The McNair Scholars Journal

*of the University of Washington*

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From the
**Vice President and Vice Provost for Diversity**

One of the great delights of higher education is that it provides young scholars an opportunity to pursue research in a field that interests and engages them. The McNair Scholars Program offers support and opportunity for students to pursue scholarly research, and The *McNair Scholars Journal* plays an important part in that support by publishing their results. The Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity is pleased to publish the eighth edition of *The McNair Scholars Journal* of the University of Washington.

The McNair Scholars Program offers opportunities to a diverse group of students—students who may not otherwise get the chance to work closely with a faculty mentor on in-depth research. The young scholars who participate in the McNair program are among the most motivated and dedicated undergraduates at the UW. Their hard word and accomplishments put them in a position to succeed in graduate school. The *McNair Scholars Journal* plays an important part in the career of these young scholars by publishing their research at an early stage.

Please join me in thanking the faculty, staff and students who came together and made this journal possible.

Sheila Edwards Lange, Ph.D.
Vice President for Minority Affairs
Vice Provost for Diversity

I am very pleased to present the eighth edition of the University of Washington's *McNair Scholars Journal* to our reading audience. The collective excellence of these sixteen projects is a testament to the hard work of our students and the unwavering support of faculty mentors who supervised these projects. As always, I want to extend my gratitude to the faculty, whose guidance and support has allowed our students to grow in meaningful ways, while giving our scholars the foundation to enter graduate school with confidence and solid research experience.

The McNair Program at the University of Washington strives to create meaningful academic experiences that will enable our students to succeed at the next level. The research component for McNair Scholars has two specific goals: First, engage students in the research enterprise at the undergraduate level, so they develop the analytical and methodological skills, academic sophistication, and confidence that will make them successful students in graduate school. Second, provide students a unique opportunity to publish their undergraduate research, so the scholars gain an early understanding of the critical role that publishing will play in their academic careers. In this respect, the McNair Journal is a key component in the preparation of our scholars for careers in research and teaching.

Our journal involves the work of several people who work behind the scenes proofreading, editing and preparing the final draft for publication. I would like to extend my appreciation to the UW McNair staff, Dr. Gene Kim, Associate Director, Rosa Ramirez, Program Coordinator, and our graduate student staff, Audra, Teresa, Hoang and Ashley, for their commitment to the McNair mission and for bringing this project to completion. They are an asset to the program and have been instrumental in preparing this high quality journal.

On behalf of the entire McNair Staff, I sincerely hope that you enjoy reading the eighth edition of the *McNair Scholars Journal*.

Dr. Gabriel E. Gallardo
Director, McNair Program
Associate Vice President, Office of Minority Affairs

From the
**Dean of the Graduate School**

It is with real pleasure that I write to introduce this eighth volume of The *McNair Scholars Journal*. The papers contained in this volume represent a remarkable breadth of scholarship. They also represent a depth of scholarship that encompasses the best of what the University of Washington has to offer. The Scholars, their faculty mentors, the staff of the McNair Program, and all of us at this institution are justifiably proud of this work.

The McNair Scholars' Program honors the memory and achievement of the late Dr. Ronald E. McNair, a physicist and NASA astronaut. Its goal is to encourage young men and women to emulate the academic and professional accomplishments of Dr. McNair. One of the goals of the McNair Program is to encourage students who have been disadvantaged in their pursuit of academic excellence to attain not only a baccalaureate degree, but to continue a career in graduate education culminating in a doctoral degree. It is because of this goal that The Graduate School is proud to be a partner in this program. The outstanding undergraduate students who are selected to be McNair Scholars are actively recruited by our own and other graduate schools nationwide. They represent the imagination, talent, and dedication that will enrich the future professorate and provide the leadership needed in a complex and changing world.

Thanks to all of our McNair scholars and mentors for helping to create a vital and vibrant intellectual community for all of us here at the UW. Congratulations on this excellent publication.

Suzanne T. Ortega
Vice Provost and Graduate Dean

From the
**Associate Dean, The Graduate School, GO-MAP**

I am very pleased that you have the opportunity to read the work of our McNair Scholars. This work represents the culmination of the efforts of very talented students who represent the breadth and excellence of the academy. Our McNair scholars are from many different disciplines, from the humanities to the social sciences to the natural sciences, but all are alike in their excellence, which you will clearly see in their work.

The McNair Program's mission, the encouragement of students who have been disadvantaged is critical to the future of higher education in the U.S. As our population becomes increasingly diverse we need more role models on our faculties and in leadership positions, but it is also critically important that we not waste talent. Through these students have been disadvantaged, they are very talented and we need them to succeed. This is the reason that the University of Washington Graduate School's Graduate Opportunities and Minority Achievement Program (GO-MAP) is a proud partner with the McNair program. We share a mission finding, encouraging, and supporting these talented students so that they can take their place in the next generation of scholars and intellectual leaders of this society.

Finally, it is important that we recognize that one of the important things that the University of Washington and other research universities do best is to train researchers. Our students have the wonderful educational opportunity to study with and learn the craft from some of the leading scholars in the discipline. By taking advantage of this opportunity, McNair Scholars will be among the most competitive for the best spots in graduate training programs as well as for the fellowships and research assistantships that will support their work and study.

I hope that you enjoy reading their work and join me in appreciating the quality of these students.

Sincerely,

Juan C. Guerra, Associate Dean
The Graduate School, GO-MAP

## Journal Disclaimer

While the McNair Program Staff has made every effort to assure a high degree of accuracy, rigor and quality in the content of this journal, the interpretations and conclusions found within each essay are those of the authors alone and not the McNair Program. Any errors or omission are strictly the responsibility of each author.

# THE MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL
*of the University of Washington*

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| *Edgar Flores did not provide a journal contribution<br><br>*Natividad Chavez's work will appear in Volume IX in Spring 2010<br><br>*Jaimee Marsh's work will appear in Volume IX in Spring 2010 | |

# The Unequal Distribution of Opportunity:
## How Public Policy Has Allowed the Fate Of Low-Income Students to Depend On Luck.

Alula Asfaw

Why is it that some poor, low-income, and first generation students succeed in getting a college education in spite of the odds against them while the vast majority fail to go on to get higher education?

During my own struggle to succeed as a student at two of Seattle's deteriorating public high schools, I began to realize that most of my fellow students were falling behind, dropping out, or abandoning any hopes they may have had to go on to get a college degree. The longer I thought about it, and the more I talked to my friends and fellow students, the more I began to wonder about what it was that made some students from schools like mine successful while most either failed to graduate from high school or, if they did, failed to go on to college. In other words, why was it that some of the students from schools like mine – students from low-income, high poverty, and blighted neighborhoods and run-down and neglected schools - found their way into elite and top-tier universities while the vast majority failed to even gain entry into any college at all?

There is no shortage of literature offering theories about why low-income students from high poverty, blighted neighborhoods and run-down and neglected schools never graduate from high school or, if they do, never manage to move from the community colleges to a four-year institution. I wanted to know what factor or factors contributed to the success of the relatively small group who were able to transcend the circumstances of their birth and economic status and successfully go on to complete their post-secondary education. This research takes an intensely personal perspective for me as I tried to determine what public policy could learn from these students and how public policy might be altered to better serve more students from low-income communities.

Students from low-income and first-generation families born into the bottom 10 percent of the income scale have only one chance in three of getting out of the bottom 20 percent. [Thomas Hertz]. This paper seeks to discover what factors contribute to why some low-income and first-generation high school students succeed in reaching college while the vast bulk of their cohort fail to do so. The goal is to identify factors of success and to ask whether these successes can be duplicated by public policy.

**The School Funding Issue**

       Many educational policy experts identify the current reliance on local property taxes to fund public education as the source of inequality in public education. Experts argue that funding public education with property taxes perpetuates the relative impoverishment of schools that students in low-income families are forced to attend. The growing gap between well-funded schools serving children from wealthy families and under-funded schools serving mostly low-income families is a result of how state policy makers have chosen to fund the public education system. Indeed, the nationwide disparity of $1,348 per student between high-poverty and low-poverty districts illustrates the magnitude of the disparity[1].

       If a state chooses to yield its powers of taxation to local governments, the natural tendency is for wealth-based disparities to widen.[2] Since school districts are governed by state law and derive their power and authority from state policy makers, its is the state policy makers who should ultimately to be held accountable for a funding structure that denies low-income families an equitable public education[3]. The way that state governments fund public schools has serious consequences for students from low-income districts[4]. The schools that these students attend often lack Advanced Placement (AP), honors classes, and "culturally enriching" electives such as music and art, as well as teachers capable of preparing students for the rigors of college studies.

       Local property taxes, based the appraised value of local real estate, vary from district to district. The value of local real estate in poor neighborhoods is insufficient to provide the necessary resources to give these students an education on par with that offered in more affluent

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[1] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

[2] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

[3] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

[4] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

districts.

Property values vary by a ratio of 10 to 1 largely because of the disparity in revenue generated between low-income, high tax (per capita) districts and high – income lower-tax (per capita) districts.

Generating sufficient tax returns from less affluent, lower-income neighborhoods generally necessitates a higher tax rate than that required in a more affluent neighborhood. Affluent, property-rich districts generate abundant tax revenue even with low tax rates, while low-income, property-poor districts are trapped by high property tax rates that burden homeowners and businesses and generate insufficient funding for local schools.[5] In a study of the funding gap, Kevin Carey found that:

> In 27 of the 49 states studied, the highest-poverty school districts receive fewer resources than the lowest-poverty districts. Across the country, $907 less is spent per student in the highest-poverty districts than in the most affluent districts[6].

This dependency on property tax varies from state to state. These tax rates vary from a high of 83.9% in New Mexico to a low of 38.2% in Nebraska[7]. Several educational policy experts suggest decreasing reliance on local property taxes and increasing the educational funding derived from state sources. These experts argue that, by lowering our dependence on property taxes, we can make sure that students from all parts of each state receive equal access to a reasonably equitable education. By perpetuating funding disparities, poverty, and lack of opportunity for students from low-income families, funding education through property taxes reinforces the inequitable American class structure. It has been suggested that, if policy makers pool local taxes and distribute these new state revenues in a more

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[5] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

[6] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust Fall (2003): 11-15. 2 Mar. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/EE004C0A-D7B8-40A6-8A03-1F26B8228502/0/funding2003.pdf>.

[7] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

impartial manner, the average child's access to an equitable education far less dependent on geography.

Researchers believe that to actually resolve the educational funding conundrum, state officials need first to find a way to more equitably distribute education funds among the various school districts, as well as among schools within a given district.

How money is divided among individual schools in the districts can have as much of an impact on educational quality as how dollars are distributed between the school districts themselves[8]. It has been determined that less affluent, higher-poverty schools receive hundreds of thousands of dollars less than more affluent, schools of similar size[9]. Disparities like this between schools in the same districts usually occur in large, diverse urban school districts. But, when districts distribute funds without regard to the special needs of the individual schools, the students are the one who suffer. Moreover, because high-poverty, hard to-staff schools tend to employ a disproportionate number of low-paid, inexperienced teachers because of their lack of experience, these schools generally get much less money per student than more affluent schools.[10]

**Inequality of Neighborhood Resources**

The Neighborhood Resources Theory is a widely accepted theory that purports to explain why students from poor neighborhoods don't make it to college in greater numbers. The theory suggests that the quality of local resources available to families affects child development outcomes. The lack of parks, libraries, and childcare facilities in poor neighborhoods deprives students of developmental opportunities that wealthy families have in abundance.[11]

Many low-income schools lack the funds to pay for engaged, knowledgeable counselors and advisors who can replace absent or

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[8] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

[9] Margueritte Roza and Paul Hill, "How within District Spending Inequalities Help Schools to Fail," in Dianne Ravitch (Ed.), Brookings Paper on Education Policy, 2004

[10] Carey, Kevin. "The Funding Gap." The Education Trust (2004): 11-17. 13 Feb. 2007 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/30B3C1B3-3DA6-4809-AFB9-2DAACF11CF88/0/funding2004.pdf>.

[11] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." Increasing Access to College. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

uninformed parents. The lack of resources, as well as the general deficiency in "developmentally enriching activities" contributes to the small numbers of low-income students reaching college.[12]

Families who can barely afford to live in the city's poor neighborhoods are denied access to even poorly funded public libraries, museums, and childcare.[13] It goes without saying that, without these opportunities, students from low-income communities are at a greater disadvantage than their more affluent counterparts. The opportunities, or lack of them, associated with living in these neighborhoods influence how students learn to value and respect education. Even in the instances that these types of resources are available, a family's access to them is often hindered by the "cultural capital" of the parents. If parents cannot or do not know how to access the resources, or do not value them as important and encourage their children to use them, the existence of the resource becomes irrelevant.[14]

These theories have been criticized because of what some see as their inability to separate the effects of neighborhoods from the effects of parents. Collective Socialization Theory argues that neighborhoods that are more affluent provide role models and an environment that values education.[15] More affluent, students are more likely to encounter both adults and peers in their social networks that value education and have the capacity to assist students in achieving their full academic potential. It is difficult to distinguish what the independent effects of neighborhoods are on the success of low-income students, but it is generally accepted that it is a contributor to the problem.[16]

In low-income immigrant families, cultural and social capital is

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[12] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." <u>Increasing Access to College</u>. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

[13] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." <u>Increasing Access to College</u>. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

[14] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." <u>Increasing Access to College</u>. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

[15] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." <u>Increasing Access to College</u>. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

[16] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." <u>Increasing Access to College</u>. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

seen as the greatest hurdle because, in many instances, the children will be the first generation in the family to attend college. In many low-income communities, attitudes, tastes, and dispositions develop over generations and result from the cultural experience that each community has had with the broader society.[17]

This inequality in schools and neighborhood resources translates into fewer honors and AP courses in these high schools and even fewer additional "culturally enriching" opportunities. Consequently, these students make less competitive applicants for college and are often academically not ready for college level classes. Contrary to a widely held belief, one study found that the rigor of the curriculum to which students are exposed is one of the best predictors of long-term academic success[18]. Indeed, it appears that the rigor of a curriculum seems to be an even better indicator of long-term success than socio economic status.

**Inequalities in Familial and Social Capital**

Repeatedly, research has shown that parents of low-income and minority students have the same aspirations that higher income parents have for their children.[19] The difference is that higher income parents have the knowledge, experience, and cultural capital necessary to help their children. Less affluent, often immigrant or inexperienced or less educated families, lack the resources necessary to give their children the same advantages. People with cultural capital are well versed in the way the "system" works. They understand its particulars and can use those skills to help their child get into schools that offer college prep courses, ensure that they make a competitive application, and utilize public school resources. Often parents who lack the cultural capital to help their children never went to college or have little formal education and/or are recently arrived immigrants. Studies of middle class parents demonstrated that they understand the importance of taking algebra versus basic math in junior high school and were actively involved in

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[17] DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural Capital and school Success: The Impact of status culture participation on the grades of U.S high School students, American Sociological Review

[18] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." Increasing Access to College. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002. 81-105.

[19] (Haro, 1994; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Steinberg, 1996)

keeping their child was on track to go to college.[20]

Another theory, closely related to the Cultural Capital Theory, is the Social Capital Theory. Social Capital refers to the social networks that parents and family members have that allow a child access to advice and guidance opportunities. Social and business relationships developed by parents and family members of affluent students have a significant impact on the future options available to a student. Indeed, the extended social networks (Social Capital) that affluent families have can make available opportunities to affluent children that will never be available to students who come from low-income families.

**Teacher Quality**

Researchers generally agree that an essential element to helping students from poverty-stricken, under funded school districts is well-trained teachers with a background in the subject matter they teach. More importantly, research has repeatedly demonstrated that the percentage of children being taught by substandard or out-of-discipline teachers disproportionately affects poor and lower-income students. The higher pay available in well-funded school districts and safer and affluent neighborhoods attracts well-qualified teachers, leaving under-funded school districts to hire the less qualified.

Inexperienced teachers tend to be assigned to under-funded, high-crime neighborhoods. Indeed, inexperienced teachers are assigned to high-poverty and high-minority schools twice as frequently as are they are assigned to more affluent schools.[21] High-poverty, high minority population school districts are often used as training grounds to prepare new teachers to teach in more affluent, better paying school districts in the future.

In addition to the disproportionate assignment of inexperienced teachers to low-income schools, these schools are also much more likely to be forced to assign teachers to teach outside of their subject areas. Out-of-subject teachers often teach classes in which they have no academic training whatsoever. "In high-poverty secondary schools, more than one in three core academic classes are taught by out-of-field teachers, compared to about one in five classes in low-poverty

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[20] Useem, Elizabeth L. (1992). Middle School and Math Groups: Parents' Involvement in Children's Placement. Sociology of Education 65, 263-279.

[21] Peske, Heather G. "Teaching Inequality." Education Trust (2006). 7 Apr. 2006 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/010DBD9F-CED8-4D2B-9E0D-91B446746ED3/0/TQReportJune2006.pdf>.

schools[22]."  One study found that, ". . . half of the math classes in both high-poverty high schools and high-minority high schools are taught by teachers who don't have a college major or minor in math or a math-related field, such as math education, physics, or engineering."[23] Researchers have demonstrated that a teachers' level of literacy in the courses thought accounts for more of the variance in student achievement than any other measured characteristic of teachers."[24]

These conclusions are particularly apparent in mathematics and the sciences, where teachers with a major in the subject they teach routinely obtain higher student performance than teachers who majored in some other subject.[25]

The lack of resources and the imbalance in the ratio between student and teacher, in addition to the inexperience of many teachers, makes it difficult to teach effectively.  The classroom is one area where an out of balance ratio between students and teachers has hindered our teachers' abilities to be effective.  Added to that, the lack of counseling and academic advising services available to students in less affluent high schools leaves many students without access to the guidance and counseling they need.

This disparity between available counseling and guidance means that students from less affluent schools suffer inordinately from decreased access.  The average high school counselor serves 850

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[22] Peske, Heather G. "Teaching Inequality." Education Trust (2006). 7 Apr. 2006 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/010DBD9F-CED8-4D2B-9E0D-91B446746ED3/0/TQReportJune2006.pdf>.

[23] Peske, Heather G. "Teaching Inequality." Education Trust (2006). 7 Apr. 2006 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/010DBD9F-CED8-4D2B-9E0D-91B446746ED3/0/TQReportJune2006.pdf>.

[24] Wayne, A.J., and Youngs, P., 2003.  Teacher Characteristics and Student Achievement Gains: A Review.  Review of Educational Research, Vol.3, No. 1, pp. 89-122; Whitehurst, Grover Research on Teacher Preparation and Professional Development, White House Conference on Preparing Tomorrow's Teachers, March 5, 2002

[25] Goldhaber and Brewer, Evaluating the Effect of Teacher Degree Level on Educational Performance, in Developments in School Finance, 1996; Monk and King, Multilevel teacher Resource Effects on Pupil Performance in Secondary Mathematics and Science, in Ronald G. Ehrenberg (ed.), Choices and Consequence.  Ithaca, NY:  ILR Press, 1994.

students.[26]  Indeed, the data suggest that counselors from less affluent, low-income schools are often overwhelmed by demand, a fact which cannot help but reduce their effectiveness on a per student basis.  Studies have shown that academic counselors and guidance counselors can have an important impact on the direction of a student's life.  A low ratio between counselors and students is important if students are to get effective advice about appropriate courses, the college application process, and financial aid.

**Inadequate College Opportunities**

Generally speaking, higher-achieving, low-income students commonly go directly to college at about the same rates as the lowest-achieving students from wealthy families[27].  Many educational policy experts would argue that this fact epitomizes the problems with educational opportunity.  The inequality is even further demonstrated by the fact that by, the age of 24, 75% of students from top income brackets have received college degrees while only 9 % of low-income students have earned a bachelor's degree.[28]  Some have argued that causes for the growing inequality in college access can be traced to three major obstacles:

- Rising college costs and declining student aid necessary to make it possible for low-income students to afford a college education.
- Urban and rural high schools that don't offer courses students need to be competitive applicants to universities.
- The generally complicated and overwhelming college application process.

Under-funded school districts cannot offer students as many extra curricular activities or as many challenging AP and other college prep courses.  Nor can they hire the appropriate numbers of sufficiently experienced college counselors and academic advisors.

Students from low-income communities are already at a disadvantage when making college applications because they have not had access to the same opportunities or the same type of support

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[26] Gandara, Patricia. "Meeting Common Goals." Increasing Access to College. Albany, New York: State University of New York, 2002.
[27] U.S. Department of Education, NELS:  88, Second (1992) and Third (1994) Follow-Up in USDCE.  NCES Condition of Education, 1997.
[28] "Family Income and Higher Education Opportunity 1970 to 2003" Postsecondary Education Opportunity, Number 156.  June 2005.

network. The result is that only about one-half of all college-qualified students from low-income families actually enter a four-year college. In contrast, 80 percent of similarly qualified students from high-income families go on to attend four-year universities[29]. Obviously, a highly qualified and motivated student from an under-funded school district is still limited in the opportunities that he/she will have because of the geography of school funding.

If that weren't enough, even if students from a struggling school district do get accepted to a university, they are often deterred or quickly drop out because of rising costs and the declining availability of student aid or because they enter college without a support network, without the study habits and in-depth of knowledge, and without any understanding of how to negotiate college. It has been repeatedly noted that universities often end their institutional responsibility after admitting a student, disregarding the variations between academic preparation and experience among less affluent and more affluent students. This often leaves less affluent, low-income students to struggle, unprepared and alone in an unfamiliar academic environment in which they have little or no experience. It is little wonder that these special admittance students fail at rates far greater than do their more affluent peers.

Feeling pressure to boost their selectivity rankings and academic rankings at the expense of extending opportunities to a broader range of students, many American universities are concentrating their limited resources on recruiting highly competitive, high testing students.[30] This effort to use their resources to concentrate on high achieving students short-changes low-income and first-generation students who cannot make competitive applications. It is beginning to seem obvious that a college education is increasingly becoming a luxury to which only the wealthy have access.

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[29] Lutz Berkner and Lisa Chavez, Access to Postsecondary Education for the 1992 High School Graduates. NCES, U.S. Department of Education, 1997.

[30] Haycock, Kati. "Promise Abandoned: How Policy Choices and Institutional Practices Restrict College Opportunities." Education Trust (2006). 3 Feb. 2006 <http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/B6772F1A-116D-4827-A326-F8CFAD33975A/0/PromiseAbandonedHigherEd.pdf>.

**Overview**

Contemporary research overwhelmingly focuses on why the vast bulk of low-income communities fail to advance to higher education. We begin where the current literature ends. This paper will demonstrate how some students from less affluent, low-income families have been able to overcome obstacles that other students dealing with the same kinds of obstacles, have been unable to overcome.

Much of the current literature attempts to use failure as an antonym for success. In fact, successful students are not simply the opposite of failed students, for there is a vast pool of possibilities between them. Failing to view success and failure as a continuum ignores the series of choices students confront.

Rather than focusing on students who are falling, we are convinced that there is more to be learned from understanding how successful students are able to negotiate their way through unfavorable circumstances to achieve their desired academic outcome. This paper will try to understand the circumstances, individual character traits, and opportunities successful students have that allow them to surmount the circumstances of birth.

Attempting to understand the reasons why students who come from difficult backgrounds become successful are important because it allows us to isolate the reasons students fail. Isolating the problem will allow us to create a policy that can more effetely treat the problems of educational inequality and poverty. There are small minorities of students who come from what are generally regarded as less affluent, low-income, and first-generation families that attend some of the most selective universities and colleges around the country. The current literature does not explain or seek to understand what unique characteristics allow these students to be not just mediocre, but to be academically successful.

I will be attempting to understand what it is about these individual students that have allowed them to beat the odds and try to determine if public policy can effectively apply these lessons to help others achieve success.

**Case Studies**

This paper will use an anthropologically oriented ethnographic case study approach to examine five low-income students who attend public high schools in the Seattle area and who will be attending a four-year university in the fall of 2007. This paper seeks to gain insight into the reasons why these low-income, less affluent students have been able to become successful in spite of the obstacles and circumstances they

have been forced to deal with.  Too often public policy deals with statistics and fails to talk to the very people it is designed to assist. Therefore,  a case study approach, though less scientifically rigorous than many quantitative approaches will provide a point of departure for further study in an area that, judging by the absence of research, is currently underdeveloped.  The five students selected for these case studies represent a small part of an even smaller group of successful low-income students who have overcome significant odds in order to successfully compete at the university level.

To begin, we will illustrate the obstacles faced by students from low-income families who attend-under funded public schools.  Franklin High School, our first example, is a majestic 1911 Beaux-Arts building on a hill overlooking a payday loan outlet, an assortment of convenience stores and a single gas station in a once prosperous part of Rainier Valley.  Looking more like an ancient museum than a contemporary high school, Franklin High is barely a stone's throw from the very affluent, upscale Mount Baker Neighborhood.  The exterior of the school parallels the everyday exterior appearance of many of its students.  The reality of this deception is revealed only after you have gone inside this stately old building to see the almost squalid, deterioration that has eaten away at its interior.  The impressive façade conceals a barely functioning, deteriorating core that is analogous to the lives of most of Franklin's students.  The exterior appearance of comfort and normalcy conceals a rotting, failing interior that reflects the hopelessness of its occupants.

Like most low-income, urban high schools, almost 50% of Franklin's students participate in the free or reduced lunch program, and the schools ethnic make-up reflects the neighborhood in which it is located rather than the city itself.[31]  Almost half of Franklin's students are Asian (48%) and more than a third are African American (35%).  The rest of the student body is Caucasian (9%) and Latino, (7%).  Franklin graduated 79% of its senior class in 2006; slightly more than a tenth of its student body dropped out before graduation (12.5%)[32].

Franklin High School is, like many schools dealing with similar problems, a sort-of Dorian Gray of high schools.  Its exterior façade and

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[31]Wiley, Jennifer. Franklin High School Annual Report. Seattle Public School District. Seattle, WA: Seattle Public Schools, 2006. 1 Apr. 2006 <http://www.seattleschools.org/area/siso/reports/anrep/high/13.pdf>.
[32] Wiley, Jennifer. Franklin High School Annual Report. Seattle Public School District. Seattle, WA: Seattle Public Schools, 2006. 1 Apr. 2006 <http://www.seattleschools.org/area/siso/reports/anrep/high/13.pdf>.

its history conceal the institution's consistent failure to deliver on its promise. Seeing the school though the eyes of the students I interviewed I saw things that, under normal circumstances, would have remained hidden. Franklin High is representative of the problems that afflict our public education system. On paper, and from the outside, one could easily believe that it is a fully functioning, educational institution. But, once inside, one can see how it has failed to educate all students equally. This is the reality of the deception.

*Kami*

Kami is a pretty Black girl of 17 years whose deliberate demeanor and thoughtful speech reflect seriousness unusual for one so young. Kami's confidence seems to be the result of a lifetime of coping with horrors that most can never even imagine. Kami carries herself with a confidence that belies her long struggle with sickle cell anemia, a disease that has repeatedly threatened the health of her fragile diminutive body. Kami was born and raised in publicly supported, low-income housing in a mixed-race, run-down, low-income part of the city well known as a focus of police department domestic disturbance calls and gang-related violence.

Kami's mother, Matilda, the one constant in Kami's life, used to work both as a night janitor at a local community center and pumping gas at a neighborhood gas station during the day in order to support her four children.
Matilda's husband was, for the most part, absent from the family's life. Indeed, when Kami was growing up, Kami and her mother crossed paths only when Matilda woke Kami for school every morning and again when they saw each other as Matilda came home from one job and prepared to leave for the other.

Kami's father was one of the thousands of Black men in America deprived of respect and an opportunity to earn a living who had fallen victim to the ravages of drug abuse and hopelessness. Addicted to cocaine for as long as Kami could remember, her father was an absent presence in her life. He was there, but he wasn't. Indeed, Kami grew up watching and taking for granted her father's drug use. Turmoil, intermittent violence, and regular domestic upheaval were hardly unusual in her world. Kami spent the better part of our conversation playing with a heart-shaped necklace she wore. But, when she spoke of things that had obviously profound consequences, her eyes would sweep up to me from the spot on the table that she had been focusing on, and she would look right into my eyes.

Kami's father's drug addiction was the proverbial elephant in the room that everyone knew was there but that no one openly acknowledged. Despite its deleterious effects on the family, the open secret was never discussed until the day when Kami's father came home, went into the bathroom to inject his cocaine, and walked out only to collapse in a semi-coma in front of the entire family. Kami took on a powerfully insistent emotional tone as she told this story, and her feelings about the incident came through fiercely as she described calling the ambulance, the arrival of the police, and her suddenly changed perspective on the world. Kami talked not of her anger, but of her disappointment in her father whom she had finally been forced to see as the addicted, unresponsive, always absent father that he really was; Kami's self-protective, willful ignorance had been forcibly stripped from her, and she was compelled to see what her father really was – a drug addicted loser. As Kami told me this story, I found myself wondering how her older brother and sister had dealt with their father's drug addiction. I found myself comparing my own life to hers, astonished not only at how hard people will try to mask the unpleasant circumstances in their lives but also the effects masking these unpleasant truths can have on their lives and attitudes about living. While no one can say for sure to what degree Kami's father's life style affected the members of her family, few would argue that there was no effect.
Kami's sister got pregnant early, precluding any further education, and was forced into a minimum wage job to make ends meet.

Finally, after nearly fourteen years of instability and struggle, Kami's father was forced out of their home, and her mother was able to secure a steady, better paying job managing a beauty supply store, a job that allowed Kami and her family to have a more normal life together and gave Kami the chance to get to know her mother better. Today, Kami's mother earns enough to support Kami and her brothers and sisters, but Kami still helps to make ends meet. Life has improved. But no one is going to argue that it is easy for the family.

Throughout our conversation, Kami would reference her father's drug use, and that critical overdosing episode, as the catalyst for her desire to transcend her background and family history and take control of her own life. It was the moment her father collapsed in front of the family that she determined that her life had to be different from that of her parents.

Kami spoke often, and with pride, of how hard her mother worked to provide for her and her brothers and sisters. As I listened to her, I realized that Kami had reacted to the overwhelmingly negative environment she grew up in by determining that the only thing she could

be sure of controlling, and the only person she could count on, was herself. Her deliberate movements and her self-composed demeanor reflected a determination to avoid mistakes and be in control of her own decisions.

During our discussion about the people who most influenced her, Kami quickly pointed to her Mom as a source of strength and unwavering support. She also mentioned the doctor who has treated her for her sickle cell anemia since she was a small child and, finally, Mrs. Fina Marino from the Upward Bound Program who encouraged and supported her as she reached for academic success. Over the many years of treatment and visits to her doctor, Kami grew close to the woman who taught her about her disease other diseases people face and how our bodies work. She also showed a compassion and concern that Kami had rarely come across.

Indeed, Kami credits her doctor's kindness, compassion, and interest in her future with being the reason behind her decision to become a doctor herself. Finally, Kami credits her relationship with Ms. Fina Marino and the Upward Bound program for convincing her that she could indeed aspire to a university education and eventually become a doctor.

As Kami explains, "no one ever told me I should go to college, in fact, no one in my family or in my neighborhood ever even mentioned college to me, and it was just assumed that school ended after high school. I cannot describe how excited my Mom was when I told her I was going to go to college." Kami knows that her mother knew little about getting into college and even less abut what to do once Kami got to college, but she also knows, and proudly points out, that her mother's interest in her progress and her support and encouragement have never wavered.

*Jordan*

Jordon is a lanky, tall, dark Black youth who, like Kami, went to Franklin High School. Jordan smiles easily and his size belies his easy going, soft-spoken nature. As he describes it, Jordan grew up mostly "angry" at nothing in particular, ". . . just angry and resentful in general." Some would say Jordan's anger is unsurprising considering the fact that his father had abandoned their family when Jordan was very young. Indeed, Jordan has little recollection of having a father in his life. Jordan appears oblivious to the possibility that his unfocused and vaguely defined anger is connected in any way to his life's circumstances. In fact, Jordan seemed almost reluctant to admit that his anger often overwhelmed his rational self. He described events in which he would find himself throwing books and other objects at a teacher because he

was "angry" or "frustrated" but unable to articulate what he was angry about. He once described how he "almost choked a kid to death" when he was in the 6th grade because the kid had made him so angry.

Jordan's reluctant revelation that he had been diagnosed with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) was accompanied by a dismissive attitude about the diagnosis. Jordan remembered his strict pill-taking regimen as a painful reminder of his troubled youth. "My medication, Ritalin, really didn't help me." he said. Nevertheless, Jordan did seem to recognize that ADHD-afflicted people are generally angry in an unfocused way and often find it difficult to focus their attention or control their behavior. In conversation, Jordan admitted that, when he was younger, he thought of his teachers as the enemy. Jordan's teachers, unsurprisingly, saw an angry Black, inner-city youth rather than a confused, rebellious youngster suffering from a medical condition. Indeed, given the institutional bias and the relatively limited understanding of his affliction, Jordan was actually lucky that his teacher's instinctive and reactionary tendency to label him "troublemaker" didn't seriously cripple his chances for a successful future. Since some researchers estimate that, ". . . between 3 and 5 percent of children [in America] have ADHD," it is likely that in a classroom of 25 to 30 children, there will at least be one Jordan.[33]

Jordan's anger problems appeared to be unaffected by the medical approach but seem to have been seriously altered by his mother's words. One day, after repeated problems and troubles at school, Jordan's mother said to him, "Boy, I am tired. I am tired of having to yell and scream, meet with your teachers and try to make a living. If you don't stop this, you're going to kill me!" Jordan's description of the effects of his mother's words on him was remarkable. Jordan's mother had been in the hospital repeatedly because of high blood pressure and stress that she attributed to Jordan's constant trouble in school. Jordan told me, in very moving terms, that "imagining my mother dying really changed my perspective on life". His description of that life-changing moment revealed his deep embarrassment and shame at the thought that he might be the source of his mother's misery. He described very forcefully how he determined then and there that he would never again be the reason for his mother to have to visit a hospital or his school because of troubles he had caused or problems he had

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[33] United States of America. National Institute of Health. National Institute of Mental Health. 2006. 14 Mar. 2006 <http://www.nimh.nih.gov/publicat/adhd.cfm#intro>.

created. Jordan is convinced that it was his recognition that he was the source of his mother's pain and illness that changed him from the stereotypical, angry black youth to a serious, focused, hard working student determined to suppress his anger and change his life.

Jordan's mother raised him, his 21-year-old brother, and his 11-year-old sister by herself after divorcing Jordan's father when Jordan was only three years old. Jordan's father, who works intermittently as a handy man, has only been a sporadic presence in his life. His mother has worked as a payroll supervisor at the local fire department since she was 16 years old and, after working hard for over 30, currently manages to make enough money to maintain a reasonable life style. Jordan's family was fortunate in that they lived in, and he grew up in the relative security the same house that his mother and his grandmother grew up in. In fact, Jordan's grandmother still lives in the remodeled basement of the house.

Jordan's entire demeanor changed as he described his love for animals. This affection, he explained, developed, and grew when he was a child watching television. "I remembered so many random facts about the animas that people were impressed," he told me.

Jordan's interest grew and he began to devour books and films about animals and how they lived. As his knowledge, grew his ability to discuss animals and their lives grew as well. The recognition and positive attention that this knowledge attracted impressed Jordan and shaped his desire to become a zoologist. To date, Jordan has voluntarily invested over 200 hours of service at the Seattle zoo, where he answers visitors' questions about the exhibits and the animals in them.

Jordan describes how his life has changed since he changed the way he approached life. He is a quieter, more reflective person than he used to be, and he is no longer an angry young man. He is now more bemused than upset by the fact that, when he started working at the zoo, he would often be there for hours without having a single patron ask him a question while his co-workers would often be inundated with questions. Jordon is pretty sure that his size and color intimidated people, and he later found that the best way to do his job was to approach zoo patrons, disarm them with his easy smile, and then volunteer information about the exhibits. As he has grown and changed, Jordan has evolved into a less angry person, more focused on improving his life so that he can help improve his family's life as well.

Located in the dilapidated, lower-income, ethnically mixed Delridge district of West Seattle, Chief Sealth High School serves slightly fewer than 1,000 students. Despite its location and the economic profile of the neighborhood, I was surprised by the number of cars parked in the school's parking lot. It seemed to me as though all 1,000

students drove a personal car to school everyday. Chief Sealth's student body is comprised of a surprisingly well-balanced distribution of ethnicities: roughly one quarter African American, one-quarter Asian American, one-quarter white and almost one-quarter Latino. The almost equal representation of ethnic groups is apparent as soon as one enters the building. The student body appears to be relatively self-confident and casual about classes and class times. It seemed to me as though the class bell was treated more as a gentle reminder that class was beginning rather than a demand for the students' presence. Everyone was pretty casual about class times, prompt attendance, and the bell itself.

In 2006, Chief Sealth's dropout rate was 30% of the student body; barely 60% of its students graduated. Chief Sealth is representative of hundreds of deteriorating, urban high schools undergoing rapid change and trying to assimilate a new population of students. The problem that plague Chief Sealth—lack of experienced teachers, sufficient funding, and interested students—seem insurmountable. Simply getting an education at Chief Sealth requires a determination and commitment that most students lack or abandon by the time they have spent a few years there.

*Oscar*

Oscar Castro Jr's father, like thousands of Mexican's before him, crossed illegally into this country hoping to make a better living picking fruit in the verdant orchards and valleys of California. After many years of laboring in the fields, Oscar's father acquired his green card and returned to Mexico where he married. The Castro family's first child was stillborn, and the family determined to return to the United States so that their children could be American citizens and so that they could have access to better medical care. When the family returned to the United States, Oscar's father was legal but his mother was not. Oscar was born in 1988 shortly after the Castro's arrived in California. The decision to have their child in the United States was a good one because there were serious complications with the pregnancy. Oscar and his family remain convinced that Oscar would not have survived had they had to deal with Mexico's medical system.

The Castro family's first years in the United States were like those of many other immigrant families. His father worked picking grapes and oranges and his mother packed fruit and the family struggled to subsist on these meager wages. After spending time both in California and in Mexico, Oscar's parents visited Seattle, where they decided to settle permanently. Oscar's parents liked the opportunity and the less crowded conditions as well as the vibrant Mexican community in Seattle.

Oscar's father became a landscaper and his mother settled into raising their children; the family is now comprised of Oscar and his 16- and 11-year-old sisters.

As far as education was concerned, Oscar's parents had little, and there was never a strong expectation that Oscar would go beyond high school. Oscar's father had made it to the 8th grade; his mother had no education at all. Despite how hard his parents worked to learn English – they took ESL classes at the local community college – and the effort they made to prepare for US citizenship, they still struggle with the language. No one in his family, says Oscar, ever seemed to expect him to do more than graduate from high school. Indeed, Oscar describes himself as an average student throughout the first five years of his elementary education.

Like every one of the students I have interviewed, Oscar recalls and describes vividly the moment when his attitude about school and life changed. Standing in line for class one morning in the 6th grade, Oscar realized that he was the only one in class whose assignments were completed sporadically. Worse yet, a young female student he knew had an unbroken line of completed assignments. Inexplicably to him at the time, Oscar realized that he was angry and embarrassed. Oscar had experienced a severe case of disappointment in himself and had a sudden moment when he realized he cared about succeeding and was embarrassed to be seen as a failure. He describes that day as the day that it all changed for him. He admitted that he did not understand how a single moment could have had such a profound effect on his life. Oscar says that after his "conversion," he spent most of his time doing schoolwork and studying and only taking breaks to play baseball with his friends. As Oscar tells it, it was from that moment on that his entire attitude toward education changed. Developing a strong sense of self-discipline, Oscar strove to do well, complete all of his assignments and succeed at his academics.

Oscar says that the first time the idea of attending a university occurred to him was when, in the 6th grade, two people from the Gateway Program made a presentation to the class about how to apply to go to college. The presentation excited him and, says Oscar, made him start to think that maybe he could go to college. Even before that moment, Oscar says his parents had always encouraged him to do well in school. However, Oscar's parents had little knowledge of higher education and even less ability to assist Oscar in reaching a goal like that.

As Oscar points out, there was never an assertive expectation that he would go to college. Nevertheless, Oscar was excited by the possibility by the possibility and worked even harder to be academically

successfully. Oscar described how his hard work resulted in his earning some of the highest grades in the class from then on. "Academics do not come easily to me," says Oscar, "I work very hard all of the time". Oscar points to the involvement of his Gateway Program counselor, Aaron, as well as to the support and encouragement of his mentor and baseball coach as critical positive influences on his life. Oscar sees his baseball coach as the vital social mentor in his life and his parents and his Gateway counselor as the most important academic influences. Finally, in trying to understand his success, one must not overlook Oscar's strong Catholic faith. Like most Mexican's, Oscar is deeply Catholic and has said bluntly that, "The reason I am in college is because of my belief in God." Oscar says he can never remember a time in his life that he and his family weren't regular churchgoers. In Oscar's eyes, it is he and his family's deep and abiding faith in God that has made it possible for them to overcome the many obstacles the family has faced and that has allowed him to succeed against all odds.

*Chunda*

Chunda, describing his early years in Chengdu, China speaks softly about his parents and the choices they made that brought him to the United States. Chunda describes how his parents, both of whom have little formal education, worked to get the education they have. Chunda's father barely finished his elementary education before he joined the military. Chunda's mother completed her high school education. When Chunda's father was released from the military, he earned an AA-equivalent degree and went to work in an airplane parts factory in Chengdu where he met Chunda's mother.

As Chunda tells it, the only people viewed as successful are business people with money. Indeed, education in China, in Chunda's view, is all about learning how to make money and less about education for education's sake. Chunda's parents worked hard and eventually acquired three homes in China that they rented out.

Chunda's father also started and ran a small medical supplies business. More or less middle class, by contemporary Chinese standards, Chunda and his family are considered low-income here in the United States.

During our interview, Chunda described his difficulties with school in China and how his efforts never seemed to measure up to his teachers' and parents' standards. The workload was heavy, the instruction scant in many respects, and Chunda found himself struggling to complete assignments and do work that he did not understand and that his parents could not help him with. To make things even harder,

Chunda's parents would insist that he finish all of his schoolwork before he was allowed to sleep. The long nights struggling with math equations and concepts that he just did not understand took their toll, and Chunda's academic performance deteriorated. Eventually, Chunda's parents hired a tutor to help him with his work, but Chunda says that the tutor really didn't help much, and his schoolwork didn't improve. To make matters worse, Chunda describes how anxious he became about his schoolwork because of his parents ceaseless warning that, if he did not do well in school, he would end up poor and unhappy.

Because of his struggles in the Chinese school system, Chunda's parents realized that he would never be able to gain admission into one of China's highly selective colleges. Chunda's parents were determined to provide their son with an education and chance to be successful; if they could not do it in China, they would try to do it in the United States. When Chunda was 16, his father packed up and left China to become a house painter in San Francisco, CA. Chunda's father spent the next three years working as a house painter and making the arrangements necessary to bring Chunda and his mother to the United States.

A new obstacle presented itself when Chunda's father learned that, in California, state law only allows a student to finish a degree that he or she started before the age of 18. Since Chunda was a senior in his Chinese high school, his father was afraid that he would not be allowed to enroll in California, so he packed up everything, uprooted himself again and moved to Seattle where he settled. He then sent for Chunda and his mother and worked. Chunda and his mother arrived in Seattle to join his father in the summer of 2004.

A most "frustrating summer" is how Chunda described those first months in the US. Chunda talked about the ceaseless efforts to finalize immigration paperwork and his struggles with being the best English speaker in his family. Although his English was barely better than his parents, he explains that he was responsible for understand the language, the system, and the things that he and his parents needed to do to remain in the United States. Indeed, Chunda says he often felt as though the struggles would never end, and he spoke with indignation when he described the attitude of his first academic counselor at Igraham High School in Seattle. According to Chunda, during his first appointment to discuss college applications with his counselor at Ingraham, the counselor, whom Chunda describes as singularly unhelpful, told him that that he was not going to be able to go to college directly from high school because he was not going to have an opportunity to take the necessary English classes necessary to be eligible to apply. Knowing full well the huge sacrifices that his parents had made

just to give him the opportunity to go to college, Chunda would not accept this counselor's dismissive answer. Convinced that the Ingraham counselors were both uninterested and patronizing, Chunda transferred to Chief Sealth High School in his junior year. Chunda says proudly, that after his transfer to Sealth, he was able to work with committed counselors who helped him become eligible to make a college application. Despite his slow but steady progress and despite his parent's insistence on his going to college, Chunda often questioned the rationale behind this frantic effort to get an education. From the Chinese perspective, say Chunda, education is simply a way to learn to make money in business. In China, only people who start and run businesses are successful. Indeed, he described the many times he had met people with education in China who were unemployed.

Moreover, Chunda admits that one of the most compelling reasons he pursued an education was his parents' expectations. Chunda used the word, "obligated" repeatedly when speaking about the motives behind his hard work and constant study. It was out of a deeply felt sense of responsibility and debt for the sacrifices his parents had made that compelled Chunda to work incessantly to reach the goals set for him by his family. Asked when he knew he would go to college, Chunda expressed surprise at the question itself.

"It was understood from birth," he said. In China, education is valued almost above all else, and all parents expect their children to get an education. The high value placed on education, coupled with the tremendous pressure to do well in light of the nearly universal sacrifices parents make to educate their children, creates an atmosphere of what Chunda calls the "obligation to succeed".

While Chunda's parents were largely unable to help him with his studies, indeed they were barely able to even understand what he was studying; they remained supportive and encouraging throughout and always stood ready to do whatever was necessary to help him succeed. Despite every effort and all of his and his parent's work, Chunda says that it wasn't until he became involved in the University of Washington Dream Project that he began to feel secure in the knowledge that he would be able to go to college.

Working with the Dream Project exposed Chunda both to people who sincerely cared about his success and who worked hard to help him understand how to go about becoming a competitive college applicant; this kind of advice and guidance was simply unavailable anywhere else and, says, Chunda. Without the Dream Project's timely appearance in his life, he doubts he would have been able to successfully navigate the college admissions and financial aid process. Chunda credits the

involved students in the Dream Project and his parent's lifelong commitment to his success as the reasons he has been able to go to college.

To be sure, Chunda seems to labor under a heavy weight of obligation. Perhaps it is the long Chinese tradition of filial piety that makes one feel as though Chunda lives under the weight of his parents' sacrifices. As powerful an impulse in their new country as it was in the old is the expectation that Chunda, a filial Chinese son, will demonstrate his devotion to his parents by gaining an education, achieving success, and winning prestige for the family. Chunda's very serious demeanor and approach to academics and to life makes one wonder to what degree he is driven by his own convictions and desires or those of his parents and of Chinese tradition. I found myself wondering if Chunda himself could differentiate between his own goals and aspirations and those of his parents and family.

It seems pretty obvious that Chunda, unlike his cohorts, is driven by, and has been shaped by, a different standard. Chunda's deep need to measure up to the expectations of his family and fulfill the requirements demanded by the ancient concept of filial piety, while perhaps slightly less demanding today than in the past, obviously remain a powerful force in his life. Chunda's hopes for the future and expectations of himself are driven by a very profound desire not to disappoint or dishonor his family. Viewed from this standpoint, it appears that Chunda, unlike his cohorts, cannot really point to any single individual as the deciding mentor-influence in his life. Chunda's academic success seems more driven by his absolute refusal to disappoint his parents. He is following expectations not breaking them.

*Joshua*

Joshua's Jewish faith is an important part of his life. Indeed, Joshua credits the support he got from his synagogue and the people in his synagogue with much of his success in navigating his way through life. Indeed, Joshua believes that, without his faith and the support of his fellow faithful, he would never have completed high school much less considered applying to the University of Washington.

Joshua attends Foster High School in Tukwila. The school is housed in an impressive modern building that conveys the sense of a small college campus that conceals the fact that Foster is another under-funded public high school struggling to give students opportunities. The Tukwila neighborhood in which Foster is located has long been associated with poverty. About 8.8% of families and 12.7% of the

population are below the <u>poverty line</u>, including 18.0% of those under age 18.[34]

Homelessness, along with drug use, crime, and run-down properties have been, and remain, issues for Tukwila residents who tend to be drawn from largely minority and immigrant populations. Indeed, walking down the hall of Foster High, one sees large numbers of Somalia students, as well a generous selection of every ethnic and cultural group in the greater Seattle area. Undeniably, Tukwila is one of King County's most diverse cities. The racial makeup of the city is almost 60% white, with African-Americans comprising nearly 13%, and slightly over 10% <u>Asian</u>, with a small percentage of <u>Pacific Islanders</u>, Native Americans, and other groups.
The Latino population of Tukwila hovers around 14%. Unsurprisingly, Foster has a little over fifty percent of their students on free or reduced lunch program. Twenty-eight percent of Foster High School was a part of the English as a Second Language Program (ESL).

Neither of Joshua's parent's attended college when he was growing up. Recently, Joshua said, with some pride that, his father had finished his degree from City University in accounting. His mother only has a high school degree and holds down a job as an account specialist for Alaska Airlines. Joshua tells me that both of his parents converted from Christianity to their Jewish faith but that neither was practicing any longer, a fact that one senses Joshua disapproves of. His parents' attendance at synagogue almost ceased after they were divorced when he was 11. Joshua tells me how both his parents had converted from Christianity to Judaism. However, after their divorce, both parents stopped practicing. He told me that his mother would attend the synagogue every so often but never very consistently. Joshua describes his parents' separation very casually. He seems unaffected by the break-up claiming that his parents do a good job under the circumstances. Joshua has an 18-year-old sister attending college and a 12-year-old brother.

Joshua described his relationship with his best friend and spoke fondly about the year he spent in a local band that he and his friends had formed. But, he also speaks of how he felt less devoted to the band then the other members. As he talked about the experience, he described how he and his friends argued over lyrics because of Joshua's insistence that the band's lyrics correspond with his religious beliefs. Joshua's religious

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[34] "Tukwila." <u>City Data</u>. 2006. City of Tukwila, WA. 23 Mar. 2006 <http://www.city-data.com/city/Tukwila-Washington.html>.

convictions caused friction between him and his friends, and he expressed disappointment that he and his best friends started to separate because of choices they each decided to make. He told me that his friends were turning to drugs and straying far from the things that kept them friends. Apparently, these experiences catalyzed Joshua's conviction that his religious faith was his most powerful driving force in life. During his sophomore year, says Joshua, "I came into my own." This was the year that Joshua turned fully to his faith for support. To make a trip to Israel Joshua relied on his own work to raise some of the funds and his family and the members of his synagogue who helped him raise the balance. Finally, Joshua also described two teachers and his involvement in the Dream Project as decisive factors in his life that helped him to apply and then gain entry into the University of Washington.

**Inequality of Neighborhood Resources**

Inequality in neighborhood resources is a problem closely related with the funding structure of public schools. The way we fund public education creates less challenging schools for low-income students. Their schools tend to be staffed by inexperienced or under-trained teachers, with fewer and less capable academic counselors working largely with a population of students that often have not grown up with the expectation of going to college. This kind of funding insists on tying education to geography rather than considering the deleterious effects of locating schools in high-crime, low-income neighborhoods instead of locating them where they can serve a cross section of students from a variety of socio-economic classes.

For example, Kami grew up in a very run-down, dangerous, crime ridden, low-income part of the city. Her high school, Franklin, is located right in the middle of one of the worst sections of Seattle. Positive role models were, and are, few and social problems like rampant drug use, violence, and general criminal activity have degraded the neighborhood on both a psychological and physical level. This environment cannot help but engender hopelessness. And, for most residents of blighted areas like this, getting out is difficult, if not impossible.

Even after Kami and her family moved out of government-subsidized housing, the family moved only a few miles away to an apartment in the same neighborhood. "We moved up, but we did not get out," said Kami of her move out of public housing.

Likewise, Jordan's family home is only blocks from the same government-subsidized, low-income housing that Kami grew-up in.

Jordan's upbringing in the same neighborhood differed only in that Jordan enjoyed the security of a stable home owned by his grandmother and shared with their extended family.

Oscar and Chunda, like Kami, both live in apartment buildings in a blighted, low-income community with high immigrant populations and an even higher population of transients. Many, if not most, of the families that live in these low-income apartments avoid government-subsidized public housing by living from paycheck to paycheck.

These neighborhoods tend to have older, badly maintained libraries and youth centers, if they have them at all. And, even when these facilities' are available and open to the community, those in low-income or blighted neighborhoods are often poorly staffed and lack in up-to-date amenities.

**Class Based Inequalities (Familial and Social Capital)**

Social capital is a term used to describe the income and social network of an individual and/or his or her parents. Income obviously figures into this equation. But, as importantly, it is the types of people, what they do, how they live and who they know that is important here.

Affluent people tend to have affluent, influential friends and associates, while lower-income, lower-class people tend to associate with people, and be part of networks, that have little ability to assist their children to rise above their circumstances of birth. For example, the types of people that Kami's mother was working with as a janitor at a local community center or her co-workers at the local gas station were not drawn from a class of people that could help Kami make the connections she would need if she hopes to rise above her class circumstances.

Regardless of the minor changes and small steps that a family in these circumstances can make, without a vibrant and well-connected socio-economic network that works to advance the progress of all of the children linked to the network, chances of genuine progress are limited. Kami's mother's most recent job as the manager of a beauty supply store, has allowed her to earn a little more money than what she was making when she was working two jobs, but it has not changed the quality of the neighborhood they are forced to live in or the socio-economic network that she is part of, nor has it put her in a position to meet people that can help her or her daughter. Likewise, that Oscar's parents, neither of whom speak English, work as janitors, landscapers and fruit pickers surely does not give them access to the type of social capital that creates opportunities for their children to climb out of poverty. Nor do Chunda's parents, neither of whom speaks much

English either, have the connections to help their child succeed its father who holds a job as a painter and a laborer can provide few opportunities for his son.

Access to resources generally is another aspect of this problem. Students from families that speak English as a second language, work in low paying jobs, have no tradition of education, do not understand the American social system, and who are unable to expose their children to a variety of experiences as they grow up, are at a disadvantage. These families are unable to expose their children to a variety of circumstances or to offer them the wealth of experience that more affluent families never question.

It is not uncommon for children from these circumstances to be unaware of things most middle-class families take for granted like easy access to books, reading as habitual activity, opportunities to visit and learn about foreign people and places career opportunities available to the college educated. This limited access to experiential and social learning opportunities can severely limit a young person's chances for success.

Finally, it should be noted that the status of social capital a self-perpetuating. It maintains a situation in which one generation, unintentionally, but inevitably, infects the next generation with same accepting attitude toward hopelessness and poverty.

## Quality of Educational Human Resources

Chunda's experience with the counselor at Ingraham who refused to even consider assisting him to meet college application requirements is illustrative of another aspect of the problems that afflict students at in low-income schools. This counselor's attitude, an attitude that unfortunately is not a rarity, reflects a set of expectations about students that is derived from a stereotypical view of low-income, minority and English as a second language speakers. Counselors like this, many of whom are white, relatively well-educated, and generally from a different socio-economic class than their students, often unconsciously limit or even discourage a student's aspirations out of a misplaced and patronizing sense of knowing what they are and are not capable of. Indeed, Kami pointedly noted that her, ". . . teachers are all white." Likewise, Oscar's physics teacher had not taught for almost 23 years and was, when he was teaching physics to Oscar, also the AP class instructor and the coach of the football team. Even when some students try to overcome limitations like these, they are often met with disinterest by school staff. Because Oscar is not satisfied with the instruction that he received, he attended after school sessions to ask questions. But,

Oscar quickly grew discouraged because the teacher usually had the football team in his classroom after school for football film review and was uninterested in answering questions about physics.

Shortsightedness and disinterest are not limited to overworked, out of discipline and worn out teachers or patronizing counselors. In Jordan's case, no one was willing to consider his medical circumstances or their demonstrable effect on his behavior. More experienced or concerned teachers would be trained to recognize and refer students with problems as obvious as Jordan's.

Labeling Jordan a "stereotypical angry black youth" absolved his teachers of the responsibility of dealing with something much more complex and trying. It was much easier to blame Jordan's problems on his skin color. It would seem obvious to most observers that anytime you place teachers and counselors, particularly those with limited experience and training, into schools with poor reputations and low graduation rates, you risk having these staff adjust their expectations to prevailing stereotypes, negatively adjust their expectations regarding the students they serve.

## Commonalities

What appears to be common to all of the students I interviewed is that they were all lucky. Of course, saying this is obviously an oversimplification. But, much of the opportunities that middle class students take for granted came to the poorer classes in the form of luck. These students all point to some kind of mentor relationship as being critical to their later success. These relationships were forged by circumstances they did not predict. Each of these students was "lucky" enough to meet and be mentored by someone, mostly from outside their family, who cared and worked to assist them – people whose expectations for these students were high and who provided support and encouragement as well as help in progressing academically.

The inequity here is that this kind of "luck" is driven by the unequal distribution of funding that limits student access to the kinds of programs and opportunities that have the potential to provide students with the opportunity to get "lucky". Put another way, the unequal distribution of funding that limits student access to the kinds of programs and opportunities that have the potential to provide students with the opportunity to meet, befriend, and be mentored by someone who can and will provided support and encouragement results in some students "getting lucky" while the majority lose out.

Most students from low-income families are dependent on "luck" to partner with a program and/or person who can mentor them.

While low-income students are dependent upon luck for their future, students from higher income families simply assume access to information and/or help for their children.

One can say with certainty that a student who comes from a family with higher incomes will receive a better level of education and ultimately attend at four-year university far more frequently than a student who comes from a less affluent, low-income background. High achieving students from higher-income families (those who earned top grades and completed rigorous AP and other college prep courses) are four-times more likely to attend a highly selective university than low-income students with identical academic records.[35]

      Few would argue that declining funding and unequal distribution of available funding are not correlated with fewer opportunities for a student. Meeting committed mentors or enrolling in, or even learning about, programs that could help them raise their aspirations and expectations should not depend on luck. Although the students in this study grew-up in neighborhoods lacking in most of the resources and amenities middle-class and affluent neighborhoods have in abundance, they were able to overcome obstacles and pursue a higher education. One reason for this is that these students were more concerned about their parents' opinions of them than the opinion of their peers. Caring more about what their parents thought of them than what their friends thought of them seemed to have helped these students triumph over high crime rates, neighborhoods with little resources, and poverty. What seems unique to these students seems to be, at least partially, parents and/or family members who, even with no knowledge of how to help them, gave them the support, encouragement, and guidance that they needed. From these case studies, it appears that a parent's or a guardian's enthusiastic support can often play a vital role in helping the students transcend the hurdles of their birth. However, even with the support of their families they are all too dependent on luck—the luck of finding the counselor, the coach, the program that can guide their aspirations toward college.

      Each of the five students cited a single teacher or counselor who was instrumental in helping to guide them through the process. Although Oscar had a poor physics teacher, he was fortunate enough to find an

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[35] Gerald, D. and Haycock, K. Engines of Inequality: Diminishing Equity in the Nation's Premier Public Universities. 2006: The Education Trust http://www2.edtrust.org/NR/rdonlyres/F755E80E-9431-45AF-B28E-653C612D503D/0/EnginesofInequality.pdf

enthusiastic counselor in Mr. Raymond who both helped guide him through the process and overcome the obstacles which stymied many of his classmates.

Ultimately, each of the students in this case study had a person in their lives that fulfilled the role social and cultural networks play for the more advantaged. In other words, each of these students had someone in the know who cared about them. The importance of these committed, engaged, mentors and supporters to the success of these students and to student like them cannot be overstated. The fact that there are so few opportunities for low-income, under-prepared, or uninformed students to "get lucky" and stumble across committed mentors is largely the result of misplaced public policy priorities that under fund admittedly programs which could increase a young person's chances in life.

**Public Policy**

Public policy has been distracted by a straw man known as race. The issue of race is widely cited as an important component in why students from blighted, disadvantaged, or low-income neighborhoods fail so often. But, despite the hue and cry about race in regard to educational opportunity, I contend that class, not race, is at the root of the problem. Many public policy proposals aimed at mitigating the problems outlined in this paper have little to do with eliminating the income disparity and more to do with trying to help people feel better about the color of their skin.

> The argument, in its simplest form, will be that we love race—we love identity—because we don't love class. We love thinking that the differences that divide us are not the differences between those of us who have money and those who don't but are instead the differences between those of us who are black and those who are white or Asian or whatever[36]

Indeed, none of the students interviewed for this study ever even mentioned race as an issue while growing up; these students are comfortable with their ethnicity and how they look. But, in their behavior, in the way they chose to dress, and in the way they talked, they revealed a deep-seated fear and shame of being poor. Students like Kami

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[36] Michaels, Walter B. The Trouble with Diversity. New York: Metropolitan Books Henery Holt and Company, 2006.

and Jordan try, above all, to conceal the circumstances of their birth and childhood by wearing the most fashionable sneakers and shirts.

The focus on "diversity" has recently prompted many universities to work to recruit low-income, generally minority and/or ethnic students like Kami, Jordan, Chunda, Oscar, Joshua. They promote their schools and publicize their proactive efforts to seek out minority and low-income students in the name of valuing diversity. The vast majority of the public have bought into the idea that merit not economics determines entrance into the elite schools, and that everyone who works hard enough can succeed. Hidden behind all of this is the fact that what these elite schools have created is

> . . . both technologies for producing inequality and technologies for justifying it. But justifying will only work if…there really are rich people and poor people at Harvard. If there really aren't; if its your wealth (or your families wealth) that makes it possible for you to got to the elite schools in the first place, then, of course, the real source of your success is not the fact that you went to an elite school but the fact that your parents were rich enough to give you the kind of background and preparation that got you admitted to the elite schools.[37]

In other words, public policy regarding education has allowed itself to be distracted by the myth that poor people, ". . . deserve their poverty. Or, to put it another way, schools have become our primary mechanism for convincing rich people that they deserve their wealth."[38]

Indeed, wealth is a enormous advantage in terms of a students' chances of gaining access to an elite or top tier university. As one researcher concluded, two-thirds of the nation's wealthiest 25% of students enroll in a four-year college within two years of graduating from high school, but just one in five from the bottom 25% do so.[39] And low-

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[37] Michaels, Walter B. The Trouble with Diversity. New York: Metropolitan Books Henery Holt and Company, 2006.

[38] Michaels, Walter B. The Trouble with Diversity. New York: Metropolitan Books Henery Holt and Company, 2006.

[39] Toppo, Greg. "Education." USA Today. 14 Jan. 2004. 2 May 2006 <http://www.usatoday.com/news/education/2004-01-14-low-income-students_x.htm>.

income students are virtually shut out of the nation's most selective colleges: Among the top 146 colleges, 74% of students come from the richest economic quartile and just 3% from the poorest. In other words, people are 25 times as likely to run into a rich kid as a poor kid on America's elite campuses[40]. Overall, according to the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education" . . . better than 50% of all students in college are from families with incomes in the top 20 percent."[41]

It is far more than just the inequitable distribution of funds that is at the root of the public policy question. To be sure, inequitable distribution of funds is an important factor, but it is not the most important factor in the catalog of obstacles to low-income, first generation and/or minority student academic success. Even when adequate funds are available, and even if they were allocated equitably throughout the system, I contend that the inequities in terms of opportunity would persist largely because public policy has been spectacularly oblivious to the value and importance of committed, engaged, caring individuals who can and make a personal difference in a young person's life.

Under-funding programs, assigning untrained and/or inexperienced teachers, and focusing on race-ethnicity rather than on class division all tend to perpetuate the negative assumptions and expectations brought to these institutions. Instead of focusing on these distractions – straw men – public policy would benefit by trying to provide more opportunities for students to get "lucky" in regard to meeting committed, engaged mentors, counselors, and teachers.

Perhaps because programs that are as labor intensive and that require significant flexibility are both expensive and difficult to administer, they are either overlooked, or more accurately, considered too much trouble, and administrators and public policy officials, already under the sway of the "diversity," approach, dismiss such alternative approaches out of hand.

Despite the popularity of race and diversity programs and approaches, research suggests that they have little, if any, lasting positive effects on low-income, minority and/or first generation students' chances of successfully gaining access to higher education.

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[40] Michaels, Walter B. The Trouble with Diversity. New York: Metropolitan Books Henery Holt and Company, 2006.
[41] Toppo, Greg. "Education." USA Today. 14 Jan. 2004. 2 May 2006 <http://www.usatoday.com/news/education/2004-01-14-low-income-students_x.htm>.

As mentioned earlier, most of the students interviewed here success had to do with the fact that they "got lucky", in that they met, bonded with, and were mentored by committed, engaged supporters. These five students in our anthropologically oriented case studies all succeeded, while the vast majority of their classmates failed. Put another way, we argue that public policy tends to focus on issues like race that ignore individual student needs in favor of approaches that perpetuate their own existence, become fossilized and unresponsive, and ignore or dismiss alternative approaches to solving these problems. Part of the reason for this is the inherent inertia of large bureaucracies and the complexities involved in a more personalized, individualized approach. This failure of imagination, if you will, skews all efforts to find an appropriate and effective public policy solution.

As a result of this study, I suggest that public policy could help decrease the number of students excluded from higher education by increasing the opportunity nodes of students in public schools. I define an opportunity node as an individual or institution that offers a student the possibility of consistent and committed assistance throughout his or her academic career.

As things stand today, opportunities for students like Oscar and Jordan and others like them are left to luck – and this should not and does not have to be the case.

We have seen that students from affluent and higher income families do not have to depend on luck of any kind in their efforts to get an education. Affluent and higher income families can create numerous opportunities for their children, opportunities of the kind that poorer, low-income, less-affluent students can only access if they "get lucky." These opportunities have little or nothing to do with race or ethnicity, nor do they have a great deal to do with drive and ambition, but they appear to have everything to do with the economic status of these students' parents.

Students from affluent and higher income families can access information and social networks unavailable to Jordan, Kami, Joshua, Chunda and Oscar.

This study demonstrates that the one thing that low-income, first generation, and/or minority student need most, and benefit most by having, is a strong mentor. Effective public policy can and should reallocate funds to programs that increase opportunity nodes that allow increasing numbers of students to take advantage of committed, engaged, and caring mentors, tutors, teachers and counselors. The power of this kind of approach is, we think, illustrated well by the five students we interviewed for this study. For Jordan and Kami, it was Fina Mario from

the Upward Bound program who mentored and guided them through the college application process and served as a positive reinforcing influence in their lives.  And, in Kami's and Jordan's case, the argument that they "got lucky" is bolstered by the fact that the Upward Bound program, in which they met and bonded with their influential mentor, has long been threatened with funding cuts and currently serves only three out of the ten public high schools in Seattle.

Oscar and Chunda were lucky in that they met and developed relationships with caring, engaged, and committed counselor who went on to guide and effectively advocate for them.  They also "got lucky" in that they encountered the relatively new, and arguably cutting-edge, approach embodied in the Dream Project program that helped them to make effective and compelling, and in many cases very successful, applications to universities across the country.

Finally, Joshua "got lucky" when he developed a close and supportive relationship with an engaged and caring teacher who encouraged him and who helped guide him to the University of Washington Dream Project, which he credits with helping him make his successful application to the University of Washington.  In every instance cited here, these students' futures were ultimately dependent upon their "getting lucky", a situation that is deplorable and wasteful on its face.

It must be clearly stated here that underlying all of the demonstrated inequality in regard to educational access and ultimately, upward mobility and economic and social success is rooted not in race, or ethnicity or religion or background, but in the disparities between the classes "classless" America; in other words, the generally inequitable distribution of wealth in the American class system condemns many to luck.

substance were it not for her contribution.  Finally, my friends and family, and my classmates in the Political Science Honors Seminar should all know how much I appreciate everything they did to help me refine, organize, think about, and finalize this work.

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This paper represents the culmination of my studies in the Political Science Department at the University of Washington.  This paper also reflects one of the reasons that I decided to study Political Science originally.  Political Science offers opportunities to think about real world problems and to learn to develop practical approaches to solving them.

**Congressional Attention to the Education of Underprivileged Children: A Study of Federal Education Reform 1946-2005**

Jayme Ballard

**Abstract**

*Underprivileged children are an undeniable sector of the American public school system. These children come from families that tend to be poorer and have less education than a majority of their peers. They have to work harder to overcome the pressing societal factors that could pose barriers their educational achievement. Despite widespread recognition that familial and societal factors impact educational attainment, the academic achievement gap continues to widen. This research centers on shifts in congressional attention to the education of underprivileged students. Congressional hearings were drawn from the Policy Agendas Project, a National Science Foundation funded research program that collects data on a wide range of governmental activities across time. These hearings were coded on the basis of two approaches to education reform; contextual standards based reforms. The method of study offers a more comprehensive understanding of congressional policy as it relates to the education of underprivileged children. It is proven that as congressional attention shifts toward school and student accountability based reform attention is shifted away from contextual based reforms.*

**Introduction**

" What is now encompassed by the one word ('school') are two very different kinds of Institutions that, in function, finance and intention, serve entirely different roles… children in one set of schools are educated to be governors; children in the other set of schools are trained for being governed. The former are given the imaginative range to mobilize ideas for economic growth; the latter are provided with the discipline to do the narrow task that the first group will prescribe" Jonathan Kozol (1992) gives this analogy to illuminate the difference in educational opportunities that exist between affluent and underprivileged American school children. He recognizes that not all citizens will be afforded the opportunity to lead yet determines social stratification is reinforced through access to educational opportunities. Much of which is given to the children of the wealthy, thus making them winners in an unfair and unequal race.

Students contextual surrounding are a result of their diverse and unique environments. Every student in a given classroom has a

background that is distinct to them and their experiences. Policy makers tend not to emphases these differences. However it is these vary difference that may have a vast effect on students' educational abilities and attainment.  In knowing this one cannot ignore that, underprivileged students comprise a significant portion of the American public school system.  Studies have shown that family backgrounds have a direct impact on student learning: This is grossly apparent in children that spawn from underprivileged circumstances (Zigler & Anderson 1979; Noguera 2004; Ramey & Campbell 1979). The Oxford American Dictionary defines Underprivileged as those, "Not enjoying the same standard of living or rights as the majority of people in a society". Theses people tend to be poorer and less education then a majority of the population, creating an environment in which their child's intellectual, social or physical growth may be slowed (Committee on Economic Development 1987). Family risk factors that are associated with poor performance in school-aged children are also linked with lower proficiency in early reading and mathematics skills and general knowledge among children as they enter kindergarten. These risk factors are low maternal education, welfare dependency (as a marker of family poverty), having only one parent in the home, and having parents whose primary language is not English (NCES U.S. Dept. of Education 2000). All of these factors increase the probability that a child from an underprivileged environment will be inadequately prepared to engage in formal education, even before they set foot in a classroom. From the beginning these students are at a disadvantage compared to others their age, they have to work diligently to overcome their educational disadvantage many of which stem from the inequities that are ever present in American society.

To fully understand the academic shortcomings of underprivileged children one would have to understand their non-academic needs. Pedro Noguera (2004) writes that, "Disparities in achievement correspond closely with disparities that exist in our society. The students who are least likely to achieve in school are the students from the poorest families-the kids who are least likely to have educated parents, stable housing, or adequate health care. Put it more simply, the achievement gap is a reflection of the socioeconomic gap, the health gap, and the gap in opportunity."  Numerous children are burden with educational disadvantages simply by virtue of the income level they were conceived into. In 2007 the National Center for Children in poverty found that, 17% of American children live below the federal poverty level and 22% of American children are considered low income, meaning that their household income is less then double that of the

federal poverty level. In total 39% or 28.6 million American children can be considered, by definition, underprivileged (NCCP 2007). With such a vast number of children sharing the same condition, how has the federal government worked to overcome these students disadvantage?

## Issue

The education of underprivileged children is an issue that began to gain interest a little over 40 years ago. Compensatory education was born out of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and the 1965 Elementary Secondary Schools Act. These two acts are the foundation of legislation that examined the education of underprivileged children in an effort to improve their condition and break what has been deemed the "cycle of poverty," and close the achievement gap (Zigler & Anderson 1979; Ramey & Campbell 1979).

Congress and educators alike have found that closing the achievement gap has proved more challenging then first envisioned. Over the years several efforts have been made to improve the outcomes of compensatory education programs. It is ones belief that these reforms can be classified into two categories, contextual based improvements and accountability and standards based improvements. Contextual based reforms focus on the circumstances or conditions which surround childhood learning such as issues of parental education, poverty or health care i.e. Head Start or National School Lunch Act. These reforms consider the environment in which the child exists and attempts to change their surrounding as a way of improving the educational outcomes of underprivileged children. Accountability and Standards reform focus on standardizing educational outcomes and holding schools and students accountable based on performance i.e. high school proficiency test or No Child Left Behind. Schools must achieve standards to for grant renewal while students must achieve standards in order to continue on to the next grade level, these types of reforms were inherently designed to improve the educational outcomes of underprivileged children. How can two reforms designed to improve the education of underprivileged children take such vastly different approaches to accomplish this goal? Let further examine the history behind these two reforms.

## History

Education is a state controlled entity, for these reasons and many other issues of education gained little to no congressional attention prior to 1965 (Cuban 2004). Although there were federal mechanism in place to evaluate education, such as the department of Health Education and

Welfare, education was an issue that rarely made in on to the congressional agenda. Issues of education were made a congressional priority by President Johnson, a former schoolteacher, who sought a sustainable solution to the nations educational problems. He believed that one major component of educational improvement was compensatory educational programs that were designed to break the cyclical nature of poverty (Ramey & Campbell 1979).

Prior to the actions of President Johnson contextual and standards based reforms were minimal. Early contextual reforms included Indian education, general school health care, and school milk and school lunch programs. The most comprehensive contextual reform took place in the 1960's. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 bore project head start, which was one of the first congressional efforts to implement a poverty intervention program through education. The Elementary and Secondary Schools Act of 1965 encompassed Title I, a provision that allowed an increase in federal funding to low income school districts that ran programs that would compensate for the challenges that poverty stricken children face (Bain 1979). Comprehensive contextual based reforms continued up through the 1970's with the passage of equality of educational opportunity act and issues surrounding school desegregation. In more recent years Contextual Based attention has concentrated on the reauthorization of prior acts such as Head Start and childhood nutrition programs in addition to a new interest in bilingual education.

Educational excellence has been a continuous concern of educators. Contextual reform has had a greater influence over time yet reforms based on Standards have been gaining momentum over the last 30 years (Hauser & Heubert 1999). Early attention to standards reform focused on educational excellence through passing of the National Defense Education Act designed to raise graduation requirement in science and mathematics and introduce advance placement programs (Cuban 2004). In the 1980's support for compensatory education grew and many states adopted voluntary national test as a measure of student accountability. In 2001 Congress reformed and renamed the Elementary and Secondary schools act as No Child Left Behind Act. This bipartisan act adopted new academic standards to hold schools and students more accountable for achievement (Williams 2003). Given the dynamic history of educational reform many scholars focus on why policy has changed over time and its links to underprivileged children. Therefore the present research will focus on how policy has shifted over time and to what in congress can we attribute those changes.

**Purpose of Study**

"If we want to ensure that all students have the opportunity to learn, we must ensure that their basic needs are met. This meant that students who are hungry should be fed, that children who need coats in the winter should receive then, and that those who have been abused or neglected receive the counseling and care they deserve. If the commitment to raise achievement is genuine, there are a variety of measures that can be taken outside of school that will produce this result" (Noguera 2004). Given the fact that students come from a variety of backgrounds it is important that congress evaluate issues of educational performance from a multidimensional perspective. The following study evaluates the two the forms of educational reform designed to close the racial and socioeconomic achievement gaps, these are contextual and standards based reforms. Both reforms are evaluated for frequency over a 60 year period to determine how policy has shifted over time and to what in congress can we attribute those changes.

**Study**

Congressional attention limited and as new information presents itself attention is shifted from one policy focus to another. Shifts in decision making are a result image shifts and problem redefinition (Baumgartner & Jones 2005). It is assumed that in an effort to close the achievement gap congressional attention has begun to shift from contextual based reform to a more accountability based reform. This assumption is based on the fact that there has been a redefinition of educational issues as a result of an image shift in problems relating to the education of Underprivileged children. It is also assumed that with this shift in attention money will be shifted away from contextual reforms towards standards based reforms. This assumption is base on problem redefinition and effective policy implementation through budget allocation.

**Methodology**

Congressional attention to contextual factors and accountability, surrounding underprivileged children was measured by developing an attention focused coding system from the Policy Agendas Project's congressional hearing dataset. I was able to utilize 19 major topics outlined by Policy Agendas Project's to develop a list of subtopics that may deal with issues of education as well as the contextual factors that school children may face. These subtopics included Ethnic Minority and Racial Group Discrimination, Gender and Sexual Orientation Discrimination, Handicap or Disease Discrimination, Education of

Underprivileged Students, Educational Excellence, Elementary and Secondary Education, General Education Issues, Air pollution, Global Warming, and Noise Pollution, Hazardous Waste and Toxic Chemical Regulation, Treatment, and Disposal, Indoor Environmental Hazards, Health of Infants and children, Prevention, communicable diseases and health promotion, Housing Assistance for Homeless and Homeless Issues,  Low and Middle Income Housing Programs and Needs, Parental Leave and Child Care, Youth Employment, Youth Job Corps Programs, and Child Labor, Child Abuse and Child Pornography, Family Issues, General Crime and Family Issues, Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System,  Other Crime and Family Issues, Native American Affairs, Food Stamps, Food Assistance, and Nutrition Monitoring Programs,  General Social Welfare  Poverty and Assistance for Low-Income Families Comparison. In total the number of hearings in all of the given subtopic were 4833.

**Measures**

After compiling all hearings that could relate to the education of underprivileged children the data set was narrowed by eliminating all hearings that did not explicitly mention education or schooling in the description. By identifying the hearings that deal explicitly with educational issues an accurate range of policy issues were determined. All in all the data set was narrowed to 1015 hearings. These hearings were coded in one of three reform categories, contextual, standards and general.

*Contextual Hearings*

Hearings coded in the contextual category were those that explicitly mentioned education in the description as well as one of the following: physical health/ nutrition, discrimination and issues of race/ethnicity/gender or nationality, mental wellness, physical ability, physical security, welfare programs, issues of environmental justice, equality of educational opportunity and early childhood development. The total number of hearings in this category reached 438.  The graph of contextual factors displays the frequency of the issue over time (See Appendix A). The most continuous period of discussion on contextual factors was the forty-year period between 1965 and 2005; this issue also had the highest concentration of hearings during this time. Along the X-axis of the graph are the numbers 0-35 displaying the frequency of hearings. Along the Y-axis of this graph are the years between 1946 through 2005. The peak for contextual factors was in 1971 with the

number of hearings reaching 31 this was a direct result of the federal mandate on school desegregation.

*Standards hearings*

       Hearings coded in the Standards category were those that explicitly mentioned education in the description as well as one of the following: standardized testing, school performance and sanctions, student performance and sanctions, educational excellence and school choice. The total number of hearings in this category reached 181. The graph of standards hearings is displaying the frequency of the issue over time (See Appendix B). The most continuous period of discussion on contextual factors was the twenty five-year periods between 1980 and 2005; this issue also had the highest concentration of hearings during this period of time. Along the X-axis of the graph are the numbers 0-15 displaying the frequency of hearings. Along the Y-axis of this graph are the years between 1946 through 2005. The peak for standards based reform was in 1999 with the number of hearings reaching 15; this was a directly related to the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Schools Act as the No Child Left Behind Act.

*General hearings*

Any hearing that explicitly mentioned education however could not be classified as contextual or standards was categorized as a general hearing. These hearings included such things as general curriculum reform and budget hearings. The number of general hearings found was 396. Hearings, especially on educational funding dramatically increased as the federal government took greater interest in education.

*Budget Analysis*

       Data was taken from the policy agendas website, in an effort to determine congressional budget allocation over the past 60 years. No data could be found that directly related to the type of educational reform. Thus an evaluation of the overall Elementary, Secondary and Vocational budget was analyzed. The graph of budget allocation displays the amount of money given over time to Elementary, Secondary and Vocational education (See Appendix C). Federal spending on education increased after 1965 and has been fairly consistent ever since. X-axis of the graph is the amount in millions measure by 2005 dollars. Along the Y-axis of this graph are the years between 1947 through 2005. The peak in budget allocation occurred in 2004. Since 2000 Federal Funding of education has doubled, this assumed to be a response to the bipartisan No Child Left Behind Act.

**Findings**

      Due to limited space on the congressional agenda little attention has been given to the education of underprivileged children. It seem that major attention shifts in the education to underprivileged children were directly related to focusing events. i.e. understanding the link in educational achievement and nutrition as well as the math and science surge during the Cold War. Prior to 1965, which marked that passage of the Elementary and Secondary Schools Education Act, there was little to no attention to the education of underprivileged children.

*Contextual Findings*

      What little attention that the education of  underprivileged children has received has focused specifically on contextual reforms .This can be seen in the number of congressional hearings that examined the relationship between educational achievement and childhood nutrition. These hearing forged the passage of school milk and school lunch programs that were designed to combat childhood poverty. After 1965 there has been a rise in congressional attention to contextual based educational factors these include school desegregation, school bussing, special education, compensatory education—such as Head Start and bilingual education  In the past decade attention to contextual factors have been heavily focused on reauthorizations of programs like Head Start and ethnic specific issues such as bilingual education.

*Standards Findings*

      Early attention to accountability and standard concentrated on science and mathematical improvements in education. The Russian launch of  sputnik spurred the creation of the  National Defense Education Act. After the passage of this act standards based reforms gained little congressional attention, although educational excellence has been a continuous concern of educators.  Over the course of the last 30 years standards based and performance based outcomes have been gaining momentum over the last 30 years. This culminated with the 2001 reauthorization of Elementary and Secondary Act. This act was reclassified by congress as the No Child Left Behind Act.

*Budget Findings*

      The federal government provides a small portion of all educational funding. Levels of funding have begun to rise after the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Act in 1965. In the most recent

years congressional budget allocation has almost doubled. This increase coincided with passage of No Child Left Behind Act.

Overall it appears that congressional attention to the education of underprivileged children is minimal. Although the attention that has been given to this issue has begun to shift towards accountability and standards based reforms (See appendix D). It will be interesting to see if this trend continues on into the future and contextual based reforms become obsolete

**Conclusion**

Results from the study will enhance the literature on the education of underprivileged children as well as guide the discussion of congressional reform surrounding the same issues. Shift in congressional attention are related to image shift in educational policy. Prior to 1965 educational issues gained little to no congressional attention. Attention to contextual based policy creation rose throughout the 1960's and peaked in the 1970's. Since that time attention to contextual factors has remained steady. Recently attention to accountability and standards based reforms has begun to influence policy creation. This is based on issue redefinition in educational policy, which placed a higher emphasis on school and student performance. As time progresses it is predicted that attention to accountability and standards will overtake attention to contextual factors in education policy creation and reformation.

*Constraints*

Although the findings presented are strong and interesting, operational issues still remain. First, congressional hearings were studied not statutes. Therefore one cannot explicit claim that the focus of attention leads to policy creation or reformation. The frame of reference for attention to issues can only be inferred from the dataset that was studied. Data set was limited to a set of prescribed issue that directly or indirectly relate to the education of Underprivileged children. Data analysis was limited to the scope of major congressional hearings and did not take in to consideration subcommittee attention to the issues of underprivileged children. Hearings were coded based on description and human judgment. Therefore there is a probability that some hearings were coded into the wrong category

*Future Research*

Along with analyzing the major research categories given in this study, each minor topic should be studied for congressional trends and for the purpose of strengthening this study. In this future this research

should expand to include an analysis bipartisan congressional control. Determining if congressional control is a factor that can attribute to the observable shifts in policy focus. In an effort to determine if policy creation is directly linked to who are invited as a congressional witnesses. It is also believe that the type of witnesses called correlate to the types of policies that are being considered and created to improve the educational quality of underprivileged children. As a result of studying congressional control, it is believed that one can determine agenda setting trends and the influence of interest groups on educational policy.

*Policy Recommendations*
"The job of the school is to teach so that family background is no longer an issue."
-Martin Luther Kind Jr.

As welfare state our government has a responsibility to critical assess the effectiveness of their educational policy especially that, which deals with an undeniable portion of the American public school system, underprivileged children. Implications of the findings suggest that as attention in congress shifts toward school and student accountability a greater understanding is needed of the impact that these policies have on underprivileged children. It is believed that policy shifts in one direction or another will not aid in closing the racial and socioeconomic achievement gap, for true progress to be made both types of reform must be considered and reconsidered. Multidimensional problems require multidimensional solutions. Educational Standards need to be set while students are given a healthy environment in which they are able to maximize their learning. Several policies, especially those that extend beyond the classroom, need concurrent examination if congress wants to be inclusive of all of the challenges that underprivileged children face. This type of holistic reform will ensure improvements the educational achievement and attainment of Underprivileged children.

Appendix A

## Contextual Based Reforms

## Frequency of Congressional Hearings 1946-2005



YEARS

— Contextual Factors
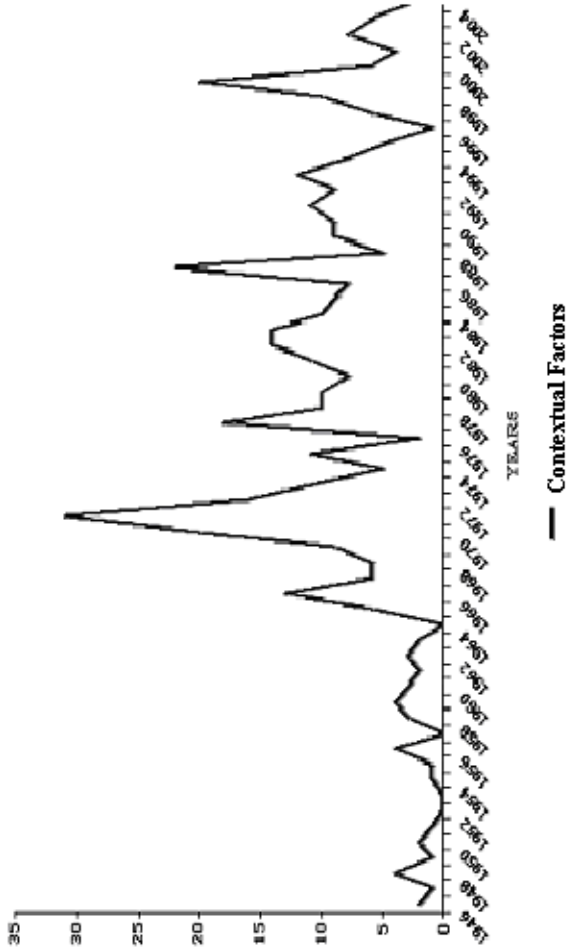
Appendix B

Accountability & Standards Based Reform
Frequency of Congressional Hearings 1946-2005



— Accountability & Standards (Performance and Incentive
Based Outcomes

Appendix C

Budget Allocation 1947-2005



Fiscal Year

Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education Real
Budget
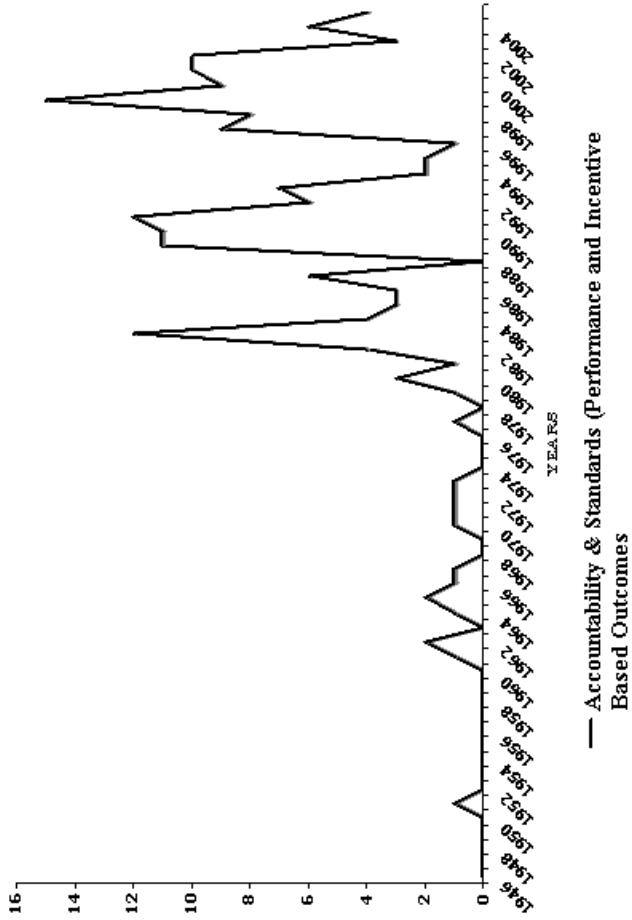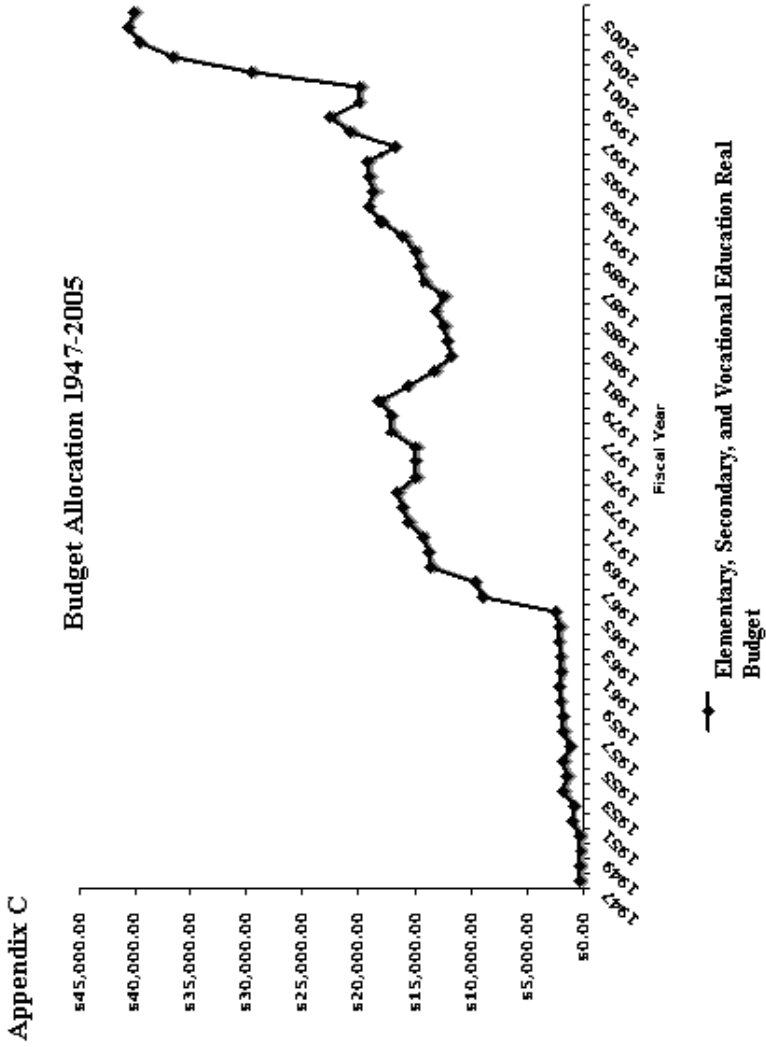
Appendix D

Comparison of Both Contextual and Accountability & Standard
Base Reforms Congressional Hearings 1946-2005
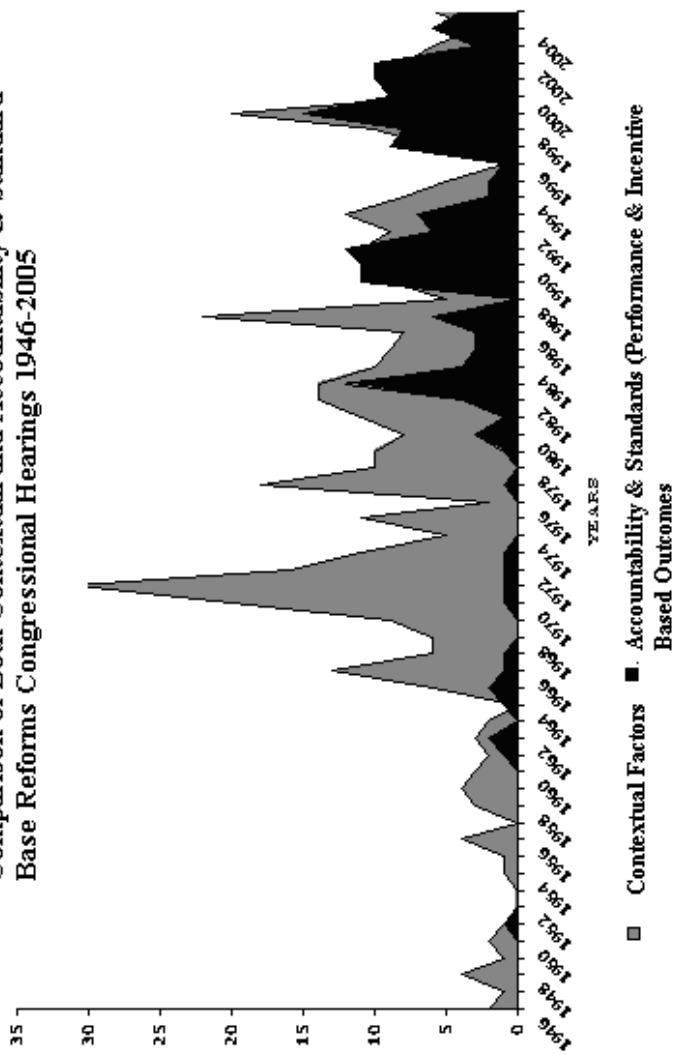


■ Contextual Factors  ■ Accountability & Standards (Performance & Incentive
                                                     Based Outcomes

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# Overcoming Barriers to Higher Education: The Experience of Latina/os Graduate Students at the University of Washington

Cristal Barragán

"Nine tenths of education is encouragement." – Anatole France

## Abstract

It is well known that people of color have been historically excluded from institutions of higher education. But as shocking as the numbers are for Latina/o undergraduate enrollment at colleges and universities, the numbers are even smaller when we look at Latina/o students who pursue graduate studies. The University of Washington is no exception, with the autumn 2007 enrollment showing that of the 10,573 students in graduate programs at the University of Washington-Seattle, Bothell and Tacoma campuses, 3% of those were Latina/os. This project examines the relationships between graduate school opportunity structures and graduate school access as well as the experiences of Latina/o graduate students. Using UW students as subjects, this study examines the opportunities and resources available to Latina/o students who pursue a graduate education. I achieve this by exploring the experiences of Latina/o graduate students in various programs at the UW and the challenges they faced during their search for graduate programs and once they were enrolled at the University of Washington. These interviews will yield significant information on the subject of Latina/o participation in graduate studies. The findings would also be a valuable resource for undergraduate students in general who are preparing to apply to graduate programs.

## Latina/os In Education

There has been much debate about the schooling of Latina/os in both public and private institutions of education in the United States. To expand on these debates, many scholars have undertaken the lengthy and arduous labors of understanding the place that Latina/os occupy within the educational systems of the United States. From these efforts, we now have much scholarly work within this area, all of it pointing to one simple yet infuriating fact: Latina/os have been systemically and institutionally excluded from institutions of education.

Today, as Latina/os become the fastest-growing minority group in the United States, comprising 14.8% of the U.S. population[1], a critical faction of U.S. society, it is important to understand the situation that Latina/os, face today within the educational system. With this, those of us who advocate for the advancement of Latina/os and other minorities in education face the difficult task of understanding the history and reasoning behind these exclusions in order to construct an educational model that will cater to all students in the United States.

Meanwhile, it is also important to understand how it is that those who have traveled through the educational pathway and made it through have achieved success. The most renowned success that can be achieved in education then, is the graduate degree. Those who acquire their Ph.D. not only gain an advanced degree that will ensure a successful life, but this degree comes with the respect and distinction of your peers. This accomplishment then, is one to be desired, but one that many Latina/os do not achieve, since only 1% of Latina/os completes their Ph.D.[2].

However, in order for these numbers to increase, it is important to be aware of the experiences of those who have gone through the process. By understanding what they went through and the challenges that they faced in their search for a graduate degree, those who wish to continue their studies can be prepared to confront the trials that they will encounter. There were a series of questions that revolved around my head as I thought about Latina/o graduate students: Why were there so few Latina/os in University of Washington graduate programs? What challenges did these Latina/os face during their graduate application process and once they entered their school of choice? Was there something about the Latina/o experience that made their graduate program experience different, and thus, the minute numbers? How do Latina/o graduate students find resources and assistance before, during, and after their enrollment into graduate programs? Wishing to answer these questions, I began my endeavor to research the lives of nine graduate students to find out about their experiences. This knowledge, I hope, will in turn translate into greater numbers of Latina/os in graduate degree programs.

Following, I have included an explanation of the terminology used to refer to the group of people that I am studying. In the following pages, I include an examination of the research that other scholars have done on this critical topic and what they have found. My research

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[1] Taken from the U.S. Census Bureau, American FactFinder website (2006, Hispanic or Latino by Origin)

[2] Contreras, Frances and Gándara, Patricia. "The Latina/o Ph.D. Pipeline".

findings follow these explanations, with excellent insight coming from the interviewees themselves about the experiences they had as they paved the roads for themselves during their difficult and arduous processes of applying to graduate programs and in their departments today. Next, I will present some advice that graduate students have given all those who are interested in pursuing a graduate program about how we should go about this difficult process. I conclude with some final comments about my findings and what some future research would consist of within this topic. But in order to begin the exploration into the lives of graduate students, we must understand about whom we are conversing.

## ¿Y eso qué significa? Terminology

Before trying to understand how it is that Latina/o students in graduate programs find out about resources and information, some background information about the terminology employed and the history of this occurrence is necessary. The term "Chicano" is used to refer to people of Mexican origin living in the United States. The much-debated history of the term says that Chicano was first used as a derogatory term to refer to newer Mexican immigrants living in the United States, mostly used by Mexican descendants themselves. During the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, however, groups of Mexican-Americans who saw the injustices that affected their families and children formed coalitions and took on the word Chicano as a self-imposed identifier that embraced their ethnic identity and called for political consciousness.

The term "Hispanic", however, stems from an entirely different history. During the 1970s, the US government defined the term Hispanic to identify Latin-American individuals and their descendants, living in the US, regardless of race. The efforts by Joseph Montoya, the New Mexican senator from 1964-1977, resulted in the ethnic label Hispanic being adopted for this purpose, since the U.S. wanted a label that could be used to count the Spanish-speaking population for the Census. The current definition of the terms Hispanic or Latino, which are used interchangeably by the U.S. government, is as a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race. The term Latino was officially adopted in 1997 by the U.S. government. The term Latino is employed using the following criteria: Spanish-speakers and persons belonging to a household where Spanish is spoken, persons with Spanish heritage by birth location, and persons who self-identify with Spanish ancestry or descent.

These three terms are the most widely used to identify the group that I am discussing in my thesis. To avoid the political connotations that both the term Chicana/o and Hispanic imply, I have chosen to employ the term Latina/o, the most neutral of the three. Those people involved in my research, however, may adopt a different term and that is, of course, one of the many freedoms that we are given in this country. With the terminology thusly defined, we can now delve into the issue of Latina/o under-education in the United States.

## Latina/o Achievement in the Educational System, or Lack Thereof

The best way to demonstrate the state in which Latina/os find themselves within the educational system is to look at the numbers of Latina/os in the system. In Washington state, the United States Census Bureau shows that 77.3% of the Latina/os in the educational system are enrolled in pre-school through high school, while 22.6% of Latina/os in the system are enrolled in either college or graduate programs. Of these in high school and below, only 24.9% attain a high school degree or its equivalent, 8% get an associate's degree, and 18.4% get a bachelors degree[3].

However, as shocking as the numbers are for Latina/o undergraduate enrollment at colleges and universities, the numbers are even smaller when we look at Latina/o students who go on to pursue graduate studies. The National Center for Education Statistics website shows that Latina/os received 3.2% of the total amount of doctoral degrees granted in the 2002-2003 school year, compared to 56.2% by Whites and 5.1% by Blacks. The Census website shows that in Washington state, which has a population that is 9.1% Latina/o, 9.3% of the Latina/o population that is 25 years or older have a graduate or professional degree[4]. The University of Washington is no exception to these trends, with the autumn 2007 enrollment showing that of the 10,573 students in graduate programs at the University of Washington-Seattle, Bothell, and Tacoma campuses, 3% of those were Latina/os[5]!

## What Have Others Said?

During my research about Latina/os in graduate programs, I was able to identify a small number of scholars whose primary interest is

[3] U.S. Census Bureau. Profile of Selected Social Characteristics in Washinton. Retrieved 31 May, 2008.

[4] U.S. Census Bureau. Profile of Selected Social Characteristics in Washinton. Retrieved 31 May, 2008.

[5] Taken from the Graduate Enrollment Summary Report (Ethnic Breakdown) in the University of Washington Graduate School Graduate Enrollment website

graduate education. Within this research, I have identified some of the major themes that emerge in their findings. Researchers have isolated specific reasons why they believe that Latina/os are not participating in greater numbers in graduate studies. Some of these reasons include structural and systemic issues, familial and cultural issues dealing with family structure and tradition, and historical forces that have excluded Latina/os. There is a lot of agreement in what researchers have found in terms of what is keeping Latina/os out of graduate programs and educational systems in general. In their article about the Latina/o Ph.D. pipeline, Frances Contreres and Patricia Gándara discuss issues of equity and access in education. In this they mention "English…poverty, inadequate schooling, and lack of models of academic success" as some of the barriers that play a role in the underachievement of Latina/os in education[6]. Further, Vasti Torres says that marginalization plays a big role as well. "Marginalization is another barrier that Latina/o students face once they are accepted into a graduate school, and even at the K-12 and undergraduate level. The doctoral experience in most disciplines repeatedly requires the individual to leave behind his or her pervious identity and assume the characteristics of a scholar in the chosen field or risk being marginalized within the department". Feeling that you have to leave behind your ethnicity and culture is something that many Latina/o students feel at all levels, since assimilation will ensure that you fit in with your peers. At the graduate level, this feeling is heightened since what you produce is more important than who you are, especially in the science fields. This feeling can also lead to further isolation as Latina/os stop their search for a Latina/o community, since this will only impede their assimilation.

Typically, the research that other scholars have done and the debate around the topic of Latina/o graduate participation focuses on the questions: Why are Latina/os underrepresented in graduate programs? What are some of the ways that colleges and universities can make their campuses more inviting to Latina/o students? What I hope to add to the research that has already been done are perspectives, personal experiences, and narratives by those who have gone through the process. By providing graduate student perspectives and experiences, we will be able to better understand how the factors and challenges faced by Latina/os are experienced at the personal level.

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[6] Contreras, Frances and Gándara, Patricia. "The Latina/o Ph.D. Pipeline"

**Entonces, ¿qué dijeron? What They Said**

 The search for Latina/o graduate students to do my interviews proved very successful.  I identified and contacted a group of students to interview and nine of these replied, agreeing to be interviewed.  They were very open and engaging with the questions, making the interviews very informative, and I was able to gain a lot of insight into their experiences.  The students, Ricardo, Juan, Marisol, Carolina, Federico, Violeta, Vlad, Sofia, and Maria, all came from out-of-state, but were all in different programs at the UW.  Following, I will present the issues that were offered by the students as limitations and challenges during the graduate application process and in their respective departments.  I have divided them up into four categories, falling into either: academic/institutional challenges, structural limitations, cultural/personal hardships, and support.   For confidentiality purposes, I will be using pseudonyms for the interviewees.

*Academic/Institutional Challenges*

 Some of the most significant issues that the Latina/o students revealed referred to the academic and institutional challenges that they faced while searching for graduate programs.   Not only were students ignorant of the application process, many of the students lacked the support and resources to help with this procedure.  When I asked about whom he sought for help during the application process, Ricardo mentioned about his personal statements: "I gave it to some friends to read, no professors or anything like that; I just didn't ask."   Another issue that was relevant was the lack of preparation, since students felt that they were not ready for the rigor of their graduate program, especially since they were not aware of how the program worked.  This general lack of knowledge about graduate programs is very significant, since it stems from the small number of Latina/os who have graduate degrees.  When parents and family members cannot help with the application process and give insight into how a graduate program works, Latina/o students are left to fend for themselves and figure out how to do it on their own.

 A major challenge that affected all of the students that I interviewed, one that can be the major factor that will decide between pursuing a graduate degree or not, was money. The monies and scholarships available to these students in the graduate programs they applied to was a very significant factor.  Juan mentioned, "If I would've had to pay for [the graduate program], that would've been a big issue, so [the money that I was offered] solidified my interest in going to a Ph.D. program".  So, the availability of funding by the program was critical in

helping students decide where to go for their graduate education. Finally, a factor that was mentioned by the majority of the Latina/o students that I interviewed was the issue of invisibility. The small number of Latina/os at the UW, let alone in their programs, was a definite factor that discouraged some students from attending this institution, yet this was not the deciding factor for any of the students in their programs. Even after being enrolled in their program for a few months, the minimal numbers of minority students, Latina/o students specifically, had a major impact on the experiences that these students had in their program.

*Structural Limitations*

A second set of barriers that students mentioned during the interviews dealt with structural issues and limitations of the program. For some students, outreach by the program was not strong and information had to be sought out personally. Many of the schools that these students looked for were very impersonal and not useful when seeking this information. Further, the demographics of the classroom and the climate of the school are very important issues that Latina/os at the UW face. In my interview with Carolina, she says, "When you come into this campus, the climate of this institution, it's just very cold". This cold climate is very discouraging for students who visit the campus during their tours, but for most, the interview with their advisors and their departments were much more influential, since this was the reason mentioned by all of the students about why they decided on the UW.

There were also other barriers, such as the feeling of not belonging that students feel on campus and in their departments. Marisol speaks about the orientation hosted by GO-MAP that she attended once she was accepted into her program, where professors spoke about their experiences in graduate school: "[Professors talked] to us about things like the imposter syndrome, which everybody feels when they get to grad school and [feeling] like 'who did I fool to get in here? I don't actually deserve to be here.'" There is also the feeling of being singled out because of your ethnicity. Carolina mentions in her interview, "Where I have felt it more is definitely in the classroom where it's like, 'well, how do you feel [about this issue] as a Latina?" This feeling as if you can represent all Latina/os is one that is very common throughout the educational system.

*Cultural/Personal Hardships*

The Latina/o graduate students at the University of Washington that I interviewed also experienced cultural and personal hardships that

they referred to as barriers to their pursuit of a graduate degree.  The lack of familial support was definitely prevalent for Ricardo.  He mentions, "There are tons of phrases I remember [my parents] saying, and it still boggles my mind how they can say something like that, like my dad would say something like, 'Oh, you're not built to be a teacher.'" This lack of family support is one that could be tied to the structure of the Latina/o family.  Vlad noticed this within his family, too.  "One big thing is how families are…you have to support your family and everyone around you.  You can't move away," he says.   This feeling of being tied to your family and being responsible for them in some way discourages many Latina/os from continuing their education.

A final barrier discussed by the Latina/os I interviewed was the lack of role models, both in their families and in their programs. Federico said, "For me, a Latino, I've always looked for role models that are Latino, and…my college is not as diverse as I'd hoped". Not seeing too many Latina/os or other underrepresented minorities in their departments was very discouraging for many Latina/os.

*Support Networks*

Because of the small number of Latina/os who have acquired Ph.D.s, thusly, the small numbers of Latina/o parents who can guide their children during the graduate application process and beyond, a topic that interested me and that I sought to find out about my subjects during the interview process was the type of support that they received at different stages of their application processes and school enrollment.  My findings were very interesting, since there was a range of answers by Latina/os as to the type of support and assistance that they received.  During their search for graduate programs and the application process, approximately half of the Latina/o graduate students I interviewed reported to have relied more heavily on informal support networks.  This included peers and family, who provided at least minimal support for the work that they were doing and the goals they had about applying to graduate school. Some students found peers who were going through the same process to facilitate each other's searches for programs.

For those students who had more formal support networks, this was due to the types of organizations and activities that they actively sought out for this process.  Some students received assistance during the application process through programs such as the Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Program (McNair) and Minority Access to Research Careers (MARC). These programs are designed to introduce students to research, an important component that schools look at when deciding who they will offer admission, and to assist interested minority students

in the graduate application process. Having been a McNair Scholar during my senior year, I realized the importance of programs such as these to aid students who have little support and assistance outside of the program while applying to graduate programs.

Another route that students took was to seek out professors, faculty, or advisors during their undergraduates career. Still others did not obtain assistance either way because they did not know that it was available to them or simply because there was no one for them to seek. The internet was a very useful tool that these students, used to find valuable information about programs and the graduate school application process, though information found on the internet is not always reliable.

Once enrolled in their graduate program at the UW, I found that most of the Latina/os that I interviewed also continued to rely on informal support networks, including peers in and out of their departments. For these students, the first source that they seek for support is within their departments, including their graduate advisors and mentors, since these are the people that will join them during their time in their program, and it is useful to make these connections. They also seek out and continue to be involved with support programs similar to those that some were involved with during their undergraduate experience. Some graduate students have even created their own minority support programs and networks both within and outside of their departments to produce the type of environment in which they feel comfortable. This search for the known and familiar is one that was very important to the majority of the Latina/os who I interviewed. Finding few, if any, Latina/os in their programs, these students branched out to other departments and organizations outside of their program to find the community that they needed.

The interviews with the graduate students produced very important insight into the experiences that Latina/os have when applying to graduate programs of study. From the difficulties they faced and overcame, to the challenges that they still face today within their departments, the students were very open and engaging with the questions, some obviously previously having not thought much about these issues. The interviews were a great insight into the findings, many times supporting and substantiating the research that other authors have found.

**¿Entonces, yo como le hago?: Advice for a Latina/o**

Many of the graduate students were very willing to offer their advice for others who are interested in graduate studies. They mentioned everything from starting your search for schools early and researching

the schools that you want to go to thoroughly before applying to them, and contacting faculty and minority students within the department to get a sense of what the atmosphere is really like. Others recommended standing out from the crowd in your application, either by including the research experience that you have or letting the school know why they should invest in your education. Still others advised that you gain some experiences before entering a Ph.D. program, especially for the social sciences and humanities since many of those that enter these programs do not have the real-life experiences that will enable them to fully relate to and understand the issues that they deal with. Violeta mentioned in her interview, "I've seen students in some of my classes here that…will be in social science fields, meaning that you're impacting other people, and yet they don't have any experience!" This tells me that it is important not only to know how something works because you have studied it in books, but real-life experiences are necessary, especially in social science fields. Finally, several students advised that you have to expect there to be obstacles, but to never give up! Persistence, then, is the name of the game. If the school that you want to go to does not accept you immediately, this does not mean that you should give up on that school, they were not ready for you at the time is all.

## My Conclusions

Many of the barriers that I found that Latina/o students confronted were similar to those that other scholars have found that deter Latina/os at all stages of the educational pipeline. Within graduate education, the lack of knowledge about the process of applying to a graduate program is very significant, since this is the first barrier that students face once they have passed all the other barriers and gone to an undergraduate institution. Lacking the understanding of how to contact professors and knowing about the program that you are applying to is critical, since universities decide your entrance into a program depending on the fit that you have with the program. Furthermore, not having the appropriate experience, especially the research that many institutions seek, can be a major detractor from you as an applicant.

Once students are enrolled into their programs, the small numbers of Latina/os on campus and the cold campus climate can make Latina/os feel like they do not fit in this school. Unfortunately, the retention rates for underrepresented minority graduate students are dismal. So, once Latina/os pass the hurdle of being accepted into a graduate program, they must know that they made the right choice, since they will be in their new school anywhere from two to six years. Making the right choice is tied directly to the research that you must do while

looking for a school. For the students that I interviewed, the Seattle climate is a complete change for them, since all of these students are from out-of-state, and the change from their hometown to Seattle was very dramatic.

**Questions Raised and Future Research**

There were many things that I was left thinking about after my interviews. Some of the questions that I was left asking myself were: If graduate students rely on more informal support networks, what can universities do to foster this sort of communication and community among students? What kinds of formal support programs can universities institute for graduate students and how can they do this? Whose role is it to recruit underrepresented students of color into the UW and other educational institutions? These questions would be important ones for scholars to consider when they do future research on this subject.

Overall, the experience of interviewing graduate students and learning how they found their way into a graduate program was very encouraging. I realized that getting into a graduate program, and hopefully completing it, was not an impossible task, since many others just like myself had done the same with similar, or even less resources than those that I had available to me.

However, I am convinced that the availability of programs that help students, underrepresented minorities or not, in the graduate application process is essential. Once we Latina/os receive more Ph.D.s and become more highly educated, we will be able to teach and guide our children through the arduous process of applying to graduate school. However, for now, it is necessary that schools implement programs designed specifically to help first-generation students with this process. This task is one that people like myself, those of us who advocate for the advancement of Latina/os in education, will have to confront.

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# Fighting for Transnational Justice: The Activism of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

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**Abstract**

*My research focuses on the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), a Marxist and anti-imperialist organization that emerged in the Filipino American community in 1973 and lasted till 1986. I examine the activism of the KDP through their work in a trade union for Alaskan cannery workers, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (ILWU) Local 37. Within the local 37 KDP members built a movement that addressed exploitation of Asian and Native Alaskan workers. At the same time KDP members also worked to build a movement within the local 37 that took a political stance that condemned the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines. I examine the local and international activism of the KDP to further understand how to build a movement for transnational justice.*

*I approach my research question through a historical analysis of corruption in the canneries. Then I detail a reform movement that combated corruption as well as the work of the local 37 to make connections with trade unions in the Philippines that opposed the Marcos Dictatorship and US imperialism. I put the repression of KDP activists by both the US and Philippine government in context with other vocal US activists that connected the oppression people of color and working class people in the US to the international oppression of the third world. I argue that the activism of the KDP provides a political framework that we can apply to oppression today; if oppression exists on a global scale then a collective response should exist on a global scale.*

> We are here today to honor two people whose lives were taken away by those who are the fruits of corruption and dirty politics. They join the number of those who in history were not afraid to stand for justice and because of this they were sentenced to death by the power of the oppressors. [1]

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[1] ILWU Local 142. (1981). *Memorial Service For Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo*. Honolulu, Hawaii.
ILWU Local 142, another union the KDP members actively organized within, held a memorial service in Hawaii for Domingo and Viernes. This passage is taken from a solidarity statement read at the memorial service.

In a memorial service held in Honolulu, Hawaii, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) 142, a union composed of predominantly Filipino longshoremen, honored Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes as martyrs of genuine trade unionism and international solidarity.  On June 1, 1981 Domingo and Viernes were murdered in their own union hall in Seattle, ILWU Local 37.  The ILWU Local 37 was a union composed of predominately non-white cannery workers in Alaska, particularly Filipinos.[2]  Domingo and Viernes were also members of a radical organization that was emerging in the Filipino American community, the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP).  The KDP was composed of Filipino Nationals, American born Filipinos, and progressive minded individuals outside of the Filipino American community.  As a political organization the KDP embraced the dual goal of establishing socialism in the US, as well as supporting the National Democratic Movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).[3] The ILWU Local 37 itself had long history of fighting for workers rights as well as international solidarity. In the spirit of past ILWU Local 37 members who fought for workers rights in both Alaska and the Philippines and those in the Philippines engaging in revolutionary struggle in the National Democratic movement, Domingo and Viernes put their lives on the line for the advancement of transnational working class justice.

In my paper I plan to examine the activism of the KDP within the ILWU Local 37 as a case study for understanding movements for transnational justice. In a pursuit to understanding how the KDP's work within ILWU Local 37 was central to the KDP's larger goal to form a movement for transnational justice I ask three questions.  The first is how does injustice work transnationally?   In examining transnational injustice, I set up local and international examples of injustice through looking through the lens of working people's struggles.  Locally I will

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[2] Taylor, Kieran Walsh. (2007). *Turning to the Working Class: The New Left, Black Liberation, and the U.S. Labor Movement.* Unpublished Doctorial Dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, pp. 200.

[3] Cruz, Rene. (1983, September). The KDP Story: The First Ten Years. *Ang Katipunan*, pp. 1.
Dual goal of the KDP was a reflection of a membership that was composed of both Filipino Nationals and American born Filipinos.

look at the Alaskan canneries. By looking at how racist employment practices, wage exploitation, and corrupt cannery management existed in Alaska's Salmon industry I will set up the context of injustice that KDP members combated in their local activism. I will also examine international injustice through the context of a martial law regime in the Philippines that was US government supported. My paper also asks how injustice is challenged transnationally? This section of my paper will focus on how KDP members in Seattle pushed the ILWU Local 37 to support anti-Marcos workers struggles in the Philippines. Lastly, my paper asks the question how does international solidarity work balance with local concerns? To answer this question I choose not to separate local and international concerns, but demonstrate how they intersect through the murders of Domingo and Viernes. The activism of Domingo and Viernes created just as much of a threat to the stability of the Marcos regime as it did to the cannery management in Alaska and conservative leadership of the ILWU Local 37.

**The Role of the KDP**

In examining the murders of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, as well as their activism that prompted their murders, I place their activism in the context of the politics of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). The KDP emerged in the Filipino American community throughout the United States in 1973 and sought to connect the oppression that Filipinos in the US faced with the oppression that Filipinos faced in the Philippines. However, the KDP, like similar organizations that combined anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist philosophies, had a much broader purview than just the oppression of Filipinos in both the US and the Philippines. The KDP placed their struggles, both in the US and in the Philippines, in the context of the liberation of "third world people." Through reading the first paragraph of the KDP's constitution, it is evident that the KDP placed imperialism as the number one issue for third world people.

> Imperialism in particular U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the people of the whole world. As such it creates the conditions to unite the vast majority of mankind in one struggle against a common enemy. This revolutionary force stands for progress, peace and cooperation among peoples; it stands opposed to the exploitation and aggressive wars caused by the imperialists, who represent only a tiny minority of the

world's population. KDP views itself as part of this worldwide anti-imperialist movement.[1]

Domingo, Viernes, and other members of the KDP in the ILWU Local 37 worked to integrate their anti-imperialist philosophy to their union organizing in Alaska. Through a look at their union history as well as US imperial history, KDP members saw that it was in fact imperialism that brought the first wave Filipino laborers to Alaska. Silme Domingo, as he advocated for the ILWU to align with progressive trade unions in the Philippines, argued it was the legacies of US imperialism that created the economic and political "conditions in the Philippines that cause, every year, thirty or forty thousand Filipinos to migrate to the US."[2] It is these very connections that KDP members made with their union membership that I place at the center of my essay.

### Historicizing the ILWU Local 37

The ILWU Local 37 was organized by a generation of Filipino laborers that were recruited by the US government from the Philippines. Filipino laborers before 1935 were known as "wards of the state."[3] This

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[1] Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Propaganda Commission. (1973). *The Political Program of the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino.*

[2] Committee For Justice For Domingo and Viernes. (1985). Resolution #21 on the Philippines. Call for Justice, pp. 5.
The passage of a resolution within the ILWU Convention that stood against the repressive labor practices of the Ferdinand Marcos Dictatorship had great importance for the US labor movement. Before the passage of the resolution by the ILWU, Marcos welcomed Cesar Chavez, then president of the United Farm Workers (UFW), to the Philippines. The ILWU resolution symbolized the labor movement in the United States taking an active stance repressive dictatorships around the world.

[3] San Juan Jr., E. (1995). Introduction. *The Cry and Dedication* (pp. ix-xxxvi). Temple University, Philidelphia.
E. San Juan, in his introduction to Carlos Bulosan's The Cry and Dedication, described the conditions of Filipinos during US colonization of the Philippines as being in a state of limbo; "neither citizens, refugees, nor wards, they were considered "nationals" without a sovereign country – a deracinated, subaltern species."

term was used to describe Filipino nationals in the US, which meant they were neither immigrants nor citizen, rather colonial subject brought to the US for the purpose of cheap labor. Even as they bore the burden of this colonial title, Filipinos organized the Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union (CWFLU) Local 18257 in 1933. The CWFLU Local 18257 would later become the ILWU Local 37.[4] The ILWU Local 37, built on the political foundation of radical working class justice, expressed their politics in the preamble of their constitution.

> Being fully aware that the conflict capital and labor grows with intensity from time to time and tends to work disastrous results on the working millions unless we combine for mutual protection and benefit, and realizing fully that the struggle to better our working and living conditions is in vain unless we are united to protect ourselves against the organized forces of the employers and exploiters of labor.[5]

From the union's birth, the ILWU Local 37 was organized to act in the name of workers. However, the ILWU Local 37 also needs to be seen in the context of anti-racist community organizing in the United States. Formed in an era of tremendous vigilante violence against people of color, it must also be noted that the ILWU Local 37 was an organization formed by Filipino migrant workers. Carlos Bulosan, who was the editor of the *ILWU Local 37 1952 Yearbook* and union member, described the racial climate of this time period by saying that "it must have been a crime to be Filipino."[6] As all progressive leaders of the ILWU Local 37 reminded their union members as well as their conservative opponents alike, their union was born in the name of opposing the oppressive effects that racism and capitalism had on Filipinos working in the Alaskan canneries.

KDP members in the 1970's would only have to look through the ILWU Local 37 yearbook from 1952 to see the vibrant history of international solidarity that could be brought back to life. In 1952 the ILWU Local 37 would write a series of articles in their yearbook

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[4] Fresco, Crystal Fresco. (1999). Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborer's Union: Their Strength in Unity. *Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project*.
http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/cwflu.htm
[5] ILWU Local 37. (1951). *Constitution and By Laws of the Local 37*, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. Seattle, WA.
[6] San Juan, *The Cry and the Dedication*.

criticizing the US, particularly regarding the dominance of US businesses and the military.

> The Philippine Trade Act or Bell Act of 1946 gave the U.S. economic control over the Philippines until 1974. The Bell Act became the Parity Amendment to the Philippine Constitution. By this means U.S. imperialism assured for itself virtual economic domination over the Philippines. U.S. companies in the Philippines were granted a monopoly over Philippine products, thus obstructing the development of new Filipino enterprises, U.S. companies were granted the right to import products into the Philippines free of duty, quotas, or price ceilings.[7]

In their yearbook they also supported a revolutionary peasant organization in the Philippines the Hukbalahap (HUK). In a picture of armed HUK soldiers, there was a caption right below that picture that said, "HUK guerillas form the backbone of the Philippine liberation movement."[18] However, aside from the supporting the Philippine liberation movement, advanced by the HUK, the ILWU Local 37 used the articles in their 1952 yearbook to position the Philippine liberation movement in the context of class struggle. They wrote of a particular transnational class struggle where working people broke down racial and national barriers and were united against a common exploiter. In Amado Hernandez's article "Wall St. Chains the Philippines," he articulated this class struggle.

> During the dark days of enemy occupation, the Filipino working man realized that labor must speak only one universal language, and it has to rise above national and racial barriers; that labor everywhere has one common struggle, and that it must march toward one goal: the liberation of all the peoples from the chains of tyranny, fascism, and imperialism.[9]

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[7] ILWU Local 37. (1952). Terrorism Rides the Philippines. Bulosan, Carlos (Ed.), *1952 Yearbook of the ILWU Local 37* (pp. 27). Seattle, WA.

[8] Brown, Lloyd L. (1952). Stand Up for Freedom. Bulosan, Carlos (Ed.), *1952 Yearbook of the ILWU Local 37* (pp. 28). Seattle, WA.

[9] Hernandez, Amado. (1952). Wall St. Chains the Philippines. Bulosan, Carlos (Ed.), *1952 Yearbook of the ILWU Local 37* (pp. 29). Seattle, WA.

Central to the solidarity work of the ILWU Local 37 in the 1950's was eliminating national barriers that separated workers in the Philippines and the United States. KDP members of the 1970's embraced this lesson of international solidarity and applied it to their contemporary situation.

Another lesson the KDP learned from the generation that came before them was that progressive trade unionism had always been marginalized and repressed. The state of worker exploitation that existed in the Alaskan canneries during the 1970's was a product of McCarthyism labeling the ILWU Local 37 a communist union. Some union members were arrested while others were deported. The union's progressive leadership were pushed out and replaced by a more conservative leadership who became pawns of cannery management. Over the years the ILWU Local 37 lost its power in terms of fighting for better wages and only became a tool for dispatching workers.[10] KDP members knew a reform movement had to happen to combat over a decade of a conservative stronghold over their union.

**Injustice in Alaska**

In the early 1970's working conditions in the canneries were the definition of corruption. For Asian and Native Alaskan workers, racism and capitalism collided in catastrophic of ways. The salmon industry in Alaska employed Asian workers "in the lowest paying and roughest categories of employment – the processing of salmon after the catch. The higher status and better paying jobs in the industry --- fisherman, mechanics and supervisors have been reserved for whites."[11] In the Summer of 1973 a group of cannery workers wrote a proposal for the Alaska Cannery Worker Association (ACWA), a legal defense team organized to work in the name of cannery workers in Alaska that are exploited and are unable to represent themselves. Cannery workers in Alaska apply to work three and a half months and have very little employment protection. Cannery management's dissatisfaction with cannery workers could easily lead to the expulsion of workers from their positions, often times losing pay.[12] The proposal for the ACWA went on

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[10] Ellison, Micah. (2005). The Local 7/ Local 37 Story: Filipino American Cannery Unionism in Seattle 1940-1959. *Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project.*
Web site: http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/local_7.htm

[11] ACWA. (1973). *Proposal for the Alaska Cannery Workers Association (ACWA).* Seattle, WA. (pp.1).

[12] Ibid, (pp.2).

to further show how unions have lost their power to improve the conditions of workers.

> The unions were once an advocate for the workers, but the McCarthy era and the ensuing "red baiting" years dissolved the potential for the union's protective hand. Now the unions are only a legitimacy factor. Except for dispatching the now diminishing work force, the unions have very little power.[13]

The backbone of injustice in the Alaskan canneries was not just exploitative working conditions, but the inability for workers to speak out and stand up against their exploitative working conditions.

The process that created a racialized division of labor in the Alaskan salmon industry was due to a segregated union system. There was a dual-union system in Alaska that separated white workers from non-white workers. The Alaska Fisherman's Union (AFU) was ninety-seven percent white in 1973 to be exact. "The AFU is contracted to fulfill operations dealing with the transportation of fish to canneries and the actual maintenances of the cannery. Through the years, the AFU has developed strong ties with the salmon industry and has evolved with all of the supervisory and higher paying position.[14] The AFU's unwritten rule of segregation kept non-white workers in the worst paying positions in the Alaskan salmon industry. The division of labor produced by the dual-union system created an alarming wage discrepancy that paid white workers on average 4000 dollars for a three and a half month period, but only paid non-white workers 1000 dollars during that same time period.[15]

What made cannery work unbearable was the conditions of the work. The work of cannery workers included sorting, butchering, egg-pulling and sliming, cleaning, and the eventual canning of the fish. Due to the vast amount of fish and the different kinds of fish that were processed, cannery work was often done manually. Through a description of the cleaning process, the conditions of cannery work can be better understood.

> If the fish have not been thoroughly cleaned by the machine, they are then given to workers who will clean them or remove unwanted parts by hand. These workers

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Solomon. (1977). *Nemesio Domingo, et al v. New England Fish Company (NeFco) Judge Opinion No. 713-73 C2*. United States District Court Western District of Washington.

[15] Ibid.

are called "slimers" and are equipped with just a knife and a cutting board with a faucet of running cold water. This task is also a difficult and demanding operation. With little improvement or modernization of butchering machines, the rate of satisfactorily cleaning a salmon for canning is very low, especially in a period of speeded up production. Whenever the machine fails, the Asian or Alaskan Native worker must compensate.[16]

The work of cleaning is just a brief example of what non-white workers were subjected to. While non-white workers were subjected to horrible conditions, it must be remembered that an all white supervisor staff supervised them.

Aside from abysmal working conditions, non-white workers lived and ate in deplorable facilities. In part of Silme Domingo's work with the ACWA, was to go on a fact-finding mission investigating the conditions of workers. Michael Woo, a fellow cannery worker, joined Domingo. While at the Whitney-Fidalgo cannery they found that condemned buildings were still being used for kitchen and dining facilities. Also they found a standard of all cannery sites was that living and dining facilities were segregated. In discussions with workers they found many instances of work conditions that practically invited injury. "In one such incident, a worker had slipped on wet concrete and grabbed for one of the uncovered vertical fish ladders. Because the fish ladders were uncovered, three of his fingers were crushed and later amputated."[17]

Conditions non-white workers endured in Alaska during the nineteen seventies tell a story of US racism and labor history that is often forgotten. When thinking about racial injustice and class oppression, particularly in the nineteen seventies, the discussion often excludes the presence of Asians and Alaska is hardly thought of a site for this oppression. The history of the Salmon industry is thus a site for understanding the relationship Asians have to the US racial and class constructs, which is a relationship of exploitation.

**Bringing the Philippine Revolution to the US**

The KDP saw themselves as an instrumental part of the revolution that was going on in the Philippines during the age of martial law. In the second year of the KDP's existence, 1975, KDP members

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[16] Ibid.

[17] ACWA. (1973). *Silme Domingo and Michael Woo's Investigation of Working Conditions in Alaska*. ACWA. Seattle, WA.

from across the nation met and produced a summary of the organization's work. In their summary they discussed how "The international support work for the Philippine revolution has advanced significantly with the formation of the KDP two years ago."[18] The KDP went on further to describe how much of their work in the Filipino American communities and "among the American people as a whole" revolved around holding "mass activities" and propaganda work. The KDP went on to describe ways that they utilized arts and culture as a productive means of popular education.

> We have used such creative forms as public forums, speeches, slide shows, and popularization of revolutionary songs and cultural forms to bring the national democratic program and the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people to both Filipino and American audiences, where it has been well-received. Some of our propaganda breakthroughs include recording a long playing album of revolutionary songs from the Philippines which is in the final stages of production, and presenting a full length play on the oppressive conditions and resistnace of the Muslim people's – "Maguindanao."[19]

Other written forms of propaganda work was the publication of the "Ang Katipunan," the KDP's offical newspaper, which discussed issues faced by Filipinos in the US and the Philippines. Other written documents included the publication of *People's War in the Philippines*, which highlighted the work of Armed Unit of the Philippine Revolution, the New People's Army. In the political arena the KDP worked on a number of campaigns to petition the US government to end support of the Marcos regime.[20] The role of the KDP chapter in Seattle was to bring their national solidarity campaign to cannery workers in Alaska, as well as the broader Seattle community.

On September 17th, 1977 the Seattle KDP chapter brought the Marcos regime to trial, at least in the form of a dramatic performance held at the Langston Hughes Cultural Center. Langston Hughes Cultural Center was a community center for the performing arts in Seattle. Fake actors were armed with real allegations, statistics, and recorded

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[18] KDP. (1975). *Summation of the 2 Years Experience KDP National Council Report*.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

responses of torture victims in the Philippines as well as Ferdinand Marcos himself. When Marcos was charged with holding 53,000 political prisoners he responded, "There are vile rumors perpetrated by the Communists and Christian left. There are no political prisoners, but if I find any, I'll let them out." In response to questions of the inhumane treatment that political prisoners received, Marcos answered, "I act like a father to prisoners. It is necessary to punish them to make them tell the truth."[21] Aside from the Marcos' the US government was cited as co-defendant. During the preceding an American businessman testified, "Martial law has had a stabilizing effect on US business interests. Marcos has done this by outlawing strikes, keeping wages low and no tariffs." The US businessman went on to say, "Since martial law was imposed profits have multiplied ten times. Anybody that opposes Marcos is either misguided or a Communist." The trial then moved to giving a voice to those that opposed the Marcos regime. A representative of the Friends of the Filipino People (FFP), an organization of Americans who opposed the Marcos regime and the support the US has given the Marcos regime, testified next. "Military assistance from the US to the Philippines has increased 100 percent since martial law was imposed. During the first year of martial law 60 percent more aid was given than was authorized by the US Congress."[22] Following the representative of the FFP was John Caughlan, a US attorney who was part of an investigation team that assessed the living conditions of people in the Philippines. Caughlan focused his investigation in the slum of Tondo. Caughlan testified, "During the six days of the Conference on Human Rights in Manila, the delegates would be eating more food than Tondo residents (180,000) eat in a month." In response to the question of torture, Caughlan spoke of the torture of a woman he met named Vilma Riopag.

> Vilma's torture literally drove her out of her mind. She remembers the first 48 hours when she was subjected to beating, being kept awake, being questioned by teams in relays under intense lights, and being imprisoned in a tiny windowless closet in total darkness where she had to stand upright. From that point she blacked out.[23]

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[21] Laranang, Julia. (1977, November). The Conviction of Ferdinand Marcos for Human Rights Violations. *The International Examiner*, pp. 6.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

When it came to the verdict, which came from the 150 community members that attended the staged trial, an overwhelming chant of guilt came from the audience. Although staged, the trail held at the Langston Hughes Cultural Center represented and even foreshadowed, the strength of an organized mass base that stood against the Marcos regime. By giving the community the power to determine Marcos' guilt, they symbolized the restructuring of a society where power is no longer in the hands of corrupt politicians, but the people.

Even the success of the staged Marcos trial, building solidarity for the Philippine revolution in the ILWU Local 37 and the Seattle community was going to be difficult. Tony Buruso, the ILWU Local 37 president during the time of the murders of Domingo and Viernes was an adamant supporter Marcos regime, as was the president that Buruso replaced in 1975, Gene Navarro.[24] However, what united cannery workers to the Philippine Revolution was the struggle for a working class justice. At the center the of the KDP's solidarity work done with the ILWU Local 37 was building connections between exploited cannery workers in Alaska and how Marcos' martial law regime exploited the working people of the Philippines.

**Injustice in the Philippines**

The exploitation of the Philippine working class during the Marcos regime can be seen from the context of how US imperial history in the Philippines manifested into a new form of imperialism. This imperialism created a relationship where the US government monetarily supported the Marcos regime in return for the Philippines' support of US business and military interests. In a time of Cold War politics, Marcos, as a voracious anti-communist, was tolerable to the US as an ally. However, the support of dictators that were voraciously anti-communist needs to be seen outside of a solely political framework. Supporting dictatorship served the purpose of making sure third world countries participated in the global system of free-market capitalism. In the system of free-market capitalism, markets would go to highest bidder. In E. San Juan's book *Crisis in the Philippines: The Making of a Revolution*, San Juan described how the Marcos regime functioned as a political force that sought to ensure the Philippines stayed integrated in free-market capitalism. "One of the first institutions to proclaim zealous support of

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[24] Schwartz, Kraig. (2003). The Civil Rights Revolution, Political Empowerment and Murder: Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes and the Remaking of the Cannery Workers Union. *Pacific Northwest Labor History Conference*. Eugene, Oregon.

the Marcos regime, after the US Chamber of Commerce and the US Ambassador, was the World Bank (WB) which, from 1972 to the Aquino assassination in 1983, provided Marcos with $3.5 billion in aid."[25]  San Juan goes on to say, "The WB-IMF scheme of export-oriented industrialization based on intensified exploitation of labor and periodic devaluation of currency has tightly integrated the Philippines into the capitalist world economy by forcing the investments, and export markets beyond its control."[26]  It is through the WB's and IMF's investments, Rosario Torres-Yu comments in her book *Welgang Bayan: Empowering Labor Unions Against Poverty and Repression*, which are "deceptively called *development funds,*" that the Philippine national economy was directed toward a free-market open to any transnational corporation.[27]

KDP members participated in the production of a study that looked specifically at how the WB and the IMF functioned in the Philippines, *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines*. In *Development Debacle* the authors, Walden Bello, David Kinley, and Elaine Elinson, concluded that "Marcos' export-oriented industrialization, by gearing production to the markets of advanced industrialization and repressing the masses, has led to the severe impoverishment of workers, the massive deficits in the balance of payments ($3.3 billion by 1983) and a phenomenal $27 billion debt (a conservative estimate; up from $2.1 billion in 1970)."[28]  Bello went on to describe the deteriorating conditions of workers through the WB's on statistics.

> Between 1972 and 1978 the wages of skilled workers declined by close to 25% and those of unskilled workers by over 30%. Meanwhile, the productivity of labor rose by 13%...The number of rural families living below the poverty line increased from 48% in 1971 to 55% in 1975.  And according to the government itself, the

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[25] San Juan, Jr., E. (1986). *Crisis in the Philippines: The Making of a Revolution*. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Torres-Yu, Rosario. (2003). *Welgang Bayan: Empowering Labor Unions Against Poverty and Repression.* Manila: De La Salle University.

[28] Bello, Walden, et al. (1982). *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines.* San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy and Philippine Solidarity Network.

income of rice farmers declined by an astonishing 53% between 1976 and 1979 alone.[29]

It is in these statistics that exemplify working class oppression that KDP member used to tie cannery workers and workers in the Philippines, such as the rice farmers that Bello described. In addition to poverty and wages decreasing, martial law stripped workers of the right to strike. Through the rhetoric of the right of every worker to organize and fight for a livable wage, KDP members sought to build connections between ILWU and an anti-Marcos trade union coalition, the Kilusang Mayo Uno [May First Movement] (KMU). [30]

**Returning to a Tradition of International Solidarity**

As KDP members in Seattle thought of ways to practice solidarity for the National Democratic movement, they knew the ILWU Local 37 was the place to center their efforts. The ILWU had a long history of international solidarity. The ILWU was the first union in the United States to oppose the system of apartheid in South African in 1948. Similarly, the ILWU joined an international boycott of cargo bound to the US supported dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile.[31] KDP members within the ILWU Local 37 understood their union's history of international solidarity and knew pushing a movement for solidarity with the revolutionary movement in the Philippines within the ILWU was a necessary site of their struggle.

It is with the history of the ILWU in mind KDP members pushed the passage of a resolution at the 1981 ILWU convention in Hawaii condemning the Marcos Dictatorship for its abuses of workers' rights. Domingo introduced the resolution by explaining how the Marcos regime's police and military force crushed strikes. Also, outspoken labor leaders were jailed without chance of parole. During the debate over the

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Taylor, *Turning to the Working Class: The New Left, Black Liberation, and the U.S. Labor Movement,* pp. 228.
Taylor discussed a trip made my Gene Viernes to the Philippines where he meet leaders of the KMU to both gage the condition of workers rights in the Philippines as well as how the ILWU could support the KMU.

[31] ILWU Local 19. (2008). ILWU Story: International Solidarity.
Retrieved April 10, 2008 from ILWU Local 19.
Website:
http://www.ilwu19.com/history/the_ilwu_story/international_solidarity.htm

resolution Viernes stepped up to the podium and reminded the delegation of the ILWU's historical links to "liberation movements and progressive trade unionism in the Philippines."[32]  Viernes also discussed a recent meeting he had with KMU leaders and explained how they "expressed the need for international support" and a "call for solidarity."  The resolution passed unanimously and resolved that,

> That the ILWU object to and will actively take measures to protest restrictive decrees and repressive policies of the Marcos government against Filipino workers which continue to this day. Also, that the ILWU continue to promote active interest in the general developments in the Philippines and their effects on the welfare of working people through increased coverage in the DISPATCHER newspaper, conducting educational programs, and fostering relations with groups which work for industrial democracy, freedom of trade union rights, freedom for the Filipino people.[33]

The passage of this resolution encompassed the legacy of the KDP and their role in the ILWU Local 37.  By passing this resolution we can see the transnational vision of justice that the KDP had in mind when they formed in 1973 starting to materialize.  However as quickly as their victory in the ILWU convention came, they suffered a tragic loss.  Two month after the passage of this resolution both Domingo and Viernes were killed in their own union hall in Seattle.

**Understanding the Murders Locally and Internationally**

To understand what the murders of Domingo and Viernes meant, we need to understand whom their organizing work threatened.  In examining the work the KDP did for workers in the canneries, their work attacked the conservative union leadership in the canneries.  A year before the murders of Domingo and Viernes, KDP members won eleven of the seventeen positions in the local 37 elections, with Domingo winning secretary treasurer and Viernes winning Dispatcher.  The dispatcher position was particularly important because the dispatcher is "responsible for the placement of union members to employment in

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[32] Taylor, *Turning to the Working Class: The New Left, Black Liberation, and the U.S. Labor Movement*, pp. 229

[33] Committee For Justice For Domingo and Viernes, *Resolution #21 on the Philippines. Call for Justice*, pp. 5.

Alaskan canneries."[34] Viernes's victory meant "The old system of job-selling, favoritism, and privilege was being challenged by a rank and file movement which demanded fairness based on trade union principles, accountability of leadership to membership, and an end to corruption."[35]

In looking at the resolution KDP members were able to pass at the 1981 ILWU convention, we see a US labor union condemn the Marcos regime and build connections with an anti-Marcos labor union in the Philippines, the May First Movement (KMU). At the time of the resolution the KMU had a combined membership of 500,000. The KMU not only worked for the rights of its members, but they called for the overthrow of Marcos dictatorship.[36] Viernes, before the ILWU convention, made a trip to the Philippines and meet with leaders of the KMU. "Together they worked out a plan for the KMU to host a delegation from the ILWU to investigate the conditions of Filipino workers."[37] The linking of the KMU with the ILWU made Domingo and Viernes targets of the Marcos dictatorship.

**To Die for Transnational Justice**

When the ILWU Local 142 held their memorial for Domingo and Viernes, they opened with a song named "Walan Sinuman[g]." The first stanza of the song read, "Nobody lives for oneself alone, nobody dies for oneself alone."[38] In thinking about Domingo and Viernes, the opening stanza of "Walan Sinuman[g]" embodied what their lives and murders symbolize, a selfless commitment to transnational justice. The activism of Domingo and Viernes, and all the other members of the KDP within the ILWU Local 37 demonstrated that part of genuine solidarity is the ability to look outside one's own conditions of oppression and find similarities with others. It would have been easy for those in the ILWU Local 37 to focus solely on the corruption that existed in the Alaskan canneries, and no one would have blamed them. However, by forging the corruption that existed in Alaska with the corruption that plagued the Philippines under the Marcos regime, KDP members internationalized a standard for justice. This standard for justice knew no national or racial

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[34] Cruz, Rene. (1980, October 16-31). Reform Movement Sweep Key Position. *Ang Katipunan*, pp.8.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Cruz, Rene. (1981). Anti-Marcos Labor Activists Murdered: Marcos Linked to Seattle Slayings. *Ang Katipunan*, pp.4.

[37] Ibid.

[38] ILWU Local 142, *Memorial Service For Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo*.

barriers. When the ILWU made a commitment, through the resolution that was passed in Hawaii, to "actively take measures to protest restrictive decrees and repressive policies of the Marcos government," the ILWU committed themselves to seeing the type of justice they worked for in the US happen in the Philippines. By setting an international standard for justice they recognized when injustice happens on an international level then resistance needs to happen on an international level.

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Lastly, I would like to thank all the former KDP members that offered their time, thoughts, and support for my research. It was truly a humbling experience to document their history. The political message offered by the KDP is as timely now as it was when they were organizing in the Filipino American community.

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# "Resistiendo el *Secuestro"*
## Performing resistance to kidnappings, through normativity, in contemporary Colombia.

Ismenia Gaviria

## Abstract

*The Colombian citizen-subject living in their crisis-stricken country performs resistance by* not *resigning and by continuing to live normal lives. It is through their performative normativity that Colombians perform resistance to one of the most plaguing acts to date:* secuestros, *or* kidnappings. *Colombians do not embrace nor deny the existence of kidnappings, but instead by performative normativity, they resist allowing themselves to live as fearful, submissive, and defenseless citizens in their own country. I am interested in exploring the ways in which the Colombian citizen-subject performs "normativity" and it's probably active resistance to the violent phenomena of* secuestros *in present-day Colombia.*

*I will reference Colombian theatre, literature, and the media to explore how the Colombian citizen-subject performs normativity under such crisis. Specifically I will analyze the play* Lucky Strike *(Golpe de suerte),[1] created and produced collectively by Santiago García and his* Teatro La Candelaria. *Through the analysis of these selected texts, I will explore how the performance of "normativity," may serve as an active resistance tactic. In addition, the use of additional mediums will be useful in analyzing the effect of kidnappings on individuals living in Colombia as well as conceptualizing the Colombian daily life.*

## Introduction: Colombia and *el secuestro*.

The increasing number of *secuestros*, or kidnappings, in Colombia has continued to mark international headlines while making Colombia infamous for its large numbers of kidnappings per year. Consequently, such *secuestros* have steadily proceeded to plague the people of Colombia throughout decades of terror, trauma, and injustice.

Colombia has endured decades of political and social unrest due to a present civil war, strongly emerging around the 1960's, which has caused an armed conflict and a war on drugs. Key players in this era of armed conflict are that of the Colombian government, drug cartels, guerilla groups, and the paramilitary groups initially created to dismantle such guerilla insurgencies. Consequently, this phenomena of *secuestros*

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[1] Translation of *Lucky Strike*, from Spanish to English, by Judith Weiss.

in Colombia, is essentially a byproduct of the corruption created by the key players of this violent and traumatizing war.

This phenomena of kidnappings in Colombia is closely related to, and a result of the armed conflict in the country and of the international drug trade. From the late 1970s, and still going strong, Colombia has managed to remain a key figure in the development of drug trafficking. Many guerilla groups, early on as they began organizing, relied on the kidnapping of wealthy or powerful individuals as a way of funding their operations. Thus, kidnapping became a common tactic for guerrilla groups, which coupled with ransom and national terrorism created the fearful image of such groups.

Throughout recent years many Colombians have been kidnapped, killed, terrorized, and displaced due to the drug trafficking, and narcoterrorism. As a result, many poor rural Colombians fall victims to due to their lack or resources. Many parts of rural Colombia have been taken over by guerrilla group camp grounds, forcing nearby agricultural workers to head into neighboring cities.

In the beginning, victims of kidnapping were chosen strategically by guerilla groups. Many individuals were direct family members or closely related to wealthy individuals. By kidnapping these individuals it was more likely for their wealthy and powerful family and friends to offer up large sums of money as ransom. Throughout the years we've seen a steady shift in intent. For example, many armed conflict groups entertain the act of kidnapping to forcefully manipulate the legal system by offering up hostages if specific requests are met. For example, in Gabriel García Márquez novel, *News of a Kidnapping*, the kidnapping of several reporters and powerful figures were held hostage under the guerilla group known as the *Extraditables,* in order to prevent the extradition of group members accused of unlawful activity. (22) Thus it is through kidnappings that such participants of the armed conflict, which still occurring in present-day, manage to fund their cohorts, manipulate, and benefit from the legal system by manner of force or persuasion. Recently, Colombian politician Ingrid Betancourt, who holds Colombian-French citizenship, was freed by Colombia's military on …. Betancourt was running for presidency when a leftist guerilla group kidnapped her over six years ago. Among her were three Americans and eleven members of the Colombian security forces who were all freed after the Colombian military tricked the Farc, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, into thinking they were a non-government organization. The Farc, after over three decades of war in attempt to overthrow the Colombian government, continues to have, a reported, hundreds of hostages. Nevertheless, the loss of their

gotiation tool, Ms. Betancourt, has created a blow to the Farc. Ms. Betancourt's rescue has limited the Farc from negotiating a way of recovering hundreds of rebels held by the Colombian government, yet another tool and reason behind kidnappings.

Some victims of kidnappings, however, have been ordinary Colombian citizens such as artists, students, and activists to name a few. The justification for abducting an individual has come to lie in a grey zone. Many victims who do not possess monetary wealth, political, or legal power can fall victims to such an act due to their involvement in activism and protest such as a threatening public denouncement of the injustice and human rights violations by named individuals responsible to kidnappings. Others have been caught in the crossfire accidentally, for example, by coming in contact with delicate information or evidence that could potentially lead to the incarceration of those guilty of kidnappings. The exclusivity of earlier kidnappings has since evolved to include anyone who poses a threat or commodity to those groups involved in the corrupt and inhumane war caused, among other factors, by the armed conflict in Colombia.

**Performing Resistance**

As a response to this power of violence executed through kidnappings, many Colombians have decided to remain passive and complacent out of fear of becoming victims to kidnappings. Others have decided to move to neighboring countries in hopes of escaping such fear that this crisis has brought upon the Colombian nation and its citizens. Still others have managed to live their normal lives as Colombian citizens, while living resistant to the crisis of kidnappings in Colombia; thus what I seek to explore.

By utilizing and applying performance theory I will explore the political capacity within the Colombian-citizen subject's actions, choices, and performance of their daily lives. The performative nature of engaging in daily tasks allows one to explore the intersection between anthropology and theatre. Literature on the performance arts in Colombia considers the efforts of conscious-rising theatre groups, politically conscious artwork, and other forms of artistic expression that engages in an artistic dialogue exposing the injustices and crisis in past and present Colombia. Work on Latin American theatre is often categorized as *types* of theatre such as theatre of the oppressed, theatre of the absurd, or that of protest theatre.[1] Theatre of the "oppressed" is a

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[1] Taylor argues in her book, *Theatre of Crisis,* that *the theatre of crisis*, which she proposes is "unlike other kinds of crisis theatres- the theatre of

term or method developed by Brazilian director Augusto Boal.  Theatre of the oppressed utilizes the performance of theatre as a source of knowledge and way of transforming the realities occurring in a social sphere. (Taylor, 8) Similarly, Taylor argues in her book, *Theatre of Crisis,* that *the theatre of crisis*, which she proposes is "unlike other kinds of crisis theatres- the theatre of the absurd or protest theatre- in that it formulates the objective manifestation of crisis as inseparable from the subjective experience of decomposition." (9)

The study of types of theatre and performative manifestation in Colombia is key to understanding how Colombian citizens feel and think about the social, political, and even artistic occurrences in Colombia during the past and present.  Thus, I propose the analysis of *normativity,* or social norms constructed and performed by its citizens*,* as a structure for analyzing how the average Colombian-citizen subject can live resistant and opposed to the acts of secuestros.

Some might argue that through the performance of normativity, the Colombian citizen-subject cannot truly perform resistance.  However, decades of corruption and injustice have surprisingly left behind a tenacious society determined to establish peace and justice. In addition, the collective optimism and love for their culture and country has enabled the Colombian citizen-subject to have the luxury of deciding, for example, whether to stay or leave its country.  For example, those individuals with the economical means of escaping the violence in Colombia nevertheless decide to stay in their country.  Despite gender, social class, and other factors, many Colombians decide to perform resistance by deciding to stay and live in their country.  Their collective effort to resistant can be seen through their decision to stay in their country.   Thus, why then can the performance of normativity *not* be classified as a type of resistance? Must the act of resistance occur *solely* through blatant activism or as part of a political or conscious-raising organization's agenda?  This is important to think about when attempting to understand how the Colombian citizen-subject performs resistance by refusing to resign from her daily life's routine.

Colombia as a nation collaborated and protested, on July 5, 2007, in solidarity in hopes of sending a message of resistance to leftist rebels accused of killing eleven provincial lawmakers being held hostage by the group.  Close to a million Colombians poured into the streets of major cities in Colombia waving white cloths or bandanas, or wearing

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the absurd or protest theatre- in that it formulates the objective manifestation of crisis as inseparable from the subjective experience of decomposition." (9)

white clothing, others honked their car horns in support. The more radical participants created protest signs and still others created papier-mâché puppets of various sizes depicting in caricature renditions of guerilla and paramilitary leaders from the Farc, which continues to use kidnappings "as a tool of war against the state.[2]" This public act of protest and resistance to the phenomena of kidnapping in Colombia demonstrates an existing form of performative resistance. There was a collective effort made this day, which conveys to the spectator in other countries that a minority is deciding for a majority of citizens desperate to seek change in their beloved country.

This overt collective act of protest was astounding and heard world-wide but not performed daily. Thus I ask, "Can daily tasks, cultural festivals, etc. be rendered less direct forms of opposition to injustices?" For example, the subtle act of normativity, such as going to a busy food market, could serve as an act of resistance if it entails recognizing the risk of becoming victimized by terrorist acts. Attending concerts, reading daily newspapers, or walking to *El Parque Nacional* (Carrera 7 con Calle 39),[3] could also pose as acts of resistance. Performing resistance is not a stark contrast. One can resist and protest without leaning to either extreme, that being the subtle or the overt performance of resistance.

The Colombian citizen-subject living in their crisis-stricken country may not realize that their performance as citizens, neighbors, employee, consumer, etc. could indeed be seen as a form of resistance. In other words, they do not embrace nor deny the existence of kidnappings, but instead by performing normativity, they resist allowing themselves to live as fearful, submissive, and defenseless citizens in their own country. In present-day Colombia, the phenomena of kidnappings have been deemed a constant threat to all of society. The average kidnappings per year are close to three thousand (3,000) and its eradication grows difficult each day due to the complexity and the development of it in itself.[4]

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[2] The Vancouver Province, 2007, Published July 6, 2007

[3] *El Parque Nacional* is the third largest park and a popular park in Bogota, the capital of Colombia.

[4] Translated from Spanish to English by Ismenia Gaviria from *El Virus del Secuestro* by Jesus Emilio Garcia Acosta. (22)

**¿Habra un golpe de suerte para el future de Colombia? (Will Colombia ever have a bit of good fortune?)**

By referencing Colombian theatre[5], literature[6], and media[7] one can begin to conceptualize Colombian daily life. Specifically I will analyze the play *Lucky Strike* (Golpe de suerte),[8] created and produced collectively by Santiago García and his *Teatro La Candelaria.* Through the analysis of these selected texts, I will seek to understand how *secuestros* may be actively contested by the performance of "normativity," by resistant Colombian citizen-subjects.

The play *Lucky Strike* (Golpe de suerte),[9] created and produced collectively by Santiago García and his *Teatro La Candelaria,* exposes precisely the phenomena of kidnappings and its effects on individuals, families, and the Colombian society. This play presents the reality of a man's rise and fall as he strives to become a powerful drug lord. The play, written in the eighties, depicts the continuous violence of drug and gun trafficking in Colombia. The main character, Palomino, travels through the play as a character battling personal demons of greed, survival, corruption, and redemption. As he desperately attempts to start again, the play illustrates his failure and destiny of a man who submits to the corruption of his environment. This play is significant to my argument do to its overt address of *el secuestro* and its cause and effects on individuals and society. The opening scene in this play introduces a theme of injustice, fear, violence that is carried out throughout the play. The scene is a kidnapping scene is described with limited dialogue and

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[5] Enrique Buenaventura founded the theatre group *Teatro Experimental de Cali* in 1963, with the objective of exposing the realities, good and bad, of Colombian society and its citizens.

[6] I will utilize other mediums such as the novel *Noticia de un secuestro* (News of a Kidnapping) by Gabriel García Márquez and the performance of protest marches in major cities in Colombia in order to supplement my analysis of the dramatic text chosen.

[7] With further research I will closely utilized the media, past and present, such as television programs, newspapers such as *El Tiempo,* and also the performance of protest marches in major cities in Colombia throughout the years.

[8] Translation of *Lucky Strike*, from Spanish to English, by Judith Weiss. *Lucky Strike* was produced in early 1980 through the collective efforts of Santiago García and his *Teatro Candelaria*.

[9] Translation of *Lucky Strike*, from Spanish to English, by Judith Weiss. *Lucky Strike* was produced in early 1980 through the collective efforts of Santiago García and his *Teatro Candelaria*.

primarily in stage directions, and serves as the fundamental catalyst to the overall plot of the play. The main character Palomino saves the daughter of a powerful drug-trafficker and in turn is offered an opportunity to transport illicit drugs across national borders, which brings about a series of events that are essential to the play. Hence, although the play proceeds to expose the cause and effects of Colombia's strong participation and role in the international drug trade, its roots stem from the phenomena of *el secuestro*. This is important to note because the play *Lucky Strike,* in particular, carefully inserts this scene subtly in order for the reader or spectator to feel a sense of normality when evaluating the kidnapping scene. By introducing the scene early in the play, without dialogue, and as the spark for the plot, the image of *el secuestro* is transformed into a figure, which subjects Colombian culture and society to its effects.

In particular this play contains scenes, which illustrate in what ways individuals come to be participants in the world of drug trafficking through an incident involving the kidnapping of a young girl. Reference to the kidnapping scene is made throughout the play to remind the main character, as well as the reader or spectator, that the plot is a result of the implications of such a recurrent violent act. The play incorporates songs and a chorus, similar to Brechtian theatre, which serves to transition between scenes, thoughts, as well as to add theatricality to this politically laced play. In the scene, *First Part, I. The Operating Theatre*, the kidnapping scene occurs within the play's stage directions. A memory scene by Palomino retails the infamous kidnapping he witnessed and intervened. The memory scene conveys how Palomino manages to save the *Little Girl* and the *Nanny* from two *Kidnappers.*

What is interesting about this scene is its place amongst the other scenes in the play. The play easily and calmly transitions into this violent act, which is nevertheless introduced as if it were a lesser act such as vandalism. It seems that the Colombian reader or spectator does not need to be forewarned of such a violent and invasive act. The kidnapping scene does not contain dialogue but rather is preceded by the *Nanny* stating, "…Just live for today, what do we care about the past. Today there's time. And tomorrow might…" (84) Here we can see a typical response made by a person who has experienced the injustice and corruption that exists in Colombia. The stage directions, directly following the *Nanny's* final statement before they accost her, state the following:

> ***Stage Directions~*** *Suddenly two KIDNAPPERS accost the NANNY. One of them stuffs a handkerchief into her mouth and forces her to lie on the ground. The other one takes the baby*

*from the carriage. PALOMINO and his friend notice the kidnapping. Freeze. Offstage, the EMPLOYER'S voice.*
VOICE OFF~ **Don't be afraid of pulling the trigger when you see the shady criminal approaching! … The law is on our side!**
*Stage Directions~ PALOMINO draws his gun. He wounds one of the KIDNAPPERS. One of them shoots PALOMINO, who, although his wounded, grabs the LITTLE GIRL while the KIDNAPPERS flee. Light shifts to operating room. (84)*

The *Nanny's* statement preceding the occurrence contains two common views that are evident in the minds of the Colombian citizen-subject. Here the *Nanny* is neither resigning nor forbidding herself to live a normal life due to unknown factors that may happen at any time. She is not ignorant of her inability to know or prevent certain events from happening and yet still she carries on her daily routine refusing to give into the fear of violence. She states, "Just live for today, what do we care about the past," neglecting the importance of understanding the power that Colombia's past contains, such as the necessary components needed to rehabilitate Colombia.[10]

**Rehabilitating Colombia**

These seemingly contradictive views enveloped in the *Nanny's* dialogue help to understand how the average Colombian-citizen performs "normativity" as resistance to an episode of kidnapping. Thus, through their subjection to these everyday realities, established by the familiar act of kidnappings, the Colombian citizen performs resistance as she lives a normal life conveying her commitment to her culture and her political beliefs.

The research of performative normativity amongst Colombians is fundamental in observing a subtle yet powerful act of resistance. Thus, if more Colombian citizens living in Colombia become aware of the power they elude through living normal lives, a collective act of resistance, or revolution, can occur. Weiss rightfully describes *Lucky Strike* as "satirical testimonies of a society in crisis," a society learning different tactics of their own; tactics which may effectively convey a message of resistance to the violence Colombian must endure. (122)

Moreover, it is through the analysis of such mediums, such as *Lucky Strike*, that a foundation to the representation of kidnappings as normative acts, incorporated in the arts, can uncover how Colombian

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[10] Taylor, 185.

citizen-subjects are continuing to resist the injustice and crisis of kidnappings. By exploring the ways in which the Colombian citizen subject performs normativity as resistance, one can become aware of the power the citizen-subject has against being kidnapped of normativity. Thus, collective acts of resistance through performative normativity can potentially form a successful revolution capable of eradicating secuestros from occurring and hopefully getting closer to the rehabilitation of Colombia.

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# Allies or Adversaries?: An Examination of Anti-American Sentiment in Turkey and Iran

Rachel M. Gillum

## Abstract

*This study utilized comprehensive survey research to understand the reasons behind growing anti-American sentiment in the Middle East, particularly in Turkey and Iran. The data reveal that Turkey, a NATO ally and a country that is generally seen as the type of secular, multi-party democracy the United States should foster in the Middle East, gives the US the lowest favorability rating than in any of the 47 countries in the 2007 Pew Global Attitudes survey. Conversely, a 2007 World Public Opinion poll revealed that Iran has a considerably high approval rating of the U.S. Contrary to rhetoric suggestion that Muslims dislike the U.S. based on U.S. freedoms and values, the analysis reveals that the origins of anti-American sentiment are correlated with perceptions of U.S. foreign policy and level of education displayed by the respondents. The study findings contribute to greater understanding of perceptions of the United States in the Middle East, and provide possible implications for U.S. foreign policy makers and future relationships with both countries.*

## Introduction

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, America became painfully aware of increasing anti-American sentiment across the globe, particularly in the Middle East. Front page headlines across the nation asked, "Why do they hate us?" (Ford 2001, Waldman 2001, Zakaria 2001). Analysts and scholars across the ideological spectrum began to offer explanations to this seemingly perplexing phenomenon. In a joint session of Congress, President Bush claimed that, "They hate our freedoms, our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other" (Bush 2001). A number of pundits suggested that the attacks reflected the conventional behavior of Islam and its followers, that the West and Islam are inevitably headed toward a clash, and that "they" hate our democratic values, hegemony, wealth, and the American people as a whole (Lewis

1990, 1996; Huntington 2003). Other still point out that U.S. policy in the region, unwavering support for Israel, and the denial of Palestinian rights is the cause of the contention (Mearsheimer and Walt 2007). Lastly, some blame the hypocritical U.S. support for authoritarian regimes as the root of discontent with the U.S. (Chomsky 2003).

Shortly after the attacks, President George W. Bush, declared a "Global War on Terror," saying it resembles "the great clashes of the last century" between democracy and totalitarianism (Bush 2004). The subsequent 2003 invasion of Iraq coincided with the challenge to fulfill the objectives of the U.S. National Security Strategy (NSS) by defeating global terrorism while creating an infrastructure for democracy. President Bush warned that "if that region is abandoned to terrorists and dictators, it will be a constant source of violence and alarm" (Bush 2004). In this effort, key players in the region have surfaced: Turkey has served as a vital ally to the U.S. by providing use of Turkish bases and borders to transport supplies to U.S. troops in Iraq. Furthermore, as one of the few Muslim-majority countries to have amicable relations with Israel and as a secular, multi-party democracy, Turkey seems to serve as a model of what the U.S. views as a more modern, peaceful Middle East.

On the other end of the spectrum, antagonists of U.S. efforts have also been identified: The ongoing tension between Iran and the United States, dating back to the 1979 Islamic Revolution, is evident and is continually exacerbated by propaganda. The American media and political leaders condemn the theocracy for supporting terrorism and interfering with U.S efforts to stabilize Iraq. Labeling Iran as part of the "Axis of Evil," the U.S. alleges that Iran sponsors international terrorism, is developing nuclear weapons, and continues to violate basic human rights (Bush 2002). Across Iran, the restricted media also reflects negative views of the United States, demanding that the U.S. not interfere with its internal affairs, while displaying blatant anti-American billboards boasting "death to America" (Hoogland 2002). Some attribute these escalating tensions between the United States and Iran to U.S. concerns over the future of its energy security. Some speculators suggest Iran is attempting to establish an oil bourse that would enable oil to be traded in Euros, possibly moving oil sales away from their usual denomination in dollars, undermining American currency with grave consequences for the U.S. economy (Iran 2007).

Beyond the pretentious rhetoric between national leaders, it is important that the U.S. analyze the opinion of the individual citizens within the key nations. There has been a sharp decline in recent years in the foreign approval ratings for the United States, and these levels of lower support make it harder of the U.S. to promote its national interests

(Katzenstein and Keohane 2007, Kull 2007, Lugo 2007, Zogby 2002). Turkey gives the U.S. the lowest favorability rating (9%) than any of the 47 countries in the 2007 Pew Global Attitudes survey (Lugo 2007). This is down considerably from a 30% favorability rating in the Pew 2002 poll and 52% from a 2000 State Department poll. There also has been a correspondingly sharp drop in the favorability rating for the American people, from 32% in 2002 to a mere 13% in 2007. Iran, on the other hand, revealed a 22% approval rating of the U.S. and 45% favorable towards Americans in a 2007 World Public Opinion poll. The 2008 World Public Opinion poll shows that Iranian approval ratings continued to rise to 31% approval of the U.S. and 63% approval of the American people. What accounts for this paradox? Why have Turkish opinions of the U.S. dropped so rapidly in recent years? Should the opinion of Iranians in a non-democratic state matter to the US? Deciphering the meaning behind the opinion of these major players in the Middle East is critical for the U.S. in light of its current pursuits in the region.

This study attempts to measure empirically the sociopolitical attitudes of Turkish and Iranian citizens towards the United States. In connection with this, it strives to assess whether traditional interpretations used in explaining the support of Islamic political and social activisms in the Islamic world apply to the cases of Turkey and Iran. Using data from public opinion polls of 1000 Turks and 1000 Iranian surveyed in 2005 and 2007, this study will analyze whether increasing anti-American sentiment is directed at the United States' role in the world and toward American values and people, or rather toward specific policies of our government. By using Turkey and Iran as case studies, two distinctly different countries with dissimilar relations with the U.S., interesting and important conclusions can be drawn that uncover the role of culture, policy, security, and religion on public opinion towards the U.S., and how anti-American sentiments play out differently in each country. The data provide a small baseline about foreign opinion regarding American policies, values, and people, and provide some preliminary analysis of the reasons behind these opinions. I expect to find that opinion towards U.S. policy is a significant determinant of feelings towards the U.S., while support for Islamic political and social groups will be insignificant.

**Does Public Opinion Matter?**

As alarming and perhaps unexpected as the data sound concerning the opinion of Middle Eastern citizens, many question whether the anti-American sentiment in the Middle East should even matter to U.S. policy makers. In a region with a dearth of democracy

and freedom, many argue that the authoritarian nature of many of the regimes prevent public opinion from affecting policy negotiations and implementations (Chomsky 2005). Furthermore, throughout American history, the U.S. has directly intervened in order to pursue interests and maintain its international clients without regard for popular support. Prior to the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, Telhami cites that 90 percent of Arabs did not want the Iraq war. Despite such clear opposition, regimes cooperated with the U.S., some even allowing U.S. troops on their soil (Telhami 2005).  Furthermore, following the 2006 summer war between Hezbollah and Israel, public support for Hezbollah among Shiites, Sunnis and Christians soared, yet the U.S.-backed government structure in Lebanon prevents Hezbollah from becoming a majority in the parliament.  Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan and others continue to act against the will of their citizens and cooperate with the U.S.  regardless of open disapproval of US policies.  So why should policymakers take Middle East public opinion into account?

Throughout various addresses to the nation, President Bush made it clear that a prominent theme in his presidency would be to spread democracy and freedom to nations around the world. Nevertheless, many criticize the administration's policies claiming that they remain inconsistent with such goals.  By supporting undemocratic regimes and dictators, in addition to the failures in Iraq, some have questioned Bush's true incentives for involvement in the region. Looking farther back, Ross argues that Washington has a history of trying to maintain its hegemony in the region by supporting unpopular regimes and has occasionally helped bring down more popular governments in order to place its clients in power (Ross 2004, 90).  More importantly, however, is the fact that many of these U.S. interventions result in undesirable blowback and lead to increasingly violent politics in response to these failures.  America's coup against the nationalist government of Iran in 1953 is a well known example of direct intervention prior to the invasion of Iraq in 2003.  Telhami explains that the vast majority of Middle Easterners do not believe that democracy or the advocacy of democracy is the objective of American foreign policy. Instead, many cited oil, the support of Israel, and weakening the Muslim world to be America's top objectives in the region (Telhami 2005, 6).

Although the U.S. has the capacity to pressure governments to accept positions that go against public opinion, the cost of operating in these hostile environments is significantly higher.  Telhami argues that as the gap widens between public opinion and ruling governments, increased repression can result as a short-term solution for insecure leaders, reducing the likelihood for democracy or more participatory

forms of political systems (Telhami 2006). In light of their relative dependence on U.S. aid, and despite a 90% objection by the public to the invasion of Iraq, Egypt, Saudi and Jordanian leaders still chose to support the U.S. in its efforts (Telhami 2005, 6). Now insecure and fearful of public uprising, internal security increase, control tightens, and public discourse is severely minimized. So despite America's goal of fostering democracies, bringing an end to authoritarianism and violation of human rights, freedoms can become severely minimized for citizens of many other nations cooperating with the U.S. against public opinion (Telhami 2005, 7).

Besides not living up to ideals of international law and democracy, many scholars warn that if international public opinion remains low for the U.S., it will become increasingly more difficult to fight enemies in the region, whether that means particular regimes or terrorist organizations. Although negative public opinion does not translate into militancy, militant groups are likely to have an easier time recruiting people if there is a high degree of hostility. In a hearing before the committee on foreign affairs in the U.S. House of Representatives, Dr. Steven Kull, Director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes, explained that his research shows that anti-American feelings do in fact make it easier for Al-Qaeda to operate and to grow in the Muslim world (Kull 2007). He says that although anti-American feeling is by itself not enough to lead one to actively support Al-Qaeda, these feelings may lead Muslims to suppress their moral doubts about Al-Qaeda, passively accepting them, making it politically more difficult for governments to take strong action against Al-Qaeda. Telhami provides the example of Pakistan as a critical player in the war on Al-Qaeda (Telhami 2005, 7). He explains that beyond Pakistan being essential to events in Afghanistan, the U.S.'s attempt to get Pakistani security services and military to be wholeheartedly dedicated to the eradication of Al-Qaeda in their country is vital. This task is extremely difficult when public opinion is low. Even if many Pakistanis do not endorse Al-Qaeda, Telhami argues that the extent to which the U.S. will have full cooperation will be significantly diminished, and Washington cannot expect the public to voluntarily uncover where terrorists are hiding. Hence, it is critical to U.S. interests to identify the determinants of increasing anti-American sentiment in the Middle East, and attempt to repair relationships with the populations there.

**Literature Review**

Immediately following the tragic events of September 11th, there was an outpour of sympathy towards Americans from all around the

world.  Shortly thereafter, there was a surge in anti-American sentiment abroad that has spurred academic inquiry into the topic while increasing anxieties among policymakers and citizens alike.  The primary debate among experts is whether these sentiments are primarily a reaction to the Bush administration and its policies, or whether they derive from more fundamental dislike of American culture and ideals. As Katzenstein and Keohane explain, "the ephemeral parts of anti-Americanism are linked to 'what America does' and 'what America is' (Katzenstein and Keohone 2006, 2).  The theory that sentiments are based upon what America does suggests a rational response to specific U.S. policies, and that changing those policies would cause a shift of public opinion toward the U.S. However, numerous academics and professionals argue that there are more fundamental sources of American resentment that are linked to what America "is," as a democratic, Christian nation. If U.S. policies alone explain anti-Americanism, one must explain its persistence across different administrations with what may appear to be different policies. Even so, if policies are not what affect anti-Americanism, one must explain the spike of sentiments in 2002, perhaps a response to U.S. policies, such as support for the Israeli reoccupation of the West Bank, President Bush's "Axis of Evil" speech, and the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

*What America Is*

Since the 1950s, Bernard Lewis warned of a clash of civilizations between the Arab world and the West.  His theory posits that conflicts between nations are not due to ideological paradigms of the ruling elite, such as in communism versus capitalism.  Instead, the root of conflict is seen to come from each civilization's cultural genes that were shaped at the dawn of that particular nation's history.   Expressing the dangers of Arab anti-Americanism in the frame of a "natural" attitude caused by region and culture of Islam, Lewis continues to contend that "we in the West are engaged in what we see as a war against terrorists, and what the terrorists present as a war against unbelief" (Lewis 2003, 42). Lewis support the notion that democracy is not compatible with Islamic culture and values, based on a variety of Quaranic verses and other Islamic literature (Lewis 2001, 114).  In a treatise extracted from his widely circulated book, *The Bitter Harvest: The [Muslim] Brotherhood in Sixty Years,* Ayman al-Zawahiri aims to show how Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, one of the oldest and most far-reaching Islamic organizations, has lost its way by choosing to participate in elections instead of waging the obligatory *jihad* against the current "apostate" government.  In a translation by Raymond Ibrahim, Zawahiri explains why democracy contradicts Islam:

> *Democracy is the deification of*
> *man…and rule of the masses. In other words,*
> *democracy is a man-made infidel religion,*
> *devised to give the right to legislate to the*
> *masses- as opposed to Islam, where all*
> *legislative rights belong to Allah Most High: He*
> *has no partners. In democracies, however, those*
> *legislators [elected] from the masses become*
> *partners worshipped in place of Allah. Whoever*
> *obeys their laws [ultimately] worships them*
> (Ibrahim 2007, 130).

According to Haddad, fundamentalists stress the need to revive the idea of fighting to create a single Islamic state to govern the entire world and assert that young students and recent graduates of secular institutions are their most active supporters (Haddad 2002, 142). Militant Islamists also attract members of lower classes. Islamism becomes, therefore, "the result of an explosion of pent-up grievances" (Haddad 2006, 25).

Samuel Huntington echoes Lewis in *Clash of Civilizations,* hypothesizing that the fundamental source of conflict between the West and the Muslim world will be cultural (Huntington 1993). He claims that civilization identity will be increasingly important, and that the world will be shaped by the interactions of these civilizations. Immutable differences between Westerners and Muslims will prevent centuries-old military interactions between the two to decline and could possibly lead them to become more virulent. Namely, he argues that beyond the fact that Muslim and Western countries feel no special affinity for each other, there is an especially pronounced tendency for countries from these two civilizations to "clash" (Huntington 1993).

Marc Lynch provides an analysis of what he sees as commonly-cited sources of anti-Americanism among Muslims (Lynch 2006, 204). Lynch explains that Islamist movements are playing a crucial role in creating a deeper form of anti-Americanism, one "rooted not so much in policies as in a competing vision of universal principles governing all aspects of life" (Lynch 2006, 206). Islamists have cultivated an identity that is quite different from that in the mainstream Arab media. The "Muslim" identity cultivated by these movements place attention on struggles of Muslims around the globe and highlights the role of the United States as the common denominator. A prominent example of an Islamist movement is Al-Qaeda, who has made anti-Americanism the heart of its political identity. Another yet is Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the

dominant Islamist voice on al-Jazeera, who happens to be an advocate for democracy and pluralism, but who also blames America for seeking "to destroy Arab and Islamic civilization," and to "manufacture a generation with a new mentality which serves their interests" (Al-Qaradawi 2002 cited in Lynch 2006). Using a 2005 survey from the Center for Strategic Studies, Lynch then provides evidence that "strong adherence to the precepts of Islam was not necessarily equated with hostility or negativity toward the West" (Lynch 2006, 207).

Although these theories are controversial and in many ways problematic, there are both methodological and theoretical reasons why religion may play an important role in shaping opinions on political matters. Tessler and Nachtwey suggest the theoretical linkage between religion and international politics is based on the assumption that religion plays a crucial role in shaping both the normative orientations of individuals and their understanding of the surrounding world (Tessler and Nachtwey 1998). Several scholars have found that Americans who display greater levels of religious sentiment and those who acknowledged more "fundamentalist" religious doctrines adopted stronger anti-Soviet attitudes and great support for increased defense spending (Hurwitz 1993). The findings from these various studies suggest that religious orientations do play role in shaping political attitudes. For this reason, arguments about the role of political Islam (also known as radical Islam, Islamism, and Islamic fundamentalism) in regards to anti-Americanism should not be ignored, but still carefully evaluated. At the most basic level, adherents of political Islam believe that Islam as a body of faith has something important to say about how politics and society should be ordered in the contemporary Muslim world and implemented in some fashion (Fuller 2003).

*What America Does*

Bill Delahunt, Chairman of the U.S. Congress' Subcommittee on International Organizations suggests that contrary to the conventional beliefs that others hate the U.S. because of our freedoms and our values, foreigners in general are disappointed because the United States, in their perception, does not live up to its values, which they tend to support (Delahunt 2007). In a hearing in front of the United States Congress' Committee on Foreign affairs, Steven Kull provides an analysis that addresses whether declining approval for America foreign policy makes it more difficult to fight Al-Qaeda. More generally, does the opposition to American policies in Muslim countries create an environment where membership in Al-Qaeda and similar organizations is tolerated and perhaps supported more than it would be if the United States was perceived by the average citizen as a partner rather than as an opponent?

For the past several decades, the central focus of U.S. Middle East policy has been America's relationship with Israel. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, strong support the U.S. maintains for Israel, and the related effort to spread democracy throughout the region have all been sources of tension and aggravation of Arab and Islamic opinion toward these Western powers. Israel has been the largest annual recipient of direct U.S. economic and military assistance since 1976, and uses much of the aid to subsidize its own defense industry (Mearsheimer 2006, 2). Major attacks executed by Israel on its Muslim enemies are often carried out in military jets and helicopters provided by the United States, communicating symbolic affirmations of the United State's connection with Israel. The U.S. has also provided consistent diplomatic support through backing United Nations Security Council resolutions that favor Israel, turning a blind eye to what is understood to be a wealth of nuclear arsenal obtained by Israel. Lynch discusses an intense identification with the suffering of the Palestinian people that permeates Arab political identity and a deep resentment of the injustice that they are believed to have suffered (Lynch 2007, 205). Arabs increasingly equate the United States with Israel, and attitudes related to U.S. policies toward Israel seem to proliferate into wider attitudes toward the United States.

Lynch also poses another unique theory; he suggests that the popularity of a government and its relationship to the U.S. will have varying effects on anti-Americanism among its populace. For example, highly unpopular governments with close ties to the United States may spur strong anti-American sentiment while unpopular governments who oppose the United States may produce pro-American opinion among citizens (Lynch 2007, 206). One example Lynch provides is Egypt. As a nation that simultaneously has one of the highest rates of anti-Americanism and extremely close ties to the U.S., Egypt receives over $1.2 billion annually from the U.S., while tolerating and encouraging anti-Americanism in its media (Lynch 2007, 208). He argues that in cases such as these, anti-Americanism is no longer found only among Islamists and extremists, but seeps into popular culture (Lynch 2007, 208).

Timothy Mitchell discusses many of the aforementioned theories based on ideas of fundamental differences in civilizations or religions, yet dismisses them as baseless and indefensible . Instead, Mitchell argues that U.S. policy in the region is responsible for growing hatred against Americans. He explains that Washington's support for regimes across the Middle East and for the military organizations that keep them in power seldom produce the desired outcome in the longer term (Mitchell 2004, 91). He cites a variety of direct interventions by the

United States that ultimately failed.  He discusses America's covert actions that lead to the establishment of the military dictatorship of Muhammad Reza Shah of Iran in 1953, which ended with in the Islamic revolution of 1979.   The U.S.'s intervention in Lebanon to support the ruling Lebanese oligarchs against the reformist politicians in 1958 was followed by a collapse in 1975, resulting in a devastating 18 year civil war.  In 1959, Washington helped a group of army officers seize power in Iraq, establishing the rule of the military regime and the Baath party through which Saddam Hussein rose to power. Shortly after rising to power in 1968, Saddam Hussein nationalized the country's foreign-controlled oil and "rejected the regional hegemony of the United States" (Mitchell 2004, 91).  Washington's support of Israel's 1967 invasion of Egypt while simultaneously eliminating the post-1948 Palestinian resistance movement, seizing East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Mitchell argues, gave birth to a more vigorous Palestinian nationalism (Mitchell 2004, 92).  It was these failures that came to shape U.S. policy in the later decades of the twentieth century.

In addition to discussing general theories that attempt to explain Middle Eastern anti-Americanism, it is also important to consider the historical context of Turkey and Iran when analyzing those country's sentiments.

*U.S.-Iranian relations*

Political relations between Iran and the United States remained amicable up until World War II.  After a covert U.S. operation to return Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to Iran as the Shah in 1953, he received significant American support as he stood against communists and Islamists, despite Iran's failed attempts at democracy and descent into dictatorship. In 1979, the Shah was overthrown in the Iranian Revolution, empowering Ayatollah Khomeini, who described the U.S. as the "Great Satan." That same year, the Iran hostage crisis[1] led to lasting economic and political damage as the U.S. broke diplomatic ties with

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[1] The Iranian hostage crisis was a diplomatic crisis between Iran and the United States where 52 U.S. diplomats were held hostage for 444 days after a group of militants took over the American embassy in support of Iran's revolution.  In Iran, the incident was seen by many as a blow against U.S. influence in Iran and its support of the recently fallen Shah of Iran.  The ordeal reached a climax when the U.S. military attempted a rescue operation that resulted in an aborted mission and the deaths of eight American military men.  The crisis ended with the signing of the Algiers Accords on January 19, 1981.  The hostages were formally released into United States custody the following day, just minutes after the new American president Ronald Reagan was sworn in.

Iran that have yet to be restored.  Clerical rule has been characterized by oppressive political and social policies, economic mismanagement and factionalism.

Although in 1982 President Reagan decided to officially back Iraq in its war against Iran by doing "whatever was necessary and legal to prevent Iraq from losing the war with Iran,"  in 1986, members of the Reagan administration helped sell weapons to Iran, also known as the Iran-Contra Affair[2] (USDC 1995). The 1988 Iran Air Flight 655 tragedy[3] furthered tensions between Iran and the United States when a U.S. Navy guided missile cruiser shot down an Iranian Airbus on a scheduled commercial flight in Iranian Airspace, killing 290 civilians from six nations.  Relations remained tense up into the 1990s and 2000s when sanctions that were originally imposed in 1995 by President Clinton were renewed by President Bush.  Today the Iran Sanctions Act (ISA)[4], extended until December 31, 2011, prohibits U.S. companies and their foreign subsidiaries from conducting business with Iran (Katzman 2007). It also imposes mandatory and discretionary sanctions on non-U.S. companies investing more than $20 million annually in the Iranian oil and natural gas sectors.

President George W. Bush's "Axis of Evil" speech in his 2002 State of the Union address warned of the grave danger created by North Korea, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, Iran's support of terrorism, and proliferation of long-range missiles.  The U.S. has accused Iran of state sponsorship of international terrorism, pursuing weapons of mass destruction, threatening its neighbors in the Persian Gulf, opposing the Arab-Israeli peace process and violations of human rights.  Along with continued economic sanctions and political pressure, there has been alleged discourse in Washington concerning the possibility of a ground or air invasion of Iran in order to destroy the Iranian nuclear program.

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[2] The Iran-Contra Affair was a political scandal occurring in 1987 as a result of earlier events during the Reagan administration in which members of the executive branch sold weapons to the Islamic Republic of Iran, an avowed enemy, diverting the derived funds to illegally buy weapons for the U.S.-backed Contras rebels in Nicaragua.  The affair emerged when a Lebanese newspaper reported that the U.S. sold arms to Iran in exchange for the release of hostages by Hezbollah.
[3] In the Iran Air Flight 655 tragedy, according to the US government, the U.S. military mistakenly identified the Iranian airbus as a warplane, and then said it was outside the civilian air corridor and did not respond to radio calls.  On February 22, 1996 the United States paid Iran $61.8 million in compensation.
[4] Originally the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) of 1996.  ILSA was renamed ISA in 2006 when it no longer applied to Libya.

Since 2003, the United States has supposed that Iran has a program to develop nuclear weapons while Iran contends that the nuclear program is aimed only at generating electricity. A declassified summary of a National Intelligence Estimate found with "high confidence" that the Islamic republic stopped an effort to develop nuclear weapons in the fall of 2003 (U.S. Report 2007). Washington's primary dispute with Iran remains its support for Lebanese Hezbollah, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, all designated terrorist groups by the U.S. State Department, and its support for Iraqi Shiite factions.

In 2005, Iran announced its plans for an Iranian Oil Bourse (IOB) or Iran Petroleum Exchange. The oil exchange would strive to make Iran the main hub for oil deals in the region. Although it has been delayed, the idea of the IOB is to trade oil priced in Euros and possibly other currencies, rather than dollars, as used by other oil markets. Proponents of the IOB contend that the bourse will enable petro-dollar currency hedging, thus fundamentally altering the dynamics of oil and gas trades around the world. If the IOB succeeds, the U.S. will no longer be able to effortlessly expand credit using U.S. Treasury bills, and the strength of the dollar and its liquidity will fall.

Complications with Iran's involvement in Iraq during the U.S. occupation have further aggravated U.S.-Iranian relations. The U.S. asserts Iran is backing Shiite militias in Iraq and supplying them with arms in order to wage a proxy war on the U.S. On October 23, 2007, the United States designated the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and the Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces Logistics (MODAFL) as terrorist organizations as a result of the groups' alleged involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as its support for extremists throughout the Middle East (Wright 2007, A01). As the war in the region endures as well as questions of U.S. energy security and the dearth of diplomatic talks between the two nation, tensions are likely to remain high.

*U.S.-Turkey relations*

Relations between America and Turkey trace back to the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan provided U.S. military and economic aid to Turkey to help it resist Soviet influence, and Turkey later served as an ally of the U.S. during the Korean War. Turkey's joining of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952 seemed to formalize mutually beneficial U.S.-Turkey relations. As a secular democratic Muslim state presenting a model for other states in the Middle East, Turkey continued to receive valuable U.S. economic and military aid.

During the cold war, Turkey was a U.S. ally that offered a critical location for eaves-dropping and intelligence monitoring stations.

In the summer of 1974, however, the United States imposed an arms sale embargo against Turkey in reaction to the Turkish military intervention in Cyprus. In response, Turkey closed American military installations, but the embargo was ultimately lifted in 1978 and Turkey reopened the U.S. intelligence monitoring stations (Karagoz 2004, 105). With the end of the cold war, the United States continued to praise Turkey as a strategic ally helping facilitate stability in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia, while combating terrorism and political threats from states such as Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Syria. Today, Turkey remains the third largest recipient of U.S. military aid (Gunter 2005).

During the 1980s and 1990s, Turkey fought against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a faction of Turkish Kurds advocating independence for Kurdistan. During the war, multiple military bases were established outside of Turkey in Iraq and Syria, and were seen as a major national security threat. Perceiving the United States as key in securing Turkey, President Turgut Özal cooperated with major United States initiatives during the Persian Gulf War, including the creation of a no-fly zone over northern Iraq and assistance with the Arab-Israeli peace process. However, Özal's pro-U.S. policies were not popular among many Turks. The United States' use of Turkish military bases during the bombing of Iraq led to antiwar demonstrations in several cities, and sporadic attacks on United States facilities (Gunter 2005). U.S.-Turkish relations were further strained by the 2002 election of the mildly Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP). Under this administration, the government did not allow the United States to launch a Northern offensive in Iraq from Turkish soil and did not send Turkish troops to Iraq. The 2003 Hood event[5] also caused outrage among many Turks against the United States military (Gunter 2005).

As the Iraq war wears on, the United States is continuously working to protect the Kurds in northern Iraq, an action that can be perceived by Turks as an act against Turkish interests. The Turks view northern Iraq as a safe-haven for the PKK, and many fear that the chaos of the war will provide an opportunity for Kurds to claim their independence from Turkey, Iraq, and other Middle Eastern countries with significant Kurdish populations. Compounding these tensions, and despite strong objections from the United States, the Turkish parliament recently authorized its government to conduct military incursions into

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[5] The Hood Event occurred April 24, 2003 when a dozen Turkish special forces were arrested by American forces near Arbil. They were released after 60 hours and intense diplomatic activity. While the incident received comparatively little coverage in the United States, it was a major event in Turkey.

northern Iraq in order to combat the PKK.  Turkey continues to serve as a strategic American ally; however, in 2007 Turkey threatened to curtail U.S. military access to Turkish bases and recalled its ambassador from Washington for consultations.  These actions came in response to the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee's approval of a resolution asserting that the Turkish massacre of Armenians nearly a century ago constitutes genocide.  In light of how crucial Turkey's partnership is in America's success in Iraq, it is critical the U.S. develop policies that also ease tensions with their allies in the region, and repair the tainted relationship.

**Theory/Hypotheses**

For decades, polls and statements of Muslim leaders have shown a variety of resentments toward the United States.  Many relate this rise in negative sentiments to resurfacing "Islamism," and a "Clash of Civilizations" Some also suggest that violent attacks reflect the conventional behavior of Islam and its followers  (Lewis 1990, 1996). Although focus on Islam has intensified among western scholars in the last decade, these blanket theories do little to account for the complex, historical framework in which current Middle East-U.S. relations operate within. Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" argument relies on vague notions of what Huntington calls "civilizational identity" and "the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations" (Huntington 1993, 25).  Culture and identity are oversimplified as completely non-changing entities that have been sealed off from cultural exchanges, cross-fertilization and sharing throughout history. His taxonomy also does not take into account the internal dynamics and partisan tensions within civilizations, and other pluralities of every civilization.  In the Muslim world alone, there are incredible fractures along ethnic lines with Arabs, Persians, Turks, Pakistanis, and Indonesians who all have very different world views, not to mention the theological divides within Islam itself. Despite problems in the argument, the role of ethnicity and religion cannot be discarded, as they have been shown to influence sentiments in international relations (Hurwitz 1993).

A more comprehensive explanation looks at the context of each state and region.  This anti-Americanism is primarily related to disagreements with American policies rather than resentment against Americans, their values, democracy, culture, etc.  A majority of citizens in the Muslim world watch American movies, enjoy American food, and want their children study in the United States.  From a collection of surveys in the region, it appears that many Muslims share the world view that the U.S. does not live up to its ideals of international law and

democracy. Taking a closer look at specific Turkish and Iranian history, possible reasons for current sentiments towards the U.S. come to light.

Based on the current international events regarding the war in Iraq and issues related to Iranian nuclear development, it is likely that Iranians feel threatened by the United States. The invasion of Iraq not only causes problems on Iran's border, but makes the possibility of the United States invading Iran or a strike against Iran's nuclear facilities seems more realistic. Similar to other nations in the Muslim world, disapproval of Israel and the treatment of the Palestinians are issues of resentment among Iranians towards the United States, Israel's closest ally. Furthermore, expectations of nuclear capabilities differ between Iran and Israel by the United States, and may be a point of frustration for Iranians who feel threatened by major world powers with nuclear weapons and the seemingly little respect for the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Although Iranians hold largely negative feelings towards the United States, there are reasons believe that Iranian citizens are likely to have warmer feelings towards Americans than other Middle Eastern nations. Despite many discontents with the United States government, it is possible that Iranians disapprove of their own government, and as an enemy of that regime, the United States government could be held in a positive light to some Iranians. Especially among Iran's many ethnic minorities, marginalization and unequal treatment have led to great dissatisfaction with the central government. In a similar vein, certain U.S. policies have indirectly benefited Iran in some ways. The fall of the Taliban removed an antagonistic anti-Shiite regime and the invasion of Iraq also took away Tehran's chief regional enemy and replaced it with an emerging Shiite political elite ideologically close to Iran's rulers. Moreover, memories of the devastating eight year war between Iran and Iraq beginning in the early 1980s is still in the forefront of Iranian sentiments towards Iraq. Many were pleased with the fall of Saddam Hussein.

America's toppling of Saddam may account for some of the relatively warm feelings towards the United States, but it does not address the significantly warm feelings towards the American people. Iranians seem to be able to distinguish between the American government and its people. Under a repressive and closed regime, many Iranians are young and relatively well educated. Desiring to come out of isolation, many are attracted to the symbol of liberty and free speech: Americans. Although Western influences have been banned since the Islamic revolution in 1979, American popular culture and entertainment is growing in underground entertainment and sub-cultures. Because of a

dearth of tourism in the country, it is likely that some with little travel experience hold opinions of Americans based on their perception of American popular artists and culture, rather than actual contact with American people. Despite rhetoric of "civilizational" differences and hostile language from some Iranian leaders, Iranians and American are likely to hold similar values of freedom, democracy, and family. In light of these issues and others, it is likely that United States policy is a major determining factor of anti-American sentiment.

Now looking to Turkey, the current crisis in the U.S.-Turkey alliance is the issue or Iraq and the Kurds. Iraq's problems have cause serious economic difficulties to Turkey, and furthermore, Turkey fears that the current chaotic state of Iraq might lead to Iraqi Kurdish independence, which would provoke similar goals among Kurds in Turkey. Today, tensions rise over renewed attacks on Turkish forces by the PKK. The widespread belief that Washington is doing little to get rid of the PKK in northern Iraq confirms rumors among some that the United States is actually serving as a force behind the PKK.

Another factor is that Ankara and Washington no longer share common enemy in the communist Soviet Union. Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, the "Axis of Evil" never posed a clear and present threat to Turkey as did the "Evil Empire." Although the threat of terrorism is a candidate to create a common threat, the subjective term terrorism and the unpopular U.S. "global war on terror" seems to be a purely American matter. Turks may have little sympathy for American unilateralism that targets Turkey's neighbors Iraq, Iran and Syria without direct links with September 11. Finally, in light of close Turkish-American contract with the conflict in Iraq, Turks are likely to have unfavorable feelings towards Americans as well. The July 4th, 2003 Hood Event was seen as a humiliation by a fellow NATO ally, and was a turning point in perceptions of the U.S. by Turkish citizens. That event and other encounters are likely to contribute to the current negative sentiment.

The discussion presented thus far suggests the following hypotheses:

H1: Critical perceptions of U.S. policy in the region are positively and significantly related to attitudes towards the United States in both Turkey and Iran.

H2: Support for political Islam or "fundamentalist" groups and activities are inversely related to attitudes towards the United States in both Iran and Turkey, but are not statistically significant.

It should be emphasized that this model is not completely comprehensive in that it does not attempt to capture every possible antecedent of Turkish or Iranian attitudes towards the United States. It is

focused on capturing the two most significant factors, feelings towards "fundamentalist" activities and feelings towards U.S. policies, as derived from previous lines of research on the topic. The collected works are used as an entity providing direction for empirical testing.

**Methodology**

This study is an analysis of data based on face-to-face interviews with Turkish and Iranian adults over the age of 16. Surveys of random sample of 1,003 Turkish respondents were conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project in the spring of 2005.[6] Data for the random sample of 1,000 Iranian respondents was collected December 2006 in a World Public Opinion survey.[7] The Iranian survey was conducted by professional Iranian interviewers with an independent Iranian survey research firm. The Iranian government had no involvement with the poll, although the Iranian polling firm did require that some questions be deleted as too politically sensitive.

An OLS multiple regression is used in order to analyze several variables simultaneously and study the relationship between the dependent variable, feelings towards the United States, and several independent variables. The research model includes three types of independent variables: opinion toward current international issues related to support for what is coined by some as "Islamism," "political Islam" or "fundamentalist" groups and activities, which will also be referred to as "FGA;" views of U.S. foreign policies; and the demographic variables age, gender, education, and income. Aforementioned, there is both theory and empirical support for the inclusion of these variables to aid in the understanding of attitudes toward the United States. Respondents are from major metropolitan areas as well as from the surrounding rural areas in each country. Of the respondents, approximately 26% of the Iranians and 28% of Turks reside in cities with a population above 1 million. Unfortunately, both surveys do not record ethnic categories, and the Iranian survey does not record religion. Among the Turks, about 96% categorize themselves as Muslim. All other demographic characteristics are displayed on Table 1 below. These demographic descriptors will be used in the regressions as control variables.

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[6] For more information about the Pew Global Attitudes project, consult the project website <http://pewglobal.org/>.
[7] For more information about the World Public Opinion project, consult the project website at <http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/>.

| Iran<br>n= 1001 | n | % | Turkey<br>n=941 | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | | | Sex | | |
|   Male | 489 | 52 |   Male | 458 | 49 |
|   Female | 449 | 48 |   Female | 483 | 51 |
| Age | | | Age | | |
|   16-29 | 449 | 48 |   16-29 | 398 | 42 |
|   30-59 | 411 | 44 |   30-59 | 452 | 48 |
|   60 + | 78 | 8 |   60 + | 91 | 10 |
| Education | | | Education | | |
|   <H.S. | 265 | 28 |   <H.S. | 429 | 46 |
|   H.S. Grad | 455 | 49 |   H.S. Grad | 408 | 43 |
|   College + | 218 | 23 |   College + | 104 | 11 |
| Income | | | Income | | |
| (Tomans) | | | (YTL/mo.) | | |
|   <180k | 260 | 28 | <350 | 97 | 10 |
|   181k-300k | 313 | 33 |   351-500 | 232 | 25 |
|   301k-500k | 152 | 16 |   501-900 | 259 | 28 |
|   501-750k | 44 | 5 |   901-2500 | 233 | 25 |
|   Above 750 | 13 | 1 |   2501 or more | 37 | 4 |

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Iranian and Turkish Sample Population.
Measures: See Appendix 1.

Findings

     As the data reveal, both Turks and Iranians hold negative views of the United States overall, its influence in the world, its current government, its current president, and its culture. However, Iranians are much warmer toward the American people than Turks, evenly divided in their opinion of Americans.   Across all models, attitudes toward the United States and the American people improve with level of education, although in only the Iranian models is education statistically significant.
     Models 1 and 2
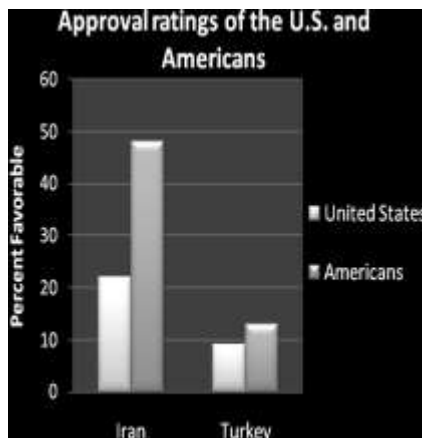
present the results of OLS multiple regression designed to measure to what degree Iranian and Turkish opinion toward current international issues related to support for "fundamentalist" groups and activities (FGA), correlates with their feelings towards the United States. Although correlation does not prove causation, it can serve as a suggestion for possible determinants. Model 1 displays the results for the Iranian respondents.

Model 1: Thermometer Scores Predicting Iranian Warmth Towards the United States in 2006

| Variable | Coefficient (std. error) | P>|t| |
|---|---|---|
| "FGA" | -.017 (.014) | .231 |
| Democracy | -.066 (.062) | .287 |
| Americans | .437** (.037) | .000 |
| Education | .130 **(.058) | .026 |
| Income | .025 (.044) | .562 |
| Age | -.109 ** (.029) | .000 |
| Male | -.100 (.074) | .173 |
| Urban | .045 (.082) | .538 |
| Constant | .913 (.249) | .000 |

N = 561, adjusted $R^2$ = .25   Prob > F=.000
**Significant at 95% p-value <.05  *Significant at 90% p-value<.1

The data reveal that neither Iranian support for "fundamentalist" values nor preference for democracy is significantly related to one's view of the United States. Although ethnically diverse, 62% of Iranians see their central identity in terms of religion, 27% identify as a citizen of their country, and very small minorities see their identity primarily as members of an ethnic group or as an individual.
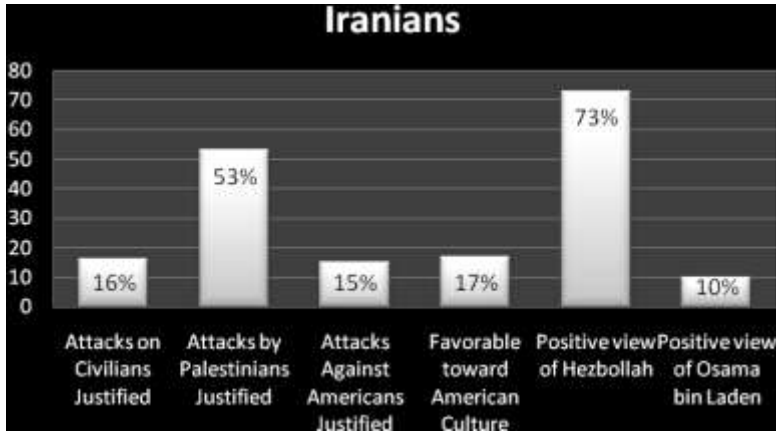
A sweeping majority of Iranians reject the idea that bombings and other types of attacks intentionally aimed at civilians is ever justified, including those targeting Americans; however, a modest majority makes an exception for some Palestinian attacks against Israeli citizens. Seventy three percent of Iranian respondents had a positive view of the Lebanese Shiite militia, Hezbollah, and a similar percentage hold greatly unfavorable views towards Osama bin Laden. These results are hardly unexpected considering Iran's majority Shiite population and high favorability (73 %) of Palestinians. For many in the United States, Hezbollah is synonymous with terror, suicide bombings and kidnappings. It was among the first Islamic resistance groups to use tactical suicide bombings against foreign soldiers in the Middle East and has reportedly been involved in multiple kidnappings, murders, hijackings, and bombings (Dahr 2006). The group's manifesto includes three goals: the eradication of Western imperialism in Lebanon, the transformation of Lebanon's multi-confessional state into an Islamic state, and the complete destruction of Israel (Hizbullah 2006). Although Hezbollah believes in an Islamic Republic like Iran, it evolved into a more pragmatic socio-political movement that represents the disgruntled Shiite population in the South of Lebanon, and has further gained popularity as it remains the only legitimate force to stand up against Israel. Iran has played a significant role in arming, training, and financing of Hezbollah in their conflict against Israel since its founding in 1982 (Gillum 2006, 2).

Despite similar longstanding issues with the United States, the lack of support for Osama bin Laden is likely based on religious differences and differing geopolitical aims (Hastert 2007, 327). In the focus group coinciding with this survey, the United States was portrayed

as having limitless control over the media and many events around the world, and was even seen as controlling Al-Qaeda (Kull 2008). One man said, "Al-Qaeda is an instrument of the U.S." Another said the U.S. has no problem with Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda is playing the role that the U.S. has sketched for it." When pressed why the United States would want to support Al-Qaeda in promoting attacks on the United States, some explained that this would justify U.S. presence in the region. Others said that, due to Al-Qaeda's violence, it was an effort to make Islam look bad. One man simply made a categorical assertion, "If the U.S. does something, like telling Al-Qaeda to distribute such videos [calling for attacks on Americans], which does not seem logical, that as well is part of the U.S.'s grand scheme. And if the U.S. seems to be having problems in Iraq, that too is part of the U.S.'s grand scheme" (Kull 2008). Perceptions of the United States as a threat to Islam and to Iran seem to be intensified by these widely held beliefs that the United States has extraordinary power over world events.

Model 2 displays the results for the Turkish respondents.

Model 2: Thermometer Scores Predicting Turkish Warmth Towards the United States in 2005

| Variable | Coefficient (std. error) | P>|t| |
|----------|--------------------------|-------|
| "FGA" | -.012 (.016) | .465 |
| Democracy | .066 (.046) | .153 |
| Americans | .663** (.047) | .000 |
| EU | .069* (.038) | .074 |
| Education | .003 (.020) | .879 |
| Income | -.007 (.017) | .669 |
| Age | -.000 (.004) | .966 |
| Male | -.183** (.083) | .028 |
| Urban | .011 (.093) | .909 |
| Constant | .624 (.254) | .015 |

N = 245, adjusted $R^2$ = .49    Prob > F= .000
**Significant at 95% p-value <.05    *Significant at 90% p-value<.1
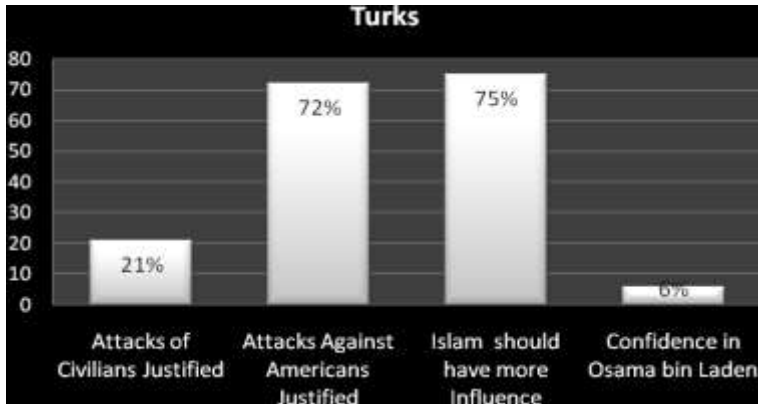
The data reveal that like Iranians, Turkish support for "fundamentalist" groups and activities or preference for democracy is not significantly related to views of the United States. Although not statistically significant in both groups, support for "fundamentalist" groups and activities is negatively correlated with warm feelings for the U.S. Among Turks, support for democracy is also positively correlated with support for the U.S. Both variables, however, have extremely weak coefficients.

Fifty seven percent of Turks see their central identity in terms of religion, 22% identify with both religion and nationality equally, and 20% identify primarily with their Turkish nationality. This relatively strong identification based on religious lines suggests that Islam plays an important role in much of Turkish society and culture. Forty three percent of Turks feel that it is very important that Islam plays a more important and influential role in the world than it does now, and 32% say somewhat important. This may signify a move away from ideological identities, as in the Cold War era, and a move more towards political polarization between Islamists and secularists. These results seem to confirm U.S. concerns of a move away from a completely secular democracy in Turkey after the landslide victory of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a mildly Islamist party. Unfortunately, in both the Iranian and Turkish surveys, no indication of ethnicity of the respondents was provided, which could have revealed interesting information regarding whether specific people groups identify along religious lines more than others.

Aforementioned, there is an abundance of rhetoric that suggests Islam is not compatible with democracy. This notion has become increasingly important after the invasion of Iraq and President Bush's stated goal to spread democracy and freedom throughout the Middle

East. The results reveal that in both Iran and Turkey, democracy is highly supported. But again, despite the U.S.'s supposed efforts to foster democracies throughout the region, support for democracy is not significantly related with support for the United States. The Iranians overwhelmingly endorse the importance of living in a country that is governed by representative elected by the people. To measure feelings towards democratic principles, respondents were asked "How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed by representatives elected by the people?" With a scale from 1-10, 1 meaning "not at all important" and 10 meaning "absolutely important," the average Iranian gave a response of 9.1.

Respondents were then asked to rate how much their country is "governed by representatives elected by the people on a scale to 1-10, 1 meaning "not at all" and 10 meaning "completely. Interestingly, Iranians gave their country an average score of 6.9. In light of the current government structure of Iran and human rights violations, many may question why Iranians give their country such high ratings in democracy and individual rights. It should be noted that Iranians were not asked to make a comparative evaluation, but simply to rate their country on a 1-10 scale. What constitutes high and low for Iranians is derived from a baseline of expectations relative to their history and the norms of other countries in the region. The PIPA suggests that "both in terms of their history and regional norms, Iran's levels of democratic representation and protections of individual rights are relatively high" (PIPA 2007). Concerning this survey in general, of course it is also possible that Iranians are simply presenting answers they believe mirror their own government's preferences. Directors of the PIPA note however that surveys of other countries, whose governments are generally considered authoritarian, have gotten quite different responses to this same question.[8]

Based on literature addressing anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world, many authors suggest that American culture is seen unfavorably by Muslims (Lewis 1990, Huntington 1993). According to a 2006 Pew Global Attitudes survey, Muslims in the Middle East generally view Westerners as selfish, immoral and greedy, as well as violent and fanatical (Pew 2006). The data reveal that Turkish respondents express similarly negative feelings towards both the United States and American

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[8] World Values Surveys conducted between 1999 and 2003 included a number of countries that were at that time under authoritarian rule. In those countries, Algeria, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Ukraine, fewer than four in ten said there was a lot or some respect for human rights in their country.

people with only 9% and 13% approval ratings in 2007. Iranians, however, seem to differentiate between the U.S. government and the American people, giving Americans nearly 30% higher ranking than the United States government. Among both sets of respondents, those who have favorable feelings towards Americans are significantly more likely to hold favorable feelings towards the United States.

In light of Turkey's lengthy efforts to gain membership into the European Union, a variable was used to measure feelings towards the EU in relation to feelings towards the United States. The data reveal a significant and positive relationship between those who have favorable feelings towards the United States and those who have favorable feelings towards the European Union. This information is telling as some have suspected that Turkey may have an incentive to distance itself from the U.S. amidst the unpopular war in Iraq in order to find favor within the EU. This measure may also help determine if Turkey has been declining in its opinion of just the United States, or the west in general. Favorability rating of the EU dropped from 54% in 2004 to just 27% in 2007, likely associated with disillusionment over Turkey's efforts to join the union.

Addressing the demographic control variables, the regression reveals interesting results. Among Iranians, education level is significantly related to feelings towards the U.S. As education level increases, so does the opinion of the United States. In Turkey, increased education levels are also positively correlated with warming feelings towards the U.S., although the relationship is not statistically significant.

In Iran, age was negatively correlated to warmer feelings towards the United States, meaning that younger Iranians are more likely to have warm feelings towards the U.S. Age was not statistically significant among the Turkish respondents. In both countries, males tended to dislike the U.S. more than women, although this was only statistically significant for Turkey. Finally, although not statistically significant, those who live in major metropolitan cities, above a population of 1 million, are more likely to have warmer feelings towards the United States.

Models 3 and 4 represent regression models that attempted to measure how perceptions of U.S. policy are related to feelings towards the United States. The "U.S. Foreign Policy" variable was comprised of a series of questions regarding current U.S. policies in the region (see Appendix 1). The "U.S. Foreign Policy" variable was significant in both Iran and Turkey. Feelings towards the current U.S. administration were also statistically significant for both countries, suggesting that even a change in administrations could improve the image of America. In other

words, perceptions of U.S. actions in the region are likely to be one factor shaping respondents' feelings towards the United States.

Model 3:Thermometer scores predicting Iranian warmth towards the United States in 2006

| Variable | Coefficient (std. error) | P>|t| |
|---|---|---|
| "U.S. Foreign Policy" | .078** (.038) | .041 |
| Current U.S. Administration | .859** (.068) | .000 |
| Education | .187** (.060) | .002 |
| Income | -.002 (.048) | .973 |
| Age | .014 (.032) | .651 |
| Male | -.026 (.077) | .736 |
| Urban | -.063 (.086) | .463 |
| Constant | .624 (.254) | .015 |

N = 422, adjusted $R^2$ = .31, Prob > F= .000
**Significant at 95% p-value <.05    *Significant at 90% p-value<.1
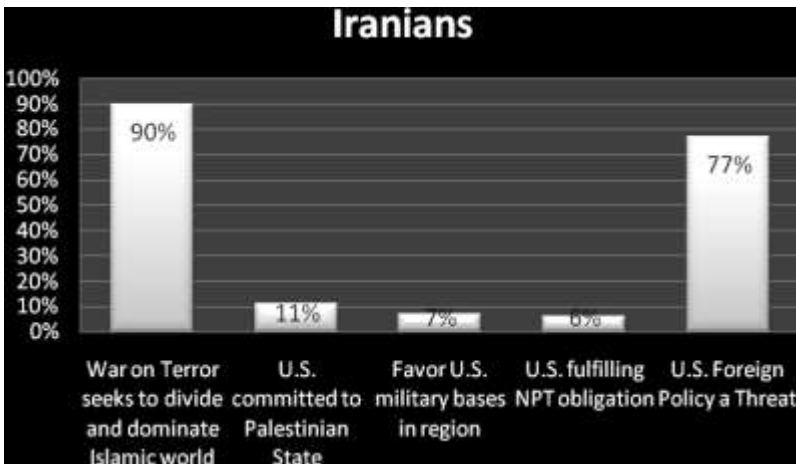


Among Iranians, 77 % perceive that US foreign policy is threatening and 89 % believe U.S. bases in the Middle East are destabilizing the region and threatening Iran.  A vast majority, 81% do not believe that the United States is fulfilling its obligation under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.  Only 10% of respondents believe that

the primary goal of the "war on terrorism" is to protect the United States from terrorist attacks, but instead believe that is seeks to dominate the region to control its resources or undermine the Muslim world. Finally, only 11% of Iranians believe the United States is really committed to creating an independent Palestinian state. Again, because of Iranians' strong support of the Palestinian people, perception of the Palestinian situation is important to the opinion of the U.S. in light of the United State's relation with Israel. These responses among others indicate that many Iranians, across religious lines, feel threatened by the United States as a powerful nation with great military capabilities. Furthermore, it appears that respondents share a sense that the United States holds unfair and unfavorable policies towards the Muslim world while heavily favoring Israel. Many may feel that all U.S. policies in the region, no matter the stated goal, are aimed and advancing Israel's position in the region, while weakening Muslim world.

Model 4: Thermometer scores predicting Turkish warmth towards the United States in 2005

| Variable | Coefficient (std. error) | $P>|t|$ |
|---|---|---|
| "U.S. Foreign Policy" | .150** (.024) | .000 |
| EU | .251** (.045) | .000 |
| Turkish Gov't | -.122 (.101) | .229 |
| Education | .015 (.024) | .539 |
| Income | -.025 (.019) | .190 |
| Age | -.006 (.004) | .197 |
| Male | -.197** (.097) | .042 |
| Urban | .282** (.117) | .017 |
| Constant | .624 (.254) | .015 |

N = 332, adjusted $R^2$ = .19   Prob > F= .000
**Significant at 95% p-value <.05   *Significant at 90% p-value<.1

## Turks

| Favor U.S. War on Terror | Favor U.S. military domination | Worried U.S. will become a threat | U.S. Policy furthering deomcracy | U.S. considers Turkey when making policy |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20% | 10% | 66% | 25% | 14% |
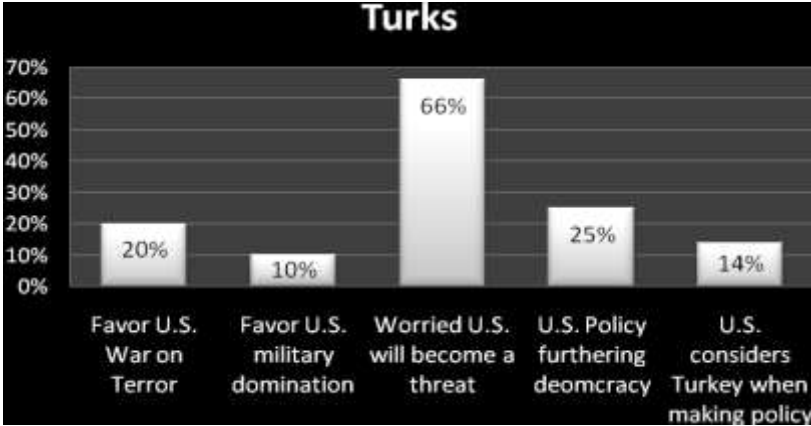
According to the data, Turkish approval for U.S. foreign policies in the region is significantly related to positive feelings toward the United States.  As mentioned earlier, Turkey has been immensely affected by U.S. pursuits in the region.  Former Turkish President Ozal's full support behind the U.S. military campaign during the Gulf war was in hope of a strengthened partnership with the United States and enhancement of its prospects of joining the European Community (now called the European Union). He enforced United Nations sanctions by halting the flow of Iraq's oil exports through Turkish pipelines, deployed 100,000 troops along the Iraqi-Turkish border, and allowed the United States to attack Iraq from Turkish bases. In additions to losing billions of dollars in pipeline fees and trade, Turkey faced increased threats from the PKK, who under the establishment of a de facto Kurdish state in northern Iraq, operated under Western protection (Larrabee 2007). Desire to join the European Union is also positively related to warm feelings toward the United States.  Turkey's path to European Union membership has been blocked by disagreements with Brussels over Cyprus and over stalled political and economic reforms in Turkey, as well as by rising concern among Europeans about immigration, unemployment, and EU enlargement (Larrabee 2007).  The relation between warm feelings towards joining the EU and warms feelings towards the United States may be related to the Clinton administration's lobbying effort within the EU on behalf of Turkey between the Luxembourg Summit of 1997 and the Helsinki Summit of 1999, which put Ankara's membership prospects back on track.  Condoleezza Rice has also stressed the importance of Turkey's EU accession on multiple occasions.

Concerning the specific policies addressed in the data, 80% oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism and 89% express desire for

the U.S. to cease to obtain the most powerful military capability in the world, expressing that it would be better if Europe or China or another country became as powerful as the U.S. Even as a U.S. and NATO ally, 82% hold some level of worry that the U.S. could become a military threat to Turkey someday, with 18% being "very worried." A large majority of Turks do not perceive the U.S. as successful in its attempts to foster democracy throughout the Middle East. As a result of U.S. policies, over 75% of Turks are more pessimistic about the Middle East becoming more democratic. Eighty five percent of Turks believe that the United States does not take Turkey's interests into account when making international policy decisions.

Turks, unlike Iranians, do not seem to distinguish the American people from the government. After the 2003 detainment of Turkish troops by U.S. soldiers in Iraq, for many Turks, the manner in which U.S. forces treated Turkish soldiers was seen as a national humiliation. Despite bridge-building efforts by the two countries, continued resentment combined with widespread anger at the conduct of U.S. forces in Iraq may have contributed to these high levels of anti-Americanism in Turkey. In light of the war in Iraq, Turkey has become increasingly threatened by the PKK and has faced danger at their border regions. Current resentment seems to have been exacerbated by Washington's refusal either to move against the bases of the PKK or to allow Turkey to do so.

The data also reveal that, although not statistically significant, a lack of support for the current Turkish government is positively correlated with high support for the United States.

In sum, although Iranians have overall warmer feelings towards the United States, both Turkish and Iranian citizens seem to fear the U.S. and highly disapprove of their policies in the region. Neither dataset revealed a correlation between feelings towards the United States and support for "fundamentalist" groups or activities.

**Conclusion**

A major objective of this project has been to use cross-sectional survey research to evaluate the increasing anti-American sentiment in Turkey and Iran. Literature surrounding the topic provides a variety of rationale regarding the cause of anti-Americanism in the Middle East. Lewis and Huntington, in short, suggest that support for attacks reflect a conventional behavior of Islam and its followers, and that the West and Islam are inevitably headed towards a clash (Lewis 1990, 1996; Huntington 2003). Other scholars assert that it is actually U.S. policies in the region that stimulate anti-Americanism (Delahunt 2007, Lynch

2006, Mitchell 2004). The project was designed to determine whether support for "fundamentalist" groups and activities or support for U.S. foreign policy was significantly correlated with attitudes towards the United States. Both hypotheses were proven: In both Turkey and Iran, two dissimilar countries with different relationships to the United States, support for "fundamentalist" groups or activities was not a significant predictor of attitudes towards the United States. There was high support for democratic systems among both sets of respondents, and this support for democracy was also an insignificant indicator of feelings towards the United States. These findings discredit much of the rhetoric suggesting that a sudden "Islamization" of the region or the "Clash of Civilizations" theory can explain expressed discontent towards America from the Middle East. The second model was aimed at measuring the effect U.S. foreign policies have on attitudes towards the United States. In both Turkey and Iran, U.S. policies affecting the region were significant predictors of attitudes towards the U.S., suggesting that a change in policies could help improve negative feelings towards America.

Despite Iran's relatively warm feelings towards the United States compared with the rest of the region, U.S.-Iran relations are likely to remain hostile under the current Iranian regime. Iran is a powerful country that shares many global interests with the United States despite their conflicting ideologies. Parsi (2007) suggests that the United States "could benefit from a powerful Iran serving as a buffer just as Iran had served as a buffer against the Soviet Union before the collapse of Communism," and goes on to say that the isolation of Iran, one of the most powerful countries in the region, contradicts the natural balance of power (p261, 262). Ideology alone is not what is driving Iranian policy, but instead geopolitical and strategic factors driving its policies. Some suggest that the conflict is solvable, but requires tremendous amount of diplomacy, something the Bush administration has not demonstrated towards its enemies (Parsi 2007).

A more immediate concern the United States is democratic Turkey. With some of the highest anti-American sentiment in the world, U.S.-Turkish relations must be addressed. Although the "FGA" variable was not significant, it appears that Turkey has somewhat moved away from its Kemalist, secular identity. The landslide election of the moderately Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2002 may signal identities changing from Cold War ideologies to more current political polarization between Islamists and secularists. The AKP has shown little in common with the crude foreign policy instincts of the Islamist parties considering its predecessors. It has been marked more willing than secularist parties to reach out to other Muslim countries and

has been more willing to criticize Israel's policies towards Palestinians. This may be concerning for the United States on a variety of levels. As a democracy, Turkish public opinion can have considerable effect on Turkish policy towards the United States and its interests. As some policy makers suggest, in addition to wanting to maintain friendly relationships to a vital ally in the region, as the U.S. continues to push for democratic regimes in the region, Turkey is an important model for other Muslim nations. Despite the decline in U.S.-Turkish relations, Turkish support remains invaluable to the U.S. for substantive and symbolic reasons. In the Middle East, Turkey provides a third ally to the U.S. partnership with Israel, and its bases increase U.S. military influence in the region. Turkey also provides a counterbalance to Russia in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Symbolically, the Turkish presence in NATO lends the organization credibility before Muslim countries.

As seen from the data, Turks are increasingly discontent with American policies in the region, and feel threatened by the United States. Washington's hesitance to address Turkey's concerns over the Kurdish problem and other security issues related to the war are likely to be the key factors directly contributing to the alarming rise in anti-American sentiment. Many Turks consider America's protection of Iraqi Kurds to actually stand as evidence of support for the PKK. Furthermore, as some see the situation, the United States has invaded both Afghanistan and Iraq to eliminate terrorist safe havens, but refuses to help Turkey do the same. All these concerns are magnified in light of the situation surrounding the northern Iraq city of Kirkurk, which sits on one of the world's largest oil deposits. The Kurds of Iraq are seeking to make Kirkuk the capital of the Kurdistan Regional Government, but Turkish officials want power to be shared by all ethnic groups. The Turkish parliament's failure to allow U.S. troops to attack Iraq from Turkey, and its increasing restrictions on U.S. operations out of Incirlik airbase are prime examples of the limitations negative public sentiment can provide.

Perhaps as a result of its discontent, Turkey has sought to take its security into its own hands and has also taken great activism in the Middle East. Despite concerns of Iran's nuclear program, Turkey has built stronger ties to Iran and Syria thanks to the three governments' shared interest in containing Kurdish nationalism and preventing the emergence of an independent Kurdish state on their borders (Larrabee 2007). Energy interests have also warmed Iranian-Turkish relations. As the second largest supplier of natural gas to Turkey after Russia, in February 2007, Turkey and Iran created energy deals, one allowing for the transfer of gas from Turkmenistan to Turkey, and then onto Europe through a pipeline in Iran. This is at odds with U.S. preference to avoid

and isolate Iran by transporting gas through the Caspian Sea (Larrabee 2007). Some voices in Washington have concerned that these new ties with Iran and Syria are a result of the "Islamization" of Ankara's foreign policy; however, this new engagement in the Middle East is likely part of gradual diversification of Turkish foreign policy after the end of the Cold War.

In sum, as the data suggests, the conflicts between the West and the Muslim world are not purely based on ideological or religious differences, nevertheless, that does not mean that ideology and religion irrelevant to opinions toward the United States. At a minimum, the offensive rhetoric these differences have produced makes political accommodation more difficult. It is imperative the United States address these increasingly negative sentiments as they can weigh heavily on U.S. interests by decreasing the effectiveness of military operations, weaken U.S. ability to align with other nations in pursuit of common policy objectives, and dampened enthusiasm for U.S. business services and products. In the same token, as a great world power the United States will continue to be actively engaged abroad, both in its own national interests and because its role remains indispensible for coping with common world problems. Even the best of circumstances and the most carefully crafted policies cannot avoid some levels of negative sentiment towards America; however, if America's role is carried out with greater cooperation and diplomatic skill, these sentiments are likely to improve.

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**Appendix 1:** Measures

     *U.S. Thermometer*. Feelings towards the United States continue
to decline throughout the Middle East and the world. This main
dependent variable was measured by a single unit pertaining to opinions
towards the United States in Iran and Turkey.  The question was asked to
all respondents, "Please tell me if you have a very favorable (coded 4),
somewhat favorable (coded 3), somewhat unfavorable (coded 2), or very
unfavorable (coded 1) opinion of the United States."  As with any
categorical measure, there may be discrepancies as to how different
respondents distinguish between "somewhat" or "very."  Additionally,
there was no option provided for neutral feelings, resulting in some level
of prompting of the respondent.  Nevertheless, because of a high
response rate, it may be assumed that this measure is representative of
the population.
*Indicators of support toward "fundamentalist" groups and activities
"FGA"* This variable is used to measure of what can be described as
support for "radical Islamist" and "fundamental" groups and activities
(Haddad 2006, Tessler 2003, Khashan and Kreiedie 2001).   It was

constructed by combining five items. Items vary due to questions provided on each survey:

Iranian "FGA" index:

(1) Which of the following statements do you agree with most? I think of myself primarily as a citizen of Iran (coded 0), primarily as a member of my religion (coded 1), primarily as a member of my ethnic group (coded 0), Not so much in these ways but primarily as an individual (coded 0).

(2) Some people think that bombing and other types of attacks intentionally aimed at civilians are sometimes justified while others think that this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that such attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified? (Justified coded 4, sometimes justified coded 3, rarely justified coded 2, never justified coded 1)

(3) Attacks against American civilians living in the United States? (Sometimes justified coded 1, never justified coded 0)

(4) Attacks by Palestinians against Israeli civilians? (Sometimes justified coded 1, never justified coded 0)

(5) Please tell me if you think Hezbollah is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence on the world? (Positive coded 1, negative coded 0)

Turkish "FGA" index:

(1) Do you think of yourself first as a Turk or first as a Muslim? (Muslim coded 3; Both equally coded 2; Turk coded 1)

(2) Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence again civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified? (Justified coded 4, sometimes justified coded 3, rarely justified coded 2, never justified coded 1)

(3) What about suicide bombing carried out against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable? (Justifiable coded 1, not justifiable coded 0)

(4) Tell me how much confidence you have in Osama bin Laden to do the right thing regarding world affairs (A lot of confidence

coded 4), some confidence coded 3, not too much confidence coded 2, or no confidence at all coded 1)

(5) How important to you is it that Islam plays a more important and influential role in the world than it does now? (Very important coded 4, somewhat important coded 3, not too important coded 2, or not at all important coded 1)

*Democracy.*  As mentioned in the literature review, there is a plethora of literature exploring arguments addressing whether democracy is compatible with Islam.  With Iran and Turkey as two Muslim nations, this measure is designed to measure respondents' support for democratic systems.

*Democracy in Iran*: In order to gauge Iranian feelings towards democratic principles, respondents were asked, "How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed by representatives elected by the people?"  With a scale from 1-10, 1 meaning "not at all important" and 10 meaning "absolutely important," the average Iranian gave a response of 9.1.  Iranians also reported that Iran was democratically representative and respected human rights.

*Democracy in Turkey*:  Respondents indicated their position regarding their value of democracy in Turkey in comparison to a strong leader and strong economy.  An index was created out of two separate items to create the variable "democracy."  (1) "Should we rely on a democratic form of government to solve our country's problems or a leader with a strong hand?" (Democratic government coded 1; Strong leader coded 0). (2) "If you had to choose between a good democracy or a strong economy, which would you say is more important?" (Good democracy coded 1; Strong economy coded 0).  The validity and reliability of this index may be questionable because the questions were presented in a dichotomous format.  Moreover, theoretically, this index may not be measuring exactly what it was intended to measure: the preference of democracy.  Respondents may have various conditions within which they feel democracy would be more important than the alternative. One also may think that a strong economy is a result of a good democracy, making the question counterintuitive. Furthermore, democracies come in variety of forms depending on the country of focus, and thus, priming different ideas among respondents.

*Americans*. This variable is used in both the Iranian and Turkish surveys, and was measured by a single unit pertaining to opinions towards the American people in Iran and Turkey.  The question was asked to all respondents, "Please tell me if you have a very favorable,

somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Americans." (Very favorable coded 4, somewhat favorable coded 3, somewhat unfavorable coded 2, very unfavorable coded 1)

*EU*. This variable is only the Turkish survey, and was used in light of Turkey's ongoing struggle to be accepted into the European Union. The question was asked to all respondents, "How do you feel about our country becoming a member of the EU? (Strongly favor coded 4, favor coded 3, oppose coded 2, strongly oppose coded 1)

*Indicators of opinion toward U.S. Foreign policy*

*U.S. Foreign Policy*. This variable is used to measure indication of support towards U.S. policies in the Middle East and around the world. It was constructed by combining five items. Items vary due to questions provided on each survey:

*Iranian "U.S. Foreign Policy"*

(1) How committed do you think the US is to the goal of creating an independent and viable Palestinian state? (Very committed coded 4, Somewhat committed coded 3, Not very committed coded 2, Not at all committed coded 1)

(2) Do you think the primary goal of what the US calls the war on terrorism is to weaken and divide the Islamic world, the Islamic religion and its people (coded 0), Achieve political and military domination to control the Middle East resources (coded 0), or protect itself [the US] from terrorist attacks (coded 1)?

(3) Do you favor or oppose the US having bases in the Middle East? (Favor strongly coded 4, favor somewhat coded 3, oppose somewhat coded 2, oppose strongly coded 1)

(4) Do you think U.S. foreign policy will be a threat to Iran within the next ten years? (Not an important threat at all coded 3, An important, but not critical threat coded 2, critical threat coded 1)

(5) The United States and other countries with nuclear weapons are obliged under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to actively work together toward eliminating nuclear weapon. Please say how well you think the United States is fulfilling this obligation. (Very well coded 4, Somewhat well coded 3, not very well coded 2, not at all well coded 1)

*Turkish "U.S. Foreign Policy"*

(1) Index of the following two questions:
Are you (1) more optimistic or (2) more pessimistic these days that the Middle East region will become more democratic? AND In your opinion is this at least (1) partly due to US policies, or (2) don't you think so? (if Q37=1 & Q38=1, coded 4; if Q37=2 & Q38=1 coded 1)

(2) Which of the following phrases comes close to describing you view? I favor the US-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the US-led efforts to fight terrorism. (Favor coded 1; Oppose coded 0)

(3) Right now, the U.S. has the most powerful military capability in the world. Would you like to see the U.S. remain the only military superpower, or would it be better if Europe, China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.? (U.S. on superpower coded 1; Better if another country became as powerful as U.S. coded 0)

(4) How worried are you, if at all, that the US could become a military threat to our country someday? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried? (Not at all worried coded 4; Not too worried coded 3; Somewhat worried coded 2; Very worried coded 1)

(5) In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like Turkey? (A great deal coded 4; Fair amount coded 3; Not too much coded 2; Not at all coded 1)

## Acknowledgements

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I have now started my PhD program at Stanford in the Political Science Department. I will be focusing in International Relations, Comparative Politics, and Statistical Methods. My interests include security, ethnic conflict, the Middle East, and public opinon.

# Blurry Love: An Examination of the Mother-Daughter Bond in Toni Morrison's *Beloved*

Holly Johnson

## Abstract

*This thesis examines the mother-daughter relationship in Toni Morrison's Beloved. It is clear that the daughter Beloved, and her mother Sethe, are used as symbols for socio-political issues such as trauma, slavery, and history. Although deeply loving, their behavior is also incredibly volatile, and often in the more aggressive moments, Morrison writes them with continual sexual overtones. Postmodern feminist philosopher, Luce Irigaray, particularly from her ideas of mother-daughter relationships, helps clarify the complex and unconventional interactions between Sethe and Beloved. Irigaray focuses on female 'otherness,' that is, discussing feminine behavior that does not exactly align in any one category of sexuality and family dynamics. Besides their marginality as women, Sethe and Beloved are also African-Americans, and this cultural identity of 'difference' (in that it does not mirror the white, upper-middle class that dominates American society) is equally paramount in exploring this relationship. As philosophy and cultural studies intertwine, the thesis intends to explain how love, sexuality, and motherhood become blurred in this novel. The philosophical and the African-American cultural ideas of motherhood form a hybrid that best helps understand both the peculiarity and the habitualness of Sethe and Beloved's connection. Paradoxically, the only way to make sense of the two character's bond is to categorize it as ambiguous. However, this ambiguity can be made less foggy by understanding that Sethe and Beloved are participants in a postmodern mother-daughter dynamic who at the same time can never be divorced from their African-American context.*

## Introduction

The mother-daughter bond between Sethe and Beloved in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* is one of the most volatile, intense, and yet deeply loving relationships of its kind in 20th century literature. This specific pair of mother and daughter is undeniably strange. Beloved, the once two-year old baby killed by Sethe in order to be saved from the misery of slavery, goes so far as to return from the dead as a fully formed adult in order to be with her mother—giving testament to the profound strength of their bond. Although both the smallest idiosyncrasies and the largest historical contexts provide discussion for many academics on this

relationship, ultimately what drives these two characters into precarious yet often beautiful situations remains deeply ambiguous.

Throughout the novel, the love between mother and daughter can be life giving and gestures toward a sense of invincibility.  However, with every expression of wonderment and satisfaction that the two create for each other, it is undermined by Beloved's insatiable appetite for rectifying the traumatic past of their personal family history and the history of slavery overall.  At one point, seemingly to give affection to her mother Beloved begins to kiss Sethe all over her face and neck, but then suddenly her kisses turn into an increasingly powerful chokehold until she almost suffocates Sethe. This explicit oscillation between love and destruction operates swiftly, sometimes, as in the example above, within the same moment. This untamed fluctuation is rampant throughout the novel.   Given that the structure of the relationship is so bizarre (Beloved is, after all, not exactly a ghost but not exactly a human either) and the feelings between the two women are so extreme, defining the two in any concrete way, is always already controversial. Yet the need to organize them into categories deserves thoughtful attention. Their categorical positions as mother and daughter, and as African-American women, are material.  Although fictive, Morrison provides a historical window into the lives of African-American mothers and daughters living in Post-Civil War United States.   However, Sethe and Beloved's homoerotic behavior defy conventional notions of mother-daughter relationships.  By examining their relationship more closely, and by considering the multiple cultural and emotional roles that these women fulfill, the sexuality between them will hopefully become more comprehensible.

Sethe and Beloved never engage in sex.  What this paper tries to point out is a sexual tendency spawns from the intense love the two women share. This sexual tension is not to be thought of exclusively as sex, because it encompasses the romantic overtones with which Morrison provides their interactions with.  To explore the sexual tension is not to try and draw out a lesbian reading of their dynamic; rather it is to illuminate the ambiguity that already and will ultimately exist between these two women.  The roles that Sethe and Beloved share with each other oscillate between mother, daughter, wife, lover, and self.  At any point in the book all of these could be present in one passage. My goal is to emphasize the sections that emit a sexual mood in order to validate its presence in the first place. Once the sexuality between mother and daughter is made evident, I argue that the homoeroticism is a compulsion pulling Sethe and Beloved to one another so they can reconcile their shared past and their own fat.

Investigating the homoeroticism in the novel can then open up the mother-daughter bond as a category and refine the ambiguity that Sethe and Beloved share.  To say that Sethe and Beloved are lesbian, as the acclaimed scholar Caroline Rody suggests in her article "Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, History, Rememory and Clamor for a Kiss" despite her very fruitful reading of the novel, requires more reflection on lesbianism as a gender. On the other hand, a postmodern reading of this relationship, which uses influential French post-structuralist feminists such as Luce Irigaray to explore mother-daughter relationships is also problematic. To dismiss these complicated and sexually charged behaviors as a part of the overall ambiguity of mother-daughter relationships is too general because it hastily dilutes the unique qualities of this particular mother and daughter as if all mother and daughter relationships were carried out with such complexity.

Another equally significant strand of Sethe and Beloved's bond is the fact that the two are African-American women, living in the Post-Civil War era.  Due to the outrageous brutality of slavery, and the relentless social hardships of African-Americans that have followed this malevolent history, the concrete reality of African-American cultural identity is undeniably important, and can never be fully diminished by postmodernism's dismissal of essentialism.

Many insightful publications on African-American motherhood and *Beloved* give greater depth to this issue. Yet, as with the other readings of this relationship, it is unwise to get too comfortable with any singular perspective. This is ultimately an inexplicable relationship, and it should not be centered only within its socio-historical context because it underscores the grandiosity of what is at last a love that is ineffable. Therefore, a careful analysis that acknowledges the homoerotic tendencies of this relationship, supports the inevitability of mother daughter ambiguity, and recognizes the pertinent cultural and historical contexts from which the novel is operating from are all necessary to garner a greater understanding of this incredibly rich bond.

My goal is to argue that *Beloved* fits into all of these areas of thought but does not rest entirely in any one of them. Extending from Kimberly Chabot Davis's article "'Postmodern Blackness': Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and the End of History" *Beloved* is a hybrid of both Postmodernism and 'Black Topic' schools of writing.  The two are interrelated and complex even though there are distinguishing groups among them.  The first group is comprised mostly of liberal European theorists who argue for the "End of History." The second group are African-American novelists that are trying to write genealogies of their people and keep historical consciousness alive.

The relationship between Sethe and Beloved is a hybrid of its own in that it displays both peculiar mother-daughter interaction and general mother-daughter boundless love, while also inhabiting an African-American cultural position. Paradoxically, the only way to make sense of the relationship is to categorize it as ambiguous. However, this ambiguity can be made less foggy by understanding that Sethe and Beloved are participants in a postmodern mother-daughter dynamic who at the same time can never be divorced from their African-American context.

## Lesbianism vs. Homoeroticism

There are many passages in *Beloved* in which the interactions between Sethe and Beloved are visibly homoerotic. Homoeroticism is used as the broad term for the ways in which Sethe and Beloved behave sexually and romantically, as well as the ways in which these behaviors are carried out in the authorial voice and intent of Toni Morrison. When reading the term "homoeroticism" in this paper, it should not be exclusively synonymous with sex, but instead acts as the general term for *any* interaction that expands Sethe and Beloved's relationship beyond mother and daughter and compares them to lovers. The difference between lesbian and homoerotic is a tenuous one, yet it is necessary to create a distinction among these ideas to better understand the sexuality between Sethe and Beloved. This issue deserves further investigation because Morrison herself rejects a lesbian reading of her novels involving female homoeroticism.[1]

Rody's discussion of Sethe and Beloved's sexuality is not inaccurate; rather it is problematic that she is not emphasizing the ambiguity of the relationship. In the context of Rody's article, her use of lesbianism is not sensitive enough to the particularities of Sethe and Beloved's homoerotic relationship. Not only do Sethe and Beloved not have sex, it is not clear in the novel that having sex is ever their goal or desire—even though homoeroticism is prevalent throughout the novel. This basic issue, coupled with Morrison's rejection of categorizing the women in her novels as lesbians, signifies that the homoeroticism in *Beloved* goes beyond the conventional understanding of lesbianism. It is entirely possible to label the mother-daughter relationship in the novel as lesbian, yet not without opening up the typical ideas assigned to the gender. Rody herself may not prefer the term since she uses it in quotations for every reference of the word without fail. Lesbianism, like

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[1] Morrison, Toni. "It's OK to say OK." *Critical Essays on Toni Morrison*. ed. Nellie Y. McKay. G.K. Hall & Co. Boston: 1988.

any gender category, is utterly complicated and it is not obvious that lesbianism specifically qualifies that women deliberately desire a sexual affair with their own mothers.  Rody tries to clarify her understanding of the homoeroticism when she argues that the character Beloved is a,

> Metaphoric return of the past in the form of an excess of female desire. Figuring the disremembered past as 'the girl who waited to be loved'(274), Morrison conflates the problematics of time, loss, and representation with a drama of inconsumable female desire. Calling the past 'Beloved' and re-membering it in a female body, the text gives one name to the lost of history and buried female desire, and it stages the simultaneous resurrection of both. [2]

Rody does not quantify what an 'excess' of female desire actually is. In the most obvious sense, Beloved rejects men and tries to thwart her mother's relationship with Paul D in addition to proactively seeking out her mother's attention. Beloved really does not desire anyone besides her mother, and even her behavior toward Sethe is incredibly suspicious and, at times even a bit sinister. However, she does desire attention in general—and gladly accepts it from her adoring sister—but tries to destroy any man that she encounters (with rudeness or with sexual seduction as in the case of Paul D.) Beloved, as the embodiment of this excess, is not only calling attention to the lost of history, but also buried female desire, and Rody argues that for Morrison, the reckoning of both of the roles that Beloved embodies are equally important, because they are ultimately the same pursuit.  Rody argues that "This 'lesbian' section of *Beloved* might constitute a momentary 'separatist' resolution of historical tensions in a realm [free of] male interpretation or authority— free, in fact of history," and that Beloved's desire for Sethe is "The seduction of the ancestress for her story."[3] Rody suggests that the entirety of the homoeroticism in *Beloved* is given solely by Beloved, and it is only for the sake of going to any necessary lengths to force Sethe to ratify her forgotten life.  This undermines the active role Sethe continually adopts in their homoerotic interactions throughout the novel, and it also reduces the ambiguity of both mother-daughter relationships and African-American female dynamics.

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[2] Rody, Caroline. "Toni Morrison's *Beloved*: History, 'Rememory' and a 'Clamor for a Kiss.'" 110.
[3] IBID, 111.

Rody addresses her indeterminate understanding of *Beloved*'s 'lesbianism' in her bibliography. She explains that Morrison would most likely reject a 'lesbian' reading of *Beloved*, as she did for her earlier novel *Sula*. Yet, Rody points out that *Beloved* carries even more 'lesbianism' than *Sula*. Rody concludes, "Morrison's figuration of human relationships tends to blur all the 'kinds' of love, the distinctions between emotions…Clearly female homoerotics remains a vital element in Morrison's vocabulary of interchangeable tropes of love."[4] A traditional 'lesbian' reading of *Beloved*, over-simplifies because it does not address a significant factor in their relationship: the two women are mother and daughter. By investigating more philosophical notions of mother-daughter relationships, the homoeroticism becomes clearer.

Poststructuralist feminism provides further insight on the ambiguities of the female body and feminine interaction. This will help illuminate the subtle, yet significant differences between lesbianism and homoeroticism. However, while postmodernism suggests that authorship is unimportant to reading, it diminishes the undeniably powerful point that this is written in and for an African-American context, and the homoeroticism that is included in *Beloved*.

### *Beloved* and Postmodernism

So much of *Beloved* is fashioned in poststructuralism/postmodernism. It is necessary to understand the ways that *Beloved* aligns with the tropes of postmodernism in order to validate the postmodern theory that provides insight into the homoerotic themes in the novel. For the purposes of this essay, postmodernism and poststructuralism are going to be used interchangeably; they share the same basic qualities, and often overlap. Sociologist Ben Agger explains "The lack of clear definition reflects the purposeful elusiveness of work that can be variously classified as poststructural and/or postmodern: Perhaps the most important hallmark of all this work is its aversion to clean positivist definitions and categories."[5] Undoubtedly, this explanation of postmodernism applies to the homoeroticism between Beloved and Sethe, and how it can never fully be categorized.

Another pertinent aspect of postmodernism is its aversion to "metanarratives" or ultimate Truth(s). Agger explains that postmodernism "Rejects totalizing perspectives on history and society,

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[4] IBID, 117 §23.
[5] Agger, Ben. "Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 17, (1991), pp. 105-131. 110.

[known as] *grand narratives*…one cannot tell large stories about the world but only small stories from heterogeneous 'subject positions' of individuals and plural social groups."[6] Beloved identifies with Postmodernism again in that it exhibits continual skepticism of sweeping historical narratives. There is little emphasis on "master-stories" and Morrison, in her interview "Site of Memory" outwardly states that there is not an ultimate Truth that she is interested in acquiring.[7] In *Beloved*, the familiar aspects of the Reconstruction Era are deliberately insignificant. Morrison writes, "The War had been over four of five years then, but nobody white or black seemed to know it."[8] For the characters in *Beloved*, the grandiosity of the Civil War or the Emancipation Proclamation is not perceived as an upheaval to their day to day realities, hence Morrison's purposeful omissions. Instead, as the latter half of Agger's statement suggests, she focuses on the interior lives of the characters. In the end, many valid examples make a postmodern reading of *Beloved* available. However, the critical issue of understanding how *Beloved* is involved with postmodernism is to relate the homoeroticism in the novel to poststructural feminism.

Poststructural feminism spawns from postmodernism and it formulated in response to phallocentrism, the privileging of masculinity/man as subject and femininity/woman as object. Susan Sellers, editor of *The Hélène Cixous Reader* explains that "For Cixous, language is endemic to the repressive structures of thinking and narration we use to organize our lives. Since woman has figured within the socio-symbolic system only as the other of man, Cixous suggests that the inscription of women's sexuality and history could recast the prevailing order. She sees writing as the locus and means of this reformation."[9] Although the ontological and socio-political modes of *Beloved* are limitless, it is important to understand the context of "otherness" in the novel as an example of Hélène Cixous "Ecriture Féminine" or Feminine Writing. *Beloved* does not qualify as "Ecriture Féminine" simply because it was written by and about a woman; rather, it illuminates aspects of feminine relation, perception and expression that challenge the phallocentric order of existence.

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[6] IBID, 113.

[7] Morrison, Toni. "The Site of Memory." *Inventing the Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir*. Ed. and Intro. William Zinsser. Boston: Houghton, 1987. 103-124. 113.

[8] Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. Richard Clay ltd. Great Britain: 1987. 57-58.

[9] Cixous, Hélène. *The Hélène Cixous Reader*. Ed. Susan Sellers. New York: Routledge, 1994. xxix.

When Morrison writes from the perspective of *otherness*, she undeniably performs this on multiple levels. Morrison's *otherness* as "feminine" demands sensitivity toward the novel. Through Feminine Writing, she upholds the importance of metaphor as means of expression that is not overruled by phallocentrism. In *Beloved*, the homoeroticism and the "You are mine" passage in section three of the novel exhibit Feminine Writing because it deviates from literary conventions not only thematically, but stylistically as well.

The discussion of mother-daughter homoeroticism marks the major theme in *Beloved* as feminine (in the sense that feminine is 'other'.) The topic of mothers and daughters and its *othered* context is keenly considered by Cixous's contemporary Luce Irigaray. Irigaray gives understanding to the depth and complexity of mother-daughter bonds, and her analysis visibly pertains to the interactions of Sethe and Beloved. Irigaray argues that mother-daughter relationships, since they are exclusively female, operate under a structure that is *other*, and therefore does not adhere to the phallocentric order of mother-child bonds. In particular, she emphasizes the inability to make plain distinctions between mother and daughter. "For women, who have a different, much closer relation to their mothers, according to Irigaray, identity is meaningless; no separation or delimitation of boundaries occurs between mother and daughter. Within a male framework, the possibility of a female identity is, therefore, unrecognized, unknown, unthought, as are reciprocity, fluidity, exchange, and permeability. Difference is quantitative (women are *less* than men), not qualitative (women are *other* than men.)"[10] Although lesbianism deliberately defies patriarchal notions of love, attraction, and companionship, even lesbianism creates a barrier to the homoeroticism in *Beloved*; thus situating it more accurately in the realm of "otherness."

Not only does the novel's homoeroticism as a theme support *Beloved* as Feminine Writing, but Morrison's groundbreaking style does as well. The strongest example of this is found in the "You are mine" passage. At this point in the novel, Beloved's extremely volatile behavior has consumed Sethe and Beloved's sister Denver both emotionally and psychically. The three women become virtually unidentifiable and live out Irigaray's position that the relationship between mother and daughter delimits boundaries. "Beloved, she my daughter she mine"; "Beloved is

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[10] Holmund, Christine. "The Lesbian, The Mother, The Heterosexual Lover: Irigaray's Recodings of Difference." *Feminist Studies*. Vol. 17, No. 2. Feminist Studies Inc, 1991. pp. 283-308. 285.

my sister"; "I am Beloved and she is mine"[11] Each voice then joins together creating a grand incantation of woman to woman love. "You are my sister/ You are my daughter/ You are my face; you are me"; "I have your milk/ I have your smile/I will take care of you"; "you are mine/ You are mine/ You are mine/ You are mine."[12] Morrison ignores the traditional writing by omitting grammatical punctuation, and suddenly switching the voice of the speaker without any demarcation of such. Although all through the novel time unfolds in a non-linear way, most of *Beloved* is written in a standard format, making her breach in convention stand out even more in this passage.

Even though *Beloved* fits comfortably in the camp of postmodern feminism, and aligns with Feminine Writing, there is a crucial aspect of postmodernism that is problematic for the novel and its author. The problem is that poststructuralism and poststructuralist feminism are in contradiction to one another.

> It is a wearying and often maddening task to reconcile the contradictory ideological underpinnings of poststructuralism and feminism…For just as feminism declares that the gender of a particular artist serves a crucial function in her/his signifying practice, poststructuralism declares that the author is dead, that the notion of an individual subject is extremely problematic, and that all signifying practices are "traces" of Language's grand circulation.[13]

In short, postmodernism gives greater understanding to the expression that "History is created by the winners." Postmodernists in turn concludes that history, unquestionably, is not empirical fact and simultaneously deems anything to be so, deeply suspicious. Yet history is the foundation for our social reality, and therefore our individual

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[11] Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. Richard Clay ltd. Great Britain: 1987. 200-210.
[12] IBID, 216-217.
[13] Phelan, Peggy. "Feminist Theory, Poststructuralism, and Performance." *TDR* Vol. 32, No. 1. MIT Press. Boston: 1988. pp. 107-127. 108.

realities as well. History, although not 'True' or universalizing, can, as the poststructuralist feminists have shown, give a legitimate space in which to declare something as 'other' or outside of the established frame of reference.

This is noteworthy to *Beloved* because typical postmodern thinking is quick to deny the importance of cultural identity as anything essential, that is, anything that shows intrinsic difference from something else. Postmodernism tries to flatten identity, claiming that it is unimportant to the world because it is a victim of history like everything else. Although this sounds like a universalization, it is actually a way of proving that the world is ultimately indeterminate. This is a complicated debate, but for the purposes of this essay, if the postmodern feminists are validated for their position as women (which many, but by no means all, postmodernists try to deny) than so too is the African-American context of *Beloved,* because it also occupies a historically 'othered' position. In arguing that the African-American context in *Beloved* is unavoidably critical, the novel risks losing its postmodern label. Consequently, this ambivalence toward the materiality of the body, especially when the body has been continually marginalized by the dominant culture, (i.e. 'female' or 'black') is a major debate in postmodernism.

### *Beloved* and "'Black Topic' Anti-postmodern Protest"

African-American literature protests postmodern notions that cultural identity is purely subject to the uncertainty of history. Morrison explicitly states, "I'm always a little disturbed by the sociological evaluations white people make of Black literature…I don't think it is possible to discuss a literature without taking into consideration what is sociologically or historically accurate."[14] Morrison understands that postmodernism carries oppressive potential to render African-American culture unimportant, even though it is still an ethnic group that is subordinated by institutional white supremacy. Postmodernism's rejection of essentialism is problematic to African-American culture and this is exacerbated by the fact that the leaders in postmodern thought are mostly European intellectuals, whose own culture typical exists far outside African-American life.  However, as bell hooks points out in her article "Postmodern Blackness," postmodernism can offer useful tools for empowering African-Americans.

Employing a critique of essentialism allows African-Americans to acknowledge the way in which class

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[14] Morrison, Toni. "The One Out of Sequence."  *Conversations With Toni Morrison.*  University of Mississippi Press, Jackson:  1994.  67.

> mobility had altered collective impact on our lives. Such
> a critique allows us to affirm multiple black identities,
> varied black experience.  It also challenges colonial
> imperialist paradigms of black identity which represent
> blackness one-dimensionally in ways that reinforce and
> sustain white supremacy…abandoning essentialist
> notions would be a serious challenge to racism.[15]

Hooks advocates for a raised social consciousness on the plurality of
African-American identity.  Consequently, some of the postmodern
notions that can harm African-Americans also posses the ability to help
fight in the epic battles against colonization, stereotyping, and all the
idiosyncratic ways that racism is internalized and performed.

Ultimately this paper follows Kimberly Chabot Davis' theory
that *Beloved* is a hybrid of postmodernism and 'black-topic' anti-
postmodern protest. To extend from her argument, the homoeroticism in
*Beloved* is best expressed through this hybridity.  Chabot Davis notes
that "Morrison demystifies master historical narratives; she also wants to
raise 'real' or authentic African American history in its place. She
deconstructs while she reconstructs."[16] Morrison discusses her
intentional process of reconstructing stories of her people as a means of
redemption for their tumultuous past. "You journey to a site to see what
remains were left behind and to reconstruct the world that these remains
imply…to rip the veil drawn over 'proceedings too terrible to relate' [in
order] to yield up a kind of truth."[17] Morrison is a model for intersecting
these contradictory notions of storytelling in contemporary fiction.

A distinguishing characteristic of the hybridity in *Beloved* is the
mother-daughter homoeroticism.  Morrison, as Rody explains, denies a
'lesbian' reading of *Beloved* but does not seek to pigeonhole these
inclinations either. She uses this theme frequently in her other novels
including *Sula* and *The Bluest Eye*, both of which, along with *Beloved*,
involve African-American women.  Therefore it is more accurate to
claim that Morrison opens up the notion that this intense love among
women that defies categorization is culturally apparent in African-
Americans.

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[15] hooks, bell. "Postmodern Blackness."  *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural
Politics*.  South End Press.  Boston:  1990.  28.

[16] Chabot Davis, Kimberly.  "'Postmodern Blackness':  Toni Morrison's
*Beloved* and the End of History." 245.

[17] Morrison, Toni.  "The Site of Memory." *Inventing the Truth: The Art and
Craft of Memoir*. Ed. and Intro. William Zinsser. Boston: Houghton, 1987. 103-
124.  112.

Andrea O'Reilly, an expert on African-American mothering and Morrison's work, emphasizes that, "Morrison develops a view of black motherhood that is, in terms of both maternal identity and role, radically different than the motherhood practiced and prescribed in the dominant culture."[18] This does not immediately signify that African-American mothers are generally more homoerotic in nature, rather, it supports the idea that the uncategorical notions of motherhood are accessed more easily through them. O'Reilly explains how this is possible. She writes, "Sethe's interpretation of her motherlove as resistance [is] contrasted to Paul D.'s and the critics' view that Sethe's love is indeed 'too thick.'"[19] According to O'Reilly, Sethe sees her love as a form of resistance so that her children possess "A loved sense of self so that they may be subjects in a culture that commodifies them as objects."[20] Sethe's love as "too thick" mirrors Rody's term "excessive female desire" as if love is something quantifiable. Although this is an impossible task, O'Reilly and Rody both establish that Sethe's maternal love is extreme because she actually proved the ardent, irrational, pull of her love when she was forced to kill her children. The character Paul D., Sethe's lover in the novel, explains, "This here Sethe talked about love like any other woman; talked about baby clothes like any other woman, but what she meant could cleave the bone. This here Sethe talked about safety with a handsaw."[21] Paul D. wittingly points out that all women love their children, but all women put in Sethe's position would not necessarily commit infanticide. The moral complexity of the situation cannot diffuse Sethe's actions simply as 'right' or 'wrong;' however, it is clear that Sethe's maternal love is remarkable. O'Reilly argues that this remarkable love is a form of activism, and whether or not Sethe's maternal love is measurable remains unimportant to this essay. What is useful about this remarkable love that can turn murder into salvation is that it can also access mother-daughter homoeroticism.

**Sethe and Beloved Homoeroticism**

It is clear that Beloved, in her basic essence as a ghost, is a return of the past. She will go to any lengths to coerce herself into the present in order to reconcile her own life and death. Her energies focus primarily on her mother, and in her quest for recognition, her force becomes

[18]O'Reilly, Andrea. *Toni Morrison and Motherhood: A Politics of the Heart*. State University of New York Press, Albany: 2004. 1.

[19] IBID, 127.
[20] IBID.
[21] Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. Richard Clay ltd. Great Britain: 1987. 164.

seductive. There is a general trend that exists in the first, and longest section of the novel, in which Beloved openly craves her mother and it is through her instigation that the homoeroticism is most apparent. In the second section, Sethe succumbs to Beloved's needs and the homoeroticism appears more mutual. In the third section, Beloved uses this mutual affection with Sethe to sabotage her mother and, in the end, herself as well. The homoeroticism turns from something mysterious and at times beautiful, to something slavish and afflicted. Throughout each section the power dynamics fluctuate, but as a whole, the homoeroticism persists. It is important to emphasize the malleability of the homoeroticism in *Beloved* because it reaffirms that issue is present and undeniable, but ultimately remains indefinable.

Overall the homoeroticism represents a larger compulsion that influences their behavior, creating a mode of exquisite but dangerous beauty. Its beauty is most predominant when it hints at the mysterious qualities of love and its enormous power; but its danger is in the manipulation of that power into something self-serving and ruinous.

Not long after Beloved first enters the story as the re-incarnated baby ghost, she "Could not take her eyes off Sethe. Stooping to shake the damper, or snapping sticks from kindlin, Sethe was licked, tasted, eaten by Beloved's eyes…she felt Beloved touch her. A touch no heavier than a feather but loaded…with desire. Sethe stirred and looked…into her eyes. The longing she saw there was bottomless."[22] Sethe notices this profound longing right away. Even though her excessive requests for attention defy the pragmatism that Sethe lives by, Sethe herself is taken aback by how powerful and inviting this girl's silent demands really are. "Sethe was flattered by Beloved's quiet, open devotion. The same adoration from her daughter [Denver] (had it been forthcoming) would have annoyed her; made her chill at the thought of having raised a ridiculously dependent child."[23] Although Sethe herself does not understand what begins as a subtle enchantment, she is subject to it. It is Sethe's preliminary consent to this behavior from which the continuation of this blurry relationship unfolds.

Morrison makes clear throughout the novel that Sethe, perhaps even more than her former slave contemporaries, can survive almost anything. Not only did she experience horrid atrocities that became normalized under slavery, such as the separation from her mother, beatings, rape etc…she successfully escaped slavery. But once free she lost what would seem a necessary friendship of the free African-

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[22] Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. Richard Clay ltd. Great Britain: 1987. 57-58.
[23] IBID, 57.

American community. The community rejected her after the ominous day when she killed Beloved and attacked her other children in order to save them from her the threat of going back to Sweet Home with her 'owners.'

Born into slavery, Sethe lives as a traumatized woman, and lost the Black community truncating the most effective resource for surviving her difficult past. Yet she not only survives, she manages to create a functional life for herself and Denver. She wakes up before dawn, laboring every hour without complaint, tolerates her broken relationship with her only remaining child, and dismisses the accusations of arrogance whispered throughout the town by her former friends and neighbors. All of this suggests that Sethe enacts an especially forceful will, standing out among a group of people who already operate with an unwavering instinct for survival. Yet, in Beloved's presence, Sethe is easily subdued. Morrison alludes to a special compulsion that is underway between Sethe and Beloved; otherwise, Sethe ostensibly would take what would most likely be successful strides to resist it. Sethe openly admits that a demonstration of this behavior elsewhere, such as in her daughter Denver, would be promptly stopped for its foolish impracticality. Since Sethe resists this curiously strong connection to Beloved, and since it continually destroys the life she works so hard to maintain, her submission to its force deserves to be named a 'compulsion.'

Coming from a woman who can help herself in the most desperate circumstances, Sethe is somehow utterly helpless in the face of Beloved's power, and her power eventually weakens Sethe into a feeble and psychotic woman. Despite the immense excitement, tenderness, and beauty that they share, Beloved quickly becomes a source of harm that outweighs the positive attributes of their relationship. However, if it were not for the traumatic return of Beloved, and her destruction of Sethe's complacent lifestyle, Sethe would not be able to learn one of the most profound lessons in the novel.

At the very end of the book, after the Black community congregates to exorcise Beloved from Sethe's house, Sethe is again measured up by the wisdom of Paul D. "You your best thing, Sethe. You are."[24] After incessant emotional unrest, and the loss of her identity to her murdered daughter, the novel ends with the possibility for self-love and affirmation. The end of the novel, although it can be read in countless ways, is not the focus for the paper. However, in briefly looking at the end of the novel, it is evident that Sethe eventually

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[24] IBID, 273.§

overcomes, although not entirely, her past. And it is fair to speculate that had it not been for Beloved's return, none of this would be possible. Thus, it is reasonable to read the novel as though Sethe is compelled by Beloved's force in order to begin to develop parts of herself that have been abused or dwarfed by one of the many traumas she's suffered. This compulsion is carried out in homoerotic situations.

The idea of a compulsion is reiterated in another homoerotic scenario. The scene begins when Sethe takes Denver and Beloved to The Clearing to seek spiritual guidance from Sethe's late mother-in-law, Baby Suggs. Sethe at first thinks that Baby Suggs's spirit is the one caressing her shoulders. However, soon the massaging starts to strangle Sethe until she has to rip herself from the illusory chokehold. In response Beloved, "Leaned over and kissed the tenderness under Sethe's chin. They [Denver and Sethe] stayed that way for awhile because neither Denver nor Sethe knew how not to: how to stop and not love the look and feel of the lips that kept on kissing. Then Sethe, grabbing Beloved's hair and blinking rapidly, separated herself…'You're too old for that.'"[25] It is apparent that in this scene Sethe exercises some restraint to the love that she feels and receives from Beloved, for many reasons, but in part because her touches seem to carry a homoerotic tendency. Sethe, who is already the keeper of the most taboo personal history of everyone in town, most likely does not want to reinforce that reputation by engaging in a sexual dynamic with Beloved. Sethe must work relentlessly to maintain the simple life she had to create; and it is made even more challenging with the disapproval of the African-American community, both of which cause her to deny Beloved's unthinkable desires.

The rhetoric Morrison uses to describe this scene has an air of romance. "Sethe moaned…Beloved's fingers were heavenly."[26] However, reducing this event, like the others, to pure homoeroticism is a crude interpretation. Morrison also writes, "The girl's fingers were so cool and knowing…The peace Sethe had come there to find crept into her." Although this section has a sexual overtone, Sethe's feeling of peace at Beloved's touch indicates that she perceives this exchange more as a form of care giving than anything else. The statement that Beloved's hands are "knowing" indicates that Sethe appreciated them like a fortuitous pleasant surprise. Beloved's hands are "knowing" not only because they once shared a body; but, as Morrison implies with the homoerotic rhetoric, they share part of the same soul. As seen in this section, Beloved typically instigates the most overt sexual charges, and

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[25] IBID, 97.
[26] IBID.

even though Sethe (especially in the first section of the novel) tries to mollify them, they are greeted with a degree of acceptance.

This scene in The Clearing establishes Beloved as encroaching on the role of daughter, mother, and lover, and that Beloved is not a singular source for Sethe or for any of the characters. In The Clearing the initial neck rub and its subsequent chokehold were not given by Baby Suggs as Sethe originally thought, but by Beloved. This ambivalent physical display of emotion from Beloved to her mother resembles the same unruly love that caused Sethe to kill Beloved when she was a baby. It is a love that is so 'thick' that it is maddening, even murderous. For Sethe, Beloved not only fills the role of her dead daughter, but she is also associated with motherhood as well. At first Sethe mistook Beloved for Baby Suggs, and then when Beloved begins to comfort Sethe's aches, for Sethe her touch is more like a mother's than a lover's.

In addition, Sethe fills multiple roles for Beloved as well, and this idea helps explain why Beloved turned a gentle sign of affection into an attempted murder. It is born out of the turbulent relationship between the two, and Beloved's own deeply conflicted feelings toward her mother. Beloved loves Sethe but her anger at having her life cut short provides the possibility that Beloved is intentionally harming Sethe as an act of vengeance. Even though Beloved's intentions as malicious or not remain unknown, they at last give evidence to Morrison's claim that the reader is also responsible in determining the outcome of her stories. "People who are listening [to her books] comment on it and make it up, too, as it goes along. In the same way when a preacher delivers a sermon he really expects his congregation to listen, participate, approve, disapprove, and interject almost as much as he does."[27] Morrison's attitude liberates and validates the reader, and with this support it is possible to read further into Beloved's conduct.

Even though in this scene Beloved's feelings are so polarized, after Sethe breaks free from her death grip, Beloved immediately seizes the opportunity to touch her mother intimately; to touch her mother in a way that would otherwise be inappropriate unless aroused by a situation such as this one in The Clearing. It is possible that Beloved turned sour precisely so she could caress her mother afterward, as part of a pre-meditated plan. To read Beloved's actions in this way encourages the notion that no matter how divergent her feelings are for Sethe, her

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[27] Morrison, Toni. "An Interview with Toni Morrison." *Conversations With Toni Morrison*. University of Mississippi Press, Jackson: 1994. 146.

incessant need to be close to her mother takes precedent over her other ambiguous desires.

For Sethe, Beloved is the manifestation of this compulsion. These examples repeatedly highlight Sethe's inexplicable submissions to Beloved's demands, yet despite this one-sided appearance, this compulsion remains mutual. Even though Sethe does not seduce Beloved in the same fashion as Beloved overtly tries to seduce Sethe, it is Sethe as she is, as Beloved's mother, that compels her to return from the dead. Beloved's return from the dead, in one occurrence, is her manifestation of the inexplicable and supernatural submission to this compulsion. Beloved's return mirrors Sethe's continual receptivity of the sexual tension that exists between them. Although Sethe and Beloved continually engage in a power struggle, understanding these characters as compelled to be with one another complicates each woman's position. For instance, Beloved's actions seem less wicked when understood to be under a robust emotional spell from her mother. Likewise, Sethe's obvious favoritism to Beloved over Denver and her continually disturbing behavior are complexified when they are seen as a kind of 'addiction' to Beloved.

In the start of section two, when Beloved confirms that she is indeed Sethe's daughter, the beginning of the merging of the two women is marked. Up until this point, Beloved deliberately instigates, however fleeting, the sexual tone of their interactions. Although Sethe responds, she is able to sustain her own position of herself in a familiar way. As the novel goes on in section one, Sethe acquiesces to Beloved more and more, but in the most basic sense she still maintains the functional life she has always had. However, with her full recognition of Beloved as her daughter, as part of her, Sethe's life begins to degrade, as well as her sense of self, into something increasingly amorphous, something increasingly resembling Beloved.

The section begins with another homoerotic moment. When Sethe explains that the song she sings is of her own creation, one that only her children know, Beloved announces that she knows the song, which is evidence enough that Beloved is undeniably hers. Morrison then writes that Sethe, "Ascended the lily-white stairs like a bride."[28] In this line, the word bride is of particular importance because of its association with marriage. The connection between the two women is figuratively consecrated now that Beloved is unveiled *concretely* as Sethe's daughter. The dynamic then alters from Beloved looking up toward Sethe for

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[28] IBID, 176.

attention as the unofficial daughter in section one, to Sethe rapidly losing power to the daughter she has officially murdered in section two.

This marriage metaphor denotes a brief alignment in which a peaceful stasis occurs, acting as the calm before the storm that lies ahead. Morrison follows, "Outside, snow solidified itself into graceful forms. The peace of winter stars seemed permanent."[29] Morrison's language is purposefully tranquil and assuring. Beloved has fulfilled, even if only in miniature, her task of being recognized by Sethe. In this gentle exchange, although only momentary, they both (along with Denver) live peacefully in the present. Although homoerotic energies emerge in this scene, they are the least sexually explicit. Nevertheless, the overall intensity of their relationship is not diluted. Marriage as a value, in the context of 19th century United States, represents partnership and mutuality, to the point where rhetoric about the merging of two souls is commonly used. This acts as an important symbol for the entirety of section two.

With the unfolding of the second part of the novel, the characters incite more of a proportionate amount homoeroticism. This arises largely because of Sethe's escalating number of homoerotic vibrations. This shift in the power dynamic is augmented by a shift in Morrison's writing style. Morrison changes from third to first-person narration in the middle of the book. Initially, the first-person narration is picked up by Sethe, then Denver and then Beloved. Morrison incorporates this as a literary device to alert the reader of the changes going on in the content of the story. In Sethe's first-person monologue, she finally speaks "unspoken" thoughts to Beloved. She explains that Paul D, "Found out about me and you in the shed"[30] and inadvertently likens Beloved's murder with clandestine lovemaking.

Sethe goes on saying, "If I hadn't killed her she would have died and that is something I could not bear to happen to her."[31] It was her love, which even reaches murderous heights that forces her to superimpose a more appropriate level of feeling and attachment to her children. What she deems "appropriate" is highly contingent on her African-American context, as both she and Baby Suggs have had to resolutely distance themselves emotionally from their children due to the atrocious nature of slavery. As the years pass after Beloved's murder, Sethe retreats emotionally from her children in order to avoid suffering through that kind of experience again. Sethe seems rather aloof toward

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[29] IBID, 176.
[30] IBID, 203.
[31] IBID, 200.

Denver, and the reader is not made aware of any open grief for her two sons, Howard and Burglar, when they run away from home as soon as they are old enough. Instead, Sethe responds as if she saw it coming for years. Sethe understands that her love is so 'thick' that it scares the primary recipients of this love—her children.

After Beloved's murder, when Sethe's maternal love manifests into a perilous and unexpected act, she does something that no other mother in the community would dream of doing. She is made to be a criminal; and her 'motherlove' as means for murder posits a powerful moral question that the reader grapples with throughout the novel. However the reader decides to value Sethe, the reader cannot deny that the love Sethe has for her children creates extraordinary circumstances. Even privileged white mothers, who could afford the luxury of raising their children from start to finish, did not love as 'thick' as Sethe. Thus, the intensity of her love defies not only the dominant culture, but it stands out in her own culture as well, which again supports the unique quality of Sethe's maternal love.

Sethe's self-declaration pushes her into attitudes and behaviors that significantly rupture her controlled life. It is as if she remembers the way in which she can love uninhibitedly as a mother, even after all these years of trying to placate it. With Sethe's full recognition of Beloved, and her homoerotic language that follows, Morrison creates an indistinguishable fusion between self and other for all three women. The three voices join together and comprise the notable "You are mine" passage. With the growing together of each woman's voice in this passage, the power hierarchy among them temporarily dissipates.

Although the "She is mine" passage incites a sense of beauty and boundless love between mother and daughter, the resplendent parts of their dynamic quickly become destructive. By section three Beloved possesses an enormous power over Sethe, and her parasitic tendencies are in full force. Sethe retreats into the most desolate parts of herself; she stops going to work and spends her days in the confines of both her home and Beloved's selfish demands.

> A complaint from Beloved, an apology from Sethe. A reduction of pleasure as some special effort the older woman made. Wasn't it too cold to stay outside? Beloved gave a look and said, so what? Was it past bedtime, the light no good for sewing? Beloved didn't move; said, 'Do it,' and Sethe complied. She took the best of everything—first… Sethe pleaded for forgiveness, counting, listing again and again her

reasons: that Beloved was more important, meant more to her than her own life [but]…Beloved denied it.[32]

Sethe's reception of Beloved's homoerotic vibrations in section two have waned in their sexual content and converted into unquestioning devotion.  In section three it becomes understandable that the homoeroticism acts as a means for Beloved to take total advantage of her mother, and Sethe willingly complies in order to quell her endless guilt.  It is even possible that Beloved's homoeroticism in section one is purely a pre-meditated seduction of Sethe so she could successfully dominate her as she does in section three.  And yet, to superimpose a teleological structure onto their homoerotic relationship is too simplistic because it neglects the complexity of the character's behavior.  By section three Beloved and Sethe doggedly worsen their symbiotic relationship of excessive emotional baggage. Beloved seems to have the upper hand, but Denver notices that "Even when Beloved was quiet, dreamy, minding her own business, Sethe got her going again…it was as though Sethe didn't really want forgiveness given; she wanted it refused. And Beloved helped her out."[33] Beloved is not simply a perpetrator any more than Sethe is simply a victim.  The way that the two women just sit inside the house all day, investing in nothing besides keeping each other stuck there, makes it seem unlikely that this is all apart of a meticulous diabolical plan from Beloved.

It is possible to tease out a pattern that expresses the homoeroticism throughout the novel as a source for larger pursuits.  However, the power of their mother-daughter love and homoerotic tendency is not merely a façade.  It is evident that during the course of their relationship, they are commanded to dramatic levels of interaction and relation by way of an inexplicable compulsion.  It is in their attempt to wield control over this compulsion that backfires and damages them both.

**Conclusion**

Examining the homoeroticism between Sethe and Beloved is a rather small investigation compared to the larger themes and commentaries that Morrison creates with her novel.  For instance, the mother-daughter bond alone in *Beloved* acts as a place of validity and importance for an entire ethnic group. "Morrison recalls a common theme among black writers: the invisibility of black people in 'official histories'—there is no memorial, no place, nothing that summons the

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[32] IBID, 241-242
[33] IBID, 252.

presences and absences of slaves. In *Beloved* Morrison chooses the black mother-infant daughter as a metaphorical 'no-place,' 'nothing' in which to conjure up their presences."[34] This paper does not discuss Sethe and Beloved in these epic proportions. Indeed, it was trouble enough to find discussions on the topic of homoeroticism out of the countless articles that address Sethe and Beloved's relationship. However, this consistent yet somewhat marginal theme in the novel is interrelated to pertinent and exciting 20th century philosophy, literary theory, and cultural studies. At the same time, this controversial topic of mother-daughter homoeroticism is ensconced in a text classified as slave literature. The beauty and power of Morrison's writing opens up and rethinks slave narratives while simultaneously maintaining their historical relevance by writing them long after slavery's official end.

## Acknowledgements

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# Controversial Classrooms:
## How Student Protests and Resistance Changed the Course of Apartheid

Shantel Martinez

## Abstract

*My McNair research focuses on primary and secondary students' activism and resistance to the Bantu Education Act in South Africa from 1953 to 1978. This research is significant because the majority of previous scholarship focuses on the voices and acts of university students instead of younger children. Yet, one of the most influential protests against apartheid was the 1976 Soweto Uprising that consisted mainly of primary and secondary students. By concentrating on younger students, I illuminated the political and social factors that inspired students to resist apartheid. With this new historical examination, I exposed the mindset of non-white[1] children living in South Africa during this time--how did they feel about the changes in their education and what steps would they take to defend the right to learn.*

*Why wait to make a difference when you can act now?*

## Introduction

With the election of the Nationalist Party in 1948, the theory of separateness—known as Apartheid—secured itself in culture, government, and society of South Africa. In 1953, Parliament passed the Bantu Education Act that cemented separate education and schools for separate races. This Act unfairly taxed indigenous Africans, lowered education standards, required English or Afrikaans as a language medium, and depleted already tense resources. Its main purpose was to create an uneducated and unskilled labor force through the schools of non-Whites.

However, students would not let their education change so easily. Protests quickly erupted and challenged government policies. While university students have been pegged as the most verbal against these laws, children actually played the most important role with visual resistance. They were the first to protest against the Act and were the

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[1] The reason why I say "non-white" is because I am not sure whether I will focus just on Native African students or all communities of color (Native African, Coloured, and Indian). Depending on the course of the research, I will tailor it present the most information on question.

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impetus for the most famous protest—the Soweto Uprising of 1976. Yet, their stories have remained silent through history.

**Historical Context**

Before the landing of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, indigenous South African education revolved around the maintenance of tribal culture and community. Customs, stories, and values were passed "informally by parents and elder in society, and formally through initiation rites or apprenticeship to craftsman." [2] Many academics and historians agree that prior to Western contact, "African customary education was a true education. Its aim was to conserve the cultural heritage of the family clan."[3] Children were taught about their social roles and expectations through interaction with community and family leaders. There were no formal classrooms, only open spaces where children were learned how to better serve the community. This type of education remained the same until the formational of missionary schools in the eighteenth century.

When the Dutch came, indigenous South African education was basically left intact. However what did drastically change was the establishment of formal schools in South Africa. These schools were not formed to teach Dutch children as one would expect; rather, they were created to preserve racial dominance over the slave populations that were brought over to support the new colony. During the beginning of colonization, slave children were "taught the Dutch language, rudiments of the Christian religion, and were encouraged to be diligent, with rewards of brandy and tobacco."[4] Thus, instead of maintaining cultural norms as compared to the indigenous populations, historical Coloured education was formed on the basis to be "pliant servants for their new masters."[5] Furthermore, these slave populations later became known as the "Coloured" racial group during the reign of Apartheid.

Needless to say, both types of education changed in the eighteenth century with the arrival of English missionaries. The curriculum and intent of these schools focused on civilizing and

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[2] Simphiwe A. Hlatshwayo, *Education and Independence: Education in South Africa, 1658-1989*. ( Wesport: Greenwood Press, 2000) 28

[3] B.E. Cashe, *Growing up in East Africa*.( London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 29

[4] F. Troup, *Forbidden Pastured: Education Under Apartheid*. (London International Defense and Aid Fund, 1976) 8

[5] Ibid.

"spreading the gospel"[1] to the non-white populations. Interestingly, both Coloured and Black South Africans attended these schools together—which was a first in South African history. But more importantly, missionary schools provided a quality of instruction that rivaled most European institutions of the time.[2] This fact bothered many Afrikaners, especially poor laborers, who were competing for the same jobs as the missionary students. As a result, the South African government passed a number of laws that first separated Coloured students from Black students (1908)[3] and prescribed certain privileges to the Coloured community to ensure racial division between the two populations.[4] In addition, other laws were enacted to maintain white racial superiority in the job market to ease Afrikaner frustrations. Although these laws were being passed as legislation, missionary schools still instructed students to the disappointment of Afrikaner and English communities.

This all changed with the infamous election of 1948 and the initiation of the Nationalist Party. It was this year that the policy of Apartheid (Separateness) was finalized into government and society. Education quickly became a topic of discussion under the new government. As a response to the economic boom brought on by industrialization in South Africa, the state formalized the Eiselen Commission to investigate the nature of schools—both public and private—in the country.[5] In 1953, the Commission turned in its findings and recommendations, which included a division of schools based on racial population to maintain white superiority. Thus, the Bantu Education Act, Act. No 47 of 1953[6] was enacted into state law. It was decided that:

> "The South African education system is divided into four component systems: one for each of the Whites, the Bantu, the Coloureds and the Indians….The reason for this division is the existence of the four separate population groups, each possessing its own culture to which organized education must

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[1] Hlatswayo, 29

[2] Hlatswayo, 30

[3] Hlatswayo,  35

[4] Ibid.

[5] Mokubung Nkomo, *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa*.( Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Pres, 1990) 55

[6] R. M. Ruperti, *Organogram of the South and South West African Education System.* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1973) 21

be adapted in accordance with the cultural principles of differentiation."[7]

In addition to separating schools based on race, the Act also diverted funding and taxation directly to the racial community that served the school, increased class sizes, lowered instruction quality, forced the learning of Afrikaans or English, and set up students for limited social mobility. The Act was amended twice to include the Coloureds Education Act, Act No 47 of 1963[8] and the Indians Education Act, Act No 61 of 1965.[9]

With the passing of the Bantu Education Act, a new era of political activism began. At first a continuation of non-violent and "working within the system" attempts were tried, but by the end of the 1960's it was clear that a new rhetoric and style was desperately required if change was going to happen.

**Initial Resistance Movements**

From its inauguration, The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was met with hostility from the bulk of non-white communities—especially those labeled as 'Bantu'. The majority of people against the Act were parents and teachers, not students as to be expected. It was agreed by teachers, parents, the ANC, and other political organizations that "…the state imposed an oppressive education system without consultation of the parents, the teachers nor the students."[10] In addition to the oppressive nature of the Act, teachers felt even more betrayed by the restrictive curriculum, depletion of educational resources, decrease of quality education, and other issues surrounding their employment.[11] As a result, teachers formed three major organizations that focused on resistance: Cape African Teachers Association (CATA), the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), and the Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA). The African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC) both supported teachers and their desires to resist the implementation of the Bantu Education Act.

Other community members, especially parents fought against the Act because it restrained social mobility for their children and reverted

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[7] Ruperti, 1

[8] Ruperti, 29

[9] Ruperti, 34

[10] M.W. Njobe, *Education for Liberation*. (Cape Town: Skotaville Publishers, 1990) 22

[11] Hlatswayo, 65

equality progress. People held the belief that education is a form of social currency.[12] By limiting access to this currency, people cannot barter for the same goods—most importantly for jobs and social mobility. With the new developments under Bantu Education, the schools sets up for black South Africans were created to maintain a cultural and racial division of labor and social privileges.[13]

> Bantu Education content attempts, with blatant overtness, to colonise the minds of black learners. Its curriculum programmes deliberately include content intended to brainwash the learners minds into an acceptance of colonization presented to them in the cloak of Apartheid.[14]

With the support of the ANC and PAC, teachers and parents successfully put together boycotts that encouraged students to stay home and not enroll in schools. The intent and hope was that the government would be forced to close down schools or change the education system to its prior setting. The boycotts began on April 12, 1955 and occurred in the Eastern Cape and the Eastern Rand. It is estimated that about 10,000 students participated.[15] However, the government quickly turned over their victory. Parliament issued a decree saying that any child not enrolled in schools by April 25th, 1955 would no longer be accepted into any school in South Africa and any teacher or administrator found guilty of resistance would be fired and imprisoned.

As a response to the government and their rebuttal, townships started to create "cultural clubs" that presented students with an alternative to education. In these "clubs" students would learn math, geography, and other forms of general knowledge through the use of songs, dances, stories, and other cultural norms.[16] For over a year, these cubs were well attended, but because of "shortages of money, facilities, and teachers"[17] many of these clubs continued to exist in the late 1950's. Additionally, the clubs were frequently subject to police raids and

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[12] Njobe. 32

[13] Nkomo, 50

[14] Njobe, 46

[15] Pam Cristie, (Prepared for Sached). *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for*
*Education in South Africa.* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1986)228

[16] Cristie, 229.

[17] Ibid.

harassed by community members who supported the Act.[18] By 1960, most cultural clubs were closed down.

Other reasons for the failure of the initial resistance movements include political pressure on teachers from the government, the banning of the ANC and PAC, and ironically—the age of the students. Because this resistance movement circulated around primary school children, students played more of a secondary figure rather than a primary role. Additionally, since the children were so young, parents and teachers felt that it was unhealthy for the community to have young children running amok around the townships while their parents were at work. While these initial efforts may be seen as a failure, in reality they were very successful with educating people about the option of resistance. They informed different communities about ways in which they could grab the attention of the government.  Nevertheless, the harsh consequences that the state imposed left a lasting impression on the townships. Because of this, it wouldn't be until the late 1960's that another collective movement would take place.

**An Era of Silence: Post 1955 to 1968**

During the sixties and seventies, teachers and parents limited their political activities to almost nonexistent. Although there were people who remained politically and socially active, most, especially teachers, remained quite conservative in their daily routine. As Nkomo states, "With the crushing of radical opposition [of the 1950's], teachers were not openly political."[19] Consequently, conditions in schools grew increasingly worse.

Because of the imprisonment of so many teachers in the early fifties, there was a desperate need for people to replace them. As a result, the state hired many under qualified "teachers" to fulfill the role.[20] This only made things worse. Students were now learning water-down subjects by instructors who could barely teach them. Mix this with increasing class sizes and eradicated school resources and it was a disaster waiting to happen.

Nonetheless, the South African government prided itself with all the amazing "accomplishments" that the Bantu Education Act was affording society. One of their biggest claims was that more than ever

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Nkomo, 107

[20] Robin Cohen, Yvonne Muthien, Abebe Zegeye,eds., *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts pf Apartheid.*(London: Hans Zell Pubishers, 1990) 123

students were enrolled into formal schools.[21] While this is true, the problems associated with instruction and curriculum triumphed any celebration. In actuality, graduations rates were at all time lows.[22] Students wondered what the point of the point of continuing if they could not relate the curriculum to their daily lives. Additionally, schools were not free--school supplies, uniforms, and fees were very expensive. Since the community was already being taxed to the fullest, many families could only afford to send their children to school for a couple of years.[23] Hence, when students have to pay for an education that only limits their social agency, frustrations quickly develops. Schools were no longer a place for social mobility, but instead had gone back to the colonial schools which the Dutch created for "amiable slaves." This time, instead of being slaves to a colonial power, they were slaves to the system.

Thus, changing the curriculum and purpose of schools has more ramifications than just affecting the economy. Schools are the social institutions that teach students their roles as citizens as well as cultural norms.[24] Since the curriculum had little relevance to daily lives and the knowledge they needed for social mobility, students felt they were in a crossroads with their education. Some students ended up dropping out and working at a young age—exactly what the state had hoped.[25] Others felt that getting an education was better than no education at all and remained in the schools. Lastly, students attended these schools as what they saw as a form of resistance to the hopes of the government—dropping out.[26]

However, what interesting during this time period is the rise of international criticism to Apartheid and Bantu Education Act. In the sixties, international disagreement to Apartheid began to be heavily publicized. Opposition from Western states took many forms—published articles, negotiations, and protests from other students around the world.[27] But, on the government level the rhetoric used for dismantling Apartheid was not based on racial injustice but due to future economic stability. By limiting the access to quality education, the economy is based on a select few. Thus, it was believed that South Africa needed to

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[21] Nathan Hurwitz, *The Economics of Bantu Education in South Africa.* (Johanesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964) 29

[22] Ibid.

[23] Cohen, 136

[24] Nkomo, 19

[25] Njobe, 36

[26] Cohen, 136

[27] Nkomo, 57

revoke the Act so that it could expand its suitable workforce to continue its strong economy.[28]

**The Rise of Black Consciousness Movement and Soweto**

By the end of the 1960's, it was time for a change. Students' disgruntled feelings were at an all time high. Not only were 'Bantu' children thinking of ways of resistance, but also the Coloured and Indians communities. Something needed to desperately change. In addition to the poor education system, children living in the townships now found themselves in a recession. The economic boom that was experience in the early twentieth century had now passed and left the country with a high unemployment rate. For the students who previously dropped out of schools for jobs, this was no longer a choice. All of these conditions—high poverty and unemployment, dilapidated school systems, and a universal cry for change, were the conditions of a perfect storm of resistance.[29] This is what motivated the creation of the Black Consciousness Movement. At the time no other political party was operating legally. Both the ANC and Pac were banned in the 1950's, thus leaving a void for collective resistance and political voice against the government.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was created by students at the university level. It was spawned by a group called the South African Student Association (SASO).[30] Its members had been fighting to educational equality since 1967.[31] Their number one priority was to end educational and racial justice by unifying all non-white communities under a single banner of oppression.[32] They stated that all non-white populations that experienced racism, injustice, and oppression from the South African state were all "Black". This had nothing to do with black skin color and many people would assume, but rather a mentality. They stated that Black was defined as:

> … [all those who are] by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Frankel, Philip, Noam Pines, Mark Swirling, eds., *State Resistance and Change in South Africa.* (New York: Croom Helm Publishing, 1988) 4

[30] Cristie, 234

[31] Hlatswayo, 80

[32] Ibid.

South African society and [who identify] themselves as a unit
in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.[33]

It is very important to observe the political nature of this
description rather than its basis on skin color which divided the country
for years.[34] By arguing that black was a *condition* not a physical trait, its
message was easier to accept than previous attempts. "Stimulated by the
psycho-iconoclastic discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement…
many elected to oppose their condition of oppression."[35]

But the movement had many enemies. Not only did the South
African government oppose the movement, but as well as many white
academics and political activist. They argued that the movement operated
on "reverse racism", and that it underestimated "the salience of ethnic
stratification and class division among blacks."[36] While there were these
critiques of the BCM, no one can argue the fact that it provided the
rhetoric that was needed to fight the Acts and collectively gain support
through the different communities. However, as the discussion continued
about the legitimacy of the movement, another major change in South
African history was about to occur.

The early 1970's was a difficult time period for South Africa.
There were continued societal forces that encouraged civil
disobedience—schooling crisis (shortage of classrooms and teachers,
overcrowding, poor instruction quality), economic recession (lack of
jobs, high unemployment rate even for educated blacks, increased
poverty), and in general Apartheid.[37] In 1975, things took a turn for the
worst. M.C. Botha, the minister of Bantu Education, "imposed the
compulsory use of Afrikaans on a half-and-half basis as the medium of
instruction."[38] This policy was overwhelming opposed by students for
the reasons that there were not enough qualified teachers, let alone
qualified teachers that could teach in Afrikaans. Therefore, it was argued
that the system was designed for them to automatically fail in school.

On June 13th, 1976, one of the student groups under SASO, the
South African Student Movement (SASM), held a meeting to discuss a

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[33] Reddy, 213

[34] Ibid.

[35] Frankel,  4

[36] Thiven Reddy,  *Hegemony and Resistance: Contesting Identities in
South Africa.* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing,, 2000) 204

[37] Cristie, 241

[38] Hlatswayo, 83

"mass demonstration" against the new legislation.[39] It was decided that on June 16th, three days later, that students would march in the streets in support against instruction in Afrikaans. June 16th, 1976: Soweto Uprising. Thousands (3,000 to 10,000) of students were involved and over two hundred people were killed. Originally students were trying to engage a peaceful rally, but it quickly turned violent after South African Security Forces began to provoke the students. The police used "dogs, guns, teargas, armoured cars (hippos) and helicopters…They detained without trial. And they shot."[40] Students on the other hand, burned liquor stores, post offices, beer halls, buses, taxis, a bank and a hotel.[41] Within days after Soweto, townships across South Africa were on fire—both physically and cognitively.

This moment is seen as a major turning point against the regime of Apartheid

**The Aftermath of Soweto**

After the marches of Soweto, a new era of student resistance and community activism emerged. The rise of mass participation from all oppressed populations seemed to come together under the banner of resistance. Soweto also created a new kind of threat to Apartheid—inner institutional activism. What marked Soweto different from the previous resistance movements were the students involved rather than parents, teachers, and political organizations.[42] Although the BCM helped guide students, it was its rhetoric that empowered mass participation not actual people.

Furthermore, the events of Soweto had a profound effect on community mobilization. "Students literally controlled the townships."[43] As a result, the desires and wants of the students deeply influenced the direction of the resistance movement and community. "When Bantu Education was perceived to be *fait accompli*, students galvanized the whole community because they felt that focusing on education was not really the answer; the answer was to be found in the total dismantling of the Apartheid system."[44] By taking control of education, students believed they could liberate their minds from the oppressive South African state.

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[39] Crisite, 238

[40] Cristie, 239

[41] Cristie, 238

[42] Hlatshwayo, 84

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

Student resistance movement continued throughout the 1970's and 1980's. By the beginning of the 1990's, student movements had achieved enormous feats. In regards to Soweto, the Afrikaner language was withdrawn from schools and the "Department of Bantu Education was renamed the Department of Education and Training."[45] The state put more money into schooling and made major improvements to school conditions.[46] Nevertheless, the costs for these changes rank high. Thousands of students, parents, teachers, and other political leaders sacrificed their lives and futures for the improvement of non-white peoples in South Africa. But without their sacrifices, revolution would not have happened.

**Conclusion**

Education is a right not a liberty. This is exactly what students argued and fought for during the reign of Apartheid. While the initial resistance movements centered on parents and teachers, children also played political roles as being the primary targets of the Bantu Education. As time progressed, students replaced parents and teachers as the main agitators against the ACT. During this time, many student activists were labeled as delinquents and their activities were not published in newspaper for fear of provoking others. But the youth were very much aware of injustices occurring on a daily basis and continued their fight in the dreariest of circumstances. With the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement, students expanded their efforts and challenged previous condemnations by utilizing the BCM's language and practices. Their actions, passions, and critiques challenged the state in ways that previously were not thought as effective. Needless to say, students' quickly caught the attention of their peers, government, and the international community on June 16th, 1976, when the system crashed down.

Since that moment, the views of student movements have held a different place in history. No longer are they quickly dismissed or received as unimportant. Rather, society tends to watch over them very carefully so that widespread pandemonium does not occur like in South Africa. This is what the students of Soweto afforded us—the power to be heard and remembered.

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[45] Christie, 343

[46] Ibid.

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# Parameter Sensitivity Investigation of a Mathematical Model of Glioma Tumorigenesis Mediated by Platelet-derived Growth Factor

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## Abstract

*Gliomas are the most prevalent form of primary brain tumor in adults. Despite all possible treatment attempts, including aggressive surgical resection, these tumors are uniformly fatal. Dr. Peter Canoll at Columbia University has demonstrated that rats develop brain tumors closely resembling human gliomas when their glial progenitor cells are injected with a retrovirus expressing platelet-derived growth factor (PDGF). Most notably, at 17 days post infection only 30% of the tumor cells are infected progenitor cells—the other 70% are malignant uninfected progenitor cells, presumably recruited to the tumor by interactions with PDGF. Using the empirical data collected by his lab, we have developed a mathematical model to describe the observed tumor growth in this rat experiment. We used a sensitivity analysis technique incorporating latin hypercube sampling (LHS) and partial rank correlation coefficients (PRCC) to vary parameters against each other and determine which parameters in the model are most influential upon the ratio of uninfected progenitor cells to total (infected and uninfected progenitors) in the tumor at day 17. Our investigation revealed that the two most influential parameters affecting the observed tumor growth pattern are the max proliferation rate of infected progenitors (and thus the amount of extra cellular PDGF available) and the max rate of consumption of PDGF by nearby uninfected progenitors. Specifically, even when controlling for variability in the other unknown model parameters, an increase in the max proliferation rate of the infected cell population results in an increase in the percentage of the cells at the core of the tumor that are recruited (rather than infected). This may suggest that more aggressive (highly proliferative) gliomas would have the most recruited cells within the tumor and may benefit most from PDGF targeted therapies (e.g., Gleevec). This is a novel insight that may help in patient selection for such targeted therapies. We are exploring the potential impact of PDGF targeted therapies on tumors with differing affinities for PDGF within the context of the current model and parallel experimentation. Our initial results suggest that this model may lead to a better understanding of what drugs may help glioma patients, by quantifying the relative importance of PDGF. Future work will also focus more on analyzing the model to look for PDGF influenced spatial migration patterns of the respective cells in the growing tumor to*

*compare with observational studies tracking the migration of individual cells over several hours.*

**Introduction**

      Very little is known about the early development of gliomas in humans *in vivo*, due to the diffuseness of gliomas and other impediments to early diagnosis and imaging, which have inhibited study. However, previous studies have indicated that platelet-derived growth factor (PDGF) plays a role in the proliferation of glial progenitors (Pringle 1989, van Heyningen 2001). This prompted Professor Peter Canoll at Columbia University to test the effects of PDGF in animals to see whether it would stimulate a similar increase in glial progenitor proliferation, and observe whether these cells could be tumor cells. In so doing, he successfully created an animal model of glioma using PDGF. For this model, Canoll created retroviruses that express PDGF and express a fluorescent marker. This retrovirus was then injected into the forceps minor of the corpus callosa of adult rats.  Control rats which were injected with a retrovirus that did *not* contain a genetic sequence for PDGF only showed a little gliosis around the injection site, but the experimental rats developed glioma-like masses which grew very quickly. By approximately 17 days post infection, the tumors were so large that the rats showed signs of morbidity and had to be sacrificed in accordance with Columbia University's Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee guidelines. Tissue samples from these tumors revealed that all of the tumor cells were glial progenitors. Furthermore, only 30% of the cells gave off the fluorescent marker indicating presence of the retrovirus within the cell – the other 70% were uninfected with the virus. It is hypothesized that these uninfected glial progenitors respond to the PDGF secreted by the infected progenitors, and are thus "recruited" to the tumor. (Assanah 2006)

      Since this hypothesis seems reasonable, we wanted to investigate the conditions in the model that result in these observed results. To do this, we have developed a model describing this mechanism of tumor growth and conducted sensitivity analysis to better characterize the model and develop an understanding of how different parameters (conditions in the animal) affect the overall outcome.

**The Model**

      In developing our model, we took a reaction-diffusion model approach for the equations that model cell populations. A reaction-diffusion model describes the amount of something in a certain volume which changes both by reactions, which produce more material inside the

volume, and by diffusion of more material into or out of the volume across its surface. Thus, these equations have been used to model chemical reactions as well as various populations in a volume (or an area in the case of land animals) with well defined boundaries.

The equation that models PDGF level describes the enzyme kinetics, following the Michaelis-Menten single-substrate reaction model. In particular, we have used the Michaelis-Menten constant $k_m$, which is defined by the individual rate constants between the steps of enzyme and substrate binding (to form a complex) and the dissociation of the enzyme and the new product, where the product cannot revert back to its previous state as the substrate. Moreover, in applying the $k_m$, we used the equation $v = \dfrac{V_{max}[S]}{k_m + [S]}$, where our $V_{max}$ corresponds to the max rates of consumption and production, as well as max proliferation rate, and $[S]$ = PDGF, and the resulting $v$ is the actual rate. As the PDGF receptors become saturated, the process of taking up PDGF slows down, and by using the Michaelis-Menten equation, this actual pattern in the organism is reflected in our model (for further discussion on Michaelis-Menten enzyme kinetics, see Keener and Sneyd 1998).

Thus, our model describes the number of cells present in a volume of brain tissue, and how that number changes as different cells proliferate, die, and move (via Brownian motion) in the given volume of tissue, as well as how the levels of PDGF change over time as the growth factor is produced and reacts with cell surface receptors and is used up or decays, as well as diffuses through the tissue.

Our model shows us how the cell composition in the area around the injection site changes over time and radial distance from the site, thus revealing how the tumor develops and changes. We have the following equations, where each term is given with a description of its relation to the tumor growth process (parameters are defined below):

$$\underbrace{\frac{\partial c}{\partial t}}_{\substack{\text{rate of change of}\\\text{infected cell density}}} = \underbrace{\nabla(D_c \nabla c)}_{\substack{\text{dispersal of}\\\text{infected cells}}} + \underbrace{\underbrace{\rho_c c}_{\substack{\text{exponential}\\\text{net proliferation}\\\text{when at low}\\\text{cell density}}} \underbrace{\left(1 - \frac{c+r+n}{k}\right)}_{\substack{\text{limit net proliferation}\\\text{when space is limited}}}}_{\text{net proliferation of infected cells}}$$

$$\underbrace{\frac{\partial p}{\partial t}}_{\substack{\text{rate of change of}\\\text{PDGF concentration}}} = \underbrace{\nabla(D_p \nabla p)}_{\substack{\text{disperal of PDGF}}} + \underbrace{\underbrace{\eta_c c}_{\substack{\text{net production}\\\text{of PDGF by}\\\text{infected cells}}} - \underbrace{\frac{\zeta_r r p}{k_m + p}}_{\substack{\text{net consumption}\\\text{of PDGF by}\\\text{uninfected glial}\\\text{progenitors}}} - \underbrace{\varepsilon_p p}_{\substack{\text{loss of PDGF}\\\text{due to decay}}}}_{\text{net PDGF}}$$

$$\underbrace{\frac{\partial r}{\partial t}}_{\substack{\text{rate of change of}\\\text{recruited cell density}}} = \underbrace{\nabla(D_r(p)\nabla r)}_{\substack{\text{dispersal of the "recruited"}\\\text{glial stem cells driven by local}\\\text{PDGF concentration}}} + \underbrace{\underbrace{\rho_r(p)r}_{\substack{\text{proliferation of}\\\text{uninfected progenitors}\\\text{driven by local PDGF}}} \underbrace{\left(1 - \frac{c+r+n}{k}\right)}_{\substack{\text{limit net proliferation}\\\text{when space is limited}}}}_{\text{net proliferation of unifected glial progenitors}}$$

$$\underbrace{\frac{\partial n}{\partial t}}_{\substack{\text{rate of change of}\\\text{normal cell density}}} = \underbrace{-\lambda(c+r)n}_{\substack{\text{replacement of}\\\text{normal glia with infected}\\\text{or "recruited" stem cells}}}$$

$$\underbrace{\rho_r(p)}_{\substack{\text{rate of proliferation of}\\\text{uninfected progenitors}\\\text{influenced by PDGF}}} = \frac{\rho_c r p}{k_m + p} \,, \qquad \underbrace{D_r(p)}_{\substack{\text{rate of diffusion of}\\\text{unifected progenitors}\\\text{influenced by PDGF}}} = \frac{D_c r p}{k_m + p}$$

# Parameter Sensitivity Investigation of a Mathematical Model of Glioma Tumorigenesis

## Parameter Definitions

$D_c$ = max rate of diffusion of infected cells (cm$^2$/day)

$D_r$ = max rate of diffusion of recruited cells (cm$^2$/day)

$D_p$ = max rate of diffusion of PDGF molecules (cm$^2$/day)

$\rho_c$ = max proliferation rate of infected cells (days$^{-1}$)

$\rho_r$ = max proliferation rate of infected cells (days$^{-1}$)

$k$ = carrying capacity (cells/cm$^3$)

$\lambda$ = inverse of the carrying capacity (cm$^3$/cell)

$\eta_c$ = max production rate of PDGF by infected cells (ng/cell/day)

$\zeta_r$ = max consumption rate of PDGF by recruited cells (ng/cell/day)

$\varepsilon_p$ = half life of PDGF (days)

$k_m = IC_{50}$ = Michaelis-Menten term (ng/mL) - amount of PDGF to get half maximal effect


initial conditions:

$c_0$ = initial number of infected progenitor cells (cells/cm$^3$)

$p_0$ = initial amount of PDGF (ng/mL)

$r_0$ = initial number of "recruited" (ie, uninfected) progenitor cells (cells/cm$^3$)

$n_0$ = initial number of other cells present (cells/cm$^3$)


## Parameter Values

All of the parameters, except $\rho_c$, $\rho_r$, $D_c$, $D_r$, $D_p$, $\zeta_r$, and $c_0$, have experimentally verified values, which we used in our model:

K: 100,000,000 cells per cm$^3$ assuming a 10 micron cell radius (computed)

$\lambda$: defined to be 1/ carrying capacity =1/K

$\eta_c$: 29.2 +/- 7.4 ng/mL / 24 hours = 3e5 ng/infected cell/day (Assanah 2006)

$\varepsilon_p$: < 2 minutes (Bowen-Pope, et al. 1984)

$k_m$: 10 ng/mL (for PDGF-BB homodimer, Pringle 1989)

$r_0$: 2% of normal cell density = 0.02*K (Assanah 2006)

$n_0$ = K − $r_0$.

$p_0$ = 0.[1]

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[1] In reality, this is likely not zero, but a very small positive value which has not been measured in rats; thus we will likely look at this more closely in our next series of investigations with an even more refined model.

$D_p$ was assumed to be very small for this stage of our model, based upon what we know about Brownian motion, but we did not actually try to calculate it or determine a literature value at this stage. This left the remaining parameters to be tested for sensitivity. Because parameters $\rho_r$ and $D_r$ depend on $\rho_c$ and $D_c$, respectively (as well as other parameters with verified values), we did not need to investigate them independently, but chose to focus our investigation on $\rho_c$, $D_c$, $\zeta_r$, and $c_0$. Even though we did not directly investigate $\rho_r$ and $D_r$, our results do take into account the changes in $\rho_r$ and $D_r$ due to their direct dependence on $\rho_c$ and $D_c$ in this model. To begin, we needed to understand what range the values of the unknown parameters could realistically lie in. Thus, we began with the following estimates:

$D_c$ and $D_r$ values were estimated from tracking cell movements in studies at Columbia and analyzing that data by translating the movements to a graph in matlab.

$\rho_c$ and $\rho_r$ values (assuming minimal apoptosis) were estimated from data given inWolswijk 2004

$c_0$ – counted after injection (personal communication with professor Peter Canoll)

$\zeta_r$ – by looking at what would have to work

**Method: LHS and PRCC**

We conducted our sensitivity analysis using Latin hypercube sampling (LHS) and partial rank correlation coefficients (PRCC). This method provided a means to simulate the outcome we would see if we could actually vary all the parameters' possible values against each other and look for trends. The resulting plot allows us to observe which parameter is most sensitive in the model. Each of these steps, including generating the plots, was done via code I wrote in MATLAB.

The procedures of Figure 1.1-6 are detailed in the Methods section. Note that the plot between steps 3 and 4 is just an illustration of the various outcome ratios – these are from variation in one parameter at a single time point and is not representative of all the ratios that were calculated.

First, we decided that the triangular probability distribution was most appropriate for describing our parameters' range of possible values. From this, following LHS methodology, I divided each distribution into 1000 intervals of equal area (figure 1.1).

# Parameter Sensitivity Investigation of a Mathematical Model of Glioma Tumorigenesis
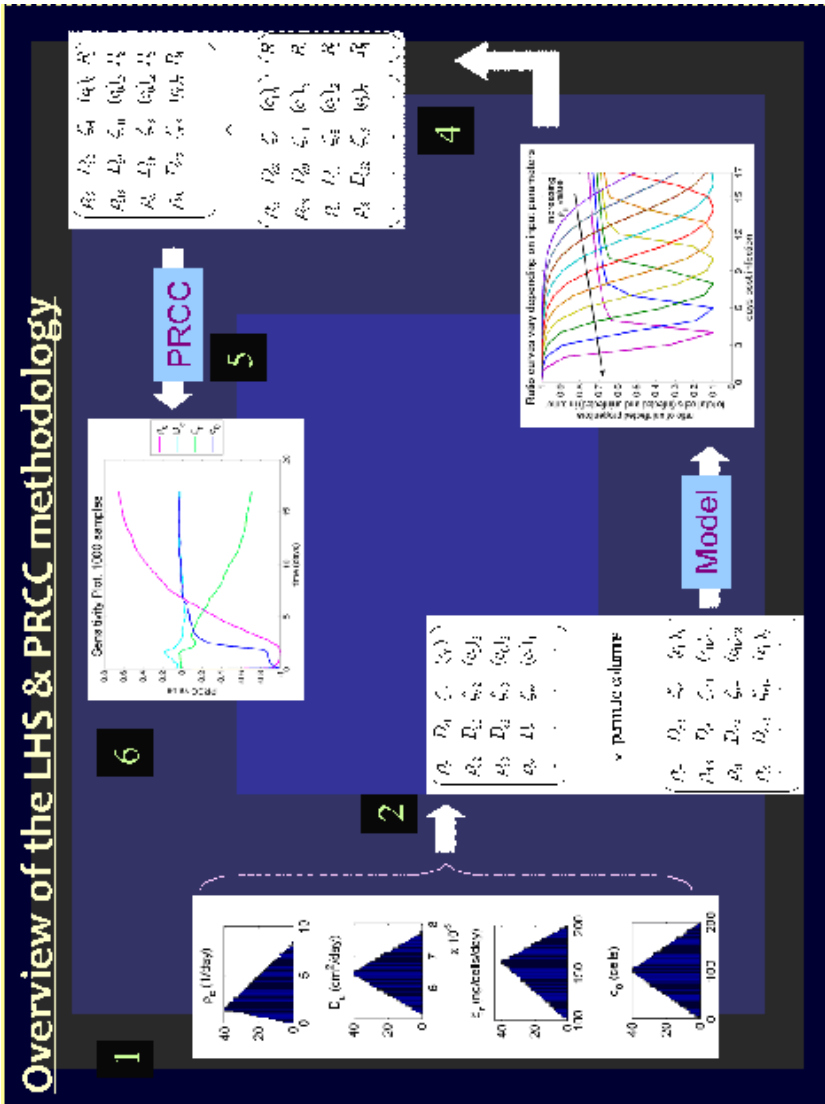


*Figure 1.1-6. Overview of the LHS & PRCC Methodology.*

Next, within each of the intervals, I took a uniform random sample and stored the sample value in a matrix, until 1000 samples of a given parameter filled a column of the matrix (figure 1.2). After this was completed for each parameter, I permuted the values in each column of the 4x1000 matrix of stored parameter values so that, as the matrix is read across the row, the pairing of the parameter values is random.

After permuting the columns, each row was then 'fed,' one at a time, into the set of partial differential equations and solved numerically over 171 time steps from 0 to 17 days and 200 spatial steps over a spherical radius of 1 cm (figure 1.3). Once the equations had been solved for each of the 1000 parameter sets, I calculated the ratio of uninfected progenitors to total progenitors at the center of the simulated tumor at each time step. Subsequently, looking at one time step at a time, these ratios for each parameter at the given time step were added to the matrix of parameter values as a 5th column for use in calculating the PRCCs (figure 1.4). For the given time step, the values in the matrix were sorted by rank and used to compute the PRCC matrix that corresponds to the time point. To find the PRCCs, we first computed the correlation coefficient matrix, C. Then we defined a matrix B where $B=[b_{ij}]=C^{-1}$. Each partial rank correlation coefficient that corresponds to the $i^{th}$ input

parameter and the $y^{th}$ outcome variable is $\gamma_{iy} = \dfrac{-b_{i,K+1}}{\sqrt{b_{ii}b_{K+1,K+1}}}$ , where K+1

denotes the added column of output added to our original matrix of permuted parameter values (not the number of cells in one mL of white matter plus one) and where we only had one outcome variable, the ratio of uninfected to total progenitors comprising the tumor (so y=1). This process of finding the correlation coefficient matrix and so forth to compute the PRCC, $\gamma_{iy}$, is conducted at each time point. This allows us to plot these values at each time point to reveal the curve of changes in PRCCs over time (figure 1.6).

**Results**
Our sensitivity analysis revealed that the parameters $\zeta_r$, the maximum rate of PDGF consumption by uninfected glial progenitors, and $\rho_c$, the maximum proliferation rate of infected glial progenitors, are most influential upon the ratio of uninfected glial progenitors to total cells (uninfected and infected) in the tumor center by about 8 days post infection (dpi), with $\zeta_r$ negatively and $\rho_c$ positively correlated with the ratio (figure 2). From the PRCC plot it seems that $\zeta_r$ affects the ratio a bit more than $\rho_c$ at the 17 dpi mark we are interested in (since it is the time at which we have empirical data for comparison). However, we created a similar plot of t-values vs. time using the formula
$t = PRCC * \sqrt{(N-2)/(1-PRCC)}$ , where N = number of samples = 1000),
which indicated the opposite to be true (figure 3). That is, in the t-value plot, $\rho_c$ appears to be substantially more influential than $\zeta_r$.

# Parameter Sensitivity Investigation of a Mathematical Model of Glioma Tumorigenesis



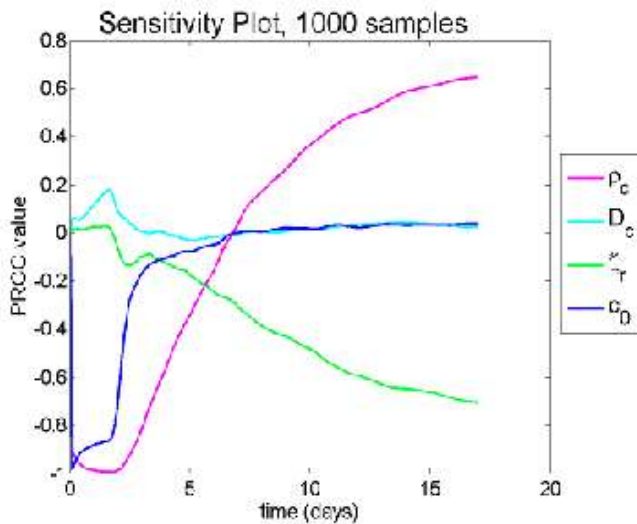**Figure 2.** *Plot of the calculated PRCC values over all the time points.*
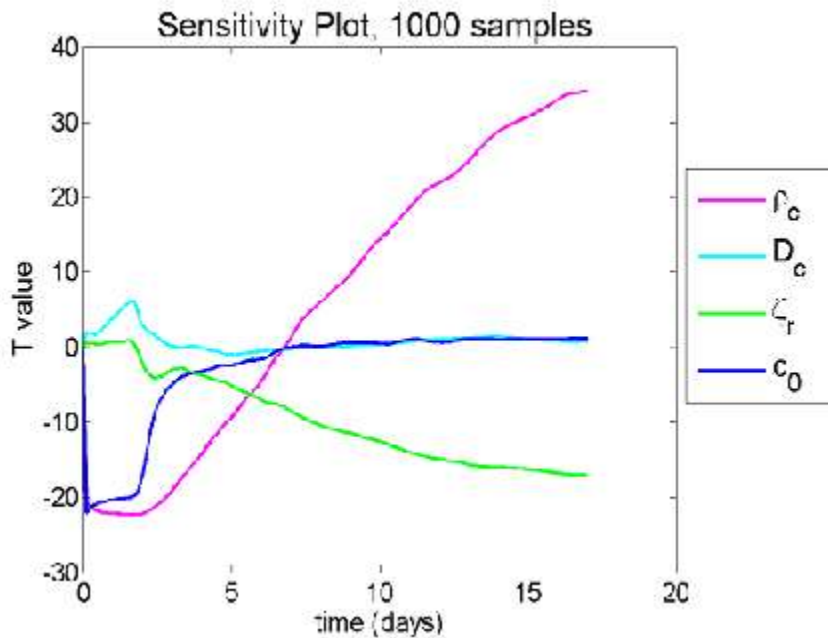


**Figure 3.** *–Plot of the T values calculated from the PRCC values, over all the time points.*

It is reasonable that these parameters would be more sensitive, given that the more infected cells there are, the more local PDGF for the uninfected progenitors to respond to. On the flip side, the greater the consumption rate of PDGF, the less PDGF there is available to stimulate proliferation of the uninfected progenitors.

It was not surprising that the initial number of infected cells was insignificant after the passage of sufficient time. However, we were surprised that the diffusion rate also displayed low influence upon the ratio of uninfected progenitors, however.

**Discussion**

We have developed a mathematical representation for the Canoll murine glioma model (our model results are given in figure 4). The parameter values chosen to create these simulations represent the average of what we think is happening in the rats of the experiment.

Sensitivity and uncertainty analysis has suggested that the percentage of cells within the tumor that are not "tumorigenic" (infected), but rather normal progenitors in the brain that are recruited by PDGF signaling, is most sensitive to change in the max net proliferation rate ($\rho_c$) and the PDGF consumption rate ($\zeta_r$). For a fixed PDGF production rate, the percentage of cells that are recruited (rather than infected) within the core of the tumor is most strongly dependent on both the max net proliferation rate, $\rho_c$, and the net PDGF consumption rate of the recruited cells, $\zeta_r$. Specifically, even when controlling for variability in the other unknown model parameters, an increase in $\rho_c$ results in an increase in the percentage of the cells at the core of the tumor that are recruited (rather than infected). This may suggest that more aggressive (highly proliferative) gliomas would have the most recruited cells within the tumor and may benefit most from PDGF targeted therapies (e.g., Gleevec). This is a novel insight that may help in patient selection for such targeted therapies.

This leads to a natural avenue of investigation, i.e., what is the impact of PDGF targeted therapies on tumors with differing affinities for PDGF? We are exploring these questions within the context of the current model and parallel experimentation. In summary, our initial results suggest that this model may lead to a better understanding of what drugs may help glioma patients, by quantifying the relative importance of PDGF.

# Parameter Sensitivity Investigation of a Mathematical Model of Glioma Tumorigenesis
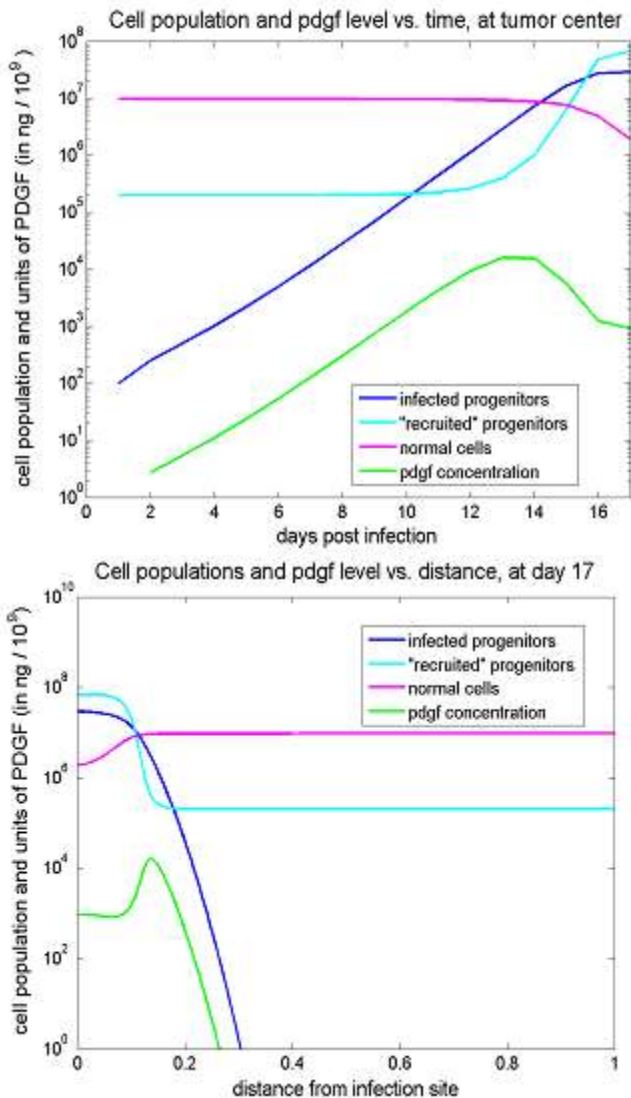


*Figure 4. Plots of cell population and PDGF levels over time both at the center looking over time (a), and at the final day, looking over the spatial radius of 1 cm (b).*

It is also of note that after discussing these results with professor Canoll, it was determined that the value of $\zeta_r$ was unrealistically high. This led us to believe that our model was not completely representing the system (i.e., there may be some autocrine and paracrine stimulation of the infected progenitors, and not just autocrine alone). Furthermore, we

noticed later that $\zeta_r$ was scaled by r twice in the second model, where it should only be scaled once. Lastly, we also want to look more closely at $p_0$ and $D_p$, and use $\varepsilon_p$ = decay rate rather than the half life of PDGF. We are making the appropriate changes to our model and testing it, which we anticipate will confirm our current results.

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## Acknowledgements

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I am interested in better understanding the roles of cellular and molecular interactions as they affect disease - cancer and neurological diseases in particular - through mathematical modeling and simulation of these processes. Currently, my research is focused on understanding the impact of growth factors in the extracellular environment on tumor progression in glioma. I intend to pursue a PhD in Applied Mathematics or Computational Biology and continue working toward improved outcomes for cancer patients through mathematical oncology research.

# Press Openness in China: A Comparative Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of Labor Disputes
Vi L. Nhan

## Abstract

*The People's Republic of China, governed by the Chinese Communist Party, has arguably one of the most restrictive media systems in the world. The government censors all venues of media to maintain its monopoly on power and information, even while pushing ambitious economic modernization projects. However, there have been signs of liberalization and marketization of the media in response to these reforms.* Given the conservative nature and exclusive control of the CCP, why does the Chinese press seem to be more daring and critical in its reporting in the recent years? *The current debate in the field is between commercialization associated with a decrease of party control and commercialization associated with a different form of party control. Besides incoprorating the legal, political, and economic structures in which Chinese media exist, my hypothesis attempts to bridge the two sides of the debate. The research focuses the portrayal of labor disputes in the press as a manageable window into the larger world of censorship. This involves a comparative analysis of labor disputes coverage in January 2000 between two different sources of information available to the readers, an official and a semi-commercial newspaper, in the Shandong Province. The research utilizes content analysis, independent T test, and Critical Discourse Analysis to quantitatively and qualitatively identify specific characteristics of messages that would denote the degree of editorial/journalistic freedom. My hypothesis is that due to commercialization, the Chinese press has been more daring and critical toward the government but within certain boundaries. Semi-commercial papers are more commercial; therefore, I expect them to be more critical toward the government and government institutions in order to attract readers. Conversely, official papers are less commercial and more in line with party structures; therefore, I expect them to be less critical and concerned less with attracting readers. By looking at the discrepancy, or the lack thereof, between types of papers, one can achieve a more nuanced understanding of the changing role of the press in China.*

**Introduction**

My interest in media research stemmed from a recent trip to China and Vietnam.  While traveling throughout the urban cities and rural towns of these two countries, I couldn't help but notice the incredible number of billboards and posters plastered everywhere in Vietnam. From the center of metropolitan Ho Chi Minh City to the smallest rural village, the presence of the central government is felt. When living in Vietnam before, I failed to notice these messages precisely because of their pervasiveness. Now looking at them with new and more mature eyes eleven years later, I couldn't help but be intrigued by the government's manipulation of these public spaces. This interest led me to consider a more pervasive public space: the media. Due to the similarities and in the political systems and histories of socialism and reforms in Vietnam and China, I decided to move the focus to China because of the new and exciting changes the country and its media industry are going through.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is the most populous country in the world with a population of 1.3 billion people.[1] It is also the most rapidly changing actor in the world today. Due to thorough-going market-oriented economic reforms in the 1980s and 1990s, China's GDP growth has been above nine percent on average since 1990 and above ten percent the decade before that. More than 400 million Chinese were lifted above the $1 a day poverty level in the last 20 years.[2] However, the PRC has arguably one of the most restrictive media systems in the world. Reporters Without Borders' 2005 Worldwide Press Freedom Index places China at 159 out of 167 countries.[3] The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seeks to maintain its monopoly on power while pushing ambitious economic modernization plans. It censors all information media, from newspaper to DVD, from cassette tape to satellite TV,[4] and exercises nearly complete control over the country's 3,240 television broadcast

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[1] "The World Factbook: China." 15 Nov. 2007. CIA. 30 Nov. 2007 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>.

[2] "China Quick Facts." World Bank. 29 Nov. 2007 <http://go.worldbank.org/4131HUAVS0>.

[3] "Worldwide Press Freedom Index 2005," Reporters Without Borders, 2005, Reporters Without Borders, 1 Oct. 2007 <http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=554>.

[4] J. L. Qiu, "Virtual Censorship in China: Keeping the Gate Between the Cyberspaces," International Journal of Communications Law and Policy 4 (1999).

stations and 2,119 newspapers[1] – the primary media available to more than one sixth of the world's population. The CCP has been extremely successful at stifling independent reporting. It devotes vast energy and resources to control information as a way to maintain social stability and assert political control. The Chinese government's sophisticated instruments of censorship and control aim to prevent all potential sources of independent reporting.

In the next chapter I will touch on various control mechanisms employed by the CCP on different forms of media, including print media such as newspapers as well as electronic media such as television news broadcasting and internet. The data I analyze here are newspaper articles as opposed to other forms of media because of the data available to me through my adviser, Professor Susan H. Whiting. Newspapers are just one area in which the issue of media openness can be examined. In chapter two, I will explore a debate in the field regarding the role of the market in media operations and government controls. Chapter three presents my hypothesis in the context of the debate and attempts to answer why we see this apparent loosening of CCP control. Therefore, chapter four presents a brief overview of labor disputes as a window in assessing censorship as well as the presentation of the data. For qualitative analysis, I will do close readings of 5 articles concerning an event, an industrial accident, from both papers using Critical Discourse Analysis. For quantitative analysis, I will conduct content analysis on newspaper articles from the official 山東工人報 and the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 obtained from Shandong province in January 2000. Subsequently, in chapter five, I will present the results and discussions on the findings. Chapter six will present my conclusion on the research as well as how the findings can shed light on the current debate and offer a more nuanced understanding of the role of media in China. Lastly, in light of any limitations and unanswered questions, I suggest avenues for further inquiry.

## Background
*Press Openness: A Theoretical Concept*

Lee Chin-Chuan,[2] a scholar on Chinese media, approaches the idea of media freedom through a liberal-pluralist perspective,

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[1] Ashley Esarey, "Caught Between State and Society: the Commercial News Media in China," diss., Columbia Univ., 2006: 2.

[2] Chin-Chuan Lee, "China's Journalism: The Emancipatory Potential of Social Theory," Journalism Studies 1 (2000): 559-575.

emphasizing the concept of negative and positive freedoms as elaborated by Isaiah Berlin.[3] Positive freedom is "the 'freedom to' or the power of the individual to be the instrument of his own acts of will."[4] Negative freedom, then, is the "freedom from" or the absence of obstacles, barriers or constraints imposed by the state on the right of individuals and groups to free expression of diverse opinions.[5] The government is responsible for guaranteeing such freedom. In order words, by preventing individuals and groups from enjoying the freedom of expression, the government is denying the people their negative freedom. The media's role is to provide institutional checks and balances on state power to ensure the protection of these negative freedoms so that the government does not impose obstacles or constraints to prevent the free expression of opinions. To achieve this, the media requires independence from government control. Independent reporting is the ability to openly criticize the government and its organizations, the highest and most powerful social actors that can most effectively repress independent or critical reporting, without the fear of repression, an ideal not necessarily realized everywhere.

*Media Environment in China*

There are four approaches through which the Chinese government attempts to stifle independent reporting: legal, political, technological, and economic. Legal methods create an environment that is unfriendly to press freedom through restrictive laws and regulations, including the structure of official media regulatory bodies. Political instruments include party control over the content of news media, official censorship, harassment and imprisonment of journalists, and the use of the nomenklatura[6] system to control media personnel. Thirdly, technology has also been utilized by the Chinese government to counter the recent proliferation of information through the internet, which includes blocking websites, jamming radio frequencies, and monitoring access to the internet. Lastly, economic methods, which include state ownership of media, use of bribery to control content, and nature of marketization of Chinese news media, are used by the CCP to generate a seemingly liberalized media and to introduce incentives for self-censorship. I will focus mainly on the economic approach and the effect of marketization on the Chinese press in this research.

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[3] Isaiah Berlin, <u>Four Essays on Liberty</u>, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969.

[4] Morton J. Frisch, "A Critical Appraisal of Isaiah Berlin's Philosophy of Pluralism," <u>The Review of Politics</u> 60 (1998): 421-433.

[5] Berlin, 1969.

[6] The nomenklatura refers to the CCP's authority to make appointments to key positions throughout the governmental system and the party hierarchy.

In this era of globalization, information and technology are becoming increasingly accessible to millions of Chinese. The flow of people across China's borders, the availability of foreign news and shows, the proliferation of the internet, etc. have all contributed to the weakening of the Party's hold over information. However, the media is still viewed by the CCP as the mouthpiece of the Party to shape the "values and perspective of the entire population."[7] The media is part of a powerful state propaganda tool that is governed by the "Party principle" (黨性原則), which comprises three basic components:

1. News media must reflect the Party's guiding ideology;

2. News media must disseminate the Party's programs, policies, and directives;

3. News media must accept the Party's leadership and subscribe to the Party's organizational principles and press policies.[8]

The resolution of the First Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1921 states that "no central or local publications should carry any article that opposes the Party's principles policies, and decisions."[9] This amounts to the current view of the news media as instruments of political and social control instead as independent sources of information or as a check on the government.

However, following the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee in December 1978, when Deng Xiaoping attempted to improve both the economy and Party's legitimacy after the Cultural Revolution, the air of openness and political reform carried over into the realm of media. In 1979, the Central Propaganda Department, the organ responsible for media, lifted restrictions on intellectual inquiry and encouraged the media to increase the flow of information for economic development and to rebuild the propaganda system. The media was urged to be more proactive and original while, at the same time, strengthening the centralization of the party leadership and party unity. This led to the proliferation of the media with a large increase in print media from 1,116 newspapers and magazines in 1978, the year before the liberalization of the media, to 7,298 in 1987. In a little less than a decade, there was a 654 percent increase in the number of available print

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[7] Kenneth Lieberthal, <u>Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform</u>, New York: W.W. Norton, 2004.

[8] Yuezhi Zhao, <u>Media, Market, and Democracy in China: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line</u>, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois P, 1998: 19.

[9] Zhao, 1998: 19.

media.[10] With the encouragement of the CCP for greater media autonomy, the news media increasingly gained confidence to run critical stories of the state and of the economic problems of China.

By the mid 80's, however, the prolific increase in the number of news media sorely compromised the party's ability to monitor media content. This explosion in the number and confidence of print media met a reversal in the violent government crackdown of the late 80's. The government retaliated against media support in the 1989 for widespread democratic protests by closing down newspapers and magazines believed to have supported demonstrators and submitting hundreds of journalists to reeducation. The state also adopted re-registration as a tool to reduce the growth of media and pluralism arising from media freedom. Re-registration analyzed the status and conduct of all media organizations before allowing for continued operations with the intent of rooting out newspapers and periodicals that have committed political mistakes or have low standards.[11] This reduced the number of newspapers from 1,576 at the beginning of 1989 to 1,254 by 1991.[12] This trend continued until another political cue from the government in 1992 signaled to the media a safer environment. The media became dramatically commercialized after Deng Xiaoping, in his Southern Tour in 1992, concluded that continued economic reform was needed to bolster party legitimacy.[13] This relationship between government and the media is indicative of the dependent nature of media in China on Party directions.

*Legal and institutional approach to censorship*

The state exercises numerous legal and institutional methods to control the flow of information and to restrict the media's ability to operate independently. Article 35 of the 1982 Constitution guarantees the Chinese citizenry "freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration."[14] However, several other articles in the constitution set the pretext for suspension of previously named freedoms through libel regulations (Article 38); the elevation of the collective interests of the nation, society, and the

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[10] Ashley Esarey, "Cornering the Market: State Strategies for Controlling China's Commercial Media," Asian Perspective 29 (2005): 53.

[11] Esarey, 2005: 44.

[12] Esarey, 2005: 52.

[13] Tony Saich, Governance and Politics of China, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004:76.

[14] "Constitution of the People's Republic of China," People's Daily Online, People's Republic of China, 6 May 2008 <http://english.people.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>.

freedoms enjoyed by other citizens above those of the individual (Article 51); the call for all citizens to "protect state secrets, cherish public assets…respect public order and social morals" (Article 53); and the prohibition of citizens to veer from their duty to protect the "security, honor and interests of the motherland" (Article 54).[15] These articles have been utilized by the Party to suppress politically unsavory forms of information.

Additionally, the state also exercises multitudes of criminal and administrative regulations to consolidate its power. The "Protection of National Secrets Law" of 1989 makes it a criminal offense to divulge information on "military affairs, projects for economic and social development, technological development, criminal investigations by national security agencies," or other subjects determined by state institutions to be 'secret' in nature.[16] Any information can be classified as state secret if determined by the regulatory bodies to harm state interests or security. Journalists have to gain permission from related government agency prior to publication if their subjects relate to government personnel and institutions. This leads to the suppression and delay of information by the regulatory bodies. The 1997 Criminal Law further prohibit media freedom by making it a crime for any individual or organization to "divide the nation" or "destroy (national) unity," an offense punishable by three to ten years of imprisonment.[17] The government also takes actions to curb free debate online. The most important internet regulation is the Temporary Regulation for the Management of Computer Information Network International Connection implemented in 1997. Specific items in the regulation prohibit private ownership of direct international connection, and state that all direct linkage must go through the state-owned Internet Service Providers (ISPs) ChinaNet, GBNet, CERNer or CSTNet. The regulation also requires all users to register to obtain internet access, and deems "harmful information" that is either "subversive" or "obscene" as forbidden.[18] These laws and regulations have contributed to a legal environment that is not conducive to independent media reporting.

Another method pursued by the government to control the media is through the structure and organization of its media regulatory bodies.

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[15] Ashley Esarey, Speak No Evil: Mass Media Control in Contemporary China, Freedom at Issue: A Freedom House Special Report, Freedom House, February 2006, 6 May 2008
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/33.pdf>.
[16] Esarey, February 2006.
[17] Esarey, February 2006.
[18] Qiu, 1999.

Directly under the Political Bureau and its standing committee is the Central Propaganda Department, the central coordinator of the media. Its function is to promote party ideologies and to project party legitimacy. It manages three government organizations responsible for the three main mediums of information: the State Press and Publication Administration (with jurisdiction over print media); the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (with control over broadcast media); and the Ministry of Information Industry (with ownership of the Internet industry). The Propaganda Department also controls Xinhua News Agency, the party's official information transmitter to the public. Chinese news media are required to secure their news source through Xinhua, effectively granting the government a monopoly for domestic news service.[19] The Chinese government owns all major media production companies, including publishing houses, television and radio stations, internet networks, and ISPs. [20] Through this ownership, the state has tremendous power over the media market, which includes books, magazines, newspapers, TV and radio programs, and IP addresses. Besides these methods, the Central Propaganda Department requires journalists to undergo re-education, most recently in 2003, on Marxism, the role of CCP leadership in the media, media laws and regulations, prior to renewing their media licenses. These legal and institutional techniques all serve to tighten the state's monopoly over information and the medium of information.

*Political approach to censorship*

The Chinese government exerts great political control over the content of news media. Along with legal mechanisms, the Central Organization Department and the Central Propaganda Department use the nomenklatura system of appointments to influence the management of the media by directly select managers of national media. The central regulatory bodies have indirect influence over personnel of local media through their appointment of local political leaders who are then responsible for the selection of the local media managers.[21] These managers are responsible for the content of their organizations and are expected to censor content deemed unfavorable to the government. Those who do not comply risk their posts. This creates an atmosphere of self-censorship in fear of reprisal by the state.

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[19] Wenfang Tang, <u>Public Opinion and Political Change in China</u>, Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2005: 80-81.

[20] Tang, 2005: 80.

[21] Esarey, February 2006; 3.

The Central Propaganda Department also determines the standards of acceptable news content through propaganda circulars (PCs), documents containing specific instructions for media across the country on how to handle sensitive topics or specific news stories. The PCs may also require the media to use news directly from national media organizations like Xinhua, *People's Daily*, or CCTV.[22] Similar to the Cadre Evaluation system where local leaders adapt line items to reflect certain local conditions, it is also common practice for local branches of the Propaganda Department to adapt the national PCs for local conditions. Along with the dissemination of PCs, the Propaganda Department also communicates with media managers through phones or meetings to relay content directives. Media managers are held responsible if published reports veer from party directives, therefore this official censorship induces continued self-censorship.

The state also practices "passive censorship" or "cold treatment" that aim to limit the impact of controversial topics or ideas on the public through deliberate media neglect.[23] In response to the cynicism regarding the truthfulness of state message and the effectiveness of its propaganda endeavors, the Party acknowledges that public criticism or debate about unacceptable ideas or stories inadvertently amplify them. If a problematic book manages to evade censorship and appears on bookshelves, government authorities would stop its distribution and subsequent editions quickly and quietly. Instead of publicly criticize the book, the government would rather avoid bringing the book and its ideas to the attention of the masses.

The political environment for journalists is also very hazardous. Reporters do not have the freedom to cover the news freely and without harassment. The jailing of journalists is among the most effective tactics employed by the state. China utilizes this tactic more than any other country in the world.[24] The Propaganda Department can cancel rebroadcasts of television news programs or dismiss individuals associated with the piece deemed unacceptable. Controversial cases of media's challenge to the party's top-down control have resulted in the removal of editors, resignations of journalists, imprisonment of editors of journalists, forced closure of news organizations in print and broadcast

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[22] Esarey, February 2006: 4.

[23] Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao, eds., <u>Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles</u>, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005: 65.

[24] United States, Cong., <u>Media Freedom in China: Roundtable Before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China,</u>, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., Washington: GPO, 2002.

organizations such as *Southern Daily* of Guangdong; *21ˢᵗ Century World Herald*; *Southern Metropolitan Post*; *Democracy and Rule of Law*; *Science and Technology Herald*; and *Focal Point*, a popular CCTV program in the 90's.[25] Therefore, the state creates an environment that curbs editorial independence and journalistic freedom.

*Technological approach to censorship*

The way information is distributed is changing rapidly. The Chinese state is employing more sophisticated controls to counter these changes. The internet is the newest form of information dissemination, a growing threat in the view of the CCP. Presently, there are 162 million internet users in China.[26] Up until 1993, there was no concrete party platform to control the internet. However, as information technology evolves, the state authorities develop more innovative ways to counter its wide spread effects. There is constant state presence through the vigilance of cyber police in monitoring the internet and its chat rooms, emails, message boards, websites, etc. Internet chat rooms are lively forums for political debate and pluralism. The sheer speed with which news can travel across the country and around the world has created new and enormous challenges for the CCP, which remains determined to control information. In 2002 when massive labor protests erupted in several major cities, activists managed to overcome a central news silence on the demonstrations by transmitting news of their activities via the internet.[27] Because of its potential to break the CCP's monopoly over domestic news, the internet is seen as a special threat to party legitimacy.

In the recent years, the Central Government has introduced regulations designed to restrict online content and to increase state monitoring. These regulations include requiring website operators and ISPs to keep records of content and user identities and to hand these over to authorities when demanded. The government also imposes a far-reaching firewall, reputed to be the world's largest, over all of its direct international lines. The firewall blacks out http, www websites, and FTP servers that contain "harmful information" and automatically targets words such as "June Fourth" or "Falun Gong."[28] Currently, there is a government project called the "Golden Shield" to replace old style censorship with a massive, omnipresent architecture of surveillance.

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[25] Tang, 2005: 84; Esarey, February 2006: 6.

[26] United States, Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook: China, 1 May 2008, 6 May 2008 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>.

[27] United States, Cong, 2002.

[28] Qiu, 1999: 13.

Ultimately the aim of the project is to integrate a comprehensive online database with an all-encompassing surveillance network – incorporating speech and face recognition, closed-circuit television, smart cards, credit records, and internet surveillance technologies. This system is proposed to be completed by 2008.[29] If successful, this project will make China the greatest police state in the world.

*Economic approach to censorship*

The Chinese state also employs economic controls over media to maintain its power. As stated before, the government owns all of the major national media organizations. This means the government has virtually full control over the activities and the contents of these organizations, allowing the state to distribute its version of news. However, since the economic reform, the state no longer fully subsidizes the media. It has urged the industry to turn toward marketization to generate profits to sustain their operations. In January 2002, the Party's "Making Media Big and Strong" Policy (把新聞傳媒做強做大) aims to promote the creation of powerful and profitable domestic media conglomerates under Party control that are ready for global competition.[30] Print media at the city, provincial, and central levels have been reorganized into media conglomerates or media "groups" in order to financially strengthen the media industry and politically consolidate leadership. These media groups are responsible for publishing both official papers that are intended for the dissemination of the official party view and also profit-driven semi-commercial papers that are intended for mass consumption. This method would greatly trim unnecessary waste of resources and, most importantly, consolidate the Party's power by simplifying the task of appointing media managers and reducing competition for advertisement revenue as a market incentive for news media to comply with party directives over content. The CCP's strategy for managing mass media in the 1990's consisted of the components mentioned above along with continued centralization of political control over the management of media, and continued elimination and consolidation of controversial or vulnerable media.[31] Commercialization

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[29] United States, Cong, 2002.

[30] David Bandurski, "Propaganda Head Liu Yunshan Promotes Commercialization of Media to Strengthen China's 'Cultural Soft Power'" China Media Project, 10 Apr. 2007, The University of Hong Kong, 1 May 2007 <http://cmp.hku.hk/look/article.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=1&NrIssue=1&NrSection=100&NrArticle=834>.

[31] Esarey, 2005: 53.

of media operations allowed the CCP to redesign its party message in a glossy package for easier public digestion. Media managers exchanged the dogmatic style of the Mao era to adopt the Western model of flashy advertising and polished presentations.

Moreover, media organizations are also employing monetary incentives to induce censorship. A percentage of a journalist's salary comes from performance bonuses determined by the success of his or her piece. If reports are deemed by the Propaganda Department as too controversial to be published, journalists who are responsible for them do not receive their pays or bonuses. For journalists who dare to explore sensitive issues, they would have to produce reports at their own expense before hand. They might or might not receive repayment depending how the reports are received.[32] Frequently, these methods lead to effective self-censorship by individual journalists to avoid monetary losses.

However, commercialization has also brought about an interesting change. Previously off-limit topics such as labor disputes, corruption, and health epidemics are appearing in the press as media managers race to publish controversial stories to sell papers. The fact that these topics are discussed at all in the papers today is a conundrum, since they were conspicuously absent two decades ago.[33] *Given the conservative nature and the control of the CCP, why does the Chinese press seem to be more daring and critical in its reporting in the recent years?*

**Literature Review-The Debate**

Many scholars in the field have attempted to answer such questions. However, they are divided on the meaning of this turn toward the market. Many scholars have argued that commercialization has allowed for the loosening of the CCP's control, while others on the opposite side argue that commercialization has only changed the forms of control utilized by the CCP.

*Commercialization as a Decrease of Party Control*

From the perspective of "negative freedom," China's news media, forced to cope with market forces, has improved vastly since their days as the mouthpiece of the Party. Many liberal scholars have credited the market with creating a space to insulate the media from the all-powerful central government. Daniel C. Lynch makes a case that the

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[32] Esarey, 2005: 58.

[33] Jie Chen, "When Propaganda and Profit Meet: Newspaper Reporting of Labor Disputes in China," Master's Thesis Draft, Univ. of Washington, 2007.

commercialization of media operations and the proliferation of the media products are gradually eroding the CCP's ability to exercise full censorship of the media. His main argument centers around the reference term "thought work" (思想工作)—defined as "the struggle to control communication flows and thus 'structuration' of the symbolic environment"[34]— to describe how the CCP has, to a certain degree, lost control of the medium through which it communicates with the public. The government can no longer afford to finance the media and urged the media to turn to profits as a source of revenue despite the risk of losing financial control over some media organizations. However, Lynch also argues that that China's leaders "failed to anticipate the terms of the trade-off between controlling thought work and implementing economic reform. They did not realize the degree of control they would have to sacrifice over thought work would be so high."[35] This might be a simplification of the decision-making of the CCP, suggesting that it lacks the ability to appreciate the implications of its decisions. Correspondingly, Bruce Gilley argues that the explosion in the number of Chinese media amounted to "tangible expression of the party's loss of control of ideas."[36] Gilley also foresees the coming of a democratic China and a free media as the vehicle for democracy. This view is consistent with many Chinese media scholars who also adopt a view in which the market forces and state control are essentially antagonistic: the development of one would lead to the diminution of the other, and ultimately, a free press is near at hand.[37]

*Commercialization as a Different Form of Party Control*

On the other side, scholars such as Peter Berger and Dietrich Rueschemeyer agree that the capitalist development is associated with and is a prerequisite for democracy because it provides "social zone

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[34] Daniel C. Lynch, <u>After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and "Thought Work" in Reformed China</u>, Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999: 2.

[35] Lynch, 1999: 14.

[36] Bruce Gilley, <u>China's Democratic Future: How It Will Happen and Where It Will Lead.</u> New York: Columbia UP, 2004: 72-73.

[37] Joseph M. Chan, "Commercialization Without Independence: Trends and Tensions of Media Development in China," <u>China Review</u>, ed. Joseph M. Chan and Brosseau Maurice, Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993.; Merle Goldman, "The Role of the Press in Post-Mao Political Struggles," <u>China's Media, Media's China</u>, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview P, 2005; Minxin Pei, <u>From Reform to Revolution the Demise of Communism in China and the Soviet Union</u>, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1994.

relatively independent of state control" [38] and transforms class structures.[39] According to Lee, "democratization is historically and empirically inconceivable without the development of a strong market."[40] However, they also make a case that capitalist development and liberalization may not guarantee democratization or, for the interest of this study, press openness. While most democracies are liberal and capitalist, many undemocratic regimes possess capitalist economies.

Hence, Zhao Yuezhi, a leading authority on the subject who has written numerous books and articles on media and democracy in China, argues that privatization and the decrease of state ownership in the media do not necessarily mean an automatic move toward democracy in media.[41] The change simply shifts the more explicit methods of state control to a more passive form of censorship, ranging from stopping the distribution of certain books, to using the nomeklatura and pay incentives as forms of financial control to encourage self-censorship. Similarly, Ashley Esarey has written extensively on the lack of media openness in China, focusing on strategies used by the government to control commercial media. He argues that party officials were convinced that commercialization of the state-owned media was the best means for improving the effectiveness of party propaganda and regime legitimacy. Esarey considers the state-owned media in China as a source of both legitimation and potential delegitimation for the CCP. Therefore, Chinese media is still firmly controlled by party institutions, which exercise selective rather than total control over content. Party leaders frequently change policies governing news content and reform or remake institutions monitoring media content; as a result, news media adapt their reports in accordance with the regime's wishes or risk repression.

### Brief Overview of Labor Disputes in the Media

I will use the coverage of labor disputes as a window to test my censorship hypothesis to gauge whether commercialization led to more press openness or more state control of the media. Several studies in the field of political communications have explored the linkage between

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[38] Peter L. Berger, The Capitalist Development: Fifty Propositions About Prosperity, Equality, and Liberty, New York: Basic, 1986: 79–81.

[39] Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne H. Stephens, and John D. Stephens, Capitalist Development and Democracy, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1992.

[40] Lee, 2000: 571.

[41] Zhao, 1998.

mass media exposure and the knowledge of political and legal events.[42] A study of the interrelationships between mass media exposure and political behavior shows that they are causally related.[43] Mass media exposure is functionally related to political knowledge and political behavior, and both factors are attributable to mass media usage patterns.[44]

In addition, Mary Gallagher argues that media plays a large role in fostering legal consciousness and efficacy in the public through coverage of labor disputes.[45] Legal education through media raises the legal consciousness of the Chinese citizens and leads to the overly high expectation of using the law as a weapon, a campaign that is currently pursued by the Chinese government. B. L. Liebman focuses on the interaction between the courts, the media, and the state and argues that the media has a tremendous influence on the decisions of the courts due to the exposure it gives to a particular case.[46] These arguments highlight the importance of the media as a mediator between the public and the state.

Since coverage of labor disputes is the window through which I will test my censorship hypothesis, I will not dwell on the legal system of China or the legal mobilization campaign of the Chinese government. However, it is still important to touch on the fact that labor disputes as a topic was largely off limits until very recently. Since China's economic reform in 1978, the Chinese state started to liberalize the state-sponsored labor and employment system. The Iron Rice Bowl – the cradle-to-grave welfare system provided by the government[47] – was no longer a reality

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[42] L. D. Becker, and D. C. Whitney, "Effects of Media Dependencies: Audience Assessments of Government," Communication Research 7 (1980): 95-120; J. M. McLeod, and D. G. McDonald, "Beyond Simple Exposure: Media Orientations and Their Impact on Political Processes," Communication Research 12 (1985): 3-33.

[43] Charles Atkin, and Gary Heald, "Effects of Political Advertising," Public Opinion Quarterly 40 (1976): 216-228.

[44] Ofer Feldmans and Kazuhisa Kawakami, "Media Use as Predictors of Political Behavior: the Case of Japan," Political Psychology 12 (1991): 65-80.

[45] Mary Gallagher, "Mobilizing the Law in China: 'Informed Disenchantment' and the Development of Legal Consciousness," Law & Society Review 40 (2006): 783-816.

[46] Liebman, 2005: 1-157.

[47] Michael Mackey, "Cracking the Iron Rice Bowl," Best's Review 1 Nov. 1998: 42-43, ABI/INFORM Global' ProQuest, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, 4 Mar. 2008 <http://www.proquest.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/>; N. C.

for most of the workers in China. Widespread lay-offs and shut-downs overwhelmed the state-owned economic sector. In order to deal with the labor crisis, the state expanded a labor legal system to legitimize policies and support economic reform. The 1987 Provisional Regulations on the Handling of Enterprise Labor Disputes in State Enterprises, the 1993 Regulations for the Handling of Enterprise Labor Disputes, and the 1995 Labor Law established a three-stage labor dispute resolution system. Through mediation, arbitration, and litigation,[48] the state attempts to move from direct administrative intervention to legal procedures. Labor issues have become an important part of the government agenda as the PRC makes the transition from a country with a state-controlled economy to a market economy. Ultimately, labor issues such as unemployment, labor contracts, benefits, pensions, workplace protection received legal definition, while worker sit-ins, protests, and strikes reflecting a range of grievances became more common. Official statistics show a dramatic growth in labor disputes—by 2000 the national total of labor disputes arbitration cases increased by 16 times in a decade.[49] As shown below, with the rise of the number of labor disputes, the coverage of labor disputes also increased.[50]

| Year | 1988 | 1994 | 2000 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Articles | 9 | 53 | 179 |

*Table 1. Increase in newspaper articles on labor disputes in Shandong*

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Hughes, "Smashing the Iron Rice Bowl," <u>Foreign Affairs -New York-,</u> 77. 4 (1998): 67-77.

[48] *Mediation* is done at the workplace through a trade union-directed mediation committee.

*Arbitration* is a compulsory step, an administrative process handled by labor arbitration committees set up and administered by the local labor bureau.

*Litigation* is the step in the labor dispute resolution process where both sides of the dispute have the right to contest the arbitral judgment in Chinese civil court. There has been a sharp increase in litigation in recent years.

[49] Chen, 2007.

[50] As part of her research on newspaper coverage of labor dispute, Prof. Susan Whiting, Political Science, University of Washington, found that there were 9 articles on labor disputes in 1988, 53 in 1994, and 179 in 2000. This supports the hypothesis that commercialization has open up the coverage of controversial topics since 1988 (Chen, 2007).

China Labour Bulletin (CLB), a dissident site hosted in Hong Kong, regularly reports on labor disputes throughout China, including strikes, protests and demonstrations as workers complain about forced layoffs, missing wages and other benefits, official corruption and mismanagement.[51] Though Chinese workers are guaranteed trade union rights, most protests are branded as "illegal demonstrations." Many ordinary workers are detained after peaceful protests, interrogated, and sometimes beaten before release. Strikes, protests and demonstrations are rarely reported on in the major newspapers in China. The CLB's reports demonstrate that labor dispute is still very much a sensitive topic and its coverage is subjected to enormous government control.

**Hypothesis**

These works very much inform my own argument. Clearly there is debate in the literature, and this project provides an empirical analysis intended to resolve such debate. My hypothesis attempts to bridge the two sides of the debate. Though the government is still very much in control, the proliferation of topics and the way they are handled indicates that a small degree of openness does exist, though within certain boundaries as deemed appropriate by the government, due to the turn toward marketization. The significance is in the existence of articles and language critical or negative toward the government. This is a new phenomenon that should not be readily dismissed, nor should it be heralded as the end of government control. It should be accepted as a small and cautious step toward a freer press that was utterly incomprehensible several decades ago. Therefore, using coverage of labor disputes as a window to test my censorship hypothesis, I aim to test whether commercialization has led to more press openness or to more state control of the media.

These boundaries of independent reporting and the concept of commercialization center on the distinction between the types of papers that exist in China: official newspapers and semi-commercial newspapers. The term "official newspaper" is used to indicate the direct ownership of the paper by the CCP. Most official papers in Mainland China are formally linked to the CCP and are published by CCP committees or state-sponsored institutions.[52] Some examples of official newspapers are: Daily (日報) – directly under the CCP committee at all

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[51] "China Labour Bulletin - Main Site," China Labour Bulletin, 1 Apr. 2007 <http://www.china-labour.org.hk/public/main>.

[52] Benjamin L. Liebman, "Watchdog or Demagogue? The Media in the Chinese Legal System," Columbia Law Review 105 (2005): 1-157.

government levels; labor newspaper (工人報) – directly under a state-sponsored trade union (for example, Shandong Workers Daily (山東工人報) is published by the Provincial Federation of Trade Unions in Shandong, which is under the direct leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions); legal newspaper (法制報) – directly under the Political and Legal Affairs Committee of a provincial or municipal CCP committee (for example, Shandong Legal Daily (山東法制報) is published by the Political and Legal Affairs Committee of CCP Shandong Provincial Committee).

Semi-commercial newspapers are indirectly linked to the Party through media conglomerates under the control of state. These media groups publish official Party newspapers but also other more commercial papers and magazines. In the semi-commercial sub-groups, there is a certain degree of independence in management, personnel, and to an extent editing.[53] Some examples of semi-commercial newspapers are: Evening newspaper (晚報) – affiliated with newsgroups headed by official newspapers (for example, Qilu Evening Newspaper (齊魯晚報) is published by Dazhong News Group of the Shandong Provincial Government); and metropolitan newspapers (都市報) - affiliated with newsgroups headed by official newspapers.

However, it is important to mention that there is no above-ground paper in China that can truly claim complete independence from government control. There are degrees of control, but there is no question that newspapers are influenced by the party to some degree. In accordance with each type of paper, semi-commercial papers are more commercial; therefore, I expect them to be more critical toward the government and government institutions. Conversely, official papers are less commercial and more in line with the Party; therefore, I expect them to be less critical.

*Interpretation of Findings*

The chart below lays out the possible results I might find and the interpretation of those possible findings.

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[53] Chen, 2007.

| Possible Findings | Semi-Commercial Paper | Official Paper | Interpretation of Findings |
|---|---|---|---|
| Finding 1 | Critical | Not critical | Supports my hypothesis of a somewhere freer press |
| Finding 2 | Critical | Critical | Does not support my hypothesis; commercialization has led to the thorough loosening of the CCP's control |
| Finding 3 | Not critical | Not critical | Does not support my hypothesis; extreme across-the-board control and censorship |
| Finding 4 | Not critical | Critical | Does not support my hypothesis; semi-commercial papers are more risk adverse while political papers have more political cover to be critical |

*Table 2. Possible Findings.*

As shown in the chart, only Finding 1 would support my hypothesis. If I arrive at any of the other findings, the research still contributes to a deeper and more nuanced understanding of Chinese media but in an unanticipated direction.

## Methodology
*The Data*

To test my hypotheses as stated above, I will look at articles in two papers in Shandong for the month of January in 2000 with articles that deal with the sensitive topic of labor disputes for content analysis. The official paper I will look at is Shandong Workers Daily

(山東工人報), published by the Provincial Federation of Trade Unions in Shandong. The semi-commercial paper is the Qilu Evening

Newspaper (齊魯晚報), published by Dazhong News Group of the Shandong Provincial Government. Qilu Evening Newspaper was launched in January 1, 1988 by Deng Xiaoping, the late preeminent leader of the PRC. The paper is one of the most influential papers in Shandong with the largest circulation and the highest advertising revenues.[54] The data set from which these articles is from a larger project of Professor Susan H. Whiting, along with Lin Ying and Chen Jie, graduate students of the Political Science Department. Prof. Whiting spent several summers in China and Hong Kong collecting newspaper articles on labor disputes. Articles are collected for the months of January, April, July, and October; depending on the availability of the sources, another month was used as a substitute.

For discourse analysis, I will focus on coverage of an industrial accident in Shandong. On August 19, 2007, at least 16 people died and 60 were injured when a container spilled molten aluminum with a temperature of 1,650 degrees Fahrenheit at an aluminum factory affiliated with Weiqiao Pioneering Group Co. (山東魏橋創業集團有限公司) in Zouping County, Shandong province. This plant was one of the largest aluminum plants in the world with an annual output of 250,000 tons aluminum ingots.[55] Through the online archive of 齊魯晚報 and through a contact in China who had access to the archive of 山東工人報, I was able to obtain two articles from the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 and three articles from the official 山東工人報 relating to the accident. Industrial accidents such as this one are increasingly common in China, where safety measures have not always kept pace with rapid economic development.[56] Therefore this incident would be a case analysis to gauge the degree of difference, if any, between the two sources of information.

I will apply content analysis to a database including all labor-dispute-related articles found in the two papers above in January 2000 and discourse analysis to the five articles on the industrial accident.

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[54] "Qilu Evening News Brief," Qilu Evening Newspaper, 10 May 2007 <http://www.qlwb.com.cn/intro/intro.htm>.

[55] "山東魏橋創業集團," 中新社山東新聞網, 中國新聞網, 5 May 2008 <http://big5.chinanews.com.cn:89/gate/big5/www.sd.chinanews.com.cn/html/any/citys/mqsc/06/1026/20061026155054.html>

[56] "Molten Aluminum Spill Kills 14 in China," USA Today 21 Aug. 2007, 1 May 2008 <http://www.usatoday.com/news/topstories/2007-08-20-2136255357_x.htm>.

These articles and papers were chosen based on availability. I believe that the different sources, which are published in the same province during the same time, will provide my analysis with a controlled sample. Moreover, major works in the field tend not to distinguish types of paper ownership in the data collection.[57] They do not base their argument on the distinction between the two nor do they use the distinction as a framework for analysis. My methodology will specifically emphasize this distinction as the basis for analysis. By looking at the discrepancy, or the lack thereof, between types of papers, one can achieve a more nuanced understanding of the changing role of the press in China. In addition, previous scholarship rarely focuses on the topic of labor disputes to structure the analysis. I see labor dispute as a substantively important and trackable window into the larger world of censorship. The methodology will attempt to show, through the coverage of labor disputes, that semi-commercial newspapers are more daring and more critical when covering labor disputes because of the drive for profit and the indirect relationship with the Party.

*Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses*

I will utilize the existing coverage of labor disputes as a window through which to measure and test my censorship hypothesis. The research design is a multiple or mixed methods approach that includes quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis. Content analysis "is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."[58] Alternatively, discourse analysis seeks to evaluate the linguistic structures of the communication to uncover the latent content (deeper layers of meaning embedded in the text) of the author.[59] These methods are usually not utilized in the same research design in media studies, especially those concerning labor disputes in China. Although discourse analysis is not necessarily incompatible with content analysis, they are meant to evaluate different aspects and values of the data, as most researchers tend to equate content analysis with surface meaning and discourse analysis as reading between the lines. However, this view is problematic and a researcher "should not assume that qualitative methods are insightful and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods

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[57] Esarey, 2005, 2007; Zhao, 1998.

[58] Berelson, 1952: 18 in Ole R. Holsti, <u>Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities</u>, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969: 3.

[59] Holsti, 1969: 12.

for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed."[60]

Keeping in mind this relationship, each method also has its own strengths and weaknesses. When drawing on a random sample, content analysis yields externally valid causal or descriptive inferences, answering the question: "with what degree of confidence can one generalize from the results obtained in the sample under study?"[61] Moreover, content analysis is useful when the volume of data to be examined exceeds the researcher's ability to undertake the research alone, such as the quantity of data usually found in mass communications studies. On the other hand, discourse analysis contributes to the internal validity by demonstrating a causal relation between variables.[62] Therefore, a combination of these methods will provide the balanced and in-depth analysis needed for my project.

I will first conduct a close reading of the articles concerning the accident, focusing on discursive structures and the contexts of the content. Then I will select coding units that are applicable to my research question and conduct a content analysis of the data. From these two approaches, I hope to look for convergent validity. Content analysis will reveal widespread trends that are indicative to the rest of the articles. What the discourse analysis reveals about the intent of the writers will fit into the larger picture provided by content analysis.

*Qualitative Discourse Analysis*

For the qualitative analytical section, I will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an approach to analyzing the text of the chosen articles. CDA, as a theoretical and methodological approach to language use, assumes that language is a social practice, a social process, and a socially conditioned process.[63] This builds on the systemic linguistic theory of Halliday[64] which stresses the three major functions of language:

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[60] Pool, 1959, p. 192 quoted in Holsti, 1969: 11.

[61] Earl Babbi, The Practice of Social Research, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1992: 599.

[62] According to Holsti, 1969, internal validity "employs criteria that are internal to an analysis and evaluates whether research findings have anything to do with the data at hand.

[63] Norman Fairclough, Language and Power, New York: Longman, 1989: 26; Neil Renwick, and Qing Cao, "China's Political Discourse Towards the 21st Century," East Asia: an International Quarterly 17 (1999): 111-143.

[64] M. A. K Halliday, An Introduction to Functional Grammar, Baltimore, Md., USA: E. Arnold, 1985: 53-54.

      i.        Ideational: to represent the world.
      ii.      Interpersonal: to enact social relations and identities.
      iii.     Textual: to relate the context of situation.[65]

This research is interested in the social contexts in which discourse of the reports is embedded. This methodological approach allows the researcher to gain understanding of the relationship between the text, its production, and the social context in which it is produced and understood.[66]

      Moreover, CDA has also contributed to illuminating the relationship between language and ideology in media discourse. Teun Adrianus Van Dijk defines ideology as the "basis of the social representations shared by members of a group"[67] and uses it to argue the need for an analysis of the "triangle" of cognition, society, and discourse. By looking closely at their discursive manifestation, one can understand "what ideologies look like, how they work, and how they are created, changed and reproduced."[68] Similarly, according to Roger Fowler, "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position."[69] Therefore, newspaper text is not produced in a vacuum and needs to be critically examined to expose the ideology of the news writers. Mass media organize audiences' perceptions of events, and that the different linguistic structures employed by various media structure their perceptions in different ways.[70] The symbolic embodiments of ideology are capable of "influencing…the shape and texture of each individual's 'reality.'"[71] These ideologies are not always apparent but are embedded in the subtle selection of linguistic forms, and "only by examining linguistic structure

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[65] John L. Flowerdew, David Li, and Sarah Tran, "Discriminatory News Discourse: Some Hong Kong Data," <u>Discourse and Society</u> 13 (2002): 319-344.
[66] Renwick and Cao: 1999.
[67] Teun Adrianus Van Dijk, <u>Ideology a Multidisciplinary Approach</u>, Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1998: 8.
[68] Van Dijk, 1998: 8.
[69] Roger Fowler, <u>Language in the News Discourse and Ideology in the Press</u>, New York: Routledge, 1991: 10.
[70] Stuart J. Sigman, Fry, Donald L. and, "Differential Ideology and Language Use: Readers' Reconstructions and Descriptions of News Events," Critical Studies in Mass Communication Dec. 1985: 307-323, EBSCO, University of Washington, Seattle, 4 May 2008 <Http://Search.Ebscohost.Com/Login.Aspx?Direct=True&Db=Ufh&AN=9334717&Site=Ehost-Live>
[71] M.C. McGee, <u>The "Ideograph": A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology</u>, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.

in a 'critical' way can the ideological underpinnings of new discourse be unpacked."[72]

Most frequently, CDA is applied to the analysis of social inequality, notably to analyze discrimination in news media discourse. The hierarchy of a society is revealed in the conscious or unconscious language structures of a discourse. In other words, linguistic patterns and structures at the micro level work in specific ways to convey social cognition at the macro level.[73] This is may become apparent, for example, through negative linguistic portrayals of women, young people, minority groups, workers, and groups of lower social status, etc.[74]

However, since one can analyze the linguistic structures and discursive strategies in order to "uncover the power struggle…and any other form of social and political problems,"[75] therefore, I will analyze three articles by an official newspaper and two articles by a semi-commercial newspaper covering the same event, an aluminum plant explosion in Shandong on August 19, 2007, and the specific linguistic devices employed to paint different conceptions of what actually occurred and government responses. Ultimately, in examining whether "the rhetorical strategies [in the media artifacts] might promote one ideology over another,"[76] the questions I hope to answer are, "What rhetorical strategies are used to create and support the dominant ideology of the government? How does the rhetoric legitimize the ideology and the interests of some groups over others? Does the artifact universalize the ideology, portraying the interests of a particular group or groups as though they were general interests?"[77] How do the newspapers report different perspectives on salient actors and actions of one specific event?

The significance of the message is assumed to be reflected in the format, rhythm, and style, such as the textual and visual as well as the

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[72] Sai-Hua Kuo, and Mari Nakamura, "Translation or Transformation? A Case Study of Language and Ideology in the Taiwanese Press," Discourse and Society 16 (2005): 393-417.

[73] Flowerdew et al., 2002.

[74] Dijk, 1998.

[75] Flowerdew et al., 2002.

[76] Ying Qin, "Alternative Student Media and Public Sphere at a Chinese University: A Case Study of Common Sense at Fudan University," Thesis (M.S.)--Ohio University, August, 2004: 47.

[77] Sonja K. Foss, Rhetorical Criticism Exploration & Practice, 2nd ed. Prospect Heights, Ill: Waveland P, 1996, 297.

contextual nuances of the report itself.[78] Individual articles will be examined for uses of linguistic devices such as "metaphor, simile, allusion, tone, theme, recurring patterns, and omissions."[79] Evidence of emphasis and trivialization of certain events, people, and actions can be revealed by rhetorical strategies such as position, placement, tone, and stylistic intensification.[80] I will focus on several distinct techniques of discourse analysis to complement the understanding established by content analysis.

My analysis will also note the differences in references to the actors in each news account as either active or passive participants. Whether "participants are depicted as agents of actions, or as objects who are affected by the agents' actions"[81] is very important. As Tony Trew argues in his research, "using the passive form puts the (syntactic) agents [ ] in less focal position... Looking at this in purely syntactic terms, with the deletion of the agent there is no longer any direct reference to who did the action and there is a separation of the action from whoever did it."[82] There are also several passive forms, complete and incomplete. The complete form includes the agent and is less ambiguous than the incomplete passive form, which lacks the agent.[83] This play on passive and active forms can also be found through the usage of certain prepositional words such as 對，把，就. Furthermore, the analysis will attempt to tease out the specific devices used to exclude or suppress certain participants or actors involved in the accident. Representations of the story by each paper "include or exclude actors to suit its interests and purposes" in relations to its function in the restrictive news industry of China. "Some of the exclusions may be 'innocent,' details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them," others tie in close with the propaganda strategy of mitigating damage,

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[78] David L. Altheide, <u>Qualitative Media Analysis</u>, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996: 7; Margaret Wetherell, Simeon Yates, and Stephanie Taylor, <u>Discourse Theory and Practice a Reader</u>, Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE, 2001.

[79] Qin, 2004: 47.

[80] Stuart Hall, "Introduction," <u>Paper Voices the Popular Press and Social Change, 1935-1965</u>, Eds. A. C. H Smith, Elizabeth Immirzi, and Trevor Blackwell, Totowa, N.J: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975: 11-24.

[81] Sigman and Fry, 1985: 309.

[82] Tony Trew, "Theory and Ideology At Work," <u>Critical Discourse Analysis Critical Concepts in Linguistics</u>, Ed. Michael J. Toolan, New York: Routledge, 2002: 180-202.

[83] Trew, 2002: 184.

and of setting up a positive image of the government.[84] I will rely on these active versus passive forms to analyze whose position is being elevated by the writer, and whose position is being suppressed by the writer.

I will also attempt to draw inferences regarding the underlying assumptions and implied meaning of the discourse. One important aspect of qualitative analysis is to qualify the context of the content. Discourse analysis allows the researcher to probe deeper into the context, accounting for metalinguistic intentions and qualifying assumptions made based on content analysis. From initial reading of the articles, paying close attention to context shows that though some authors might be making a (veiled) negative comment on government institutions and policies, the author might first praise the positive aspects and pointedly mention that they outweigh the negative aspects. From this standard of practice, we may be able to conclude that the existence of veiled negative comments is an implied view of article regarding the state. Other examples would be, exposure of corruption goes hand in hand with praise for government anti-corruption efforts or articles that shows the government is working hard to help laid-off workers could be taken to mean that unemployment is a serious issue. These readings would illustrate my nuanced argument and will allow a fuller picture into the way language is used in reporting a controversial topic such as labor dispute.

*Quantitative Content Analysis*

As stated previously, content analysis is "a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within a text."[85] The researcher may code for the visible, surface content (or manifest content) of a communication and "assess the relative extent to which specified reference, attitudes, or themes permeate a given message or document."[86] At the coding stage, content analysis requires that, to comply with objectivity, the frequency

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[84] Theo van Leeuwen, "The Representation of Social Actors," <u>Texts and Practices Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis</u>, Eds. Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard, New York: Routledge, 1996: 38.

[85] Stone et al., 1966: 5, in Klaus Krippendorff, <u>Content Analysis</u>, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980: 23.

[86] Cartwright, 1953: 424, in Ole R. Holsti, "Content Analysis," <u>The Handbook of Social Psychology,</u> v 2 ed. Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co, 1968: 596.

of the selected symbols actually appearing in the text should be recorded.[87]

Since the abstract concept of media openness cannot be quantified directly, a proxy must be used to operationalize the concepts of criticalness. Operationalization refers to the specific steps, procedures, or operations that the researcher goes through in actually measuring and identifying the variables he or she wants to observe.[88] In this case, my variable is criticalness, therefore, the proxy I will use is the portrayal of the three state-sponsored forums for resolution of labor disputes: the Arbitration Committee (仲裁委員會), which directs the arbitration process; the Labor Bureau (勞動局), which administers the arbitration process; and the Court (法院), which administers the litigation phase of the labor dispute resolution process. These categories are constructed after an initial reading of the data for the types of relevant categories, and because of the interconnectedness of the two methods discussed above, qualitative reasoning does happen in the initial stages of category formation. I will code for words that convey the speed (the categories I will assign are *fast, slow, no mention*) and cost of the labor dispute process (*costly, not costly, no mention*) and the institution with which those words are associated. The reason for these categories is to show that an article is critical to the extent that it portrays official state institutions as hindering the resolution process by putting up barriers in forms of cost or speed. These barriers or lack thereof would signal to citizens the probability of obtaining recourse from these state institutions and "to use the law as a weapon"[89] to protect one's legal rights in the dispute resolution process. For example, standard fees for counsel in labor dispute cases can reach RMB 5,000 per case in the Shenzhen. That amount equals to 10 months of salary for a minimum wage worker, making it financially impossible for the workers to engage counsel in seeking legal recourse.[90]

Another variable is to track the number of opposing viewpoints being discussed or quoted in each article under examination (*one, two, three or more*) as a barometer for pluralism. The researcher will code for

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[87] Holsti, 1969: 12.

[88] Babbie, 1992: 46.

[89] A frequently quoted official slogan of enhancing people's legal consciousness, quoted in Lee, 2007.

[90] Virginia Harper Ho, Labor Dispute Resolution in China Implications for Labor Rights and Legal Reform, Berkeley, Calif: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California - Berkeley, 2003: 154.

viewpoints on an issue that are specifically opposing. The presentation of similar though separate viewpoints will not contribute to the measurement of diversity of opinion within the Chinese press, especially if the viewpoint of the central government is regurgitated throughout various levels of government and editorial. Pluralism can signal the ability to "discuss right and wrong policy, research, social behavior [and acts as] an impetus for progress and potentially a source of delegitimation" for the party's monopoly on information.[91] Other measurements that might signal pluralism could be articles within the same newspaper edition that possess opposing viewpoints or even different articles on difference days. These are other possible ways an article with only one viewpoint can contribute to pluralism. Due to the limit in sources and time, this research does not code for this type of pluralism. However the research is nonetheless a reliable, albeit narrow, measurement of pluralism in the china press.

Furthermore, as this data is quantifiable,[92] one can also code and quantify latent content, or underlying meaning. Since every article will be looked at, the researcher may read each article and determine the criticalness of that article. The results of the process will be coded to gauge whether or not an article inspires less or more confidence in the labor dispute resolution system. (*more confidence, neutral, less confidence, no mention*). A positive portrayal of government institutions can be expected to increase the confidence level of the readers and vice versa. Although a coder's assessment might be influenced by the appearance of words such as *fast, slow, expensive, lawful*, "that assessment would not depend [solely] on the frequency with which such words appeared."[93] To counter the question of reliability and specificity of this method, multiple coders will be used to ensure that arrive at the same conclusion when reading the same article (inter-coder reliability). Therefore, by employing both manifest and latent content analysis, the research will satisfy both depth and specificity in understanding the data.

Some of the codes were previously developed by Professor Susan Whiting and her team in their larger ongoing research on labor disputes. I will build on that to include a deeper and more nuanced analysis of the portrayal of the institutions. The portrayal determined by content analysis will allow a window into the environment in which the Chinese press exists.

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[91] Ashley Esarey, "Liberalization without Freedom? An Empirical Analysis of China's Newspapers 1978-2003," Unpublished Paper, 2007.
[92] Babbie, 1992, p. 318
[93] Babbie, 1992, p. 318

With the methods described above in mind, I will proceed to subject the data to both content analysis and discourse analysis in hope of bringing about internal and external validity. I expect what is revealed by content analysis will be supported by discourse analysis, bolstering my hypothesis of a cautious move toward independent reporting of the press in the People's Republic of China.

## Results and Discussion
### *Qualitative Discourse Analysis*

The discourse analysis attempts to unveil any discrepancies between the official 山東工人報 and the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 in their coverage of the explosion of an aluminum plant affiliated with Weiqiao Pioneering Group Co. (山東魏橋創業集團有限公司) in Zouping County, Shandong province explosion on August 19, 2007. Both papers have very limited information regarding the actual accident and the people involved. The typical information provided is a general description of the incident, the numbers of casualties and injured, as well as government responses. However, both give very small amount of background information regarding the accident.

My analysis points to several important differences between the official and the semi-commercial papers. Though both papers are rooted in the "same" factual event, they have different perspectives on the salient actors and actions. First, the publish dates of the three articles of the official 山東工人報 are August 21 (Appendix B) and August 22 (Appendix C), while the publish dates of the two articles of the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 are much later, August 28 (Appendix D) and September 13 (Appendix E). This could be a measure of damage control by the provincial government. Second, there are a number of unparalleled descriptions contained in the two papers, primarily in the amount of information provided and the specific incidents mentioned. For example, the attributed cause also differs in the two sources. The official 山東工人報 attributed the accident to workers' error and the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 attributed it to design flaws and improper evacuation procedures. Third, the relevant actors mentioned in each type of paper are also important. For example, the salient actors mentioned in each paper differ, which in turn influences the type of language associated to the description of each actor. There are certain actors who were either suppressed or excluded for the benefit of elevating other

actors through the usage of linguistic devices such as passive and active forms, and syntactic structure.

*Damage control*

As mentioned before, the first article of the official 山東工人報 came out on August 21, two days after the accident, while the second and third articles came out on August 22, three days after the accident. The publication dates of the two articles of the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 are August 28, nine days after the accident, and September 13, twenty-five days after the accident. This seems to be strategy of damage control by the provincial government to put the first spin on the portrayal of the accident in the official paper as to reflect in their favor and to control the subsequent reporting of the accident. This draws attention away from the negative event and to the positive steps taken by the government. By claiming a monopoly on information regarding the event, the provincial government is able to prevent other versions of the story to challenge its official version until much later. On the other hand, the articles from the semi-official paper came out a week and more after the incident. The first article reproduced the version from Xinhua, the official news agency of the PRC. Since Chinese news media are required to secure their news source through Xinhua, controlled by the Propaganda Department, this effectively grants the government a monopoly for domestic news service. This signifies the lack of information available to non-official papers until after the government has enough time to release its version of the story. This also shows the degree of control by the government and the effectiveness of censorship organs.

*Descriptions*

For the official 山東工人報 article that came out on August 21, only about 175 characters (41.2%) of the article were actually on the details of the explosion such as the numbers of casualties and injured and the cause. The rest of the article focuses on the responses of various government officials. For August 22, there were two articles concerning the accident. One small article with about 279 characters, 198 characters or 70.9% of which pertain to the accident, was conspicuously eclipsed by a larger article of 387 characters that offers no information on the specific accident at all, but instead focuses on new regulations regarding the reporting procedures of industrial accidents. In looking at this context of positioning, one can assume that this was a strategic move to showcase the reactionary measures taken by the government to prevent future disasters while downplaying the current accident. Since the

government has a monopoly on the information from the accident, it can devote more space to the coverage, in addition to spinning the story in a more positive way. It is also important to note that the first article written on the accident would offer more information on the accident itself, while latter articles would understandably focus more on responses of the government and efforts to prevent future accidents such as this.

For the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報 article that came out on August 28, about 249 characters or 44.8% are of the accident while the remaining characters are on new preventative requirements and regulations. The September 13 article has about 90 characters or 10% on the accident, with the rest on a speech given by the Provincial Party Deputy Secretary and Acting Governor of Shandong to call for greater work safety. Clearly, the semi-commercial paper devotes less space to the coverage of the accident. One reason for this is because when this paper publishes any information on the accident, it has been at least a week since it happened. So instead of focusing on the immediate and basic details of the accident, the paper devotes more time to the aftermath and the official responses. In other words, details of the accident are no longer newsworthy. It is now the reaction of the government that is worthy of coverage.

Moreover, the attributed cause varied between the two sources. The official articles that came out immediately the days following the accident place the blame on the error of workers. On the other hand, the semi-official paper does not even mention workers because they were not found to be at fault. According to the semi-official paper, the container of molten aluminum was designed by the unqualified Shandong Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd. with serious defects. The factory was also responsible for the accident because it failed to establish the product lines in accordance with the original design and evacuate workers on the scene in time. However, it must be stated that one of the semi-commercial articles uses Xinhua as a source and quotes from a circular released by the State Administration of Work Safety. This could be a case of local government protecting a local tax-paying company while central government is setting a harsh stance, a case of central trying to clean up local corruption. This is an interesting discrepancy, especially since there were no corrections of the attributed cause by the official paper even after the "official" version released by the State Administration of Work Safety.

**Actors analyses**
*Official*

One of the most glaring differences between the two papers is the mention of what each paper deems as salient in the coverage of the accident and the way these actors are portrayed. Focusing first on the official 山東工人報, it explicitly mentions the State Councilor and concurrent Secretary-General, the Provincial Party Secretary, the Deputy Provincial Party Secretary and concurrent Acting Governor, the Provincial Party Standing Committee member and concurrent Executive Deputy Governor, the Provincial Party Standing Committee member and concurrent Deputy Governor, the Secretary of the Provincial Government, the Deputy-Governor, the Assistant to the Governor, and the responsible person at Provincial Safety Supervision Department. These actors are portrayed in the active form to emphasize the quick response of the government and the prominent role of the government in handling the situation. When mentioned, the workers or the injured often play a diminished role to be acted upon. They are portrayed as having no agency of their own.

In the article that was published on August 21, more space is devoted to the actions and responses of the governmental actors (58.8% of the article) than on the detail of the accident itself (41.2%). All of the government officials mentioned in this article play the active role. One example of the typical description of the state actor is the portrayal of the State Councilor and concurrent Secretary-General, described as someone who responded promptly to the situation. The sentence is: "After the accident happened, the State Councilor and concurrent Secretary-General Hua Jianmin *immediately* made *important* instructions…"[94] (事故發生後，國務委員兼秘書長華建敏立即作出重要批示…). The focus of the sentence is on the State Councilor and concurrent Secretary-General Hua Jiamin, and shows how he plays the role of an active participant in this case. By using 'immediately' to preface his action, this attempts to highlight the urgency with which this official responded. The usage of the value word 'important' in relating to his instructions also lends extra weight to his action. This then reinforces the idea of an active government that is acting decisively to mitigate the situation. Similarly, other active actors are also portrayed as active participants.

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[94] All emphases added by the researcher.

Extract 1 from August 21: "The Provincial Party Secretary Li Jianguo *instructs* to rescue the wounded *with all one's strength*, properly handle the aftermath, and do the related work *with great efforts.*" (省委書記李建國指示，要全力搶救傷員，妥善處理善後，努力做好相關工作。)

Extract 2 from August 21: "The Deputy Provincial Party Secretary and concurrent Acting Governor Jiang Daming *requires* to *resolutely* implement the request instructed by the State Councilor Hua Jianmin, *to exhaust every possible means* to treat the injured." (省委副書記代省長姜大明要求，堅決落實華建敏國務委員的批示要求，千方百計救治傷員。)

Extract 3 from August 21: "The Deputy Governor Guo Zhaoxin, the Assistant to the Governor Zhang Chuanlin, the responsible person at Provincial Safety Supervision Department *rushed overnight* to the scene and guided rescue work. The provincial government *urgently mobilizes* medical strength, *to do the utmost* to rescue the injured.
(副省長郭兆信，省長助理張傳林，省安全監督部門責任人連夜趕赴現場，指導救援工作。
政府緊急調動醫療力量，對傷者全力施救)

     Looking at the extracts above from the same article, the readers are drawn to the active verbs that denote an effective government taking the necessary step to alleviate the situation. Verbs such as 'instructs' (指示), 'requires' (要求), 'rushed' (趕赴), 'mobilizes' (緊急) not only directly connect the government to the accident, but also put the focus on the officials themselves and their actions rather than on the accident, or on the workers whom them are helping. Adding to that are the adjectives and value-laden and emotional language: 'with all one's strength' (全力), 'with great efforts' (努力), 'resolutely' (堅決), 'to try to exhaust every possible means' (千方百計), 'rushed overnight' (連夜趕赴), 'urgently' (緊急), 'to do the utmost' (全力). These words reflect the bias of the writer and express overwhelmingly positive opinions or biases toward the subject, with the intention of swaying the opinions of the readers.

千方百計 (utmost, to exhaust every possible means) is a very powerful four-character idiom or 成語. In this case, it describes the extent to which the government is devoted to the well being of its citizens, the workers.

One sentence that needs to be looked at in detail is "The provincial government urgently mobilizes medical strength, to do the utmost to rescue the injured" (政府緊急調動醫療力量，對傷者全力施救。) By using the preposition 對 and placing the object (傷者 or 'the injured') before the verb (施救 or 'rescue'), the writer focuses the attention on the government and its actions instead of on the 傷者. If the sentence is switched so that the verb is before the object, for example '政府緊急調動醫療力量全力施救傷者,' it provides the same information but with slightly different focus. The first sentence places on the focus on the government and its actions while the second sentence places the focus on the injured. The whole article is written in the point of view of the government. These strategies succeed in drowning out the accident itself while elevating the role of the government.

The workers in this article show up in a minor phrase that explains the cause of the accident: '*Due to* improper operation of workers' (由於職工操作不當). They also appear in the passive form of 'the injured' (傷者) who are constantly being acted up on by the government officials (要全力搶救傷員；千方百計救治傷員；對傷者全力施救). This allows no agency from the workers, as well as downplays the role of the workers, despite the fact that they are the main part of the accident. Furthermore, there are no quotes from the workers, no point of view from the workers. This conspicuous absence of the point of view of the workers and the suppression of the role of the workers successfully elevate the status of the government.

Similarly, with the other two articles in the official paper from August 22, the government is once again in the active form, and the workers are once again in the passive form. In the article entitled "Cause of the Zouping Aluminum Liquid Spills Accident Tentatively Investigated" ("鄒平鋁水外溢事故原因初步查明"), the workers once more assume the passive form: 'the cause found by preliminary investigation is *triggered by* improper operation of workers'

(初步查明原因為職工操作不當引發), and '*due to* improper operation

of workers' (由於職工操作不當). This is again contrasted with the active form of the government: 'the related departments *quickly established* the cause of the accident investigation team'

(有關部門迅速成立了事故原因調查組). Similarly, in the article entitled "Provisions In Our Province - Production Safety Accidents that Cause Death or Serious Bodily Injury Must be Reported Within One Hour"

("我省規定－致人死亡或重傷的生產安全事故須1小時內報告") that

lays out new rules and regulations pertaining to the reporting of industrial accidents, the government takes on the active form in 'Shandong provincial government recently *stipulates*'

(山東省政府近日規定). This repeated strategy of elevating the

government through active forms while suppressing the workers though passive form serves well of not only painting the government in a positive light, but also highlights the lower syntactic position of the workers in relations to the government.

*Semi-commercial*

While the previous discussion is on the linguistic devices of the

official paper, this section focuses on the semi-commercial 齊魯晚報.

The semi-commercial paper only mentions the Deputy Provincial Party Secretary and concurrent Acting Governor, the State Administration of Work Safety, and the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd. Of that group, only the state actors possess the active form while the company possesses the passive form. The Weiqiao Pioneering Group Co., the company with the accident, is only mentioned in the background information and does not play a big or active role in the article. The workers are not even mentioned in either of the semi-commercial articles since they are found to be not at fault. Their only mention happens in the form of recounting 'the injured.'

One difference with the official paper is that the state actors and their actions in the semi-commercial paper are not portrayed with excessive positive slant. The article from August 28, the governmental actors do possess the active form, for example, 'the State Administration of Work Safety *requires*' (安監總局要求). What is significant here is the lack of value-laden language that characterizes the official paper. There are no emotional and loaded adjectives, no colorful idioms that describe the emergency responses of government officials. Instead, this article

focuses more on preventative measures to be taken in the future. Though the language of this semi-commercial paper regarding the governmental actor is active, it is still neutral. It still lends more focus on the government and its reactionary regulation because all the other salient (official) actors in the article possess the passive form.

Regarding the other actor in the article is the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd. Since it has been about three weeks since the accident, there is a conclusive cause of the accident: 'The project *was designed by* the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd. with no design qualifications, and there exist major flaws in the design blueprint' (這個工程由無設計資質的山東魏橋鋁電有限公司設計，設計圖紙存

在重大缺陷). The discursive strategy of using the passive voice of 'the project *was designed by* the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd' instead of more active version of 'the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd designed the project' puts less focus on the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd. So in portraying the government in active form and the other actor in passive form, the focus is once again on the government and its actions.

The next part of previous sentence is even more telltale: 'emergency handling at the scene was inappropriate, the contingency plans did not meet specifications' (現場應急處置不當，應急預案不符合規范要求). The significance of the incomplete clause lies in the exclusion of the subject, and makes the readers wonder, who was handling the emergency response? Whose contingency plan did not meet specifications? Since this was in the same sentence as the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd, the readers could easily assume that the Weiqiao Aluminum Electricity Co. Ltd failed in its responses. The readers could also assume the Weiqiao Pioneering Group Co., where the accident happened, was responsible. The readers could also assume the government as the one at fault. However, in contrast with the official paper, which was very quick to point out the effective emergency responses of the provincial government as well as to elevate the active roles of government officials, this incomplete passive form here of the semi-commercial paper allows a certain degree of ambiguity when making a judgment on the failure of the relief efforts. These efforts are implicitly understood here to be government efforts, and thus by making a judgment on the failure of the rescue efforts, the paper is implicitly criticizing the emergency responses of the provincial government.

Moving on to the last article in the discourse analysis, the article from September 13 also puts the governmental actor, Deputy Provincial

Party Secretary and concurrent Acting Governor Jiang Daming, in the active role. This shows him speaking from a televised conference, emphasizing safety procedures and regulations for industries and encouraging the continued production safety efforts province-wide. There is barely any specific mention of the accident or the workers. Jiang Daming is using the example of recent industrial accidents, including the August 19 explosion, to push to a general improvement of work safety. Throughout the article, Jiang Daming is an active participant in the event as he acts upon other: 'he *emphasizes'* (他強調), 'Jiang Daming *points out* in his speech' (姜大明在講話中指出), 'Jiang Daming *requires'* (姜大明要求). The focus is on him as an active agent to accomplish his goals.

One important sentence to be carefully analyzed is 'At the meeting, the main responsible comrades of Binzhou City government conducted serious analysis concerning the cause of the '8.19' accident of aluminum spill explosion at Weiqiao Pioneering Group Co., and conducted a profound reflection concerning lessons from the accident and introduced measures for the implementation of improvement' (會上，[ ] 濱州市政府主要負責同志就 [

]魏橋集團"8·19"鋁液外溢爆炸事故的原因進行了認真分析，對事故教訓進行了深刻反思並介紹了落實整改措施。) Similar to a technique described above in the August 21 article of the official paper, by using

the prepositions 就 and 對 in front of the objects (the cause of the

accident and lesson, respectively) follow by the verbs (conduct), the focus once again is on the government and its actions. If the prepositional words are disposed of, and the verb phrase is moved to the front of the object, then the emphasis would have been on the objects instead of the actions and the subject. In other word, the focus would be on the analysis of the accident and the lessons learned, and not on the government acting on these objects.

These active/passive strategies are very effective in drowning out certain actors and objects while elevating the role of the government. This happens in both the official and the semi-commercial papers. The official paper is keener on preserving a positive image of an active government through the strategy of damage control and value-laden phrases. The semi-commercial paper is a bit more straightforward in its delivery of information. Though the semi-commercial paper is a bit critical when it implicitly criticizes the failure of the emergency responses of the provincial government, that particular article was imported from Xinhua, the central news agency. Then the semi-commercial paper is understood to have a small degree of a political

coverage and leverage to criticize the local government by repeating the words from the central government. One can conclude that the censorship is very tight across the board, so I cannot go so far as to say semi-commercial papers are decisively more critical than official papers. However, this discourse analysis finding might bode well for my core hypothesis of a somewhat critical press within very definite boundaries.

*Quantitative Content Analysis Results And Discussion*

The main research question focuses on the difference in criticalness between official and semi-commercial papers. I conducted a content analysis of labor related articles from the official Shandong Workers Daily (山東工人報) and the semi-commercial Qilu Evening Newspaper (齊魯晚報) from January 2000. The overall results seem to be in line with finding 3 in Table 1 (Possible Findings) of an uncritical press. Of the variables I tested (see Appendix A for content analysis codesheet), I found the difference between official papers and semi-commercial papers regarding confidence in the labor dispute resolution system, portrayal of the Arbitration Committee and its findings as significant at 90% confidence level and only the confidence in the labor dispute resolution system and findings of the Arbitration Committee as significant at 95%. This implies strong censorship across the board for both official and semi-commercial papers. The official paper on the whole is positive with virtually no critical coverage of the labor dispute resolution system or the government institutions responsible. This is also reflected in the semi-commercial paper. However, though there is no significant difference between the two types of papers on most of the variables, there still exists a subtle difference between the two. On the confidence level regarding the labor dispute resolution system, there is a significant difference between the two papers. The semi-official paper generally inspires less confidence in the labor dispute resolution system. Moreover, there are several negative and critical semi-commercial articles in the expected direction paper regarding Arbitration Committee. However, though this degree of criticalness is small, it still lends partial support to my core hypothesis of a somewhat freer press due to the small but important existence of negative coverage. This subtle difference between the official and the semi-commercial papers implies that commercialization has led to a somewhat more daring commercial press. The analysis will be laid out in more details in subsequent sections.

*Confidence in the dispute resolution system*

From the first method, the independent T-test with a confidence of 95%, the P-value is 0.0003. This means arithmetic averages from

between the official source and the semi-commercial source in regards to confidence of readers in the labor dispute resolution system are significantly different. This is reflected in the contingency table 3, one can clearly see the difference between the official source and the semi-commercial source. The most telling discrepancy in the table below is the number of articles in the semi-commercial paper that inspires less confidence in the readers (18.75%) is much greater than those in the official paper (0%). Conversely, 76.92% of articles from the official paper tend to praise the labor dispute resolution system or report mostly of positive accomplishment by the system. A majority articles from the semi-commercial paper (43.75%) falls in the neutral category with the rest in either positive (more confidence: 37.50%) or negative (less confidence: 18.75%). Staying neutral is an important trait of independent, unbiased reporting. Therefore, the ability to be unbiased and to criticize when needed is a sign of the more critical, more daring style of semi-commercial papers. So the semi-commercial paper inspires less confidence in the labor dispute resolution system while the official paper tends to inspire more confidence in the system.

| Confidence in Labor Dispute Resolution System | Official | | Semi-commerical | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No Mention | 15.38% | (4) | 0% | (0) | 4 |
| More Confidence | 76.92% | (20) | 37.50% | (6) | 26 |
| Neutral | 7.69% | (2) | 43.75% | (7) | 9 |
| Less Confidence | 0.00% | (0) | 18.75% | (3) | 3 |
| Total | | 26 | | 16 | 42 |

*Table 3. Confidence in Labor Dispute Resolution System.*

*Pluralism*

  Thought there exists a difference between official and semi-commercial papers on the number of opposing viewpoints present in their reporting, this difference is not significant. With a confidence range of 95%, the P-value is 0.22. This might be due to the small number in the sampled data as a result of time and material constraint. In future research, I hope to be able to expand on the number of data sampled as well as distinguish between perspectives of the central, provincial, and local governments, and their opposing viewpoints. However, the data still allows a valuable glimpse into the discrepancy in the diversity of viewpoints in the two sources. Table 4 shows that despite being

overwhelmingly singular in its source, Qilu Evening News is slightly more daring in its introduction of diverse viewpoints in several of its reports, more so than the official Shandong Workers Daily. In most of the papers with one viewpoint, the perspective that is covered is overwhelmingly of the government and its institutions. If the worker or workers, as victims, are quoted, it's usually the case where labor dispute institutions come to their rescue and siding with them, thus bolstering the image of the government.

| Opposing Viewpoints | Official | | Semi-commerical | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 80.77% | (21) | 0.625 | (10) | 31 |
| 2 | 11.54% | (3) | 0.1875 | (3) | 6 |
| 3 | 7.69% | (2) | 0.1875 | (3) | 5 |
| Total | | 26 | | 16 | 42 |

*Table 4. Opposing Viewpoints.*

*Portrayals of mediation, arbitration, and litigation institutions*
        The p-values for the independent T-tests at 95% for the portrayal of the Labor Bureau, the Arbitration Committee, and the Court did not show significant difference between the official and semi-commercial papers. Once again, this might be due to the small number of sampled articles. This could also signify the inability of Chinese newspapers to directly criticize government institutions. The government control over both official and semi-commercial papers is palpable, so much so that the government institutions are off-limit most of the time. However, at 90%, there is a significant difference between the two sources regarding the portrayal of the Arbitration Committee (p-value is 0.091). Similarly, the p-value for the independent T-test of the perception regarding the decision of the Arbitration Committee between official and semi-commercial with a confidence of 95% is 0.0090. This means that there is a significant difference between the results garnered from the two sources. However, there are no significant differences in the portrayal of the Labor Bureau and the Court. Analysis will follow below.

*Labor Bureau*
        However, as argued in the hypothesis, it should be noted that there is still the existence of negative portrayals of Labor Bureau, despite the fact that there is no significant difference between the official and the semi-commercial papers. In the portrayal of the Labor Bureau (Table 5), though there was no conclusive data from the official Shandong Workers

Daily, the semi-commercial Qilu Evening News does contain several articles that are negative in its view toward the Labor Bureau. So this can be seen as the small cautious step by semi-commercial paper in the direction of more independent reporting.

| Portrayal of Labor Bureau | Official | | Semi-commerical | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No Mention | 100.00% | (21) | 56.25% | (9) | 35 |
| Positive | 0.00% | (0) | 6.25% | (1) | 1 |
| Neutral | 0.00% | (0) | 25.00% | (4) | 4 |
| Negative | 0.00% | (0) | 12.5% | (2) | 2 |
| Total | | 26 | | 16 | 42 |

*Table 5. Portrayal of Labor Bureau.*

*Arbitration Committee*

Though there is no significant difference between the two sources regarding the portrayal of the Arbitration Committee (Table 6) at 95% confidence, however, at 90% confidence with a p-value of 0.091, there is a significant difference. The semi-commercial paper offers a slightly negative depiction (6.25%). This subtle yet profound difference offers partial support to my hypothesis of a slightly freer media. Though the semi-commercial is not significantly different than the official paper, the fact that a negative article appears in the press at all is a step toward the hope of an independent media.

| Portrayal of Arbitration Committee | Official | | Semi-commerical | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No Mention | 38.46% | (10) | 75% | (12) | 35 |
| Positive | 30.77% | (8) | 12.50% | (2) | 1 |
| Neutral | 30.77% | (8) | 6.25% | (1) | 4 |
| Negative | 0.00% | (0) | 6.25% | (1) | 2 |
| Total | | 26 | | 16 | 42 |

*Table 6. Portrayal of Arbitration Committee.*

Though the perception of the decision of the Arbitration Committee (Table 7) has no negative portrayals, there is a significant difference between the two papers at 95%. So it is important to note the overwhelmingly neutral portrayals from the semi-commercial paper and the overwhelmingly positive portrayals from the official paper. This is indeed telltale of the tendency of official papers to slant toward a more favorable and positive image of the government.

| Perception of Arbitration Committee Decision | Official | | Semi-commerical | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No Mention | 29.73% | (11) | 70.27% | (13) | 24 |
| Positive | 71.43% | (15) | 28.57% | (3) | 18 |
| Total | 26 | | 16 | | 42 |

*Table 7. Perception of Arbitration Committee Decision.*
## Court
In the portrayal of the Court (Table 8), there is no significant difference at both 95% and 90% between the two papers as well as are no negative articles from either paper. This signals extreme across the board censorship with regards to the Court. This still warrants attention because for decades, Chinese newspapers, both official and semi-commercial, rarely raised any critiques or negative comments of the legal procedures.[95] One reason might be that the court is a high level political actor who is irreproachable. This shows the limit of independent or critical reporting in both types of paper. Also, criticizing the Court would be contradictory to the "Rule of Law" campaign being pushed by the central government. This would be testing the limit of censorship.

| Portrayal of the Court | Official | | Semi-commerical | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No Mention | 80.77% | (21) | 75% | (12) | 33 |
| Positive | 11.54% | (3) | 18.75% | (3) | 6 |
| Neutral | 7.69% | (2) | 6.25% | (1) | 3 |
| Total | 26 | | 16 | | 42 |

*Table 8. Portrayal of the Court.*
In conclusion, the findings of my content analysis imply strong censorship across the board for both official and semi-commercial papers. On the whole, the official 山東工人報 is overwhelmingly positive or neutral, regardless of the variables tested. So the nonexistence of negative portrayals demonstrates an eagerness on the part of official papers to depict a favorable picture of the government. On the other hand, the semi-commercial paper is also mostly positive and neutral. The subtle but very significant difference lies in the existence of a few negative portrayals. This shows that semi-commercial papers possess

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[95] Chen, 2007: 19

certain liberties and are willing to cross certain lines that a financially dependent official paper do not and cannot. This degree of criticalness offers weak but important support for my core hypothesis and Finding 1 where semi-commercial papers are more critical while official papers are less critical. However, this does lend partial support to my core hypothesis of a somewhat freer press. The more financially independent semi-commercial paper does tend to be a bit more critical than the official paper, but the semi-commercial paper does heed the boundaries set by the government.

**Conclusion**

  Through the window of labor disputes, my hypothesis of a somewhat freer press within certain boundaries is partly supported. Though the government is still very much in control, the proliferation of topics and the way they are handled indicates that a small degree of openness does exist due to the turn toward the market. The official papers are less commercial and more in line with the Party; therefore, 山東工人報 is found to be overwhelmingly uncritical through both content and discourse analyses. The threat of political and financial repercussions from its owner, the government, is very successful at keeping the official paper toeing the party line. On the other hand, semi-commercial papers are more commercial so they have a bit more financial and editorial freedom from the government; therefore, I expected them to be more critical toward the government and government institutions. However, I found that 齊魯晚報 is also very positive in its portrayal of the government. This is understandable as there are still boundaries set by the government that it dares not cross. However, there still exist certain critical articles and language. Despite their small number, the existence of articles and language critical, both explicitly or implicitly, toward the government is vastly significance. This is a small and cautious step toward a freer press that was utterly incomprehensible several decades ago.

  Currently, the sample size is too small to decisively conclude on the state of media in China. This is can be an ongoing project that can incorporate many more variables with larger samples. The research can expand to include analysis of newspaper coverage of labor dispute in 1988, 1994, and 2000 in the provinces of Shandong, Shaaxi, Sichuan, and Guangdong as the data becomes available. Another direction I would like explore is to look at the change over time. Given the passage of labor laws within the past several decades, one would assume that papers became more daring over time as more labor disputes arise. The onset of

labor laws parallels the onset of commercialization of the media since economic reforms. However, the future path for this project is to incorporate more variables and codes along with more rigorous hypotheses testing. This research can also benefit from having a more comprehensive case study with extensive coverage of one large and important incident.

The question of press openness in China is one that will continue to receive a significant amount of attention for years to come as China continues on its path of breakneck economic development. Though one might hope that economic liberalization might also bring about political liberalization, the CCP is keen on continuing its grasp on power. The success of the CCP's media controls is due to the fact that freedom of information threatens its claims to power and legitimacy. Information is the main driver of political change because it provides the masses with the knowledge of their situation and the evidence of state's efforts to tamper with that information. Knowledge can lead to political mobilization and, ultimately, regime change. The Party recognizes the vulnerability of its position in the face of truth; therefore it devotes vast energy and resources to control information. To address these new challenges, the CCP is relying to a greater degree on coercion, a strategy that makes it vulnerable to domestic and international criticism. The CCP faces an unpleasant choice: more freedom or more repression? Both options threaten the Party's monopoly of power and poise the country on the road for dramatic change.

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## APPENDIX A

Content Analysis Code Sheet

1. Date _____                          2. Source
_____

3. How does the article make the reader feel about the labor dispute system? (feelings)
> 1. More confident
> 2. Neutral
> 3. Less confident
> 0. No mention

4. Indicator of opposing viewpoints (pluralism)
> 1. One
> 2. Two
> 3. Multiple

5. If the Labor Bureau (勞動局) is mentioned how is it portrayed? (Ldjportr)
> 1. Positive
> 2. Neutral
> 3. Negative
> 0. No Mention

6. If yes, how many times_____ (ldjtimes)
> 7. Speed of process (ldjspeed):
> > 1. Slow
> > 2. Fast
> > 0. No mention

> 8. Cost of process (ldjcost):
> > 1. Costly
> > 2. Not costly
> > 0. No mention

9. Achieve decision/finding/agreement/judgment (ldjachiv)
> 1.Yes
> 2. No
> 0. No mention (or still in process)

10. Perception of decision/finding/agreement/judgment  (ldjdecis)

       1. Positive
       2. Negative
       0. No mention

11. If the Arbitration Committee (仲裁委員會) is mentioned how is it portrayed? (zhcportr)
       1. Positive
       2. Neutral
       3. Negative
       0. No Mention

12. If yes, how many times_____ (zhctimes)
       13. Speed of process (zhcspeed):
            1. Slow
            2. Fast
            0. No mention

       14. Cost of process (zhccost):
            1. Costly
            2. Not costly
            0. No mention

15. Achieve decision/finding/agreement/judgment (zhcachiv)
       1.Yes
       2. No
       0. No mention (or still in process)

16. Perception of decision/finding/agreement/judgment (zhcdecis)
       1. Positive
       2. Negative
       0. No mention

17. If the Court (法院) is mentioned how is it portrayed? (Fyportr)
       1. Positive
       2. Neutral
       3. Negative
       0. No Mention

18. If yes, how many times_____ (Fytimes)
       19. Speed of process (Fyspeed):
            1. Slow
            2. Fast

0. No mention

20. Cost of process (Fycost):
    1. Costly
    2. Not costly
    0 No mention

21. Achieve decision/finding/agreement/judgment (Fyachiv)
    1. Yes
    2. No
    0. No mention (or still in process)

22. Perception of decision/finding/agreement/judgment  (Fydecis)
    1. Positive
    2. Negative
    0. No mention

# APPENDIX B

Official Paper – 山東工人報, August 21, 02007

**APPENDIX C**

Official Paper – 山東工人報, August 22, 2007

## APPENDIX D

Semi-commercial Paper – 齊魯晚報, August 28, 2007

# 安监总局通报
# 山东"8·19"
# 铝液外溢爆炸事故

新华社北京8月27日电(记者　刘铮)
国家安全生产监督管理总局27日公布了
对山东魏桥创业集团有限公司"8·19"铝
液外溢爆炸重大事故的通报,要求深刻吸
取教训,进一步加强冶金、有色行业安全
生产监管工作,遏制重特大事故发生。

"这是多年来有色行业铝液外溢爆
炸造成的罕见重大伤亡事故,经济损失
惨重,社会负面影响较大,教训十分深
刻。"通报指出,这个工程由无设计资质
的山东魏桥铝电有限公司设计,设计图
纸存在重大缺陷,现场建设施工违反设
计,现场应急处置不当,应急预案不符合
规范要求。

安监总局要求,冶金、有色企业在新
建、改扩建项目时,必须选择有设计资质
的单位进行设计,按规定履行立项申请、
审批、审查等程序,未设计或无资质设计
的建设项目,一律不得投入生产和使用;
必须严格按设计图纸施工,严格执行设
计变更程序,不得随意改变工艺布局和
增减设备。

通报要求,冶金、有色企业要立即以
近期开展的隐患排查治理专项行动为契
机,精心组织,重点检查。要检查各类冶
金炉是否带病运行,有毒有害、易燃易爆
气体的生产、运输、储存和使用等环节防
泄漏、防爆炸措施落实情况等。发现重大
隐患要落实治理方案、资金和责任人,限
期整改。

今年8月19日,位于山东省邹平县境
内的山东魏桥创业集团下属的铝母线铸
造分厂发生铝液外溢爆炸重大事故,造
成16人遇难,59人受伤(其中13人重伤),
初步估算直接经济损失665万元。

## APPENDIX E

Semi-commercial Paper – 齊魯晚報, September 13, 2007

A4　齐鲁晚报　2007年9月13日 星期四

重点新闻 | 综合

电话：(0531)-85193139
责编：宋国庆 组版：林舟

姜大明要求切实树立安全发展理念——

# 持之以恒抓好安全生产

本报济南9月12日讯

李鹏飞 袁涛 张海艳

Whiting, Professor Deborah Porter, Gene Kim, Chen Jie, Tam H. Tran, Yicheng Wang, and Miao Jing.

The stratified data set is part of a larger project of Professor Susan H. Whiting, along with Lin Ying and Chen Jie, graduate students of the Political Science Department. Prof. Whiting spent several summers in China and Hong Kong to collect newspaper articles on labor disputes. Articles are collected for the months of January, April, July, and October; depending on the availability of the sources, another month was used as a substitute.

Vi L. Nhan
Department of Political Science
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My Research interests include issues of Chinese Media, U.S. Foreign Policy, and U.S.-China relations. After a year at the John Hopkins University campus in Bologna, Italy, I will return to Washington, D.C. to complete the requirements for a Master of Arts in International Relations.

# CommCare

Laura Pina

## Abstract

*Community Health Workers (CHWs) provide information on preventive care, and monitor the health of communities where a hospital or professional medical care is not easily accessible. They especially play a crucial role in low-income regions or rural communities. In order to administer effective care CHWs need to maintain records for each family they attend to and be prepared to provide a wide range of healthcare services. CommCare is a software tool to support CHWs daily activities, from organizing the schedule of visits to guiding them through a medical protocol when meeting with a patient. The objective of CommCare is to make time management more efficient, support CHWs' limited medical training and guide them through medical protocols to follow when visiting a patient, and to collect data that can later be analyzed by health experts in order to inform policy makers. CommCare takes a dialog based approach to helping the CHW schedule and organize their tasks using a common mobile phone platform.*

## Introduction

People in low-income regions or rural regions do not have easy access to medical facilities and doctors. People living in these conditions usually delay medical care because they cannot afford: (1) the cost of transportation, (2) to lose of day of work, (3) afford to pay lodging in case consecutive visits are needed.

In such regions Community Health Workers (CHWs) were introduced as way to provide basic healthcare. The purpose of CHWs is to eliminate the distance between doctors and patients, to decrease the long commutes the inhabitants of remote regions have to make to visit doctors, and to receive personal healthcare in the setting of the patient's home. Because CHWs will be visiting patients regularly, they are in the best position to promote preventive care, ensure safe pregnancy, and monitor the health for communities where hospital or professional medical are not available**.**

However, CHWs often receive limited training; there is a high staff turnover due to their limited number and competing NGO projects, and lack of the tools to accurately identify common diseases that are easy to cure if detected early. The CHWs experience further inconveniences on a daily basis. They travel from household to household, carry with them booklets explaining step by step protocols for detecting illnesses

common in the area and easy to identify. Additionally, their daily schedule of visits is not properly arranged and therefore the order of visits may not be the most efficient and visits with high priorities may be relegated to last or not completed by the needed date.

What if the CHW could have a hand held device that would help them make their day more productive by making a schedule of suggested visits based on previously made follow-ups, allowing the user to add or delete visits to the schedule, suggest to modify the schedule if they are behind schedule, and helping them follow medical protocols instead of the CHW paging through a medical protocol booklet. This is the goal of CommCare, to include medical protocols, a day planner, and a form of data collection all in a mobile device. CommCare would serve as the application and need tool to provide the needed services. Lastly the data collected from CHWs and saved on the cellphone can be downloaded to be incorporated into other tools to allow medical experts to analyze trends in a specific region. CommCare will support CHWs daily tasks, allow for user input and also adapt to situations that occur throughout the day.

A day of the CHW using CommCare would be like the following. At the start of their working day, the CHW would request be prompted on the mobile device would show all the follow-ups visits required to complete the current date organized by the village they correspond to. The user would choose which village they would like to visit to complete the follow-ups. Then a schedule would be made ordering the visits for the chosen village. This schedule would include the time of transportation in between visits as well as an estimation of the duration of visit based on the reason for the follow-up. Additionally, if they are some follow-ups that could be completed that are in the path the CHW will take to reach the selected village then those will be included in the schedule for the day.

Once the CHW reaches the household to complete the visit the mobile device will load up a protocol to follow according to the reason for the follow-up. Once the visit is completed the schedule will be modified if the current visit took longer than expected and some of the remaining visits will be completed. In other words, the schedule will evaluate the remaining time to work and make a new schedule accordingly.

They have about 100 patients, hard to keep track of them, schedule to visit them in the right way Benefit of CommCare even if the region switches villages through the electronic system the new CHW can learn about his patients probably easier than paper.

**Approach**

      The approach of CommCare and specifically the Day Planner module is to make the tool dialogue based and not a pure algorithmic scheduling approach. The decision to make it dialogue based is because we want to adapt to unplanned circumstances that can occur throughout the day based on feedback from the user and therefore the user can asses the situation better than a hard coded algorithm for scheduling the day.

      The schedule will be made of follow-ups previously scheduled by either the CHW or staff at the health clinic facility associated with the patient and the CHW. For now we have determined all follow-ups will fall under three categories: high, medium, and low. High priority visits are ones that really need to be completed by the end of the set day. The other two categories can be delayed to be completed a day or two especially the low priority category. An example of a high priority is a toddler with a high fever; this would fall under high priority since it is dangerous. But a regular pregnancy checkup can be delayed some days; which could be low priority.

      When the user desires to make a schedule the day planner module can is started. Follow-ups to be completed by the date will be arranged by the villages they correspond to, and within the village categorized by the priority they fall under. The user can then select which villages he/she wishes to visit. The schedule is then made from follow-ups from the villages chosen and the first included are the high priorities, and when time allows then lower priorities are added. Based on the information with have received from staff interacting with CHWs we have decided 5 visits per day is about the average CHWs can complete in one working day. Thus the schedule includes 5 visits to be completed plus estimated transportation between visits. The priorities are color coded and the transportation has its own color as well.

      The schedule is presented to the user a timeline column format; where the first follow-up on the list is the first visit to be completed and so on. The time of transportation is intersected in between each visit. The user has the option to reschedule by adding visits to the schedule or deleting from the schedule.

      The reason we allowed the user to choose which villages to visit and to add visits to the schedule or delete visits from the schedule is because of the dialogue approach we are trying to achieve,; always give the CHW options because we do not know if he/she will have access to the road leading to village or if the transportation at a given day to a specific village will not be available. Thus, the schedule needs to adapt to the CHW's needs and to the situation. Making a schedule that requires input from the CHW supports a dialogue dialogue.

Additionally, the estimated time of transportation between visits can be modified. This is also to follow the dialogue model because no one knows better than the CHW's experience how long it takes to go from village A to village B.

At any time the schedule exists the user can select any of the scheduled patients to view further information available. Right now date of birth, the date of the last time visit, the priority of the visit, the reason for visit, and the estimated duration of visit is shown. But with more information collected from each visit one can imagine reading a summary of the last visit made to this patient.

The idea behind the day planner is too help the CHW stay on schedule and support his/hers decisions throughout the day. For example, if the CHW is running behind schedule then the schedule would notify the user and ask to modify the schedule by deleting a visit or adjusting the schedule by adding visits that are closer to the current visit and removing ones that are not so close. This feature is still not fully available but we hope to implement.

**Implementation**

We are implementing the software tool on a Sony Ericsson K610i using JavaPolish on top of Java2ME. This platform is more restrictive than the regular Java platform thus certain coding ideas had to be adjusted. Additionally because none of the actual data or tables existed for the patients or the follow-ups, all this information had to be simulated.  To simulate the list they are all made from arraylists java class. Thus right now they are classes with fields that one can complete, perhaps the implementation of the patients and follow-ups may change in the future in to sync with other applications such as the open medical record systems[1].

The Sony Ericsson K610i is mobile phone with no special capabilities such as GPS, or pc-like functionalities. It is true that with a cellphone considered "smartphone" such as the iPhone that many more features and portraying information would be easier. However it would to be unrealistic to assume that CHWs could afford such a phone or that it is compatible with the existing technology in the region. We tried to implement the day planner module on a mobile phone to imitate what a CHW might be carrying around with him or her. The idea is to make this application portable, easy to upload and not require an additional expensive phone just able to port CommCare.

In this section one will be able to view how the day planner looks like on the emulator which simulates the functionalities of the

actual phone and lastly one picture with the schedule on the actual phone.

Figure 1 is the first screen sees is a basic login screen. The login screen used for the purpose of testing the day planner is very simple. There are other CommCare collaborators who are working on making a secure login screen with a better user interface.

Currently, the user can toggle to Swahili as the language to use. Currently only the login screen has this option, we are hoping to expand to the rest of the application. If the user enters the correct login name and screen the main menu screen will appear (Figure 2), if not the user will be prompted to re-enter the login information. (The blue squares represent what buttons are being pushed to selected the option

*Figure 1. Login Screen.*

*Figure 2. Main Menu.*

*Figure 3. Notice For Incorrect Login Screen.*

which plans the day for the CHW but the menu can give an idea of the additional features CommCare plans to offers. For example, StartVisit would be to upload the a protocol based on the reason for the CHW's

visit. If it is a Malaria Follow-Up then a specific protocol to follow would appear on the screen.

Next screen to appear is Figure 4 which allows the user to select which villages he/she would like to visit. The reason we are showing the follow-ups with their priority is to inform the user of the current status of the types of visits needed to be completed. We believe the user will know best which villages are possible to reach at the moment and which not. By organizing the follow-ups by priority will be believe will also make the user feel inclined to visit the villages with most high priorities.

Under Menu, there will be one option to select called Schedule. Figure 5 is an example of a possible schedule. During the design an additional type of category for follow-up was added which is the Overdue. This is just to represent a follow-up that should have been completed some time ago and needed to be done as soon as possible. As one can see each priority has its own color and the estimate time of transportation is a different color from the rest.

In this example it was selected to add 30 minutes to the time. Thus Figure 8 shows the schedule with the time updated. If the Reschedule button is selected like in Figure 8, the user would be offered the choice to either add a new follow-up visit to the schedule or delete one. In this instance adding a schedule was selected. Figure 10 shows the screen with the options of visits to select from. If the user had selected to delete a follow-up visit from the schedule a screen would appear in the same format as the one in Figure 10 except that it would show the visits in the current visit to select which one to delete.

The Time of Transportation interval can be modified to add or subtract 30 minutes to it. If selected, as show in Figure 6, Figure 7 would appear with the two options.

Figure 11 shows the schedule with the newly added visit. The patient "rachel carrol" was inserted before the last because no it has a higher priority. Now the schedule has a total of 6 visits to complete instead of 5. We currently allow the user to add as many visits he/she desires. The CHW should know what he/she is capable of doing and can add visits if he/she thinks the visits are possible to complete.

Figure 4. Selecting Villages with Scheduled Follow-ups to Include in the Schedule.



Figure 5. Example of Schedule.



Figure 6. Selecting Time of Trans-portation to Modify.



Figure 7. Adding or subtracting 30 minutes for the selected time of transportation.



Figure 8. First Time of Transportation modified.

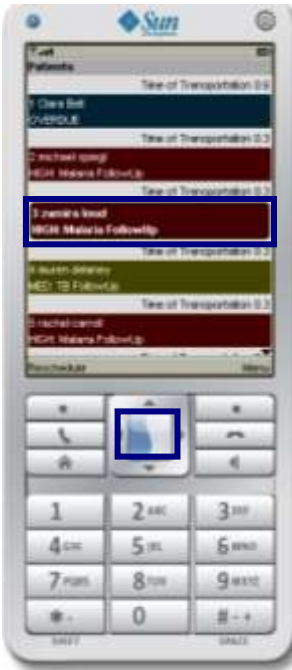

Figure 9. First Time of Transportation modified.

*Figure 10. Options of follow-ups to select from to add to the schedule.*



*Figure 11. Options of follow-ups to select from to add to the schedule.*



*Figure 12. Patient Zamira Loud selected.*

252



*Figure 13. Information from Patient Zamira Loud.*

As mentioned in the approach we want the user to have as much information of the patients scheduled as possible. For this reason, the user can select one of the schedule patients and view further information.

Figure 13 shows the available information for the patient. Once real information data exist one can imagine a summary of the last visit made in this screen. Currently the user can view the name, the date of birth, the last date seen, the household number (which is an identification number), the priority and type of follow up, and an estimated duration of visit. At any time the user can press 'BACK' and the schedule will be appear again.

### Evaluation

The evaluation process started with sending the design for day planner and receiving feedback on what was reasonable and what not from developers and designers involved with CommCare.
Once we had the first version running on the phone, participants of CommCare evaluated and tested it. Same process occurred once graphical user interface began to be added to the day planner module was added to the day planner module.

One of the most important evaluations we have received is regard to information layout. For example, the meaning of color, the amount of text to show and how to transition between each step of the day planner and lastly how to transition between the day planner and other modules in CommCare occur.

In addition to exchanging emails with fellow CommCare developers the first version of the module working on the phone was sent to Neal Lesh and Ben Bordnar. Mr. Bordnar is in Tanzania working with the CHW, we were expecting to receive response but we never received it. One possible reason he did reply is because he does not have internet access on a regular basis, perhaps he has not read our email with the application to be uploaded on to a phone. Dr. Neal Lesh, creative director at Dimagi a nonprofit organization, is involved with CommCare and has experience with working with CHW. We did receive feedback and evaluation from him on the day planner twice. All the suggestions he had were concerned with the user interface such as what information is worthwhile to show, and to think about showing less text or summarizing titles or questions asked to the user so that the screen would not feel up completely of text. Another issue related to user interface pointed out was which commands should be on which soft button on the cellular phone. Currently some of the commands are placed under menus or buttons that are intuitive. This issue was not entirely resolved we are still learning how to control where the commands. An example of this

situation is after the user selecting the villages to visit the user has to click menu and find the command Schedule. It would make sense to have that command immediately visible to the user, since it is the main purpose of that screen.

A piloting of CommCare, which the DayPlanner is part of, will be tested first in Uganda and then in Tanzania during the period of June and September of 2008, and then a new version will be made based on the feedback received. CommCare developers plan to be in this process of development one complete year, meaning coding, testing, and then deploying.

**Societal Implications**

Up to 70% of the developing world lives in rural areas with limited access to healthcare and other essential services. Three million children die annually from vaccine-preventable diseases, many of whom live in remote areas beyond the reach of health service[2]. Additionally, medical record tracking is very difficult because it is done on paper.

People all over the world lack access to preventive care, doctors and medical facilities. The lack of access to health care causes the loss of human life or suffering permanent damage due to illnesses that, if caught on time could had been curable or even preventable.

In the effort of solving the problem of lack of access to health care, governments, non-profit organization, and universities are trying to support the idea of health care reaching the patients' at the patients' home or village. This way the patients would not have to travel long distances or miss work trying to reach a doctor or a medical center.

Thus, Community Health Workers were introduced in several countries in regions lacking of health care facilities. Each country has its own system and the degree of visibility and the support for them varies. Even if these Community Health Workers exist they still lack of training and access to medical information. All the visit information is recorded manually thus it is difficult to aggregate data and maintain information of patients. For example in the case patients moved to another village currently it is difficult to transfer the patient's medical history to a new medical if anything information is available to start with.

CommCare intends to improve several issues CHWs face today. CommCare would serve as a support tool and encourage the CHWs to follow medical protocols they currently skip just because it is too time consuming to page through the booklets containing the medical protocols and they feel they loose credibility by paging through the protocol booklets in front of the patient.

CommCare is the application that would exist on the mobile phone of the CHW. These CHW will be affiliated with a medical center in the area. The medical center will be running an electronic medical system that will keep track of the patients, the CHW, the medical protocols that exist. There will be periodic exchange of information and synching between the mobile phone of CHW and this system. Thus, CHW will be able to update information of patients, receive updates of applications such as CommCare and lastly update or add protocols to support the visits.

We believe CommCare will improve in the number of patients the CHW can visit on a daily basis. improve on the gathering of data of the patients, and improve on the accuracy of the correct diagnosis of patients. These are current problems that need to be solved and we believe CommCare can be part of the solution.

**Conclusion and Future Work**

CommCare is software tool to support CHWs daily activities, from organizing their schedule of visits to guiding them through a medical protocol to follow when attending a patient. The day planner module and CommCare overall will continue to be developed, especially once it begins to be tested and deployed with CHWs. Once the CommCare pilot being CHWs will using it begins on a daily basis and further improvements will come.

Since the DayPlanner is open source developers living in Tanzania and Uganda, or any other part of the world, will be able to add or modify the code to adapt to the needs of CHWs in a specific area.

There are some ideas that still need to be implemented which are the following:
- Decide on a protocol that would increase the priority of a visit it was not completed by a certain interval of time
- Recive feedback from CHW for why the visits were not completed
- Use either GPS location data for the villages or a way of learning how long it took the CHW to travel from visit A to visit B to estimate time of transportation between them.
- Evaluate the schedule every time the CHW has completed the visit. If the CHW is not on schedule then alert the user and begin a dialogue with the user with the idea of modifying the remainder of the schedule to fit visits that can be completed within the works left of the day.

- Improve on the opportunistic scheduling. In other words, if the CHW is going in a direction to visit patient A then perhaps he/she could complete visits that are on the way to patient A.

## References

1. http://openmrs.org/wiki/OpenMRS
2. http://www.villagereach.org/about.html

## Acknowledgements

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# The Representation of Women in Popular Music

Michelé M. Prince

## Introduction

My research focuses on the representation of women[1] in popular musical culture in Western nations of Britain and the United States. The central question is whether representations of women in popular music culture shape the ways in which women are largely viewed in the respective society. I am particularly interested in the following questions: Are women representing or producing consumable images of themselves or are these being mediated through others? Is popular music a medium in which women have been able to, or can in the future, find a way to fight oppression and disempowerment or are these representations too hard to fight/overcome?

In order to address this particular topic, I analyze music, produced over the last five years, that is deemed "popular" for each country and the ways in which women are referenced and visually portrayed. Popular, for the scope of this research, refers to songs on the top five of the music charts. I also research other elements needed to manufacture the songs that are listed: the producers, artists, labels and how they fit into the picture.

The study of women in popular music is not a new one. A host of social scientists, cultural critics, and feminist theorists have developed scholarship on this issue. Through the work of these academics, my interest in this topic has grown. The overarching question that drives my research is whether or not there is space within popular music for the empowerment of women. Not in an idealistic or ideological sense, but in space and fact. The notion that popular music can be a way to voice oppression and injustice[2] is a foundation for the questions that are raised and answered here.

---

[1] For the purposes of this study the term "women" is taken to represent a narrow definition of the term. Issues/representations of the transgendered, transsexual, female identified males, or other gender bending persons are not engaged. While these identities are vastly important, these issues are outside the scope of this paper.

[2] The work of Lisa A. Lewis' "Form and Female Authorship of the Music Video" is not explicitly referenced within this research. However, it is in engaging with her work that created and formed these questions.

### What Is Representation

"Representation" is a term found in many academic fields. In each field, we see how important this concept is. For example, in the study of Psychology the term describes the ways in which the internal cognitive gives meaning to outside or external realities; in politics, it refers to the ways in which individuals are capable of effectively influencing the political process; and in the Arts, representation relates to the depiction of persons, places, things, and often times ethical concerns. Although I am mainly concerned with representation in the Arts, seeing how it is used in politics and in Psychology will help further our understanding of how central representation in the media (specifically focused on Women and music) can be in manipulating and determining the amount of sway that a person may have in terms of influencing popular opinion (which is how media is oftentimes used) and the ways in which the "internal" structures of our society, the ideology or the way in which we collectively think, is played out through the symbols of media and representation. In fact, Ideology does play a crucial role in representation. Ideology often dictates the representations we see, whether the ideological hand is known or unconscious.
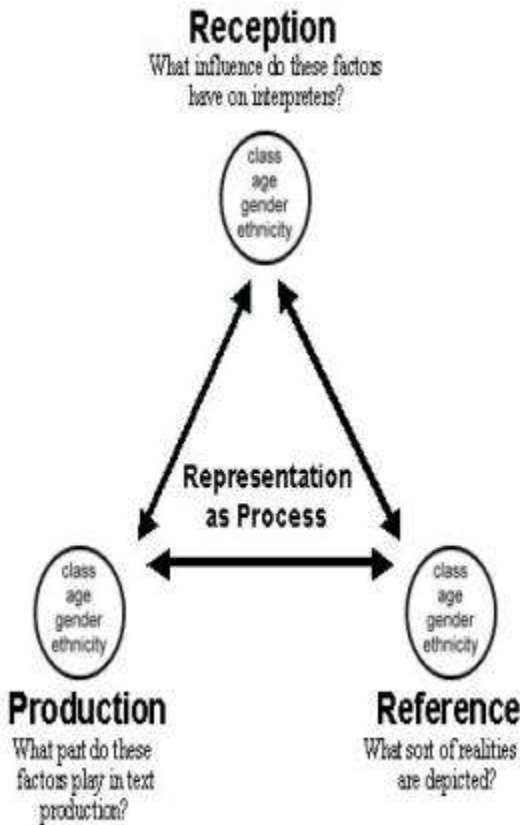


### Why Is Discourse Surrounding Representation Important?

As I have already discussed, representation refers to the construction in mass media of aspects of "reality," such as people,

places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. These representations can be found in either speech or writing, i.e. music lyrics, and still or moving pictures, i.e. music videos.

While the products of representation are usually of primary focus, it is important to realize that the process involved in producing these images are important as well. In relation to key markers of identity-- Race, Class, Gender, Ethnicity, and Sexuality—representation not only involves how identities are signified or constructed within text but also in how it is constructed in the processes of production and reception by people whose identities are also marked in relation to the demographic factors previously listed. Let us consider, for instance, "the gaze", that is, how the observer or spectator watching what is being represented and the effects of this viewing. How do men look at images of women, women at men, men at men and women at women?

The aforementioned questions are at the heart of why discourse on representation is so crucial. In a society influenced by popular culture, it is important to know how what we produce affects others and ourselves. It is also important to note where this production comes from in terms of group dynamics, whether from within or outside the group, and how that difference shapes the "information" produced. For example, are representations of Black Women produced by Black Women for Black Women or is there an outside group that is producing and/or distributing these products? And if we know this, does it even matter? Representations, women, and popular culture are all issues that are deeply personal to me, as I embody some form of each. As a woman, I am represented in ways that I do not know and wish to know more about, and a lot of these images come from the popular culture of the day.

## Background
*Stuart Hall and the Concept of Representation:*

Stuart Hall, as one of the most influential cultural theorists of the 20th and 21st century is the perfect place to develop a background on the concept of representation. In several of his works, Hall builds upon this notion of representation, its meaning, and its power. Hall explains that there are two ways to understand and interpret representation images. The first way, which Hall ultimately refers to as the old way of viewing representation, is to see it as either an accurate depiction or a gross distortion. In this typical view of representation, what we see is precisely what we get; there are no questions to be answered. Or, what we see is clearly not the "truth," and again there are no questions to be answered because what is presented can be easily dismissed. Hall, however, wishes

us to think about representation not as accurate or distorted but as a creative and active process which relies on an understanding of an individual's place and their relation to the world surrounding them. Looking at representation in this light allows for an image to have a great many different "meanings." There is now way to determine the ways that an image may be read or interpreted. Hall understands that forms of communication are inextricably linked to power and that power influences what is represented in the media and elsewhere. Hall calls for us to probe the images that are created and presented to us. If these images are never interrogated, we may begin to accept them as part of the natural world, as the way things simply are.

In critiquing the old view of representation, Hall points out that this way of conceptualizing representation is predicated on the idea that between the representation and that which is being depicted there is a gap. This gap, if you will, explains the difference between the meaning that is derived from the representation and that which is the "true" meaning of that which is depicted. Hall believes this notion to be too literal and too restrictive. He asks us to consider whether events ever have one essential, fixed, or true meaning by which we measure any distortions? The answer to this is a resounding no. Reality has no true, unchanging meaning. The "true meaning" of an event will most decidedly depend on what persons make of it. This turn is dependent upon the representation. Hall tells us that events have no meaning in and of themselves until they have been represented. Representation does not occur after an event; it is constitutive of the event.

Hall explains the idea of signifying practices, signification and the production of meaning. Again he stresses that power can never be removed from the question of representation. In his engagement with this notion, Hall discusses meaning and absence. He relates that a claim can be made without words and that what is not said is actually as important as what is being said through the image. A claim can be made without words through the manipulation of objects. This can include issues, such as identity and identity claims. As an example of this, he urges us to look to advertisements and the ways in which advertisements are based on identification. An ad can only work when the individual can identify with the images represented. In this way, images construct us. Through our relationship with images, we become constructed by them.

Hall then turns to the idea of contestation of stereotypes within representative images. He relates that stereotyping fixes the meaning that is given to particular groups. He cites contemporary (and past) society's perception of Black men as an example. Since that images produce knowledge, according to Hall, contesting stereotypes means increasing

the diversity of images in the media. However, he warns that attempting to reverse negative stereotypes is problematic, and that it is impossible to fix negative or positive representations once they have already been introduced.

Lastly, Hall writes that images neutralize representation. Images hide the process of representation and in trying to open this process up we must ask ourselves several questions: Where do images come from? Who produces images? How is meaning halted or closed down in representation? Who is silenced in the production of images? When we ask these questions, we make stereotypes "uninhabitable" and destroy their "naturalness and normality."

*What Scholars Have Suggested About Women and/or Pop Music:*

As mentioned previously, popular music as an area of study is not new. Many scholars have discussed popular music and its influences on contemporary culture. Outside of academia (and within it as well), popular music has been used to explain away phenomena in the society or subculture in which it originated and also as a place to point the finger and indicate blame for a variety of social ills. More importantly, and as I believe is ultimately connected to the main questions of this research, is the issue of identity.

In his book *Settling the Pop Score*, Stan Hawkins states that "music not only affects our identities but shapes them (xi)." He also tells us that "pop music [is] on a constantly shifting social plane where the appropriation of musical styles and idioms raise larger questions about contemporary Western cultures" (xi). Central to the arguments that he raises is the idea that not only are meanings derived from songs in regards to their dialogic structures and concepts but also derived through personal understandings of social context (xi). Meanings in popular music must be determined not only in terms of design, sonic gesture, and musical structure, but that in order to fully grasp the meaning of a song, it is imperative that the assortment of components making up nationality, race, age, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and authorial identity are also taken into account (xii). Musical meaning is not, and should not be read, as void of social and emotional aspects. And when this is done, it is a poor assumption that the music "speaks for itself." Furthermore, his work relates that what is found within pop texts not only produces trends in consumption but also is a reflection of the trends that are already in place.

Sheila Whiteley also takes up the topic of women and pop music in her book, *Women and Popular Music: Sexuality, Identity, and Subjectivity*. In this work, Whiteley argues that inequality is still

prevalent in the popular music industry despite the increasing presence of women within middle management and the corporate sphere (3). Using a case study format, Whiteley concentrates on women performers, situating them within a social and historic context as well as in relation to popular music styles. Whiteley discusses successful female artists and their relevance to the debates on feminism and sexuality as well as their challenge of gender related boundaries. According to the author, women's sexuality is both constructed and rooted in lived experience. This is related to the ways in which art, music, and popular culture provide a focus for challenging established representations of femininity.

**Methodology**

As mentioned briefly in the introduction, the method for procuring data informing this research was through analyzing popular music charts. The popular charts examined were taken from the Billboard Charts. The Billboard has been informing the public on the standing of popular music in the United States and Britain for over 60 years. The music listed on the Billboard is categorized in terms of radio airplay and the number of "singles" sales, a figure that reports a particular songs popularity in terms of retail profits. The songs from the top 100 list are reported based on these two criteria regardless of genre. In this sense, a song representing the Country Western market and the Hip Hop market can be represented on the same chart given that the particular song in question is "popular".

From this list, I looked at the songs that made up the top 10 or top 5, depending on available data for the complete year. For charts that represented the United States of America, I looked at songs from the top tier in terms of sales and radio airplay from the years 2002-2007. For Britain, I looked at the years 2002-2007. The music represented from the years viewed for each corresponding country is representative of the available music ranking information that was available at the time of research.

**Data**

*THE UNITED STATES:*

**2007**

| # | Title of Song | Artist | Record Label |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Irreplaceable* | **Beyoncé** | Columbia |
| 2 | Umbrella | **Rihanna** ft. Jay-Z | SRP/Def Jam/DJMG |
| 3 | The Sweet Escape* | **Gwen Stefanie** ft. Akon | Interscope |
| 4 | **Big Girls Don't Cry**\* | **Fergie** | Wii.i.am./A&M/Interscope |
| 5 | **Buy U A Drank** (Shawty Snappin) | T-Pain | Konvict/Nappy Boy/Jive |
| 6 | Before He Cheats | **Carrie Underwood** | Arista/Arista Nashville |
| 7 | **Hey There Delilah** | Plain White T's | Fearless/Hollywood |
| 8 | **I Wanna Love You** | Akon ft. Snoop Dog | Motown |
| 9 | Say It Right* | **Nelly Furtado** | Mosley/Geffen |
| 10 | Glamorous | **Fergie** ft. Ludacris | Wii.i.am./A&M/Interscope |

Source: Billboard Music

*2005*

| # | Title of Song | Artist | Record Label |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | We Belong Together* | Mariah Carey | Island/DJMG |
| 2 | HollaBack Girl* | Gwen Stefani | Interscope |
| 3 | **Let Me Love You** | Mario | Third Street |
| 4 | Since U Been Gone | Kelly Clarkson | RCA/RMG |
| 5 | 1,2, Step* | Ciara | Sho'nuff/MusicLine/LaFac |

Source: Billboard Music

*2004*

| # | Title of Song | Artist | Record Label |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | **Yeah!** | **Usher** | **LaFace/Zomba** |
| **2** | **Burn** | **Usher** | **LaFace/Zomba** |
| **3** | **If I Ain't Got You*** | **Alicia Keys** | **J/RMG** |
| **4** | **This Love** | **Maroon 5** | **Octone/J/RMG** |
| **5** | **The Way You Move** | **Outkast** | **LaFace/Zomba** |

Source: Billboard Music

*2003*

| # | Title of Song | Artist | Record Label |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | In The Club | 50 Cent | Shady/ Aftermath/Inter. |
| 2 | **Ignition** | R. Kelly | Jive |
| 3 | Get Busy | Sean Paul | VP/Atlantic |
| 4 | **Crazy in Love*** | **Beyoncé** | Columbia |
| 5 | When I'm Gone | Doors Down | Republic/Universal/UMRG |

Source: Billboard Music

*BRITAIN:*
*2007*

| # | Title of Song | Artist |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | **Bleeding Love** | **Leona Lewis** |
| 2 | Umbrella | **Rihanna** |
| 3 | **Grace Kelly** | Mika |
| 4 | When You Believe | Leon Jackson |
| 5 | Rule The World | TakeThat |

Source: Billboard Music

*2006*

| # | Title of Song | Artist |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Crazy | Gnarles Barkley |
| 2 | A Moment Like This | **Leona Lewis** |
| 3 | **Hips Don't Lie** | **Shakira**/ Wyclef Jean |
| 4 | I Don't Feel Like Dancing | Scissor Sisters |
| 5 | I Wish I Was A Punk Rocker (With Flowers In My Hand) | **Sandi Thom** |

Source: Billboard Music

*2005*

| # | Title of Song | Artist |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Is This The Way to Amarillo | Tony Christie |
| 2 | That's My Goal | Shane Ward |
| 3 | Axel F | Crazy Frog |
| 4 | **You're Beautiful** | James Blunt |
| 5 | Hung Up | **Madonna** |

Source: Billboard Music

*2004*

| # | Title of Song | Artist |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Do They Know Its Christmas | Band Aid 20 |
| 2 | **Fuck It (I Don't Want You Back)** | Eamon |
| 3 | Cha Cha Slide | DJ Casper |
| 4 | Call On Me | Eric Pryz |
| 5 | **Yeah!** | Usher |

Source: Billboard Music

*2003*

| # | Title of Song | Artist |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Where Is The Love | Black Eyed Peas |
| 2 | Sprit In The Sky | Gareth Gates and The Kumars |
| 3 | **Ignition (Remix)** | R. Kelly |
| 4 | Mad World | Michael Andrews |
| 5 | **Leave Right Now** | Will Young |

Source: Billboard Music

## Findings

From the information that is provided in the data[1], we are able to form a few conclusions in regards to the way that women are represented in popular music. Looking specifically at the United States, a great percentage of the popular music that is produced, introduced, and becoming overwhelmingly fashionable is either performed by a woman,

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[1] I want to take a moment to clarify the information that is presented in the tables. An asterisk placed at the end of a song title indicates that the song was written or partially written by a woman, either the artist (vocalist) or an outside writer. A song that is written in bold letters indicates that the song is centrally concerning a woman i.e. lyrically or visually (in the music video). Lastly, if an artist's name is in bold, this indicates that the artist is female.

written by a woman, or explicitly centered around a woman. In these particular songs, we are able to look at the varying ways in which women are represented. The representations range: swinging from the mere sexual object, for example, "Get Busy" by Sean Paul or "Ignition" by R. Kelly all the way to a more positive image as in "Hey There Delilah" by the Plain White T's. In this song, "Delilah" is a college student making her way through school and biding her time before she can be reunited with the love of her life, which is working on attaining a better life for the two through music. The songs themselves, by the vast majority, show a more complex dimension to women than might originally come to mind when thinking about "pop music." Lyrically, there is a good percentage of the songs that present women in a positive light, i.e. women that are strong, independent, capable, clear/logical thinkers etc…any attribute that may be considered "good" or "affirmative". However, when we switch over to looking at the visual representation of the same song, the story is often the opposite, or at least confusing. Let's take a look at a specific example:

The song "Umbrella" is a good place to illustrate my point. "Umbrella" was popular in both the United States and Britain. In this vein, we can look at what is going on in the United States and Britain simultaneously in regards to the types of representations that are making it into mainstream consciousness. The lyrics of the song are as follows:

<center>"Umbrella" by Rihanna:</center>

Verse 1:
You have my heart
We'll never be worlds apart
I may be in magazines
But you'll still be my star
Baby 'cause in the dark
You can't see shiny cars
And that's when you need me there
With you I'll always share
Because
Chorus:
When the sun shines we'll shine together
Told you I'll be here forever
Said I'll always be your friend
Took an oath, Imma
Stick it out till the end
Now that its raining more than ever
Know that we still have each other

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You can stand under my umbrella
You can stand under my umbrella
Verse 2:
These fancy things
Will never come in between
Your're part of my entity
Here for infinity
When the world has dealt its cards
If the hand is hard
Together we'll melt your heart
Because
Chorus

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Let's take a moment to just analyze the lyrics. The lyrics describe a deep friendship. Since the artist is female, we will assume that the voice of the piece is female as well. If this is so, we are witness to a woman that is strong and caring. Not only is she willing to weather the storms of life, she is willing to carry the "umbrella" or burden for her friend. In this sense, she is a kind of superwoman, able to handle the challenges within her own life as well as be a support system in order to help her friend get through the storms of life. This is the textual/lyrical representation. What does the visual representation tell us about the same song?

The music video for "Umbrella" is interesting to say the least. We are presented a woman (Rihanna) dressed in a black leather leotard, fishnet leggings, and 5 inch heels that follow the form of ballet pointe shoes. At times, she also wears a tutu, other times she does not. Throughout the video, Rihanna dances with a black umbrella, which is sometimes opened and other times closed and utilized like a cane or walking stick. For the majority of the video, she is in this outfit or something similar. However, there is a small portion is which she is dressed in a white dress and her makeup is natural. Here she is seen dodged and deflecting water. She is postured in this scene as the life saving angel. But this is contradicted with following scenes. In one scene, in particular, Rihanna has absolutely no clothing, but is covered instead with silver metallic paint. In this scene she performs a series of poses and undulations. As for other women represented within the video, we only see them in the beginning. These women, identically dressed, with dark shades to hide any differentiation of facial features, perform no real task other than serving as a backdrop for the (male) introduction of the song.

If one were to read or sing the textual representation of "Umbrella", one would have a completely different view of woman than

if they were to see the visual representation of the same song. As mentioned before, the text creates the image of the strong and supportive friend. However, do the same thing for the music video, you will find a view of a sexualized woman  with contradicting elements of naughtiness, the black leather, fishnets, and heels, and innocence, the ballerina, tutu, and pointe shoes.

**The Role of the Record Label**

The record label has a profound role in the ways in which women are represented in popular music. Whiteley notes that "Over the past twenty years no more than five women have been appointed heads of any UK based record companies, major or otherwise, and the statistics in the United States are even less comforting" ( 3). A gendered identity is still a stumbling block for British women that want to work as heads in this industry. The promotion of a woman to the head of a department is still viewed as a political decision versus a practical decision or what is in the best interest of the department. Vox magazine's list of the "Twenty Most Powerful People," while more an indicator of power rather than a true measure, still rarely credits women as worthy of being placed on the list.  Returning to the United States, in areas such as marketing, press and publicity it would seem that women have a few more inches before reaching the glass ceiling than their British counterparts. Even in upper management, US women share a greater portion of power than women doing the same work in Britain. However, most of this success is done in the independent sphere of music or in less mainstream genres of music such as indie rock and soul. It is important to note that while there have been significant improvements as to the status of women in the music industry since the 1990's, this success has tended to follow a familiar and conventional path. In aspects of music, such as musical engineering and DJing, where there is a need for sophisticated knowledge and use of technology, women still seem to be left behind---at least when it comes to being hired and represented. In regards to the record labels represented in the set of data presented in this paper, Universal has a woman as executive VP/GM of digital distribution, Amada Marks. Sylvia Rhone is president of Universal Motown Records. Julie Greenwald is president of Atlantic Records. Andrea Ganis is executive VP of
Atlantic Records.

**Conclusion**

First and foremost, we must understand the ways in which representation permeate our daily lives. Because we have an understanding that a representation is a symbol and a marker for an

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ideology, way of thought guiding our actions, we know that representations are inherently powerful. Not recognizing the ways in which popular culture tries to dictate our existence leaves us vulnerable to its effects. Knowing does not immediately allow us to get out from under the constraints of representation. However, it does make us aware. In this sense, we can try to see behind the representation to what exactly it is that society, which is what popular music itself represents, would have us to do and if this is in conflict with our own sense of self, we can resist.

## Further Work

As always seems the case in doing research, one question and its (presumed) solution always lends itself to even more questions. My time conducting this research is no exception. In order to make this research even stronger and to further quench my thirst for understanding the nature of representation in our current modern society, I believe the following questions need to be pursued and answered: What codes are used to mask representations? How are representations made to appear "true" or "natural"? What aspects of identity are left out in constructing a representation and what aspects are highlighted? How do people interpret representations and/or incorporate them into their daily lives and psyche? Are representations inherently problematic?  Can they prove helpful in any way?

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# The Representation of Women in Popular Music

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# Contending with Censorship:
## The Underground Music Scene in Urban Iran

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## Abstract

*As modernity and traditionalism collide in contemporary Iran, an underground music scene (mūsīqī-i zīr-i zamīn) is emerging in Iran's urban centers. Rap, rock, alternative and fusion musical styles are developing a position in Iranian musical culture. They have provided a means for many musicians to articulate a modern cultural identity that is rooted at home yet simultaneously in dialogue with a global community. One music video from Iran displays a young man with a shaved head and goatee singing lyrics of the fourteenth century Persian poet Hāfiz, accompanied by the sound of an electric guitar. Another video shows a Rap musician dressed in baggy pants and an oversized T-shirt reciting spoken word poetry and quoting the Qurān as he poetically critiques the Iranian government. These artists' music reflects their deep respect for Iran's cultural heritage and rich poetic traditions. At the same time, these musicians are often banned from distributing their music and music videos in their home country. Because of the Iranian government's religious scrutiny and state implemented censorship, many of these musicians are prohibited from producing albums or holding concerts. However, they continue to engage in their art and find creative ways around these restrictions through such means as distributing their music and videos over the Internet and playing secret concerts. Underground musicians are challenging the dominant discourse on questions of national identity and the meaning of being Iranian. The self-image that is reflected in their work is projected through sensibilities that can be identified as secular and cosmopolitan and promotes democratic pluralism and youth consciousness.*

## Historical Context of Music Pre-1979 Islamic Revolution

The following will provide a brief summary relevant to the discussion of the meanings of western music in Iranian society. Iran's strategic geographic position and the later discovery of oil has made the region an area of interest for western countries specifically since the beginning of the 20th century. Throughout the nineteenth century, Britain and Russia fought over control of Iranian territories. Foreign involvement continued well into the twentieth century and began to affect the political and economic arenas. It was at this time of the early

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twentieth century, and against this backdrop, that Rizā Shāh Pahlavī (r. 1925 – 1941), and later his son Muhammad Rizā Pahlavī (r. 1941 – 1979), engaged in intense efforts to modernize and westernize the nation[1]. These efforts were supported by western nations, which considered Iran a valuable resource in oil, as well as a potential policeman of the region. Particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, the push toward westernization, industrialization, and the formation of an urban, secular state intensified, and issues of authentic development were suppressed in favor of a superficial imitation of the west.

The Pahlavī dynasty had little concern for how these modernization efforts received and interpreted by the public. In fact, many government policies promoted the idea that these values were a detriment to Iran's development. These policies applied to both the politico-economic sphere, as well as the cultural domain. Broadcast media such as radio and television became powerful tools in the modernization project and beginning in the late 1950's, Muhammad Rizā Pahlavī initiated an expansion of broadcasting. Television particularly played a strong role, and imported television programs (many of which were American sitcoms and soap operas) were highly broadcast. The conception promoted by the Pahlavī dynasty that modernity and tradition were completely incompatible disregarded a fundamental issue in regards to Iran's future: "how to modernize and develop without losing important aspects of national and cultural identity." (Nooshin, 2005, 233) Ayatullāh Khumeinī[2] had criticized these westernization efforts even before his exile from Iran in 1964 as he denounced the radio and television broadcasts for producing a "colonized youth." (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 37) Nooshin refers to the 1970's as an era of crisis in Iranian identity and many authors have written about the "intoxication" with the west that characterized the decade. This term is widely adopted after the famous

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[1] Rizā Shāh Pahlavī was an army general who led a coup d'etat in 1921, became Prime Minister of Iran in 1923, and later became the Shāh of Iran in 1925, replacing the last of the Qādjār monarchs. In 1941, the Allied Forces forced him to step down in favor of his son, Muhammad Rizā Pahlavī, who reigned until the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

[2] Ayatullāh Rūhollāh Musawī Khumeinī (1902 – 1989) was the political leader of the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, which was instrumental in the overthrow of Muhammad Rizā Pahlavī, the Shāh of Iran. Following the 1979 Revolution, Khumeinī became the country's Supreme Leader until his death.

essay *Gharbzādigī* (westoxification) written by Jalāl Al-i Ahmad[1] during the early 1950's.  It should be noted, however, that the concept of *gharbzādigī* originated even before Al-i Ahmad's essay when relations with the west drew closer during the Qādjār dynasty, which ruled Iran from 1794 to 1925.

In addition to the political and economic sphere, the "intoxication" with the west also affected all areas of musical culture in Iran. Following the Second World War, western popular (pop) music arrived in Iran and became intricately linked to the Pahlavī monarchy's efforts to westernize the nation.   As part of the Pahlavī dynasty's modernization efforts, a wide range of popular western music became available in Iran from the early 1960's.  Around the same time, Iranian pop music with singers promoted by the government-controlled broadcasting organization emerged. (Youssefzadeh, 2004)  The most well known singers of this western-influenced pop music were Gūgūsh, Dariūsh and Ebī[2]. The Iranian popular music of this time came to signify the face of modern Iran in the 1960's and 70's.  Due to its associations with westernization and modernity, this pop music "came to occupy the fraught intersections between local and global, between quasi-colonial dependence and independence, between tradition and modernity, and between religious and secular." (Nooshin, 2008, 69-70)  Furthermore, this music became part of polarized discourses that characterized the end of the Pahlavī monarchy and reflected anxieties about the loss of national identity (*bīhuwiyyatī*) and self-determination in the face of western economic and cultural power.  Mainly due to this complex position, as well as its religiously contested status, pop music was officially banned following the 1979 Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic form of government in Iran.

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[1] Jalāl Al-i Ahmad (1923 – 1969) was a prominent Iranian writer, thinker, and social/political critic.  Al-i Ahmad is perhaps the most famous for coining the term *Gharbzādigī* (translated into English as "westernstruck" or "westoxification") in a book by the same name that was clandestinely published in 1952 and criticized western imperialism. Al-i Ahmad's message later became part of the ideology of the 1979 Islamic Cultural Revolution.

[2] All three of these singers were unable to continue their careers in Iran after the Revolution and ultimately left Iran to pursue their careers in the west.

**The Position of Music Post-1979 Islamic Revolution**

The early 1970s in Iran marked an increasing resentment against decades of external political interference, lack of political freedoms, and the economic inequalities that contributed to the increasing gap between a new elite (consisting of those who benefited from oil wealth and who often adopted western lifestyles) and the majority of Iran's population whose basic social needs remained unmet. This resentment combined with underlying social tensions and unrest eventually led to the overthrow of the Shāh in February 1979. This Islamic cultural revolution was anti-monarchical and through a complex course of events, it transformed Iran from a constitutional monarchy to a theocratic republic based on *Shar'iā*[3] law. The head of this state was the religious leader Ayatullāh Rūhullāh Khumeinī. The Revolution sought to cleanse the country of western ideologies such as secularism and individualism in order to replace them with more traditional, Islamic values and to reassert a national identity after the perceived loss of identity under the rule of the Pahlavī monarchy. (Article 19, 2006, 6) With the involvement of a broad range of political and religious organizations, "the Revolution might be regarded as one of the earliest expressions of local resistance against the increasingly global nature of western cultural, political, and economic hegemony." (Nooshin, 2005a, 235)

The post-Revolution government developed policies that placed various cultural activities within an Islamic framework. Ayatullāh Khumeinī proclaimed, 'the road to reform in a country goes through its culture, so one has to start with cultural reform.' (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 37) Looking to assert control though endorsing Islamic values, the theocracy began to pass legislations that confined or eliminated a wide range of cultural activities, with music being one of the most significant. The arts in general "were forced into an ideological straightjacket, codified by the Islamic principles of *halāl* (allowed in Islam) and *harām* (forbidden in Islam)." (Article 19, 2006, 6) Since the beginning of the Islamic Revolution, music in particular has been problematic for the Islamic regime and has continued to be the subject of intense political and religious debate. Music's legal and social status continuously changes and is affected by the power play between various religious and political authorities, as is all aspects of life in Iran.

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[3] *Shar'iā* (which translates as "way") is the body of Islamic religious law and the legal framework within which the public and private aspects of life are regulated for those living in a legal system based on Islamic principles of jurisprudence.

The Qurān does not explicitly condemn music.  Yet, in Islamic ideology, music remains "the object of various restrictions and threats because of its alleged powers of seduction and corruption." (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 35)  Although all Muslim countries contain musical traditions, music's status within Islam has been highly ambiguous and Islamic theology approaches music with a certain amount of mistrust, suspecting it of containing powers liable to drive individuals to immoral acts. (Article 19, 2006; Youssefzadeh, 2004)  According to a *hadīth* (tradition of the Prophet Muhammad) concerning Imām Sādiq (the sixth Imām of the Shī'ites), "Listening to music leads to discord (*nifāq*), just as water leads to the growth of vegetation."[4] (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 40)

Formulating cultural reform policies based within an Islamic framework has proved difficult for the post-revolutionary government because many Iranians contend with a religious identity, on the one hand, and a national identity, on the other.  Though Iran has been a Muslim country since the seventh century C.E., with Islam playing a very important role in Iranian culture and society, many Iranians identify with a much older national identity that existed at least a thousand years before Islam.  Nooshin suggests, "The profound contradictions in cultural policy during the 1980s were partly the result of a government trying to impose a hegemonic Islamic identity on a people intensely aware of, and unwilling to forfeit, their pre-Islamic heritage."  In this discussion, music and poetry hold a central position.  They are often credited with maintaining this national identity throughout centuries of numerous invasions.  (Nooshin, 2005a, 236)

Despite the fact that music has long played a central role in Iranian national identity, music's status in contemporary Iran has remained contentious.  Ayatullāh Khumeinī announced:

… music is like a drug, whoever acquires the habit can no longer devote himself to important activities.  It changes people to the point of yielding people to vice or to preoccupations pertaining to the world of music alone.  We must eliminate music because  it means betraying our country and our youth.  We must completely eliminate it. (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 38)

Directly after the Revolution, many types of musical activities were banned, such as public concerts, music classes, solo female singing,

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[4] Youssefzadeh cites Ayatullāh Muravvijī, "Mūsīqī wa ghanā dar aineh-yi fiqh: Lectures on Shī'a Jurisprudence by Ayatullāh Muravvijī." Tehran: Pāzhūhishgāh-i farhang wa hunar-i eslāmī, (1999).

and particularly radio and television broadcasts of western and Iranian classical and pop music.  Indeed the targeting of pop music had much to do with its associations with the Pahlavī dynasty's modernizing efforts.  However, it was also due to its associations with dance movements and improper song lyrics, both of which the government considered incompatible with Islamic values and consisting of the potential to corrupt the nation's young people.  Pop music was thus considered *mūsīqī-i mubtazal* ("cheap" or "decadent" music). (Nooshin, 2005a, 238)  Ayatullāh Azarī Qumī articulates this sentiment, "Dance music is illicit; music accompanying vulgar (*mubtazal*) and useless (*bātil*) poems is illicit…"[5] (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 41) Even the non-Iranian musicians of the Persian classical genre express views rooted in ideologies privileging 'high art' music over 'low art' music in Iran.  French musician Jean During, referring to Persian classical music, argues, "Even the revolution and Islamization, in the end, worked out to the clear advantage of the great music,[6] if only by eliminating certain rival forms like *mutribī*, the traditional entertainment genre deemed vulgar." (During, 2005, 376) Pop music was association with the pre-Revolution era, deemed un-Islamic and western.  It was ultimately banned after 1979.

The banning of pop music consequently imbued this musical genre with an immense subversive power, and for young people in Iran, listening to pop music became a form of resistance against the Islamic regime.[7]  Throughout the 1980s, audiocassettes of pop music mainly produced by Iranian musicians and singers living in exile, particularly "Tehrangeles,"[8] (which is called *lusangilisī*) and other genres of western music circulated the black market in Iran.  Being caught with these cassette tapes could cost individuals considerable fines and put them at risk of being jailed.  Revolutionary guards (*pāsdārān*) frequently stopped cars in traffic searching for pop music cassettes and regularly raided homes if they suspected a party was being held.  Despite the extreme measures designed to eradicate music, the government was not successful in eliminating it from Iranian society completely, particularly since there is quite frequently a discrepancy between what laws are enforced in Iran and what people actually do in private. (Nooshin, 2005a;

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[5] Youssefzadeh cites "Bahsī fiqhī pīramūn-i mūsīqī,*" Daily Risālat,* May 1991.

[6] Referring to Persian classical music.

[7] Nooshin, 2005a, 2005b, 2008.

[8] "Tehrangeles" derives from the combination of "Tehran" and "Los Angeles" and refers to the Iranian diaspora community that resides in Los Angeles.

Youssefzadeh, 2004)  Even if young people agreed with the meanings
authorities assigned to pop music (for example, as a symbol of western
decadence, etc), "such meanings were simply unable to compete with the
quite different meanings many young people in particular assigned to this
music: pop as a symbol of social freedoms, of defiance, of youth, and of
the outside world." (Nooshin, 2005a, 243)  Furthermore, "the very
intention of abolishing music in public life unexpectedly led to
increasing practices of music… by the younger generation of all social
classes." (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 38)  Considered another form of
resistance and way of maintaining identity at this time, unprecedented
numbers of people began learning traditional Iranian music, which
experienced a sort of a revival after the Revolution, and concerts and
private lessons in homes became common. (Nooshin, 2005a, 241)

  The late 1980s and the 1990s showed subtle changes in the
cultural domain for the first time since the Revolution, albeit limited
ones.  After the end of the Iran-Iraq war (1980 – 88) and the death of
Ayatullāh Khumeinī (1989), institutions, especially those dealing with
culture, began to exhibit signs of relaxation on restrictions.   Shortly
before his death, Ayatullāh Khumeinī issued a *fatwa*[9] authorizing the sale
and purchase of musical instruments, as long as these instruments served
a licit purpose.[10]  Certain concerts were gradually granted authorization,
though many restrictions still applied, such as the prohibition of dance
rhythms and women's solo voices.[11] (DeBano, 2005; During, 2005;
Nooshin, 2005a; Youssefzadeh, 2004) The relaxation of policies
regarding the cultural sphere following the end of the war has led some
scholars to believe that "the repression of music in the Islamic Republic
appears to have been more of a period of austerity consequential to the
revolution and to the war than an implementation of religious law…"
(During, 2005, 376)

  Realizing the extent to which the nation was weary of this
austerity, newly elected President Hāshimī Rafsanjānī[12] worked toward
social reform and promoted a more open political, social and cultural

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[9] A *fatwa* is a religious decree determining the licit or non-licit character
of an act.

[10] Youssefzadeh draws from a quote of Khumeinī from an interview he
did in the daily newspaper *Keyhān Journal* in 1989. (Youssefzadeh, 200,
39)

[11] Female voices were permitted only as part of a choir. (DeBano, 2005;
During, 2005; Youssefzadeh, 2004)

[12] Rafsanjānī served as president after Khumeinī's death in 1989 until the
election of Muhammad Khātamī in 1997.

atmosphere. (Nooshin, 2005a)  However, religious authorities' rhetoric against western cultural imperialism (*tahājum-i farhangī*) continued to flourish as it had since the beginning of the Revolution.  In light of this ideology, traditional Iranian music gradually gained a certain amount of legitimacy, and production and distribution of this musical genre was permitted.  Traditional forms of Iranian music alone, however, still could not meet the demands of many of Iran's young people.

## The Cultural Thaw and the Legalization of Pop Music

Pop music remained banned until Iran's period of cultural thaw following the 1997 election of reformist President Muhammad Khātamī. Khātamī initiated a number of reforms in which the most significant had been in the cultural domain[13].  Ayatullāh Muhājirānī, the head of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, also played an important role in the new atmosphere of openness that characterized this time.  Books, newspapers, and journal publications expressing a variety of views flourished.  Music also benefited from the lifting of many official restrictions, and there was an increase in public concerts, music education[14] and music publications[15], as well as an emerging market for cassettes and CDs. (Nooshin, 2005a) Radio and television stations began to broadcast more styles of music than the war hymns and religious music that had dominated the airwaves since 1979.

One particular musical genre that emerged on the airwaves of *Sidā wa Sīmā*[16] shortly after the election of Khātamī was a new style of Iranian pop referred to as *pop-i jadīd (*"new pop"). This music shared many stylistic and formulaic traits with the Iranian pop still officially illegal, such as sentimental love poetry, the focus on a solo singer, and instrumentation that included mainly western instruments.  Some main differences, however, were the lyrics (which were replaced with more

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[13] Before his presidency, Khātamī also served as the head of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, one of the main governmental bodies dealing with music in Iran.

[14] The municipal authority of Tehran established eight cultural centers (*farhangsarā*) that promoted concerts and music lessons. The Music Department at the University of Tehran also reopened.

[15] Some examples are *Hunar-i Mūsīqī* ("The Art of Music"), *Falsnāmih-yi Mūsīqī -i Māhūr* ("Mahūr Musical Quarterly"), and *Falsnāmih-yi Mūsīqī -i Maqām.*

[16] The government controlled national radio and television organization, which is placed under the direct aegis of the Guide (*rahbar)* of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullāh Khāmene'ī.

'decent' lyrics), the absence of female vocalists, and a more moderate, less suggestive tempo. (During, 2005; Nooshin, 2005a)  During calls this new Iranian pop, "officially baptized music for the young," (2005, 382) as it is apparent authorities were attempting to attract the younger generations to this new, authorized music and, according to Basminjī, away from "dangerous political ideas". (2005, 57)  Though there wasn't a complete decline in the popularity of *lusangilesī* pop, *pop-i jadīd* gained significant popularity among young people in the beginning, particular since the music's lyrics proved more relevant to lived experiences in Iran in comparison to imported pop from Tehrangeles. (Nooshin, 2005a)  According to Basminjī, "this trend was so successful that video and audiocassettes imported from LA experienced a 30 percent drop in sales and over 55 percent of people turned to domestically produced pop music." (2005, 57)

Though the sanctioning of the new pop music is considered an attempt at liberalization, the government had also very strategically decreased the subversive power of imported pop. (Nooshin, 2005a) Perhaps the Iranian government realized that cultural imperialism was becoming more and more difficult to combat, particularly with the increase in global communications such as the Internet.  Not being able to prevent young people from listening to imported pop, the government made efforts of bringing it under their own control by "creating a local alternative," in order to "attract audiences away form other kinds of pop music and thereby reestablish control over areas that it had relinquished in 1980s and early 1990s: pop music as entertainment, as commodity, and as social behavior." (Nooshin, 2005a, 250 – 251)  Pop music's meaning thus changed from one of resistance to a musical genre rendered domestic and safe.

**Official Organizations Governing Music in Iran**

Despite the increasing openness in the political and cultural spheres in Iran over the past decade, the conservative clerical lobby continues to challenge many of these changes.  Music, particularly many styles of popular music, remains problematic for the government.  Music is often caught within the power play between conservatives and reformists, both of whom are often deeply divided on the issue. Furthermore, three of the main governmental branches responsible for music in Iran – the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (*Vizārat-i Farhang wa Irshād-i Islāmī*, or most often referred to as *Irshād*), *Sidā wa Sīmā*, and Arts Foundation (*Huwzih-yi Hunarī)* – are partly in competition with each other and often use music to serve particular political agendas.  (Nooshin, 2005b)  Many of the restrictions established

in the 1980s remain intact today: women are still restricted from performing as soloists, dancing or suggestive movement remains strictly forbidden in public, concerts or in music videos, musical instruments are not shown on television, and only religious music is allowed in public places on religious holidays.

Of the organizations dealing with culture in Iran, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (*Irshād*) plays the most significant role in implementing policies regarding music. *Irshād* consists of an "elaborate system of councils that regulate and monitor every sphere of artistic expression." (Article 19, 2006, 7) Based upon the extensive work of ethnomusicologist Youssefzadeh on official organizations governing music in Iran, the Ministry's functions in regards to music and musicians are as follows:

1. Protection and support (*himāyat*)
2. Guidance and orientation (*hidāyat*)
3. Supervision and control (*nizārat*)
    a.) Control of recorded music
    b.) Permits for teaching music
    c.) Organization of musical events
    d.) Other projects, such as organizing music festivals, etc.

1. Protection and support (*himāyat*)

This function is meant to provide musicians with official affiliation in the form of a card. According to Youssefzadeh, this affiliation has only provided an official recognition of musicians and has done little to provide musicians with salaries and benefits, with the exception of a few old masters of music in various regions of Iran. (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 43)

2. Guidance and orientation (*hidāyat*)

This function of *Irshād* claims to guide musicians in preserving the authenticity (*isālat*) of Iranian cultural music.

3. Supervision and control (*nizārat*)

Controlling all marketed sound productions is one of the major responsibilities of this organization. According to Youssefzadeh's interview with Morādkhānī, a former minister of culture, this function aims to preserve the authentic (*asīl*) and traditional (*qadīmī*) culture of Iran. This is done through such measures as issuing permits (*mujāwwiz*) for the distribution of recorded music, as well as issuing the permits needed for teaching music. All concerts must be granted authorization as well, unless the purpose of the concert is that of research (*pāzhūhishī*) or scholarship (*'ilmi*).

The system for the control of sound recordings is complex, often ambiguous, and consists of a classification system that codes each recording with a letter and a number. The purpose of this classification system is that *Irshād* wants to ensure buyers are aware of the genre and quality of the music they are purchasing.  The letter classifies the genre of the music:

S       *sunnatī* (traditional)
N       *nawāhī* (regional)
A       *āmūzishī* (educational)
T       *taghyīr kardi* (modified)
J       *jadīd* (new)
M       *millal* (nations); various Muslim world music
K       *kilāsīk-i gharb* (classical Western music)
P       *pop*

Each recording is assigned a number from 1–4 (1 being the highest) in order to rank the quality (*keyfīyyat*) of the product's recording, presentation, etc.  The responsibility of this classification is that of the Council of Evaluation of Music (*Shurā-yi karshināsī-i mūsīqī)* which consists of five elected professional musicians, who have historically tended to be musicians of the Persian classical music genre, naturally leading toward a bias of this genre.

In Iran, there is also a Council for the authorization of poems (*shurā-yi mujāvviz-i she'r*).  The poems that musicians intend to use on recordings or in concerts must be submitted to the Council, where the words are subjected to strict scrutiny.  The majority of musicians of all genres seeking to gain authorization will choose poems consisting of religious or mystical character ( *'irfānī*), since many love songs and "poems of despair (*nāumīd kunandi*)" are deemed unacceptable. (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 47)

New and more liberal policies were initiated under the direction of Ayatullāh Muhājirānī during Khātamī's presidency, which reflected the leaders' preoccupations with handling a nation with such a young majority.  In Youssefzadeh's interview with Muhājirānī in February 2000, he expresses his views on pop music:

This kind of music nowadays exists in Iran. It caters to the needs of the young people, but does not require our financial or economic aid (*himāyat*).  We have to let it exist, while at the same time preventing it from becoming too repetitive.  Some people indeed believe that the repetition of tunes is liable to discourage the young and plunge them into a melancholy mood.  That is why we have to watch this production.  As for what people do in private, we are not responsible for it; it's for them to decide what they want to hear. (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 40)

Despite these more liberal policies and perspectives, a keen awareness of music's power has remained, and authorities have not ceased exerting strict control over this domain. This is demonstrated through the Ministry's complicated process required in order for musicians to secure *mujāwwiz* to produce, perform or teach music. According to Khushrū, the former Assistant Director of Arts at the *Irshād:*

Music exercises an undeniable influence on people. It can provide the deepest emotions and, as a result, strengthen each person's moral beliefs. But by its very power, it can also become dangerous and exercise an evil influence by changing its original nature. So among all forms, music is the one to which most attention must be paid and which has to be most closely watched and controlled. (Youssefzadeh, 2000, 41.)

Since the 2005 election of Mahmūd Ahmadīnijād the issue of music has grown contentious once again. Ahmadīnijād has purged the government ministries of reform-minded officials, replacing them with former military commanders and religious hardliners.[17] The Supreme Cultural Revolutionary Council announced a ban on western music in December 2005[18], stating, "Blocking indecent and western music from the Islamic Republic of Iran is required."[19] The newest Minister of Culture, Muhammad Hussein Saffār Harandī, a former deputy commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, has reportedly negative views on music and plans to "combat music that is against the values of the Republic of Iran."[20] As the ban on music in the 1980s has shown, however, the control exercised by state organizations cannot stop the existence of a very active and organized black market in which people have access to banned items. As one young Iranian articulates,

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[17] Alī Akbar Dareinī, "Can't Stop the Music, Say Young Iranians After the Ban," *Associated Press,*
 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp dyn/content/article/2005/12/25/AR2005122500690.html (accessed April 29, 2008)

[18] This ban also prohibits *mūsīqī-i assīl* from being broadcast on national radio as well. (Article 19, 2005)

[19] "Iran President Bans Western Music,"
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4543720.stm (accessed January 15, 2008).

[20] "Gradual Changes Through Modern Technology," *Freemuse: Iran*, http://freemuse.org/sw20741.asp (accessed April 25, 2008).

"Mr. Ahmadīnijād maybe doesn't know his society well enough… especially among the youth… we can still get the music we would like to listen from somewhere else. We can get it from the Internet, we can get it on Tehran's big black market, anywhere."[21]

## The Emergence of the Underground Music Scene (Mūsīqī-i Zīr-i Zamīn): Rock, Rap, and Alternative Music Styles

The genres of music in Iran that for the last decade continue to be most targeted by authorities are those that comprise Iran's underground music (*mūsīqī-i zīr-i zamīn*) scene – rock, rap, and alternative music (*mūsīqī-i alternative)* styles. This music scene emerged in Iran's urban centers shortly after the sanctioning of pop music during the cultural thaw of the late 1990s. Nooshin believes that the legalization of domesticated pop music was consequently one inadvertent catalyst for the development of this unregulated, grass roots underground music scene as the new subversive musical genre. (2005a, 2005b, 2008) As pop resigned its peripheral position as the primary 'other' in Iranian music, musical genres in the underground scene stepped up to take its place in order to express an alternative musical space and identity. This new popular music has emerged in a nation where, "popular music has, with few exceptions, tended to come from the "center" (of power) or from outside the country." (Nooshin, 2008, 70)

Genres of rock, rap, and alternative music are relegated to "underground" status since few musicians who perform these genres of music in Iran have managed to gain authorization (*mujāwwiz*) from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance in order to produce albums or perform concerts in the public domain.[22] Despite President Ahmadīnijād's recent ban prohibiting western music from being broadcast on state-controlled radio and television stations, there is not a specific law against rock or rap music particularly. However, the

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[21] Alī Akbar Dareinī, "Can't Stop the Music, Say Young Iranians After the Ban," *Associated Press,*
 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp
dyn/content/article/2005/12/25/AR2005122500690.html (accessed April 29, 2008)

[22] Nooshin suggests that the connotation of the term "underground" also partly stems from the fact that these bands, out of necessity, have literally had to rehearse in the privacy of basements  *(zīr-i zamīn).*

challenges of obtaining *mujāwwiz* have kept underground musicians struggling to establish themselves in the public sphere.

To clarify terminology: Since the arrival of all genres of western and westernized music in Iran, Iranians have utilized the term "pop" in order to describe all western genres of music. Since the post-1997 legalization, however, the meanings of certain terminology have shifted slightly and people now tend to refer to "pop" when speaking of legal, largely mainstream music, and refer to "rock" when speaking of music which is generally unauthorized and outside of the mainstream. The term "rock" is a term often used as an umbrella term, both generically as a synonym for "underground" or "alternative" music, as well as for specifically referring to the particular musical genre. Nooshin also contends that underground musicians consciously choose "rock" to describe the underground scene because of and identification with rock music's anti-establishment ethos, making the usage of the term both convenient and symbolic. (2005b) When this music movement was just beginning to emerge, many of the musicians utilized and identified with the term "underground music." For bands seeking to a gain authorization to produce albums or play concerts from *Irshād*, however, this term became problematic since it "suggested an up-front oppositional stance rarely found in this music, which tends instead to follow the centuries-old Iranian tradition in which social commentary is subtly veiled." (Nooshin, 2005b, 476) Thus, many musicians have begun to adopt the more neutral terms "alternative" and/or "rock" to describe the scene. Nooshin explains, however, "Now, as the movement has expanded and matured, individual styles (such as metal, hip-hop, and so on) are gaining enough of a separate identity not to need the overarching labels which in the early days helped the fledgling movement develop a coherent identity." (2008, 71)

With so few local role models until recently, many Iranian rock and rap musicians have tended to look outside of Iran and draw on predominately western musical models. Many musicians experiment with a variety of musical styles such as blues, jazz, flamenco, among many other western styles, as well as localized sounds – predominantly Persian lyrics, vocal styles, modal and rhythmic structures, traditional instruments, and even the poetry of medieval Persian mystic poets like Rūmī and Hāfiz. Despite drawing from western music models, much of the music being made by underground musicians goes beyond mere imitation. Nooshin contends that, "While the West still holds a powerful fascination for many people, what is interesting is the way in which bands are transcending what might be regarded as the "aping of one's former colonial masters" and developing a new sound…" (2005a, 261 –

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      As the underground music scene is predominantly an urban, cosmopolitan, middle class phenomenon, many of the underground musicians are highly articulate university students or university graduates (though seldom music graduates).  (Nooshin, 2008)  Because of the lack of live performance contexts, it is difficult to determine who are the audiences of underground music.  Yet based upon online websites and blogs about the scene, as well as evidence presented by Nooshin, it appears that underground music in Iran appeals to the peers of the musicians themselves: young, urban, educated, relatively affluent, cosmopolitan, "as well as modernist, internationalist, and secular in outlook, lifestyle, and aspiration."  (Nooshin, 2008, 74)

      The emergence of the underground music scene marks the first time that Iranian youth are actively creating grassroots music in which they are finding and expressing in their own voices in addressing social issues in an indirect statement of resistance.  The illegally imported pop music of the 1980s was a symbol of resistance, but it was resistance by consumption rather than through creation, since "all of the pop music available either dated from before 1979 or was created outside of Iran in very different social and cultural contexts."[23]  (Nooshin, 2005a, 244) The contemporary underground music scene, on the other hand, consists of young people actively engaged in a musical movement that, for its participants, represents youth, freedom of expression, and being anti-establishment.  Unlike *mūsīqī-e assīl,* which is associated more with older generations, underground musical genres provide an opportunity for young people to feel a sense of ownership, that it belongs specifically to them and reflects their experience.  Furthermore, much of the underground music scene is challenging some of the long accepted norms of Iranian popular music in general through emphasizing a "strong collaborative ethos, stylistic eclecticism, meaningful lyrics, and an increasing role for women musicians."[24]  (Nooshin, 2005b, 467)

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[23] The only active creation of music that symbolized resistance against the restrictions imposed onto music at this time was via *mūsīqī-e assīl.*
[24] While this paper does not focus on gender, it is important to note that the inclusion of women in the underground music scene portrays its progressive and anti-establishment ethos.  According to DeBano, "For many Iranian women, the pursuit of a career in music can be a risky endeavor due to gender norms, the stigma attached to professional musicians, concern about extra-musical associations (like dancing, drinking, and the like), and finally, fear of music's power to elicit carnal responses." (2005, 457)

In regards to the lyrics utilized by underground musicians, there are some distinctions between the expression of Iranian rock musicians and Iranian rap artists. While both genres articulate commentary on a range of social and personal issues, Iranian rock music lyrics tend to be less candid than rap lyrics. Rock lyrics can be considered "rebellious rather than directly political," offering an often "intensely personal alternative to the clichéd nostalgia of mainstream pop, simultaneously invoking an alternative space of youth experience and an oblique challenge to the status quo." (Nooshin, 2005b, 488) Rap music, on the other hand, is considered more progressive in terms of expression. Speaking about rap artists in Iran Nassir Mashkouri, the editor of *Zīrzamīn,* an online underground music magazine,[25] claims, "The words that they speak are very radical. They speak of taboos such as sex and drugs … they are much more rebellious than those involved in rock music." (Article 19, 2006, 43- 44) One song by the female rap artist *Persian Princess* shows evidence of this outspokenness, which was written about the eighteen year-old girl Nāzanīn, who was sentenced to death in January 2006 for murdering one of three men who attempted to rape her and her sixteen year-old cousin. Addressing taboo topics such as these are considered extremely radical, particularly if they are critical of the state. However, Nooshin argues that song lyrics of underground musicians need not be overtly radical in order for these musicians' work to be contentious. Because "official discourses problematized Western-style popular music and branded it as a symbol of western decadence, … the musical language of rock continues to embody an oppositional quality precisely because of where official discourses have placed it, even when song lyrics are apparently innocuous." (Nooshin, 2005b, 488)

Choosing to use lyrics that would be considered overtly radical in the context of Iran, however, essentially means making a conscious decision to remain an underground musician; lyrics are one of the first things *Irshād* scrutinizes when distributing *mujāwwiz.* Staying "underground" versus attempting to come "overground" (*rū-yi zamīn*) is ultimately a complicated, paradoxical position that these musicians face. To a certain degree, underground musicians benefit from their underground status since their marginalization imbues them with similar power that illegally imported pop had in the 1980s. While being granted full legalization in the same way that pop had would bring certain advantages to musicians in the underground scene, it could potentially result in a loss of the subversive power gained by their peripheral status.

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[25] http://www.zirzamin.se/

Furthermore, remaining "underground" affords these musicians with a certain amount of control over their music, granting them the ability to express perhaps taboo views and providing them with a certain amount of artistic satisfaction. One Iranian rap artist by the name of AZ exclaims, "Maybe it's good that the best music is all underground. It keeps us on the edge. It keeps us fresh." (Article 19, 2006, 44)

On the other hand, many musicians express concern over a range of issues both practical and financial. They face problems in obtaining rehearsal spaces and affordable instruments, gaining access to recording equipment or studios, and then, of course, with acquiring the *mujāwwiz* necessary to reach audiences and secure a place in the public domain. As AZ articulates, "You can't make a career at music in Iran unless you are willing to compromise." (Article 19, 2006, 44) Ultimately coming overground would be a trade-off: giving up control over one's music versus the advantages gained through official and social acceptance. (Nooshin, 2005b)

**Contending with Censorship in Iran**

Censorship has been implemented in Iran over the past century in order to legitimize governing authorities and their attempts to modify the cultural, social, and economic environments of the nation. During the Pahlavī monarchy (particularly during Muhammad Rizā Shāh's reign), censorship worked to delegitimize all things considered a threat to security, law and order, and the idea of the monarchy. Since the 1979 Revolution, the Islamic Republic has utilized censorship practices in attempts of 'cleansing' the nation of western cultural onslaught with the intention of creating an ideal Islamic society. (Kerevel, 2007)

Censorship in Iran is officially implemented through state organizations and institutions that enforce laws, regulations, and guidelines that restrict many forms of expression. There is often little certainty as to the governing norms since laws are enforced selectively and inconsistently. There are a variety of ways that censorship is implemented in Iran. They vary from official banning to imprisonment, yet most efforts at control are more subtle and indirect. Governmental organizations "unofficially" provide "suggestions," "advice," and/or "guidance," and create complicated processes for obtaining authorization (*mujāwwiz*), as is the case with the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. Authorization can take weeks, months, years, or be denied altogether. The Ministry employs strict scrutiny when examining applications for *mujāwwiz*, and artists are informed of any amendments needed to deem the work acceptable for approval (in line with the tenets of Islam). (Middle East Watch, 1993) The process every artist must go

through in order to gain official permission to produce art naturally results in a degree of self-censorship, a power not to be underestimated. Furthermore, the continuous flux in Iran's political climate and the often-ambiguous guidelines for obtaining *mujāwwiz* creates an environment of anxiety and uncertainty for artists. Therefore, "in more ways than one, censorship in Iran is the extension of physical power into the realm of the mind and the spirit."    (Article 19, 2006, 4 - 5)

The government claims to curtail certain forms of expression only if they are considered incompatible with Islamic principles, which are of the highest value in Iran.  Article 4 of Iran's Constitution states:

All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political and other laws and regulations must be based on Islamic criteria. This principle applies absolutely and generally to all articles of the Constitution as well as other laws and regulation, and the wise persons of the Guardian Council[26] are judges in this matter. This is not to say that freedom of expression is incompatible with Islam, but 'Islamic criteria' are certainly open to a variety of interpretations. (Article 19, 2006, 10)

Other articles in Iran's constitution also work to legitimize official censorship practices.[27]  For instance, Article 9 states:

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the freedom, independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the country are inseparable from one another, and their preservation is the duty of the  government and all individual citizens. No individual, group, or authority, has the right to infringe in the slightest way upon the political, cultural, economic, and military independence or the territorial integrity of Iran under the pretext of exercising freedom.   Similarly, no authority has the right to abrogate legitimate freedoms, not even by enacting laws and regulations for that purpose, under the pretext of preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

Article 24 states:

Publications and the press have freedom of expression except when it is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public. The details of this exception will be specified by law.

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[26] The Guardian Council is an exceptionally powerful body that rests alongside the Supreme Leader and above the President.  They are responsible for overseeing the activities of parliament and determining which candidates are qualified to run both for president and parliamentary elections.

[27] http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/ir00t___.html (accessed April 25, 2008)

Non-governmental actors also play a role in the mechanisms of state control over freedom of expression in Iran. The Constitution puts radio and television under the direct supervision of the religious leader and the three branches of government. State controlled media is known for playing a role in the dissemination of propaganda and often "besmirch journalists, intellectuals and artists that the state wishes to discredit, by labeling them as servants of imperialism, communists and agents of SAVAK (the secret police during the Shāh's reign)." (Article 19, 2006, 8) Quasi-official vigilante groups, such as *Basīj,* also intervene when state-implemented censorship fails to exert control. Self-mandated to protect society from "damaging influences" they often use of force, threats and intimidation to ensure the public is upholding Islamic values. (Article 19, 2006, Middle East Watch, 1993)

As already mentioned, the most significant challenge for musicians in the underground music scene is obtaining *mujāwwiz* in order to produce albums and play concerts, a process that often lacks clear criteria for acceptance. To date, few rock bands, rap artists, and fusion musicians have been successful in gaining this official permission. They have been denied for such reasons as having "inappropriate lyrics, especially those that declare love for anyone but Allah, grammatical errors, solo female singers, shaved heads, improper sense of style, too many rifts on electrical guitars and excessive stage movements." (Article 19, 2006, 45)

Nooshin explains, "Musicians are therefore caught in a vicious circle: on the one hand, they can't access audiences before securing *mujāwwiz*; on the other, bands tend to delay applying for *mujāwwiz* until they have material of sufficient quality to present to the ministry, …[and] without a permit, bands are obliged to operate in an audience-free vacuum with no opportunity to legally present their work, even in informal settings." (Nooshin, 2005b, 468) Therefore, in the face of official restrictions, musicians are forced to look for alternative means to play and distribute their music in order to gain audiences.

Musicians have indeed become skillful in finding creative ways to continue engaging in their art and work around official restrictions. They rehearse in private, record their music with home recording equipment (which is often very low quality) or in private recording studios, circulate their music through informal networks and "under the counter" sales at music shops, and play secret concerts. (Nooshin, 2005a, 2005b, 2008) There are some university venues that do not require gaining authorization from the *Irshād*, such as Milād Hall at the University of Tehran, Farabī Hall in Tehran's Art University (*Dānishgāh-i Hunar*) and at the Tehran Conservatory (*Hunaristān-i*

*Millī*) and many bands in the underground scene have performed at these venues.  These venues are insufficient, however. Even for bands who have managed to gain authorization to perform, concerts are often canceled last minute for no apparent reason, or are disrupted or physically broken up by members of the voluntary religious militia, *Basīj*. (Nooshin, 2005b, 2008)  Therefore, with so few physical spaces to play music and distribute music, musicians in the underground scene have turned to the Internet and have created a virtual music community.

## The Role of the Internet

With the increased access to the Internet in Iran beginning in the late 1990s, particularly among the middle classes, underground musicians have utilized the advancement of this technology in order to access audiences in and out of Iran (both Iranians in the diaspora as well as non-Iranians).  Nooshin argues that, "the new grass-roots music was only able to establish itself and expand because of the possibilities offered through the Internet." (Nooshin, 2008, 73)  On many levels, the Internet has offered Iranians a space to engage in a variety of forms of expression and its usage has completely skyrocketed.  According to a Human Rights Watch Report in 2005, the number of Internet users in Iran has increased at an average annual rate of more than 600 percent since 2001, a figure unparalleled in the Middle East, only surpassed by Israel.  As of 2006, Persian was the fourth most frequent used language for keeping weblogs and there was an estimated 75,000 blogs written in Persian.  (Alavi, 2005; Article 19, 2006; Rahimi, 2008)  Despite recent measures taken by the government in order to regulate Internet use, the rapid development of the Internet has provided Iranians with an alternative public discourse to the state-controlled media and "poses one of the most important threats against authoritarian hegemony in Iran." (Rahimi, 2008, 37)

Indeed the Internet has also provided the underground music scene in Iran the same alternative space to defy restrictions imposed onto them.  In comparison with other means of defying these restrictions – circulating their music in the black market or playing secret concerts – the Internet is a "relatively cheap, risk-free, and infinitely more flexible medium to access audiences both inside and outside Iran." (Nooshin, 2005b, 472) Many bands have their own websites where they offer free music downloads, many have their music available for listening on You Tube and for purchase on I Tunes, and many have accounts on social network websites such as My Space and Facebook.  The friend network websites are particularly helpful for the musicians to receive the type of audience feedback that they are otherwise deprived of.

A website that was instrumental in establishing and promoting the underground music scene, particularly during the movement's early years, and still continues to support this scene today is tehranavenue.com. In 2002, tehranavenue.com held the first "Underground Music Festival" (UMC), an online festival in which musicians were invited to submit music for listeners to listen and vote upon. UMC was unparalleled in bringing attention to the plethora of bands operating underground and in giving the emerging movement an identity. (Nooshin 2005a, 2005b, 2008) There have been two other online music festivals since UMC – "Tehran Avenue Music Open" (TAMO) in 2004 and "Tehran Avenue Music Festival" (TAMF) in 2005. All three tehranavenue festivals included participants and voters from within and outside of Iran. These festivals have clearly demonstrated "the opportunities that global technologies offer musicians to circumvent government censorship and control." (Nooshin, 2005a, 260)

## Challenging Dominant Discourses on National Identity: Why Underground Music is Contentious/Subject to Censorship

Since the 1979 Revolution, cultural policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been established in order to preserve a sense of national identity reinforced with a moral character steeped in Islamic values. A significant component of these efforts have been to purify the nation of foreign elements, particularly western elements. In the cultural sphere, this has been demonstrated through the banning of western music in the 1980s, as well as the most recent ban on western music in late 2005. While authorities continue with attempts to maintain an isolationalist stance in regards to its national identity, the regime is facing an extremely young, educated nation, one with approximately seventy percent of its population under the age of thirty. An emerging youth culture is developing in Iran which identifies itself as cosmopolitan and internationalist, who are seeking to be a part of a global culture, or to become 'global' (*jahānī shudan*), and whose voices of dissent are becoming increasingly more difficult to silence. (Alavi, 2005; Basmenji, 2005; Nooshin, 2005a, 2005b, 2008)

A significant part of this emerging youth culture in Iran is the underground music scene. The musicians and audiences who participate in this scene clearly view it as a space for youth expression and empowerment, yet "critics dismiss this music as yet another manifestation of *Gharbzādigī* … and attempt to exclude it from the central space of cultural discourse." (Nooshin, 2008, 76) Much of this criticism stems from the fact that much of the music does not have a sound considered obviously "Iranian" in its aesthetics. This perspective

perpetuates a deep-seated norm that inserts notions of national identity inside the debates of Iranian musical aesthetics.  Yet, like much of Iran's youth culture in general, most musicians in the underground music scene are not looking to be bound to a nationalist identity, musically or personally.  In fact, "many rock musicians are deliberately forefronting stylistic diversity in order to transcend national boundaries, to engage in cultural dialogue and to force a debate about Iran's relationship with the outside world, particularly the west, and her future in an increasingly global environment."  (Nooshin, 2008, 77)

This does not mean that national identity is unimportant to musicians in the underground scene.  In fact, many musicians and bands produce music that articulates a pride in Iranian cultural heritage, whether it is articulated through the lyrics (i.e. utilizing the poetry of medieval mystical Persian poets or through defending the image of Iran to the outside world)[28], or through incorporating traditional instruments and melodies in their music.  Instead of a self-conscious imitation of the west, like many artists had done in Iran in the 1970s, many Iranian underground musicians are assimilating and authenticating styles in a way that ceases to make this music "external"  (Nooshin, 2008) in the same way that Iran's youth culture is looking to transcend the isolationalist brand of nationalism.  Instead, they are seeking to forge themselves in a transnational community, to develop a new identity simultaneously rooted at home yet outward looking, and to engage in new discourses about what it means to be Iranian in the twenty-first century.  Iranian authorities are well aware of that cultural change is often initiated through two things – the power of young people and the power of art.  Considering that the underground music scene in Iran consists of both of these two powerful elements, the government will undoubtedly continue attempting to exert its control over this youth/music movement by exerting insidious forms of censorship.  While underground musicians are forced to contend with this censorship, the Republic, too, will certainly continue to contend with the sheer numbers of erudite, dissatisfied youth who have clearly been determined to find creative ways to evade the censors and connect with the global youth culture.

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[28] The rock band O-Hum uses the poetry of the mystical poets Rūmī and Hāfiz. In his song "*Huwwīat-i Man"* (which translates as "My Identity"), the rapper YAS defends his identity as Iranian in protest against the film "300," a film that many individuals believe misrepresents Persians as savages.

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**Acknowledgements**

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My research interests include the position of dance in Iran throughout history, how censorship has shaped artistic aesthetics post-1979 Revolution in Iran and the Iranian diaspora, the connection between Iranian socio-politics and cultural/artistic expression, Iranian New Wave cinema, the role of Persian poetry in Iranian performance and visual arts, and issues of Orientalism, globalism, and cultural imperialism. I am applying to UC Berkeley's PhD in Performance Studies, UC Riverside's PhD in Dance History and Theory, and UCLA's MA in World Cultures and Performance.

# Implications of Culturally Relevant, Student-Centered Science Curriculum

Merob Shimeles

## Abstract

    *As our population progresses into an information-driven society, the prominence of modern science and its role as an important tool of inquiry is undeniable. Due to the pervasiveness of scientific information, the quest for scientific literacy among minority populations is absolutely crucial as a result of the existing achievement gap between Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans when compared to their White counterparts. The variance in academic performance between minorities and Whites is most notably seen in the field of math and science. Taking the aforementioned factors into consideration, this research seeks to determine if multiculturalism is a significant tool able to reflect on science education and classroom practices. Therefore, the driving question compelling this research is whether or not culturally relevant, student-centered science education yields positive results for minority students, as measured by improved academic performance, scholastic motivation, and increased interest in pursuing educational pathways rich in science and technology. Hence, this project is grounded in literature reviews that highlight the empirical and theoretical implications of multicultural pedagogy in the realm of science education. Although numerous discussions exist regarding the efficacy of multicultural science education, this area of research is riddled with multiple explanations—often times conflicting—concerning the relationship between academic performance and multiculturalism. Despite the contentious opinions surrounding this subject matter, the perspective proffered within this project is that affirming cultural and experiential capital is important in altering minority students' relationship to science education. Moreover, multiculturalism has the potential of functioning as an equitable platform from which minority populations can access, acquire, and generate scientific knowledge.*

## Introduction

    The twenty-first century can be described as a society whose livelihood centers on the generation and proliferation of vast amounts of data. The Lyman and Varian study of newly created information affirms this observation through their finding that 5 exabytes ($5 \times 10^{18}$ bytes) of information is produced annually, on a global level (Metz, 2005, p. 1). To illustrate this point further, 5 exabytes of information is "equivalent to

half a million new libraries the size of the Library of Congress" (DPLS, 2004). Therefore, as the American population moves even further into becoming an information-driven nation, the prominence of scientific and technical information becomes perceptively clear. In the process, modern science presents itself as an important tool of inquiry thereby highlighting the need for a scientifically literate citizenry. Coupled with this demand is a demographic shift in the American population which reveals that "98 million people –about 33 percent of the total U.S. population—are part of a racial or ethnic minority group and 45 percent of children under age 5 are minorities" (PRB, 2006). Thus, "children of color are the majority in a growing number of the nation's largest urban school districts and will be the majority of the nation's public school student population in the year 2040" (Murnane, 2001, p. 402). Therefore, with these factors in mind, it is necessary to examine measures capable of making scientific literacy a possibility for all populations –including ethnic and racial minorities—as seen in the framework of multicultural science education (MSE).

## Overview: Student Performance in Science

Scholars, policymakers and educators alike have elicited a clarion call for raising the scientific competency of all Americans. The verity of this concern is evident in recent science examinations taken by American students. In 1995, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) conducted a study of 12th grade students in 21 countries revealing that the United States ranked in the bottom tier among nations, whereas Sweden, Netherlands and Iceland were the highest performers in science (IEA, 1995). In subsequent assessments –of 8th graders, for example—U.S. students came behind Singapore, and Chinese Taipei, the top-performers in science when compared with 44 other countries. Aside from the IEA, other studies such as the *Nation's Report Card,* have expressed similar findings thereby highlighting the scientific deficiencies of American students (U.S. Department of Education, 2005).

## Brief History: Science Education Policy & Standards

The current framework for national science education, for primary and secondary schools, has been spearheaded by the National Research Council's 1996 *National Science Education Standards* (NSES) publication. The *Standards* were motivated by the understanding that the "traditional teaching methods of science are simply ineffective [since] it fails to convey what science is, and [will] kill off the curiosity of kids,"

according to Bruce Alberts, the president of the National Academy of Sciences (Genoni, 1995). Additionally, the *Standards* were designed with the specific intent of making "scientific literacy for all a reality in the 21st century" while emphasizing "equity as an underlying principle [that] should pervade all aspects of science education" (NRC, 1996). Therefore, in regards to classroom practices, the *Standards* advocate for a shift towards interactive, "inquiry-oriented [science] investigations" rather than limiting instruction to a lecture format (NRC, 1996).

As a consequence of the NSES and other initiatives, science education has emerged as a public policy concern primarily due to the foreseeable implications of a scientifically illiterate population. According to political figures such as former vice president of the United States, Al Gore, it is imperative that all Americans possess scientific competency because "scientific information has become the critical skill, [for] an economy dependent on information and technology cannot survive without workers at every level who can not only use computers but program and design tools with which they will perform their tasks" (Gore, 1993, p. 298). Additionally, science competency is a crucial ingredient to fostering civic engagement, as aptly summarized in the following credo:

> "Our science classes should give students the skills and content knowledge needed to address the difficult issues and hard questions that come with scientific knowledge. When interconnections among science, technology, and society are made part of science teaching, we empower students with skills that allow them to become active, responsible, and thoughtful citizens" (Metz, 2005).

**Focus: Science & Minorities**

Although science is a field of substantial import, academic performance in science is not identical across all student groups as evident in the existing achievement gap between low-income Blacks, Latinos and Native Americans when compared to their White counterparts (Hrabowski, 2002; Boykin et al, 2004). "The achievement gap [between minorities and White students] is most pronounced in mathematics and science (College Board, 1999); minority students have typically not done well in these subjects at the elementary, middle, or high school levels. Even when they are successful in math and science in early years, their confidence and interest often decline later on" (Hrabowski, 2002, p. 44). Moreover, "the bottom of the achievement distribution contains disproportionate numbers of children of color. We include in this category Black, Hispanic, and Native-American children,

as well as large numbers of immigrant children from Vietnam, Cambodia, and other low-income countries" (Murane, 2001, p. 402).

The situation is further complicated when viewing the number of minority students pursuing a biomedical education and those attaining a career in this field. According to Figure 1, more White students major in life and physical sciences when compared with minorities but when the health field is taken into consideration the data seems to indicate that more Black students are pursuing a scientific course of study. It is worth noting though that the term "health" has a myriad of definitions. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2000), the "health" professions can include a dentist, primary care physician as well as a music therapist, community counselor, athletic trainer, health information administrator, or medical illustrator, just to name a few. The terminology misleads readers into viewing health as a course of study strictly grounded in a laboratory or research environment. Moreover, entrance into a program does not indicate matriculation and employment. This fact is made explicitly clear by the fact that underrepresented racial and ethnic groups comprise 33 percent of the U.S. population "but only [account for] 8.6% of all physicians and 5.2% of the dental workforce" (PBR, 2006; AMA, 2004; RWJ, 2004). One contributing factor to the low representation of minorities in the biomedical field is the dissimilar academic performance between minorities and their White counterparts, in the field of science education. Therefore, the existing achievement gap –between White and Black, Latino, Native American students—in the area of science education warrants further exploration and research.

| Institutional and Student Characteristics | Life Sciences | Physical Sciences | Health |
|---|---|---|---|
| White | 5.1 | 0.9 | 15.7 |
| Black | 3.8 | 0.5 | 20.3 |
| Hispanic | 4.2 | 0.6 | 15.9 |
| American Indian | 4.2 | 1.0 | 17.4 |

*Figure 1: Percentage distribution of undergraduates with a declared major, by field of study and selected institutional and student characteristics: 2003-2004 (U.S. Department of Education, 2006).*

**Overview of Paper**

There are multiple theories that account for the low academic performance of minority students and in the quest for answers, this

research seeks to determine if multiculturalism –cultural and experiential capital—is a significant tool able to reflect on science education and classroom practices. The driving question compelling this research is whether or not culturally relevant, student-centered science education yields positive results for minority students, as measured by improved academic performance, scholastic motivation, and increased interest in pursuing educational pathways rich in science and technology. The following questions are central to the foci of this research:

1) What are the outcomes associated with incorporating one's personal and cultural capital assets into a science curriculum?
2) Does a multicultural science curriculum increase the academic motivation and performance of minority students?
3) Does culturally relevant pedagogy establish equitable science education opportunities?

This project is grounded in literature reviews that highlight the implications of multicultural pedagogy in the realm of science education. Research was primarily conducted through a review of studies that discussed the empirical and theoretical underpinnings of culturally relevant pedagogy within the American context. Moreover, texts that focused solely on the implications of multicultural education (ME) were consulted in order to determine the transferability of these findings to the area of multicultural science education (MSE) and thereby understand its impact upon minority students. Furthermore, research was limited to texts discussing the role of ME on school age children and adolescents. Texts supporting ME were taken into consideration along with studies scrutinizing the benefits of culturally-relevant pedagogy. Furthermore, a significant portion of the articles were derived from the area of learning styles research. This field is important to consider due its conflicting assessments of multicultural education. Some learning style researchers (e.g. Kane and Boan) discount the motivation of multicultural education which is based upon the tacit assumption that certain student groups are predisposed to a specific learning style. Conversely, other researchers (e.g. Boykin and Bailey) claim that some student groups – as the in case of ethnic minorities –  learn differently than other groups due to the way in which they have been socialized, which in turn requires a culturally responsive pedagogy that can respond to this situation.

The foundation of this research was based upon 23 different sources, largely derived from peer-reviewed journals. Additional materials were considered in order to provide a historical account of science education standards along with a basic overview of the issues

inherent in the field of multicultural education. In conjunction with these sources my research advisors played a pivotal role in shaping the research methodology and process.

Although multiple factors influence the academic performance of students, this research is only focused on the impact of multicultural curriculum upon scholastic performance. Many studies have delved into the significance of minority instructors, school resources, and a student's economic background as potential factors impacting minority academic achievement. Despite this case, these issues are outside the scope of this project. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that this study is not intended to corroborate certain arguments alluding to the genetic inferiority of racial-ethnic minorities. Instead this study seeks to determine the benefits of infusing cultural resources into science education for the purposes of improving the engagement and performance of minority students.

## Literature Review
### Science & Culture

Within the framework of science education the relationship between science and culture is a widely debated subject matter, dominated by two separate perspectives: universalism and social constructivism. Universalism exists as the dominant view undergirding science and science education instruction. Universalism claims that there is no relationship between science and culture. In fact, proponents "argue that Western modern science (WMS) provides a superior knowledge of the natural world as compared with premodern European thought or the various 'folk thought,' 'ethno sciences,' and other less worthy forms of knowledge held by non-Western cultures" (Stanley and Brickhouse, 1998, p. 36). Michael Matthews, as cited by Stanley and Brickhouse (1998), elaborates on this point further by explaining that "since this form of science provides our best knowledge of the natural world, it is our obligation as educators to expose children of all cultures to such knowledge" (p. 37). Despite such views, proponents of universalism admit that "humans produce cultural constructions of scientific knowledge, but this sort of knowledge is irrelevant, because social knowledge cannot be imposed on reality" (p. 37).

The polar opposite of universalism is social constructivism which argues that one's social environment shapes their conception of reality. Taking this into consideration, social constructivists express that "the aim of the scientific community is the interpretation of natural phenomena…what students [scientists] observe or predict about natural phenomena and the approaches they take in problem solving and experimenting depend crucially on the way they construe their world"

# Implications of Culturally Relevant, Student-Centered Science Curriculum

(Atwater, 1996, p. 828). Therefore, in respect to education constructivists aver that it is difficult to isolate what is known exclusively by a student and the knowledge a student acquires from their surroundings. Extending upon these thoughts Warren et al. emphasize the importance of viewing "children's [culturally] diverse sense-making practices as an intellectual resource in science learning and teaching" (p. 546). In light of these conflicts between science and culture, both views – universalism and social constructivism – are worthy of consideration due to their differing approach and impact on science education.

*Relevance of Multiculturalism in Science Education*

Grant and Ladson-Billing (1997) as cited by Hays (2001) define multicultural education as "a philosophical concept and an educational process [that] helps students to develop positive self-concepts and to discover who they are" (p. 1). Therefore, multicultural education is premised on a "link between culture and classroom instruction [which] is derived from evidence that cultural practices shape thinking processes, which serve as tools for learning within and outside of school (Hollins, 1996)". Therefore multicultural education goes beyond the parameters of a culturally-relevant curriculum in order to employ a comprehensive revision of the entire process of schooling (Banks, 1989, p. 6). As an example, Gay (2000) explains that teacher-student relations function as one important facet of multicultural education and influences academic performance (p. 46). Therefore, "caring is one of the major pillars of culturally responsive pedagogy for ethnically diverse students. It is manifested in the form of teacher attitudes, expectations, and behaviors about students' human value, intellectual capability, and performance responsibilities" (p. 45).

When multiculturalism is infused into science curriculum, it seeks to promote science literacy among underrepresented populations. In so doing, the desired intent is to empower all students by providing equitable access to science education. In effect, MSE offers a dynamic and open framework that validates the experiential and cultural capital of minority learners. In the process, multicultural science educators function as knowledge brokers by ensuring that information is a communal property. For "knowledge is central to power…[and knowledge] widens [one's] experience; it provides analytic tools for thinking through questions, situations, and problems. Knowledge that empowers centers around the interests and aims of the prospective knower" (Atwater, 1996, p. 822). Therefore, MSE is based upon the following tenets:

- o   All students can learn science;

- o  Every student is worthwhile to have in the science classroom;
- o  Cultural diversity is appreciated in science classrooms because it enhances rather than detracts from the richness and effectiveness of science learning (Atwater, 2000, p. 48).

Cunningham and Helms (1998) extend upon the aforementioned tenets by citing the significance of a multicultural framework. Cunningham and Helms—drawing their findings from the social constructivist framework—urge educators to teach science in a manner that is authentic and inclusive in nature. The authors highlight that when teachers instruct on the inner workings, the historical foundations and the social applicability of science, this strategy will peak the scientific curiosity of diverse populations. In this regard Cunningham and Helms admit that the traditional approach of science education has gone awry by "discourage[ing] certain populations of students from further science study." The authors corroborate their claims by acknowledging the work of other researchers who have determined that factors such as individualism, competitiveness, and [a] rigid teaching style has made it possible for school "science [to] alienate underrepresented groups -- in particular, women and minorities" (p. 496). Therefore, since science "procedures are often rigid and leave no room for messy data, creativity, or the expression of personal strengths," Cunningham and Helms propose "restructuring science classes to illuminate facets of real science that are currently missing [which] will help [to] make science more appealing to different types of people who can, in turn, make science a more robust endeavor and also break down the aura of science as untouchable or the domain of the intellectually privileged" (p. 496).

Aside from the aforementioned factors, another driving motivation behind multiculturalism lies in its capacity to consider alternate ways of knowing. As an example, the work of Warren et al. reveals that diverse methods of interpreting the world through "improvisation, ambiguity, informality, engagement, and subjectivity"— referred to as everyday sense-making—is not incompatible with scientific ways of knowing (p. 530). In effect, Warren et al. view everyday sense-making as an invaluable resource which is of great import for "students who find themselves otherwise marginalized in school science [since they] are able to call on these resources in ways that prove productive for them" (p. 532). This observation is furthered by Ladson-Billings (1994) who attests to the merits of cultural assets by citing the work of "Hale-Benson and Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines[; they] have identified cultural strengths that African American children bring with them to the classroom that are rarely capitalized on by teachers" (p.

17).

In retrospect then, MSE provides multiple methods through which instructors can empower students and thereby deter student apprehension to science education. This is possible by teachers emphasizing "empowering relationships" rather than "benevolent helping models" (Atwater, 1996, p. 831). Empowering relationships seek to develop collaborative, interactive relations that advocate for student success rather than emphasizing student failings. Moreover, this approach incorporates students' culture into the instruction and practices of science education. Extending upon this point, the work of Snively and Corsiglia, frame this issue in tangible terms by highlighting three particular views that are useful considerations when developing a cross-cultural approach to WMS:

1) We should credit indigenous healers with the discovery of Aspirin
2) Officials should have listened to the Nisga'a fisherman's claim that a new molybdenum mine was threatening crabs
3) Combining traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and WMS can be very powerful (Stanley & Brickhouse, 1998, p. 46).

I propose that when all of these points are employed, empowering relationships have the capacity to alter minority students' perception and relationship to scientific inquiry.

**Findings/Discussion**

Among the 24 resources considered for this research, these materials diverged into two distinct categories. Several studies explored the capacity of culturally relevant pedagogy to enhance the academic engagement and performance of minority learners. The second collection of literature delved into the connection between self-esteem and academic achievement. All of the selected resources drew their conclusions from a myriad of areas, ranging from the sociolinguistic, historical, ethnographic and psychological fields.

*Empirical Significance of Culturally Relevant Instruction*

The most promising evidence pertaining to the relationship between culturally relevant instruction and improved scholastic performance is found in the research endeavors of the Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed At Risk (CRESPAR). In multiple reports the Center goes into great detail in order to determine the role of a culturally relevant approach to education. As an example, Boykin and Bailey (2000) examined the impact of cultural artifacts on student performance. In this research, the authors found that when African American students were presented with test materials grounded

in Afro-cultural themes such as movement, communalism and verve, academic motivation and performance increased. In one sample group comprised of 128 second grade low-income African American and European American children –solely looking at the factor of movement—the study revealed that the comprehension of the African American students was higher in the high movement environment as opposed to the lower movement context, as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

| Table 1 Mean Difference in Overall Comprehension (Cultural Group x Learning Context Interaction) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean Score | | F | Level of Significance |
| | Low-Movement Expressive Context | High-Movement Expressive Context | 37.66 | .0001 |
| African American (n=64) | 6.94 | 9.36 | | |
| European American (n=64) | 11.77 | 5.67 | | |

Table 1. Mean Difference in Overall Comprehension for Learning Context Interaction

| Table 2 Mean Difference in Overall Comprehension (Cultural Group x Story Content Interaction) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean Score | | F | Level of Significance |
| | Low-Movement Expressive Context | High-Movement Expressive Context | 20.33 | .0001 |
| African American (n=64) | 6.38 | 9.92 | | |
| European American (n=64) | 9.75 | 7.68 | | |

Table 2. Mean Difference in Overall Comprehension for Story Content Interaction (Boykin & Bailey, 2000, p. 6)

In another sample, testing for the impact of communalism, African-American "students in the communal condition achieved greater accuracy and quality of problem-solving responses than did students in the individualist condition" (Boykin & Bailey, 2000, p. 18). Moreover the African-American students preferred a cooperative learning setting

(mean=5.38) rather than an individualistic (mean=3.69) or competitive (mean=4.34) environment (p. 18). Furthermore, when testing for the significance of verve and physical stimulation[1] Boykin and Bailey found that African American "children from high-stimulation homes were motivated to work harder in the high variability context" (p. 27). Similar outcomes were reached when the authors examined another sample, in this case consisting of 192 low-income African American and European American students. In this study, the authors recognized that there were higher achievement outcomes for African Americans with higher home stimulation and a greater preference for variability (p. 32).

In a subsequent study authored by Boykin, Coleman, Lilja and Tyler (2004), the authors corroborate the aforementioned findings regarding the salience of one's home-culture. In this study, Boykin et al. found a noticeable difference in the performance of African American students when they were placed in a high communal context versus a low communal environment. Thus confirming that "culture is intricately linked to cognitive development and when incorporated into academic settings, academic performance of low-income African Americans is bolstered substantially" (pgs. 15-16). It is worth noting though that the Boykin studies (2000, 2004) are strongly repudiated through the work of Kane and Boan (2005). These criticisms will be addressed in a subsequent section of this paper.

Koba (1996) also extends upon the argument posed by multiculturalists through their first-hand examination of the empirical outcomes of a culturally relevant approach. Koba (1996) found that when the Omaha Public School system infused multiculturalism into their science courses, there was an observable difference wherein student performance rose and there was a decline in the number of failures among African American students. Moreover when Omaha North High School conducted a survey they found that students' relationship to science changed, wherein they began to view it as an important and enjoyable subject matter. Additionally, "in one high school, voluntary enrollment in science classes [rose] from 65% to 95%" (Kean, 1995). Therefore, the program as implemented by the Omaha Public Schools, enhanced the receptivity and engagement level of minority learners by teaching science in a culturally relevant manner.

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[1] "Physical stimulation can be understood in terms of qualities of intensity, variability, and density of stimulation (Boykin, 1983). Intensity refers to the liveliness or loudness of stimulation or the vigor of one's behavior. Variability connotes the level of variety or alternation among the activities or stimuli in one's environment. Density of stimulation refers to the number of stimulus elements or activities simultaneously present" (Boykin & Bailey, 2000, p. 23).

Although Boykin et al. (2000, 2004) and Koba (1996) present a variety of examples exposing the relationship between performance and culturally relevant educational practices, other researchers such as Kane and Boan (2005), Gottfredson (2005), as well as VanDerHeyden and Burns (2005) present an equally convincing counter argument to the position posed by the multiculturalists. Kane and Boan's research sought to examine the empirical basis for multicultural learning styles. The authors explored this subject matter by reviewing a host of studies within the field of education and school psychology. In the process, Kane and Boan determined that the underlying principle of ME which claims that minorities possess a learning style that is distinct from non-minority students is unsubstantiated. The authors support this point by highlighting that the field of learning styles research is based upon inconclusive evidence and a research methodology that compromises the integrity of its own findings. As an example, Kane and Boan found noticeable consistencies in learning style across multiple ethnic groups although the field of learning styles research alleged otherwise. Hence, "group similarities are ignored in favor of negligible group differences" (p. 438). Kane and Boan substantiate this conclusion by citing the Park (1997) study which found that:

> "Chinese students were more visually preferential (M=17.8, SD=2.7) than their White (M=16, SD=3.4) counterparts [but] about 70% of the White distribution for the variable under question overlapped with the Chinese distribution. The considerable overlap between Chinese students and White students on visual preferences suggests that these groups are more similar than different on this domain" (p. 438).

Aside from this point, the authors also assert that learning styles research treads in murky water by the mere fact that this field attempts to define a quality –learning style—which is impossible to measure with absolute precision (p. 438). Moreover, Kane and Boan express that defining culture is an equally problematic endeavor which has lead to a lack of agreement among learning style researchers. Additionally, the authors assert that supporters of culturally relevant education form the basis of their argument upon sample sizes that are well below the recommended quantity; less than one hundred subjects (p. 444). When reviewing Kane and Boan's objections of ME, the authors raise serious concerns regarding the premise and methodology adopted by learning style researchers but their conclusions lack merit when compared with the argument posed by the multiculturalists. In other words, Boykin and Bailey (2000), Boykin et al. (2004), Kean (1995) along with Koba

# Implications of Culturally Relevant, Student-Centered Science Curriculum

(1996), provide verifiable evidence confirming the existence of different learning styles and the increased performance of minorities exposed to a culturally relevant approach.

Aside from Kane and Boan (2005), another oppositional view of multicultural pedagogy is found in the work of Gottfredson (2005) who argues that "there is no race-specific (e.g. Black-only) influences on academic development in childhood, such as culturally distinct learning styles. The same factors that account for achievement differences between siblings account for the differences between races" (p. 522). Furthermore, Gottfredson expresses that eliminating tracking "hurts the self-esteem of less able students and raises it among more able ones" (p. 547). Although Gottfredson provides a clear argument against multicultural learning styles, his assessment is difficult to embrace in the face of evidence from Koba (1996) and Kean (1995) who cite the positive outcomes associated with schools that eliminate their tracking of students according to aptitude.

Beyond the work of Kane, Boan and Gottfredson, another counter argument to multicultural learning styles is found in the research of VanDerHeyden and Burns (2005) who offer a comprehensive recitation of multiple studies showing the lack of empirical support for different learning styles. VanDerHeyden and Burns explain that:

> "Despite the intuitive appeal of such an approach a wealth of empirical studies in the special education, neuropsychology, and cognitive processing literatures have failed to demonstrate reliably that such interactions do indeed exist. A meta-analysis of 39 articles examining the modification of instruction based on learning styles concluded that matching instruction to learning styles led to little or no gain in achievement" (p. 483).

The authors substantiate their position by presenting a variety of scenarios as in the case:

> "when principles of effective schools are implemented in school districts with children from diverse backgrounds [and] results are consistent with data gathered from schools with mostly middle-class Caucasian children. [Thereby showing] that effective instruction, as opposed to matching cultural learning styles, increases learning for all children, including those from diverse cultural backgrounds" (p. 485).

Therefore VanDerHeyden and Burns (2005) propose that educators consider approaches that have conclusive proof of their capacity to

"produce academic growth" rather than allocating undue attention towards culturally relevant instruction (p. 486). Hence, the authors recommend that one of the best approaches to producing academic growth is early intervention through assessment. In this regard, one example cited by the authors is the Gravois and Rosenfield (2002) study which "used CBA (performance-based assessments)… in 20 schools from urban, rural, and suburban districts. Results found that use of CBA led to fewer students being placed into special education and that "fewer African-American student cases…were referred for evaluation or placed into special education" " (p. 490).

Admittedly, the empirical evidence for the positive impact of multicultural education on academic performance is "rather sparse," yet the potential benefit of this field should not be overlooked (Gay, 2000, p. 141). As an example the Matthews and Smith (1991) study found "that students taught with Native American cultural materials [in science and language arts classes] had more positive attitudes and higher levels of achievement than those who were taught similar skills without the culturally relevant inclusions" (Gay, 2000, p. 141).

*Learning, Self-Esteem & Academic Performance*

The second category of similarity shared among the literature reviewed is the argument that there is a relationship between self-esteem and academic performance as found in the work of Smith (2003) and Atwater (1996, 2005). Smith (2003) examined the credibility behind the view that racial pride translates into better behavioral and academic outcomes. Smith conducted a study among 98 African American fourth grade children, exploring "family, school, and community factors and the relationships to racial-ethnic attitudes and academic achievement" (p. 159). This study revealed that "children with higher levels of racial-ethnic pride were found to also be higher achievers as measured by reading and math grades and standardized test scores (path coefficient = .22, p<.10)" (p. 170).

Atwater (2005) offers a similar retelling of the significance inherent in multicultural education by citing the finding of "Black psychologists [who] have argued for years that prior knowledge, cultural artifacts and belief systems and interactions within social contexts are a central foundation to learning" (Atwater, 2005, p. 5). In other words, since one's culture and social environment shapes learning, Atwater explains that students from diverse cultures are bound to relate to and learn science in different ways, thereby necessitating MSE (Atwater, 2005, p. 5). Along a similar vein, Brickhouse and Stanley (1998) extend upon the ideas posed by Smith (2003) and Atwater (1996, 2000, 2005)

by explaining how the cultural framework of science –steeped in the perspective of Western modern science (WMS)—inhibits a broad based "cross-cultural" understanding of science and thereby makes scientific inquiry an inaccessible endeavor for minority learners (pgs. 45, 47). Through such a decision, it becomes noticeably clear that some educators are failing to take strides in order to "make schooling more interesting, stimulating…and responsive to ethnically diverse students" by disassociating "subjects (particularly math and science) and cultural diversity; [seeing the two as] incompatible" fields (Gay, 2001, p. 107).

In response to the perspective alleging an inextricable relationship between learning, self-esteem and academic performance, Roth (2005) examines the empirical justification of this view (p. 500). With this objective in mind, Roth references the Rosenberg (1964), Rosenberg and Simmons (1968) studies which reveal that race and self-esteem are not related (p. 587, 589). Moreover, Roth discusses the work of Jensen et al. (1982) which "found no relation between ethnicity and self esteem (p. 591). Drawing upon these conclusions, Roth postulates that there is a weak correlation between self-esteem and academic performance, coupled with the fact that the direction of causation between these variables is uncertain. Furthermore, Roth explains that the greatest predictor of stellar scholastic performance is social class and ability rather than self-esteem (p. 596). Therefore, according to Roth there is no evidence indicating that the "poorer academic performance of African Americans [is] a function of lower self-esteem (pgs. 593, 603). Consequently, Roth estimates that multicultural programs are self-defeating and divisive by nature. The most profound counter-argument to this assertion is evinced in the National Science Council's *Standards* which advocates for science instruction that is diverse, relevant and dynamic in content and delivery. The overarching mandate of the *Standards* is that the:

> "themes and topics chosen for curricula should support
> the premise that men and women of diverse backgrounds
> engage in and participate in science and have done so
> throughout history. Teaching practice is responsive to
> diverse learners and the community of classroom is one
> in which respect for diversity is practiced. Assessment
> practices adhere to the standard of fairness and do not
> unfairly assume the perspective or experiences of a
> particular group" (NRC, 1996).

Upon cursory glance, Roth's assertions seem to offer a credible account of the inherent weaknesses and ill-guided notions of multicultural education. With deeper inspection though, Roth's

conclusions lack verity when compared with the Smith (2003) study, which revealed a connection between elevated racial-ethnic pride (self-esteem) and high academic performance. Moreover, Roth's assessment of ME is questionable in light of Borman and Rachuba's (2001) study which found that "positive self-identity and self-esteem is connected with greater engagement in studies. [Moreover this study revealed that] positive self-esteem was one key component leading to scholastic resilience and [was] responsible for academic success" (p. v).

In addition to the aforementioned comments, it is also worth mentioning that Roth's claims are questionable in the face of the Moll et al.(1992) study which documents the outcome of incorporating the knowledge and skills of a particular community – hereafter referred to as funds of knowledge—into educational practices. It is important to clarify that the Moll et al. study distinguishes itself from "culture-specific curriculum" which relies on "folkloric displays, such as storytelling, arts, crafts, and dance performance" (p.139). Therefore, Moll et al. explain that "it is specific funds of knowledge pertaining to the social, economic, and productive activities of people in a local region, not 'culture' in its broader, anthropological sense that we seek to incorporate strategically into classrooms" (p. 139). Their study examined Mexican and Yaqui households and their funds of knowledge through qualitative methods. In this case study, fifth grade students were presented with a one week curriculum centered on the topic of Mexican candy. Through this process of inquiry the students covered a wide variety of topics that drew on their funds of knowledge while delving into the areas of "math, science, health, consumer education, cross-cultural practices, advertising, and food production" (p. 139). Hence, Moll et al. posit that funds of knowledge "represent important resources for educational change" (p. 139). In the process, this approach of "capitalizing on household and other community resources" is able to bridge the gap between the students' world and their classroom experience (p. 132).

## Conclusion

Numerous views have been expressed regarding the significance of multicultural science education—often times conflicting—concerning the relationship between academic performance and multiculturalism. Therefore, the terrain of culturally-relevant pedagogy is filled with conflicting interpretations of its efficacy, which is primarily based upon disagreements relating to its core mission, dependence upon questionable evidence and the inherent principles of this subject matter. Despite these objections there is considerable proof which offers an alternate retelling and thereby confers greater legitimacy to multicultural science education

practices.

At times, opponents of MSE disregard the significance of social forces that shape student identity formation and in the process trivialize the attempts to bolster self-esteem through the channel of student-centered education. In the quest to pronounce illegitimacy to MSE, critics dismiss the fact that one's self-image may indeed contribute to their academic performance. Furthermore opponents of MSE fail to consider that "within culturally informed or culturally relevant contexts, children may be more encouraged to employ their existing or emerging competencies and be more intrinsically motivated to achieve" (Boykin & Bailey, 2000, p.1).

Although this subject matter is filled with contentious opinions, the conclusion drawn from this research is that educators' dismissal of MSE is a dereliction of duty, a refusal to consider a myriad of options in improving the educational outcomes of minority learners. For this research:

> "…has provided evidence that multiple important sources are related to the development of children's racial-ethnic attitudes and their academic achievement. Additional research should seek to examine other components of racial-ethnic attitudes that are healthy as well as the processes by which family, school, and community agents transmit attitudes promoting a healthy sense of self, academic achievement, and positive outcomes for children" (Smith 2003, p.14).

Therefore, student-centered curriculum models such as MSE have the potential of ensuring equitable learning opportunities in the field of science education. Hence, the perspective proffered within this project is that affirming cultural and experiential capital is important in altering minority students' relationship to science education. The basis for this conclusion was found in case studies and ethnographies which expressed that reinforcing cultural and experiential capital produces a positive result in the learning process of minority students. To further illustrate this point, from the 24 resources examined in the course of this research 14 of these studies revealed a positive impact on students exposed to culturally relevant practices whereas 4 studies disputed the significance of multicultural education. The remaining 6 resources elaborated upon the theoretical underpinnings and social relevance of MSE along with explaining the relationship between learning and social environment. Additionally, the most compelling evidence for the positive impact of MSE came from the National Science Council's *Standards* which was a peer-reviewed publication that was created over the span of four years,

through the input of 18,000 individual contributors, twenty-two scientific and science education societies, along with countless community meetings and open forums. Therefore, the aforementioned studies indicate that multiculturalism has the potential of functioning as an equitable platform from which minority populations can access, acquire, and generate scientific knowledge, premised in the understanding that "just as failure is socially organized, success can be socially arranged" (Moll, 1999, p. 31).

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       I have an interest in pursuing a joint program in law and public policy with the eventual goal of entering a doctoral program in the area of environmental public policy.

**"Oh, no, I failed math, I have to be an English major now": Features of How Engineering Students Construct a Relational Identity**

Chloe Valencia

**Abstract**

*This project focuses upon identity construction and development among undergraduate engineering students. I use responses to questions from ethnographic interviews over four years from the Academic Pathways Study, a longitudinal multi-methods study. I have isolated student's responses to two questions asked throughout four years, which are relevant to how engineering students develop an engineering identity. By asking students to describe their perceptions of their fellow engineering students and non-engineering students, we are offered a glimpse of how students construct a relational identity. The process of constructing an identity, and investigating the objects that do so, is a problem of importance because of the unique nature of the engineering educational experience (e.g. weed-out classes, it's own college at a university vs. college of arts and sciences, its high level of specialization and strong career/goal orientation). I will analyze identity development in engineering undergrads through answering the following question: how do engineering students form an identity where they position themselves towards both other engineering students as well as non-engineering students? These research questions clarify some features that define their emerging engineering identities. Some of the most important aspects of identity development are human agents: the student's own perception of themselves, their engineering peers, their professors and practicing/career engineers as role models. In my analysis I will categorize students' identity development in terms of the different aspects of an engineering identity. I argue that in the process of classifying themselves as similar to other engineers, they simultaneously express autonomy in relation to the standard perception of an engineer.*

**Introduction**

   The title comes from what one undergraduate engineering student, Johnny, reported regarding his plans if he failed a math test his freshmen year as a pre-engineering student. Becoming an English major is perceived as not as prestigious as majoring in engineering. As an English major, I am interested in why engineers tend to regard non-engineers negatively when asked to describe the differences they see between the two groups of students. It seems that in order to form an identity there need be within an individual, a personal identity as well as

a collective group identity or culture that one must fall into. I have the opportunity to explore both here with the interview responses. I examine how a collective engineering identity emerges and its relationship to personal identity. In addition examining the engineering identity allows me to see perspectives on their ideas and their perceptions of non-engineering students. Over time we notice that engineering group identity emerges stronger.

## APS Methodology & Methodology of Data Analysis

The Academic Pathways Study (APS) is a four-year study of learning and development in undergraduate engineering students. The study is being conducted at four US universities, each representing an institutional "type" within engineering education. The APS is attempting to understand issues of learning and development in engineering education. One major component of the APS is an ethnographic study of students at each campus. This ethnographic study focuses intensively on a 16 students at each campus over four years, setting longitudinal ethnographic work against the backdrop of a more general ethnography of engineering education. This ethnographic data will be the topic of your research and analysis. So far I have searched through the data set of interview transcripts and I have isolated and compiled student's responses to two of the thirty questions asked throughout all four years, which are:

1) Let me ask you to think about the other engineering students you've come across here. Would you say that in general they are more different from you or more similar?
2) Have you had much contact with non-engineering students? Would you say that there are things that distinguish engineering student from students in other majors?

These questions ask students to describe their perceptions of their fellow engineering students and non-engineering students.  In so doing, this question offers a glimpse of how students construct a relational identity. In question one they are able to construct more agentive identity within engineering culture. In question two the students are able to construct a collective group identity.  I first focus upon students' responses these two questions. I read their first-year interview, found their responses to these two questions and then isolated that response. I did the same thing for their second, third, and fourth year interviews, and juxtaposed their individual responses. I did this for sixteen students in the APS study all of who were in the ethnographic group. This process has enabled me to examine data from one student individually over their four years and compare his or her responses to

other students' responses. I categorized themes that have come up in individual students as well as within the students as whole, because their responses to the same questions change each year. APS ethnographic interviews enabled students to reflect upon how past, present and future personal experiences relate to engineering (Stevens et al 2005). By asking students to describe their perceptions of their fellow engineering students and non-engineering students, we see a glimpse of how students construct a relational identity.

In this discussion I will answer the following question: how do engineering students form an identity in terms of how they position themselves towards both other engineering students and non-engineering students? In answering this question I will explore the ways in which both a personal identity and a collective engineering identity emerge in this data set.

## Literature Review

Students' responses to these two questions offer a glimpse into the engineering student culture. Their responses show engineering students' sense of identity in relation to other engineers and to non-engineers. In her study of high school students, Eckert (1989) found that students are not members of one group; rather she revealed that their identity is determined by the opposition between two categories of social groups. It is not the categories themselves that creates students' identity, but it is the opposition between them that matters (Eckert 1989). In the responses this opposition comes up. However, students seem to attribute the conflict of identity to their simply being different than all other students, that the reason for opposition is some kind of inherent uniqueness. While it's clear that this opposition exists, it is less obvious why this occurs.

To answer the question: why is there a conflict between identity and perception of the ideal engineering student identity, I have looked at other researcher's such as Goffman who suggests that it is because we expect coherence in appearance and manner. When a student does not match up coherently with the standard perception of an engineering student, they cite this as difference. The problem is that the image of "ideal engineering student" does not let any student identify completely with it. He states that to answer the question, "why am I so different," one must know that it is because there is no coherence between these expectations. Student's responses were presented in interviews. Noting this, "when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, then his behavior as a

whole". It is as though students report their feelings of presentation through further self-presentation in an interview. If an individual is to give expression to ideal standards during his performance then he will have to forgo or conceal actions that are inconsistent with these standards. Indeed students cite only difference between themselves as engineers and another group: non-engineers. Goffman would refer to engineering students and non-engineering students as teams. These teams may be created by individuals to aid the group they are members of, but in aiding themselves and their group in this dramatic way, they are acting as a team, not a group. The team works to uphold the standards of the engineering traits and qualities. Thus a team is the kind of secret society whose members may be known by non-members to constitute a society, even an exclusive one, but the society these individuals are known to constitute is not the one they constitute by virtue of acting as a team. Thus, when Johnny explains that he will have to be an English major if he fails math, Goffman would iterate that if Johnny were to not match the expectations of the engineering student team he would be demoted to another team, the team of English majors.

The students' responses reveal a constructed world of engineering students, what Holland has referred to as figured worlds (Holland). Figured worlds in the context of undergraduate engineering students are 'imagined disciplines' or 'imagined occupations' – in these worlds students form an identity based on their understandings of what it means to be an engineering student. Holland's definition of a figured world in Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds is a, "socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others". The presentation of self is an aspect of identity development. The figured world is populated by a set of agents. These agents engage in a limited range of meaningful acts or changes of state; teach and learn in engineering courses and participate in internships and collaborate on group projects; and they are moved by a set of forces; i.e. homework deadlines, assignments, effort, and amounts of work. A collective group identity is like the notion of a figured world in that both the identity and the figured world are constructed by perceptions that members of these groups uphold and exhibit.

When the students were asked if they felt that they were more different or more similar to other engineering, responses tell that students feel both similar to and different than their peers. Not only are there varied responses among individual students, but also individual students change their response within their four interviews. Further, as the

interviews progress there is not any kind of trend in student's responses. One student cited that she was different in the first year and then alternated for her remaining years. Within the figured world of engineering students then there is a need for distancing themselves from the group. The way they distance themselves is through citing their social ability as something other engineering students mostly do not have. Students respond that they are more social than other engineering students. Wortham (2006) states that analyses of social identification must include the development of an individual's identity across events. Individuals' identities "thicken" or become more consistent across a series of events. This happens when publicly circulating models are invoked in local contexts and to circulate consistently through events of identification. Stability in social identification occurs over time as an individual consistently inhabits a model of identity and as others interpret and/ or react as if the individual has that identity. Individuals' trajectories of identification intersect with events, and an analyst must understand these trajectories in order to understand the social identification that is taking place in that event and across time.

Conversely, when the students were asked if they feel that they are more similar or more different to non-engineering students, the only response was that they are more different. There were no students who cited that they feel more similar to non-engineers than they feel that they are different. Students cite that they are different then non-engineering students because of academic and personal goals. Taylor explains that the articulating a personal identity requires activity with one's collective identity.  That is one's personal identity comes from taking and contributing to the group identity. Taking here, would be adopting or presenting oneself with qualities that an engineering student should have while contributing would mean adding to the success of the collective identity, academic successes and achievements. Engineering students negotiate with the "engineering group identity" which seems to be a student who is basically goal-oriented and hard working. When engineering students' responded that they fit in with their group, this is what happens. A collective identity is a stable template against which the individual is able to articulate a personal identity. By viewing personal identity as involving a variety of positionings vis-à-vis collective identity, we may come to better understand the actual process the individual engages while formulating a healthy sense of personal identity. It is this process of navigating between a "figured world"—that is the engineering world—and others that an individual may be involved in is what creates these "occurrences" or "events" that are discussed in interviews.

In terms of the way a "figured world" or a culture works for the purposes of self-identification, there needs to be a way that it is defined. What forms the culture? There are ideals students cite in engineering, the characteristic engineering student. Taylor explains that character descriptions are not merely just that, they are implied values, goals or end states that define who one is. The personal self orients us to act on the environment so as to be consistent with the values and goals defined by the personal self. Character descriptions provide one with a sense of general orientation and motivation to achieve them. In order to make an evaluation of myself I will need to compare myself with others in terms of the characteristic in question. My own groups, or subgroups of my own group, are the most likely available reference points for such an evaluation. That is, the most readily available persons for social comparison are members of one's own immediate in-group, and this is exacerbated by our tendency to compare with similar others.

In the case of collective self-esteem the individual compares his or her group members with other groups. The result of the comparison indirectly determines its evaluative impact on the individual. I say indirectly because when I compare my own group to another group, the resulting comparison does not refer to me personally, but to my group as a whole. However, I am a member of my group; I am by extension and inclusion impacted by the intergroup comparison.

Taylor states that logically, it is impossible to form a personal identity without a collective identity to serve as a reference point. This makes collective identity the key component to self-concept. Personal identity can only be articulated against the backdrop of a clearly defined collective identity, which specifies values, goals, norms and strategies for successful negotiation. It is impossible to develop personal esteem without a personal identity because without identity there would be no concrete characteristics upon which to obtain evaluative feedback (201). Thus personal identity as an engineering student is a result of working between the engineering culture and expectations of the students as well as the typical or stereotypical students that are socially expected.

As much as collective identity requires stability, personal identity must be fluid and adaptive while remaining integrated throughout. The personal identity alone would not even know how to orient, much less how to position. In order for there to even been an individual identity the "collective" identity or the figured world must be established. The specifics of this discrepancy between the actual individual and the ideal engineering students are examined in this paper further.

**Data and Theory**

The figured world of engineering students is quite broad, so this led me to refine my analysis specifically within the data set I am analyzing. For example, in one APS student, Joe, I have noticed a common response to the question "how are engineering students different from non-engineering students?" He consistently stated that these two types of students "think differently." This trend is interesting because it is a broad generalization and also this student is not alone in perceiving that "engineers and non-engineers think differently." I will also examine the ways in which his and other engineering students' responses, though similar over the four years, did in fact change. The evidence for change in these responses is the specifcs of language use. I will then ask, "how are the/a students' figured world/s developed over time?" I will use Holland's statement that,"[t]he production and preproduction of figured worlds involves both abstraction of significant regularities from everyday life into expectations about how particular types of events unfold and interpretation of the everyday according to these distillations of past experiences" (Holland et al. 1998: p. 53). This quote sums up how time and experience form a figured world including: using generalizations, such as those used by Joe and other engineering students, abstractions, as well as real experiences as components that form the figured world of engineering students.

I found more narratives about non-engineering students than about other engineering students. What I found in relation to responses concerning other engineering students was a more frequent use of reported speech. The difference is that narratives are longer stories about past events that the non-engineering student typically does that the engineering student himself would not do. When a students use reported speech in reference to other engineers they reaffirm thoughts and behaviors, this is what creates their collective identity. The collective identity, or culture, that is created with the narratives of outsiders and the reported speech of other engineering students builds an identity based on personal observations and interpretations.

In order to categorize student's responses to the two questions, I created four types of possible responses: differences with other engineers, similarities with other engineers, differences with non-engineers and similarities to non-engineers. These categories worked until I found that student's did not cite any similarities with non-engineers. With this category simply eliminated I have three categories of responses to the two interview questions. In order to further develop subcategories within the three categories of responses I found common themes of responses. While the terms I have come up with to classify

these responses are broad, they offer a clear and representative glimpse into interview responses. In what follows I will discuss the data that emerged in these categories.

**Differences with other engineers**

Students tend to have more specific things to say about their *differences* with non-engineers, while in terms of other engineering students they find more similarities. Engineering students express autonomy, while they find similarities between themselves and other engineers they describe themselves as more social than other engineers. In response to question one, which asks would you say that in general other engineering students are more different from you or more similar, Adam in a third year interview explains that he is more different than other engineering students. In this quote, he calls upon the other students' similarities, which is that they like to study in groups while Adam does not want to be associated with these practices. He decides that working on homework together right after class is not cool. Adam however is cool because he does not need the other students in order to study.

> they- they go and the study a lot in groups in stuff. I'm like, I don't know, I'm sometimes a little but too busy studying in groups and want to, you know- I think sometimes I try to distance myself from them, 'cause I'm like, I'm cooler than them. I'm not as nerdy as the guys that you know go after class to the room and just work on their homework together.

Adam in this quote shows not only his difference from the larger group of engineering student but he is also able to call upon one of the aspect of the engineering culture, to work on homework together. When APS students state that they are more different from other engineering students the way in which they cite this difference is because of a social aspect of their personal identity. Students state that they are more social than other engineering students.

**Similarities with other engineers**

The similarities that emerged from the data are academic difficulty, thinking differently and goal oriented

1. *Academic Difficulty*

Some students say that engineers have the aptitude to succeed in any other discipline; others say that the "different way of thinking" among engineering and non-engineering students does not let them succeed in

the liberal arts. This reference to difficulty has been referred to as a *meritocracy of difficulty* (Stevens et al., 2007).

Simon stated every year that engineers are not necessarily smarter than students in other majors, rather the way each group thinks is so different that if either group tried to do one another's work they would not be successful. The only difference between non-engineers and engineers in terms of academics is the type of thinking that is demanded from the discipline. In a year four interview when he responded to the question, are you more similar or more f=different than other engineers he stated that he is more similar and cited academic difficulty as something that brings him together with them.

> Um, I think I would imagine that going through any engineering discipline would requires an insane work ethic and I'm not saying that going through other disciplines doesn't require it. It requires a different, a different I don't know what to call it. It's a different kind of work ethics, essentially. And by saying that engineering is difficult doesn't mean that other disciplines aren't difficult. They're just different. Um, you might not do nearly as much work but, I mean, you've seen an engineer can't get a 4.0 in a sociology class. How can an engineer call sociology easy if they take something that's supposed to be rudimentary and can't do very well in it. So it just takes a different kind of mental thing. You're working hard in different ways, I guess.

Simon states a key term that describes engineering students: different work ethic. He claims that is not more work than other majors, but just that it is different as a result of the amount of work. This difference is further described in the next key similarity—thinking differently.

2. *Think Differently*

I introduced the notion of thinking differently above with Joe. This way of thinking is a combination of problem solving and being creative in designing solutions to those problems. In year one, Johnny responded to the question, are you more similar or different than other engineering students, and said he was more similar. He talked about how engineers think the same and that he is a part of this way of thinking. In this quote, Johnny is talking about how thinking differently is not related to intelligence but to what he perceives as a different way of thinking.

> Most of [inaudible] I think we have like the same
> goals and everything the same course and how we, I
> think, somehow we think like the same, other than
> talking to a psychology majors or English majors
> and how we like, maybe not more intelligent but we
> some are, we think differently, I think. It's hard to
> explain how, it's-, I can't really explain it. We th-, I
> think we think differently than most people do, and
> it's like, cause most people just mm, I mean they
> think on deeper thought, or deeper level than my
> friends and this-, this is like, you can tell, I don't
> know, I can tell because I can just talk to the person
> and see, "Oh, so you," and then feel like he's an
> engineering majors. Rather than English majors,
> they, maybe they're um, similarities between us.
> But I think I'm like a, I'm not like a typical
> engineering student, I think.

Johnny talks about how engineering majors have a more
cohesive identity as a group than the English majors, or other
liberal arts, would have. The different way of thinking only
applies to engineering students in general and not to other types
of students in general.

3. *Goal Oriented*

Students talked about how they are hard working, dedicated, and
have future plans and are goal-oriented, unlike non-engineering students.
In a year one interview hen asked if she is more similar or different than
other engineering students, Bryn said she is more similar. When asked
what these similarities are, she noted that engineering students are taking
purposeful classes, whereas non-engineering students are taking
"random" classes.

> Um, I have, there's um my roommates aren't
> engineering people, people on my floor aren't
> engineering people, so I have had experiences, um, it
> seems like some of em don't know what they're doing,
> they just kind of taking classes, they're kind of thinking
> about business, and thinking about this, but don't know,
> so. That's the biggest thing that kinda sticks out in me,
> you know, kind of direc-, excuse me, direction, the way
> um-, it's not that they're less dedicated in any way, it's
> maybe direction's the big thing.

Bryn cites the limited experience that she has had with non-engineering students and explains that it "seems" that they are not taking any classes specific to a direction. By direction it seems Bryn means that they do not have a clear goal of a business major or some other major that they really want. She even goes on to state that they are not necessarily less dedicated but that they do not have the direction, which makes engineering students "goal oriented." Bryn's statement says that the collective identity of engineering students has to do with focusing on goals and achieving them. While non-engineering students can be dedicated they do not have a collective identity, thus: dedication cannot be applied to non-engineers.

**Differences with non-engineers**

There are two main differences that engineering students describe, these are: differences related to time and differences due to thinking differently. Within differences related to time there are two subgroups: less time demanding work and, time to get dressed up. These subcategories are examples that illustrate that engineering students do not have as much time as non-engineering students because of the amount of work and studying that they do.

*Related to Time: Less Time Demanding Work*

In year one, when asked if he is more similar or different than non-engineering students, Johnny explained that he is more different. He gives a narrative of an experience with other engineers to explain how different he and other engineering students think of all non-engineering students. He says that if he were to fail his math midterm, he jokingly states that he would have had to major in English because it was a sort of backup major, something one majors in when all else fails. Below Johnny is discussing why he believes he will need to be an English major if he fails math.

> Yeah, cause I guess I don't, I'm not like part of their, who they are now, cause I failed math class and that's why I feel like, "Yeah, maybe I'm not like part of the group anymore, or maybe I should [be] in like the easier thinking, the" cause at times it just, cause I can talk to my friends and somehow I'll like get their, like, stuff to stick, ideas and, remember and stuff. They'll be like [inaudible] numbers, just give you general ideas and not like, I, cause failing the test and like not fitting in the group is like kinda feel like in some ways. Cause, and

> then I'd be like, maybe I should go on the, maybe I'm
> not an engineer person, maybe I'm a English major
> person rather than a engineer thinking person That, thes-,
> cause like comparing to [inaudible] really well in their
> science class so failing the math class is gonna bomb the
> grade point average, cause they took like AP physics
> too. I think that I should've taken that class too, I kind
> of regret not taking it. Cause they, they s-, they told me
> they did so well in the physics class right now, so it's
> like, wow. So, but English major to me is like a joke
> because like most people think like if you can't major in
> anything, just major in English and, yeah.

Johnny states that maybe he is not the kind of person that an
engineering person is, but more of what he thinks an English
major is. This is further example of the more cohesive identity of
an engineering student and the less clear conception of what
other majors do.

*Related to Time: Time to Get Dressed Up*
In a year two interview, Erica stated that she is more different than non-
engineering students. Erica described a difference between engineering
and non-engineering students as the time they spend on their appearance.
While she is describing non-engineering students clothes and hair, she is
referencing that they take the time to tend to their appearance. They have
the luxury to do this while engineering students do not.

> I definitely-, the biggest difference I think I've seen, in-,
> like as far as like history classes with like
> science/math/engineering classes, is people in history
> classes will like, they take time to get ready, they do
> their hair, they dress nice like [laughs] I seriously
> [laughs] when you walk into an engineering class and
> everybody's wearing a hooded sweatshirt with their hair
> [done] up, [laughter] like nobody cares, you know, it's
> definitely different like between artistic people and, and
> more scientific people um.

She states that it is different "artistic" people and "scientific"
people. Which way is this direction going, do artistic people
simply have the luxury to do their hair and choose outfits, or
does this need to have the time to express themselves lead to
their choice of major? The same for engineering students, do
they devote so much time to schoolwork that they simply can't
take time to select outfits, or would they not care for such things

even if it was something that they could easily do? The answer is both, one chooses a major and from that the expectations of a person in either felid, engineering or liberal arts will help a person construct their personal identity with the group that they have chose to be a part of.

*Think Differently*

When studying for a math final in Odegaard Undergraduate Library, Tarja noticed a girl reading the newspaper, only to find out that she was actually studying for a final. She cites this experience in a year one interview when she explains that she is more different than non-engineering students. This extended description is a narrative and this comes up partly because of limited contact that most engineering students cite, including Tarja that they have with non-engineering students. Another part is that calling upon differences is requisite to extended stories; whereas tales of sameness do not exist in the interviewing responses. Tarja and her friend enter the library and this is what happens:

> and he like knew this girl that was sitting at the table with us, and she was like reading the newspaper and we thought she was just messing around [laughs] and then he was like, "What do you have a newspaper final or something?" Like commenting on how she wasn't studying, and she was like, "Yes, we have questions about this on our test." [laughs] And then we're like, "Whoops." And then, um, I don't know, she was like, they're international studies majors, and they were trying to tell us how challenging that is and stuff [laughs] and the guy, the guy I was with was like, "I'm not gonna lie. Engineers are pretty cocky and we think we're the only ones that really do any work on this campus," [laughs] and then it w-, she was talking about how it was such a huge challenge to be an international studies major, but at the same time they were like reading the newspaper [laughs]. I don't know, that was [kind of sad].

Tarja acknowledges that they made a mistake in assuming reading the newspaper was not studying, but at the same time she concludes her narrative by stating that it was "sad" that the international studies major thought her work was challenging, especially in the presence of engineering majors. Thinking differently is a component of engineering identity formation process and definitive of the collective engineering identity.

The personal and collective identities come through when APS students respond to similarities and differences they find among other engineering students and non-engineering students. Engineering students only find differences at a personal level, their social ability. The collective identity seems much stronger then the personal identity, this seems to be because students first define themselves as part of a group. When they have identified with the groups standards, then students can explore how to become an individual within these boundaries of collective identity.

**Interpretations and Conclusions**

I think that some of the most important components/agents of identity development are people: the student's own perception of themselves, their engineering peers, their professors and practicing/career engineers as role models.

Engineering students use the notion of *thinking differently* (Jocuns et al., 2008) to refer to similarities they have they have with their fellow engineering students and as a difference they have with non-engineering students. However, I suggest that *thinking differently* does not refer to an inherent cognitive procedure, but rather the academic discipline of engineering has created a way of thinking about engineering that engineering students acquire though studying engineering.

Considering again Johnny's quote from the title, an implication is that engineering students construct hierarchical categories of disciplines. The references they make to thinking differently, having different goals and academic difficulty are evidence of this perceived hierarchy; because they do not know exactly what a non-engineering major is like, or what goes on within it. The personal and collective identities are constructed not only by the defining characteristics of the engineering student identity, but also by what a non-engineering identity seems to be.

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**Acknowledgements**

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My research interests include college programs in middle and high schools, identity, families and perceptions of success and achievement. My intended Ph.D. program is in Education, either policy studies or a continuation of Social and Cultural Studies

# What are Native Tribes in the Northwest Doing to Revive Their Languages?

Audra Vincent

## Abstract

*Tribes all over the United States are working to bring back their languages to spoken languages.  There is information on this revitalization process for some tribes in the United States.  There is hardly any information available about what the tribes in the Puget Sound area are doing in their revitalization processes.  In research these languages have been categorized as extinct or nearly extinct with no further research into what the tribes are doing to hold on to their languages and create more speakers.*

*Languages are not dead when there are people committed and working towards reviving them.  If even a single person finds the will and strength to work on a language that is endangered then they have a chance of being spoken again.*

## Introduction

Native American languages all over the United States are declining in the number of speakers with many having no fluent speakers at all.  "The United States alone is a graveyard for hundreds of languages.  Of an estimated 300 languages spoken in the area of the present-day US when Columbus arrived in 1492, only 175 are spoken today" (Nettle & Romaine, 5).  In Washington there are 40 federally recognized and non-federally recognized tribes (http://500nations.com).  There is nowhere to find out how these languages are doing and what is being done to bring back these languages.  The place to find the most information on numbers of speakers is *Ethnologue*.  The problem with lists of languages and their statuses is that there is a classification system.  This system, often developed by linguists, has rankings and predictions about a languages' status based on numbers of speakers.  Languages are listed in the *Ethnologue* as extinct even though there are still people out there working hard on the revival of these languages.  I will develop my position on this classification system later based on the interviews I have conducted for this research.  I do not understand how a language can be classified as extinct when there are people teaching it in classrooms or speaking words whenever they can.  There may not be people having conversations or speaking fluently but if these languages are being uttered from at least one person's mouth then I do not consider them dead.

The purpose of this research is to show the status and revitalization happening for six languages in the Puget Sound area. The information is from people involved in the revitalization process themselves. This paper is gathering information on what they are doing to revive their languages along with their problems and hopes for their languages. The little information out there on these languages is not from their own mouths. It is important to get information on how languages are doing from the people who actually speak those languages and have a direct connection to those languages. They are the real experts in their own languages.

It is important that I introduce myself and give a brief history of why I am interested in this topic. This background information will also inform my perspective on this issue and possibly my biases about this topic. I am an enrolled member of the Coeur d'Alene tribe in northern Idaho. My family was also a part of the Muckleshoot, Yakama, Suquamish, and Squaxin Island tribes. My interest in language revitalization stems from my experiences while growing up. The first time I heard Coeur d'Alene words spoken was from my grandmother at four or five years old. She taught me how to count from 1-10. She would be happy when I would come and visit and repeat those numbers. Both my grandparents on my dad's side were in the boarding school system as well as my dad. This system was used towards assimilation of Native peoples and has drastically impacted the Native languages of the United States and Canada. My grandparents were both fluent in Coeur d'Alene but never spoke. My dad was not taught the language from his parents, so neither I, nor my siblings, ever learned the language from our parents.

While going to school at the Coeur d'Alene tribal school in Desmet, Idaho, there would be sporadic classes in the Coeur d'Alene language. The classes were not for consistent enough time periods for me to learn much of the language. It was in High school where I first took a full language class. It was taught by a non-Native women named Reva Hess who co-taught with an elder from the tribe, Lawrence Nicodemus. She worked on the lessons and curriculum while Lawrence would be there to explain words and phrases and pronounce everything for the students. While in high school Reva Hess passed away and no one has replaced her since. At the end of my sophomore year in college Lawrence passed away. That was right after I decided to pursue linguistics as a career with the goal of going home after I finished my education to work on the revitalization of the Coeur d'Alene language.

As a linguistics student at the University of Washington, I became interested in the languages of the area. I rarely heard of any professor who knew anything about revival of the northwestern languages of

Washington.  It is important that linguistics students who are studying in the traditional tribal territory of the Duwamish, a Lushootseed speaking peoples, to know how these languages are doing.  Linguistics students and faculty study languages from all over the world but do not realize the amount of languages in the Puget Sound area.  The University of Washington offers many language courses that students can take to satisfy their foreign language requirement yet there are only two Native languages offered, with only one from the northwestern tribes from the United States.  People should know the state these languages are in.  These tribes are often working with limited resources and could do a lot more if they had access to funding or resources for teaching.  If more people know about the situation maybe more people would be willing to help.

　　　　When interviewing these tribes on their language programs most have no fluent first language speakers.  One person was interviewed from Quinault, Nooksack, and the Makah tribes.  Out of the six people interviewed there were three who were speakers of Lushootseed.  Lushootseed is spoken in the Puget Sound area and has a distinct difference between Southern and Northern dialects.

> The Lushootseed-speaking region extends along the shores of Puget Sound from modern-day Olympia to the Skagit watershed and from Hood canal to the Cascades.  The term "Northern "refers to the language as spoken by the Skagit, Swinomish, Sauk-Suiattle, Stillaguamish and neighboring peoples; "Southern Lushootseed," is that spoken by the peoples of Snoqualmie, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually, Squaxin Island, Suquamish and their neighbors.  The Snohomish Lushootseed spoken at Tulalip exhibits features of both Northern and Southern language, though it is usually categorized as 'Northern.'" (www.tulaliplushootseed.com).

In the appendix of this paper I have attached a map of the Lushootseed speaking areas as well as a map with tribes in the Puget Sound area.

## Literature Review
### *Language Status*
There is written information about language revitalization that I have found.  Written information contains methods for revitalization and information about different indigenous groups from the United States and outside of the U.S.  What I did not find was information about the particular language situation in the northwest of the United States and the tribes that I interviewed.  What do tribes do when they have lost all of their speakers or when they are close to their last handful of speakers?  There is literature stating that a language in this state is almost dead but no information on what to do at that crucial point to save the language.

This is why there was a need for this research. Therefore, my literature review will contain information on Native American language revitalization and endangerment but no specific book or journal information about these specific languages that I have gathered information about. The only information I could find about the number of speakers for the languages that I have done research on was from *Ethnologue* and *The Rain Forests of Home Atlas*. *The Rain Forests of Home Atlas* received its information about the numbers of speakers from various professors in the year 1994. Below, I will list the information on numbers of speakers from each of these sources in Fig. 1 and Fig. 2. Each language in the *Ethnologue* section has the year the information was gathered if that specific information was available.

| Lushootseed |
|---|
| Population- 60 (1990 M. D. Kinkade) Population evenly divided between the northern and southern dialects. Ethnic population 2,000 (1990 M. D. Kinkade). |
| Language Use – There are numerous programs starting up around Puget Sound teaching Lushootseed, in which children, parents, and elders are taking part. It is also being introduced as a language available at local colleges. |
| Comments- Nearly extinct. |
| Quinault |
| Population- Extinct. Ethnic population: 1,500 (1977 SIL). |
| Language use- members of the ethnic group now speak English. |
| Comments- Some who heard it as children have good pronunciation. |
| Makah |
| Population – Extinct |
| Language Use-Makah is taught bilingually in preschool on the reservation and is ongoing throughout grade school. |
| Language Development-Taught in primary schools. |
| Comments- No first-language speakers. Became extinct 2002. |
| Nooksack |
| Population-Extinct. Ethnic population: 1,600 (1997 B. Galloway). |
| Language Use-Extinct since about 1988. There are 2 or 3 older adults who each know less than 30 or 40 words (1998). |

*Figure 1.* Ethnologue *Information on Language Status of Tribes Interviewed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Makah >100 | |
| Nooksack-extinct | |
| Lushootseed 10-100 | |
| Quinault <10 | |

*Figure 2.* Rainforests of Home *Numbers of Speakers for Tribes Interviewed. (1994)*

As evident from the numbers provided above, most of it was gathered over ten years ago or even longer. There was a need for new research into what these tribes were doing and if they were gaining any success in revitalizing their languages. The wording "extinct" and "death" are words I choose not to use when talking about language. The information in these two sources describes these languages as extinct or nearly extinct. There is a need for explanation of what these tribes are doing to gain speakers and how they continue to use the language. The people interviewed for this research are working hard reviving pieces of their languages. This is something that needs to be researched in so-called extinct or dead/dying languages.

There has been work on predicting the life of languages based on number of speakers that a language has. The writings on languages predict that many of the languages in the world will die out soon if nothing is done.

> There is agreement among linguists who have considered the situation that over half of the world's languages are moribund, i.e. not effectively being passed on to the next generation. We and our children, then, are living at the point in human history where, within perhaps two generations, most languages in the world will die out (Crystal, viii).

Many Native languages are in the category of being moribund and need to be revived. Most of the information written about languages puts them in the categories of dead or dying. "The phrase 'language death' sounds as stark and final as any other in which that word makes its unwelcome appearance. And it has similar implications and resonances. To say that a language is dead is like saying that a person is dead. It could be no other way--for languages have no existence without people" (Crystal, 1). The languages that were researched for this paper would fall into the category of dead or dying according to their numbers of

speakers. This paper is going to show what these languages have to work with and what is being done to bring them back.

A language may have no speakers but still may have information stored about the language that can be used in the revival process. "A language is said to be dead when no one speaks it any more. It may continue to have existence in a recorded form, of course-traditionally in writing, more recently as part of a sound or video archive (and it does in a sense 'live on' in this way)-but unless it has fluent speakers one would not talk of it as a 'living language'"(Crystal, 11). My opinion of the research in this paper will be further explained in the Discussion section of this paper. With writings about languages stating their non existence, I have been compelled to ask in what ways do they still exist and is it possible that they are not dead and capable of being revived?

*Language Classification*

The following, in Figure 3, is an example of a classification system for languages. There are different variations on this system. What I like about the following system is their categorization of extinct. They include revival in this section showing that a language can have no speakers yet still be revived. Most classification systems do not include revival as a possibility once the last fluent speakers have passed away.

| |
|---|
| **Viable** languages: have population bases that are sufficiently large and thriving to mean that no threat to long-term survival is likely; |
| **Viable but small** languages: have more than *c.* 1,000 speakers, and are spoken in communities that are isolated or with a strong internal organization, and aware of the way their language is a marker of identity; |
| **Endangered** languages: are spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, but only in favourable circumstances and with a growth in community support; |
| **Nearly extinct** languages: are thought to be beyond the possibility of survival, usually because they are spoken by just a few elderly people; |
| **Extinct** languages: are those where the last fluent speaker has died, and there is no sign of any revival. |

*Figure 3. Classification System for Languages Based on Number of Speakers.* (Crystal, 20-21).

This type of system is important to see the threat that languages have. People are able to see what their language situation is and if they need to worry about their language losing speakers. Often though, this system of classification does not show the possibilities that are out there for languages with few to no speakers. There is always hope for a language to revive.

## Different Analysis of Language Status

The analysis and word choice that I will use throughout this paper is from *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice.*

> There are at present many languages in the world that have
> fallen silent. A language is silent either because there is no
> one left who knows it, or because those who know it no longer
> have any domain left in which to use it. In some of the literature,
> such languages have been called 'moribund' if there are people
> who retain knowledge but have no way to use it, or 'dead' or
> extinct' when there are no living speakers. I prefer the less final
> metaphor of 'silence,' or L. Frank Manriquez's 'sleep'
> (Hinton and Hale, 413).

The analysis of a language as being dead is in the majority of the
literature on the statuses of Native languages. In this paper I prefer to
never refer to these languages in a state of being dead or extinct. The
other literature in this review states the languages in this paper in that
way. When I hear the word dead or extinct it seems as though there is no
possibility of the language ever coming back. However, I, as well as
others, believe that it is still possible. I will either use the word silent or
sleep. "The question is, can the languages ever be awakened, if those
who see them as part of their heritage wish to do so? We see many
people trying, and there is always some kind of successful result,
whether just a few vocabulary items are inserted into daily speech or the
language becomes the mode of daily communication again" (Hinton and
Hale, 413). Even if languages are not fully brought back into spoken
form they can be partially revived. People may only revive certain
sentences or words, but as long as words in the languages are being
spoken, I do not consider the languages dead. Many people are working
on languages that are considered dead and their work means there is
something there worth saving.

## Methods for Reviving Languages

If a language does not have many fluent speakers, one of the ways to
get it taught is through schools. "Probably the most common form of
language teaching in the schools is teaching it as a subject for a limited
amount of time each day. This is not a good way to create new fluent
speakers, but it is often all that is possible in a given situation" (Hinton
and Hale, 7). The students are able to take their language as a subject
just like they would Spanish or French in the schools. This may not be
the best way to gain fluency in a language but it gets students learning
vocabulary and phrases and exposes them to the language. After they are
exposed they may be motivated and inspired to learn more of their
language.

If there are few fluent speakers and some individuals who are willing to commit the time into trying to gain fluency they can use the Master-Apprentice model for language learning. "California's Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program is a program that teaches native speakers and young adults to work together intensively so that the younger members may develop conversational proficiency in the language. It is designed to be a one-on-one relationship between the 'master' (speaker) and the 'apprentice' (language learner), who together constitute a team" (Hinton and Hale, 217). This could be a way for people to learn the language as close to fluency as is possible. If only one or two people went through a Master-Apprentice program it would give the language that much more people to work with and more people who could teach the language to others.

Another method that has shown success in gaining speakers is teaching through immersion. This can be done in an individual classroom, for a language nest, or through all grade levels. "A model that is being used increasingly in the United States and elsewhere is the full-immersion program, where all instruction in the classroom is carried out in the endangered language. There is no doubt that this is the best way to jump-start the production of a new generation of fluent speakers for an endangered language" (Hinton and Hale, 8). If a tribe has enough speakers to do a full immersion school or class, this would be the best way to gain speakers and get the language passed on.

There are languages that do not have the option of doing full immersion. There may be tribes who do not have any fluent speakers or have speakers that are semi-fluent.

> Unfortunately, for endangered languages of small speech communities, especially those that only have a few speakers (and those few elderly), the people who end up teaching in the classroom are usually not fluent speakers. Of course, every effort should be made to have fluent speakers as teachers, but we have seen many instances where this is not possible. Rich immersion-style teaching cannot be done if the teacher is not fluent (Hinton and Hale, 188).

A tribe should do any teaching style that they can so long as the language is being passed on in some way. Each language is at different levels and needs to work with the teaching style that is best for their situation.

Many languages are working with documentation that has been previously done or are currently doing their own documentation of the language. "But scholars have been documenting languages for hundreds of years (for some languages, thousands of years), so that some languages that have no speakers left still have enough documentation that it is possible for a motivated person to learn them" (Hinton and Hale, 413). Tribes may have a lot of documentation in written or audio form.

If that it is so, they can work really hard with this to learn the language. People can learn as much as they can about their language through documentation. "Sometimes documentation itself is inadequate, and 'reconstitution' is necessary if a community wishes for language revitalization. Reconstitution is extrapolation from whatever information exists to guess what the language might have been like. Related languages may also be used to help with reconstitution" (Hinton and Hale, 414). If a tribe has documentation but there are pieces of the language missing, they can try to rebuild it from related languages. This is possible if the language is not an isolate. People can look at related languages and work toward figuring out what words would have sounded like in their language. It could be possible to figure out patterns to rebuild as much as they can of their languages.

I would like to quote in depth a success story for a Native language. This success story is an example of what a few people can do to save a language if they are willing to put the time and effort into it.

> "And yet a single individual can produce miracles for even the tiniest of language communities. The Miami Nation has branches in the states of Indiana and Oklahoma. The last speaker of Miami died in 1962. Luckily, however, there is a very large body of documentation of the Miami language, spanning more than 200 years. A few years ago, the linguist David Costa worked with the materials to write a brilliant dissertation on Miami morphology, creating the first coherent analytical account of the language (Costa 1994.) Daryl Baldwin, a member of the Indiana group, is a gifted individual dedicated to the revitalization of his ancestral language, and has done wonders with it. He got a master's degree in linguistics at the University of Montana specializing in Miami syntax, and then, using Costa's work and his own, he taught himself how to speak the language. As he learned, he taught his wife and children as well, to the point that Miami is the first language of his youngest children. He and his wife have chosen to home-school the children, which allows them to immerse their children more thoroughly in the Miami language than would otherwise be possible. Along with two other families who have also become dedicated to the revitalization of Miami, they are in the beginning stages of recreating a speech community" (Hinton and Hale, 416).

This story is proof that a language can be brought back even if it has lost all of its speakers. There was a lot of documentation in order for it to happen, which some tribes may not have. Even if a tribe is not lucky enough to have enough documentation to do as well as Miami it is possible to bring back something of the language. It is important to hold on to languages because a language contains knowledge of culture and the worldview of the people who once spoke them.

*Importance of Saving Languages*

What are the reasons for wanting to save a language? People are predominantly speaking English and are able to get by in life by using that language. It may be argued that everyone should speak English and that it does not matter that languages are falling asleep. It does matter. It matters for the study of languages and the theories about languages of the world. "At first glance, a linguist's interest in preserving languages seems both self-evident and self-serving. For scientific reasons alone, languages are worth preserving. Linguists need to study as many different languages as possible if they are to perfect theories of language structure and to train future generations of students in linguistic analysis" (Nettle & Romaine, 10). Linguistic theories need to be as inclusive as possible of languages. There are languages that work and are formed in unique and complex ways. If linguists are to study languages, they should make sure there are languages that are not disappearing or they may never know the amazing ways they were structured and how these languages could have contributed to linguistic theory.

A more important reason why there is a need to ensure the survival of languages is because of the knowledge these languages contain of history, culture, tradition, ways of life, views of the world, and how the people who spoke them interacted with each other. These languages are important to the identities of the people whose ancestors spoke them. "Each language has its own window on the world. Every language is a living museum, a monument to every culture it has been vehicle to" (Nettle & Romaine, 14). If a language is gone there is so much that is lost with that language. To end the literature review section I would like to put in a short poem about language loss from the American Indian Language Development Institute, held annually at the University of Arizona.

"Believe that our language is a gift from our Creator:
If we don't use it,
we are not fulfilling our responsibility.
If we don't give life to it,
we are neglecting to perform our duties.
Our Creator has created for us the world through language.
So,
If we don't speak it, there is no world"
-Participants of American Indian Language Development Institute
(Awakening Our Languages An ILI Handbook Series, Handbook 1)

## Methodology

With approval from the Human Subjects Committee, I have done six qualitative interviews for this research.  To recruit participants I looked through online websites for tribes to find people who were involved in language revitalization for their tribes. Some participants were found through other people who had contact information for that particular tribe.  The interviews ranged from 45-60 minutes each with each person being asked 28 interview questions.  Each person expanded on these questions as much or as little as they wanted.  Some would give more information about revitalization that was not asked in the questions.  I did not restrict people on time or force them to try and give me more information.  So this is why some interviews may have contained more content than other interviews.  One interview was a phone interview because the participant was unable to meet in person.  Two of the interviews were recorded with the other interviews being conducted by taking notes of the answers.  The interviews were conducted where the people worked except for one interview being in the home of the interviewee's co-worker.

My position on this topic is affected by my past and experience with language revitalization.  I am from a tribe whose language would be categorized as nearly extinct so I am biased toward believing that a language will not die if enough work is done to revive it.  My position may seem like a bias but it is also from the perspective of a Native person who believes languages can be revived.  Historically, information written about tribes and their languages has been from the perspective of an outsider and not from a Native community.  I feel that the perspective from a Native person is important when researching Native people.

## Findings

To keep the essence of what people have said, I present the findings here without my own interpretations.  Following the findings section I will discuss my analysis of the information gathered from the interviews.

### Introduction to the People Interviewed and the Language They Speak

Carmen Pastores-Joe works with revitalization of some of the northern dialects of Lushootseed, such as, Upper Skagit, Swinomish, Sauk Suiattle, and Stillaguamish.  Carmen has worked with the language since 1994 or 1995.  She would go to her Aunt Vi Hilbert's house and receive tutoring.  Vi is the last speaker of the Upper Skagit tribe and she has done the most to preserve the language.  Vi has previously taught

Lushootseed at the University of Washington. She taught for about 15 years. Currently there are no more classes held in Lushootseed at the University of Washington.

Lois Henry teaches the Lushootseed language for the Tulalip tribe. Lois applied for the language program with no earlier language experience. When she was hired she was learning pieces of the language and immediately taking what she had learned to the classroom. She was just keeping ahead of the students and eventually her span of language knowledge was getting bigger. The language program started in approximately 1990. The Tulalip Lushootseed language program uses the Snohomish dialect. A couple of months before the interview in 2007, the last fluent speaker of that dialect passed away. There are individuals who have learned some of the language. They may know phrases and how to greet other people. There is a growing interest in the community to learn the language.

Zalmai (Zeke) Zahir works on language preservation and revitalization privately. The other people interviewed were employed through their tribes. Zeke develops his own materials and teaches classes. His main teachings are to members of the southern dialects of Lushootseed. When he was eleven years old his mother married his stepfather, Don Matheson, who was at the Puyallup tribe. He started learning the language at that age. They moved to Muckleshoot at the age of twelve and he learned from an elder named Eva Jerry at the age of 16 for half a year. After that his family moved the Spokane/Coeur d'Alene area until 1983, which is when he started school at the University of Washington. He took Lushootseed classes from Vi Hilbert at the University of Washington. He studied under her for a year. His major was civil engineering. After he got his degree he was working for the City of Seattle and then he started teaching on his own. He did his own research with elders of the Suquamish, Muckleshoot, and Squaxin Island tribes. He worked with transcribing tapes to which Vi had given him access. He's been teaching and writing ever since then.

George Adams is a language/culture specialist for the Nooksack Tribe. His position is within the Education department for the tribe. There are no fluent speakers of the language. He attended school at Eastern Washington University. He started out as an Education major. At school, he would run into friends who were from the different tribes of the area who spoke their languages. They were inspirational to him and helped inspire him to further learn his language. During spring and summer breaks he would learn the language by asking questions to his elders. At school he felt split like two. Learning the language made him feel whole. That grounded him so that he could survive in a learning

environment.  After he got his degree, he wondered what to do.  He was training to be a teacher.  He was enrolled in the Lummi tribe but grew up in both Nooksack and Lummi.  While he was growing up his grandpa spoke Lummi and his grandma spoke Halkomelem.  He asked his grandpa what the word for canoe was and then he told his grandma.  His grandma told him a different word.  It was then that he realized there were two dialects of the language.  This moment is what sparked his interest.  He was around 8 years old when that happened.  In college he would be doing homework then he would push it aside then pick up a word list.

Veronica (Mice) James was interviewed from the Quinault tribe. There are no fluent speakers of the language.  She has worked 20+ years with the language.  At the time of the interview in 2007 a language team was just being started.  There are twelve members on the language team.

Maria Pascua was interviewed from the Makah tribe.  She went to school at Evergreen.  She stated that it is easier to get grants if she went to school.  There are no first language speakers.  There are people who learned Makah as a first language but do not speak it.  Those people are there as a resource because they can recognize pronunciation and if something sounds right or not.  There are some people who were spoken to in Makah while growing up so they have a limited proficiency of the language.  The Makah tribe was made up of five villages so there were five dialects.

*Teaching*

The Makah language program has five teachers.  Kindergarten through sixth grade participants in one class once a week.  The high school has two levels of Makah that are possible for students to take. Even though the language is not a foreign language because it is indigenous to America, it fulfills the requirements for a foreign language to graduate.  Maria Pascua mentioned using Total Physical Response (TPR) teaching in the high school level classes.  This style of teaching is hard to implement in a classroom if the teacher is not fluent in the language so what they do is teach a portion of the class in TPR.

What was unique about the Makah Tribe's language program was that they had used the Master Apprentice program to gain new speakers of the language.  Between the years of 1995-2000 there was use of the Master Apprentice way of teaching the language.  They had a member of the Karuk tribe in California come up to show them how to use that style of teaching.  Three people went through this program.  Two of them are employed through the language program.  There was not enough funding to give all of them jobs with the language.

Carmen Pastores-Joe teaches for Upper Skagit, Swinomish, and Stillaguamish. She has also taught for Northwest Indian College at Lummi. There was a grant that trained a cohort of teachers. There were fourteen people in the cohort. Everyone made it through except one person. One of them teaches now and two were planning to teach adults. Carmen's teaching varies by year and quarter. She has taught Saturday classes and evening classes. Members of the Sauk Suiattle tribe would drive up to 100 miles to take classes. She ended up teaching a day and night class because there were people who had to work during the day, and therefore couldn't make the day time class.

The Tulalip language program has six teachers and has two other staff members, one of which is an assistant and the other is a tech person. The language is taught from Montessori to the fifth grade. There are three levels of the Lushootseed language offered at the college level.

Zeke teaches an immersion course which I will discuss later in the immersion section of this paper. He also teaches a distance learning course with CD-ROMS. Each CD has seven lessons. With them is also a database that can be sent to Zeke which will show how they are doing and how long they worked on them. This class is three credits. During the time of the interview the class had eleven students who were mostly from the Suquamish tribe. They were in their second quarter of the course. He also teaches a place names class. The class consists of five Saturdays of field trips around Puget Sound. They visit the places and learn the stories attached to the places and their names in the Lushootseed language. The students in this class are advanced.

*Immersion*

Out of the people who were interviewed, Zeke Zahir was the one who had an immersion style of teaching implemented in his classes. At the time of the interview Zeke was teaching two home schooled children aged 11 and 13 through immersion. The class was held twice a week for two hours each time. They were doing math in the class at the time of the interview. He was hoping to move them on into algebra. He believed that ideally kids should be exposed to the language 16 hours a week in an immersion program. With his immersion class, Zeke also uses CD-ROMS that he developed.

Zeke talked about the difference of teaching a language as a subject versus teaching through immersion. He compared what he believed on the vocabulary levels of students who learned the language through either way. He really advocates for teaching the language in this way. He stated full immersion as being the best way to create new speakers of

a language. There should be full immersion teaching at daycare, head start, preschool, school, and after school programs.

## *Outside of School*

The Tulalip language program has a family night. This program was able to get families together to learn some of the language. This type of program is way to get different generations involved in language learning. Grandparents, parents, children, and other family members can get together and learn the same vocabulary and phrases so that they can practice them at home with each other. There were phrases, numbers, stories, and prayers taught at this night. They also held a meeting called Community Voices. This meeting didn't have as much language in it as the family night. People were able to come from the community, or employees from the tribe would come and talk about issues about the language and the program. This was a place where people could bring their ideas and concerns about the language and program.

Zeke has done language camps in the past at the Muckleshoot and Snoqualmie reservations. He did an immersion day camp at the Squaxin Island reservation. At Nisqually the camp curriculum was based on a story called Little Silver Salmon. They were read the story every day. They also went to the salt water and the mountains. The camp was three weeks long, four days a week, for twelve hours a week. By the end of the camp the kids were able to understand the story and were able to say it.

The Tulalip language program has been doing summer language camps for a while now. The camps are held four days a week with approximately sixty students in attendance. The camp is split into two weeks. The camp is based on a theme. Past themes were sea life, crow and seagull play, Hudson Bay, and birds. During the camp there are different stations. Some of the stations are crafts, weaving, teaching, games, and language. The students learn a play that they perform on the last day for their families. In 2006 the play was performed at the Tulalip casino amphitheatre.

## *Newsletter lessons*

The Nooksack tribe has one person who works under the Education department as the Culture and language specialist. His name is George Adams. One of the things that he does to get the language out to other people is by having language lessons in the tribal newsletter. Each lesson that is in the newsletter builds on the previous lesson. It is also available online. When he writes the lessons he puts sentences into it

that people could use everyday.  He was on lesson 12 at the time of the interview.  He said that there were some people who were following it.

*Technology*

As was mentioned earlier Zeke uses CD-ROMs for his classes.  Each one has 7 lessons.  You go into one lesson and it has the content basically of a lesson it goes to a series of exercises and games and writing exercises.  There are graphics, video, text, and interactive games.  Each lesson takes about an hour to complete.  Those CD- ROMs have a database with it.  They can send the database over the internet and I can evaluate how they are doing and how long they worked on it.  I can evaluate their comprehension, their writing and their time.

Lois Henry said that the Tulalip tribe has CDs that they hand out a lot.  They are really helpful for the community involvement.  People can listen to them at home, put them on their car radio, or put it on their computer.

Carmen had applied for a grant at the time of the interview.  The grant was to work on digitizing and using more technology in the language.  Those who cannot come can learn the language with technology.  One of her ideas was to have a story written and the person using the program to be able to push a button and hear the words.  This would be more reinforcement with distance learning.

*Documentation*

The Nooksack language is working with mainly documentation.  There are no fluent speakers of the language anymore.  Even so, George is working with the materials available of Nooksack and other languages.  There is a book on sounds.  Each sound is named.  There is an explanation of each sound, a word with the sound, and a sentence with the word.  There are texts by an anthropologist named Pamela Amoss.  There is information published from the International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages.  Dr. Brent Galloway from First Nations University in Canada has published some work on the language.  There are anthropology notes from Paul Fitzer from 1950 and 1951.  He talked to elders and wrote some words down.  There are 7 volumes of him studying the people.

George works with related languages such as Lummi and Halkomelem to rebuild the Nooksack language.  He also works with other dialects within the Salish family to find words.  Halkomelem has few speakers.  The language was recorded.  George takes each CD and transcribes it then puts into a notebook.  Each word is verified, then they are entered into a classified word list at www.writely.com on Google.

Dr. Brent Galloway, a linguist, works at First Nations University. He enters words into the word list also. They work together through that program. It will build into an eventual dictionary. He comes once in the summer and once in the winter.

Carmen stated that Leon Metcaff and Tom Hess recorded the Lushootseed language. Other people did written work. Linguists and anthropologists recorded elders back in the 50s. They were recorded telling their personal histories and telling stories. Those recordings were in process of being digitized at UW. Vi has done a great body of work to tap into. She published 20 books and 2 dictionaries. Vi talked to Susie Sampson-Peter who was blind and stayed at home. Susie would repeat a story everyday to keep her mind in the language. She had a lot of information on philosophy, culture, and historical information. She knew how to doctor people and was trained since childhood. She told these stories each night so the language wouldn't die.

Zeke has written a couple of grammar books, four culture books, and 2-3 books on curriculum. In total, he has done approximately twenty books. He is also republishing an old dictionary. He also has books made by Vi Hilbert. The most important documentations are the recordings that Vi Hilbert did of her elders. Thom Hess did research on the language also. There was a man back in the 50's named Leon Metcalf. He was a band teacher at the high school and grew up on the Tulalip reservation. In the 50s he saw the language was going to die and he thought that was sad. He knew some of it because he grew up on the Tulalip reservation so he started going around and he recorded elders throughout Puget Sound. He recorded Aunt Susie from Swinomish and then he recorded Annie Daniels from Muckleshoot. Vi transcribed all of Aunt Susie. She was a medicine woman too. She talks about who her dad was. Ruth Shelton was recorded doing some wonderful history from the Indian perspective, not the English perspective. So you learn the names of tribal people, what they were thinking, why they signed the treaty, and where they gathered. She goes over what they thought when they saw the first chicken, and what they thought of coffee and hardtack. It's a phenomenal account of contact and post contact.

Two elders learned to be literate in the Makah language. They wrote stories and things they remembered. There is not enough staff to keep up with transcribing and translating the material. It is in an editing stage. There were also recordings made with elders for years. Many tapes have not been transcribed. The people that are working with the language program are teaching, so there is no one to transcribe.

The Tulalip Lushootseed language program uses the Snohomish dialect. There are numerous dialects of Lushootseed. They are using

archives, recorded tapes, and information from ancestors who have gone on. Lizzie Kriss, Siastenu, Ruth Shelton, and Haagan Sam are some of the elders who have left information of the language. They have two readers which have four stories with assignments afterwards that point out some of the grammar and sentences that are in the stories. One of the elders put together a binder book which explains the structure of Lushootseed words. There will be explanations of the root word, affixes and the meaning of the sentence.

Mice said that there are materials to start having fluent speakers for the Quinault language. There is a Quinault dictionary. There is a conversation book published in 1967 and a set of CDs. Her uncle Horton spoke the language beautifully. There are recordings of him. They read and utilize Quinault language dictionary. There are flash cards with pictures and the words in Quinault. There are games such as bingo and concentration.

*Needs and Goals*

George would like to get 6 people to work with, to work with the community, and teach.

Carmen needs a suitable place to teach. She needs places to put pictures and toy animals. When teaching her classes, she needs to have people writing and thereby also needs writing boards. She needs to have people write and use the language. There is memory in writing and pictures. There is also the need for proper classrooms. Tools we created from the grant have been used since then. We need more curriculum, story books and traditional teaching lessons.

Maria needs people to transcribe and translate the documentation in the language. Funding is a problem. The tribe supports to whatever degree available. There is no funding to give everyone a job in the language.

In the future Carmen would love to do a language camp. In the past she did one play. There were four traditional stories melded into one. It was made to be contemporary. Parts of the play were in the language. People were interested. The cultural center (where it took place) was full. She would also love to do a musical.

Zeke sees the language reviving in the future. He also sees more independent language programs away from tribal politics that focus on a quality language program starting with a smaller number. Zeke said that there was a need for a literacy program for children. There needs to be books that are 100% in Lushootseed. What we need is books like this that are 100 % in Lushootseed not in English. The ideal would be to have fifty books per grade per year.

Maria has the goal of getting curriculum for every grade. The current curriculum is from the 80's. It is not sufficient. It was made by a fluent elder. They used TPR, which is hard to implement if not fluent. A community goal is to bring the language back to spoken fluency. A goal was also to do classes for the different departments in the tribe.

A goal for the Tulalip language program is to have a full immersion platform. Some of the staff went to Hawaii to look at their language programs. They do immersion down there. We have a ways to go. I do see it going a lot further. They want to start a nesting program. The idea is there to have it in the future.

A goal for the Quinault language program is for people to start saying phrases within community as a whole. Also, they want them to be able to look at the Quinault language written and be able to read and pronounce it well. There is a want for people to be able to speak at basic level and to say simple commands, gestures and things within the classroom.

## Discussion

There are people committed to language revitalization. They make it their life to do all that they possibly can to ensure the survival of their languages. They do not give up. They put everything they have into fighting to bring their languages back to being a spoken language. From doing these interviews, this is what I saw. I saw strong people who have inspired me. Each person spoke about their languages with pride, love, and commitment. It is hard to convey that through a paper.

I would not consider any of these languages dead or extinct. These people are doing important work to ensure that the language will be spoken again. They may be sleeping but there is documentation to hope for one day when they will be awakened. When presenting this research I have been asked the question about what tribe I thought was doing the best. There is no way I could answer that question about these languages. Each person, program, and tribe is doing the best they can with the resources that they have. They are working from their different positions. They have different successes to be proud of depending on where they started. If they started without speakers and some documentation, it is a success to find new words from related languages. If there are few speakers, it is a success to create a couple more through the Master Apprentice program. If there are no speakers it is a success to gather a strong team of 12 to work towards revitalization.

I was pleased with what these people were doing with their languages. I was surprised by what I learned during each interview. Since there was no knowledge out there on what these tribes were doing to revive their

languages, I did not know what I would find out when I went to these places. I did not expect to find a person teaching immersion. Zeke has worked with learning the language throughout his life. He was originally working to get a degree to do Civil Engineering. He had different plans for his life but was eventually led into language revitalization. He felt the need and desire to put his all into teaching and researching the language. He learned enough of the language in his life to be able to teach in immersion. He is able to teach people a lot of the language through immersion. The children and adults that he teaches will be able to carry on the language from his teachings.

I was surprised to find that the Master Apprentice program was used on the Makah reservation. This type of language teaching was originally from California and started with the Karuk tribe. There are tribes from all over the United States who are finding amazing ways to revive their languages. It is important that tribes try to find out what other tribes are doing so that they can possibly use those styles of revival for their languages.

I was amazed to find one person working on Nooksack with all the information that he could gather from documentation and data on related languages within the Salish family. While he was getting his education, he was still drawn to learning his language. He would ask his elders and look at word lists of his language. Now, because of his drive and will, he is working on the revival of the Nooksack language. Nooksack was said to be extinct for many years now. George is still working on the revival of the language so I would not say that it is dead yet. Nooksack is sleeping but George is doing all he can to reawaken it. I am inspired by his commitment. He is working with documentation of other languages. It is important to save any piece of a language that is possible. Tribes can still bring a lot of their languages back with documentation. Nooksack is an example.

Quinault was starting a language team with 12 people. This is a lot of people to start a team with. If each person is committed to the language they can get a lot done. Some tribes might have only one person working and they alone can also get a lot done. Quinault is also a tribe that is working with documentation to save their language. They may be in an early stage right now just starting a language team, but they have potential. They have 12 people who believe in the language, and they also, like Nooksack, have documentation to work with.

Carmen was teaching the language for multiple tribes. She is working for a language that still has a lot of documentation to work with. She teaches for different tribes. This shows the need for more teachers. People who are working for revitalization often show the hard work of

doing many different classes and tasks for the language. People like Carmen do the work of multiple people.

The Tulalip tribe is a strong language program. They have many classes available and also do community classes. Their future goals were to start a nesting program. They have had people already visit the schools in Hawaii. The goal is still in the distance but it is a possible goal. They have high hopes and I hope to see them one day start a nesting program.

All of these people have hope for their language. They believed in the future when there would more people speaking and learning the language. They had wishes for their programs. What was consistent for these programs was they all could do better with more support. They could all use more staff, more teachers, more funding, curriculum development, and classrooms. Languages are losing speakers. If nobody does anything about it, they could fall asleep. These people who were interviewed are working towards keeping their languages. What is sad is that there are small numbers of people who are doing everything. The more people who work on the revitalization process the better results will be seen. There needs to be more support for the survival of languages. It is an emergency. People should be all working to learn these languages so that they can become spoken languages once again.

People study languages in schools and universities, like the University of Washington. They study languages that have thousands to millions of speakers. People should realize the unique languages that have few speakers. Some people are realizing this and are helping tribes revive their languages. More people should be alarmed and worried about the state of the indigenous languages in the United States and all over the world.

There is too much to lose when a language goes to sleep. A language contains large amounts of information about the culture of a people. They contain information on how families are structured, what members are called and how that changes by age and gender. Languages also indicate the genders that tribes have, what species of animals and plants were used and what they were used for, and what traditional medicines were used and what for. These examples are just a small part of what would be lost when a language goes to sleep. Identity as a member of a certain group can be distinguished by culture and language. Losing both of those things, you lose a big part of your identity and connection to your ancestors.

The information in this paper is just a small piece of the research that is needed on this topic. In this paper, there are six tribes interviewed. That is not even a quarter of the tribes within the state of Washington.

Each tribe in the United States should be studied for the state of their languages. When their state and revitalization process is found out, then it can be addressed on how to revive all of these languages.

These tribes should have their statuses accessed yearly. There should be updates on what is being done, what is working and not working. My dream for languages in the United States is that each gets accessed for where they are at in the revitalization process. The U.S. should gather information on what best works for revitalization based on multiple language situations. When it is found out what state a language is in, the United States should provide the resources to revive the language. They should get people to do training, documentation, transcription, and translation. They should provide classrooms, office space, materials needed to teach and sustain a language program, and the funding needed to revive the languages.

The languages of the Native peoples in the United States should be important enough to save. They have been through suppression and assimilation policies from the United States so now the United States should make up for what they have tried so hard to take away.

## Conclusion

The research that is available on languages is mainly focused on speakers and language status. The numbers are not everything when considering the status of a language. There is so much more information that needs to be gathered about endangered languages. Methods for revitalizing languages that have less than five speakers are important. The information is useful for other people who are trying to save their languages or reawaken them. The statistics and numbers just focus on dead or extinct when there has been proof of languages surviving after achieving this status. I do not feel like a language is dead until the people give up on the language and stop trying to revive it.

Language is like a relative. If a relative is sick and dying we do not give up. We fight for their survival, we hear the statistics saying their chances of living and we hope against all odds that our relative will be that small percentage that survives.

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**Appendix**
McNair Interview Questions
Name:
Tribe
1.  What is your position within the language program?

2.  What made you decide to work in language?

3. When did you first start to learn the language and how did you learn it?

4. How often do you use the language in your day to day life?

5. How long have you worked in the language program?

6. How many employees are in this department and what are their positions?

7. How long has the program been established?

8. What types of funding run the language program?

9. What types of programs does the language department do?

10. Has there been any gaining of language learners and speakers through the programs that the language department offers?

11. What do you think is needed to gain more speakers of the language? What types of programs do you see as working best for your language?

12. What do you see for the future of the language?

13. What would make your program more productive?

14. Is there a Dictionary and/or Grammar?

15. What type of language documentation is there? Are there recordings, books, notes, etc.?

16. Do you see an interest in the community to learn the language?

17. Is the language taught to children in the home?

18. Approximately how many fluent speakers are there of the language?

19. Approximately how many people are semi-fluent?

20. Are there younger people learning the language?

21. How many people are in the tribe?

22. Are there are any programs or classes within the schools that teach language?

23. Is there any language spoken within the community?

24. Are there any requirements within the schools for the language to be taught?

25. Are there any requirements for employees of the tribe to learn the language?

26. Is the language shown in the community in written form? (newspapers, billboards, signs, calendar, general reading books, etc.)

27. Is the language in any audio form? (such as TV, music, or radio)
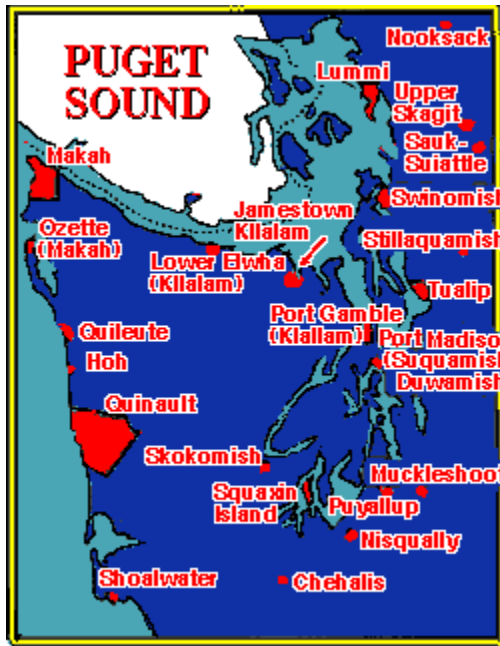
28. Do you suggest any other people from the community, other departments, from within this department to interview?

**Map of Lushootseed Speaking area from** www.tulaliplushootseed.com

**Map of tribes in the Puget Sound area from**
http://www.kstrom.net/isk/maps/wa/wamap.html

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What are Tribes Doing in the Northwest to Revive their Languages?

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My research interests are the structure of the Coeur d'Alene language and Native language revitalization.
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