may change based on the environment and that researchers must begin to take this into account to fully understand identity *in situ*.

Researchers have also begun to study the use of language and linguistic markers as a way to take social positions on identity. Specifically, Jaffe looked at “stance” and defined it as “taking a position with respect to the form or the content of one’s utterances” (2009, p. 13). He related this to identity, and specifically gender-identity, by showing how people compare and contrast their identities with others and then formulate a position on it.

However, existing research has not looked at pitch variation or stancetaking in mass media. Further study on how female broadcast journalists use pitch and stancetaking will add to the field of literature by showing whether women are altering their pitch in a newsroom context in order to perform societally constructed credible behaviours.

Methodology

Through a mixed-methods approach, this research analyzes Albuquerque female journalists’ pitch to determine if they altered their voices on air. Twenty-nine on-air pitch tracks were recorded and compared to the average female, conversational pitch at 525 Hertz or HZ (Male and female voices, 2017). Focus groups were then conducted to infer why female journalists were altering their pitch.

Statistical Analysis

Twenty-nine pitch tracks were taken from previously recorded newscasts available on the websites of *KRQE News 13*, *KOB 4*, and *KOAT 7*. In broadcast news, there are interviews and other sound effects and sound bites that would potentially alter the data. However, only newscasts with isolated segments of speaking by the reporters were analyzed. An equal amount of hard and soft news was studied to avoid subject matter as a confounding variable, where hard news is defined as stories related to the accusation or conviction of a crime and soft news as any feature story that does not involve any accused or convicted offense of a crime.

The average female pitch of 525 HZ was used as the hypothesized population mean for the Z-test (Male and female voices, 2017). In future studies, the ideal hypothesized population mean would be to interview a larger focus group and collect an off-air pitch average from the larger sample or to interview each journalist from the pre-recorded news segments off the air. The data was measured using PRAAT, an online analysis software. For this study, PRAAT was used for pitch analysis. The average of the 29 pitch tracks, 222.10 HZ, was compared to the 525 HZ population mean. The sample variance was used to infer the population variance, 284.82 HZ.

Focus Groups

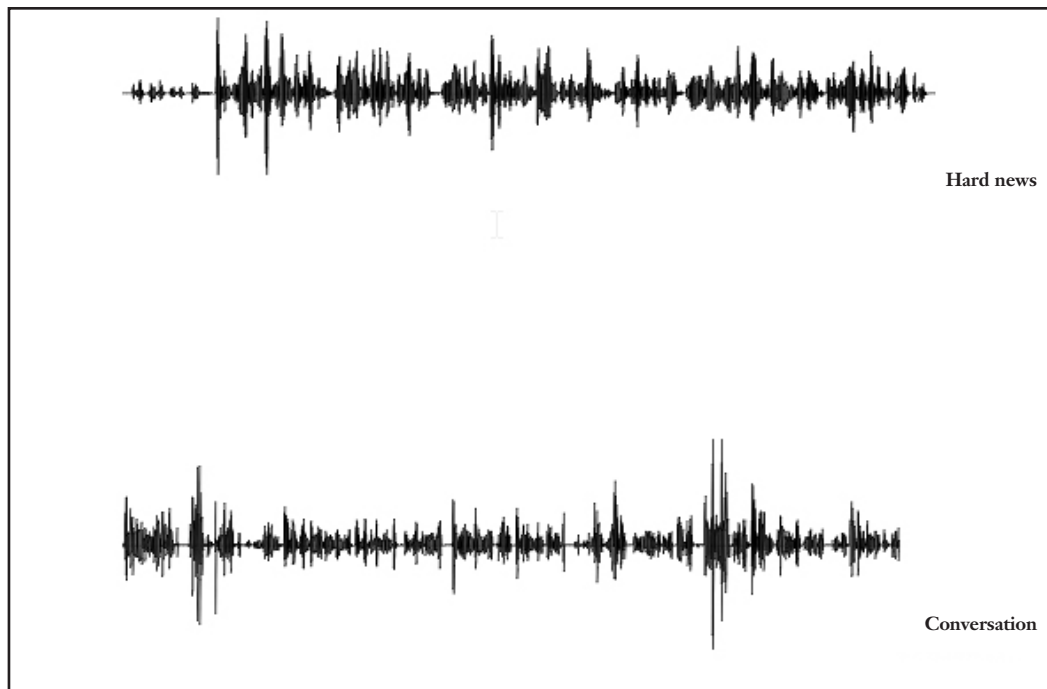
Four journalists participated in focus groups designed for two purposes: to study the reporters’ pitch on air versus off air, and to ask them a series of questions about their pitch. They were told the intent of the study was to analyze their facial expressions on air so the data would not be biased. Each reporter was asked to read two different scripts as if they were delivering a newscast. Both scripts were about a park; one was a crime-oriented story, operationalized as hard news:

“Albuquerque police are on the scene of a possible stabbing in Downtown Albuquerque. Calls came in around 10 p.m. last night, reporting an altercation and shouting. Police say they came to the Sunny Hills Park on 8th Street and Central to find a man with what appears to be stab wounds. He was taken to the hospital in critical condition. Police say information is limited at this time and the investigation is ongoing. They did say that there are no suspects at this time.”

The other was about the grand opening of the park, operationalized as soft news:

“Albuquerque residents will have a new reason to get outside today. This morning, a new park was unveiled in Downtown Albuquerque. Located near Central and 8th Street, the park is equipped with new play equipment that promotes exercise for kids and adults, indoor restroom areas, picnic stations, water fountains, and even a dog play area. The mayor cut the ribbon today and said he was excited to give Albuquerque families a place to have fun and come together. The park was paid for by a tax increase that was passed late last year. Back to you.”

Then the journalists were asked to share a personal experience about visiting a park. In total, twelve pitch tracks were collected from the focus groups. Figure 1 shows an example of the variance between a hard news pitch track and a conversational pitch tract recorded from one focus group participant.



(Figure 1: Inflection and pitch variation that occurs on air and off air)

After recording, the journalists were asked five questions:

- Do journalists speak differently on air vs. off the air? Why?
- How were you trained to speak like a journalist?
- What does a credible journalist sound like?
- How would you train a new journalist to sound like a broadcast reporter?
- Who is a female journalist that you believe to sound credible?

At the end of the interview process, the groups were debriefed about the true purpose of the study: to study their pitch variation.

Results and Conclusions

The statistical analysis found the Z-value at 1.645 for the one-tailed distribution is statistically significant at a p-level of 0.05. From this analysis, I was able to prove female journalists are altering and lowering their pitch on air at a statistically significant level. According to the focus groups, this is occurring intentionally and with the goal of sounding credible, which may be due to the correlation between masculinity and credibility (Feinberg et al., 2014).

The preliminary hypothesis—journalists are lowering their pitch on air—was confirmed. However, the causation of the pitch change is not concrete. One theory, as supported by linguistic anthropology, is the journalists are taking a “stance” on femininity and are perpetuating an association between credibility and masculinity when they deliver the news with a lower pitch (Jaffe, 2009). If journalists perceive this correlation, as the focus groups indicate they do, then they are taking a negative stance on femininity and opting for more masculine pitch to be aligned with the credibility construct.

The linguistic phenomenon exists in situ of a historically, male-dominated field (Armstrong, 2014). However, it is important to note that most, if not all professional fields, were historically male-dominated because women were not permitted to enter the workforce until years after men. Broadcast journalism is a unique workforce in which the journalists’ voices are heard by the mass public; their messages are directly altered by delivery; and credibility in journalism is crucial in order to achieve the goal of being a trustworthy source for current events.

In response to the interview questions, there was a clear consensus from the focus group participants as to why pitch changed. One participant said journalists change their voice “to sound credible” and another said that they do so “to sound like an expert.” A third said she changed her voice “to sound eloquent.” The participants were steadfast in their beliefs that no one would listen to a journalist who sounded “squeaky” or “like a child,” so, changing their voice was

crucial to being perceived as an expert on a topic. The participants seemed to be taking a rejective stance on femininity's credibility by performing masculine—and, according to the group, “credible”—speech tactics, such as lowering their pitch (Jaffe, 2009).

For these participants, pitch change was intentional and done to sound credible. Participant statements included: “high pitches aren’t soothing,” “tone does change and it should change,” and “You change your voice so people believe you know what you are talking about.” One journalist said she must sound authoritative since “you are telling the public something they need to know.” She also said, “[Journalists] know we have a certain type of news voice.” When asked why lower pitch was associated with seriousness and credibility, one replied, “That’s just how it is.”

There was less consensus about how the female journalists learned to speak this way. One said students in journalism classes were taught to be clear, concise, loud, and to talk slowly. She emphasized both men and women were taught to speak the same way for broadcast. The other participants said reporters learn on the job, listen to other coworkers, and get advice from people in the newsroom. Each of the participants mentioned that their voice might change as they gain more experience in the field of journalism. They agreed that as one gains years of experience, they would “sound more like a journalist.” These responses indicate creating a news persona is a “learned behavior”—a result of mirroring other journalists in a newsroom environment (Coates, 2004).

The data collected from the focus group was critical to gain an understanding of the pitch variation. The statistical tests alone determined if a change was occurring, but interviewing the journalists first-hand created an opportunity to understand why the change could be happening. The clear consensus was enough to infer that pitch variation exists to cater to the societal construction of credibility and its connotation to masculinity (Bachmann, Harpe & Loke, 2014).

More research can and should be done on broadcast journalists’ alteration of pitch. This study was focused on Albuquerque, which limited the amount of data that could be collected as well as the size of the focus groups. Albuquerque is a top 50 national television market, in terms of households using television, as measured by The Nielsen Company, though there are only three major TV newsrooms in the market. In a city with more stations, larger newsrooms or a higher market ranking, the data may be different. A larger sample size should be collected in the future and in other markets to infer the universality of the findings in this paper. Furthermore, studies should be done on the effectiveness of this linguistic phenomenon by studying viewers’ perceptions of female broadcast journalists’ credibility.

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Race, Toxic Waste, and Environmental Justice: Exploring Critiques of the Disproportionate Siting Theory and the Wider Practice of Environmental Justice Research

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Sacha-Rose Phillips is a graduate of Carleton College, where she pursued a degree in Environmental Studies with a concentration in Educational Studies. A native of Kingston, Jamaica, Sacha-Rose is passionate about issues of environmental justice, urban development and indigenous land use rights in the English-speaking Caribbean. This fall, she enters her final year as a dual-degree student at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy and the School for Environment and Sustainability at the University of Michigan.

Abstract

This article explores critiques of the disproportionate siting theory and general approaches to environmental justice research, particularly those laid out in Christopher Foreman's piece *The Promise and Peril of Environmental Justice*. Foreman and others claim that there is not sufficient data and reliable research to determine conclusively that historically marginalized racial groups and more specifically, African-Americans are disproportionately affected by toxic waste facilities and sites in the United States. He states that socio-economic, cultural, and lifestyle practices are likely the root cause of the health and safety challenges experienced by these communities. However, I argue that with more robust methodologies and techniques research shows that minority communities continue to be disproportionately affected by toxic waste and other environmental hazards.

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One of the most ubiquitous claims in Environmental Justice (EJ) scholarship is that toxic waste disposal facilities are predominantly sited in economically disadvantaged and minority communities (Bullard, Mohai, Saha, & Wright, 2008; Taylor, 2014). Due to the contamination of water, air, and soil, the presence of Treatment, Storage, and Disposal Facilities (TSDFs) are known to increase the risk of a range of negative health effects including respiratory illnesses, cancers, and birth defects as well as developmental challenges in children (Bullard, 1990). Furthermore, the siting of these facilities is detrimental to local economies as it prompts decreases in housing prices, discourages investment, and disrupts long-standing social ties as those with economic and social capital flee impacted communities (Bullard et al., 2008; Lerner, 2005; Taylor, 2014). While extensive

literature on the siting of waste facilities in marginalized communities exists, this paper seeks to make more salient the critiques of the disproportionate siting theory. In light of these challenges, I will explore how scholars have attempted to (i) refine their methodologies and (ii) their conceptual approaches to make more explicit the link between environmental hazards and injustice. In doing so, we may be able to identify clear steps for future research.

Methodological Critiques

The first common methodological critique of early EJ research concerns the use of unit-hazard coincidence methods. Unit-hazard coincidence methods use a pre-defined geographic unit (such as counties, zip code areas, or census tracts), identify which of the units contain or "host" the hazard, and then compare the demographic characteristics between the geographic units that have a TSDF and the units that do not (Mohai & Saha, 2006). Earlier EJ studies that used this method had varying units of analysis and yielded significantly different statistical results. While some studies found that toxic waste facilities were disproportionately sited in minority communities (Mohai & Bryant, 1992; Mohai & Saha, 2006; Ringquist, 2005), other studies did not recognize this trend (Anderton, Anderson, Oakes, & Fraser, 1994; Davidson & Anderton, 2000). This was also because the units of analysis used by these studies did not equally and sufficiently control for the proximity of households and toxic waste facilities (Mohai & Saha, 2006). For example, census tracts are not the same size. They vary from less than one-tenth of a square mile to over 7,500 square miles (Mohai & Saha, 2006). If a host unit is as small as one tenth of a square mile, chances are that all households will be close to the waste facility in question. In the case of the tract that is more than 7,500 square miles, most households will be far away from the toxic waste facility (Bullard et al., 2008). Therefore, these census tracts would not be comparable. Because of the methodological inconsistencies, other scholars challenged the reliability and validity of the results given by EJ researchers.

Additionally, initial studies did not account for the edge effects that result from using particular units of analysis (Bullard et al., 2008). A given toxic waste facility may be on or in close proximity to the boundaries of its specified unit area. In fact, almost 50% of commercial hazardous waste sites are located within a quarter mile of their census tract boundaries (Mohai & Saha, 2006). Therefore, communities adjacent to the census tract could be equally affected by the toxic waste facility when compared to the communities within the host census tract. The impact of TSDFs in these adjacent communities is ignored in the final analysis because they are not considered as a part of the facility's host community (Bullard et al., 2008).

Another issue with EJ research concerns the accuracy of the data used. S.L. Cutter (1995) specifically highlights this and states that researchers automatically assume that the data collected from government databases are correct and do not verify and cross-reference the data they collect (Cutter, 1995). Her study found that at least 60% of the facilities referenced in the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) Toxic Release Inventory and Biennial Reporting System between 1987 and 1992 were located in the wrong census block group (Cutter, 1995). Therefore, research that has used this data to draw conclusions about the racial composition of communities with toxic waste facilities or TSDF's most likely had inaccurate findings (Cutter, 1995).

To correct these methodological flaws, EJ researchers began to use distance-based methods to determine the proximity of minority communities to toxic waste sites. A comparison between the first report *Toxic Waste and Race in the United States* published by the United Church of Christ in 1987 and the revised report in 2007, seminal works in EJ literature, illustrates the effectiveness of these key methodological changes. In the first report written in 1987, 415 waste facilities were identified using the EPA's Hazardous Waste Data Management system and the information was verified by using commercial hazardous waste directories (The United Church of Christ, 1987). In the 2007 report not one, but four government databases were used to identify and locate the all the toxic waste facilities in the country (Bullard et al., 2008).¹ Their precise locations were determined using geocoding (Bullard et al., 2008). The accuracy of this information was verified by directly contacting the companies that own these facilities (Bullard et al., 2008).

Second, all geographical units within a specified distance of a particular facility or within a circular buffer of specified radii were considered to be a part of the facility's host neighborhood (Bullard et al., 2008). The racial characteristics of this host neighborhood were compared to the racial composition of other communities outside of the host neighborhood (Bullard et al., 2008). However, in a few cases there where some geographical units (i.e. census tracts) that only fell partially into the specified geographical area around the toxic waste site. To be even less ambiguous about which geographical units were considered a part of the host site, EJ researchers used two techniques: the *50% areal containment method* and the *areal apportionment method* (Bullard et al., 2008). In the 50% areal containment method, any geographical unit that has at least 50% of its area within the specified distance of the toxic waste site is considered a part of the host community (Bullard et al., 2008). With the areal apportionment method, every geographical unit that has a portion of its area within a specified distance of the host site was considered a part of the host community of the toxic waste facility (Bullard et al., 2008).

With these new methodologies, stronger, more concrete evidence was found for the disproportionate siting theory. The study found that people of color made up 56% of the population in communities that host the county's 413 toxic waste facilities while they make up 30% of the population in communities that do not have hazardous waste facilities (Bullard et al., 2008). Furthermore, since the 1990s the population of people of color in close proximity to hazardous waste facilities rose from 46% to 56% (Bullard et al., 2008). This is a larger disparity between host and non-host communities than was seen with the previously employed unit-hazard coincidence method. Additionally, using regression analysis, researchers were able to control for socio-economic class and found that race independently influenced whether or not a TSDF was likely to be sited in a community (Bullard et al., 2008). These key changes generated more robust and consistent results which definitively demonstrated that TSDF's are disproportionately sited in communities of color (Bullard 2000, McGurty 2007).

Conceptual Critiques

Though methodologies have significantly improved and empirical research has increasingly found that communities with higher proportions of people of color and low-income residents are more likely to host TSDF's, there is contentious debate in EJ scholarship around how these disparities came to be in the first place. To paraphrase Mohai and Saha (2015), which came first? Was it the marginalized community or the polluting entity? Is it the economic make-up, racial composition or socio-political structure that determines whether a community is more or less susceptible to the siting of TSDF's (Taylor, 2014)? Answering these questions is critical because it will help to determine the solutions chosen to rectify these disparities and the measures implemented to prevent their reoccurrence.

The move-in hypothesis is the economic argument frequently used (Mohai & Saha, 2015; Taylor, 2014). It posits that polluting entities want to minimize their costs and as such, build their facilities in communities with low housing prices and cheap, abundant labor. Alternately, the presence of a toxic waste facility may lower housing prices and the cost of living in a community and as a result, low-income families and individuals are likely to live in these locales because it is more affordable. While the economic theory and the role of poverty in the siting in TSDF's has been mostly accepted, some scholars such as Foreman (1998) and Melosi (1995) have been less keen on accepting arguments that consider the role of race and socio-political access. Melosi attributes EJ researchers' impetus to explore the role of race to the EJ movement's historical and "emotional attachment to the civil rights heritage" while Foreman regards considerations on race as "conspiracy explanations" that "contribute to the

grassroots appeal of the environmental racism rhetoric” (Foreman, 1998; Melosi 1995).

However, the empirical evidence suggests that scholar’s concern about the role of race is more than an emotional response and is grounded in the experiences of TSDF-host communities. In their study, Pastor et al. (2001) found that communities that were to receive toxic waste facilities had higher numbers of minority residents than their non-TSDF counterparts. Subsequent to the siting of the TSDF’s, there was virtually no evidence of an influx of minority groups. In fact, there was a statistically significant decrease in the African-American population after the siting of the facility (Pastor et al., 2001). What was made evident from Pastor et al.’s (2001) study is that toxic waste facilities are sited in minority communities that are politically vulnerable, with little to no political organization. In the years before the siting of these facilities, there was a significant change in demographics or an *ethnic churning* in the community. Ethnic churning simply refers to the changes in the racial and ethnic composition of due to the movement of people in and out of a community (Bullard, 1990). It is hypothesized that the destabilization of political and social ties during *ethnic churning*, makes the community more vulnerable to the siting of TSDF’s (Bullard, 1990). These minority communities are less likely to politically organize to prevent the siting of such facilities in their neighborhoods. This discourse and research corroborates the path of least resistance theory that suggests that facilities are more likely to be sited in places where people have limited political power or leverage and because of their low socio-economic class and their race (Pastor et al., 2001). These three factors work in concert to influence whether a TSDF is sited or not.

There have also been questions on whether there is actually direct link between increased health risks and the introduction of toxic waste facilities. Foreman (1998), again, accuses the EJ movement and its scholars of conveniently taking matters of public health under its belt in order to convince members of minority communities to mobilize. After all, if their health and safety are threatened, he declares, “it becomes a matter of life and death,” an issue which people are more prepared to engage with (Foreman, 1998, p.64). He states that these ideas of increased health risks are an “implicit fear of the unknown” and are not rooted in scientific fact (p.64). He points out that no study has been able to truly assess the risks associated with the presence of waste facilities and that even when “clear” evidence is given of no added health risks people are unwilling to believe (Foreman 1998, p.66). In Foreman’s view EJ scholars are quick to assert that government experts are being untruthful and unsupportive due to the often-powerless status of communities. Foreman (1998, p.67) even goes on to suggest that the low socio-economic standing and lifestyle choices are more

to blame for any statistical evidence of greater incidence of illnesses and diseases in such communities and that the EJ movement has ignored this fact and taken advantage of it to advance their cause. He states:

Telling neighborhood residents that an unfamiliar and unwanted company is fouling the local air and water, and perhaps threatening their children, can set the stage for effective community protest even when the actual health risks at stake are negligible. But, reminding residents that they consume too many calories, or the wrong kinds of food, is likely to appear intrusive, insensitive or simply beside the point.” (Foreman 1998, p.67)

He claims that his approach (i.e. to change “community practice” and lifestyle) is empowering.

I beg to differ. Foreman ignores the systematic ways in which people of color are disadvantaged. Attempting to make individuals who yield little to no political power change personal behaviors to improve systematic and institutionalized inequalities is not a solution. Numerous case studies of affected communities have shown us that toxic waste facilities are associated with increased health risks and that a lack of protection and institutionalized discrimination make it difficult for communities to advocate for themselves (McGurty 2007, Bullard 2000). In pivotal cases and well-known communities such as Love Canal, Warren County, and Diamond independent experts have been called in that have found vastly different conclusions from government contracted researchers and researchers contracted by offending (Lerner, 2005; McGurty, 2007). These independent experts have unearthed evidence that link the siting of waste facilities in minority communities with increased health risks for particular illnesses and diseases.

Another study by Schulz et al. (2016) studied the distribution of physical environmental exposures, health risks, and social vulnerabilities in the Detroit metropolitan area, one of the most racially segregated areas in the United States. They mapped the proximity of communities to hazardous land uses, their exposure to air pollutants and associated health risks (Schulz et al., 2016). Their results suggested that communities with greater proportions of people of color disproportionately encounter physical environmental risks and health risks, specifically, for respiratory conditions and cancer. The inequitable distribution of environmental risks and the resulting exposure of minority communities to toxic environments is rooted in institutional racism. Thus, they are not only disproportionately exposed to these risks, but experience unequal protection even with strides toward creating more robust environmental legislation and penalties.

Conclusion: Next Steps in Environmental Justice Research

Though by no means exhaustive, I have attempted to outline the methodological challenges and the conceptual debates that exist with the disproportionate siting theory. Many strides have been made to rectify the limitations in earlier EJ research such as the use of the unit hazard coincidence method by using more robust techniques (e.g. the distance-based method). These methodological changes have provided stronger evidence to support the notion that toxic waste disposal facilities are disproportionately sited in low-income communities. Furthermore, through both case studies and statistical analyses scholars have been able to show that class, socio-political, and in particular, race simultaneously influence decisions to site a waste facility in minority communities.

There are other in EJ scholarship directions that are left to be explored. In particular, few academics have considered how the materiality of a particular pollutant from a TSDF affects its distribution and its subsequent impact. Additionally, more research is needed to determine how the specific characteristics of a toxic waste facility impact communities. The potentially differential impacts of the size of a toxic facility, the type of infrastructure built and used at a toxic site, and the process of waste generation should also be explored.

Looking forward the EJ literature should also consider not only the distribution of environmental risks but should also consider the distribution of environmental benefits. Do communities of color have equitable access to positive ecosystem services? Are they sufficiently included in renewable energy savings programs? These questions are equally pertinent and will give us a more comprehensive and truthful picture of environmental equity in the United States and experiences of marginalized communities.

Endnote

- 1 The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's Biennial Reporting System (BRS), the EPA's Resource Conservation and Recovery Information System (RCRIS) and Envirofacts Data Warehouse as well as the Environmental Services Directory (EDS) were used in the analysis (Bullard, 2007, p. 41).

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Confessions of Food Insecure Students at the University of Southern California: Using Capital as a Coping Mechanism

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Natalie Reyes graduated from the University of Southern California in 2017 double majoring in Sociology and Law, History and Culture. Her research interests focus on how low-income, first-generation college students navigate higher education. Natalie is currently enrolled in USC's Masters in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) program and hopes to teach overseas before pursuing a PhD in Sociology or American Studies.

Abstract

In this mixed-methods study, I conducted surveys, interviewed students, and did field work at the University of Southern California. Through convenient and snowball sampling, I conducted 30- to 60-minute in-depth interviews of 10 USC undergraduate students who self-identified as being food insecure and/or having past experiences with food insecurity. Using Yosso's framework of aspirational capital (2005) and Ricardo Stanton-Salazar's concept of *confianza* (2001), I analyze how lack of trust in the university system negatively affects students' food security and relationships with their peers, faculty, and relatives. This lack of trust often produces shame and habitual, sometimes harmful, self-sacrifices. Some students use their aspirational capital to develop selfless habits that further increase their food insecurity, such as prioritizing their families' financial needs and not communicating their hardships to others who may offer aid. I then recommend that USC trains more supportive administrators, faculty, and staff to better identify students' struggling with food insecurity, offer more sustainable financial and personal support to vulnerable students, and work to lessen the stigma of food insecurity on campus.

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Introduction

"This is my second meal today," said Bernice as she got up to get a second serving of the fried plantain, rice, and *pupusas* lined up on the table. It was 5:30 p.m. and we were at a social event at El Centro Chicano, the Latino cultural center at the University of Southern California (USC). When she returned to her seat, I asked, "How often does this happen?" "Mmmm. . . ." She looked at the ceiling as she thought for a while before answering, "Pretty often." My conversation with Bernice is one of many food insecure student confessions I have heard at USC, a private university not usually associated with low-income students.

Data of Food Insecurity at Universities

The University Food Bank Alliance¹ surveyed almost 3,800 students at 34 community and 4-year colleges across 12 states and found that 22 percent of respondents indicated very low levels of food security, while 48 percent of respondents reported food insecurity in the previous 30 days. In this study, food insecurity is defined as the lack of reliable access to sufficient quantities of affordable, nutritious food. In contrast to momentary feelings of hunger, food insecurity encompasses a consistent worry about how individuals will get their next meals. Problems of consistent food access increase chances of mental health problems such as anxiety, eating disorders, and suicidal ideation (Clark, 2015). This report also found more than half of all first-generation students (56%) were food insecure, compared to 45 percent of students who had at least one parent who attended college.

In 2016, the University of California system (2016),² Cal State Universities (2016) and the University of Hawaii at Mānoa (2009) conducted studies that found 23–24% of students were experiencing low food security at their campuses. The results from these three different studies

implies a similar rate of food insecurity could be found at other universities across the country. However, there is a lack of data regarding food insecure students at elite, private universities. The University of Southern California's prestigious reputation and 4.6 billion dollar endowment can make it easy for food insecure students to go unnoticed.

In August 2016, a survey launched by the Undergraduate Student Government in 2015–2016 and a private donation from a retiring professor helped create the USC Dornsife Office for Diversity and Strategic Initiatives' Virtual Food Pantry (VFP). The Virtual Food Pantry offered a \$25 grocery gift card to students who visited a designated pantry liaison located in already existing student service offices. This program temporarily addressed students' financial limitations to food access but did not address the dilemma food insecure students experience when asking for assistance nor further analyze social factors outside of the university affecting students' access to food.

Theoretical Framework

This study contributes to the sociological conversations surrounding low-income students' food secure patterns within institutions of higher education. At historically white, elite universities, low-income, first-generation college students tend to have lower retention rates when compared to other students (Thayer, 2000). As universities like University of Southern California strive to serve students from diverse economic and ethnic backgrounds, these institutions must address how students' different levels of resources dictate their college experience. College access is not enough for low-income students to succeed at elite universities, especially when food, a vital resource, is unstable. To survive in environments filled with inequality and systematic disadvantages, students develop skills, abilities and contacts to survive (Yosso, 2005). In investigating how food insecure students cope with structural limitations, the research question driving this paper is: How do students cope with food insecurity at an elite university?

Two main concepts my study builds on include Yosso's (2005) and Stanton-Salazar's (2001) *confianza* acknowledgment of aspirational capital. These two factors affect how students attempt to manage or ignore financial and social barriers in university setting. Students tend to cope in both empowering and disempowering ways. Coping mechanisms are meant to help students overcome difficult moments but can be harmful at the same time.

Skills students adapt include but are not limited to aspirational and social capital. Aspirational capital is the ability to overcome barriers, build resilience and maintain hope for better possibilities in the future (Yosso, 2005).

Social capital is the network of people, programs or communities a person can access by being a member in a specific social group (Bourdieu, 1986). For my participants, these networks consist of mentors, connections in scholarship programs and family members.

Key to this study is Stanton-Salazar's (2001) concept of *confianza* (Spanish for "trust"). This study analyzes how trust and dignity affect the likelihood a food insecure student will ask for help from contacts, people or groups in their social network. Secondly, I argue that because a university does not establish *confianza* with food insecure students, students utilize their aspirational capital as a coping mechanism. To better understand my participants' sources of capital and backgrounds, I review literature discussing students' relationship to school systems, first-generation college students' experiences and food insecurity at other universities.

Students' formation of social capital and kinship relationships (Stanton-Salazar, 2011), along with students' pivotal relationships with college educated adults, reveal how social networks of low-income students undergo multiple stages of development (Stanton-Salazar, 2011). Stanton-Salazar (2001) identifies how Mexican American youth utilize three components of *confianza* to weigh whether to ask for assistance from someone in their social network. *Confianza* consists of three components: (1) the student knows the systems in place will be supportive, (2) the student's ability to openly share personal struggles, (3) student's desire for academic support.

Families can be a type of support system for students, too, but once a student's goals and their parents' understanding of their goals differ, such as is often the case among first-generation college students, students feel their parents are less supportive (Terenzini, Springer, Yeager, Pascarella, and Nora, 1996). This strain hinders students' *confianza* with their family networks. When the initial support system of the family is unavailable, either due to physical distance or strained family relationships, first-generation college students need to build their own non-kin social capital at the university that provides them support or a "buffer" system. I argue aspirational capital, "the ability to hold onto hope in the face of structured inequality and often without the means to make such dreams a reality" (Yosso, 2005, p.77), is a double-edged sword. When students' aspirations push them to focus on their academic success, and forego addressing their immediate food needs, students fail to fully utilize their social networks to counter their food insecurity. Instead of risking shame if they were to ask for help, students turn to selflessness to cope with their limited resources. Examples of selflessness range from contributing financially to the family to viewing their academics as a service to their community,

all of which they view as more important than their personal food needs.

Methodology

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) distinguishes food insecurity as “a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food” (USDA ERS, 2016). I utilized the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA’s indicators of food insecurity as a guide to determine what patterns best describe food insecurity on campus. The USDA’s measures included how many times individuals skipped meals, did not eat when he/she was hungry, did not eat for a full day, lost weight, and worried if food would run out. Forty students responded to my anonymous survey via social media, where they ranked which USDA descriptions of food insecurity were most relatable to their experiences. Seven women and three men from varying ethnic backgrounds provided their email address in the survey so I later interviewed them in one-on-one meetings that lasted approximately 45–60 minutes. Due to time constraints, this paper only analyzes data collected from the in-person interviews. The interviews were audio recorded and partially transcribed. Participants were then given pseudonyms.

Results

In discussing my results, I highlight the experiences of two food insecure students. Some of the major barriers that emerged from their stories were limited time and money and extreme shame. Students’ responses to these barriers ranged from going without food for long periods of time, keeping their food insecurity a secret from other and coping through selflessness. My analysis focuses on this last response, coping through selflessness, and how it arises from their aspirational capital—the strong desire to achieve their dreams and be seen as successful in the college environment.

Limited Time and Money

My participants struggled with limited time and finances. Eighty percent of students in this study claimed to receive \$20 to zero financial assistance for food from their parents since the time they entered the university, while 50% of my interviewees mentioned financially contributing to their families. One student sends about \$300 a month home while others recalled giving families amounts of \$60 or less inconsistently or whenever needed.

These circumstances push students to balance jobs with their regular coursework, family responsibilities, and student involvements. This affects students’ ability to form friendships with peers from different economic backgrounds.

Mason, a first-generation college student from the Bronx, describes this balancing act as “it’s like trying to be social plus eating plus paying bills and having to navigate which ones, because I feel like I need a little bit of fun and I’m always working and always in classes.” During his freshman year, Mason tried to keep up with lifestyle of his dormmates at New North, a freshmen dormitory reputedly known for its drinking and partying. He spends more time with friends now who share his socioeconomic status than he does with the more affluent friends from his freshman year.

Miguel, a 37-year-old Mexican American cancer survivor said, “I needed to pay car insurance, needed to pay gas and needed to pay my bills. . . . I didn’t have a lot of money right so I needed to do miracles.” The stress over making ends meet creates a sense of miracle-making—a common feeling among all my participants. Students prioritize their resources to pay bills, school materials or other outside obligations, as opposed to covering basic needs like food.

Miguel goes on to say, “Many times I faced that decision I have to buy these materials and I have to eat. So what should I do? Eating was a more flexible option at the time than buying the materials. Buying the materials was a must, you have to buy it.” Miracle-making is a strategy that adds to students’ capital usage by pressuring students to invest resources to pay bills or other outside obligations, as opposed to covering basic needs like food.

Sara, a Middle-Eastern immigrant who is also first in her family to attend college, only eats out once every few months and shared, “My nightmare is when my friends go out for dinner.” It is difficult to comply with her Kosher diet when foods on campus cost more than she can afford so she often misses out on such outings. Even though her mother is a caregiver and father works hard as a carpet cleaner, her family struggles to make ends meet. Her family’s busy work schedule results in there not being prepared meals at home so when Sara packs food from home, it is often slices of bread with hummus. Sara does not “want to remember [remind] my parents, my mom, my dad, my sister ‘hey why is the refrigerator empty’ and things like that,” so she regularly skips lunch or relies on snacks from different offices on campus, such as fruit from the Office of Wellness or granola bars from the NTSAF office.

Upon arriving to the United States with her family, Sara worked in the garment district in downtown Los Angeles and attended Los Angeles Trade Tech, a community college that focuses on vocational training. When she was accepted into USC, she “originally thought oh USC, USC is a school for rich kids . . . how am I supposed to work in groups, they don’t have my similar lifestyle, they don’t have to work,” but then felt relieved when she met students she

could relate to within the Norman Topping Student and the Sophomore Seminar 200 course titled “Pathways to Success for First-generation College Students.” Even though she was competing with students who did not have similar time commitments in regards to work, Sara’s scholarship and first-generation course helped her feel like she had support in this new college environment.

But outside of these supportive communities, Sara feels her peers and advisers look down on her for having gone to community college.

“Everyone was like, ‘oh community college is a piece of cake’; they scared me a lot. Even my advisers, they are not supportive of transfer students . . . if you did not go to the university your freshmen year then you are like a failure, you survived somehow but you are not as strong in academics.”

Even though Sara has a 4.0 GPA, her adviser knows her “as the girl who transferred from community college” and could not believe it when Sara told her about her perfect GPA after her second semester at USC. The adviser immediately logged into the student records, saw the perfect GPA, and dismissed the high GPA because Sara had not taken many upper-division courses. Sara’s friend had a similar experience when her counselor in the same department told her she should return to community college to improve her GPA, which was a 3.92 at USC.

When food insecure students compete with students who are not restricted by work time commitments and experience prejudices from their counselors, university representatives who are supposed to assist them, students may feel a sense of imposter syndrome. This makes it difficult for students to develop *confianza* within the university system. However, communities like NTSAF and the first-generation college student course help these students access support networks and connect with peers who are facing similar challenges.

Shame’s Role in Food Insecurity

“I felt ashamed,” Miguel confessed as he described his failed attempt to get food stamp assistance.

“I went to the welfare office and they told me ‘oh you can’t apply to food stamps because you’re a guy.’ . . . I was embarrassed to even speak about it but I was really hungry . . . so I went and was really embarrassed. When I was at the window I was looking a certain way, just facing down.”

By being turned down from the food stamp program, Miguel developed feelings of shame which then tainted his view of asking for help or applying to future programs

he was eligible for. When he was kicked out of his house, instead of immediately accepting his uncle’s invitation to live with him, Miguel slept in his car and tried to live off his disability check. After spending his last \$5 at McDonald’s, Miguel tried to forget about his hunger by focusing on an architecture project and sleeping on campus. He decided to go the day without food until it became too unbearable and he reached out to his scholarship director who then took him out to eat. It was only when his hunger was extremely painful that Miguel risked experiencing shame to get food assistance.

When he has used the virtual food pantry at USC, Miguel described still feeling embarrassed but acknowledged it was a less shameful experience than his visit to the food stamp office. “You’re going through all that and then you have to prove you’re going through that, you know it hurts twice. The Topping office³ is different because I know they don’t ask you for anything.”

The shorter process of the Norman Topping Student Aid Fund (NTSAF) intake form and his established relationship with the scholarship director helped Miguel feel more comfortable to seek assistance from this program on multiple occasions. In this scholarship office, Miguel felt less shame asking for help due to his familiarity with the program and the less information he was required to prove when receiving the aid.

However, students disconnected from a supportive system on campus, like the NTSAF, have a more difficult time seeking assistance to counter their food insecurity. Jonathan, a fourth-year biology major, has been food insecure throughout most of his college experience. When his father became unemployed, Jonathan lied about being financially well so that they could instead assist his younger sister, who was starting her first year in college. During his sophomore and junior year, Jonathan relied on free food events—whether it was soda, pizza, or cake, such leftovers would be his meals for days.

To avoid shame, Jonathan did not tell anyone of his lack of food and simply waited for leftovers at student events. Even though he ate, he remained food insecure due to his lack of healthy foods and his reliance on an inconsistent food source.

Acts of Selflessness to Counter Shame

Jonathan is now a Residential Assistant and he uses his personal food funds to take students out to eat. “I’m always willing to buy lunch for people. . . . I’m on the other side now, which is empowering and motivating and awesome but also, you do see people struggling. My eyes have been open now.” Whereas before, he never told anyone about

his struggle with food access, now he uses his position to address the issue of food insecurity with his residents and has become more comfortable in sharing his own food insecure experiences.

Another student who shows selflessness as a way to counter the stigma of food insecurity is Lorena, a first-generation college student who immigrated by herself from Mexico when she was fourteen. She budgets one hundred dollars a month for food and then depends on student socials and networking events that offer free food on campus. Lorena says, “I have to make it work.”

When asked what her definition of success is, Lorena replied, “For me success is when my family has their own house and when they can live comfortably . . . have all the simple stuff—internet, electricity, warm house, enough food—for me when I can actually provide that for them, that is my definition of success.” Her aspiration to provide for her family fuels her to complete her education. When asked if there were any faculty, staff or advisers she felt comfortable discussing her situation with, Lorena said, “No,” because “they already assume you have enough money because you come here,” and revealed the people who knew about her situation were “only closest friends . . .” who “share the same need . . . [and] it brings us closer together.”

Other students also perform acts of selflessness to counter the shame of food insecurity. Students give money to their families or do not inform their relatives about food insecurity; thus these students feel successful for not adding to the family’s worries. However, these actions are harmful to the student and lead to further food insecure patterns.

Analysis

Accustomed to being resilient, food insecure students choose to put others’ needs before their own. Patterns found in my interviews highlighted students’ connections to communities where they could openly share their food insecurity. These students first relied on their aspirational goals to motivate them to view their food insecurity as less significant than their academic responsibilities. By choosing to go without food for long periods of time and hide this issue, they prioritized their student roles. When students reached a point where their aspirational capital no longer was enough to endure the pains of food insecurity, they turned to their social capital—their communities within scholarship programs and other university groups—for support.

Although aspirational capital introduces cultural wealth underrepresented students use to succeed, this form of capital also contributes to students’ food insecurity. Students who are food insecure, use aspirational capital at universities where they lack *confianza* to overcome their

short-term solutions to address their food insecurity. One of these coping mechanisms is selflessness. Lorena holds onto the hope that her college degree will enable her to provide for her family, which motivates her to share with her family the few resources she obtains. In a similar way, Jonathon relied on free food events for sustenance to not burden his parents financially. Low-income students’ ingrained value in their aspirational capital is a double-edged sword; this resilience has helped them overcome past obstacles, but in an environment with a consistent lack of *confianza*, this resilience convinces students to not utilize their social network.

Although students exhibit navigational capital in their ability to find free food source on campus, students avoid using their social networks, until their circumstances of food insecurity become extreme. One of the reasons students are reluctant to ask for help is because negative previous attempts to utilize social capital taint students’ expectations of other individuals or programs in their network. Miguel’s shameful experience when he tried to receive food assistance from the state program created a lack of *confianza* that later made him more reluctant to accept help from his scholarship mentor. Institutions which communicate a lack of support to its students, drive food insecure students to utilize their aspirational capital and navigational capital as short-term solutions in order to avoid shame. In this study, students are limited to low levels of economic capital but accrue social capital in scholarship, mentorship programs, cultural centers, and other peers. Programs like the NTSAF and the Sophomore Seminar for First-generation College Students proved to be essential in connecting students with resources to counter their food insecurity.

Conclusion

Moving forward, food insecurity can be addressed by increasing institutional support systems that build *confianza* for low-income students such as close-knit programs and faculty training. Currently, USC’s Virtual Food Pantry partners with student services food insecure students tend to visit, such as the campus health center, various cultural centers, Residential Education, Financial Aid Department, and other Diversity departments. This provides food insecure students with multiple points of contact they can access to obtain food assistance. Since this is a new resource, many students still are not informed of this resource. Plus, students who have developed resilience due to other painful experiences on the campus environment may be less likely to approach this resource.

However, close-knit scholarship programs and cultural center communities also facilitate spaces for students to develop supportive networks. These relationships are more likely to detect change in students’ character or grades,

signs that may allude to food insecurity. Increasing the number of programs that support vulnerable populations of students to food assistance programs and communities of emotional support would increase the likelihood of staff or peers being able to recognize signs of food insecurity among their students, allowing them to be able to intervene. Close relationships with staff, administrators, and faculty have the potential to meet the three components of *confianza* (Stanton-Salazar, 2005): (1) create supportive places, (2) allow the student to openly share personal struggles, (3) provide academic support. If faculty are better encouraged to form relationships with students, *confianza* can be more common between students and university representatives (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Consistent relationships with college-educated mentors are important both before, during, and after the college experience for students to successfully break the cycle of poverty (Mehta, Newbold, and O'Rourke, 2011). Since scholarship programs and cultural centers only offer support to a limited number of students, it is important to expand these programs.

Also, schools like USC need to reflect on whether the institution communicates *confianza* to students inside of the classroom as well. Since USC is an R-1 university, professors are pressured by their departments to spend most their time doing research, which limits their availability to students. Like the way faculty and staff undergo sexual harassment and diversity training, mentorship training can help professors better identify signs of students who are struggling with food insecurity. Students in my study discuss how mentors proved to be vital resources who assisted them in periods of intense food insecurity so encouraging more faculty to form these close relationships with students could increase the network of support accessible to struggling students.

With over two-thirds of the undergraduate student population receiving financial aid and an overall 20% likelihood that a USC student will move up two or more income quintiles (Chetty, Friedman, Saez, Turner, and Yagan, 2017), USC is becoming a leader in diversifying its students' socioeconomic background. As elite universities try to diversify the various income backgrounds of their students, this also contributes to an economic disparity on campus, as expressed in a recent *New York Times* article (2015). For example, low-income first-generation college students at Harvard University expressed feeling out of place in the rich environment of the campus, feeling at the end of a spectrum in favor of wealthy peers (Pappano, 2015). USC participants also shared this feeling of comparison, reflecting food insecurity is an issue that not only affects students' food access, but also can create a barrier between their social life and that of more affluent students at an elite campus like USC.

Low-income students tend to see a college education as their hope to social mobility. However, higher education continues to do a disservice to its students by hosting an environment where income disparity obscures food insecure students; thus, creating a space where revealing one's food insecurity is uncommon, making students feel as if communicating their food insecurity would be stigmatized. To cope with food shortage and shame, students develop support networks among staff and peers while holding a strong sense of selflessness as a method of preserving their dignity. By increasing the number of scholarship programs, students would have access to more supportive communities. As universities attempt to increase college access to low-income students, it is crucial these institutions provide strong community support for these students to succeed.

Endnotes

- 1 Other organizations who worked with the University Food Bank Alliance include the National Student Campaign Against Hunger and Homelessness, the Student Government Resource Center, and the Student Public Interest Research Groups.
- 2 All 10 campuses.
- 3 The Norman Topping Student Aid Fund (NTSAF) is a scholarship retention program for low-income, minority students at USC. The Virtual Food Pantry was first announced at the NTSAF annual student retreat in August 2016 and also served Trojan Guardian Scholars, USC students who are former-foster youth.

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Epigenetic Marks in Trauma Victims: Analyzing Methylation Patterns in NR3C1 and LINE-1

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Sana Saboowala double majored in Anthropology and Biology with minors in French and Art History, and a certificate in the self-created field “Bioarchaeology in Museums.” As an undergraduate, she completed two undergraduate honors theses, participated in the Bolnick Lab, the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program, the Polymathic Scholars Honors Program, and worked as the government documents assistant at the Perry-Castaneda Library. After graduation, she will be attending the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign to pursue PhD work in molecular anthropology. Her interests include epigenetics, science and technology studies, museum studies, and borderland studies. Particularly, she is interested in exploring the potential epigenetic effects of border production (Partition) in South Asia.

Abstract

The present paper considers the implications of trauma in creating lasting biological effects on the epigenome and how to best track these epigenetic changes in ancient individuals in order to create detailed case studies regarding the biology of socially oppressed ancient individuals. Specifically, I present preliminary bisulfite conversion data from DNA extracted from seventh-century women in Conchapata, Peru to look at NR3C1 and LINE-1 methylation patterns. These women serve as case studies that not only demonstrate the effects of societal factors on biology, but also explore how to use that causal relationship to better understand individuals from the past. Although these preliminary data did not show any significant trends, more methodological testing and further sampling is necessary to fully understand the relationship between these loci, methylation, and specific life histories. This paper is part of a larger interdisciplinary project; if this project yields similar findings to the work synthesized here, it will demonstrate the ways in which social status shapes biology.

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Introduction

The field of epigenetics is fairly new and growing at a rapid pace. Epigenetic changes are modifications that can be passed down from generation to generation but are not actually changes in the DNA sequence. There are many forms of epigenetic modifications. Cytosine methylation is a commonly studied one (Gravlee, 2009; Perroud et al., 2011; Radtke et al., 2011; Unternaehrer et al., 2012; Yehuda et al. 2016). In this modification, methyl groups are added to the cytosine in DNA directly, usually at CpG sites, or sites in the DNA where a cytosine is followed by a guanine. The presence or absence of these methyl groups influences gene expression, or the process of translating genetic information encoded in the DNA to influence an individual's phenotype. DNA that was once referred to as “junk” (non-coding intron sequences) may actually be involved in gene expression. In this study, I look specifically at the patterns of cytosine methylation in the glucocorticoid receptor (GR) gene of individuals who have experienced trauma. This gene is linked with the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis. The GR is likely affected in trauma victims because it is involved in controlling stress response (Gravlee, 2009; Perroud et al., 2011; Radtke et al., 2011; Unternaehrer et al., 2012; Yehuda et al. 2016).

In the last fifteen years, growth in our understanding of the molecular basis of epigenetics, forms of epigenetic modification, and molecular memory have redefined how we look at genetics. However, there have only been a handful of experiments discussing epigenetics in ancient individuals. In the field of ancient DNA (aDNA), “ancient” refers to remains of someone who has been dead for fifty years or more. Because epigenetics is inherently intergenerational, studying changes in the epigenome of ancient individuals could potentially provide us with insight about the conditions in which our ancestors lived. As researchers expand their knowledge of ancient genetics, ancient epigenetics cannot be overlooked.

The study described here is part of a larger research project that aims to use epigenetic research in conjunction with bioarchaeological techniques in order to create in-depth case studies about specific individuals who have been marked as social outsiders. In the present paper, I demonstrate that social status affects biology, that biological effects can be tracked throughout a person's lifetime, and that it is possible to observe these effects in ancient human remains. To do this, I synthesize research regarding epigenetic patterns and trauma (psychosocial and violent).

Studying the Experiences of Trauma in the Living

Examining possible epigenetic changes in individuals and populations allows us to better understand how the environment surrounding an individual potentially affects gene expression across generations. There are clear associations between experiencing trauma and certain genetic loci (Gravlee, 2009; Perroud et al., 2011; Radtke et al., 2011; Unternaehrer et al., 2012; Yehuda et al. 2016). I have chosen to look at stress receptors because of their association with trauma, specifically the glucocorticoid receptor (GR).

Studies of the glucocorticoid receptor have repeatedly shown that there is a relationship between glucocorticoid receptor methylation, NGDI-A (transcription factor) binding, and the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis. The first experiments to demonstrate the causal relationship between epigenomic state, GR expression, and behavior indicated that the way rats groomed and nursed their offspring affected the offspring's stress responses, specifically the methylation in the GR receptor (Weaver et al., 2004). Later studies demonstrated that the transgenerational effects of epigenetic programming can affect children beyond infancy. For example, methylation status of the GR gene in adolescents is influenced by the mothers' experience of trauma, in the form of intimate partner violence, during pregnancy (Radtke et al., 2011). Furthermore, along with *in utero* trauma affecting stress receptors, there is a clear link between severe childhood trauma and increased methylation in the GR gene. Methylation patterns in people who experienced early childhood trauma correlated with the severity of that trauma (Perroud, 2011).

Studying Trauma in the Dead: Women from Conchapata

The research described above discussed efforts to study the effects of trauma using epigenetics in the living. For studying the dead, morphological methods are the first way to identify trauma. Patterns of physical trauma (violent injury) in dead people can be tracked using osteological analysis (Tung, 2014). Cranial trauma, for example, usually leaves damage to the skull that is visible after death (Tung, 2014). Fractures, holes, and missing dentition are all indicators of violent trauma (Tung, 2014).

An example of how violent trauma and social otherness can be linked became evident when examining the remains of a woman from Conchapata, Peru (Tung, 2014). This individual was buried apart from her contemporaries. In addition to exhibiting osteological signs of repetitive violence, this woman was clearly marked as different by the shape of her skull. It is conical because it was artificially boarded when she was an infant. For unknown reasons, the

people taking care of her as a child decided to openly distinguish from her peers (Tung, 2014). Her skeletal remains show that she was not treated well, and her body and burial site show she was socially unique. She is an example of how we can use archaeological evidence to understand social otherness in the past. Table 1 describes this woman (EA 1), as well as the other women whose remains were analyzed (Tung, 2014).

Sample Number	Description
EA 1	Severely injured elderly woman with annular cranial modification, buried alone. Local, but marked as “other.”
EA 20	Adolescent buried alone in front of a ritual D-shaped structure. Isotopic analysis demonstrates she is non-local, and “other.”
EA 205	35- to 50-year-old “venerated woman” buried in a multi-individual interment. Considered an “insider.”
EA 88	Adolescent buried in a multi-individual interment. Considered an “insider.”

Table 1. Sample Description

We can determine signs of physical trauma through bioarchaeology, and from ancient DNA samples, we can determine what epigenetic markers individuals exhibited during life. Methylation patterns have been studied widely in living people and model organisms. However, only recently have epigenetic marks been studied in the DNA of ancient organisms (where “ancient” refers to fifty plus years after death). After researchers found that methylation was visible in ancient DNA (Briggs et al., 2009), subsequent studies were conducted with Neanderthals and Denisovans (Gokhman et al., 2014), a 4000-year-old Saqqaq individual (Pedersen et al., 2014), and Native American individuals (Smith et al., 2016). By applying knowledge gained from epigenetic markers in the living as well as our knowledge about experiences of physical trauma in the past from the bioarchaeological record, we can form hypotheses regarding psychosocial trauma in ancient individuals based on their epigenetic code. In the case of the women described in Table 1, I hypothesized that the two social outsiders would exhibit patterns of methylation different from the other individuals. Also, if the social outsiders exhibited different patterns, they would have lower percentages of long interspersed nuclear elements (LINE-1) methylation.

Applying Epigenetic Methods: From the Living to the Dead

The analysis of highly degraded DNA from ancient human remains requires strict precautions to minimize

contamination from exogenous sources of DNA and verify results (Yang and Watt, 2005). DNA extraction of the samples (see Table 1 for sample description) was carried out in the University of Texas at Austin's Ancient DNA Lab. Prior to DNA extraction, each sample was submerged in 6% w/v sodium hypochlorite (full strength bleach) for 15 minutes (Kemp and Smith, 2005), rinsed twice with DNA-free HPLC-grade water, and irradiated with 254-nm-ultraviolet (UV) light for 5 minutes per side to eliminate surface contamination. Dabney's (2013) extraction protocol was used. The non-destructive version was used for teeth while the destructive method was used for bone. For extractions from bone, 150–200 mg of bone powder was used. DNA left in the extraction solution was purified using the silica/GuSCN method published by Rohland and Hofreiter (2007) and then eluted in 60 μ L of Qiagen's buffer EB (Bolnick et al., 2012; Dabney, 2013; Rohland and Hofreiter, 2007).

Twenty μ L of DNA extract were then processed using the Qiagen Epitect Fast Bisulfite Conversion Kit for low quantity DNA, formalin-fixed, paraffin-embedded (FFPE). This kit converts all unmethylated cytosines in the DNA into uracils through treatment with sodium bisulfite (NaHSO_3). Uracils are then converted to thymines during polymerase chain reaction (PCR) amplification of the targeted DNA sequences, so any cytosines detected after conversion are methylated cytosines. Unmethylated cytosines are present in the sequence post-conversion whereas unnatural thymines are visible, whereas the methylated cytosines are visible as cytosines in the sequence. We modified the standard protocol by UV irradiating buffers BL (31 mL), BW (13 mL concentrate), BD (3 mL concentrate), and EB (15 mL) for 15 minutes before use in an effort to chemically cross-link and prevent PCR amplification of any DNA contaminants that might be present in these reagents. Five μ L of DNA were used in 140 μ L bisulfite conversion reactions. The carrier RNA step was omitted. Bisulfite conversion took place in the Ancient DNA Lab at the University of Texas at Austin. One μ L of each sample was then quantified using Nanodrop Spectrophotometry.

An 86 bp amplicon was amplified for NR3C1 (Non et al., 2012). We prepared PCRs with 2 μ L of bisulfite product in a 23 μ L reaction volume using Amplitaq Gold Kit (ThermoFisher), and included 1.3 μ L of 20 mg/mL BSA (Roche) and 2.5 μ L of MasterAmp 10X PCR enhancer with betaine (Epicentre) per reaction. Following amplification, we visualized 3 μ L of the amplicons using GelRed on a 6% polyacrylamide gel to confirm amplification prior to pyrosequencing. The remaining PCR product of each confirmed amplicon was submitted to the University of Texas Science and Health Center in San Antonio for pyrosequencing and

CpG analysis on the Qiagen Q24 platform. Pyrosequencing reactions were initiated with a sequencing primer for each loci characterized that targets an internal fragment of each of the respective amplicons (Non et al., 2012). The C:T ratio at the target CpG positions were used to calculate percent methylation values for each run, where Cs represent the proportion of methylated cytosines and Ts represent the proportion of unmethylated cytosines following bisulfite conversion. This was done for five target CpG positions in NR3C1.

Amplification of LINE-1 (L1108) fragments was also conducted, following previously tested methods (Ricceri et al., 2014). An 86 bp amplicon was amplified for NR3C1 (Non et al., 2012). We prepared PCRs with 2 μ L of bisulfite product in a 23 μ L reaction volume using Amplitaq Gold Kit (ThermoFisher), and included 1.3 μ L of 20 mg/mL BSA (Roche) and 2.5 μ L of MasterAmp 10X PCR enhancer with betaine (Epicentre) per reaction. Samples were submitted for pyrosequencing. The LINE-1 loci were analyzed because it is estimated that more than 33% of DNA methylation occurs in repetitive elements, and thus LINE-1 methylation can be used as a surrogate for global patterns of repetitive element methylation (Yang and Watt, 2005).

Results

The NR3C1 amplicon did not amplify, perhaps because it is a single-copy locus, and there was chemical inhibition due to presence collagen from the bone samples.

Percent methylation for eight CpG sites in LINE-1 were analyzed, and results are shown in Table 2.

Methylation (%)								
Sample run	Pos. 1	Pos. 2	Pos. 3	Pos. 4	Pos. 5	Pos. 6	Pos. 7	Pos. 8
EA1-L	68.8	39.0	78.3	72.8	43.0	60.4	57.7	30.0
EA88-L	67.6	35.4	79.5	73.0	42.1	62.5	57.8	27.4
EA205-L	64.4	40.9	77.4	75.2	37.4	60.6	45.2	29.8

Table 2. Percent Methylation Results for LINE-1 (Conchapata)

It was expected that EA 1, the badly beaten, elderly woman would exhibit different methylation patterns than EA 205 or EA 88, due to her possible status as a social outsider. A one-way ANOVA test was used to analyze the percent of LINE-1 methylation between each individual (Figure 1), and this analysis showed no significant differences in the overall patterns of LINE-1 methylation (Figure 2). The *P*-values reported in the ANOVA were greater than 0.1, meaning there was no statistically significant difference between the samples, and there is no general trend or obvious abnormalities in clustering based on the scatterplot.

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	56.2500	6.3686	8.832	1.63e-08 ***
IDEA205-L	-2.3875	9.0065	-0.265	0.794
IDEA88-L	-0.5875	9.0065	-0.065	0.949

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 18.01 on 21 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.003621, Adjusted R-squared: -0.09127

F-statistic: 0.03816 on 2 and 21 DF, p-value: 0.9626

Figure 1. Results of the One-Way ANOVA comparing percent methylation in EA 205 and EA 88 to EA 1

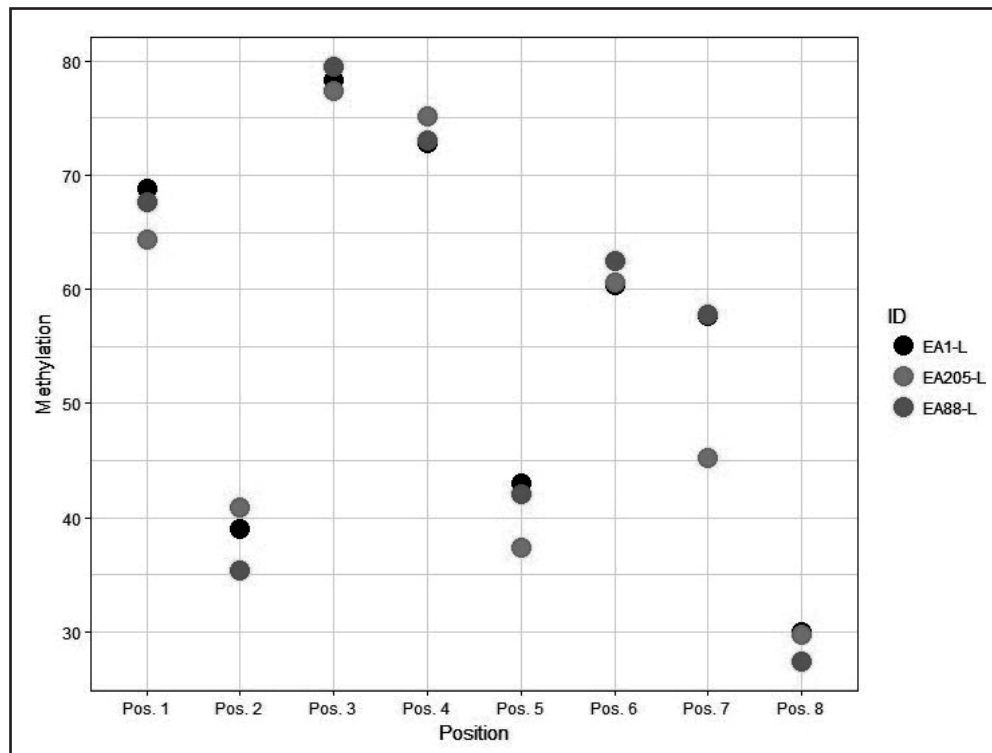


Figure 2: Percent Methylation by CpG Position for Each Individual Discussion and Conclusions

The ultimate goal of this study was to synthesize evidence demonstrating that trauma has direct biological effects, that these biological effects are clearly visible, and that they can be detected in the skeletal remains of ancient individuals. In the last ten years, epigenetic research has

been able to show that there are specific biological outcomes of experiencing trauma, especially in early childhood (Perroud, 2011). Furthermore, these biological effects may be epigenetic and thus, can be passed down from one generation to the next (Yehuda et al., 2016).

Given that we observe the effects of trauma in living organisms, it stands to reason that witnessing similar genetic and epigenetic patterns in ancient individuals would be indicative of possible trauma experienced in that individual's lifetime. Thus, epigenetic research would allow us to see not only how social standing and incidences of trauma affect biology, but also how we can use that causal relationship to better understand individuals from the past.

Unfortunately, in the present experiment, the NR3C1 targets did not amplify, preventing further analysis. There are a variety of factors that could have prevented amplification of this locus. One hypothesis is that collagen in the skeletal samples acted as a chemical inhibitor to PCR, and this inhibition significantly deterred amplification of a single-copy locus such as NR3C1. More testing is necessary to evaluate this hypothesis and to attempt to purify the DNA extracts to allow amplification.

LINE-1 data was obtained for only 3 of the 4 individuals tested, likely due to issues of DNA preservation (i.e., some ancient skeletal samples contain well-preserved ancient DNA, but others do not). When working with ancient DNA, this type of setback is to be expected. Levels of DNA preservation cannot always be predicted. It was hypothesized that the two social outsiders would exhibit patterns of methylation different from the other individuals. Also, if the social outsiders exhibited different patterns, they would have lower percentages of long interspersed nuclear elements (LINE-1) methylation. Based on the LINE-1 result, these hypotheses can be rejected. The women did not show significant differences in terms of LINE-1 methylation, and there are no clear trends in their LINE-1 methylation patterns. Further research with larger sample sizes must be conducted to verify the preliminary LINE-1 findings presented here. More methodological testing is necessary to see if the expected result will hold true for single-copy loci such as NR3C1.

This study is part of a larger thesis project that links the bioarcheology of the four women from Conchapata to their genetic and epigenetic information. This larger study looks at multiple loci, including more multiple-copy loci that should provide us with some information regarding the epigenomes of these individuals. If the larger study fits with the work synthesized here, we would expect to find that it is possible to gain insight into the biology of ancient people, and to correlate those biological findings to experiences of oppression. We would see that social oppression and social status have real biological effects. Biology may have certain effects on social status, but we are seeing more and more that the opposite is true; social status and oppression affects biology.

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“(Re)Imagining Brown 250+”: Histories of Violence in the Making of an American University

Phoebe Young, *Brown University*

Phoebe Young graduated from Brown University in the spring of 2017 with honors in History and Ethnic Studies. During her time at Brown, she wrote about the interwoven histories of colonization, enslavement, and the creation of Brown University and examined how the legacies of these histories continue on into the present day. She was also involved in the Native Americans at Brown as a member and co-coordinator and the Sarah Doyle Women’s Center as a Coalition Against Sexual Assault and Relationship Abuse. Phoebe Young is currently an Events Production Assistant at The Greenlining Institute in Oakland, California. This coming year, she will be living and working in Minneapolis on tribal food sovereignty initiatives with the Minneapolis-based organization Dream of Wild Health.

Abstract

In 2014, Brown University celebrated its 250th anniversary. The campaign invited community members worldwide to “Reimagine Brown 250+” by thinking about the school’s past, celebrating its present, and imagining the institution’s future. Decadent celebrations like Brown’s 250th anniversary demonstrate that the full scope of colonization, slavery, and violence that took place in order for Brown to be realized as an institution has yet to be reckoned with by the university.

What histories are forgotten in order for the campus to uncritically celebrate its origins in 1764? And, how does this present-day process of forgetting histories of violence continue to uphold colonial logics established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

This thesis expanded the scope of inquiry of the 2006 Slavery and Justice Report conducted by Brown University, which looked how Brown University benefitted from the transatlantic slave trade in Rhode Island. A look into the colony’s early land deeds, journals, and court documents, reveals how Brown was not only a beneficiary of the transatlantic slave trade but at its moment of founding also represented a long legacy of Native American displacement and colonization that was interwoven with the colony’s transatlantic slave trade. These legacies of dispossession were foundational to the wealth amassed by Brown University’s founders. When we celebrate the founding of Brown University uncomplicatedly, and when we continue to tell stories about the inherently exceptional qualities of Brown, we fail to recognize the institution as a site that represents the racialized violence that had to take place in order for us to be able to celebrate 250 years of institutional history.

This paper submitted is an excerpted introduction from this thesis.

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In 2014, Brown University celebrated the 250th anniversary of its founding in Providence, Rhode Island. During the celebrations, the university proudly proclaimed its pre-national origins, yet made little to no public mention of Native American peoples who were cleared out of the land during colonization. At the time of the celebrations, the University had only just begun to acknowledge the enslaved African peoples who built the school and its wealth. In what ways do these silences within the University’s historical record continue to uphold colonial logics in the present day?

This paper bridges the gap between historical discussions of Native American displacement in Rhode Island, the colony’s involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, and the making of the colony’s attendant social institutions like Brown University. I open this paper with the geography of Brown’s 250th anniversary in 2014. This geography reveals what Brown celebrates and does not celebrate when the institution remembers its founding. I then discuss the physical land base that Brown was founded on, detailing how the processes of colonization, war, and enslavement of Native peoples in Rhode Island during the 17th century made the land available to Brown when it was founded in 1764. Lastly, I discuss how Native American displacement and enslavement after King Philip’s War in 1676 was deeply interwoven with Rhode Island’s slave trade in the eighteenth century. These interwoven processes of dispossession built up colonial possessions from 1636, when the colony was founded, to the present day—an ongoing historical legacy that often goes unacknowledged. At the heart of this discussion, I situate and view the founding of Brown University as a physical culmination of the colonization efforts that were behind the making of Rhode Island.

Geographies of Founding: *Brown’s 250th Celebration, 2014*

In thinking back to 2014 during Brown’s 250th anniversary celebrations, there are certain geographies of commemoration that can help us understand how Brown’s campus has settler colonial power built into its landscape.

The way in which the University's celebrations unfolded ultimately pushed aside more complex histories of violence, colonization, slavery, and nation building. The positioning of the 250th anniversary celebration in relation to these locations can help us map out the relationship Brown continues to have to the history of its own founding.



Figure 1. Brown University celebrated its 250th anniversary with a kickoff event on the campus Main Green, which featured fireworks in the shape of 250 on University Hall, built in 1770 by slave labor.

Photo courtesy of Tom Sullivan at the *Brown Daily Herald*.

"Community Gathers for Brown's birthday bash." By Isobel Heck. March 10, 2014.

On the Main Green, in front of University Hall, massive scaffolding rigs of fireworks that spelled out "250+" were constructed for the kickoff celebrations in 2014. This bold fanfare represented Brown's understanding of its founding in 1764 and how we should remember it in 2014: by throwing a dazzling celebration meant to awe in an uncomplicated way, the University celebrated a great past that had led to a great present. Behind the Main Green during these celebrations lay an abstract sculpture of a cast iron ball and broken chain, sinking into the grass with a stone plinth describing the "legend" of Brown University's origins in the slave trade.¹ This legacy of slavery was hard to hide during the 250th celebrations, but the significance of the University's involvement in the slave trade was abstracted, almost an afterthought—something a passerby might come across if they happened to look close enough. Lastly, beneath the site of celebration on the Main Green lay Native American land that had been occupied for over three hundred years, holding up the foundations of familiar buildings on campus. Buried and silent amidst the cacophony of the University was Brown's relationship to the colonization of Rhode Island. On the matter of how the homelands of indigenous peoples came to be the site of Brown, the University was silent during the 250th anniversary celebrations.



Figure 2. The Slavery Memorial was unveiled in 2014 and designed by Martin Puryear. It is located behind the University Hall. Passersby can read the plaque in front of it which publicly acknowledges that Brown University "was a beneficiary of this [transatlantic slave] trade" in Rhode Island.

Photo courtesy of Warren Jagger. "Martin Puryear | Slavery Memorial." Public Art page from *Brown.edu*.

Like other examples of celebrations organized around colonial foundations, Brown's 250th celebration functioned as an act of forgetting just as much as it was an act of remembrance. Successful celebrations like Brown's 250th anniversary are particularly good at detaching themselves from the historical and physical landscapes in which colonies are able to materialize.² But with these celebrations that seek to "decontextualize the events they celebrate . . . they open the door to competitive readings of these events."³ What follows in this paper is one such competitive reading.



Figure 3. Mike Cobe/Brown University



Figure 4. Another highlight of the 2014 kickoff celebration of Brown's 250th anniversary was the 650-pound cake replica of University Hall. Estimated to have cost upwards of \$30,000 and weighing in at 650 lbs., the cake replica was an eerie sugarcoating of the fact that the building was built by African and Native American slaves and indentured servants after the colonization of Rhode Island.

Scott Kingsley/DuoPictures for Brown University. Published in "Brown 250th: A celebration for the ages," *News from Brown*, March 11, 2014.

It is first important to note that in 2014 Brown University unveiled its Slavery Memorial sculpture on the Quiet Green, designed by renowned artist Martin Puryear. This memorial was unveiled in conjunction with the opening of Brown's Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice. These unprecedented efforts to delve into the University's involvement in the slave trade were the results of the work done by former university president Ruth Simmons. In 2006, to better understand Brown's role in the transatlantic slave trade, the Simmons administration put together a publication of research conducted by the Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice which detailed the role of Rhode Island in the transatlantic slave trade at the time of Brown's inception. The report focused on documenting the role that the Brown family, the school's namesake, played in the slave trade. Each of these projects were critical components of University-led reflections on its own origins—but the self-reflection and exploration of Brown's role in slavery and colonization is far from finished.

In particular, the full scope of colonization, slavery, and violence that took place in order for Brown to be realized as a university has yet to be reckoned with. Understanding the genesis of the Rhode Island slave trade and Brown University's role in it also involves understanding the land base that the colony was built on, and how it was cleared of its Native peoples in order for the colony and its attendant institutions to materialize. It was no coincidence that the main hubs of slave trade activity in Rhode Island—the ports of Newport, the plantations in Bristol and Kingstown—were areas that had been the pulse points of Narragansett and Wampanoag homelands before King Philip's War in 1675.

**“You have driven us out of our own Countrie”:
*King Philip's War and Native American Removal in
Rhode Island, 1636–1676***

Acquiring Wampanoag and Narragansett homelands for the colonial project of Rhode Island was the first step in paving the way towards the foundation of Brown University in 1764. This colonial acquisition project was accelerated by King Philip's War in 1675, which drastically shifted regional colonial politics and economies. As a result of King Philip's War, Rhode Island colonists were able to consolidate regional power by removing Native peoples from their lands either by killing them during war or selling them as slaves into the English colonies in the West Indies. These two outcomes of the war drastically reshaped the economy of Rhode Island by enabling the colony to enter into the lucrative transatlantic slave trade during the eighteenth century.

Cited as the bloodiest per capita fight in American history,⁴ King Philip's War “proved to be not only the most

fatal war . . . but also one of the most merciless.”⁵ As settler colonial attempts at exerting regional power became more brash, Native trade systems, agriculture, and tribal power relations were disrupted. With English land acquisition came agricultural practices that fundamentally inhibited Native subsistence practices. Wampanoag sachem Metacom, known as King Philip to the English, wrote of the havoc that colonial livestock wrought on Native lands, “when the English boft [bought] land of them [the Natives] that thay [the English] wold have kept ther Catell [cattle] upon ther owne land.” Yet even if tribes moved some thirty miles from English settlements, they were still unable to “kepe ther coren from being spoyled [by livestock].”⁶

Tension between English settlers and Native tribes in the region had been simmering over the course of several decades after Rhode Island's establishment in 1636. With this backdrop of relentless colonial expansion in New England, tense relations between Native tribes and English settlers boiled over into war on June 24, 1675. For fourteen months, English towns were razed to the ground. Led by Metacom, the allied Wampanoag, Nipmuck, Narragansett, Pocumtuck and Abenaki tribes destroyed four major towns in New England in the span of a single month. Providence, Rhode Island—the present-day site of Brown University—was also razed to the ground during the war.⁷ Devastation of colonial New England was almost total, and to many colonists in New England, it seemed as though “The Indians risen almost round ye country.”⁸

The English retaliated with the help of Pequot, Mohegan, Mohawk, and Christian Indians. As they swept through New England, the English allied forces burned wigwams and villages, killing women and children who were not fighting, and selling Native captives—both friends and foes—into slavery in the Caribbean. For colonial officials throughout New England, captured Native peoples and their lands were the spoils of war. Captives could either be used as labor within the colony to help re-build the colonial infrastructure or sold into the transatlantic slave trade.

In August of 1676, Metacom was captured and beheaded by English Captain Benjamin Church. Metacom's wife and nine-year-old son were captured and sent to Plymouth to be tried. While it is not known exactly what happened to Metacom's family after their trial in Plymouth, they were likely shipped off to the West Indies as slaves in the sugar cane fields.⁹ The sale of Metacom's family into the slavery in the Caribbean is a symbolic and physical reminder of the inextricable ties that Rhode Island's formation has to both Native displacement and the transatlantic slave trade. One could not have been realized without the other.

Enslavement of Native peoples provided capital to colonial officials, allowing them to establish themselves as wealthy slave traders and land speculators in the transatlantic world. Within three months in 1676 the Massachusetts Bay Colony sold some 188 prisoners of war into slavery for £397.13.¹⁰ To put this in perspective, these profits from the sale of Native peoples into captivity in New England in three months allowed the Massachusetts Bay Colony to make enough money to buy two and a half times the land purchased in major colonial land deals in Rhode Island.¹¹ For the colonists, the ability to harness Native labor and land through enslavement after King Philip's War would allow them to enter into the global slave market and purchase new lands and property—including people.

Although New England had already begun to import African slaves in 1638 by exchanging captives from the Pequot War, the slave trade was revisited on a far greater scale in the aftermath of King Philip's War.¹² This marked a new settler colonial relationship to land and private property—one that was inextricably linked to buying into the emerging markets of capitalism that coded chattel slaves as crucial aspects of private property.

“Building on Distinction”¹³

Rhode Island Wealth and Slavery after King Philip's War

Along the shorelines of the Narragansett Bay, a massive slave-based economy was unfolding in eighteenth century Rhode Island. The colony was in the midst of building its distinction as the largest hub of the transatlantic slave trade in North America—with some sixty percent of slave trading voyages launched within North America originating from Rhode Island in the eighteenth century (and in some years as much as ninety percent of the voyages).¹⁴ By the close of the slave trade in the nineteenth century, Rhode Islanders had “mounted at least a thousand voyages, carrying over one hundred thousand Africans into New World slavery.”¹⁵ Rhode Island was, in essence, “the commissary of the Atlantic plantation complex.”¹⁶

The wealthy families of Rhode Island were therefore involved in a complex network of international trade that began with the plantations of Narragansett Bay and extended into the slave-based plantation economies of British colonies in the Americas. With the aid or commissary of Rhode Island plantations, the British Caribbean and Southern slave systems were able to operate in their full and brutal capacities. Many planters in Rhode Island also owned plantations in the American South and West Indies—and many more helped finance slave ship ventures to West Africa, keeping a steady influx of slave ships traveling to other British colonies.

Rhode Islanders also helped fuel the sugar cane plantation economies by setting up rum distilleries. In the year of Brown's founding, Rhode Island “boasted some thirty rum distilleries, including twenty-two in Newport alone.”¹⁷ Molasses and sugar cane shipped to Rhode Island from the Caribbean, where it was distilled into rum. Rhode Island rum was then sent to West Africa in exchange for slaves, who were sent to work the Caribbean sugar cane plantations in an ongoing cycle.¹⁸ In these ways, Rhode Island planters in Narragansett Bay played a central part in the international slave trade of the eighteenth century. This was a fact that Samuel Ward, the Governor of Rhode Island in 1740 and one of the Brown University corporation members, proudly boasted of in a report to the Rhode Island Board of Trade,

“The neighboring governments have been in a great measure, supplied with rum, sugar, molasses and other West India goods by us brought home and sold to them here. Nay, Boston, itself, the Metropolis of Massachusetts, is not a little obliged to us for rum and sugar and molasses which they distil into rum, for the use of the fishermen &c. The West Indies have likewise reaped great advantage from our trade, by being supplied with lumber of all sorts suitable for building houses, sugar works and making casks; beef, pork, flour and other provisions, we are daily carrying to them, with horses to turn their mills and vessels for their own use; and our African trade often furnished them with slaves for their plantations.”¹⁹

Ward's comments highlight the interdependence between the English West Indian colonies and Rhode Island. Although slave ship ventures to Africa were a crucial component of Rhode Island's involvement in the slave trade, the bilateral trade between the West Indies and Rhode Island was central to the colony's economy in the eighteenth century.

Not only was the slave trade crucial to Rhode Island's colonial economic development, it was also central to the formation of the colony's institutions of government. As Christine Clark-Pujara writes, “slave trading and political power went hand in hand. During the colonial period most Rhode Island governors were of the merchant class. In fact, many were slave traders.”²⁰ The decision to found an educational institution therefore involved some of the largest names of the Rhode Island slave trade.

According to the report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice Committee, at least thirty members of the original Brown corporation owned or captained slave ships, and many of them were involved in the trade during their years at the University.²¹ Brown University could have therefore just as easily been called by another familiar name of colonial Rhode Island:

Hazard, Clarke, Hopkins, Niles—the list goes on. The Brown family in particular became the University's namesake largely because of their early and intergenerational donations of both land and capital—much of which had been gained through business ventures within the slave trade and through the settlement of Native lands in Rhode Island.

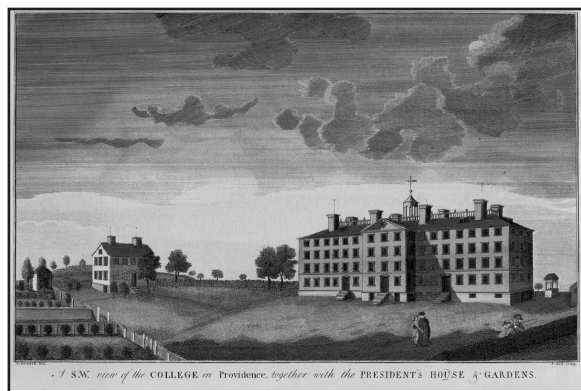


Figure 5. An early drawing of University Hall. The plot of land on which Brown's campus is built was owned by Chad Brown and is Narragansett and Wampanoag homelands. Donors who helped finance the building's construction lent out their slaves to the corporation to provide labor needed for University Hall's construction. Brenda A. Allen, et. al., "Steering Committee Report on Slavery and Justice," 12.

David Augustus Leonard *College Edifice and President's House*. Colored reproduction of circa 1795 engraving (Providence, 1968). Brown University Archives.

In 1764, the year of Brown University's founding, the institution was not only a beneficiary of the transatlantic slave trade but also represented a physical culmination of these colonization efforts that were behind the making of Rhode Island. When we celebrate the founding of Brown University uncomplicatedly, and when we continue to tell stories about the inherently exceptional qualities of Brown, we fail to recognize the institution as a site that represents the racialized violence that had to take place in order for us to be able to celebrate 250 years as a campus, a city, and to some extent, a country.

The "Afterlife": (Re) Imagining Brown 250+

On the legacies of slavery in the present day, Saidiya Hartmann writes, "if slavery persists as an issue in the political life of black America, it is not because of an antiquarian obsession with bygone days . . . but because black lives are still imperiled and devalued by a racial calculus and a political arithmetic that were entrenched centuries ago. This is the afterlife of slavery . . ." ²² The practice of studying Brown University's relationship to colonization and the transatlantic slave trade is therefore not just an exercise born out of the desire to constantly look to the past, but an attempt to contend with the "afterlives" of slavery and colonization in the present day.

Since 2014, the University has gained momentum in reckoning with its violent history. The Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice on campus promotes interdisciplinary research on slavery while also "examining how these legacies shape our contemporary world." ²³ Additionally, student and staff mobilizations have swayed the University to adapt school policies, goals, and admissions procedures that remedy some of the present-day continuations of this "after-life." The University recognized Indigenous Peoples Day in 2016, established the Native American and Indigenous Studies Initiative in 2016, and pledged \$165 million in 2015 to implement "Pathways to Diversity and Inclusion: An Action Plan for Brown University." ²⁴ These recent University actions are tangible steps towards reckoning with its racist past.

And yet, the 250th celebration of Brown's founding is an important reminder of the work that must still be done, and what is at stake when we fail to do the work. When we fail to contend with what had to take place in order for Brown University to be established, we continue to immerse ourselves in the violence of forgetting. This violence of forgetting happens when injustices of the past go unacknowledged, and creates potential for more racist violence in the present. The history I present here can be seen as the competitive reading of Brown University's celebration of itself. ²⁵ Instead of telling a story about origins rooted in greatness and righteous ideals, it is a story about interwoven mechanisms of dispossession, a story about silences, and a story about the making of an American university.

Endnotes

- 1 Mark Nickel, "Brown to Dedicate Slavery Memorial Sept. 27," *News from Brown* (Providence, RI), Sept. 19, 2014. <https://news.brown.edu/articles/2014/09/puryear>.
- 2 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1995), 131.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 See Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York, New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1999), xiii; James David Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675–1676*, Colin G. Calloway and Barry O'Connell ed., *Native Americans of the Northeast Culture, History, and the Contemporary* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 1–15; Jean M O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, Indigenous Americas Series, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 32–33, etc.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid., xi.
- 8 Increase Mather, *Diary of Increase Mather, March, 1675–December, 1676*, Samuel Green ed. (Cambridge, Mass: John Wilson & Son: 1900), 18. Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York, New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1999), xii.

- 9 Colin Calloway, "Surviving the Dark Ages" in *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, 2–28, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 1–2. Some sources, like Jill Lepore's *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* maintain that Metacom was shot to death—it is possible that both Calloway and Lepore are correct and that he was shot and then beheaded and quartered. Lepore also cites one of Church's Native soldiers, John Alderman, as being responsible for Metacom's death. Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York, New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1999).
- 10 Lepore, 154.
- 11 See the Pettaquamscutt Purchase, 1674 which was purchased by colonial proprietors for £151 for the land, with the extension of thirteen coats and a pair of breeches on credit. During the seventeenth century, the initial land deed to Providence, the Atherton purchase and the Pettaquamscutt purchase were the major land purchases that constituted the colony. For further discussion of these purchases, Colin Porter, "Uncomfortable Consequences" in *Rhode Island History Journal* Vol. 72, No. 1. Winter/Spring 2014 (Rhode Island: 2014).
- 12 Brenda A. Allen, Paul Armstrong, Farid Azfar, Omer Bartov, B. Anthony Bogues, James Campbell, Ross E. Cheit, et al. "Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice." (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 2006), 8.
- 13 The phrase "Building on distinction" is a common motto at Brown University.
- 14 Brenda A. Allen, et. al., "Steering Committee Report on Slavery and Justice," 10.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid., 11.
- 17 Ibid., 10.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 John Russel Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England vol. V 1741–1756*, "Report of Governor Ward, to the Board of Trade, on paper money." (Providence: Knowles, Anthony and Company, 1859), 5:14 quoted in Christy Mikel, Clark-Pujara. "Slavery, emancipation and Black freedom in Rhode Island, 1652–1842" (PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2009), 39. <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/4956/>.
- 20 Clark-Pujara, "Slavery, Emancipation and Black Freedom," 27–28.
- 21 Brenda A. Allen, et. al., "Steering Committee Report on Slavery and Justice," 12.
- 22 Saidiya Hartmann, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 6.
- 23 "Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice," Brown University website (Providence, RI), accessed November 15, 2017.
- 24 Kevin Stacey, "Brown releases final action plan to create a diverse and inclusive campus," *News from Brown* (Providence, RI), Feb. 1, 2016, accessed Nov. 15, 2017.
- 25 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 131

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Hypercultural White Spaces: Resisting Inclusivity Efforts on College Campuses

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Abstract

Diversity and inclusivity campaigns at colleges and universities have created rifts between the students who demand such changes and the students who resent the shift away from a culture that has primarily benefited them and not the other. Thus, while some work to disrupt the white spaces of their campuses, others work to maintain and reproduce them. This project examined incidents of racial bias at a predominantly white institution and found that white students create hypercultural white spaces to preserve the exclusivity of their campuses. They try to maintain a status quo of whiteness that pushes back against the overreaching college policies that seemingly favor difference and diversity over historical and social norms.

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On October 11, 2015, members of Concerned Student 1950 emerged from the crowd at the University of Missouri's homecoming parade and linked arms, blocking the car of University President Tim Wolfe. Wolfe ignored the demonstration and the demands of the students, who sought to draw attention to the "raw, painful, and often silenced history of racism and discrimination on the University of Missouri's campus," and the parade continued, drawing scrutiny and criticism toward Wolfe and the Missouri administration (Eligon 2015). This event turned national attention toward institutions of higher education as sites of turbulent racial conflict, and fueled student movements at nearly one hundred colleges and universities across the country, as students highlighted the injustices they face at their institutions and pushed administrators to acknowledge racial violence on their own campuses (Wong and Green 2015).

Just two weeks after the incident at the University of Missouri, the Bowdoin College sailing team hosted a "Gangster" Party, where team members wore "costumes of stereotypical African-American accessories and styles, including hair braided in cornrows, baggy clothes and 1980s hip-hop style bucket hats" (Branch 2015). After the party, several members of the team went to a dining hall still in costume. When they arrived, a handful of students of color confronted them and word of the encounter spread quickly via Yik Yak.¹ This event came less than a year after the men's lacrosse team drew criticism for "Cracksgiving," an annual party at which the team dressed as Native Americans, and only three months before several Bowdoin students hosted a Tequila Party, at which partygoers dressed in sombreros and mustaches for an event that was described mockingly in the email invitation as "not *not* a fiesta."

These incidents all occurred within three years of each other, and with each incident, the campus grew increasingly divided, as initiatives and dialogue around inclusion, diversity, and cultural appropriation became prevalent across academic, social, and residential life. Many students, primarily students of color, began to push the administration for change, while still others pushed back against the administration and the engaged students for demanding diversity and new inclusion policies so quickly and so forcefully. In light of these incidents and their aftermath, an opportunity emerged to study how students create "hypercultural white spaces," which are white spaces that are intentionally created to preserve whiteness and exclusion as the status quo while explicitly pushing back against those who seek to challenge it. This new concept expands on Elijah Anderson's theory of white spaces to explore the intentionality behind the reproduction of white spaces and what happens when white people, and white students in particular, suddenly find themselves with less power as their institutions increasingly deviate from the norm and try to adopt policies that favor those that have historically been the "other." The goals of this project were to explore how white spaces are disrupted or reproduced after incidents of racial bias and the ways in which students utilize their power and positionality within institutions of higher education to spur discourse about diversity and representation.

Colleges as White Spaces

Elijah Anderson (2015) defines white spaces as social spaces that are overwhelmingly white, and which normalize the exclusion and absence of people of color.² These include many of the spaces people move through to accomplish their daily and nightly rounds: restaurants, schools, churches, neighborhoods, and work spaces. Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, these spaces were physically all-white, though Anderson emphasizes that contemporary white spaces serve

as a perceptual framework for understanding spaces that favor white subjectivities and where people of color face symbolic exclusion. White people see white spaces as unremarkable and take them for granted as normal reflections of civil society because these spaces represent a society that is rooted in white middle-class values, white authority and ownership over these spaces, and a sense of security in knowing that white people are demographically and symbolically the majority. Though the legal measures that created and maintained white spaces are no longer in place, these spaces are continuously reproduced by the propagation of an implicit racial hierarchy, whereby anyone who is not phenotypically white is an “other” and does not belong.

Anderson (2015) points to schools, and institutions of higher education in particular, as one type of social institution that can be experienced as a white space. This is primarily due to their long histories of exclusivity, as well as both explicit and implicit symbols of whiteness. In particular, the traditions, language, activities, and cultural practices of institutions of higher education, in conjunction with the demographic dominance of whites in higher education, perpetuate white cultural ideologies that are continuously and implicitly reproduced (Soja 1989). There are also physical symbols, such as statues, art, building names, etc., of a time when education was traditionally reserved for elite white men, and campuses excluded women and students of color, and black students in particular (Fullwood 2015). While students navigate and interpret white spaces differently according to their own individual or group experiences, these emblems of whiteness constantly remind minority students that their institutions were not made for them, and that in another era they would not have even been admitted to their colleges and universities because of their race or ethnicity. The recent trend of diversification has done little to ease racial tensions and improve the experiences of students of color, which suggests that diversity efforts are not a complete solution for racial conflict and highlights a paradox in higher education: as colleges and universities have increased efforts to make their campuses more racially and ethnically inclusive in recent decades, students of color nevertheless perceive the campuses as hostile spaces to racial and ethnic minorities, often reporting more negative experiences during their college years than their white classmates (Rankin and Reason 2005).

Even though people of color have not been historically allowed in these spaces, the nation as a whole, and institutions of higher education in particular, are much more diverse than they were just decades ago. However, while we may be able to observe diversity and see the ways in which colleges and universities have changed demographically, white spaces continue to be reproduced regardless of the increased physical presence of racial and ethnic minorities.

This is because “others” are allowed to be in white spaces so long as they do not pose a threat to the status quo, which favors a white cultural ideology. As long as there is no challenge, a high level of civility can exist and people in the space can perform tolerance, respectability, and acceptance without issue (Anderson 2011). However, when there do pose a threat to white spaces, the feigned civility of the space is dropped and they are reminded that they do not belong. These poignant moments are called “nigger moments,” which are occasions when the facade of civility that is cultivated in these spaces is abandoned and someone “is made to feel their provisional status more acutely” (Anderson 2011: 291). These moments occur when white people find their sense of ownership over a space being directly challenged, so they find brief opportunities to explicitly remind people of color that they do not belong before adopting the mask of civility again. While a person of color may feel increasingly self-aware of their positionality in a white space after a nigger moment, white people will continue to go about their daily lives as if nothing has happened, knowing that they can depend on the historical security of whiteness to sustain their power over the space and the people in it.

In applying the theory of white spaces to university and college campuses, it becomes evident that there needs to be further discussion about what happens as the spaces that white people considered to be normal reflections of everyday society suddenly change and become reflective of a society where they are no longer the majority and shared spaces no longer function with whiteness as the norm. In light of this issue, I extrapolate Anderson’s definition of white spaces to investigate what happens when white people can no longer depend on their institutions, their history and traditions, or on certain actors to reinforce their hegemony in white spaces. On college campuses in particular, the trend of diversification threatens to unravel decades of normalized institutional whiteness, especially as colleges and universities are going out of their way to recruit and enroll more diverse cohorts of students. Now, it is not so much that students of color are challenging the whiteness of these spaces, but rather, that the institutional policies and traditions that white students have historically depended on to preserve their white spaces are being discarded as colleges and universities enforce new policies and aim to create spaces that are inclusive to all, and seemingly erasing or diminishing both physical and symbolic symbols of whiteness and exclusivity, often to the dismay of those who have benefited from this cultural ideology.

Methodology

I engaged in a senior honors project that drew on archival, ethnographic, and interview data collected at Bowdoin College during the summer of 2016 and the

2016–17 academic year. Archival research focused on editions of the student paper, *The Bowdoin Orient*, from 1880 to the present. By highlighting specific examples of racial discord from over one-hundred years of the College's history, I illustrated how racial bias is deeply ingrained in the fabric of the institution, and how repeated action and inaction by both students and administrators over time has shaped current campus attitudes regarding race and diversity. I also conducted and transcribed thirty in-depth interviews with members of the classes of 2017, 2018, and 2019. Seeking to understand the role of students in organizational change, these interviews provided important insight into the shortcomings students see in the institution and the ways in which they, as campus actors, relate to administrators, campus spaces, and Bowdoin culture as a whole. I also spoke to faculty and administrators as they planned material about diversity and inclusivity for the Orientation Week of the incoming class.

I ultimately argue that as Bowdoin has diversified, and as both the College and students of color increasingly draw attention to the need for inclusivity, less offensive party themes, and conversations about race, both students of color and white students have worked in conjunction with and in opposition to each other in changing and shaping campus culture. While it seems as though some students work to disrupt and resist the organizational traditions and practices that reproduce the campus as a normative and traditionally white space, still others seem to resist the push toward inclusivity and diversity by creating hypercultural white spaces that resist these efforts and aim to preserve whiteness as an institutional norm (Zabala 2017). This shows that increasingly, white students take it upon themselves to create hypercultural white spaces that push back against both students of color, as white spaces have traditionally done, and against administrators and policies that prioritize diversity and inclusion over traditional reproductions of whiteness and privilege.

Hypercultural White Spaces

At Bowdoin, one primary example of hypercultural white spaces are the off-campus houses that have become increasingly popular in the last few years. Because the College is not as lenient as some students want with regard to party policies around music, themes, and alcohol consumption, their solution is to move off-campus to create spaces where they can be free to do what they want and include who they want without the College having as much say in the inclusivity of the spaces. Thus, these spaces are created by students in order to reproduce the campus' culture of whiteness through self-segregation, and in resistance to, rather than in conjunction with, the policies of the administration. The number of Bowdoin students moving

into off-campus housing has increased rapidly in the past three years, in a pattern that correlates closely with the timeline of Cracksgiving, the Gangster Party, and the Tequila Party, as well as the increased efforts of the College to draw attention to race, diversity, and issues of inclusivity. In the Fall of 2014, there were only 144 students living off-campus in housing that is not managed by the College. This number increased to 165 in the Fall of 2015, which was the year after Cracksgiving, and 217 in the Fall of 2016, which was the year after the Gangster Party and the Tequila Party. That means 12% of the entire student body lived off-campus for the duration of the 2016–17 academic year, which is significant for a school with such a small student body. I argue that off-campus housing, and in particular, the housing that is associated with white male sports teams, is a primary example of a hypercultural white space because the students who live in these houses have consciously created white spaces that go out of their way to counter administrative policy, retake the agency that they perceive is being taken away by new campus rules, and reproduce a historically and socially derived sense of security and privilege.

Before these spaces opened up, College House parties were the primary aspect of social life at Bowdoin, and before the College Houses, there was the fraternity system, which was ended by the College in 1996. The shift from fraternities to College Houses has resulted in part from the College's efforts to diversify and to create inclusive spaces. College House parties for example, are open to the entire campus. They are typically hosted by athletic teams, campus groups, or the house members themselves, and though these parties still take place, they are not as popular as they once were because social life has shifted off-campus to houses owned and run primarily by athletic teams. By moving off-campus, athletic houses have pulled Bowdoin's social culture off-campus with them and away from the College-owned houses with the College-enforced rules. Additionally, these spaces preserve the traditions that the College has ended in their efforts to diversify and promote inclusivity.

These spaces are socially attractive because they hold exclusive social events that are limited to invite-only guests or guests with very close connections to the teams. Being invited to these private spaces is a signifier of status and privilege that many students are not afforded because those who live in those spaces determine who gets to exist within them. Students who do not have this kind of access may not even know where these houses are located in Brunswick, let alone who occupies them. In particular, many students of color and other students who would challenge the white masculinity of these spaces are typically not asked to participate, and in cases where students of color are allowed to be a part of these events, they do so knowing that if an incident of racial bias were to happen, the College does not

have the same kind of control over those spaces, which are privately owned and operated. Thus, these white students are creating spaces where they can reproduce and preserve a campus culture that is rooted in whiteness and exclusivity in spite of the changes taking place on campus that aim to address this very issue.

The creation of hypercultural white spaces is also an attempt to achieve solidarity in self-segregation. Self-segregation is withdrawal or separation from an institution because of “discomfort and lack of a feeling of institutional membership” (Gurowitz 1991: 259–260). This solidarity may be as a result of shared interests, such as athletics, though as Cabrera (2012) suggests, it is often a result of a shared sense of victimhood. In this case, students feel victimized by the rapid changes that are fundamentally challenging and changing the campus spaces that have been historically and socially created for their benefit. Demographically, these off-campus houses are even more white, masculine, and sports-oriented than the campus as a whole. An informative report released by Bowdoin’s Office of the Dean of Student Affairs in the Spring of 2017 revealed that 81% of off-campus students are white, and only 19% are students of color or international students. Additionally, 61% of residents are men, 39% are women, and 76% of all off-campus students participate in varsity, junior varsity, or club athletics. These data suggest that white male and female athletes have been the most likely to leave campus, which is not a surprise given the number of off-campus spaces associated with a team or campus group. These data are also significant because this is essentially the population that Bowdoin, as an institution, was meant to serve, and the population that has historically enjoyed the most institutional privilege. That this population is seeking safe havens of solidarity away from the College suggests that it is no longer serving them in the way they expected. These hypercultural spaces have been deemed safe havens from Bowdoin’s new party policies surrounding cultural appropriation and inclusivity, which they see as diluting the normative whiteness of the institution; rather than working against the normative whiteness of the campus, some students are actively seeking to reproduce it.

By keeping these spaces so exclusive, the white students who live in them are effectively counteracting the goals of the college by creating spaces that are especially exclusive and privileged. They are ultimately successful because they are not allowing Bowdoin to ever be truly inclusive. Even though these houses are off-campus, the athletes who live in them and their teams represent Bowdoin, and their parties are seen as Bowdoin parties even though they are not registered with or managed by the school. This means that they are creating a Bowdoin experience that is only available for certain students, and they are doing so in a way that is free from institutional restrictions. Arguably,

these students believe that the status quo, which allows them to do as they please, even at the risk of harming other students and perpetuating exclusivity, is more preferable than the alternative, which is an inclusive, albeit regulated, space.

Conclusion

Incidents of racial bias and the creation of hypercultural white spaces are two significant ways in which white students have resisted the changes to the institutional culture at Bowdoin and at schools around the country. Incidents of racial bias constantly remind students of color that despite all they have achieved, and despite their presence at prestigious and predominantly white institutions of higher education, they are not always welcome. They constantly reinforce for these students that their colleges and universities are spaces in which they do not belong. I refer to these spaces as hypercultural, rather than countercultural, white spaces because rather than countering the socially and historically constructed campus culture of whiteness and exclusivity that many campuses still have, they seem to reproduce this exclusivity at its extreme. They also represent a physical and social separation between students and their historically white institutions, which no longer seem to be providing them with the privileges and protections that they have been historically granted. Hypercultural spaces are exclusive spaces which ultimately reproduce and reinforce the status quo of whiteness.

Due to the creation of these spaces, colleges like Bowdoin, which are actively working to become more inclusive and diverse, are being pushed to consider how these changes may lead to resistance from those who see these efforts as being counterproductive. In concluding this project, it became evident that there is misunderstanding between what different student groups and administrators see as the best course of action for ameliorating racial tensions. The institution and those that it was created for are being told to include the “others” that it is historically designed to exclude, and this disrupts the historic racial and social legacy of the institution. If Bowdoin naturally caters to a very specific and historically designated majority, it makes sense that this majority will feel threatened and shut out when “others” speak up and want their needs addressed. White students disrupt efforts to diversify when they feel that they are being threatened by institutional changes that favor underrepresented groups. As a result of these different interests, the College can never be completely diverse or completely exclusive and seems to be stuck in a push-pull relationship between the interests of different students.

As Bowdoin looks to the future after a turbulent year of racial incidents, the power struggle between students and administrators over the creation of campus culture

and the role of diversity and inclusivity has stayed alive and well. It is unclear whether there is anything the institution can do to change the attitudes of students who feel challenged by the push away from whiteness, or to make underrepresented students feel completely included in a space that was traditionally meant to exclude them. It is also unclear whether student actions are enough to create total institutional overhaul. At best, the solution can be found at some combination of these two approaches. Future research should expand this work beyond the small, private liberal arts college and examine if and how the relations explored in this research are present at different kinds of institutions. In particular, the histories of other institutions should be examined closely. Looking at Bowdoin's history with students of color and racial conflict helped contextualize many of the incidents that have happened recently, and it provided organizational context for the ways in which the College has responded and acted after such incidents. Other institutions, such as Georgetown University, Princeton University, and Columbia University have taken similar initial steps by acknowledging and discussing their pasts and their involvement with slavery and the institutional exclusion of people of color (Swarns 2016). The efforts of these institutions are commendable, for they have successfully started the kinds of conversations needed at institutions of higher education to create truly effective change and become more welcoming of underrepresented students. However, this is a national issue, and large-scale commitment to solving these problems and preventing another Mizzou or Yale or Bowdoin, should be at the forefront of educational and social research.

Endnotes

- 1 Yik Yak is a mobile app that allows users to anonymously post "Yaks." Other users can comment on these Yaks anonymously and can voice their approval or disapproval via upvotes or downvotes. During the Gangster Party, Yik Yak was one of the main ways students expressed their concerns, disapprovals, and opinions about the incidents, other students, and the Bowdoin administration.
- 2 Although Anderson understands white spaces in relation to the racial segregation of blacks, this conceptual framework can be expanded to include anyone who is not phenotypically white, for they face exclusion regardless of their specific ethnic or racial background.

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Claremont Colleges Consortium

Claremont McKenna College
Pitzer College
Pomona College
Scripps College

United Negro College Fund Participants

Allen University
Benedict College
Bennett College
Bethune-Cookman University
Claflin University
Clark Atlanta University
Dillard University
Edward Waters College
Fisk University
Florida Memorial University
Hampton University
Huston-Tillotson University
Interdenominational Theological Center
Jarvis Christian College
Johnson C. Smith University
Lane College

LeMoyne-Owen College
Livingstone College
Miles College
Morehouse College
Morris College
Oakwood College
Paine College
Paul Quinn College
Philander Smith College
Rust College
Saint Augustine's College
Shaw University
Spelman College
Stillman College
Talladega College
Texas College
Tougaloo College
Tuskegee University
Virginia Union University
Voorhees College
Wilberforce University
Wiley College
Xavier University