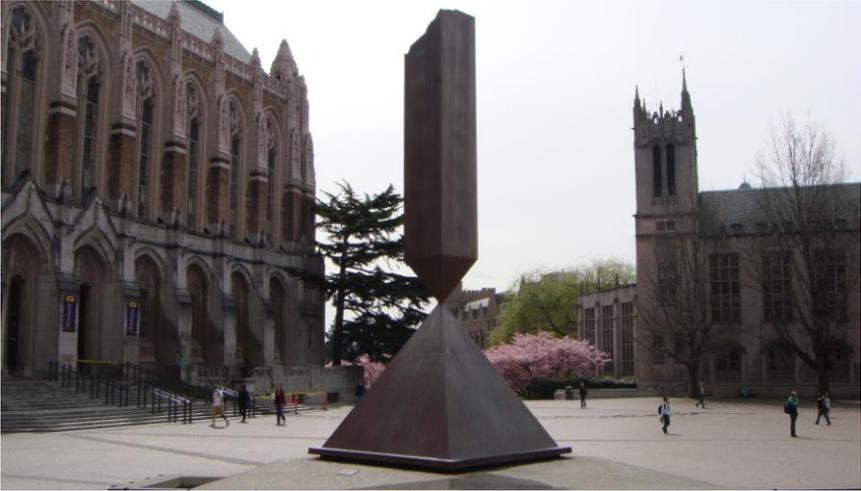The McNair Scholars Journal

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McNair Program
Office of Minority Affairs & Diversity
University of Washington
375 Schmitz Hall
Box 355845
Seattle, WA 98195-5845
uwmcnair@uw.edu
http://depts.washington.edu/uwmcnair/

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University of Washington
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Associate Director
Gene Kim, Ph.D.

Program Coordinator
Rosa Ramirez

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Ashley McClure
Jorge Martinez

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Volume X
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<p style="text-align:center">From the
Vice President and Vice Provost for Diversity</p>

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 tenth 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 work 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

From the
Director

I am very pleased to present the tenth edition of the University of Washington's *McNair Scholars Journal* to our reading audience. The collective excellence of these nineteen 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, Ashley McClure and Jorge Martinez, 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 tenth 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 a privilege to introduce the tenth volume of The McNair Scholars Journal. This publication contains papers comprising an impressive spectrum of disciplines and representing the depth and potential of scholarship which the UW offers. The work of the McNair Scholars in this volume is absorbing, eloquent and impassioned—and all of us affiliated with the program (the Scholars, their faculty advisors, the McNair Program staff, and the Graduate School) should be proud of their work.

As you are aware, the McNair Scholars Program honors the memory and achievement of the late Dr. Ronald E. McNair, the physicist and NASA astronaut. Its goal is to encourage young women and men to emulate his academic and professional accomplishments. One of the McNair Program's goals 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—we hope—in a doctoral degree.

The leadership, faculty and staff of the UW keenly believe that graduate education is much more than a private benefit for individuals—it profoundly serves the public good by educating people who can promote the shared ideals of our nation. A strong democracy depends on advanced-degree holders who can address the complex demands of 21st century society. As a public institution, the UW has a responsibility to prepare future leaders— such as the McNair Scholars—who, after they earn their advanced degrees, will be called upon to solve problems and enhance quality of life, both locally and globally. Hence, the Graduate School is honored to partner with this program and with the UW Office of Minority Affairs & Diversity.

Please join me in recognizing and thanking all of our McNair Scholars and mentors for creating a robust, vibrant intellectual community at the UW. These young future professors, leaders and policy makers epitomize the talent and intellect which no doubt will have global import, and will provide crucial leadership in an increasingly complex and changing world.

Gerald J. Baldasty, Vice Provost and Dean of The Graduate School
Professor, Communication
Adjunct Professor, Women Studies, American Ethnic Studies

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. Although 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 in the mission of 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, we must recognize that one of the things 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

Contents

Power Without The Waste: Event Based Harvesting Electrical Systems

Ramses Eduardo Alcaide Aguirre

Abstract

As electrical devices become smaller and more portable the use of batteries for power sources has risen. This rise in battery consumption has become the largest growing form of "E-Junk" and has been causing heath concerns globally. For this reason the importance of using renewable and intelligent ways of powering electronic devices is critical. This project proposed the development of a piezoelectric and servo energy harvesting system to take advantage of the impulse forces provided naturally and through user interaction to power sensors and electrical devices to replace the need for batteries. These event based powering systems were then implemented to a wireless batteryless keyboard and the University of Washington Hydrosense project WATTR.

Introduction

The importance of using renewable and intelligent ways of powering electronic devices is critical. As electrical devices become smaller and more portable the use of batteries for power sources has risen. According to a 2007 report of Computer Law & Security Report "E-junk is the fastest growing waste stream and the threat from spent batteries is growing as the volume in landfills grows." Along with waste "batteries contain heavy metals or potentially toxic substances which pose dangers to human health and the environment." [1] The largest manufacturer of batteries, China, creates more than 30.5 billion batteries per year[2]. Unfortunately, during the crude recycling process used "approximately fifty-percent of the lead is lost into the environment" [3] and "lead battery waste can discharge acid into waterways and soil, posing a threat to human health" [3]. Currently, this is a major problem in most developing countries[4]. One way to remove the use of batteries is to take advantage of the natural impulse interaction that occur in nature and by normal human interaction, through the use of energy harvesting. The purpose of this project is to develop a harvesting system for low power electronics and apply the developed system on the projects listed below:

I. University of Washington Hydrosense Project using a servo harvesting system. See Section 6.1
II. Self-powered wireless keyboard using a piezoelectric harvesting system. See Section 6.2

List of Symbols

Model Parameters:
- Rm   Motor winding resistance
- La Motor winding inductance
- KT   Torque constant
- Kv   Motor constant
- e(t) Back-emf voltage
- Bm   Nonlinear friction
- T(t) torque delivered by the motor
- Va (t)Armature voltage
- TL (t) A disturbance torque
- Jm motor drive inertia
- D the electric charge density displacement
- ε the permittivity
- E electric field strength
- S the strain
- s the compliance
- T the stress
- Vo is the voltage out
- Ni number of coil turns on input
- No number of coil turns on output
- Vi the voltage out
- I is the Current
- Q is the Charge
- ΔT is the change in time.
- V initial voltage in capacitor
- R resistance of circuit
- t is the time
- C capacitance of capacitor.

Piezoelectric
The development of a piezoelectric harvesting system for low-power electronics has many fringe benefits, including the considerable amount of power and energy saved by applying the piezoelectric harvesting system to instrumentation, sensors, peripherals, mobile, and remote devices. In the long-term this rippling effect would lower our

overall power consumption and reduce the use of batteries along with toxic substances used to create them.

To fully understand the design decisions one must understand the underlining workings of piezo- electricity. Piezoelectricity is the combined effect of D the electric charge density displacement eq. 1 and S the strain eq. 2 on the piezomaterial[5].

$$D = \varepsilon E \tag{1}$$

$$S = sT \tag{2}$$

These equations are coupled and reduced to form[6]:

$$\{S\} = [sE\ ]\{T\ \} + [d]t\ \{E\} \tag{3}$$

and

$$\{D\} = [d]\{T\ \} + [\varepsilon]t\ \{E\} \tag{4}$$

These equations indicate that as the stress on the piezoelectric material increases, D increases because it is a function linked to T the stress increase from the strain placed on the piezoelectric material. As D increases we get a high voltage that occurs in a discontinuous and alternating manner[7].

Servo

A servo acts similar to a DC motor but it contains feedback to control mechanical position. A DC motors works by using an electrical potential to drive a mechanical load.

Electrical Side

The electrical side was governed by Kirchkoff 's voltage law as shown in equation 5 using faradays law shown in equation 6 where Kv (V − sec/rad) is the motor constant[8].

$$Va\ (t) − e(t) = La\ di(t)dt + Rm\ i(t) \tag{5}$$

$$e(t) = Kv\ \omega(t) \tag{6}$$

When the motor is locked equation 5 goes to steady state thus reducing to equation 7

$$\text{Vass} = \text{Rm iss} \tag{7}$$

Which is used to find Rm .

Mechanical Side

The mechanical side is governed by newtons second law as shown in equation 8. Using amperes rule to derive motor torque as shown in equation 9 gives us the same value for Kv [8].

$$\text{Jm } d\omega(t)dt = T (t) - TL - Bm (\omega)(t) \tag{8}$$

$$T (t) = KT \, i(t) \tag{9}$$

Thus a DC motor can be simplified to a rotational force from an electrical current and a load which it is applied to. However the same is true the other way around because as a mechanical load applies rotational force on the servo it reverses its roles and creates the energy that will be harvested.

Method

The discontinuity and alternating manner of the piezoelectric and servo harvesting systems implies that although the voltage provided by the piezoelectric and servo may be high the time frame and current is low[9]. This presents three main problems with the harvesting systems used:

    I.   Electrical Devices use low voltage, high current not high voltage low current.
    II.   An alternating current.
    III.   Varying Amplitude.

To solve the first problem of having a high voltage, low current system instead of a low voltage, high current system; this project proposes using a transformer that can lower the input voltage coming from the piezoelectric using the laws of induction[10, 11, 12]. As shown in Equation 10 the laws of induction tells us that we can lower any input voltage Vi to an output voltage Vo depending on the ratio of the coil turns on a transformer[13, 11].

$$Vo = Vi (Ni /No) \hspace{3cm} (10)$$

To increase the current a capacitor will be used to store the energy from the piezoelectric and slowly discharge the energy at the current level desired. Since the current in a system can be described by Equation 11, the time rate of the change in charge[14].

$$I = Q/ \Delta T \hspace{3cm} (11)$$

And the current from a capacitor is described by Equation 12, one can see that by storing the voltage from the harvesting system into the capacitor, the current from the capacitor as it begins to discharge is bounded fully by the resistance of the circuit and the capacitance of the circuit. Because both the capacitance and resistance of the circuit can be easily changed, one can vary the current from the capacitor to those adequate for electrical devices.

$$I = (V /R)e(-t/(RC)) \hspace{3cm} (12)$$

To remove the alternating behavior from the harvesting current a rectifier[9, 15, 16] will be used. As seen in Figure 1 a rectifier works by using a set of diodes to convert both polarities of an input wave to a direct current[16].
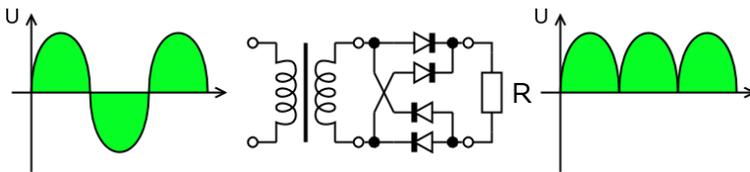

Figure 1: Gratz Rectifier [16]

To deal with the varying voltage amplitudes a charge pump will be used. A charge pump uses a set of storage capacitors to bump up and regulate the voltage provided to the load depending on a specified voltage.

Combing the piezoelectric with the transformer, rectifier, capacitor and charge pump we get the conceptual circuit shown in Figure 2.

Capacitor
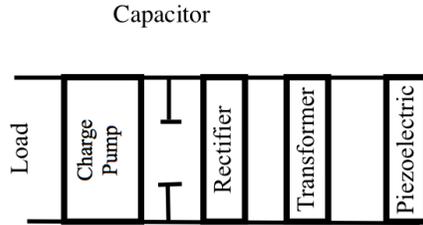
Figure 2: Conceptual Representation of Proposed Circuit

As one can see from Figure 2 the harvesting systems will create a high voltage that will be brought down to a low voltage due to the transformer, afterwards the rectifier will convert the harvesters alternating current to a direct current, then a capacitor will store the rectified energy and slowly feed the stored energy to the load at a voltage bounded by the voltage regulator.

The load in for these applications will be a RFLINK transmitter and a MSP-430 16-bit Ultra-Low Power. The MSP430 is the world's lowest powered micro-control consuming less than 200μA per million instructions per second[17]. The micro-controller and transmitter will be powered by there respective harvesting systems and will wirelessly transfer the respective information depending on the application[17, 6].

Application

To test the applicability of the two harvesting systems two applications were used. First, the completed servo harvesting system was used on a water usage awareness system called Hydrosense and the piezoelectric harvester system developed was used on a wireless batteryless keyboard.

University of Washington Hydrosense Pro ject

HydroSense is a low-cost and easily-installed single-point sensor of pressure within a home's water infrastructure. HydroSense supports both identification of activity at individual water fixtures within a home (e.g., a particular toilet, a kitchen sink, a particular shower) as well an estimation of the amount of water being used at each fixture[18]. Using the impulse nature of the pressure of a home's water infrastructure this investigation powered a Hyrdosense sensor using a servo, while simultaneously sending the results of a pressure sensor wirelessly. Figure 3 shows the system used.
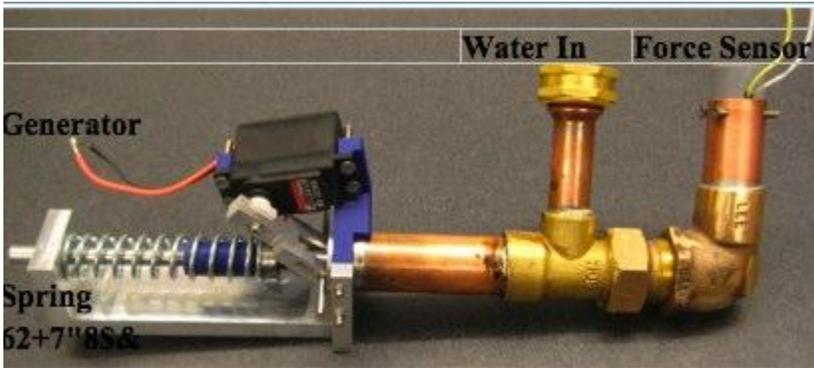
Figure 3: Hydrosense WATTR Mechanical Harvester

Self-powered Wireless Keyboard

Wireless keyboards use batteries to provide a constant flow of electricity to provide input to a computer and are typically still active when the computer "sleeps" in order to provide a method to "wake" a computer. To eliminate the use of batteries and energy leakage when a wireless keyboard is used this research replaced the primary energy source (batteries) to a piezoelectric harvesting system. By using the natural process of typing on a keyboard this investigation placed piezoelectrics underneath each key to generate a voltage which was transferred to the piezoelectric harvesting system 3 and transformed into usable power for a low power micro-controller and wireless transmitter. As shown in Figure 4 this was accomplished by replacing the normal spring mechanism used in keyboards to return the key to its default position after being pressed with a piezoelectric force sensor.
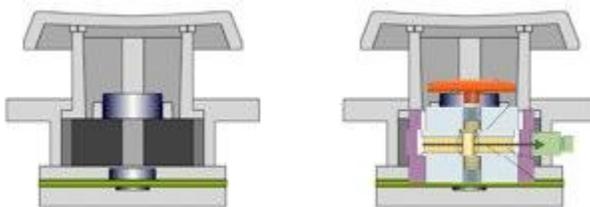
(a) Normal Key (b) Key With Piezoelectric

Figure 4: Keyboard Design [19]

Results

Servo Harvester for Hydrosense

To test the servo harvester it was subjected to water hammer transient 20 times, while the analog to digital converter of the MSP430 picked up data from a pressure sensor. As is shown in figure 5 as the red pressure line fluctuates the green voltage increases and the voltage is regulated by the charge pump to 3.3 volts which is the operating voltage of the MSP430. The operating range of the MSP430 allows us to run the MSP430 from 3.3V to 1V and still transfer data wirelessly. Thus for this application this investigation was able to successfully transfer data for a time region of 20 seconds, allowing the data received from the hydrosense sensor to work ideally.
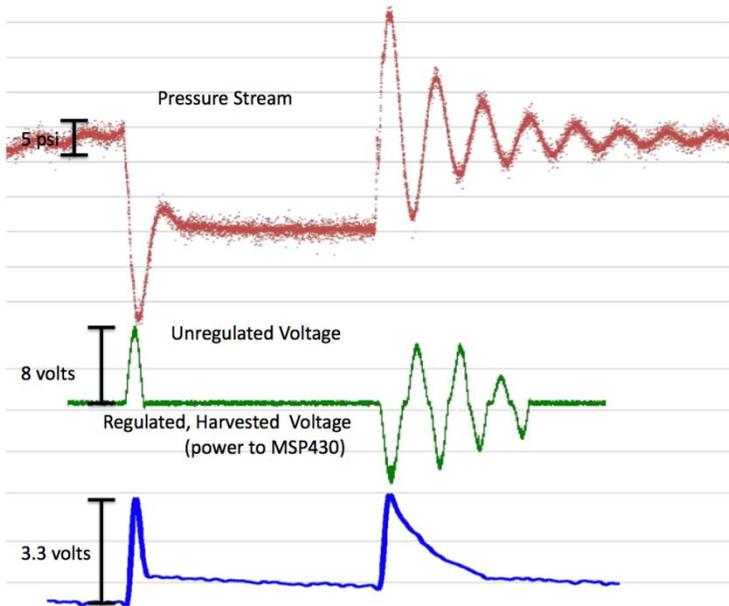
Figure 5: Activity Duration plot

Piezoelectric Harvester for Wireless Batteryless Keyboard

To test the wireless batteryless keyboard a piezoelectric was pushed upon using the force typical of push button while the MSP430 was actively reading its input ports waiting for a signal in. Upon receiving an input signal it began randomly toggling from high to low on its output port which was connected to the transmitter. As shown in figure 6 aside from filterable noise that occurs on the initial button press from the output from the MSP430 shown by the teal line, the receiving

end of RFLINK has an analogous signal and reflects the data desired to transmit. Once more from these results this investigation was able to successfully transfer data and show the applicability of energy harvesting systems.

Figure 6: Activity Duration plot

Conclusion

The purpose of this project was to develop an intelligent harvesting system that can take natural human interaction or environmental disturbances to gather energy for use in low power elec- tronics. Piezoelectric and servo harvesting is an alternative way of gathering energy that is self- sustainable and inexpensive, which allows for limitless applications. For example, a batteryless, wireless keyboard and a Hydrosense sensor. In this investigation both the servo and piezoelec- tric harvesting systems were developed and tested on there respective applications. What one can learn form this investigation is that harvesting systems are application dependant and offer differing amounts of usable energy depending on the way they are employed. However creative ways to cleanly power low power devices, sensors and instrumentation has its merits as it allows for less waste in the form of battery productions which in turn helps eliminate the impact to the environment and health of those exposed to the toxic chemicals in

9

batteries.

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China's Household Registration (*Hukou*) System and its Socioeconomic Impacts

Siyu Cai[1]

Abstract

China's household registration (hukou) system serves as one of the linchpins of its political economy and it has a tremendous impact on the lives of all Chinese citizens. Every citizen must register with local authorities to obtain either an urban or rural hukou. Urban hukou holders are entitled to receive state provided benefits in health care, unemployment insurance, education, and other socioeconomic benefits. Rural hukou citizens are not qualified for these benefits. In this paper, the author seeks to show the social stratification the hukou system has created within Chinese society by focusing on the system's role in education. He analyzes how the various hukou policies in regards to education have created a form of institutionalized discrimination against students with rural hukou. Additionally, the author incorporated ordinary citizens' hukou stories in order to illustrate how pervasive the system is. His findings provide another reason to demand an end to the hukou system.

Introduction

On March 1, 2010, thirteen major Chinese news agencies from eleven provinces published an unprecedented joint editorial demanding the government to implement sweeping reforms to abolish the country's household registration (*hukou*) system (Economic Observer, 2010a). In a country that tightly controls its media and suppresses any dissenting voice, the publication of the joint editorial and the critical language it used was stunning[2]. The first line of the joint editorial declared that "China has suffered for a long time under the *hukou* system!" China's *hukou* system is an institution that affects the lives of all Chinese citizens. Every citizen, at the time of their birth, must register with local authorities for a *hukou,* which are classified as either rural or urban.[3] The differences between rural *hukou* and urban *hukou* are extremely important. Urban *hukou* are linked to state provided benefits in health

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[1] University of Washington, siyu.cai@yahoo.com

[2] The joint-editorial was taken down within hours of its publication on the internet.

[3] Technically, the *hukou* system has two aspects, *hukou* type and *hukou* location (Cheng and Selden, 1994). For the sake of simplicity, we will use "rural *hukou*" or "urban *hukou*" to differentiate the two types of citizenships.

care, unemployment insurance, education, and other socioeconomic benefits. Rural *hukou*, on the other hand, are not linked to these state provided benefits. By linking the *hukou* system to different types of citizenships, rural or urban, the state is carrying out a form of institutionalized discrimination against the rural majority in favor of the urban minority[4].

China uses its *hukou* system to register its citizens to serve four basic functions: registration of births, registration of migrants, registration of deaths, and maintenance of public order (Xu, 1996). However, the system goes beyond just registration issues and maintenance of public order. Scholars have argued that the system is one of the linchpins of China's political economy due to its connection to the exporting sector, fiscal allocation system, spatial administrative hierarchy, and other key institutions (Cheng, 1991; Chan and Zhang, 1998; Wang, 2005). The *hukou* system also serves as an inheritance system. Children born into rural *hukou* holders will inherit a rural *hukou* while children born into urban *hukou* residents will inherit an urban *hukou*. This inheritance factor is extremely important because second generation migrants born in cities will not become eligible for an urban *hukou*; they will automatically inherit their parents' rural *hukou*.[5]

In this paper, I am going to argue that the *hukou* system has created a strong social stratification within Chinese society by analyzing the system's impacts on education. First, I will lay out the history of the *hukou* system to help us understand why the system was created and what purposes it served. Next, I will analyze the system's role in perpetrating social stratification by showing how various *hukou* polices restrict rural *hukou* students' chances for an equal education. To accomplish this, I incorporated stories written by ordinary citizens depicting their struggles against the *hukou* system in areas relating to education. These stories shed light on how pervasive the effects of the *hukou* system have on society. By incorporating these stories, I attempt to paint an accurate portrait of the everyday struggles ordinary citizens face. My paper will conclude with a proposal on how to make fundamental reform to the *hukou* system.

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[4] Scholars (Cheng 1991; Alexander and Chan 2004) have compared the *hukou* system to South Africa's apartheid system.
[5] Traditionally, children inherited their mother's *hukou*, but a reform in 1998 gives children a choice to inherit either parent's *hukou* type (Wang, 2010).

China's Household Registration (*Hukou*) System and its Socioeconomic Impacts

History of the *hukou* system

The People's Republic of China (PRC) promulgated the *hukou* system on January 9, 1958. Throughout Chinese history, there have been different versions of household registration systems. Wang (2005) showed that dynastic China used a household registration system called the *baojia* system to keep population data for tax collection purposes. However, the PRC version is vastly different from previous versions. Shortly after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the PRC in 1949, the party followed the Soviet model of urbanization, collectivization of agriculture, and heavy industrialization. In order to implement the Soviet model, the CCP transformed the economy into a command economy which allowed extraction of capital from the rural sector to the industrial sector to facilitate heavy industrialization. The Maoist government thus created the following three institutions to transform the economy into a planned economy: the *hukou* system, large rural collectives, and a distorted pricing policy for unified procurement and unified sales of agricultural products (Yang and Cai, 2003).

During the Maoist era, the government forced peasants to sell agricultural products at below the market price in order to subsidize urban residents' food expenses. The distorted policy of procurement and sale, also known as "scissor pricing," was a key institution that channeled scarce capital from the rural sector to the urban sector. Since subsidies to urban residents cost the government vital capital, it was imperative to keep urban populations receiving subsidies as small as possible. The government thus created the *hukou* system to prohibit peasants from entering the cities. Maoist China thereby made it illegal for rural *hukou* residents to enter cities by blocking upward migration of rural to urban migration. Additionally, the *hukou* system also encouraged downward migration of urban to rural migration.[6] The Maoist state saw migration control as a key to its overall development strategy, and it used the *hukou* system to control migration flow suited to its plans. Meanwhile, the government organized families into large rural collectives in order to monitor and keep them in the countryside. These three institutions—the rural collectives, the *hukou* system, and the distorted policy for procurement and sales of agricultural products—were the main institutions that transformed China's economy into a complete

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[6] Mao's sent down youth campaigns were examples of downward migration in which urban youths were coercively sent down to the countryside. Many of the sent down youths lost their urban *hukou* and settled in the countryside permanently.

command economy and allowed the CCP to implement the Stalinist model.[7]

In many ways, the *hukou* system remains as prevalent today as during the Maoist era. The majority of the migrant workers, rural *hukou* holders, are often forced into dirty, dangerous, and demeaning jobs shunned by locals with urban *hukou*. Since China launched its economic reforms in 1978, internal migration has opened up to allow peasants to migrate into cities. However, the fundamental function of the *hukou* system, linking access of benefits to different *hukou* types, has not changed at all (Chan, 1994). A dual society has emerged in Chinese society in which the rural sector is being sacrificed in favor of the urban sector (Chan, 2009). One of the main ways the *hukou* system has perpetrated this dual society is by creating policies to deny rural *hukou* students a chance to an equal education.

The *hukou* system's impacts on education

Education is one of the main drivers for upward mobility in many countries, and China is no exception. The Chinese culture, in particular, has a deep respect for education base upon centuries old Confucian principals. Dynastic China had the Civil Service Examination system to serve as an unbiased and fair channel for upward mobility. Today's college entrance exam, or *gaokao*, is supposed to be the successor to the Civil Service Examination. However, the *hukou* system has created an uneven level playing field by restricting rural *hukou* students' chances for an equal education. Scholars (Wang and Chan 2005; Wang, 2005) have argued that China's college entrance exam and admissions system heavily favors urban *hukou* holders while discriminating against rural *hukou* students. The *hukou* system requires all students to take their college entrance exams in the place of their original *hukou* registration regardless of their current residence and school location. Thus, the system is discriminating against the migrant children who are living away from home and out of their original *hukou* zones. The following two stories will help us understand precisely how the *hukou* system restricts rural *hukou* students' access to an equal education.

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[7] It is not surprising to find the CCP holding a bias against the peasantry as Marx and Engels's writings have showed that communism is an ideology that looked down upon the peasantry in favor of the proletariat (Bidelux, 1985). Additionally, Lipton (1977) argued there is a heavy urban bias in all state-building process which China is no exception.

China's Household Registration (*Hukou*) System and its Socioeconomic Impacts

The following story is written by a mother dealing with problems regarding her daughter's education due to the *hukou* system (Economic Observer, 2010b). The author currently lives in Beijing with her husband and daughter, but the family's original *hukou* was registered in Hainan, a small province in southern China. The daughter moved to Beijing when she was five and has never gone to school in Hainan. She is about to graduate from junior high and is approaching the all important Chinese college entrance exam. Since *hukou* policies require students to take the college entrance exam at the place where their *hukou* were originally registered, this will force the daughter to move back to Hainan for high school and take the exam there, despite the fact that her entire education has been based in Beijing. In her story, the writer shares her and her husband's agonizing debate over whether to move back to Hainan with their daughter and abandon the life they have built in Beijing.

Our next story features a report from a Guangdong newspaper relating the struggle of a single mother and her sixteen years old daughter against the *hukou* system (Nandu, 2010). The daughter is an excellent student ranking amongst the top five in her class. Similar to the last story, this migrant student is in her last year of junior high and is approaching the college entrance exam. However, since the daughter does not have a local *hukou* in Guangdong, she will have to go back to Henan, her original *hukou* zone, for high school. The article reports that the mother is even willing to give her daughter up for adoption to someone with a local *hukou* in order for her daughter to become a legal student in Guangdong. However, Chinese laws prohibit adoption unless the child's parents are in an excruciating situation that prevents them from raising the child, and the child being put up for adoption must be 14 years or younger. In this case, the mother and daughter do not meet either requirement. This story and the previous story are real life examples showing how the *hukou* system restricts migrant students' access to an equal education.

In addition to *hukou* policies requiring students to take the college entrance exam at their original *hukou* zones, Wang's (2005) research showed that the system further restricts access to education to non-local *hukou* holders because it set a certain quota for universities to enroll only a limited number of outer province *hukou* students while giving preference to students with local *hukou*. For example, between 1998 and 2001, Beijing's prestigious Tsinghua University, was required to admit 600 out of 60,000 applicants from Beijing each year, compare to only 100 out of 300,000 applicants from Shandong province and 88 out of 200,000 applicants from Henan province (Wang, 2005). Additionally,

the admissions system also heavily favors students from China's top tier cities. Wang and Chan (2001) showed that over 37% of the students enrolled in six of China's top universities have a Beijing, Shanghai, or Tianjin *hukou*.[8] As a result of this discriminating quota system in admissions, a black market for *hukou* conversions has emerged.

The following story will illustrate the importance of the black market for *hukou* conversion, in which a wealthy family is able to transfer their son's *hukou* to another city to increase his chances at getting into a more prestigious university (Economic Observer, 2010c). The story is written by a middle-aged employee in Hangzhou who originally migrated from Henan. During the author's senior year in high school, his family spent "big money" to buy him a Lanzhou *hukou* to improve his chances of getting into Beijing University because the quota for Lanzhou applicants is more favorable compare to his hometown. In the story, the author wrote nostalgically about his confidence of getting into Beijing University had the local Lanzhou authorities not conducted an investigation into his *hukou* history three days prior to the college entrance exam. The author's case is one of many thousands of cases in which well off families spent a huge amount of money to purchase for their children other cities' local *hukou* because doing so would increase the children's chances of getting into better universities. The author of this story also acknowledged that his *hukou* transfer to Lanzhou made it harder for the local students because it increased the competition for local applicants.

In addition to requiring students to take the college entrance exam in their original *hukou* zone and having a bias quota system in admissions, the system also put tremendous pressure on rural students to excel in school. As Cheng (1991) pointed out, a traditional way for rural students to transfer their rural *hukou* into an urban *hukou* is to obtain a college degree. The following story sheds light on the immense pressure faced by students in the countryside to excel in school in order to change their *hukou* status. This story is about a fifteen years old girl committing suicide in 1981 in Hebei province's Beiyuan village after she had failed her high school entrance exam. In the girl's farewell letter to her parents, she wrote: "There is no hope for me to go to college, and no hope for the family to change our rural *hukou*. Having caused the family such disappointment, I have no face to live in the world (Cheng, 1991)." This tragedy, caused by the *hukou* system and strong pressure from the

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[8] The six universities in the study were Beijing University, Tsinghua University, Shanghai Jiaotong University, Tongji University, Nankai University, and Tianjin University.

victim's parents, occurred thirty years ago, yet the *hukou* system remains as prevalent in contemporary students' lives. The system is still restricting rural *hukou* students' chances for an equal education. Thirty years ago, students in the countryside stressed about excelling in school in order to change their *hukou* status, today's rural students are worrying about the same thing.

The *hukou* system's omnipotent influence on education goes beyond graduation; the system also plays an important role during a graduate's quest to find a meaningful career. The following story will illustrate this point. The story is written by a recent graduate of a science and technology college in Beijing describing how the *hukou* system has impacted her job search (Economic Observer, 2010d). Our writer is in her mid twenties having graduated with a Master's of Science degree from a college in Beijing. However, the author's *hukou* was registered in Jiangxi, a poor interior province. Right after graduation, our writer received her first job offer from the Chinese internet giant Baidu with a high annual salary of 170 thousand Yuan.[9] However, she turned down Baidu's offer for the sole reason that the offer did not include a Beijing *hukou*. According to the writer, her first and foremost criterion in accepting a job was to get a Beijing *hukou*. She rejected Baidu's offer because a Beijing *hukou* will be vital to her future when she marry and start a family. Since the *hukou* system is an inheritance system, if our author obtains a Beijing *hukou* then her children will automatically inherit a Beijing *hukou*. In this story, a graduate student is willing to forgo an annual salary of 170 thousand Yuan with one of China's best companies because the offer did not include a local Beijing *hukou*. During their job searches, millions of aspiring professionals across China are facing a dilemma similar to that of this author.

Conclusion

Scholars have long recognized the problems the *hukou* system causes and have called for the system's termination for decades (Cheng and Selden, 1994; Chan and Zhang, 1999; Solinger, 1999). However, as Chan and Buckingham (2008) showed, the reforms to the system since the 1990s have only decentralized authority to local governments and the key functions of the system remain very much intact today. For China to abolish its *hukou* system it would be politically infeasible for the CCP to eliminate urban *hukou* residents' current benefits; rather, the party should extend benefits to rural *hukou* citizens as well. In response to the financial obstacles hindering *hukou* reforms, Chan (2010) proposed that

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[9] At the time of writing, 1 USD converts to 6.8 RMB.

local government should provide urban *hukou* to migrant workers in exchange for tax revenue. As with urbanization anywhere else, the proposal resembles a self-financing system. Taxes collected from migrants will give local governments the resources to provide benefits that are linked with an urban *hukou*. Chan's (2010) proposal is for China to break the task of giving urban *hukou* to its 150 million migrants into separate stages. First, it should start by giving urban *hukou* to the most highly skilled migrants, such as those with college degrees, and then have them self-finance their own urban *hukou* benefits. Then China can work to incorporate the next group of lesser skilled migrants, and eventually incorporating all 150 million migrant workers through a gradual process involving separate stages.[10] Breaking the process for migrants to obtain urban *hukou* into manageable phases will benefit cities and skilled migrants. If migrants are given urban *hukou*, they will become legal and dignified urban citizens instead of being second class citizens. Additionally, China is currently facing skilled labor shortages in its coastal regions (Bradsher, 2010). Opening up *hukou* restrictions will increase the supply of skilled migrants for coastal cities to tap into.

In this paper, I have argued that the *hukou* system has created a social stratification within Chinese society by specifically focusing on the system's impacts on education. The *hukou* system has limited rural students' chance for an equal education by creating an uneven playing field. *Hukou* policies require all students to take the college entrance exam at the place of their *hukou* registration regardless of where they are currently living and going to school. The system has also created a black market for *hukou* conversions due to the unfair quota system in admissions. Furthermore, the system has placed strong pressure on rural students to excel in school in order to transfer their rural *hukou* into urban *hukou*. To support my argument, I have incorporated stories written by victims of the *hukou* system. The stories presented in this paper represents individuals at different time and place, nonetheless, by looking at these stories, we get a sense of the variety of problems the system has created and how these problems have remain as prevalent today compare to three decades earlier. Denying rural *hukou* holders an equal chance for education will retard China's overall development because it will continue to perpetrate the country's spatial inequality. The personal voices of resistance presented in this paper offer us another reason to demand an end to the Chinese *hukou* system.

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[10] The next batch of skilled migrants includes those who have obtained technical and vocational degrees from non-traditional four year universities.

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African American Women and Racial Tokenism in Higher Education

Sharece Corner

Abstract

Research shows that racial tokenism negatively impacts aspirations for students of color. This is especially true for African-American students in higher education. However, current literature fails to focus on the different experiences of African American women. Using frameworks of historical oppression, empowerment, and visibility of African American professors and students in various levels of the University will help establish the relationship between role models and high individual aspirations to overcome racial tokenism. This study explores this gap by interviewing 12 African American women in various positions of power in the University setting: students, assistant, as well as administrative staff. This study finds that role models are especially important for educational aspirations in addition to minority student organizations. This research is crucial to examine the tactics for success and survival among African American women in Higher Education.

Introduction

My research focuses on racial tokenism of African American women in higher education. Racial tokenism according to Dr. Yolanda Niemann, is "overt and covert racism and stigmatization".[1] Focusing specifically on African American women is important because of their statistically small representation on campus. According to University of Washington quarterly chart from Spring 2008, African American women make up between 1-2% of the undergraduate population. The Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity 2008 chart reports that African American faculty represent 1.8% of the total faculty and 6.5% of the total staff at the University of Washington.[2] The aim of this study is to determine how African American women on the University of Washington, Seattle campus make sense of racial tokenism.

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[1] Neimann, Y.F, 1999:20

[2] Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity. 2008. "Ethnicity/ Racial Distribution of UW Students, Faculty and Staff".

Historical Background

In Feagin, Vera and Imani's book *The Agony of Education*, discuss issues pertaining to racial insensitivity and lack of university support for African Americans at Michigan State University. A central

theme that emerged was African American students feeling a sense of "invisibility" that is the experience of white professors, students, staff members and administrators refusing to see, and to recognize their distinctive talents, virtues, interests and problems" [3] This literature regarding "invisibility" amongst undergraduates parallels my theoretical framework behind the negative effects of racial tokenism in higher education.

The study also addresses the importance of recognition and how "invisibility" creates problems for these African American students. The role of professors is also another important factor in the performance of African American students when the professor exerts negative feelings towards the students or has lower expectations than their performances are greatly jeopardized within the university. The authors additionally concluded that predominantly White universities need to appropriately address and recognize marginalization. [4] Without this support from predominately White universities, the feelings of "invisibility" will persist.

Another theoretical framework comes from C. Scully Stikes' *Black Students in Higher Education* established mechanisms in which predominantly White universities must use to decrease marginalization of their African American students. The literature suggests the first mechanism is to acknowledge the oppression that occurs for their African American students. Second Stikes suggests that African American students must first have an articulated support of the higher administration, including the vice-presidents and the president. Third, the African American students must not feel stigmatized within their college environment because stigmatization will increase their confidence. Fourth, the curriculum of the institution must include their experiences with racism and oppression. Lastly, it is important for the institution to hire faculty, staff and administrators from numerous ethnic backgrounds so students feel comfortable and respected. Although, these are not all the solutions from *Black Students in Higher Education*, they were the most significant to address in my research question. [5]

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[3] Feagin, Vera & Imani 1996:14.
[4] Feagin, Vera & Imani 1996:14.
[5] Stikes, Scully 1984:126

Ultimately, these researchers are very insightful when it comes to racial relations and the difference hindrances that cause African American students to feel uncomfortable on predominately White campuses. A common gap in their literature is the gendered differences of African American experiences. Through each author's literature there were continuous references to these individuals as a whole but in actuality their personal experiences differ as well. According to Patricia Hill Collins in *Black Feminist Thought*, "the enslaved African woman became the basis for the definition of our society's "Other."[6]   Due to this, it is my belief that African American women have to struggle with marginalization because of their race and gender. Stikes and Feagin, Vera and Imani's fail to understand this unique struggle for these women within their literature and completely eliminate the dual oppressions. The specific focus of my research on African American women is to see how they make sense of racial tokenism at the University of Washington, Seattle campus.

Literature from Patricia Hill Collin's *Black Feminist Thought* provides the theoretical framework to understand historical oppression for African American women. Her theoretical framework explains the history behind the historically inferior "other" role and how this label current affects African American women. The controlling images of the mammy and the jezebel have been used to oppress these individuals throughout history. An image like the mammy image is central to intersecting oppressions of race, gender, sexuality, and class. Collins also explains the importance of the "domain of power" which represents surveillance from dominant society and how African American women must work within the system to change their historically inferior role.[7] In other words, African American women can work within the same system that keeps them under surveillance to accomplish success.[8] In doing so, these women have the ability to be the authority figures and lift the oppression that has historically kept them oppressed. Ultimately, it is important for these individuals to rework the system of surveillance to erase oppression and the use of controlling images.

Second, Dr. Heidi Safi Mirza regards heightened invisibility being a factor to why Black women fail in higher education.[9] There are pressures placed on Black women because of historical stereotypes. African American women must learn how to work within the

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[6] Collins, 2000:70
[7] Collins, 2000:280
[8] Davis, 1981: Collins, 2000:81
[9] Casey,1993: Mirza, 2009:125

homogeneous identity of higher education. This idea that Black women are seen by their race but muted because of their inferiority complements my research. Dr. Mirza further complements my theoretical framework because of her parallel views regarding visibility and surveillance with Collins' literature. She further explains, although, these women are achieving extraordinary positions within higher education, their performance and expectations are deluded due to historical objectification.[10]

The argument is made by Dr. Eboni Zamani that African American women have experienced racial and gender discrimination. Since the numbers of these individuals are greater than African American males in higher education, there needs to be a greater emphasis regarding their protection and enrichment of their experiences at predominantly White campuses. First Zamani suggests:

> Create a substantive African American presence at majority institutions through a firm commitment to attracting African American students, faculty, and staff irrespective of the retrenchment on affirmative action in higher education, in order toreduce feelings of marginalization among African American women.[11]

In other words, it is important for the universities to stand behind their underrepresented populations, especially women of color, because of the historical oppression and racial vulnerability. Second, Zamani suggests developing and maintaining program and policies that attend to the special concerns and needs of Black women in higher education. Such programs like the Ethnic Outreach Program and professional groups help allow African American women to be content and successful on campus. The continuation of these programs will only enhance the performance and experiences of African American women.[12] Lastly, Zamani suggests allocating financial and human resources to support institutional efforts to seek to address racial and gender bias.[13] Overall, the literature suggests that in order to eliminate marginality of African American women on predominately White campuses, there must be assurance provided through financial and resources to support these individuals.

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[10] Mirza, 2009:125
[11] Mirza, 2009:124
[12] Zamani, 2003:14
[13] Zamani, 2003:14

Collins' theoretical framework on historical oppression and empowerment, Mirza's theoretical framework on the power of "visibility" and Zamani's multi-level strategies to de-tokenize African American women will inform my research inquiry.

Methodology

The requirements for my participants were that they had to identify mostly with being an African American woman at the University of Washington, Seattle campus. Two needed to be undergraduates affiliated with an ethnic organization, two unaffiliated with an ethnic organization, two faculty members and two administrative levels. The questions led into scenarios regarding being the only person of color and later on including another African American woman being in the scenario. There were questions about theories from people like Patricia Hill Collins, Eboni Zamani and Heidi Safia Mirza. Choosing questions based on literature would give the participants more freedom to answer from their own experiences. The groups of women were completely random and were suggested by word of mouth by other students on campus. After they agreed to participate, a meeting time and private locations were arranged for the interviewer and me. After signing a consent form, the participants were reassured that each question was optional to answer.

Qualitative methods were best suited for this project so participants could speak freely about their experiences and ask questions. To get wider spectrum African American females unaffiliated with an ethnic organization were also interviewed. By interviewing the unaffiliated and affiliated undergraduates, the experience of racial tokenism could be examined from both perspectives. Ultimately, it is important for my research to examine the different perspectives from the undergraduate, faculty and administrative level because they occupy

various positions at the university, and presumably deal with similar and dissimilar challenges/coping mechanisms.

Results

Affiliated Freshman

The freshman affiliated with an ethnic organization seemed to be very enthusiastic and happy about her University of Washington experience. The freshman mentioned that she was from a mostly White community and that her family emigrated from Africa. The participant also mentioned that during her time at the University of Washington she is currently involved with being the African Student Union and Black

Student Union. She also mentioned that from an early age she has always been involved in extracurricular activity and extremely motivated about academic work. In high school she also mentioned that people recognized that she had a strong work ethic and that she could always be counted on completing projects while also taking on a leadership position. When I asked the freshman participant about her knowledge of racial tokenism she mentioned that she knew some very vague information about the term. When asked whether racial tokenism played a role in her life, she replied by saying that she recognized it but it was not something consuming her life.

The freshman affiliated with an organization experienced a strong difference in her experience with racial tokenism because of her African background. She mentioned that the main reason why she strives to do well in her academic and person life is because she knows where she comes from and how much her parents have given up. The most inspiring comment throughout the interview was when the participant answered whether she had experienced animosity with other African American women on campus. The participant responded by saying "it's like sister, relative that's it umm yeah it's like she knows you, you know her already because of her skin and her hair and she's been through the same things that you have been through and she understands."[14] Another inspiring portion of the interview was when the participant mentioned that racial tokenism should not be something that takes over a person's life. She did agree with Patricia Hill Collins when it came to not letting images like the mammy and the jezebel control the life of African American females on campus. Overall, this participant was very insightful and allowed me to understand that it was not just the organizations themselves; it was her strong family values and individual motivation within her academic career.

Unaffiliated Freshman

The freshman unaffiliated with an ethnic organization mentioned that she was from a majority White community where she was one of the only African Americans in her high school. She explained how her family had come from Southeast Africa and how she felt that her bringing differed from many other African Americans. She mentioned that her parents instilled a strong work ethic and traditional values in her which have affected her strong academic passion. The participant also explained that coming to the University of Washington, Seattle campus was a very exciting time and also allowed her to join a sorority in the

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[14] Participant, personal communication 3/15/2010

mainstream Greek system. When asked about racial tokenism, the participant mentioned that she knew nothing about the topic. Once I explained to her a general definition or example what racial tokenism could look like then she expressed that she has learned to present herself in a very educated and sophisticated manner and people can judge if they want to. From the beginning the participant seemed to emphasize how important it was to not give other people the chance to think negatively about who you are and to also be presentable.

The participant expressed experiencing animosity from other African American women but she did not let it affect her view of herself. For the most part she mentioned that group projects went well and that people seemed to not judge her based on the color of her skin. The freshman also illustrated that majority of the time she collaborates with the other African American women because there is often a commonality and familiarity that they share. Further into the interview the freshman also illustrated she usually takes on the leadership position because she likes to be the person in the control. When asked if African American women should use the "disciplinary domain of power" from Patricia Hill Collins' *Black Feminist Though*t, she replied by saying yes and that it could be a great source of power for these women. During the conclusion of the interview I asked the participant how she advised other women to deal with racial tokenism in which she suggested to not take it to heart and use it as a source of motivation.

Affiliated Sophomore

The sophomore affiliated with an ethnic organization explained that she was from a very diverse community and that she considered herself a very open minded person. The sophomore began to explain that much of her positive experience at the University of Washington has been because of her involvement with an ethnic organization. This participant did not know about racial tokenism but after the term was generally explained she illustrated that she is an introverted person anyways so she is concerned with how people view her overall. When asked about the first scenario, being the only person of color in a White group project, she said that race would play a role in the way people expected her to perform because of that dominate society has placed on African Americans. When asked about scenario two, like scenario one but with another African American women, the participant explained that she thought people would view them as individuals and that collaboration would be expected between the two.

When asked about whether she thought Dr. Mirza's theory regarding the possibly failure of Black women being because of

historical images, the participant expressed that "I think success is achieved on a very personal level so overall I can't say that it affects the success of all African American women and when, it depends on your background."[15] This portion of the interview was very interesting because of her belief that success is something individual and something that each person must control for themselves.

Unaffiliated Sophomore

The sophomore unaffiliated with an ethnic organization described that she came from a bi-racial background but does identify with the African American experience at the University of Washington. The participant is an English major and expressed that she often feels like a token in her mostly White major. When asked about racial tokenism she said that she has experienced times where she felt like a "token." The sophomore also illustrated that these feelings of tokenism have greatly affected her life on campus and the interests she has pursued. For example her association with her ethnic identity has allowed her to be involved with ethnic outreach programs on campus. Through this group on campus she is able to work with underrepresented youth at a nearby high school. The participant explains that "I see myself so much in them and working with a lot of young girls and uh through them I am able to reflect on my past experiences."[16] The sophomore greatly expressed that having experienced racial tokenism; she can affect the lives of other underrepresented youth.

When asked questions about being in group projects where she is the only person of color, she replied that people often overcompensate and attempt to be politically correct when it comes to race. Having this experience, the participant explains that she often feels uncomfortable and the expectation from the White members in her group is often lowered because of their preconceived notion about African Americans. One of the more enlightening comments from the participant was in her response to whether historical oppression can be a result in why Black women sometimes fail. She responded by saying "it's hard obviously because of those historical roles of oppression and the entire system and how hard it is to break through that but it's possible with the right kind of support."[17] Overall, the sophomore conveyed positivity throughout the entire interview. She explained that racial tokenism is something that is

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[15] Participant, personal communication 4/9/2010
[16] Participants, personal communication 2/9/2010
[17] Participant, personal communication 2/9/2010

unfortunately inevitable but should not be something that negatively affects a person's life.

Affiliated Junior

The junior expressed that she was involved in the Black Student Union and campus affairs. The participant explained that her father attended the University of Washington during the 60's and that he was heavily involved in ethnic organizations, so for her to be involved was something she wanted to do. When asked whether racial tokenism had affected her life, the participant responded by saying that she did not feel like it affect her life. She expressed "I just can't put myself in a position to feel that because I am the only Black person, I am being called out because there are so many other great aspects to what I have to offer the world."[18] During this portion of the interview the participant explained that throughout high school she was often getting into trouble because she had little self-confidence. Due to this experience, she learned quickly that she had so much more to give and that continuing down the same troublesome path would only get her into more trouble. The participant seemed to be extremely confident because of her family bond and life experience.

The most interesting point about the interview was the strength and encouragement that this student had through her father's undergraduate experience and her love for the university itself. She also explained that it was important for African American women to look beyond racism and to give off a great impression so others do not judge based on race. Ultimately, the message from the junior affiliated is to eliminating dominant society's judgment strictly on race or historical oppressive images.

Unaffiliated Junior

The junior unaffiliated with an ethnic organization grew up in the Seattle area, and is an International Studies and Public Health major. The junior explained that she loved her Public Health major but does not enjoy International Studies. The main problem with her International Studies major is the predominantly White students who she explains, do not have a true understanding for empathy towards the underprivileged. When asked if she has ever experienced racial tokenism in her life or in the classroom she said that sometimes her friends on campus make a big deal because of her African heritage. She also went on to say that she

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[18] Participant, personal communication 2/9/2010

sometimes is asked the question "what's African food like?"[19] Although these questions do not negatively affect her experience on campus, she did express concern and question when it came to some of these inquiries.

The most interesting point in the conversation regarding how she made sense of racial tokenism is when asked whether there are enough support systems on campus for African American women. The junior explained that there is a sense of community but specifically within the African American community. For instance when she was accepted into her International Studies major there were a lot of congratulations among African Americans and other people of color which made her feel good about herself. In regards to African Americans on campus, she explained "and I think that that does have to do with having that shared experience and we are at a predominantly White university and every kind of success or milestone is huge and people want to support you."[20] Overall, the participant was very encouraging and expressed a sense of division between the White community and African American community. Despite this division, the junior illustrated a positive experience at the University of Washington, Seattle campus.

Affiliated Senior

This particular individual was very unique and impressive when it came to her involvement on campus. She is a member of a historically African American sorority, Black Student Union, and numerous other ethnic organizations. The participant expressed coming from a very loving home in Washington and being the first member from her family to attend college. When asked about her knowledge or experience with racial tokenism, the participant stated "so to me when I think of a token Black person I always think that they are the one person of color in the room who has to give the perspective of all Black people."[21] The participant further explained that having a mixed ethnicity has made her understand issues regarding race at an early age. She described knowing that it was important to be involved with numerous amounts of organizations and sports to be a great example for her family and community.

Two of the most interesting topics throughout the interview were when the participant was asked about being in a group scenario as the only person of color. She responded by explaining that the members of

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[19] Participant, personal communication 2/10/2010
[20] Participant, personal communication 2/10/2010
[21] Participant, personal communication 4/15/2010

her group would have a negative impression and lower expectations because she is African American. She remembered times in group projects where people divided up work and left her out of the equations or assigned her less work. The participant also recalled times where people were over compensating and overly friendly which she links to stereotypes regarding her race. The second interesting topic discussed during the interview was when the participant was asked about curriculum and support systems being set up for African American women. She completely agreed with this concept and was ashamed about how slowly the process has been for individuals like her to gain access to these opportunities. The participant further explained "everybody knows where Mary Gates is and everybody knows Odegaard and Kane and like um, but people don't know that the ECC even exists they're like 'what I

didn't even know this existed' or like when I have to do a tour or something 'they are like what there's a ECC?'"[22] Ultimately, she thought that there is support on campus but there needed to be more for African Americans overall.

She wanted there to be increased opportunities for African Americans in general but also for African American women. Due to being very active in the community, the participant expressed trying to find ways to increase involvement with organizations such as the Black Student Union. Finally, the participant felt that it was important for African American females to feel comfortable on the campus and to have resources to provide for their needs.

Unaffiliated Senior

The participant is from North Seattle and is a Political Science and American Ethnic Studies major. When asked about her knowledge of racial tokenism the participant responded by saying that she has been affected by racial tokenism but she finds herself ignoring certain situations. The senior explained "I don't want to not have to fight the battle every time because it's like emotionally draining sometimes not just in class but like just in social places you can't fight every battle."[23] Having to fight the battle on behalf of the African American community seemed to be a taxing and overwhelming task for the participant.

The most revealing part of the interview came when the senior was asked about how she has coped with racial tokenism. The participant replied by saying "I have gone through a lot of stages, like I go through

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[22] Participant, personal communication 4/15/2010
[23] Participant, personal communication 4/15/2010

stages where I think oh it's not an issue and I deny it and then I have been through phases where I was an angry person but it's not really made me feel like really hopeless."[24] This portion of the interview was very enlightening because her experience with racial tokenism has not affected her outlook on her success at the University of Washington, Seattle campus. The question regarding whether African American females on campus should deal with racial tokenism individual or through ethnic organization and she thought it should be individual. She went on to explain that ethnic organizations can be helpful but African American women should first deal with these issues on their own. The participant illustrated that it is important for each of the women going through racial tokenism should have their own identity before they come together with an organization.

Administrator #1

The participant worked explained that she came from a single parent home and was raised in a mostly White community in Washington. When asked about her familiarity with racial tokenism she expressed that she had experienced it when she was younger. The administrator further explained that she used her experiences with racial tokenism on campus to her advantage. She understands her leadership position and the impact that her visibility has on African American females on campus. Furthermore, the participant did express experiencing racial tokenism but did not allow it be something that negatively affects her thoughts and goals.

The most impressive part during the interview was when the administrator was asked about being in a scenario with her and another African American woman being the only people of color in their group. I asked her whether there would be collaboration or tension and the participant said she would look for body language. When the person does not respond to a smile or when they seem uncomfortable around her than collaboration is usually not possible. She also went on to say that she does not take this behavior personally but also does not expect collaboration strictly based off of race. The second informative portion of the interview with the administrator was her response to how she copes with racial tokenism. The administrator replied by saying that she uses racial tokenism to her advantage. She uses the negative for opportunities to teach other people about marginalization and oppression. Instead of being angry the participant embraces every opportunity to represent herself and her race in the best possible way.

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[24] Participant, personal communication 2/12/2010

Administrator #2

The administrator expressed much experience with racial tokenism and oppression throughout her undergraduate, graduate and professional career. The participant explained numerous occasions when she has felt marginalized for not only being African American but also a woman. She further explained her upbringing as being within a mostly African American community and the first one to attend college. Her family and her strong academic passion were two elements that assisted her to be in a successful position.

The most pivotal point of the interview occurred when the participant was asked whether she thought oppression images were possibilities for the failure of Black women in higher education. She understood how it could be possible but ultimately if women bought into these images than they would fail. The participant further explained that stereotypes are expected of African American women like her and if she listens than she would never be triumphant. The administrator also expressed the importance of remembering those before her who sacrificed their lives so African American women have the opportunities to be in accomplished positions.

Assistant Faculty #1

The assistant faculty member came from a largely African American community and was raised by her father. When asked about her knowledge regarding racial tokenism she stated "for me it means that certain institutions rather than change the overall racial makeup of the institution that instead they hire that represent particular communities with only a certain member right?"[25] She also expressed experiencing racial tokenism within her profession when people use her to speak specifically during Black history month. The assistant faculty member also went on to explain that people only need her for certain holidays to speak on behalf of the African American community but usually not during the rest of the year. How she generally dealt with racial tokenism is by using her negative experiences and turning them into positive.

The most interesting part of the interview was when the assistant faculty member explains how people do not believe that she has her Ph.D. She "I say I have a Ph.D! <laughter)>I earned it and it's hanging at my dad's house, it is mine."[26] She further discussed how she has to constantly prove herself by explaining her credential and experience with

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[25] Participant, personal communication 2/16/2010
[26] Participant, personal communication 2/16/2010

students. The assistant faculty member did not think this would happen if she was a male or a White professor. The second interesting part of the interview was when she was asked about feeling like historical oppressive images such as the mammy and jezebel affect African American women today. She agreed because of her experience with being victim of these stereotypes. The assistant faculty member explained that she often finds herself spending extra time getting ready to make sure that she presents herself in a respectable manner. She further explained that due to the historical objectification of African American women, there has to be extra caution when it comes to her appearance. Overall, the participant did not let these occurrences hinder her success but she did understand that the visibility of her professorial position helps inspire other African American women on campus.

Assistant Faculty #2

The assistant faculty member came from a largely White community in Seattle. When asked about her experience with racial tokenism and she responded by saying that had numerous examples of this occurrence. The most memorable example was when she was asked to be on a committee regarding race for her department. She not only had to take on the role of being a professor but also the representative for other African Americans in her department. She described this experience as being frustrating but not the first time that this has happened to her.

The most interesting part of the interview was when the participant responded to whether curriculum needed to be set up to support African American women on campus. She completely agreed with this concept but also thought it was important to form outside alliances and build supportive networks for oneself. The participant also explained that to make it through racial tokenism she has the support of her family and an ethnic organization for women of color. Overall, she expressed that it was important for African American women to form allies with women of color and other individuals within the University.

Discussion

After concluding the interviews I found that there were three main themes to my research. The first theme is social awareness that most of the African American women had for how dominant society views their race and gender. This is evident when one of the participants explains "you don't expect a black woman to have a Ph.D. so when you do see one that does then you still think that there's something wrong

with that scenario right and I think that that happens frequently to black women in the academy."[27] This individual understood that dominant society does not expect her to have the same credentials as someone who is White; therefore their expectation of her is lowered. Each of the interviews understood this injustice within society however they did not fall victim to these preconceived notions. This assertiveness led to the second theme which was individual motivation.

In result of each participant's understanding of historical images; these African American women depended on themselves to prosper. This is evident when one of the participants explained "be strategic and figure out where you have source of power and where you have a source of allies on campus um, and I think it's really in a collective that you have that power as an individual."[28] This comment from the one of the participants solidified how important it is for African American women to not let historical oppressions defeat be a deterrent for their success.

From this individual motivation comes the third theme, alliance building. This alliance building created opportunities for African American women who feel oppressed to come together and combat racial tokenism. The participants in many ways recognized that racial tokenism existed but they all seemed to differ to whether it affected their success on campus. Some women refused to let racial tokenism or another oppression on campus disrupt their achievements both academically or personally. No matter the reaction to racial tokenism, majority of the women expressed a sense of "sisterhood" or community amongst other African American women. Ultimately, majority of the participants articulated a sense of comfortableness and trusting of other African American women due to the similar life experiences.

My findings mostly met my expectations because according to Patricia Hill Collins the enslaved African woman became the basis for the definition of our society's "Other." From this "other" categorization African American women have found ways to come together and support one another due to dominant societal oppressions.[29] I expected that these women had to go beyond their classrooms and themselves in order to find solidarity and personal encouragement. For some women this meant joining the Black Student Union, being in an African American sorority or leaning on their family for moral support. The most enlightening finding was the lack of animosity that these women had for one another.

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[27] Participant, personal communication 2/14/2010
[28] Participant, personal communication 2/12/2010
[29] Collins 2000:70

Each participant overwhelming expressed how they felt a sense of commonality amongst other African American women.

Conclusion

There needs to be a greater effort to understand the effects of racial tokenism on African American women in higher education. Often these women are placed in the same category as African American men; however their experiences are unique and diverse because of their gender difference. Through my interviews three themes emerged. For some participants racial tokenism allowed them to understand how the dominant group views their role in society. Their awareness evolved into individual motivation and from this there became a need for alliance building with African American women and individuals throughout the University of Washington, Seattle campus. The most astounding aspect of the research is that majority of the African American women said they would for the most part collaborate with African American women because of the familiarity and bond that they have. Finally, the research indicates the importance behind undergraduate, faculty and administrative African American women using coalition building to cope with racial tokenism on campus.

In the future my research will evolve into viewing the personal understanding of racial tokenism among African American men. The research will compare the unique and distinctive struggles for both groups.

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Acknowledgements

Sharece Corner
Department Political Science and American Ethnic Studies
sdc3@uw.edu

My interests include examining the impact of historical images on women of color in the United States and the coping mechanisms in which they enlist.

As of Fall 2010 I intend to apply to programs in American Studies and Education on either coasts of the United States.

Finafinau (Samoan for Perseverance): Addressing Samoan Struggles in School

Nestor Tupufia Enguerra

Abstract

This research focuses on identifying the struggles that Samoan students face in school, analyzing the reasons for these struggles, and assessing the effectiveness of a recruitment and retention program aimed at Pacific Islanders at the University of Washington. It builds on the literature on school attrition for underrepresented minorities and fills the gap in studies specifically done on Samoans. Data are collected from a survey of high school and UW college students who are of Samoan descent, interviews with professors and counselors, and a case study of an outreach and recruitment program. The findings show that Samoan students succeed better in school if their school values their Samoan culture. This conclusion supports and extends previous research done on students of Chicano/a descent in which it is argued that when schools promote and sustain the cultures of such nontraditional students, they are more likely to do well in school (Gandara and Contreras 2009, Pizarro 2005, Valenzuela 1999).

Introduction

Education has always been imagined as a tool for social mobility in American society. It is a vehicle to attain the American Dream, to be successful. In this study, I want to investigate how access to this American Dream can be difficult for marginalized groups, specifically for Samoans and Pacific Islanders. As a Samoan American myself, education has been a difficult experience. Having to navigate between different social values and customs often becomes a continuous struggle. I have experienced a struggle for identity, a struggle for acceptance, a struggle for success. In this research, I will investigate a world inhabited by Samoans in education today. I will examine how education is sometimes productive of success but oftentimes productive of failure.

I intend to conduct research on college and college bound Samoans based in the Puget Sound area. Current data show that Pacific Islanders, the group under which Samoans are listed, comprise 0.6% of the student population at the University of Washington (UW STAR 2006). In addition, Pacific Islanders at UW have a first-year stop-out rate of approximately 10% (UW STAR 2006). Beyond these facts, little is known about how students of Pacific Islander or Samoan descent are

41

faring in college (Lang 2007; Park, Endo, and Goodwin 2006). What kinds of struggles do Samoan students face in school? What are the reasons for these struggles? I want to find out how and why these students tend to succeed or fail at the University of Washington and what can be done about those who fail, especially since the data show that other student groups fare better. For example, Asian American students have a first-year stop-out rate of 4% and white students have a first-year stop-out rate of 7.4% (UW STAR 2006). These are consistent with national data and local elementary and high school data (CAPAA 2008; Lai and Arguelles 2003).

For this research, I hope to build on the literature on school attrition for underrepresented minorities and fill the gap in the lack of studies specifically done on Samoans. Along with explaining the struggles of Samoan students, I intend to explore the ways in which the University of Washington addresses these struggles. I will look into an ongoing recruitment and retention program at UW to find out how this program addresses both the positive and negative experiences of Samoans who are both in high school or college. I want to explore how a recruitment/retention program can be effective in addressing the experiences of Samoans before entering college to encourage and retain college enrollment for this group. My hypothesis is that many Samoan students tend to fail in school because the schools do not value their cultures. As a consequence, when these students' cultures are ignored or devalued in school, they usually find little reason to do well in school. This idea is supported by research on other underrepresented groups, and it is this theoretical framework that I want to test in this study (Valenzuela 1999). If schools are able to create communities that value the culture for these Samoan students, then these students will better able to understand why schooling is important for them. Therefore, they will have a better chance of succeeding in school.

Overall, I will explain the connections between cultural valuing in schools and school achievement as they apply to Samoan students. I also hope to understand how Samoans navigate their lives in school and better understand how the school system navigates them. I hope this research will enable other Samoans to succeed in school and to improve school relationships with Samoan students on high school and university levels.

Literature Review

Why is education such an important aspect of American society? How do other minorities like Pacific Islanders navigate the education system? Is the education system conducive to learning? To

answer these questions, I will be looking at different authors who examine the education system with race and social inequalities as important factors in the attainment of education. I will examine the works of Jennifer Hochschild and Nathan Scorvronick (H&S), authors of *The American Dream and the Public Schools* (2003) and Angelica Valenzuela, author of *Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring* (1999). I will also examine articles and books written by Linda Darling-Hammond. With these authors, I will convey how difficult it is for marginalized people like Pacific Islanders to succeed in education and how these authors propose to improve education for the marginalized through different pedagogies. I will not only be researching and examining through an education perspective but also through an American Ethic Studies perspective, using race a social construction on the basis of skin color as the organizing principle of social relationships as well as the primary component of relationships of power in American educational institutions. I will examine these literatures with an education and an American Ethnic Studies perspective to understand the struggles Samoans, Pacific Islanders, and minorities experience and how they persevere in education.

According to H&S, schools in American society are perceived as instruments or tools where social mobility is made possible. Schools act as an equalizer in American society, where immigrants and the poor can have supposedly the same opportunities to achieve their dreams, the American Dream. Schools, on many levels, make the American Dream very real and achievable so much so that American people invest in them, and continue to have a stake in how they succeed. However, H&S state that the relationship between schools and the American dream is contradictory and tricky because schools reproduce inequalities that reflect society. When people enter institutions of education, they usually come out the same in terms of their social status. There is usually no change in social or financial status and issues of social inequalities are often perpetuated through education. So, why are schools in American society productive of inequalities? This is because there are paradoxes within the education system. There is a conflict in the individual's idea of the American Dream versus the collective's idea of the American dream. As a collective, most Americans believe that everyone has the right to pursue the American Dream but only a few can earn it. H&S say that this is ideological but the paradox stems from the fact that the success of one generation depends at least partly on the success of their parents or guardians (H&S 2003). Those who succeed can choose to keep their success to themselves and their families and invest in better neighborhoods and schools. Their children will have a head start but the

rest will fall behind through no fault of their own. H&S also say that, "the paradox lies in the fact that schools are supposed to equalize opportunities across generations and to create democratic citizens out of each generation, but people naturally wish to give their own children an advantage in attaining wealth or power, and some can do it. When they do, everyone does not start equally, politically, or economically" (H&S 2003). Schools are seen as places where social mobility is possible, but only for those who are continually succeeding. Some people are able to achieve the American Dream through school and some are not. Everyone who goes to school are not equal to each other and all come from different backgrounds. As a collective of Americans, it is in our best interests to have a better education, but if it disadvantages our own individual children, most people will choose the advancement of their own rather then the collective. The reason these paradoxes exists is because inequalities exist.

So how are schools unjust and unequal? According to Darling-Hammond, it is because in our schools, structural inequalities continue to exist. "Students from racial and ethnic 'minority' groups in the United States continue to face persistent and profound barriers to educational opportunity" (Darling-Hammond 1997). Historically and currently, the institutional structures of schools disadvantage students from succeeding, especially those who are marginalized, colored, low income, and women. One of these barriers is funding. Students usually do well when their schools are adequately funded, but there is unequal distribution of funding across many schools. However, Darling asserts that funding can be both a good and bad thing. Darling-Hammond mentions how there have been studies which show that schools with fewer funding makes teachers and students more motivated to achieve well. Struggles produce good teachers and students. Another barrier that Darling-Hammond writes about is tracking, and how it is both the cause and effect of inequality. Tracking causes the separation of students and places them into different streams of learning. This is done by separating the smart students from the not so smart ones, by discipline, or by career. Darling-Hammond argues that homogeneous tracking by race or other identities produces limited results, compared to heterogeneous tracking.

So what can be done about these injustices? Valenzuela argues that a system or a structure of caring needs to be added into the system of education. Contrary to the dominant idea of ethnic succession, where ethnic groups have a history of progress as time goes on, Valenzuela argues that this idea is the reverse for marginalized people like Mexicans and Mexican Americans. This is due to the education systems' subtractive nature of taking away culture and identity from students, and

not valuing or acknowledging their struggles outside of school, thereby mistaking their failures in education as signs of laziness, disinterest, or uncaring attitude about learning and education. These prejudices toward marginalized students only takes away and harms students' education. Since school has a subtractive environment that blames the students for their failures, then school must compensate by changing its environment in ways that take into account the many unique situations that each student faces. When schools do this, students may not necessarily be blamed for their failures and schoolteachers are able to take a more engaging approach in educating their students (Valenzuela 1999). Another approach to these injustices in education is to improve the teachers. Darling-Hammond states that the key in overcoming these injustices would be through good teacher training, in which a good teacher will not only transform the classroom, but also their entire school.

In connecting these literatures with Samoans and Pacific Islanders, access to the American Dream becomes differential (H&S 2003). The institution of education becomes a site of contradiction and a struggle for many Samoan Americans. Education becomes a very hostile and violent environment for Pacific Islanders. The current educational system does not value Pacific Islander history and culture. Rarely is there knowledge that is Pacific Islander-centric or that even acknowledges Pacific Islanders. For many Pacific Islanders, school becomes a site where their identity is compromised. This causes tensions across generations and communities. Valenzuela proposes to add a system of caring to the subtractive environment of schools. This means enabling a system that understands students beyond the environment of school. It also means fostering a support system that will help alleviate the struggles that these students face in their education.

Methodology

In my research, I conducted a study by administering a survey of both high school and UW college students who are of Samoan descent. It would have been difficult to survey Pacific Islanders as this category encompasses multiple identities and experiences, but I chose specifically Samoans as a way to condense the Pacific Islander experience in relationship to Samoans. I asked questions about how they experience schooling and what they think makes them succeed or fail in school. I asked them what kinds of struggles they face in school, and how they explain these struggles. I interviewed professors and counselors who study and are aware of Pacific Islander or Samoan cultures to get insights on what they think about the connections between culture and education.

I performed a close case study of PIONEER (Pacific Islander Opportunities for Networking in Educational Equality and Representation), an outreach and recruitment program funded by the Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity (OMAD) and led and coordinated by UW Samoan and Pacific Islander students. I observed and evaluated the success and challenges of this program. I interviewed two of their founders, Michael Tuncap and Professor Tavita Palaita, as well as their advisor, Professor Rick Bonus. I also interviewed PIONEER alumni. I talked to non-Samoan students who have heard or not have heard about PIONEER, to gain a perspective from those students who do not identify as Samoans.

I located and read the available academic literature on the subjects of: Minority schooling, education and race, multicultural education, Pacific Islander history and culture. I used the theoretical insights and research findings of works that deal with education and race, such as those provided by Angela Valenzuela's *Subtractive Schooling: U.S-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring* (1999) and Lane Ryo Hirabayashi's edited volume on *Teaching Asian America: Diversity and the Problem of Community* (1998). I wanted to find out if their findings apply to or connect with the experiences of Pacific Islanders in school.

Due to a lack of time, I was only able to conduct a preliminary survey and set of interviews. I was only able to get four surveys, and interview three people. I distributed the survey and emphasized that it was voluntary and I received only four responses. I did not want to pursue the participants and did not want to disrupt their lives. As for the interviews, they were successful, but I limited my time with the people I was interviewing so I would not be interfering in their work. For this study, I did not have a control group; I wanted to concentrate on the Pacific Islander group. All participants were directly involved with PIONEER at some point in their lives and my research was focused only on the Samoans in the PIONEER program. Part of this research was to also look for data relevant to Samoans or Pacific Islanders in education.

Results

The results of my research have shown that education is a barrier for many Pacific Islander students. For Samoans, this struggle in education begins as early as middle school. In high school, as shown in Figure 1, Samoans have a difficult time passing the WASL, mainly failing in the math and science areas. In Seattle public schools, the average GPA of a Samoan student is a 2.07 (Seattle Public Schools 2009). Examining the University of Washington, Pacific Islanders have continued to have low applicant and enrollment rate in comparison to

other groups. In Figure 2, it shows that there are only 0.7% of Pacific Islanders that apply for the last two years. In Figure 3, there are low numbers of Samoans and other Pacific Islanders who graduate with a bachelor's degree or higher.
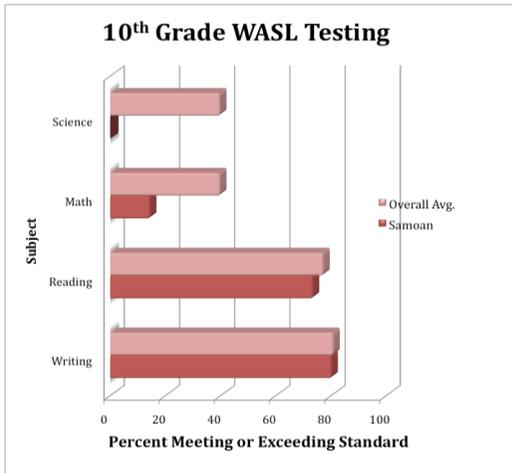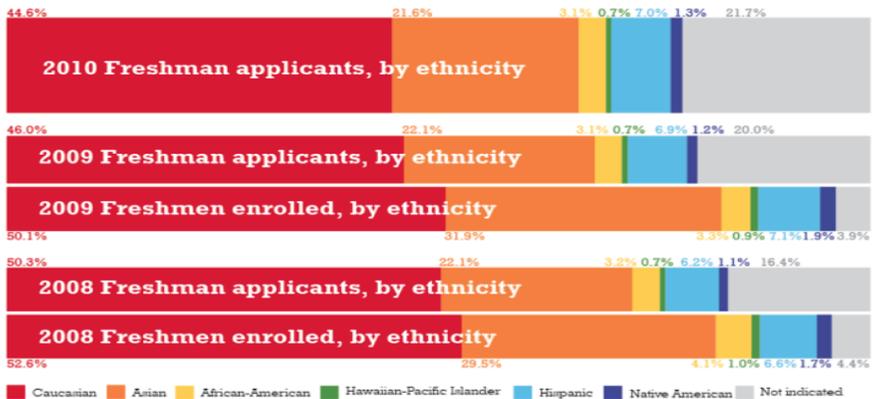

Figure 1

Figure 2

Between 2006-2007, 1.5 million bachelor's degrees were awarded nationwide. Seventy-two point two percent of these degrees were awarded to white students and 6.9% were awarded to Asian Pacific

Percentages of Bachelor's Degree or Higher by PI Ethnic Groups in the US and Washington							
	Total (%)	PI (%)	Native Hawaiian (%)	Samoan (%)	Tongan (%)	Guamanian (%)	Fijian (%)
WA	28	12	16	7	13	13	4
U.S.	24	14	15	11	9	14	9

Islanders. Since 2000, undergraduate enrollment has been increasing from 7.4 million to 15.6 million in 2007. Graduate school enrollment also increased from 1.3 million in 1976 to 2.3 million in 2007 (NCES 2009). These statistics show that student population is increasing, and that minority student population is also increasing, especially in public schools. Nonwhite students now comprise 44% of 49.3 million students enrolled in U.S. public schools. By 2018, this number is projected to rise to 53.9 million students in elementary and high school, and 17.5 million students in college (up from 15.6 million) (NCES 2009; *Hune and Takeuchi 2008*). However, the national high school graduation rate is decreasing from 73% in 2006 to 74% in 2006. The national high school drop out rate is decreasing on the average, but for nonwhites, the rate is increasing. Six percent of Pacific Islander students dropped out in 2007 and only 23% of Blacks and 20% of Hispanics are considered college ready when they graduate. Only half of nonwhite high school graduates go to college right away versus 70% of whites (NCES 2009). As college graduation rates remain steady at 6.9% for Pacific Islanders, only 14% of Pacific Islanders have college degrees versus the 24% total, and 18% of Pacific Islanders are below poverty level versus the 12% total (Hune and Takeuchi 2008).

Regarding my interviews, I divided them into to three common themes. They are isolation, culture devalued by curriculum, and different meanings of failure.

Finafinau (Samoan for Perseverance): Addressing Samoan Struggles in School

Isolation

> "People stereotype us Samoans by saying that we are only good in sports and that is our life, and having people look down on you all the time."

The survey and interviews that I conducted had a common theme of isolation in the schools. Interviewees reported that people frequently looked down on them and stereotyping them, causing Samoan students to feel ostracized at school and to feel like they do not belong. They expressed the feeling of already being judged as a failure as soon as they enter the classrooms.

Culture devalued by curriculum

> "Nobody really understands who we are, what we are. Whenever our culture is mentioned, it is labeled as extracurricular activity."

Responses like this raise a common theme of having Pacific Islander culture devalued at school. Students must often go outside of school to educate themselves about their own culture and history, for they do not learn these in the classrooms. Students are often not recognized for their efforts of learning outside of the classroom, with programs like PIONEER. Students mention how the school's curriculum does not deal with knowledge about their culture and people. When asked to learn about their own culture, they are always told to learn it on their own time or as an "extracurricular activity." These extracurricular activities can become overwhelming and affects their grades in school. In turn, such a devaluing discourages or punishes students from doing these "extracurricular activities."

Different meanings of failure

> "I did not fail school. School failed me."

Many of the students were very eager to learn, but what they were learning in school had no relevance to them, culturally and personally. They felt that school fail to teach them what they need and want to learn about. Many students refused to learn from schools and proceeded to learn on their own what they felt they needed to learn. Many times, this caused these students to fail in school, but it was a price the students were willing to make.

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Conclusion

How do these numbers affect us? In celebrating increase of diversity in schools, we tend to celebrate access but forget about graduation. Numbers are increasing in all school levels, but the pool for recruiting high school students in college is getting smaller. In relation to education, college populations are changing, but colleges have remained the same. They recruit students aggressively but forget about them once they are recruited. When nonwhite students do not do well in college, the blame is usually placed on them. "Transformation needs to occur at college and student levels" (Bonus interview). In my interviews with students, one of the most common answers that I got was that "school has no meaning to me." Many students felt like they do not belong in school and were not sure about how to apply what they are learning in school to their own lives. Students also said that learning about their own culture is something that must be learned on their own time. The statement "I did not fail school, school failed me" shows that there is a problem with our education system. Usually, the blame is put on the individual students and rarely is the educational system critiqued or held responsible for the failures of students. It is usually assumed that it is the student's characteristic that contributes to his or her own failures.

To address these issues, Professor Bonus and two of his students David Palaita and Michael Tuncap established PIONEER. In my evaluation of this program, I see how it practices the sustenance of a community of caring that Valenzuela proposed. PIONEER builds a good sense of identity and community for Pacific Islanders. It is a space where cultured is valued and not pushed aside and where the community is valued more than the individual. In this program, school is made more relevant and meaningful to Pacific Islanders.

In a world inhabited by Samoans and Pacific Islanders in education, it is a continuous struggle for success. In Samoan, the word for struggle and dedication is *finafinau*. If their school world is sometimes productive of success but oftentimes productive of failure, Pacific Islanders continue to practice *finafinau* in order to succeed in education. With this research I hope to show the hard work and dedication that Pacific Islanders make in the transformation of their schooling.

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Kumaon Khoj (Discovering Kumaon): An Anthology of Kumaon Experiences

Melissa Espinoza

Abstract

Much of the academic literature on the North Eastern region of India, Kumaon, has been written by Western influenced scholars and or "outsiders", which could explain the emphasis on some themes more than others. Currently literature written on the region tends to focus on "development", "hardships", "childhood", and "women empowerment". The restricted focus has painted a specific image of life in Kumaon. However, although the themes are relevant and play a big role in Kumaoni life, it is the Western understanding of the words used to describe those themes that is problematic. The themes are often depicted as detached information about this culture because of what cultural and societal factors are not talked about in the themes. The information is detached because of the non-local perspective and Western and academic lens that describes their life using specific words that locals would not use to describe their own lives. Hence, in this study, journals of Kumaoni locals describing their life were translated, coded and analyzed by a translator and myself. The journals expand upon the themes of childhood, livelihood, current household and changes they had seen in the region. My preliminary findings suggest an anomaly of emigration and migration patterns, an impact of public transportation on education, an identity formation among local Nepalese families, the local polysemic views of "development", and current gender roles in the household.

Introduction

Many departments at the University of Washington (UW) encourage students to study abroad to learn and gain the experience of immersing themselves in an unfamiliar place. I have participated in two study abroad programs in the Kumaon region of Uttarahkand, India. The UW programs aimed to immerse the students in the livelihoods of the locals while learning about the region from published scholars. When I did fieldwork I questioned the view I was provided with in academic literature that displayed representations of Kumaoni people. Having constructed a survey for the local non-governmental organization, the survey questions were based around many of the same topics that our class had read about. Kumaoni people have continued to be represented by Western and academic scholars in words they would not necessarily

represent themselves with. The vocabulary that scholars choose to describe the life in Kumaon is where the gap begins. How people generally reading the academic articles understand those words is often inaccurate because of the missed cultural and societal contextual understandings of Kumaon.

Many of the scholars who we read from were Western, or did some of their schooling in a Western place, or lived in metropolis area with greater possibility to be influenced by the west in their education (Viswanathan, 1989, 3). I wondered what were the scholars' experience with Kumaoni people and Kumaon? Their methods were also important to understand because it shaped the outcome of their studies. Being in Kumaon made me wonder what would the Kumaoni people have to say about what we learned as their "general" life? Would there be a disconnection or a correlation between the written word of the Kumaoni villager or the very often-Western scholar who conducts their research in Kumaon? Rather, is academic literature on the region of Kumaon portraying or addressing life in Kumaon differently from how a local Kumaoni would?

Too often what we learn in the classroom and what is valued by "professionals" is detached from the reality on the ground. How often do students get to do conduct empirical studies that challenge the inductive studies they learn? Being from the United States and not knowing the local dialect or the national language of Kumaon made learning abroad in India limiting. Because few locals spoke English, I was limited to who I could learn from. It is important for the students of the program to be able to understand what life is and has been for Kumaoni villagers of different classes, gender and ages. The articles written on the area tend to address "development" and its effects on the environment and people of the region or its impact on women "empowerment" (John, 2005; Jeffrey, et al, 2004). Others deal with the "hardships" of a villager (Gururani, 2000).

I want to know from Kumaoni people from all classes, genders and ages what their life is and has been as Kumaoni villager. I am interested because of the discussions that never took place among the students and locals in the region. The gaps in my survey answers and the literature I had read on the region. As participant on the study abroad programs I experienced Kumaon through the lens that I was given while I was there, which was an academic scholar lens. The articles written on the area have a propensity to be written on "development" and its effects on the environment and people of the region, or on women "empowerment", and sometimes on the "hardships" of a villager (John, 2005; Gururani, 2000; Jeffrey, et al, 2004). Hence, most everything I was

experiencing I made fit these categories, however, when I asked many women about empowerment through Self Help Groups (SHGs), many did not describe the same empowerment that the academic literature did. They described a "progress" in social gender roles. However, that gap is not exactly what the scholars choose to focus on, but how they focus on it. Western scholars continue to focus on particular themes because of the impact those themes have on global studies and relationships. Hence, places like Kumaon are put on the map not for their cultural understanding but to describe a phenomena that many scholars and their audience learn and know about, from a perspective that is familiar to the West and people in a privileged place.

There is an adequate amount of academic articles written on the region. Kumaon a desirable place and location to conduct research and studies for several reasons, but most research may be because of its rich geographical and contextual history Kumaon is not vastly different than other regions of the state. However, the spatial area that I will be focusing on (District Nainital) is heavily influenced and guided by local grassroots' non-governmental organizations (NGO's). This research study is being conducted in hopes of providing another perspective to read and understand a more detailed explanation of life in Kumaon. I am conducting this research in hopes of sharing my findings to those students who have participated in the UW programs because a local perspective given in local terms is more insightful than a local's description given by an outsider with Western terminology and understanding. A local perspective is necessary in order to fully receive a grassroots level of how these phenomenon of social transition are impacting and being lived by locals in the region. My research provides the students with the chance to understand and gain a detailed 'local' understanding of the people we engaged with but were limited to learn from because of the language barrier.

In this paper I present a brief background to the history of Uttarakhand, to better situate where and why Kumaon is a desired place to conduct research by scholars, and to give the local participants in my research a context to place them in. Then a section about my methodologies, scholarly approaches and concerns with academic literature on the region, literature on the region and local perspective on the region, and finally a conclusion.

As an alternative to speaking directly with the locals, I decided to ask some locals to keep journals in Hindi, and then had them translated into English. The findings from my research will be presented as a collection of stories and literary reviews of academic scholars whose fieldwork have been done in Kumaon and have been translated by a

current University of Washington student originally from Gujarat, India named Megha Thakkar.

In this study, I have asked five participants to keep a journal about four different topic areas: childhood, current household, livelihood, and changes they have seen and experienced in the region. I have chosen these specific areas to have them journal about because I wanted the local participants to describe and narrate these areas as they see and experience them. I chose these specifically open-ended words that would still guide the locals to touch on the same topic areas as the scholars, but also having enough freedom to speak of any other themes they might find important. With my research I hope to create a written discourse and provide a detailed local lens into the lives of the Kumaon people who have hosted several UW study abroad programs. My research aims to present the relationship in academic literature and the written word of the Kumaoni people.

Background

In order to better understand the cultural geographic context of Kumaon and attractions of this to field researchers are, a brief history is necessary. India gained its Independence in 1947 from British Rule (Menon and Nigam 2007, 5). After India's independence and the partition of Pakistan, the post-colonial reactions began in Uttar Pradesh (Pathak1997,908). Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) is a Northern Province in India, bordered by Nepal and Bihar. It was not until 2000 that Uttarakhand-formally known as Uttaranchal-became a separate state from U.P (See Figure 1: Map of Uttarakhand). Uttarakhand's separation from the U.P. was primarily due to of the lack of political leadership addressing the agricultural "Himalayan problems" (Pathak, 1997, 908). Uttarakhand is divided into two different regions, Kumaon and Garwhal (Pathak, 1987) (See page 3 Figure 2: Map of Kumaon and Garwhal Division). The state as a whole relies on agriculture and tourism as their main source of income (Kumar 1993.3709). Uttarakhand remains a peripheral state where economic reforms have reduced the number of government employment opportunities and failed to generate private sector jobs (Sen 1997, 113). As a result, outmigration and migration from villages to the 'urban' towns within the region increased after 1960 (Khanka 1988, 226).

Figure 1. Map of Uttarakhand

Figure 2. Map of Kumaon and Garwhal Division

Given the historical context of struggles and independence of Uttarakhand, many scholarly works have been conducted on the region to better understand the phenomenon of 'development' and rural social transition in India (Banerjee 2008, Moller 2003, Sharma 2008). I will be focusing on the region of Kumaon, specifically the Nainital District and Almora District. These specific areas are appealing to me because of the high community involvement of local non-governmental organizations.

Research Methodology

The purpose of my research has been to better understand what local life in Kumaon from both local and scholarly perspectives. I have conducted an exploratory study on life in Kumaon, focusing on the area of District Nainital, in Kumaon. The specific populations under study are

local Kumaonis living in District Nainital (Rheeta, Satoli, Natwakan, and Sarmoli), and scholarly published articles on the region. My units of analysis are articles and local written journals. In order to determine my units of analysis I had to conduct a non-probability sample to determine which locals could participate in this study. A non- probability sample was necessary because of how in-depth the study went into each individual's writings. The participants whom I have asked to become part of the study have been selected based on a purposive sampling. Aware of the domestic work load that many of the people in the area have, I chose respondents based on whom I have gained good rapport with in the area and whom I know may have the time to do the journals or would be interested in becoming part of the study.

Sampling

I tried to have a range in age and gender in my study. However, in order to have these characteristics represented in my sampling population, I would have to needed a larger sample population. I was interested in how age would affect a local's experience in Kumaon. Age would be my independent variable that would shape the experience of the given journal topics. With this in mind I felt that 18-65 was a sufficient pool to get a wide rage of personal histories based on different generations. Because of current literature on the region,[1] another important characteristic in this study is which gender is sharing their stories. In this study, I was only able to have two women and three men represented in the journals. I originally had asked eight people (due to time constraints) to take part in this voluntary study but only five were able and willing to take part and therefore cut down my sample size.

Respondents were given a letter of participation that informed them of the purpose of the study. They were given themes and told what will be done with the information they provided in the study. The themes provided in the letter were: childhood, livelihood, current household and changes they have seen in the region. My mode of observation was reading their journals. The respondent's journals were my studied observations. I conducted a content and discourse analysis of the journal translations. Megha Thakkar, a graduate student at the University of Washington translated all the journals from Hindi to English. With the implementation of ethnographic alternative qualitative interviewing research, I was able to study Kumaoni life, with minimal influence on the population. Their journals served as artifacts for my units of analysis. In order to find the common themes that ran through the journals I did a

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[1] Please refer to literature review section for further information.

latent coding using Atlas-ti. By coding the journals, I was able to find
common themes and gaps between academic research in the area and
local's journals.

The two populations under study were the local Kumaonis and
the scholarly published articles on the region. In order to determine
which articles I would use, I did an archival search using key words
described in my literature review[2] and themes given to the journaling
participants. A stratified sample of academic literature was chosen by
using keywords in the database to find scholarly articles.

Variables

In this research my independent variables are: Gender and Age
(See Table 1 Variables). As my independent variables, they are the
experimental incentives that were present. I chose age and gender
because they impact how a person experiences life. Each independent
variable conceptualization is based on how the independent variable will
determine the dependent variables. My independent variables are closed-
ended, they are either female or male, and have specific age attributes.
Age and gender are closed-ended in order to avoid irrelevant answers.
The participants' gender and age will influence my dependent variables.
Although my dependent variables are not solely determined by my
chosen independent variables, other variable may factor in, such as class.
For the sake of this project I looked at gender and age to see why and if
specific people describe certain themes a particular way. My dependent
variables are childhood, livelihood, current household and changes they
had seen and experienced in the region. My level of measurement in my
variables were mostly all nominal except for the ages in which case were
ratio. My alternative qualitative method has been implemented by other
scholars but in different locations. Hence, I chose this method as an
alternative to interviews and surveys as a way of receiving a deeper
narrative while being as unobtrusive as possible.

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[2] Development, empowerment, childhood, livelihood, hardships,
education, Kumaon, and rural India.

Variable Name	Function of Variable	Label Conceptualization	Values or Codings Operationalization	Level of Measurement
Childhood	Dependent	Description of childhood in Kumaon	Key words: education, labor, play, games..etc	Nominal
Livelihood	Dependent	Description of Livelihood in Kumaon	Key words: income, job, hours, payment, occupation, employment, unemployment, business… etc	Nominal
Changes	Dependent	Description of Changes in Kumaon	Looking for key words such as environment, empowerment, stronger, more, less, progress, transportation different.. etc.	Nominal
Gender	Independent	Local gender descriptions	Respondent's gender. Either Female or male	Nominal
Age	Independent	Generation descriptions	Answers will vary by respondents age and generation respondents very from 18-65 years of age	Ratio

Table 1. Variables

Scholarly Approaches

In order to better understand places/spaces/regions, most post-structural, feminist claiming geographers have used qualitative ways of understanding and conducting their research (Klenk 2004, Mohanty 2005, Bhatt 1986). Feminists and post-structuralists "aim to produce more inclusive methods sensitive to the power relations in fieldwork" (England 1994, pg 80). Hence, qualitative research refers to a variety of practices and methods of data collection (Smith 2001, 27).

However, recently many scholars have questioned the representation of "global south" populations made by Western scholars. Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies argue that "discourses on population and poverty and on population and environment are spread through many fundamental anomalies inherent in capitalist patriarchal society ([1993] 2001, 334)," most often the West. Gayatri Spivak questions if

"subalterns" can speak for themselves and what are the repercussions of having the "West" represent the "subaltern"(Spivak,1988,25). Spivak defines the subaltern as "not just a classy word for oppressed, for the Other, for somebody who's not getting a piece of the pie… in postcolonial terms, everything that has limited or no access to the cultural imperialism is subaltern" (De Kock, 1992, 29-47). Saloni Mathur argues that it is no longer feasible to conduct anthropology work in South Asia without attending to the themes of: " the 'problem' of Europe, the interpenetration of power and knowledge in the colonial archive, the search for indigenous forms of knowledge, the phenomenon of violence and ethnic conflict, and the specific concerns of gender and feminist criticism" (2000, 89). Hence, in this paper I go on to identify what is the relationship between an academic "outsider" perspective on Kumaon, India, (as often represented in Western academic literature) and the locals' perspective of Kumaon (as represented in their journals).

Literature and Approaches on the Region

There have been many scholars who have studied and researched in the greater area of Kumaon and Uttarakhand. The region's historical context, geographical location, and current transition into "development" make for interesting topics of research. Scholars have chosen specific topics to focus on, such as the phenomenon of "development", women "empowerment", and the roles of children in the family household. For instance, Jane Dyson's work on the region has focused on the gender and caste inequalities that can shape a child's life. She highlights the role of the local space in mediating children's agency, and emphasizes the importance of investigating "young people's" subjectivities (2008, 160). She claims that economic reform has had a negative impact on the government provision of welfare services (2008, 164). Her claim is valid in accordance to what the locals' journals mention and often describe. Suhir, Pravit, and Naisha wrote in their journals about the hardships of not having access to resources when they were younger - such as libraries, clinics, schools, etc.

Suhir and Naisha write about the condition of transportation in the area. Naisha recalls walking to school barefoot on the unpaved roads and forest trails. Meanwhile Suhir's journal addresses the change in transportation over the years: "At that time, like today the school was not closer to home. On unpaved roads with lots of difficulties we use to reach to the school." Much like the scholarly article written on the hardships of Kumaoni life by scholars the locals themselves have used the words difficulties and hardships. However, a common theme that ran through the majority of the journals was the importance of transportation

in education and health. Transportation was introduced to the area when colonization took place by the British (Pathak, 1998, 910). However, the transportation that was available was meant for exporting, until recently roads have the same use, for commercial use. However, when schools are not located off the road there is so transportation available to these institutions. Drawing from my own ethnographic work most schools are not located near a road, nor have a permanent path. In Pravit's journal he writes about the distance between his home and his primary school: "This school was far from my place and the students were also new to me. I became friends with the students but the distance to school was far. It was almost 3 kilometers one way… This school was far from my place so my dad arranged for a room. From here my school was only 50 meters away." Pravati lived away from his father who was raising Pravati on his own. Pravati's mother passed away when he was just an infant. Pravati's father wanted Pravati to succeed in school, and the only way for him to be able to do so was to send him to live closer to a good school. Pravati's father rented a room for him when he was only in the third grade. Pravati would walk to his father's home on the weekends, but often only spent minimal hours with his father because of the demanding work labor his father had.

Pravati's journal brings up a lot of interesting themes that are often overlooked in many scholars literature on the region, such as migration, not only from rural to urban, but from Nepal to India. Pravati's family is originally from Nepal, and he was the first generation born in India. It is often that the focus and emphasis in any sort of migration is outmigration, however, Mahit and Pravati's families are both originally from Nepal. Perhaps scholars have not focused on migration population into Kumaon because some, like Pravati, consider themselves Indian. Pravati's journal mentions what it was like for him to be from a Nepalese family in Kumaon. In his journal he wrote about the discrimination he faced as a child at school, not from his peers but from his teacher. His father understood and that is why he was willing to place him in a better school that would be much further away from home. Pravati's journal reads: "Because my parents had just come from Nepal we neither had our own land nor did we have our own home...While I was studying in grade one and grade two, one of the teachers purposely failed me. I can most definitely say that I was not weak in my studies. Yet, I do not know why he failed me in both grades. Maybe he thought that I was Nepali. But after that, I spoke with my dad and told him that I wanted to enroll in some other school. My dad listen to me and enrolled me into another primary school in my village." In Pravati's journal the

theme of poverty and identity formation are addressed when he writes about his childhood.

In all the participant's journals when they wrote about their childhood they all addressed the state of their region and village. The disconnection between the participants and some scholarly articles is how the region is described. Development has become a way for knowing and labeling the 'Third World' with an identity of 'problems', 'backwardness' 'underdeveloped', spoken of as the 'malnourished', and 'small farmers', and 'landless peasants' (Klenk 2004, 60). However, in Rebecca Klenk's article "*Who is the developed women?"* she argues that development is happening in the region, but with polysemic feelings about development, particularly gendered development. Her claim is evident in all of the journals. When Suhir begins to write about the changes he has seen in the region, he writes: "During my childhood time, in my village Dehat, there was neither electricity nor paved roads close by on which a car could be driven. In fact I had no idea or knowledge of how cars looked. But as time passed by, along with time, new technologies era came in the field of development, there came some positive changes in my village. Electricity supply connections were made, paved roads were built and water pipelines were built, also in the agriculture related field new methods came into place." Suhir is the only participant that used the word "development" to describe the changes in the region. He focuses on the income generating aspect of "development". What set Suhir apart from the rest of the journaling participants are his age and also his impressive educational background. Suhir is 43 and was able to obtain a higher education and live in Delhi. "I completed an I.T.I education and acquired a degree. I took all my degree papers and went to Delhi (Naroda). I worked in electronics a Winstar Company's store. Due to geographic distance I faced difficulties and I returned back to my home. After that I worked for a few years in my own village's school as an educational adviser position. Along with this through Ranikhet Chobria Garden, in the Development Center, I completed my education and training." His focus on technology advancements in his village is matches what he describes as his background, all technological based. His idea of development depicted through his journal entries are set around technological advancements unlike the other participants who focus on public programs, services and gender roles in society.

Mahit's journal talks more about the progression of government programs in the area:

> "In my village and nearby places there has been various government run programs that are picking up. Small

villages are becoming big. Schools that teach till 5th grade are being built along with hospitals. Small villages that have ancient or lost identity were restored. (Because of less earnings, people in the village use to go to cities for work)… There has been very steep progress the past 10 years."

Mahit's journal is similar to that of Pravati's journal. However Pravati's journal also addressed the progress in gender roles. His journal echoes Dia Da Costa's point that gender roles have not changed quickly and will take time. Unlike the rapid progress in the industrial sector of Kumaon, cultural aspects of gender roles are slowly shifting.

Dia Da Costa's work focuses on the education of women that has been claimed to bring empowerment to women in India. However, her claim is that "schooling, literacy, and education are heterogeneous social practices, lived experiences, and emergent constructs with shifting meanings for various persons and contexts" (2008, 2). Costa's claim is very evident in Lena's journal. Lena is 22, female and married; her journal expresses her sentiments on what it means to be woman and married in her village. Lena's journal reads:

"The different views between a boy and a girl have changed. Even today in villages expenses are done for a boy's education and future, but if a girl has studied till 12th grade then the family starts thinking about her marriage… Some social aspects are made such that after marriage only males can make all decisions, not females. Or males can do any task on their own wish, but females cannot. But why is it like this? Do women not have any thinking ability of their own, or is it that they cannot do anything? If there is some violence happening with a woman then she keeps her mouth shut to save the image of her family. Women can do everything but she is forced or she is stopped…Women are changing. Now women come forward and present their views but she cannot speak 100%. 30% of women openly present themselves and make their own decisions, but still there are lots of weaknesses that can be seen. However, compared to the past, there have been lots of positive changes."

As noted before, Klenk addresses the different views of development among women, however her article does not address the

view with both local men and women. Nevertheless, in her article she does address that difference in gender roles, she states that men control the income generated in a household (2004, 71), with that in mind, the themes brought up in each journal correlates well with her argument. The older male participants focused on the infrastructure and technological advancements in the area, contrary to the younger man and women participants who focused more on social aspects of progression in the area.

Conclusion

Although many scholars from the West are conducting studies in Kumaon, their representations of the people themselves are not completely inaccurate. The gap is how the locals of these studies are being understood, in comparison to how they are being represented. Drawing from my own ethnographic work in the region, the highly loaded words of "development", "empowerment" and "sustainable" are all being used to describe Kumaon by scholars, however these words restrict how readers of the academic articles are able to understand the region through a local perspective. Locals did not use these specific words to describe their lives, they described their lives as they have lived it, in simple terms.

Although my research does not represent the entire population of Kumaon, it is evident in the journals that perspectives on one word such as changes (ie development) varies greatly among the locals themselves. The relationship between my selected scholarly articles on the region and the locals' journals is strong in correlation. However, with the limitations of my own research, the limitation of scholarly representation of Kumaoni's is an area for further exploration.

What my research has pointed out is the gap in terminology among scholars and locals in Kumaon and the absence of fieldwork done on immigration to Kumaon. While my research is ongoing, I would like to shift my focus to what scholars are doing to incorporate a local perspective. I would like to follow up with the participants to research the impacts of scholars and donors of the local NGO's in the region on local Kumaoni identity.

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Figures:

Figure 1: Map of Uttarakhand:
http://www.uttarakhandtourntravels.com/map.html

Figure 2: Map of Kumaon: http://www.uttarakhand.nu/uttarakhand.html

Acknowledgements

Melissa Espinoza
University of Washington
Geography and Comparative History of Ideas
espinoza.melissa6@gmail.com, me6@uw.edu

My research interests are in critical development studies work on neoliberal modernization debates as well as feminist theories in identity formation. I am geographically interested in Latin America and South Asia. I intend to enroll in a Geography Ph.D program in the future.

Social Justice Implications of the Model Minority Stereotype

Safia Farole

Abstract

Asian Americans have been labeled model minorities (Wu, 2002). Like all stereotypes, this label produces broad conclusions about a racial group; particularly that Asians persistently outperform minority groups and even Whites in educational and economic achievement. Scholarship in this area suggests that the model minority stereotype causes Whites to view other racial groups, specifically Blacks and Latinos, more negatively, but this hypothesis has not been empirically tested. The aim of this investigation was to determine whether priming individuals with the model minority stereotype would cause them to look down upon Blacks and to react less favorably toward policies meant to remedy inequality. We hypothesized that making the model minority stereotype salient would cause both Whites and Asians to stereotype Blacks less favorably and support initiatives for equality less. A sample of 70 university students were randomly assigned to one of three conditions in an online study. After completing measures about article comprehension and memory, participants responded to questionnaire items related to support for social justice policies, and measures designed to assess attitudes towards other racial groups in the US. Although participants with a conservative political orientation expressed more Symbolic Racism, the findings revealed no significant differences between conditions for items measuring support for social justice policies and attitudes towards Blacks. The need to evaluate specific subsets of the population in follow up studies is discussed.

Introduction

In a recent longitudinal study by Kaiser et al. (2009), researchers investigated participants' perception of racial progress and support for policies that address racial inequality (i.e. Affirmative Action, school desegregation, and diversity policies) before and after the election of Barack Obama. Compared to before the election, the researchers found that participants increased in their belief that racism is less of an issue in America today than in previous times. The researchers also found that participants expressed less support for policies that deal with racial inequality after the historic election of America's first Black president. Kaiser et al. (2009) discuss the implications of their findings, one of them being that non-Blacks may reference Obama as a standard that all Blacks should live up to; ignoring the fact that Obama is only a single

example of success. Similar to this study about the consequences of Obama's elections, in terms of the model minority, majority groups may use the model minority status of Asians as an example to question inequality for minorities. Whites may also uphold the model minority concept as a reason for providing less support for policies directed toward racial inequality, suggesting that beneficiaries of these policies should have to work hard like the model minority in order to become successful. Furthermore, although the model minority label may superficially serve as a positive stereotype of Asian Americans, this label has also proven to induce negative consequences for Asians themselves.

Building upon research that found that ethnicity salience boosts Asian women's math performance, in another study Cheryan and Bodenhausen (2000) evaluated the test performance of Asian women on a difficult math exam when group-based performance expectancies were made salient to the individual. In the study, questions such as "overall, my race is considered good by others" comprised the "chocking under pressure" phenomenon which occurs when positive performance is anticipated by an external audience. Compared to the control condition, the researchers found that women in the experimental condition performed significantly poorer on the exam when they were made to perceive that their ethnicity was held up to high standards by an external audience. By investigating the negative side effects of the model minority label, this study adds to the growing body of literature that demonstrates that when evaluated closely, the model minority stereotype has detrimental effects in race relations. Furthermore, despite the fact that the concept of the model minority may appear to celebrate meritocracy in American society, unintended consequences for race relations arise in this country as a result.

When given thought, the phrase 'model minority' presses one to consider – "model of what" and "model for whom" (Wu, 59). It becomes clear that despite the fact that this label may superficially promote meritocracy, it can also be used as a tool to reinforce the lower status of other minority groups. As a result of the model minority label, Whites may be presented with an excuse to look down upon other minority groups, who have historically been disadvantaged, and conclude that since Asians were able to make it, other minorities have no excuse to be lagging behind. Additionally, upholding Asian Americans as a model minority can assuage support for policies that seek to gap achievement barriers such as affirmative action. In light of this present research, we hypothesize that making the model minority stereotype salient will cause both Whites and Asians to stereotype Blacks more and to support social justice policies less.

Methods

Participants

   The sample consisted of seventy University of Washington undergraduate students. Of the total sample, thirty-one were male and thirty-eight where female, with one participant not disclosing gender. The average age was 21.5 years. Within the sample, one participant identified as Asian/Asian American, three as Latino/Hispanic American, two as Native American, sixty-one as White American, one as multiracial, and one as "other". Participation was restricted to only those with a UW NetID in order to gain access to the WebQ on Catalyst.

Design

   The participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions, the experimental condition or one of two control conditions. In the experimental condition participants read an article that made the model minority stereotype salient. In the first control condition, participants read an article related to success in which a swim team outperforms other teams, despite its underdog status. The purpose of this first control condition was to observe the effect of success when it was manipulated as model minority success (condition 1) or as non-model minority success (condition 2). In the second control condition participants read an article completely unrelated to success, which was about the global warming phenomenon.

Materials

   The questionnaire used in this study consisted of twelve items gauging support for meritocracy, four items measuring support for policies that address racial inequality, and seven items measuring the endorsement of Black stereotypes in Symbolic Racism. The twelve items measuring support for meritocracy were adapted from the Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998) scale. These twelve items consisted of the perceived system legitimacy scale, the perceptions of system permeability scale, and the Protestant Work Ethic scale. Questionnaire items related to support for social justice policies were taken from the support for policies that address racial inequality scale in Kaiser et al. (2009). And, the scale measuring Symbolic Racism was adopted from Henry and Sears (2002).

Procedure

Participants opened the link to catalyst. According to the condition they were randomly assigned to, they were instructed to read one article. After reading the article, participants were asked four memory questions about the article. Among the memory questions, participants were asked to summarize the article in a few sentences. Then, on a seven-point Likert scale participants were asked two specific questions about the article they were assigned to. To probe their comprehension of the article, participants in each condition were asked to rate on a seven-point Likert scale: "what is the tone of the article?" and "how much do you believe the trend presented in the article is true?"

After the memory questions for the assigned article, participants were told that they would be responding to questionnaire measures for an unrelated study. This light form of deception was necessary for us to clearly observe the dependent variables – decreased support for social justice initiatives and endorsement of Black stereotypes. Participants then responded to a questionnaire with 23 items on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 0 being "strongly agree" to 6 being "strongly disagree" about beliefs concerning racial progress, support for meritocracy, and endorsement of Black stereotypes. Subjects also responded to seven items about their feelings toward racial groups in America and to five items about their perceptions of Subjective Social Status for different racial groups. Subjective Social Status gages the social standing of racial groups, with regards to income, occupation or education (Adler et al., 2000). Finally, they were instructed to voluntarily respond to demographic information.

Support for Social Justice Policies

Support for policies that address racial inequality were assessed with four items: Affirmative Action programs are still needed today; Desegregation programs that ensure diversity in public schools are still necessary today; Businesses should increase their efforts to promote diversity in the workplace; Efforts should be made to promote equal access to healthcare for minorities. These items were adapted from Kaiser et al. (2009).

Protestant Work Ethic

Protestant Work Ethic was measured with four items: If people work hard they almost always get what they want; Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame; In America, getting ahead doesn't always depend on hard work; Even if people work hard, they don't always get ahead.

These items were adapted from Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998).

Perceived System Permeability

Perceived System Permeability was assessed with four items: America is an open society where individuals of any ethnicity can achieve higher status; Advancement in American society is possible for individuals of all ethnic groups; Individual members of a low-status ethnic group have difficulty achieving higher status; Individual members of certain ethnic groups are often unable to advance in American society. These items were adapted from Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998).

Feelings toward Blacks

Feelings toward Blacks was measured using a feeling thermometer in which participants were asked to rate on a scale of 0 (extremely cool) -100 (extremely warm) their feelings toward African Americans; Latino/Hispanic Americans; Asian Americans; Native Americans; White Americans and Multiracial Americans.

Symbolic Racism

Symbolic Racism was evaluated with seven items: It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites; Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same; Blacks work just as hard to get ahead as most other Americans; How responsible, in general, do you hold Blacks in this country for their outcomes in life?; How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Blacks are responsible for creating?; Blacks generally do not complain as much as they should about their situation in society; Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States. These items were adapted from Henry and Sears (2002).

Results

In analyzing all of our measures, statistics for only conditions 1 and 3 are evaluated, given that these two conditions serve as the conditions with the most variance when assessing our dependent variables

Support for Social justice Policies

The four items assessing support for social equality policies were collapsed into a single variable (social justice score). In response to social justice items, participants in the model minority priming condition did not differ ($M = 3.62$, SD = 1.2) from those in the control condition ($M = 3.51$, SD = 1.2) in their support for these policies (see Fig. 1), $t(68) = .383$, $p = .70$.

Protestant Work Ethic

Among the twelve items measuring meritocracy, four of them measured Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) beliefs. These 4 PWE items were collapsed into a single variable (Protestant Work Ethic score). Participants in the model minority condition ($M = 2.80$, SD = 0.9) did not statistically differ from those in the control condition ($M = 2.60$, SD = 1.1) with regards to the belief that anyone can achieve success in America, regardless of institutional challenges, $t(67) = .812$, $p = .42$.

Perceived System Permeability

Another subset of the questions measuring meritocracy were the four items on the Perceived System Permeability scale. These four items were collapsed into a single variable (Perceived System Permeability score). In the model minority condition ($M = 3.66$, SD = 0.9) subjects rating of these items did not differ statistically from the control condition ($M = 3.61$, SD = 1.4) in their perception of whether ethnic groups in the US have an equal chance at success, $t(68) = .207$, $p = 84$.

Feelings toward Blacks

On a scale of 0-100 participants were asked to rate how they feel toward different racial groups. There was no statistical difference between participants in the model minority condition ($M = 68$, SD = 18) and those in the control condition (M = 71, SD = 21) in how they rated feelings towards Blacks (see Fig. 2), $t(67) = -.612$, $p = .54$. Rather than the priming of the model minority article decreasing warmth toward Blacks, the opposite occurred, with participants on average expressing warmth above 50 percent.

Symbolic Racism

The seven items measuring Symbolic Racism were combined into a single variable (Symbolic Racism score). Participants in the model minority condition ($M = 2.57$, SD = 0.9) did not differ statistically from those in the control condition ($M = 2.27$, SD = 0.9) with regards to the

belief that racial discrimination is no longer a serious obstacle to Blacks (see Fig.1), $t = t(68) = 1.44$, $p = .15$.

Political Orientation and Symbolic Racism score

We looked at the relationship between Symbolic Racism score and participant's political views (i.e. liberals and conservatives). Conservative participants expressed significantly more Symbolic Racism in the model minority condition ($M = 2.9$, SD $= .59$) than in the control condition ($M = 2.3$, SD $= .82$) (see Fig.3), $t(27) = 2.41$, $p = .023$.

Discussion

The results of this study were not consistent with the hypothesis that the priming of the model minority stereotype would decrease support for social justice policies and that this prime would prompt subjects to express negative feelings towards Blacks. However; our results indicate that political orientation is connected to Symbolic Racism beliefs. Participants who were politically conservative expressed more Symbolic Racism in the model minority condition than in the control condition. Symbolic Racism is different from "old-fashioned," "Jim Crow," overt forms of racism. It is used to describe the ideas that racial discrimination is no longer a serious obstacle to Blacks, that Blacks' continuing disadvantages is due to their own unwillingness to take responsibility of their lives, and that Blacks' continuing anger about their treatment are not truly justified (Sears & Henry, 2005). Sears and Henry (2005) found that "the effects of symbolic racism do partially overlap those of political conservatism, but they are not reducible to general conservatism". The authors conclude that Symbolic Racism is not limited to political conservatism but that individuals of different political ideologies are susceptible to it also. Furthermore, the authors emphasize that Symbolic Racism is "strongly associated with Whites' racial policy preferences". A future study may further explore how racially conservative individuals respond to social justice policies and their attitudes towards Blacks when primed with the model minority stereotype.

Furthermore, a future study should be replicated in traditionally conservative regions of the US. Although our sample was not representative of the entire US population, in the future this study should be replicated in different political landscapes throughout the country. Another limitation to our study may be age. On average our participants were young, in their early twenties. Racial tendencies such as Symbolic Racism may become hardened over time, so a future study should evaluate an older group of participants. And finally, increasing sample size may yield a more significant effect of our dependent variables.

Despite the fact that significant results were not found for the effect of the model minority stereotype on support for social justice policies and attitudes towards Blacks, the model minority stereotype yields significant consequences in everyday life. A study by Rosenbloom & Way (2004) found that when high school teachers preferentially treated their Asian students based on model minority beliefs, this would incur resentment from Black and Latino students. In turn, these Black and Latino students would bully the Asian students. This study clearly demonstrates how divisive the model minority stereotype can be for interracial cooperation and cohesion in academia. Outside of the school setting, the classification of Asians as the model minority can lead to discriminatory practices in employment, housing, lending, and in many other institutions. The endorsement of this stereotype can be used as a tool to underline the inferior status of other minority groups. Stereotyping Asian Americans as the model minority may lead individuals to generalize that the achievement gap can be overcome by all minority groups, thus discouraging support for necessary programs that assist needy minorities in achieving success. Despite the fact that America may have elected its first Black president, we have yet to overcome the achievement gap when it comes to the prerequisites of obtaining the American Dream, and if not addressed, divisive labeling such as the model minority can hamper the struggle toward this goal.

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Appendix

Figure 1. Average score on Social justice and Symbolic Racism measures for both conditions

Average Score on Social Justice and Symbolic Racism Measures
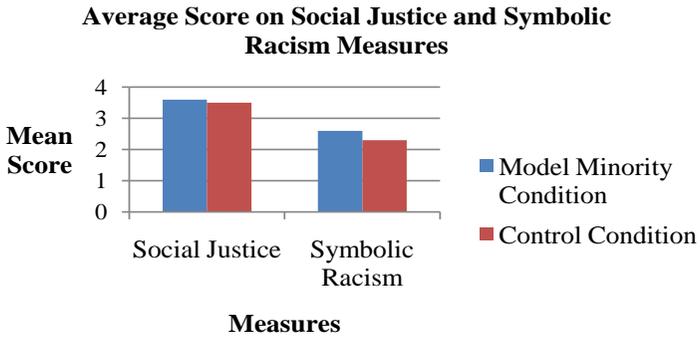
Figure 2. Average score on Feelings towards Blacks measure for both conditions

Average Score on Feelings towards Blacks
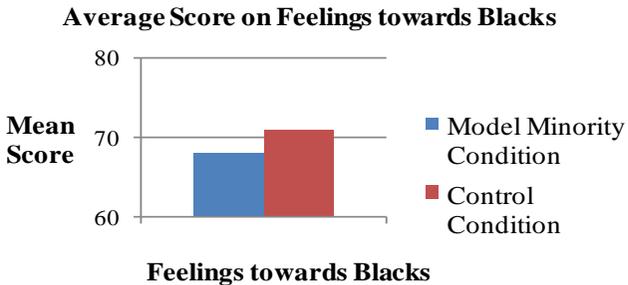
Figure 3. Average score on Symbolic Racism measure for political conservatives in both conditions

Average Score on Symbolic Racism Measure

Symbolic Racism Score

Acknowledgements

Safia Farole
Major Psychology, *Minor* Political Science
farole1427@gmail.com

My research interests include the intersection between multiculturalism and politics, race and ethnicity. I intend on applying to Ph.D. programs in Political Science that fit my research interests.

Cognitive Influences on Evolutionary Fitness

Albert Han

Abstract

An experiment was conducted to investigate the moderational effect of power on the attractiveness of 'nice' men. Previous research has shown inconsistent results on the attractiveness of both power and/or kind men. This experiment proposes that power and kindness are inextricably linked and that information about one construct leads to assumptions about the other. Taken together, it is proposed, kindness and power provide a much fuller picture of sexual/romantic attraction than either construct alone. Participants were presented with 4 types of hypothetical male targets: Powerful x Mean, Powerful x Nice, Weak x Mean and Weak x Nice. Contrary to the hypothesis, the results suggested that 'niceness' moderated the attractiveness of powerful men and not the other way around. Mean targets were rated as least attractive regardless of power. Powerful and nice targets were rated as most attractive. Limitations and further directions are presented.

Introduction

The debate continues in popular culture as well as in the scientific literature; Are women attracted to dominant men? In popular culture, it is not hard to find examples books stating that women go for confidence, cockiness or dominance (e.g. Markovik, 2007; Strauss, 2005).). On the other hand it is not hard to imagine simply asking women "are you attracted to dominant men?" and receiving the answer, "no". The scientific literature is also divided. There is evidence to suggest that women are attracted to powerful men (Buss, 1989; Feingold, 1982; Gangestad & Thornhill, 1997; Sadalla, Kenrick & Vershure, 1987) but also evidence that does not support this conclusion (e.g. Burger & Cosby, 1999; Snyder, Kirkpatrick & Barrett, 2008). For example, Sadalla et. al., (1987, experiment 2) found that a tennis player described as having "very strong" serves and "extremely powerful" returns with an "extremely competitive" personality was rated as more attractive than a player who had "consistent and well-placed" serves and returns and who "plays for fun rather than to win". On the other hand, Burger and Cosby (1999) found that men described as "aggressive, assertive, confident, demanding, and dominant" were generally less attractive than men described as "easygoing, quiet, sensitive, shy, and submissive".

One study found an interaction between dominance and niceness; Women were most attracted to dominant men that were also nice (Jensen-Campbell, Graziano & West, 1995). Intuitively this would make the most sense; both men and women like those that are nice to us. The more interesting topic might be to examine why the preference for either dominance of kindness is consistent only when both attributes are presented. I propose that women are biologically attracted to dominance but learn to both a) associate the concept of dominance as an unattractive characteristic and b) seek out people that are kind to them (as do their male counterparts).

Evolutionary theory dictates that a mates' romantic attractiveness is based on their fitness (Barash, 1982; Thornhill & Gangestad, 2008; Wilson, 2000). The American Heritage Dictionary (2009) defines biological fitness as: "The extent to which an organism is adapted to or able to produce offspring in a particular environment". A dominant male controls the most resources (e.g. food) and displays dominance cues that signal quality genes (e.g. largest fangs). These characteristics assure the female that mating with the dominant male will provide a high probability of their offspring surviving (Wilson, 2000). Over the course of our evolutionary progress, we have come to be attracted to dominant individuals. It has been consistently shown that dominance cues such as superior height (Kurzban & Weeden, 2005; Shepperd & Strathman, 1989), masculine facial features (Johnston, Hagel, Franklin, Fink, & Grammer, 2001; Neave & Shields, 2008), and voices low in frequency (Feinberg, Jones, Little, Burt & Perret, 2005; Collins, 2000; Puts, 2005; Oguchi & Kikuchi, 1997) are rated as more dominant and more attractive than the comparison conditions. Although we are biologically attracted to dominance, it is possible that our ability for higher cognition allows us to look beyond biologically ingrained preferences.

Certainly, there are numerous studies showing that we are attracted to nice people (e.g. Schopler & Compere, 1971). A possible explanation for the consensus finding that women are attracted to dominance cues but do not self-report attraction to dominant men is that dominant men are thought of as not "nice". In other words, women are not attracted to mean men and dominance becomes associated with mean. This hypothesis also works to explain why previous studies on attraction to dominance have been inconsistent. Participants may have inferred that the dominant man was also unkind or that the submissive man was also kind; this line of research looks to explain and remove this confound. I believe that perceptions of power and perceptions of

kindness are related and interact with each other to create a more complete picture of what is attractive. Although powerful men may be attractive automatically (i.e. biologically), women's ability to at higher cognition may influence their ultimate feelings of attraction.

Method

Participants

Participants were 139 female undergraduates attending the University of Washington. Participants were recruited using the university's online subject pool. They were granted extra credit in an introductory psychology course in exchange for participation.

Procedure

Participants were brought into the lab and separated into individual rooms. After signing consent forms, they were presented, in random sequence, with a total of 4 written descriptions which were randomly paired with a headshot of a man[1]. The 4 descriptions were composites of two dimensions Power/Weak (e.g. Active, Assertive or Reserved, Timid) and Nice/Mean (e.g. Considerate, Cooperative or Rude, Selfish). This created the following conditions: Power x Mean, Power x Nice, Weak x Mean, Weak x Nice. Subjects rated each face on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely) on a variety of questions, including questions about their romantic interest in meeting the hypothetical man (e.g. How interested would you be in dating him?). Afterwards, participants completed scales for an unrelated experiment in which this study was embedded. Participants were then debriefed and lead out of the lab.

Results

The repeated measures ANOVA indicated an difference in means, $F(3, 136) = 99.945$, $p < .001$. Tukey post-hoc comparisons of the four groups indicated that Power x Mean stimuli had significantly lower preference ratings than Power x Nice stimuli $p < .001$ and Weak x Mean stimuli had significantly lower preference ratings than Weak x Nice stimuli, $p < .001$. Comparisons between the Weak x Mean and Power x Mean were not statistically significant at $p < .05$.

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[1] Headshots available upon request

Discussion

The current research provides evidence suggesting that power and kindness should be considered together when examining their roles in romantic and/or sexual attraction. Mean targets were rated as unattractive, whether they were powerful or weak. Powerful targets that were nice were rated as more attractive than powerful targets that were also described as mean.

The hypothesis was not confirmed; instead of power moderating the attractiveness of niceness, niceness moderated the effect of power. The central limitation with the current study is that women were given a direct, explicit self-report task. Judgments about attractiveness were garnered through presenting words which participants had time to think over consciously before answering any questions. It is possible that a different effect would emerge using implicit measures. As stated before, I propose that attraction to dominance is primarily automatic whereas attraction to kindness is more of a learned preference. It is important to note that this study should be viewed as the beginning of a long series of studies using a variety of measures that will need to be completed before any strong statements can be made.

One future direction for research would be examining implicit versus explicit preferences in romantic partners. Human attraction to dominance is, according to evolutionary theory, biologically ingrained. Thus, attraction to dominance is primarily (if not sometimes exclusively) implicit. On the other hand, attraction to kindness requires much more thought. For example, it is possible that we are automatically (implicitly) attracted to tall people but it requires more thought to think of characteristics of a "kind" person. In addition, participants' concerns of self-concept may have played a large role. It is socially encouraged to like those that are nice to us; that may not be the case for attraction to "dominant" partners.

Another area for future research would be examining how power perceptions and kindness perceptions influence each other. It is possible that describing a target as kind without providing any power information may cause a female participant to implicitly link kindness with weakness. This would explain the dissociation between women's self-reported dislike of dominant partners and their attraction to dominance cues such as height (Kurzban & Weeden, 2005) and masculine facial features (Barber, 1995).

The current research highlights the importance of understanding the interaction of power and kindness to produce a more complete picture of human partner preferences. An exploration of the interaction

of implicit and explicit preferences may also lead to fruitful research in human sexuality.

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Albert Han
Psychology
Ssckp86@washington.edu

I am interested in psychological research with practical applications, especially with a focus on power.

Islamic finance, an emerging alternative: an analysis of the Islamic finance industry in the context of the changing global financial industry

Muhammed Idris

Abstract

Globalization and increasing economic indicators such as growing trade flows, unhindered movements of finance, investment and production have reduced information, transportation, and transaction costs. Arguably it has also facilitated the liberalization of trade, finance, investment, and capital flows, which has in turn assisted in the growing interdependence of sovereign economies. Indeed the broadening global financial markets, has created an opportunity for the emergence of Islamic Financial Institutions, of the phenomena of a new global economy. Through comprehensive empirical analysis this study examined the contemporary usage of Islamic real estate financing tools, particularly Murābaha (cost+markup), Ijāra (lease), and Mushārākah (diminishing-partnership). Furthermore this analysis shed some light on the trade off and implications of prudent banking practices and financial product engineering to meet the demand of a growing complex financial world. The study findings contribute to a better understanding of an important emerging industry, Islamic Finance and Banking.

Introduction

What is Islamic finance?

> "It should first be noted that Islamic economic jurisprudence does not negate the power and credibility of market forces. Neither does it deny profit motive or private ownership." (Usmani, 1999)

Islamic finance does not have a long history as it only dates back to 1975 when Bank Faisal in Egypt was established. It is a mode of finance in accordance with the precepts, principles, and values of the Islamic ethico-legal system (Shari'ah). In practice this means processes and procedures, which are consistent with the objectives of the Islamic ethico-legal system.

In the past decade financial industries and markets have seen the unprecedented growth of Islamic financial services. They have expanded from just individual investment vehicles to diversified sectors including sovereign funds and financing of various infrastructure projects. This is

evident when taking into consideration the number of corporate and foreign investors raising financing capital based on Islamic principles (Devaux, 2005).

The statistics compiled on the Islamic banking and finance industry reveals an increase in the number of Islamic financial institutions along with an increase in diversity of products and services offered. Attracting a niche audience who has long since demanded services compliant with Islamic law or *Shari'ah*, the industry has seen significant growth in its assets, with an annual average growth rate of 15% over the past three decades (Jafri, 2006). Such a figure illustrates both its importance and attractiveness. Estimates on the future size of the industry, based on the percentage of the Islamic world's savings that is likely to be acquired by Islamic financial institutions, expect that over the next decade the Islamic banking and financial industry will acquire 40% to 50% of the savings of Muslims (Aayan Report, 2006). It must also be pointed out that there are approximately 1.3 billion Muslims, of which a small number of high-net worth individuals have accumulated substantial wealth through oil.

According to a recent report by the International Journal of Management, the average total growth in the industry, measured by total assets controlled, is estimated to have been 25% per year over the past 5 years. Based on the forecast examining the changes in total assets of Islamic institutions, the industry will grow at a rate 20% to 25% per year from current assets of $300 billion (Al Suwaydi, 2005; Boodai, 2005; Aloush, 2005).

Banking giants such as Swiss-based UBS AG and New York-based Citigroup have also taken notice of this growth and have expanded their services to offer financing and banking options in adherence to Islamic jurisprudence.

One of the fastest growing sub-sectors of Islamic finance is real-estate financing. In the United Kingdom alone a majority of Muslims do not conduct business with conventional banks in order to avoid dealing with interest. Such Muslims are instead enlisting the services of Islamic financial institutions with instruments in accordance with Islamic law or *Shari'ah*. The most common modes of real-estate financing are Murābaha (cost+markup), Ijāra (lease), and *Mush*ārā*kah* (diminishing-partnership), which are the subject matter of this paper. Due to the high cost of Murābaha financing, it has been primarily limited to commercial real estate financing, while Ijāra and Mushārākah are the most common methods used for residential real-estate financing (Paracha, 2004).

Islamic finance, an emerging alternative: an analysis of the Islamic finance industry

The expansion and growth of the Islamic banking and finance industry into mainstream global markets over past decades have given rise to a sense of curiosity and craving to understand such a system.

Riba

The most fundamental rule of Islamic economic jurisprudence in regards to Islamic finance is the prohibition against *Riba*, which is often, although arguably inaccurately, translated as interest[1]. In fact, the literal translation of *riba*, as used in the Arabic language means "excess or increase", but there is "universal agreement that not all increases resulting from trade are subject to the restrictions of *riba*."(Fadel, 2008)

Nevertheless, it is a consensus amongst Islamic scholars that riba consists of usury which incorporates *all* (not just excessive) interest on loans.

But where does this prohibition come from? If we look in the holy *Quran* we can find many instances where the prohibition of usury is mentioned. If we look at Surah Al-Baqarah (ch.1 verses: 275-79) (verse 277 does not explicitly mention prohibition) it says (in closest translation):

> "Those who devour usury will not stand except as stands one whom the Satan by his touch has driven to madness. That is because they say, "trade is like usury", but God has permitted trade and has forbidden usury"(275), "God will deprive usury of all blessing, and will give increase for deeds of charity, for he does not love any ungrateful sinner." (276) "Oh you who believe! Fear God and give up what remains of your demand for usury if you are indeed believers."(278) "If you do not, take notice of war from God and his Messenger (SAW) but if you repent you shall have your capital sum. Deal not unjustly and you shall not be dealt with unjustly."(279)

Taking these verses, and others (four other instances in the holy *Quran)*, into consideration the consensus on the issue is that of prohibition of interest on loans. "The irony, of course, is that Islamic

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[1] El-Gamal, *Islamic Finance* pg. 2 (2006) (describing how "Islamic" products mimic the features of conventional ones, with one series of "Islamic" bonds claiming to pay "4 percent annual profit" rather than "interest"). Given the breadth of the doctrine of *riba*, a more accurate translation of *riba* might be "unjust enrichment."

finance largely consists of designing instruments that can be deemed to comply with the formal requirements of Islamic law (specifically the prohibition of *riba*), at the same time, bearing all the economic attributes of the conventional financial instruments, including bearing interest, that are criticized for being inconsistent with Islamic law." (Fadel, 2008)

Furthermore, it is "generally recognized, at least amongst [*Shari'ah* scholars], that Islamic law permits numerous transactions which at least incorporate implicit interest in their structure." (Fadel, 2008). But how can Islamic law and scholars permit such transactions, which incorporate implicit interest?

Not all Interest is Riba

While the consensus amongst scholars is that interest on interest-bearing loans is in fact *riba*, as many scholars and experts of economics and finance, both Islamic and conventional, agree that the term '*interest*' is much broader. It can be used to also describe the time value of money. It is within the juristic ruling of time value of money that Islamic scholars and economists come to contradiction.

> "There is a very large number of papers in Islamic Economics which addressed the question whether or not Islam recognizes a time value of money, many of which come to the negative answer. Those assertions by later Islamic Economists stem from two notable early denials of time preference and time value of money (c.f. Al-MawdÅPudÅPı (1979, pp.20-21), and Al-S. adr (1980, p.639)). Those denials contradict numerous statements by classical jurists of all major schools that "time has a share in the price" (*lil-zamani h. az. z.un fI al-th¯aman*; c.f. Al-Mis.rÅPı (1997, pp.39-48) for full references and quotations)." (El-Gamal, 2001)

As the material from which interest was decreed a form *riba* has been intensively digested over the past decades, my intention is not, nor will it ever be to challenge or directly add to the existing scholarship. But it is instead my intention to create somewhat of a foundation for understanding what *riba* really is, for it is a, if not the distinguishing factor of Islamic finance and therefore key to describing Islamic finance as a system as I will do in this paper.

Islamic Real-Estate Financing – Products and Procedures

Banks and financial institutions are primarily financial intermediaries, serving as conduits for funds from entities with excess (depositors) to entities with a need (debtors). As there are myriad types of banks and financial institutions this paper focuses on Islamic banks and financial institutions.

Islamic banks are required to be engaged in both the purchasing and sale processes of goods and assets according to Islamic jurisprudence[2]. From this trading activity Islamic financial institutions are entitled to profits, as compensation for risks associated with the transaction at hand[3]. Islamic banks' trading processes are unique and as I will discuss throughout this paper, are characterized by variations in the structures of the trade transactions.

Mortgage Transactions vs. Trade

In the *Webster's New World College Dictionary*, a mortgage transaction is defined as "the pledging of property to a creditor as security for the payment of a debt." In order to create the framework for understanding the model for Islamic real estate transactions I will first distinguish it from the conventional real estate model.

This following model describes a conventional real estate transaction:

The parties involved in a conventional real estate transaction are often:

1) Seller, 2) Buyer, and 3) Lender (mortgage lender).
The *seller* and the *buyer* are the parties the direct transaction is taking place between. The *lender* is involved in a separate side transaction with the *buyer*. In a conventional real estate transaction the agreement between the *seller* and the *buyer* is referred to as the "buy/sell agreement" or "purchase and sale agreement," stating the terms of the transaction; e.g., price, closing date, etc. The agreement between the *buyer* and the *lender* on the other hand is the actual "mortgage" transaction, stating the terms on which the buyer has pledged the "property as security" for the financing provided to the *buyer* by the *lender*.

Islamic real estate transactions on the other hand are defined as trades, common activities of many Islamic banks and financial

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[2] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 213
[3] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 213

institutions[4]. That is to say that Islamic financial institutions utilize trade, exchanges of property, as the form of financing. As such the former Islamic bank is a principal within the transaction.

The permissibility of Islamic real estate financing transaction including, credit sales, a sale for which the buyer need not pay immediately, or *Bai' Mu'ajjal*, are beyond doubt and as such most Islamic banks and financial institutions worldwide utilize such modes of finance as alternatives to conventional forms of housing finance[5]. Islamic real estate financing transactions come in many forms, the most common of which are the focus of this study: Murābaha, a "cost-plus sale," Ijāra, "lease-to-buy sale," and Mushārākah "diminishing partnership."[6] With the substantial growth of the Islamic mortgage market and popularity of these alternate forms of finance it is crucial to study their respective products and procedures and hence the subject of the following sections.

In order to understand the latter subjects we must first spell out the defining conditions of a lawful real estate transaction in adherence to Islamic Jurisprudence.

Conditions for Lawful Real-Estate Financing Transactions
According to Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic scholars, and Islamic finance and banking experts and professionals, Shari'ah scholars have derived nine salient features that each mortgage transaction must contain in order to be considered permissible, *halal*, in Islamic law[7]:

1. The sale should be in the form of a contract, agreeable by both parties.
2. The sale should take place with free will and no coercion of any kind from either party.
3. The sale contract must include explicit certainty of price, date, place and time.
4. The seller must be either the owner of the asset (land or real estate) or an agent of the owner.
5. Transfer of title is immediate at the time of sale and requires acquisition of title by the purchaser, which implies assuming the risks related to ownership, including the risk of damage,

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[4] Morpeth, Structuring Shari'ah compliant real estate vehicles, Islamic Real Estate Finance (IREF)
[5] Ziauddin, Framework of Islamic banking, 45-50
[6] Paracha, Islamic Mortgage Boom, 15-17
[7] Usmani, Understanding Islamic Finance, 214

destruction, pilferage or theft, the risk of obsolescence and the price or market risk.
6. The subject of the sale (real property) must be in the physical or constructive possession of the seller at the time of the sale.
7. The sale must be instant and absolute—a sale contingent on the future is void.
8. The subject of the sale must be halal, or lawful (under Islamic jurisprudence), and an object of value.
9. The sale must refrain from prohibitions of riba, risky or hazardous sales, and chance.

It must also be noted that there are conditions, which are applicable to each form of Islamic housing finance transaction. They will be further discussed in their respective sections.

Murābaha

Traditionally, Murābaha is a particular kind of sale where the Seller expressly mentions the cost he has incurred on purchase of the asset(s) to be sold and sells it to another person by adding some profit, which is known to the buyer[8]. The defining characteristic of a Murābaha sale is that the seller must disclose its cost and profit charged on the actual asset(s).

The contemporary use of Murābaha by Islamic banks today is unlike the traditional use of Murābaha as defined above. This Murābaha used as a form of financing is defined as a contract wherein the institution, upon request by a client, purchases, an asset from a third party and resells the same to the client by either on the spot or deferred payment[9]. This transaction is concluded with a prior promise to buy by the client. As such it is referred to as "Murābaha to Purchase Order" (MPO).

Specific Conditions of Murābaha

As a real estate transaction utilizing an MPO as a mode of finance must adhere to the general conditions of a lawful ordinary sale; there are still specific necessary conditions this transaction must satisfy. An account follows of the five additional conditions[10]:

1. Asset(s) to be traded should be real asset(s).

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[8] Raza, Murābaha Finance
[9] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 213
[10] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 217-219

2. The seller must clearly state the original price and the markup and he must do this with transparency, conciseness, and truth. e.g. the contract should read, "this asset has cost me X, and I have added Y as markup."
3. The seller is required to disclose all aspects relating to the asset(s), any defects or additional benefits and information related to original purchase from original seller.
4. The profit margin has to be mutually agreeable between buyer and seller.
5. If the seller gives incorrect statement the buyer may rescind the sale, or vice versa.

Structure

A "Murābaha to Purchas Order" MPO is literally several contracts completed in a specific sequence, which ultimately suffices the financial needs of the client while adhering to the conditions of a lawful real estate transaction. In this section we will describe in depth this contemporary process of using Murābaha as a form of real estate financing.

In this reconstruction of the real estate transaction model (using MPO as mode of finance) the process has been broken down into three different stages; 1) Promissory Stage, 2) Acquiring Possession stage, and 3) Execution Stage.

1) *Promissory Stage*

At the beginning of this stage a client, who in this case wants to purchase a home, approaches the owner or agent of the home, and gathers all necessary information. The client then approaches the Islamic bank for Murābaha finance. The bank then enters the credit approval (under Shari'ah perspective) phase of the promissory stage. The bank at this point would ask for all pertinent information required to complete a thorough credit check to determine if the client is creditworthy. The Islamic bank requires a detailed analysis from a credit reporting bureau or agency, including information such as date of birth, social security number, current and previous addresses, employment history, income, payment history of debts, etc. Along with the traditional credit check, Islamic banks are required under Shari'ah law to do additionally vetting of the transaction and client including but not limited to, forecasts of the real estate market prices and insuring that the party from whom the real estate is being purchased is a separate third party

agent and not in any relation with the client. After completing an in depth credit and background check the client has the right to appoint an agent of the bank with expertise in real estate to conduct the transaction on behalf of the client. Once a client is approved he is then required to promise to purchase the real estate from the bank after it has acquired possession.

This promise from the client to the bank is at this point documented in a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the two parties (client and bank). This MOU is referred to as the Master Murābaha Finance Agreement (MMFA) and is signed by both the bank and the client[11]. The MMFA specifically outlines the facilitation and execution of the MPO, satisfying all required conditions of a lawful MPO discussed in the previous section. This section also includes but is not limited to explicit documentation of original price, mark-up, and profit margin of the future transaction, and other terms and conditions required by governmental banking regulations[12]. At this point, after the client has given the bank all necessary information and details of the requested property and both parties (the bank and the client) have signed the MMFA, the bank then moves on to purchase the real estate.

2) *Acquiring Possession Stage (Bank Acquiring of Property)*
Before making an offer to purchase the real estate, the bank must conduct a physical inspection of the property and verify all information about the property provided by the client[13]. This physical inspection of the property may be conducted by an outside entity but must be physically observed by the bank. At this point the bank will purchase the real estate from the owner/agent of the property. Upon purchasing the real estate the bank must take actual or constructive possession of the property[14]. All needed paperwork, including titles and deeds, should be transferred under the name of the bank. At this point it is obligatory that 100% of risk be transferred to the bank. (This risk is mitigated by the client's promise to purchase the property) Proper documentary evidence is required at the time of

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[11] Raza, Murābaha Finance
[12] Raza, Murābaha Finance
[13] Khan, Murābaha
[14] Khan, Murābaha

possession by the bank and is a necessary condition before the execution of MPO[15].

3) *Execution Stage (Client Acquiring of Property)*

This is the point where the MPO and the relation of buyer (client) and seller (bank) come into existence. Since the sale is effected on deferred payment basis, the relation of *debtor and creditor* also emerges simultaneously[16]. Fulfilling its promise to make an offer to purchase the property, under the MMFA, the client offers to buy the property from the bank, which it has already purchased from its original owner/agent. This offer shall be submitted in documentation and must be signed and dated by the client after personal inspection of but before actual possession of the property. The terms of this transactional document have already been stipulated and as such are an integral part of the Master of Murābaha Financing Agreement (MMFA). The bank will then accept the offer made by the client, fulfilling its promise under the MMFA. The acceptance of the offer must be documented in a letter of acceptance, which includes all the terms of the MPO such as Murābaha sale price (cost + markup) and payment schedule (including specific dates), otherwise the transaction shall not be considered valid[17]. The client has three options of payment to the bank; i) lump-sum payment, where the payment is all at once in one lump sum, ii) installment payments, where payment is in installments with no down payment, iii) down payment + installments, where after a down payment the remainder of the debt is paid in installments. As the third option is the most popular method of payment a payment schedule contract must be drafted and signed. This payment schedule contract is usually drafted in the promissory stage under the MMFA but must be resubmitted for review and signed[18]. After the execution of the MPO, the title of the property is immediately transferred to the client and the bank's lien is recorded. The final Murābaha sale price then becomes the debt of the client. Thus a demand promissory note is documented and signed by the client acknowledging to the debt amount and its

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[15] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 222-223
[16] Khan, Murābaha
[17] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 222-223
[18] Raza, Murābaha Finance

promise to repay the debt[19]. The promissory note is secured by the subject property. The conditions for demand of the full amount of the debt are 1) late payments or 2) a default.

Issues in Murābaha

The complexity of the above transaction can and does create a number of issues. The specific issues discussed in this section are topics, which are of concern to every type of real estate financing transaction; they include risk management of delinquent clients, overdue payments and defaults, and changing in real property valuation.

Profit or Riba

What distinguished the Murābaha profit from imputed interest on conventional mortgage payments is that in the Murābaha profit is return on property, a real-asset, vs. interest, rent on money. As money has no intrinsic value or utility, Islamic economic jurisprudence does not recognize it as a subject matter of trade; it is only seen as a medium of exchange. Furthermore, according to Islamic economic jurisprudence, profit if generated when something having intrinsic value or utility is traded for money. Financing in accordance with Islamic law is *always* based on illiquid assets, which creates real assets and inventories. The only exception is when different currencies are exchanged for one another.

Risk Management

Risk management plays a crucial role in the structuring and execution of Islamic real estate transactions as it does in most forms of banking and finance. In this section we will discuss how the major risks of overdue payments or defaults and the mitigation processes that are available to Islamic banks.

Overdue Payments

How can an institution motivate a client to pay on time while adhering to the prohibition of interest? One such option that is available but not common is that in the Murābaha contract the bank stipulates that any delay in payment, without genuine reason, all remaining installments are due[20]. The most common practice of overdue penalization is

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[19] The client is not entitled to any reduction in Murābaha sale price in case of early payment of MPO. In the same way the bank cannot increase the Murābaha sale price if the client defaults or make delayed payment.
[20] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 231

requiring clients to pay their penalties to charity. Contemporary Shari'ah scholars have come to a consensus that banks do have the option of charging clients late fees but the proceeds of such charges must be used for charitable purposes[21].

Defaults

But what happens when the client defaults on their payments? Within Islamic jurisprudence clients that are really unable to pay their scheduled payments due to variables out of their control, e.g., lost job or source of income, cannot be charged any such penalties by banks[22]. Instead in the Execution Stage (Client acquisition the property) of the MPO, provision is made to allow the bank to take the subject property, which can be realized to recover loss[23].

Changes in Property Valuation

As the final Murābaha price (cost + markup) has already been signed and stipulated either party holds the right to keep true to the original Master Murābaha Financial Agreement. That is to say that if the valuation of the property plummeted the bank can hold the client to the original contract and continue with stipulated payments[24]. As this is possible it is seen as highly unethical and denounced by scholars. In contemporary practice, a substantial fall in housing prices would likely be accompanied by an adjustment in the purchase price, a renegotiation of the original MMFA.

Ijāra

Ijāra is not originally a mode of financing. It is a type of business transaction whose purpose is to transfer use of an asset from one to another for agreed upon period against an agreed upon rental rate, an *operating lease*[25].

When Islamic finance began to emerge in contemporary financial markets, Islamic scholars and finance and banking experts approved leasing as a Shari'ah compliant form of financing, when subject to certain conditions[26]. Subject to these conditions many Islamic financial institutions have employed Ijāra, a (riba-free) *financial lease,* as a mode of financing.

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[21] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 235
[22] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 231
[23] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 235
[24] Khan, Murābaha
[25] Usmani, An Introduction to Islamic Finance, 113
[26] Usmani, An Introduction to Islamic Finance, 114

The distinguishing essentials of Ijāra are[27]:

1) It is a contract
2) Known usufruct is transferred.
3) Of a particular asset (real-estate)
4) For a specific period of time.
5) Against agreed-upon rental

In the following sections we will discuss the specific conditions of Ijāra, its structure and execution, and issues related to the contemporary use of Ijāra as a mode of financing.[28]

Features and Conditions of Ijāra
As the basic prohibition in Islamic modes of finance is refraining from interest, leasing should not be done using an interest-based loan or by simply replacing the dollar amount of interest as a form of profit with rent. The following conditions must be satisfied for the transaction to be deemed Shari's compliant[29]:

- The lessor must be the owner of the property to be leased and as such must maintain the property leased and protect the property by arranging for insurance against any loss or damage. All costs associated arising from liabilities of leasing, such as damage (not resulting from lessee's negligence), property taxes, insurance premiums, and basic maintenance must be borne by the lessor, but usually the lessor requires the lessee to administer certain ownership related tasks on his behalf.
- The lessor cannot increase agreed upon rent at anytime during the duration of the lease agreement and rent can only be charged after the client has obtained actual or constructive possession of the property.
- All details of the Ijāra contract must be stipulated in a clear, concise, and detailed manner. These terms include the description of the property being leased

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[27] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 280
[28] Throughout this section the lessor refers to the bank and the lessee refers to the client.
[29] Iqbal & Mirakhor, An Introduction to Islamic Finance, Theory and Pratice, 84-85

fully identified by parties, the rental amount, schedule
of payment, and the purpose for which the property
may be used. The lessee cannot use the leased property
for any purpose other than the purpose specified in the
lease agreement. That is to say that property leased to a
lessee cannot be sub-leased except with the documented
permission of the lessor.

- All liabilities associated with usage of the property or
any damages resulting from lessee's misuse or
negligence are borne by the lessee. If the lessee is found
to be in breach of any terms of the lease contract, the
lessor has is entitled the right to terminate the lease
contract unilaterally only but cannot renegotiate the
terms of the contract.

- The only other way to terminate the Ijāra contract is by
mutual consent or in the event of the lessee's death.
Otherwise the Ijāra contract is a binding legal contract
till the completion of its term.

Structure

The main defining premise of Ijāra as a form of financing is the
use of leasing as a mode of financing instead of long term lending on the
basis of interest. In this section we will recreate the model for the
contemporary use of Ijāra as a mode of real estate financing.

Although the concurrent steps within this mode of financing
seem simple, they must be completed in the following order described
below in order to be found permissible according to Islamic Law. In this
reconstruction of the real estate transaction model (using Ijāra as mode of
finance) the process has been broken down into three different stages; 1)
Promissory Stage, 2) Acquiring Possession Stage (Bank acquisition of
property), and 3) Execution Stage (Client use and rental of property).

Promissory Stage

A client approaches an Islamic bank with the request of
financing to purchasing a home. The client, if he has not done so already,
is asked by the bank to approach the owner/agent of the property in
question to obtain all necessary pertinent information about the property.
At this point just as in any mode of finance within Islamic banking, the
bank enters the credit approval (under Shari'ah perspective) phase of the
promissory stage. The bank at this point would ask for all pertinent

information required to complete a thorough credit check to determine if the client is creditworthy. Once the client and the deal at hand have been vetted thoroughly, a Memorandum of Understanding is drafted stipulating all pertinent information of the business deal and the terms for the proposed lease. Note that while the MOU is executed to Stage 1, none of the documents to which it refers are executed until Stage 3.

Ijāra Contract

      The main part of this MOU is the Ijāra agreement, which contains all the terms and conditions pertinent of a permissible Ijāra lease. This document shall include the following main addendums: Description of the Ijāra Asset, Schedule of Ijāra Rentals, Receipt of Asset, and Demand Promissory Note[30].

      The description of the Ijāra asset contains the detailed description about the Ijāra property agreed between the parties e.g. address, details of property etc… This addendum must be signed after the lessee has taken actual or constructive possession of the usufruct of the property[31]. The schedule of Ijāra rentals is a schedule, which contains a table, which shows the amount of rental, whether it is monthly, quarterly, or half yearly, and date of payment of each rental. Most importantly this schedule will contain the date on which the first rental is due; the date the lessee takes actual or constructive possession of the property[32]. The rental prices and due dates must be clearly and concisely spelled out. This document shall be signed after the lessee has taken actual or constructive possession of the usufruct of the property.

      The receipt of assets is the documentation that confirms that the client has taken the possession of the leased property described in the earlier document "description of Ijāra Asset." This document is signed by the client upon taking control of the usufruct of the property, as an acknowledgment of the receipt of the described property[33]. It is upon the signing of this document that the client is recognized as the lessee. As the amount of rentals becomes the debt of the lessee after the signing of the Ijāra agreement, the lessee signs a promissory note acknowledging of the debt amount and a promise to repay that debt to the lessor[34]. Other documents which may be included in the Ijāra agreement include Undertaking for Personal use of Ijāra asset, a trust receipt, authorization

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[30] Shafqat, Ijara
[31] Shafqat, Ijara
[32] Shafqat, Ijara
[33] Usmani, Ijara
[34] Shafqat, Ijara

to take possession of leased asset, and promise to gift or sell the property at the end of the lease.

The MOU may also include but is not limited to other terms required to satisfy conditions of a valid Islamic business transaction and governmental banking regulations. The bank at this point undertakes from the client some security deposit as collateral to ensure that the client is both serious in his promise and will take the asset as a lease when purchased by the bank and as security which can be realized for any losses incurred from default.

After the bank and the client have agreed on all terms and have signed this Memorandum of Understanding, including a promise to take the property on lease, the bank approaches the agent/owner of the property for purchase.

Acquiring Possession Stage (Bank acquisition of property)

The bank can directly purchase the property or appoint any agent for the purpose of purchasing the property on its behalf. According to the AAOIFI (Accounting and Auditing Organization for Islamic Financial Institutions) Standards, if a bank chooses to appoint an agent on to purchase the property on its behalf it is preferable for the agent to be a separate third-party conduit, but the client may be appointed as the agent. The bank, however, will remain the sole owner of the property and as such is liable to for all risk and expenses associated with the property[35]. Before making an offer to purchase the real estate, the bank must conduct a physical inspection of the property and verify all information about the property provided by client. This physical inspection of property may be conducted by an outside entity but must be physically observed by the bank. At this point the bank or an appointed agent will purchase the real estate from the owner/agent of the property. Upon purchasing the real estate the bank must take actual or constructive possession of the property before it can be leased to the client. All needed paperwork including titles and deeds, should be transferred under the name of the bank. Proper documentary evidence is required at the time of possession by the bank and is a necessary condition before the execution of Ijāra lease.

Execution Stage (Client use and rental of property)

After taking possession of the property, the Ijāra is signed and executed and the relation of lessor (bank) and lessee (client) are formed. Usufruct of the property is transferred to the lessee and payment of rent

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[35] AAOIFI, 2004-5a, Standard on Ijara, 140

begins on a date agreed upon by both parties and documented in initial
MOU.

When using Ijāra as a form of financing the intention of the
client is to purchase the Ijāra property at the completion of the lease. As
it is a necessary condition for a valid business transaction is that no two
business contracts can be inter-twined a separate promise to purchase the
property at the end of the lease must be made. As such the Ijāra lease
transaction and the promise to purchase the property at hand are two
separate transactions. This will be discussed in detail in the following
section on *'issues within Ijāra'*.

Issues in Ijāra

Determination of Rent

The determination of rent on the basis of the aggregate cost
incurred in purchase of property or fluctuation of real estate prices, is
consistent with Islamic economic jurisprudence, if both parties (the
lessee and lessor) agree on a rental rate, and all conditions of a valid Ijāra
sale are satisfied. Thus the most important premise of determining rent is
a mutually consented rental rate which reflects the original total cost for
purchase/acquisition of Ijāra property plus an agreed upon profit margin.
Such a rental rate is determined through traditional amortization
calculations varying between different Islamic banks.

In the case of long lease periods, contemporary scholars have
allowed tying rental rates with a well-defined reference rate or
benchmark or enhancing the rent periodically according to a mutually
stipulated proportion (e.g. 5% a year). Such an Ijāra contract is akin to a
variable rate mortgage. It must be clearly pointed out, that the rental rates
must be determined and clearly stipulated in the schedule of Ijāra rental
payments addendum to the Ijāra contract, so the lessee can in effect
know his total cost in terms of rent to the lessor. As this may be
permissible, the common practice recommended by scholars and used by
a majority of Islamic banks is to limit the length of the Ijāra contract to a
relatively short period and to renegotiate the terms of the contract or
simply renew the contract at that time.

The determination of rent in contemporary usage of Ijāra as a
form of real estate financing varies. The most common practice is
determining a fixed rental rate for a fixed duration. Any changes in the
valuation of real estate results in shared gains and losses by both parties.
Although the most common practice is determining a fixed rental rate for
a fixed duration, a proportional amount of Islamic banks exercise their
right to a variable rental rate to reflect the time value of money. If such a

course of action is taken, as described above, the rental rates must be determined before the Ijāra contract is signed, and must be clearly and concisely stipulated in the Ijāra contract.

After the agreement and rental rate is finalized and the proper documentation signed by both parties, the lessor cannot for any reason, including late rental payments, increase rent unilaterally. Parties, however, upon mutual consent, can revise the lease period, rental rate, or both throughout the duration of the Ijāra contract.

Rental Rate or Riba

What distinguishes the Ijāra rental rate from interest on conventional mortgage payments is that in the Ijāra rental payments are rent on property, a real- asset, vs. interest, rent on money. As money has no intrinsic value or utility, Islamic economic jurisprudence does not recognize it as a subject matter of trade; it is only seen as a medium of exchange. Furthermore, according to Islamic economic jurisprudence, profit is generated when something having intrinsic value or utility is traded for money. Financing in accordance to Islamic law is *always* based on illiquid assets, which creates real assets and inventories. The only exception is when different currencies are exchanged for one another.

Risk Mitigation in Ijāra

As with all forms of trade and business, there are specific risks associated with certain types of business transactions. As a result of continual market growth, especially in the real estate financing market, there is an increasing demand to understand how to assess and manage issues of risk associated with Islamic financial instruments. Islamic finance, through different processes and mitigation tools, has created a system in which these risks are identified, assessed, and mitigated.

In this section I will review different types of risks, which are either common to all financing transactions or specific to Ijāra transactions, and mitigation tools utilized by Islamic banks.

Refusal to Take Asset on Lease

The first risk associated with Ijāra transactions stems from the structure and execution of the transaction in that the bank must purchase the Ijāra property and must transfer usufruct of property before leasing can commence. A viable risk can be found in the client refusing to take the Ijāra property on lease. It is for this reason that the structure and order of execution of the transaction is completed in a specific order and contains specific documentation. When the bank and the client signed the

proper paperwork included within the memorandum of understanding
and the Ijāra contract, a binding contract was signed in which the client
promises (is legally bound) to adhere to taking the property on lease.

Also before the bank purchases the property a security/guarantee
is taken from the client as an incentive to remain committed to the
transaction throughout its duration. In the case that the client still refuses
to take property on lease, the property can be sold in the open market and
the security/guarantee can be realized to recover actual loss.

Late Payment and Defaults

Rent associated with any lease contract takes the form of a debt
payable to the lessor in any type of leasing contract. Under Islamic
economic jurisprudence it must be subjected to all rules prescribed for a
debt and as such late fees would be considered riba and in effect
prohibited. Unscrupulous lessees could exploit this aspect and cause loss
to the lessor by willful default. To provide a deterrent, contemporary
scholars have allowed any amount taken as a penalty payable to charity.
The amount of the required donation varies according to the period of the
delinquent payments or default but is usually calculated on a percentage
per annum basis. Any charges over the amount of the agreed rental rate
must not be taken as income by the bank and cannot be used in a way to
profit the bank. As this late penalty cannot become part of the banks
income, contemporary Islamic banks have a clause in the lease
agreement (Ijāra contract), that upon default the bank will take
possession of the leased asset and enforce the collateral to recover its
losses.

Therefore if a customer either defaults or is late in making any
payments, and the bank might not be able to recover even on its
investment; the asset is taken back, but if it does not cover the loss, the
banks only option is to realize the proceeds from the sale of the subject
property. If proceeds do not cover the full cost of the loss, the bank
incurs the additional loss.

Rate of Return Risk Due to Inflation

A common critique of Ijāra financing from those both internal
and external of the Islamic finance field, is that rental rates when not
adjusted to inflation can result in losses in rate on return. This risk can be
covered through a benchmarked floating rate, which is permissible
subject to a floor, a cap, and clear pre-determined calculations and
stipulation in Ijāra contract.

Early Termination

At any time, upon mutually consent, the Ijāra contract can be terminated. If this is the case, keeping in mind the market value, the bank can also take the asset back and sell it in the open market to redeem its investment. If full investment is not redeemed it is at loss to the bank. In more risky cases, an undertaking or promise to purchase the asset at a pre-agreed price schedule can be obtained from the customer before all documentation is signed.

Sale of Asset at Maturity

Ijāra (lease) and sale are two different types of contract with different governing rules, particularly, in view of the principle that while in sale contracts, ownership is transferred to the buyer instantly even if it is a credit sale. In Ijāra ownership always remains with the lessor throughout the duration of the contract and only usufruct is transferred. A transfer of ownership cannot be made to take effect on a future date.

Contemporary scholars recommend that the original Ijāra contract should not contain a precondition to buy the property at the end of the lease period but instead should enter into a separate promise to sell agreement by the lessor. In effect, at the end of the lease period the bank, promissor, is required to offer to sell the property to the lessee, client, but the lessee, promissee, is not required to purchase the property. This would mean that the lessee has an option to purchase, and the lessor cannot refuse to sell, legally bound by his promise. In this case the subject property is sold at its residual value after the completion of the lease.

Furthermore, to avoid a bilateral promise between the lessor and the lessee, which in essence is a contract, the common practice is to gift the property to the lessee at the end of the lease period. This is because in contemporary practice, at the end of the lease period, the bank, as the lessor, has recovered the whole cost incurred on the asset and also a return thereon as its profit margin from the lessee. As the lessee has already paid his debt and dues to ownership, the best way to transfer ownership is to gift it or sell it for a nominal price.

There is, however, an objection that such a contract is not Shari'ah compliant in that it is one transaction with multiple contracts. This perception is disregarded for the following reasons:

1. The main transaction taking place is that of a lease in which a lessor leases a property to a lessee, transferring usufruct of the property in exchange for a mutually agreed upon rental rate for an agreed upon duration.

2. It consists of the Ijāra contract, which is executed after all proper documentation including a promise to lease is signed, and a unilateral agreement which is not binding on the promissee and is as such not a transaction until entered by both parties after the duration of the lease period.

3. This arrangement is justifiable to the lessee, who after paying cost of property plus some mutually agreed upon profit margin in rent receives ownership either as gift or for a minimal charge.

A sale executed after the end of the lease period is that of a separate sale and not a part of the Ijāra contract.

Mushārākah

Mushārākah as the most common form of real estate financing utilizes a structure in which the bank and the client will purchase a property jointly. Often a conventional limited liability company (LLC) is utilized. The client simply purchases the banks ownership equity shares in the LLC over a pre-determined period of time.

'Conditions of a Valid Diminishing Mushārākah (Diminishing partnership)'[36]

- In a traditional Diminishing Mushārākah transaction the partnership agreement is not required to be formal or written, but when being used as a mode for financing it is highly recommended and always practiced that the partnership agreement be documented and signed by both parties.
- The partnership agreement must be written in clear and concise terms.
- The agreements of joint purchase, leasing usufruct, and selling shares can not be tied together in one contract.
- Ownership shares must be divided into units and prices of each unit must be pre-determined and stipulated in Mushārākah agreement.
- At the time of purchase, sale should be done through undertaking of offer and acceptance.
- According to contemporary scholars, it is preferable that the prices of each unit are determined on the basis of market value of the house on the date of initial joint purchase, but it is

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[36] First Pakistan Islamic Banking & Money Market Conference, Mushārākah, Sept 14-15,2005

permissible that unit prices represent a particular price agreed upon by both parties.

- Monthly payments must represent 1) paying a proportionate rental rate to the bank based on the bank's share of the property, and 2) equity contribution to buy out the bank's share of equity in the house.
- All costs must be pre-determined and stipulated in Mushārākah agreement so the client may know the exact amount he is paying throughout the duration of the transaction.
- Profit sharing should be pre-determined as a ratio or percentage of total profits. No fixed amount can be pre-determined as profits.
- Losses are borne by partners relative to their contributed capital.
- Each partner is a representative of the other in the joint venture.
- Each partner has equal rights to participate in any and all aspects of the transaction.
- Partners can only exit the Mushārākah partnership once they have discharged their liabilities or sold their shares in the market, as agreed upon by both parties in the partnership agreement.

Structure

The structure of a Diminishing Mushārākah Agreement is virtually the same as that of an Ijāra contract. The only variation is that the rental rate paid to the bank by the client not only represents payment for usufruct of the joint property but also payment purchasing the bank's equity shares.

Issues in Diminishing Mushārākahh

Profit or Riba

Similar to the cases of Murābaha and Ijāra , what distinguishes the Diminishing Mushārākahh profit from imputed interest on conventional mortgage payments is that in the Diminishing Mushārākahh profit is return on property, a real- asset, vs. interest, rent on money. As money has no intrinsic value or utility, Islamic economic jurisprudence does not recognize it as a subject matter of trade; it is only seen as a medium of exchange. Furthermore, according to Islamic economic jurisprudence, profit is generated when something having intrinsic value or utility is traded for money. Financing in accordance to Islamic law is *always* based on illiquid assets, which creates real assets and inventories. The only exception is when different currencies are exchanged for one another.

Default and Late Payments

Under Islamic law, it is strictly prohibited to charge additional fees for delinquent payments or defaults. The reasoning comes from an understanding of valid gains on business transactions in which one cannot profit unless it is a "reward" for his services.[37] That is to say that the late payments are undeserved profits by banks for they have not provided a service to the client entitling some earning.

As discussed in previous sections of default and late payments for the other forms of Islamic real estate financing, Murābaha and Ijāra, the mitigation tools for such risks are the same for all business transactions under Islamic Law. To discourage late payment, the bank requires the client to pay a pre-determined amount to charity[38]. This clause is stipulated in an undertaking made by the client in the Mushārākah agreement.

In regards to the mitigation of default risk, the bank upon entering the real-estate financing agreement with the client, has taken the asset, in this case the subject property, as security for the outstanding payments. In the event that the client defaults on his rental payments, the subject property is sold. The bank realized the proceeds to recover its loss[39]. If the proceeds do not cover full cost of loss then the bank incurs the additional loss.

An exception to the general rule of not being able to rely upon other assets to recover full loss is in Pakistan. In Pakistan in the event of a default the event of a default the bank will issue a notice of termination to the client upon which the client would have to buy out the "face value of the banks share of the property pursuant to the purchase undertaking."[40] Consequently, the liability would be considered just as conventional debt and as such is claimable by law by the bank.[41]

Risk of Loss

Mushārākah is often critiqued in that its arrangement is more likely to pass its losses onto the bank and thus unto the banks depositors. The critique goes further on to argue that as such the depositors, being

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[37] Ayub, Understanding Islamic Finance, 78

[38] First Pakistan Islamic Banking & Money Market Conference, Mushārākah, Sept 14-15,2005

[39] Yavas, Home-financing institutions: default risk of mortgage loans

[40] First Pakistan Islamic Banking & Money Market Conference, Mushārākah, Sept 14-15,2005

[41] First Pakistan Islamic Banking & Money Market Conference, Mushārākah, Sept 14-15,2005

constantly at risk to losses, will not find it in their in their interests to deposit their money in an Islamic bank.[42]

This critique is misconceived. It must first be made clear that no bank or financial institution, conventional, Islamic, or otherwise, can mitigate 100% risk in each of its transactions. As such conventional banks employ certain processes including credit and background checks on their prospective clients to determine if the level of risk associated with the client is worth the profits to be made.

Islamic banks, as regular businesses, apply similar processes to determine the feasibility of the proposed transaction and the worthiness of the prospective client. According to the Risk Management Guidelines for Islamic Banking Institutions, published by the State Bank of Pakistan, Islamic banks are required to practice due diligence and follow specific processes in an attempt to mitigate credit, equity investment, market, liquidity, rate of return, and operational risks associated with each of its business transactions[43].

All risks within an Islamic real-estate transaction are in effect identified and mitigated through processes in adherence to Shari'ah law.

Sources of Funding

For financing purposes, Islamic banks rely on one main source of funds besides their own capital and equity, investment deposits. In all there are two types of accounts from which investment deposits can be found; a) savings accounts, and b) investment accounts.

Savings Accounts

Savings accounts operate under the *al-wadiah* principle, in which the depositor has given the bank full authority to use their deposits under guarantee of return when requested for withdrawal. These accounts can be looked upon in the same way as investment type deposits, but the objective of the account holder must be clearly delineated, i.e. retirement, purchasing a house…The type of account earns its holder income, just as its conventional equivalent, as it shares in the profit earned by the bank when the utilized to finance investments.

The main difference between conventional savings accounts and Islamic savings accounts is that of the types and methods of investments of the bank. Islamic financial institutions are required to abide by the conditions, processes, and regulations set forth by Islamic jurisprudence and law while conventional financial institutions are not.

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[42] Usmani, An Introduction to Islamic finance, 52
[43] Said, Shafqat & Rehman, Risk Management Guidelines for Islamic Banking Institutions

Islamic finance, an emerging alternative: an analysis of the Islamic finance industry

Investment Accounts

An investment account runs under a *Mudāraba al-Mutlawa* principle, in which the owner of the capital (the depositor) and money manager (the bank) enter into an agreement where the bank as the *mudarib* (active partner) has freedom in management of the investment of the subscribed capital. However, it is important for the investor (the depositor) to put in writing their expectations for the need of such deposits, i.e. time horizon of investment.

An investment accounts is sometimes mistaken for a savings account. The distinction between the two types of accounts are as follows: a) a higher fixed minimum amount, b) a longer duration of deposits, and c) most importantly, the depositor may lose some of or all his funds in the event of the bank making losses.

Special Investment Accounts

Special investment accounts also operate under the *Mudāraba al-Mutlawa* principle, and usually are directed towards larger investors and institutions. The difference between these accounts and the investment account is that the special investment account is related to a specified project, and the investor has the choice to invest directly in a preferred project carried out by the bank.

Balance Sheets

For a Conventional Bank:

Assets:	Cash	10%
	Short term marketable securities	20%
	Loans	70%
	Total	100%

Liabilities: Deposits	90%
Capital and Retained Earnings	10%
Total	100%

For an Islamic Bank:

Assets:	Cash	40%

Short term marketable securities	20%
Investments (properties financed for clients)	<u>40%</u>
Total	100%

Liabilities: Deposits	90%
Capital and Retained Earnings	<u>10%</u>
Total	100%

Issues

The last few decades witnessed dramatic changes in the structure of financial markets and institutions around the world. Advances in financial engineering and information technology accompanied with specific policy prescriptions such as deregulation and institutional reforms have irrevocably changed the nature of financial transactions. As a result, "people can borrow greater amounts [of money] at cheaper rates than ever before, invest in a multitude of instruments catering to every possible profile of risk and return, and share risk with strangers from across the globe. Financial markets have expanded… [as] broad participation has allowed risk to be more widely spread throughout the economy" (Rajan, 2005).

This broadening of global financial markets is accompanied with greater opportunities for Islamic financial institutions and the emergence of Islamic finance, a mode of finance in accordance with the precepts, principles, and values of the Islamic ethico-legal system or *Shari'ah.* Over the past three decades Islamic finance grew from its highly specialized niche market into a multi-billion dollar global industry. Commensurate with the future prospects of growth and sustainability are select issues and challenges:

Shari'ah Interpretations

The number of different *Shari'ah* interpretations of select processes, concepts, and financial instruments within the Islamic finance industry is seen as a major issue hindering its development and growth. Due to varying interpretations Islamic financial institutions can and do find scholars of Islamic jurisprudence who will grant them *Shari'ah* compliance status, although their procedures and services might be in contradiction to the consensus reached in regards to *halal*, or acceptable business transactions.

Hence the integrity and credibility of the Islamic finance industry has become an issue. A proportional amount of people has expressed doubts in the intentions of the *Shari'ah* scholars and practitioners involved in the development of the industry.

Neijatuallah Siddiqi, a pioneer in the emergence of the Islamic finance industry, suggested in one of his papers, "this leads us to the need for a redefinition of the term '*Shari'ah* compliant.' It should not be confined to analogical reasoning and matching new with old…[instead] a strong involvement of trained economists and social scientists is necessary…[because] *Shari'ah* advisers educated in traditional Islamic sciences can hardly do so…" (Siddiqi, 2006, 475)

Such doubts have lead to increasing standardization efforts as organizations such as the Islamic Fiqh Council of the OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference) and the AAOIFI (Accounting and Auditing Organization for Islamic Financial Institutions) continue to develop proper post-product audit processes which require Islamic financial institutions to comply with *Shari'ah* guidelines defined by a consensus of a majority of Islamic scholars.

Financial Engineering

Product development of Islamic financial products requires the commitment and collaboration of various professionals: *Shari'ah* scholars, social scientists, and Islamic finance practitioners. The main challenge of financial engineering stems from a need to develop select financial products to enhance liquidity and offer tools to manage risk while refraining from *Shari'ah* interpretation unacceptable to the majority of Islamic scholars. This could damage the soundness of the Islamic finance industry in the long run. As clearly demonstrated in the financial crisis of 2008 the utilization of increasingly exotic financial mechanisms tends to be accompanied by increasing risk.

The challenge to Islamic finance is maintaining its prudent banking practices while operating within in the context of this changing global finance industry. Indeed, it has been asserted by some that prudent lending practices that flowed from the strong precepts, principles, and values was a factor underlying Islamic financial institutions not experiencing the full effects of the financial crisis of 2008 to the extent that many conventional banks did. This was particularly evident in the United Kingdom, where both conventional and Islamic financial institutions operate in the same market.

Conclusion

Globalization and increasing economic indicators such as "growing trade flows, unhindered movements of finance, investment" and production have reduced information, transportation, and transaction costs. Arguably it has also facilitated the "liberalization of trade, finance, investment, and capital flows," which has in turn assisted in the growing interdependence of sovereign economies. Such interconnectedness has held huge implications for the Islamic finance industry.

While the Islamic finance industry in the United Kingdom was not immune to the adverse affects of the crisis due to heavy concentration in affected sectors such as private equity and real estate, its prudent banking practices diminished the adverse effects. Such de-escalated effects of the global financial crisis leaves the Islamic banking and finance industry in a better position to benefit from the upturn of financial markets when they come.

As economies rebound and continue to liberalize in an attempt to fully integrate into the global economy, I believe new alternative forms of finance will grow, emphasizing prudent financing; a core facet of Islamic finance. Future research in the field of Islamic banking and finance should focus on the regulation of Islamic financial institutions in the United States of America. To ensure that banks do not assume unnecessary risk, regulation restrictions are placed on the range of possible investments that commercial banks may hold Their investments are generally limited to fixed-income, interest-bearing securities, which are prohibited by the Islamic law, Shari'ah.

The practice of Islamic finance has not only proven to be sustainable but also profitable in taking the form of genuine business and therefore its prospects are bright. But such a task is not without its challenges. It will require collaboration and cooperation at all levels, domestic and international, public and private sectors, industry experts and academics, and scholars of Islamic jurisprudence and their practitioner counterparts.

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The Identity Politics of Environmentalists of the US/ Mexico Border: An Ethnographical Case Study of Sonora-Arizona Borderlands

Briana Ledesma

Abstract

The goal of this study is to investigate how identity politics impact the way Pro Border and Anti Border environmentalists discuss the environmental impacts of the United States Border Policy. The United States Border Policy is a controversial topic and Environmentalists on each side of the issue of the Border Wall are working to protect the environment in Sonora Arizona. This study attempts to answer two main questions.

1. *What is the reason that these individual environmentalists are so passionate?*
2. *Do the goals, opinions and interests of Pro Border Environmentalists differ from those of Anti Border Environmentalists?*

This study takes an emic, ethnographical approach, utilizing narratives and participant observation to obtain a better understanding of the identity of environmentalists in the Sonora/ Arizona Borderlands. The methodology also draws on the analysis of discourse and photography. These methods are used to determine the factors that contribute to the identity of the study population and the differences between the discourse of Pro Border and Anti Border environmentalists. My findings can be applied to the broader study of politics at the border and environmentalists in other locations. This research is unique and will help to define some of the broader impacts and implications of the US border policies and physical border wall and this analysis will help better understand environmentalists as a group. My findings reveal several significant similarities in the identities of these individuals. These findings, however, can only be considered as "preliminary" because they only scratch the surface of several pertinent issues. Very few studies have considered Environmentalists as a sub-culture and further study and documentation is needed.

Introduction and Background

The vexing question of what binds people of a nation to one another has led contemporary theorists to argue that nations are fictions given solidity through political and juridical processes that transform them into material practices, including population control and eugenic containment, immigration restriction and curtailment and full-scale

genocide (Takaki 1993). Nationalism is seemingly "natural" but is in fact, self-interested and ultimately driven by capitalist and imperialist imperatives (Weinbaum 2007). According to Immanuel Wallerstein (2004), nations are political units competing in the world marketplace. The globe is divided into core and periphery. There are those who labor, the periphery, and those who exploit labor, the core, who rationalize their exploitation of the periphery by racializing it. The US/Mexico border is a rare physical manifestation of this relationship, which is why it is so unique to study. This relationship between nationalism and racism is "historical reciprocity" and researchers have studied it in the context of Native American genocide, African American enslavement, and other groups immigrating to the United States (Takaki 1993). By separating the nationals from the "unassimilable" immigrant populations the US/ Mexico border is clearly defined in the minds of Americans (Weinbaum 2007). This relationship at the US/Mexico Border needs to be better defined and studied further.

The discipline of border culture was formed when the construction of the border wall between the United States and Mexico began. There have been several recent articles published about this discipline and there are various avenues of study (Alvarez 1995, Andalzua 1987, Bustamente 1992, Chavez 1992). First of all, the history of the United States is rooted in immigration, which is why the discussion of immigration is prevalent in most scholarly communities. Immigration refers to the activity of entering and settling a region or country to which one is not native, which includes most of the groups that now inhabit the United States (Luibheid 2007). Immigration implies a permanent move across a political boundary, whereas migration implies a lack of permanent settlement. In the discipline of border culture, terms like these hold heavy connotations and reinforce the idea that the study of border culture is not well defined (Stoddard 1986, Weaver 1994, Alvarez 1995, Saldivar 1997). I propose that border culture is an emerging discipline and in order to fill the gaps in the current understanding of border culture, more research must be done.

Undocumented migration responds to changing U.S. labor market conditions. So there are steep increases in flow in late-expansion phases of the U.S. business cycle and significant decreases in flow during economic downturns (Cornelius 2008, Sparke 2006, Ross 1978). Many studies take into account the necessity of migrants as a commodity for the US economy (Kopytoff 1987, Sparke 2006, Nevins 2002). Policing the border is also a large issue because the US border policies have changed so often and several controversial programs have been introduced (Gans 1996, Barth 1996, Heyman 2002, Andreas 2000) . The

relationship between gender and migration (Singer and Massey 2008) and the actual journey of undocumented migrants are studied from a humanitarian perspective, especially when it comes to the meaningless death of migrants. This type of death has been characterized as tragic and unnecessary (Urrea 2004, Ramos 2005, Massey 1998, Cornelius 200, Nevins 2007, Kearny 1986). Finally, the material culture of the border is studied through art analysis and the ethnoarchaeology of material remains of migrants (Sundberg 2005, David 2001).

      The issue of the US/Mexico border policies and border wall is highly politicized because of the immigration issue, but there is a faction of this border culture that is seldom considered. This is the community of environmentalists at the US/Mexico border. Studies of the effects of border development on wildlife have been conducted and have concluded that several species of plant and animals are poorly affected (Sundberg 2007). The border wall itself has made waves in the societies of border towns and throughout the United States. A main concern is the effect of the border wall on the environment. Some environmentalists believe that this is a poor effect and others believe that the border wall actually will help save the environment.

      This study takes a highly specific approach, as opposed to previous general studies and helps to give a better understanding of border culture. One goal is that this study will increase awareness about the US border policy and the way it affects the environment, but more importantly the way people fight on both sides of the issue.

      Our international border with Mexico crosses some of the most biologically rich lands in the world. This includes mountains, two deserts and other important habitats. Some of the plant and animal species that live in these areas are found nowhere else on earth. Unfortunately these species are under assault because border policy operates above the law. The Real ID Act gave the Secretary of Homeland Security the power to ignore any local, state or federal laws that are in place to protect the local environment, including plants and animals. In order to immediately begin border wall construction, our Secretary of Homeland Security was allowed to waive more than 30 laws regarding plants and wildlife, such as the National Environmental Policy Act (Department of Homeland Security). The border patrol has tripled in size since 1996 (Cornelius 2001). This could indicate that the benefits of the border wall outweigh the costs.

      The main focus of my project will be environmentalists that specialize in this issue. They have a unique social identity which I attempt to define. I have also determined that this issue is largely a part of the bigger picture of the still emerging border culture and the United

States' culture of consumerism. Because this is such a highly politicized issue it is important to look at the individuals and the way they address this issue. In comparing Pro-Border and Anti-Border environmentalists I have gained a better understanding of the arguments for and against the border wall and increased immigration control. All in all, the reason we have a border wall, and the reason for this argument is due to the US border policy. Speaking with these individuals has helped to shed light on these reasons.

Definition of Relevant Terms

	Pro- border Environmentalists	Anti- border Environmentalists
Individual Informants	1. Landowners 2. Law Enforcement/ Border Patrol 3. Government 4. Minute Men	1. Environmental Protection Groups 2. Tohono O'Odham Nation 3. Public Land Management
Issues with the U.S. Border Policy	1. The Border Policies of the US are not strong enough to completely curtail immigration. 2. The environment is damaged by the human and vehicle traffic due to smuggling and the waste that is left in the desert.	1. In order to promptly begin border wall construction several protective laws were waived. 2. The border wall is ineffective in preventing illegal immigration, so the costs outweigh the benefits. 3. The border policies are harmful to human life.
Optimal Solutions/ Goals	1. Complete construction of the border wall and use other measures to secure border. 2. Impose minimal damage to the environment, and research ways to foster restoration of plant and animal species.	1. Stop construction of border wall and immediately repair environmental damage. 2. Enforce laws that protect wildlife and land. 3. Research a more environmentally friendly way of stopping illegal immigration.

Identity Politics- identity is a common term that is rarely defined. It is common to have a "personal identity" that mediates between "social identities". One person can have multiple "social identities" that they shift through in a given day (Goffman 1989). A person's home base lies in his/her "personal identity", or who they are. Identity politics emerged in the United States from the women's movement, gay rights struggles, and the New Left in the 1960s. Identity politics offered new conceptualization s of the importance of recognizing and valuing previously denigrated or devalued identities. Identity politics articulate coalitional strategies for linking social identities to one another and to a range of social struggles for justice equity and rights. Identity is neither something we posses nor something that defines us, but instead an unending linguistic process of identity formation (Kaplan 2007, Takaki 1993).

The Identity Politics of Environmentalists of the US/ Mexico Border: An Ethnographical Case Study of Sonora-Arizona Borderlands

Fieldwork

Fieldwork is essential to anthropological studies, especially when considering the writing of ethnography. Two primary forms of fieldwork are participant- observation and interviewing. Anthropologists tend to propose several data gathering techniques, however, some techniques may prove to be ineffective or inappropriate. Another useful technique common in the study of other cultures is document or photography analysis.

Interviews

There are several advantages to the use of Participant-Observation. First, the time that you spend with your informants generally enhances rapport allowing for a more comfortable situation in which to collect data. Second, participant observation enables fieldworkers to distinguish actual from expected behavior and helps diminish the obtrusive effect. Finally, it permits observation of nonverbal behavior and other opportunities to take detailed field notes. The disadvantages are that participant observation is practical only for small sample size, it is difficult to obtain standardized comparable data, and due to problems recording information, one may lack complete data. Another limitation is the obtrusive effect, when the presence of the researcher causes people to behave differently than they would if they would if the researcher was not present (Ferraro 2008).

In this study, participant observation was limited so the primary method for collecting data was structured interviews. A structured interview is an ethnographic data gathering technique in which large numbers of respondents are asked a set of specific questions which differs from unstructured interviews where interviewees are asked to respond to broad open ended questions. This technique is excellent for gathering attitudinal data, information collected in a fieldwork situation that describes what a person thinks, believes or feels and behavioral data, information collected in a fieldwork situation that describes what a person does (Ferraro 2008). The key points of my interviews were that I obtained consent before interviewing, maintained neutrality by not conveying to the interviewee what may be the desired answer, pretested questions to make sure they are understandable and culturally relevant and kept the recording of an interview as unobtrusive as possible. I also made certain that the conditions under which the interviews are conducted did not discourage the distortion of testimony, used simple unambiguous and jargon-free language, phrased questions positively rather than negatively and saved the controversial questions for the end of the interview. These methods were overall successful, despite the fact

that several interviews were very in depth, whereas other informants kept their answers as concise as possible.

Photography Analysis

Anthropologists often utilize documents in order to analyze the past of a culture, or help to supplement their ethnographies with proof. This often involves the examination of data such as personal diaries, newspapers and other mediums such as photography. The use of camera or video camera to document the ecology, material culture and even social interactions of people during ethnographic fieldwork can be very useful. In order to supplement this study, I took photographs and analyzed photographs taken and used by environmentalists.

Results

The interviews with Pro Border and Ant i Border Environmentalists were filled with valuable information that guided me in understanding each informant. The questions and responses can be divided into five sections for analysis.

Goals (Personal and Professional)

Many informants mentioned websites and mission statements when describing their goals. It took a few minutes of talking to achieve more personalized answers. After getting to this point all of the informants were passionate about their goals. I determined that most environmentalists at the border did not plan to pursue environmentalism or careers in environmental policy, but instead it was as though the various careers chose them. My initial expectation was that the environmentalists would romanticize the issue and spend time convincing me to help with their goals. In reality, every informant was extremely helpful and realistic about the current state of their positions.

> "I oversee the recreation, restoration and uses of the [Ironwood Forest National] Monument. When the Monument was designated by the president in 2000 several pieces were identified; Saguaro Cactuses, Desert Bighorn Sheep, Sonoran Desert Tortoise, Ironwood trees…basically Sonoran Desert vegetation, wildlife, archaeological sites, geology… it runs the whole gamut of natural resources"

> "When areas are used for recreation or illegal smuggling,
> well send a team out to rehabilitate the area. Some places
> it is [effective], some places it is less effective. With
> illegal uses they are actually pretty effective, we can
> easily go in there, identify an illegal use and
> immediately stop it"

> "Uses that are allowed, create impacts, and our hands are
> a little bit more tied it how we deal with it. So that brings
> us to another point where we need to address the actual
> issue of what is allowed out there"

> **"**We love the area where we work, we work with many
> people from the area, it's their backyard and they want to
> protect it, we work with them… with things that they
> want to get done. I love working with the community,
> who also have a stake in what happens"

Background (Education, Previous Positions)

There are no consistencies in the educational background of
these individuals. The educational backgrounds of the informants ranged
from Business degrees to degrees in English. They had unique and varied
previous positions. The generation of individuals that was speaking with,
may not have had quite the same opportunity to learn about
environmental science, the way we do today. In a few years, I would
hypothesize that many environmentalists will be students that are
interested in protecting the environment and attend schools with specific
programs to meet their goals. The informants recommended that students
who are interested in working in their field should pursue degrees or
education in environmental science or political science. They seemed
eager to spread the word about programs and volunteering, because they
are always looking for help and other individuals to advocate for their
cause.

> "Natural resource planning, or environmental planning is
> an excellent field to go into. It gives you a broad
> perspective of all the different issues in land
> management"

"Business is essential to go into a management position"

"I was born and raised in New York City (Manhattan) and never heard of the Border Patrol. I am one of the first to be born in the United States, my parents LEGALLY immigrated to the United States from Ecuador after receiving Visas to come to this country. There is right way to enter into the United States and my parents are an example of that. In 2004 I traveled cross country and stopped at an immigration check-point, it was my first experience with the U.S. Border Patrol. I have bachelors in political science/law and a Master's in Public Administration. All of my education has been geared to the public sector, and I always enjoyed my criminal justice classes (criminal justice, juvenile delinquency, criminology, constitutional law, criminal law, etc, etc). After finishing graduate school I saw that the U.S. Border Patrol was hiring, and I applied"

Hobbies and Interests

Environmentalists generally enjoy participating in outdoor sports and activities. Several informants mentioned activities such as hiking, kayaking, canoeing, fishing, camping, rock climbing, biking and volunteering. This is representative of their personalities and is likely directly correlated with the area in which they work . Several informants explained that they had grown up in Arizona or an area with similar climate and options for activity. It seemed that this may be the reason they are so in touch with the environment today.

In future studies it would be interesting to know how this compares to environmentalists as a whole, or environmentalists in other areas. If the outdoors isn't such a sanctuary, are there still people trying to protect it? And if so, what is the reason behind their attitudes?

Opinion of The United States' Border Policy

As previously discussed all border environmentalists have some problem with the Border Policy. Different individuals have opinions on immigration reform, the border wall, and even the solutions to the given problems. In the interviews, however, similar themes constantly appeared because the opinions of both groups reflected the negative

impact of the policy on the environment. Both groups also advocated for more research to be done on cost effective, environmentally friendly barriers. This shows that despite the differences in opinion, there is a common goal for these environmentalists. If policy makers embraced this goal and considered funding research to determine more healthy and cost effective alternatives to the border wall the problem could be one step closer to being solved

"When the border wall is completed, I do not think it will greatly impact the travel patterns that we see now. If they want to cross, the chances are that they'll get through, no matter what we do down there."

"as long as there is a market here for the things they're bringing., the problem will continue"

"With regards to the border policy, I believe that changes need to be made. As a U.S. Border Patrol Agent who works under the Executive branch of the United States Government, with the main responsibility to enforce the laws made by Congress (the legislative branch of the United States Government), I enforce the law. It is the responsibilities of the courts (Judicial branch of the United States Government) overturn any law that is unjust, and there haven't' done so with our current immigration laws. I also think that a lot of this has to do with Mexico failing as a country to provide for its citizens. This is a topic that has way too many points that can be argued for days and days. Every country can agree that it has a right to protect its borders; even Mexico has a Border Patrol on its southern border to stop the illegal flow of Guatemalan citizens".

"Doing the job I do, I see the need for a border "FENCE" (NOT wall), I do not believe that the border fence is a be all end all solution to the illegal immigration problem. The fence along with the rest of our infrastructure and technology are tools for our agents to help them detect, identify, classify, respond to and

ultimately resolve any threat within our area of responsibility. It helps us gain operational control. The primary purpose for the fence is to stop vehicles from entering the United States with drugs, humans, or any other contraband that's not inspected at the port of entry. We do not want terrorist nor terrorist weapons just driving over the international border. Some areas do not have a primary fence because of the geographical condition (mountains), the terrain in this area make it improbable for someone to drive through this area"

"The real problem is human smuggling and drug smuggling. We are located in an area that is heavily used even though it is so far North. The border policy does not directly affect us the way it would if you were at the border, but as far as human traffic goes, we see daily activity"

Political Background

I saved the question about political background for the end of the interviews. Many of the reactions were the same; the informants were tentative and concerned that their responses would be attached to this data. I assured the environmentalists that the data was only quantitative and the results turned out overwhelmingly clear. Pro-border environmentalists identified as conservative, Anti-border environmentalists identified with a liberal background. There were also 5 informants that either chose not to answer or felt that neither category best described them.

Photography Analysis

This picture is representative of the material remains that are left behind when migrants cross the desert illegally from Mexico, for various reasons.

This picture is at the Port of Entry at Nogales. The Mexico side of the border wall is flooded to the top of buildings, but the wall is keeping the water from evenly distributing itself into the United States.

The erosion due to this type of vehicle barrier is detrimental to local landscape, rivers and animals. The vehicle barriers are not as effective in these situations.

The migration of several species of animals has been halted due to the border wall construction. This has become a problem because these species are only indigenous to this area. It is also common to find smaller animals stuck in the wall, or on either side.

This is a picture before the actual construction of a wall has begun. The mountainous land must be bulldozed flat in order to begin construction.

This image depicts the debris that builds up on either side of the wall due to weather conditions. This is a problem when animals try to cross the wall.

The floods that occur when there is heavy rainfall, do not only affect the quality of life of the residents but the unnatural flooding also endangers local plants and animals.

In order to construct the different types of border walls, time and money is poured into bulldozing landscape and building the wall itself.

Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that Pro-border and Anti-border environmentalists share similar issues with the U.S. Border Policies, and have parallel goals in protecting and restoring the environment. This study successfully defines the sub-culture of the environmentalists at the U.S/ Mexico Border and the themes that are present in their discourse. This research is important to the field of border culture and discipline of anthropology because it would benefit the community to learn about this sub-culture. The current status of the United States suggests that environmentalism is on the rise and the ideas and issues that these individuals generate are worth considering and understanding.

The issues discussed in this study are representative of a larger problem in the United States, consumerism. Throughout the United States and in the other nations that the United States exploits, we see a blatant disregard for natural culture and environment. It is common to

think that these problems are only characteristic of the past, but in reality this is an ongoing problem and eventually the environment will no longer be sustainable. A great amount of work has already been done to advocate for the environment and laws and government agencies have been put in place to ensure that damage to the environment, in general, is minimal. Unfortunately, in order to gain a commodity, make a profit or see quick results, these laws can be waived or loopholes are found. If this subculture of environmentalists is at all representative of environmentalists as a whole, we need to pay attention to their discourse. They are passionate and educated about how to prevent the loss of a precious natural resource, the environment.

Applied Anthropology is the application of anthropological knowledge, theory and methods to the solution of specific societal problems. This differs from pure anthropology and is often characterized by problem oriented research which is designed to solve a particular societal problem rather than to test a theoretical position (Ferraro 2008). This research is not yet designed to fix any problems that have been mentioned, but it does fall into the category of applied anthropology. The ethnographic study of contemporary social issues often generates findings that have relevance to policy makers and in this case this is true. The environmentalists at the U.S./ Mexico Border are obviously an important subculture, and they publicize key problems with the United States' Border Policy.

The one common thread between environmentalists on either side of the border wall issue is a call for change. Many environmentalists advocate for the environment and spend time and money educating the public about these issues. Now it's our turn as individuals and academics, to advocate for these environmentalists, and help look for a solution to the problem. At this point in time, more research is needed to find a more effective way to curtail illegal immigration and protect and restore the environment.

I hope that this preliminary research will inspire researchers to take this issue seriously and inspire the public to learn more about the border wall issue as a whole. Once this issue is well known, I hope that individuals will seek help from legislation through letters and other means.

Limitations

As with any preliminary study, limitations in the research were present. First, due to time constraints, participant observation was impractical. In order to do proper participant observation and ethnographical fieldwork I would have needed to spend months in the

field, building rapport, working with individuals and making contacts. As a result, although interviews were conducted unobtrusively and as clearly as possible by avoiding technical jargon, limitations include a small sample size and insufficient time to build rapport with my informants. Finally, ethnographer bias is inevitable in research such as this. I managed to keep my opinions to myself, but the fact is, it is much easier to sustain a conversation with an individual with whom you agree.

Future study is needed to accurately describe this group in an ethnographical sense. In order to create a more impactful and complete study I would have to spend more time in the field which would also be feasible now that I have built rapport with this sub-culture. By taking surveys and hearing more narratives I would like to determine the effectiveness of the work of the environmentalists and further analyze the current status of the border wall construction.

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Acknowledgements

Briana Ledesma
Department of Anthropology
Briledesma@comcast.net

In the future, I hope to research ways that we can make health care more accessible and holistic for every culture. My next step is to pursue a Masters in Public Health.

Developing *Drosophila Melanogaster* as a Model for Aminoglycoside Antibiotic Toxicity

Alicia Martin

Abstract

Pseudomonas aeruginosa bacterial infections are a common problem in immune-deficient patients, such as burn victims, cancer patients, and cystic fibrosis patients. Treating these infections generally involves using an aminoglycosidic antibiotic, such as neomycin, which functions by blocking bacterial protein synthesis. Unfortunately, the range between effective treatment and toxicity is narrow. Patients treated long-term for P. aeruginosa infections often experience renal failure and deafness. The goal of this project is to develop the fruit fly, Drosophila melanogaster, as a model to understand the effects of G418 treatment, an aminoglycoside, and to identify genes whose altered expression can help the fruit fly cope with the side effects of this type of drug. In order to develop this model, I first determined the ability of the flies to cope with the drug by establishing a dose-response curve of G418 concentration to survivorship. I then used two methods to test which tissues are most affected by the drug: a labeling method that showed that G418 concentrates in the gut and a tissue-specific expression system that let me determine which tissues are affected by high doses of neomycin treatment. Finally, I performed a genetic screen using RNA interference to reduce expression of candidate genes that might contribute to aminoglycoside toxicity. Knowledge gained from this type of study may help ameliorate the side effects of aminoglycosides or facilitate development of a drug that targets P. aeruginosa infections with the same specificity but without the long-term side effects.

Introduction

Pseudomonas aeruginosa is a bacterium that infects mainly immune-compromised patients, such as cystic fibrosis, tuberculosis, cancer, and burn patients. Doctors usually prescribe aminoglycoside antibiotics to treat infections caused by this and other gram-negative, aerobic bacteria because of their efficacy and low cost. However, the narrow therapeutic window associated with these drugs means that many patients experience reversible damage to the kidney and irreversible damage to ear hair cells, resulting in hearing loss. Damage to ear hair cells affects up to 25% of the millions of patients treated annually with this class of drug (Moore et al. 1984). The goal of this project is to

develop *Drosophila melanogaster*, the fruit fly, as a model for this toxicity and identify genetic modifiers of toxicity.

Why use Drosophila as a model?

Three lines of evidence suggest that the fruit fly could serve as a good model for understanding aminoglycoside toxicity. First, there is a genetic basis to aminoglycoside toxicity, as evidenced by the fact that in spite of being in the same subfamily and genetically similar, patas and macaque monkeys are highly resistant and sensitive to aminoglycoside toxicity, respectively (Hawkins et al. 1977). Second, fruit flies have homologous tissues to those most affected in humans: a Malpighian tubule and vibration-sensing bristles homologous in function to the kidney and ear hair cells. Finally, other researchers have already designed a tool that will be helpful in this project. They isolated a neomycin resistance gene, *neo*, from bacteria and put it into the fruit fly genome such that it expresses universally and confers resistance to aminoglycoside toxicity (Steller & Pirrotta 1985).

Drosophila melanogaster is one of the most well-developed model organisms for genetic studies. The fruit fly is also sensitive to high doses of aminoglycosides, indicating that it may be useful for understanding the genetic basis of toxicity (Steller & Pirrotta 1985). While researchers have already used other model organisms to understand some aspects of toxicity, few genes have been identified that increase overall tolerance to aminoglycoside toxicity, largely due to a limited ability to perform genetic studies. In contrast, the *Drosophila melanogaster* genome was sequenced nearly a decade ago (Adams et al. 2000), and has since been used to identify genes that underlie human diseases such as autism spectrum disorder, epilepsy, and schitzophrenia (Zweier et al. 2009).

In order to develop the fruit fly as a model, I answered three main questions: 1) Over what range of drug concentration does G418 treatment have an effect on but not kill flies? 2) Do wild-type flies treated with high doses of G418, an aminoglycoside, experience damage similar to that in humans? 3) What tissues or genes aid neomycin toxicity, resulting in fly death? To answer the Question 1, I established a dose-response curve of G418 concentration to survivorship. To answer Question 2, I took a dual approach to look at drug accumulation as well as tissue-specific sensitivity. Specifically, I tagged G418 with a fluorescent molecule and traced its position *in vivo* visually. I also used a tissue-specific expression system, GAL4-UAS, to determine which tissues require the neo[R] gene and are therefore sensitive to aminoglycosides. The GAL4-UAS system is made up of two components; the GAL4 component determines "where" and "when" gene

expression is activated, and the UAS sequence determines which gene is expressed (the "what"). This system is diagrammed in Figure 1. To answer the final question, I performed a screen of candidate genes to determine which genes allow for increased survivorship when their expression is reduced using RNA interference (RNAi).
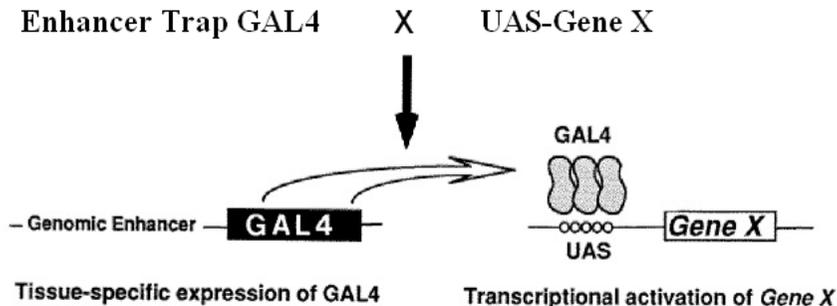

Enhancer Trap GAL4   X   UAS-Gene X

− Genomic Enhancer − GAL4

GAL4

Gene X
UAS

Tissue-specific expression of GAL4

Transcriptional activation of *Gene X*

Figure 1. The GAL4-UAS system.

Methods

Fly dosing

I dosed wild-type and neomycin-resistant (FRT82B) flies as described elsewhere (Xu & Rubin 1993). In order to reduce variability in survivorship, I used 5 females and 3 males as parental flies. I collected adults between 8-16 hours of age and put them in vials with wet yeast to encourage egg production. I let them lay eggs for 2 days, transferred them to new vials for another 2 days of egg laying, then discarded them. I dosed flies with 0, 0.05, 0.1, 0.15, 0.25, 0.35, and 0.45 mg/mL G418 in the food.

Conjugating G418 to Texas Red, a fluorophore

I adapted a protocol described previously (Sandoval et al. 1998) to conjugate G418 to Texas Red (TR), rather than gentamicin. Because gentamicin is a lower molecular weight aminoglycoside, I decreased the volume of G418 used in the protocol to match the 30:1 molar ratio of drug:fluorophore. Next, I melted one bottle of fly food and poured ~2 mL into small bacterial culture tubes and stirred in the G418-TR to a final concentration of 0.45 mg/mL G418. I allowed parental flies to lay eggs on the drugged food overnight, then discarded them. At this lethal dose, however, most wild-type flies don't develop beyond the first or second instar larval stage. Before imaging the larvae at these stages, I put them on wet yeast with blue food coloring for 4 hours to allow them to clear the residual drugged food from their gut.

Cloning

In order to determine which tissues are most sensitive to G418, I wanted to take advantage of the GAL4-UAS system to drive expression of neo^R in different tissues, then dose the flies with a lethal concentration of G418. Flies that survive this dose indicate that the tissue expressing the neo^R gene is sensitive to aminoglycosides. This goal requires a UAS-neo^R construct, however, which did not exist at the beginning of this project. Therefore, I decided to create one. My cloning strategy is diagrammed in Figure 2.
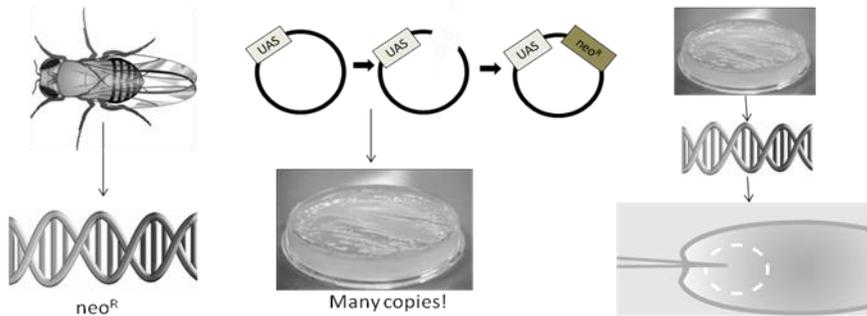

Figure 2. Cloning strategy. I isolated the neo^R gene from fly DNA. I put it into a circular piece of DNA containing a UAS sequence called a plasmid, which bacteria can make many copies of. After the bacteria made many copies, I purified my transgenic product, and sent it to Genetic Services, Inc. for injections into fly embryos.

Screening

My goal in screening was to see if there were any *Drosophila* genes that I could knock down to increase survivorship. I decided to reduce the expression of genes that are normally highly expressed in sensitive tissues in an RNAi screen. I used a database called FlyAtlas (Chintapalli et al. 2007) to find genes that are highly upregulated in the gut and Malpighian tubule. I also used FlyBase (Tweedie et al. 2009) to find genes that were important in transporting molecules, as these could affect tissue sensitivity.

Results and Conclusions

Dosing

The results of the fly dosing are shown in Figure 3. The wild-type data shows the expected trend: the greater the dose, the less progeny survive to adulthood. Fitting a curve to the averages of the wild-type survivorship data at each dose resulted in an exponential decline of $y=224.02e^{-13.42x}$ with an $R^2 = 0.981$. A linear curve best fit the neo^R

survivorship data. The survivorship curve was y = -81.703x + 99.494 with an R² = 0.6372.
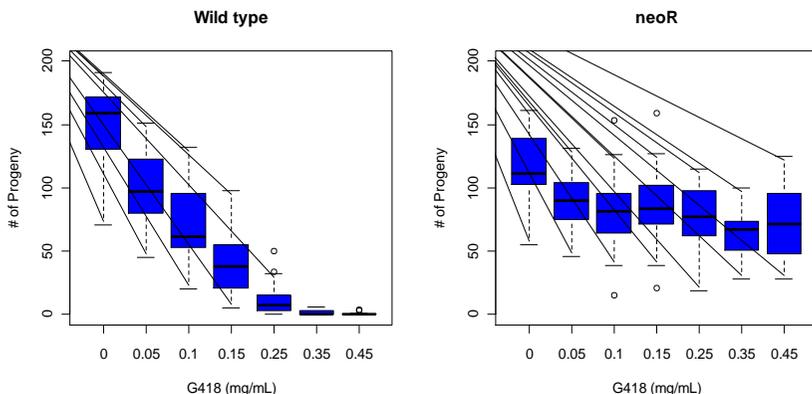
Figure 3. Variability in survivorship of wild type and neoR flies.

Tracking aminoglycoside concentration in vivo

While dosing larvae at 0.45 mg/mL of G418, I noticed that almost all wild-type flies died as first or second instar larvae. Therefore, I imaged these larval stages with background fluorescence only (TR, no G418) and with the drug conjugate, G418-TR. I expected that the drug would accumulate in the gut and in the Malpighian tubule because when the larvae eat, food passes through these tissues. When the TR only is fed to the larvae, I see background levels. When the G418-TR is fed to the larvae, the fluorescent intensity above TR only levels tracks the drug. Figure 4 shows the structure of the larval tissues, and the black box indicates where the drug accumulated.

Figure 4. Structures found in larvae. The black box indicates the region where the drug accumulated (intestine).

Figure 5 shows the results of the drug tracking assay in wild type and neo[R] flies.
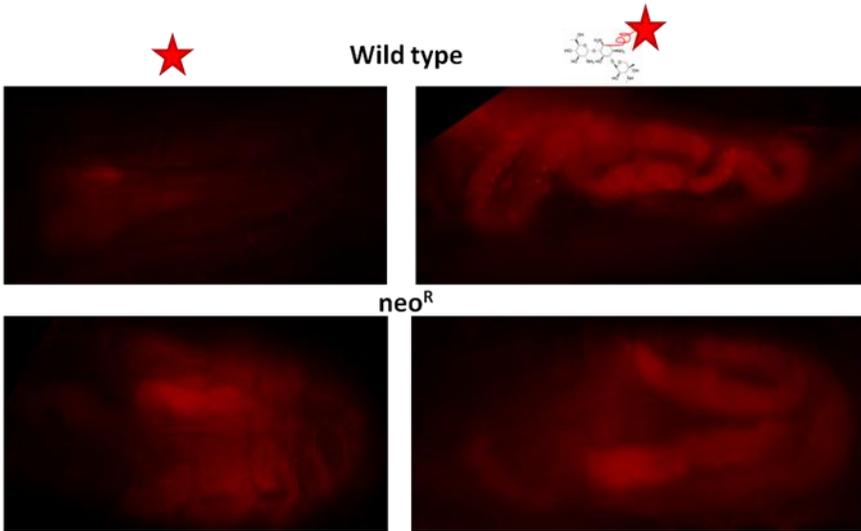
Figure 5. G418-TR conjugation and unconjugated background accumulation in the gut of 1st and 2nd instar larvae. (Left) Background level of fluorophore only. (Right) Experimental level tracking drug. Image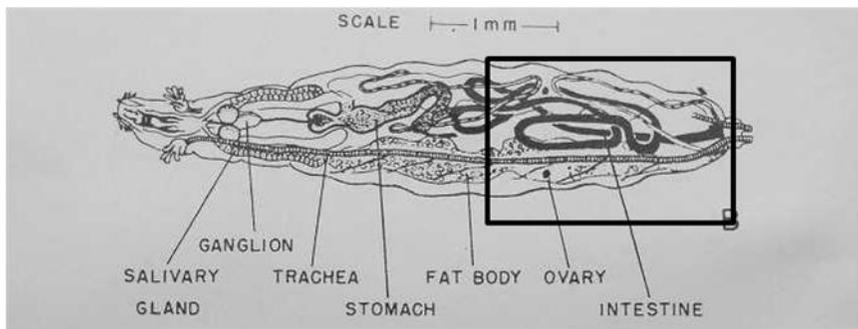s were all taken using the same exposure settings. All figures except the wild type G418-TR image are showing dorsal views of the intestine. The wild-type G418-TR image is a lateral view of the intestine.

neo[R] flies successfully metabolize the G418, indicated by the comparable fluorescence levels in the background and drug-conjugate comparisons. However, wild type flies cannot get rid of the TR in the gut, indicated by the higher TR fluorescence intensities in the G418-TR dosed flies. Furthermore, the drug accumulates in tight puncta, which may be an attempt to package and excrete the drug.

Cloning

My sequencing results indicated that I obtained my UAS-neoR construct. Survivorship of flies with this construct crossed with GAL4 lines at the lethal dose of 0.45 mg/mL G418 functionally confirms this finding.

UAS-neo[R] overexpression screen

I crossed flies with UAS-neo[R] to 16 different GAL4 lines with varying expression patterns. I dosed the progeny at 0.45 mg/mL G418, which is a lethal dose for wild-type flies. Therefore, flies that survive

indicate which tissues require the neo[R] gene and are therefore most
sensitive to aminoglycosides. These GAL4 lines are shown in
Table *1*.

Table 1. *Expression data for GAL4 drivers crossed to UAS-neo[R].*
Expression data was obtained from FlyAtlas, FlyBase, and a previous
grad student in the lab (Ward et al. 2002).

GAL4 drivers	Expression data during larval development
act5c	ubiquitous
c42	principal cells of main segment (but with some cross-talk in bar-shaped cells) of the Malpighian tubule
cb13	somatic musculature (weak), CNS, PNS
cb16	EP, somatic musculature, CNS, PNS
cb21	Midgut, PNS
cb24	EP, CNS (weak), lymph gland
cb32	subset most tissues
cb37	foregut, PNS, clypeolabrum
CY2	Not established in larval stages. During oogenesis, high expression in all follicle cells over the oocyte.
elav	nervous system, ectoderm
fkh	salivary gland
twi (II) 25707	in a ventral stripe 12-14 cells wide at cellular blastoderm, TRiP, UAS-Dicer 2
twi (II) 2517	in a ventral stripe 12-14 cells wide at cellular blastoderm
twi (X) 914	embryonic mesoderm
Uro (II)	principal cells of main segment ONLY in third instar and adult Malpighian tubule
Uro (X)	principal cells of main segment ONLY in third instar and adult Malpighian tubule

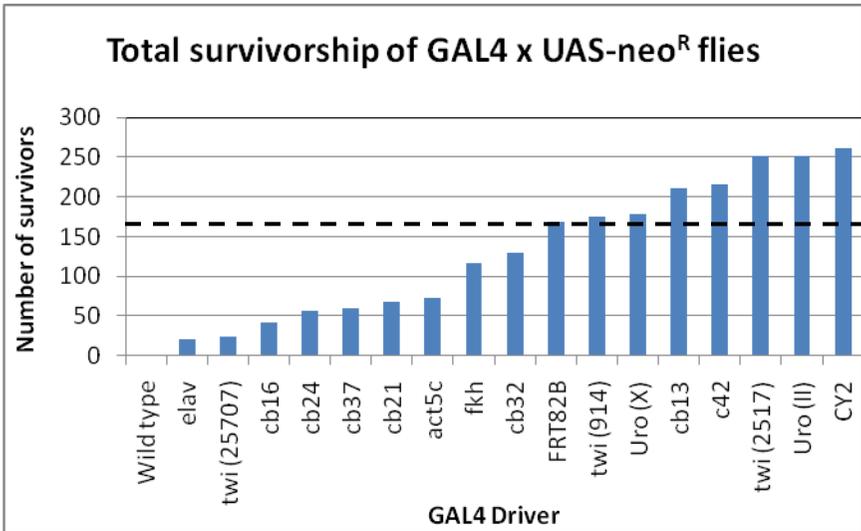The number of surviving progeny from each of these crosses is
shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Total survivorship of GAL4 x UAS-neoR flies in 0.45 mg/mL G418. Note: the black dotted line indicates the survivorship of the flies I isolated the neoR gene from (FRT82B), which express the neoR gene ubiquitously.

Expressing neo[R] in the nervous system decreases fly survivorship, as indicated by the low survival of elav and cb16 GAL4 drivers. Because the ubiquitous drivers act5c and cb32 GAL4 drivers also express in the nervous system, their decreased survivorship may be explained by a threshold effect. The hsp70 promoter that drives the expression of neo[R] in the FRT82B strain expresses at low levels in all cells. The act5c and cb32 GAL4 drivers may express more GAL4 and thus neo[R] when crossed to UAS-neo[R] in the nervous system, which detriments fly survivorship. To test this hypothesis, I could quantify neo[R] levels in nervous system tissue in FRT82B, GAL4-act5c x UAS-neo[R], and GAL4-cb 32 x UAS-neo[R] flies.

cb13 was originally characterized to express only in the nervous system as well, which seems to contradict the idea that expressing neo[R] in the nervous system detriments fly survivorship. However, closer analysis of the expression pattern by crossing cb13-GAL4 to a nuclear localizing UAS-GFP revealed that this GAL4 driver also strongly expresses in the salivary gland, brain, and anterior spiracles. It also weakly expresses in the gastric caeca and just underneath the cuticle throughout the larvae.

One of the twi lines (25707) survived very poorly, while the other twi lines survived better than even FRT82B flies. twi (25707) also overexpresses Dicer 2, a protein required for RNAi. While this shouldn't

have an effect on survivorship, expressing it is clearly detrimental to survivorship in some way. It is possible that overexpressing Dicer 2 interferes with the native RNAi machinery because increasing reactants (Dicer 2 + long pieces of dsRNA) drives reaction kinetics toward products (short pieces of dsDNA), enabling more RNAi to be present in the cell. If the RNAi downregulates genes important for survival such as actin, reduced survival would be expected whether or not neo[R] is present. Therefore, to test this hypothesis, I could assay for survivorship with and without UAS-neo[R]. I would expect to find that twi (25707) flies do not survive as well as the other two twi lines in both cases.

Interestingly, seven GAL4 lines crossed with UAS-neo[R] performed better than the original neo[R] flies, the FRT82B strain: twi (2 lines), Uro (2 lines), cb13, c42, and CY2. Uro and c42 expression is specific to the Malpighian tubule, and twi expression is specific to the mesoderm. CY2-GAL4 expresses strongly in the follicle cells during oogenesis, though its expression pattern during other developmental time points has not yet been characterized. It is interesting to note that Uro-GAL4 is only expressed in third instar larvae because they show delayed time to eclosion. This trend can be seen in Figure 7.
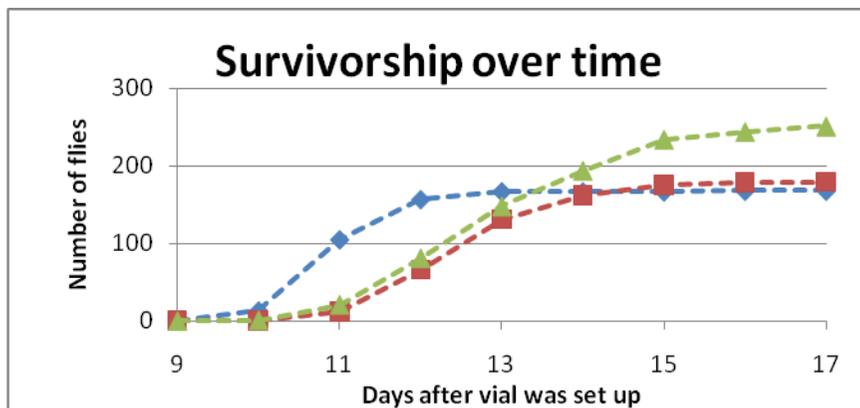
Figure 7. Uro survivorship counts over time. ▬◆▬ *FRT82B flies,* ▬■▬ *Uro (X) flies,* ▬▲▬ *Uro (II) flies.*

With respect to FRT82B flies, both Uro lines appeared to be delayed slightly more than one day during development. This delay likely means that the neo[R] gene is useful during the second instar larval stage or earlier.

RNAi screen

My goal in screening was to see if there were any *Drosophila* genes that I could knock down to increase survivorship. Having

narrowed down tissue sensitivity to the mesoderm and drug concentration to the gut, I decided to reduce the expression of genes that are normally highly expressed in these tissues in an RNAi screen. The genes I decided to screen are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Genes to knock down to see if survivorship increases. Upregulation was determined from a high enrichment score on FlyAtlas.

CG#	Description
6901	Transporter activity. Up in the larval and adult midgut
30272	Transmembrane transporter. Up in the larval and adult midgut.
5751	Calcium channel activity, thermotaxis. Up in adult midgut. (Sun et al. 2009), Gene name TrpA1.
31751	Aminoglycoside Phosphotransferase. Highly up in most tissues.
42611	Low-density lipoprotein receptor activity (Megalin, family containing GP330) (Moestrup et al. 1995)
14408	ATPase, heme, transmembrane transport. Up in brain, larval CNS, and salivary gland. Gene name ABCB7.
7925	Mitochondrial ribosomal protein S12. Up in ovary, down in most tissues. Mechanosensory behavior. (Royden et al. 1987), Gene name tko.
18432	sentinel. Up in male accessory gland. (Owens et al. 2009)
18631	sentinel. Cilium assembly. Up in hindgut, testis, larval midgut. Down in most tissues. (Owens et al. 2009)
11659	Fatty acid transporter, metabolic activity. Highly up in adult tubule and down in larval tubule.
9270	Transmembrane ATPase transporter. Up in growing S2 cells.
33281	Monosaccharide transmembrane transporter. Up in larval and adult tubule.
33282	Monosaccharide transmembrane transporter. Up in larval and adult tubule.
15088	Neurotransmitter transport, potassium, amino acid symport. Up in tubule, hindgut, brain.
18095	Protein binding. Up in adult and larval tubule.
13905	Function unknown. Up in larval and adult tubule.
3212	Scavenger receptor activity. Defense response. Up in salivary gland.
15408	Transmembrane transporter. Up in larval and adult tubule.

8837	Transmembrane transporter. Up in brain, CNS, tubule, testis.
31106	Transmembrane transporter. Up in adult and larval tubule.
14606	Transmembrane transporter, phagocytosis, engulfment. Up in hindgut and adult and larval tubule.
4314	ATPase, transmembrane movement, ommochrome biosynthesis. Up in head, eye, and tubule. Gene name scarlet.
33265	Chitin binding protein. Up in larval and adult midgut. Gene name Mucin 68E.

Some of these genes have already been shown to have some interaction with aminoglycosides. For example, Glycoprotein 330 (GP330) is an endocytic receptor found in epithelia within the renal proximal tubule and inner ear cells, and binding studies show that gentamicin efficiently binds to this receptor (Moestrup et al. 1995). A study in zebrafish searched for genetic modifiers of hair cell sensitivity by randomly inducing mutations using ethylnitrosourea. Next, they treated mutants with neomycin and staining with a vital dye that is differentially taken up by neuromast hair cells called DASPEI. A high level of DASPEI staining correlates with normal hair cell function, while a low level of staining indicates hair cell damage. From this study, these researchers found that mutations in 5 genes (persephone, sentinel, trainman, bane, and merovingian) conferred resistance to neomycin (Owens et al. 2008). One of these genes, sentinel, has been cloned, sequenced, and has a *Drosophila* homologue. In principal, this study is similar to mine--it is looking for genes that can be knocked out to confer some beneficial resistance to neomycin toxicity. It differs, however, in that I am searching for genes that overall help the fly cope with aminoglycosides, not a tissue-specific benefit.

A transient receptor potential (TRP) gene, TrpA1, is a component of mechanosensitive transduction channels in vertebrate hair cells. Its mRNA in hair epithelia appears at the same time as the onset of mechanosensitivity. Inhibiting its expression in mouse and zebrafish inner ears inhibits receptor function (Corey et al. 2004). In *Drosophila*, TRP genes are expressed in Johnston's organ where hearing is mediated, and several members of this gene family are required for hearing (Eberl & Boekhoff-Falk 2007).

Conclusions

The drug dosing methods that I used in the project indicated that wild type flies are indeed affected by a range of G418 concentrations. Furthermore, using the GAL4-UAS tissue-specific expression system

indicated that some tissues are differentially sensitive to aminoglycosides. These results suggest that the fruit fly can indeed be used as a realistic model to understand the molecular basis of toxicity, as well as why some tissues are more sensitive than others. In addition, the fact that *Drosophila* has well developed genetic tools indicate that it can be used to identify key players in clearing aminoglycosides from the system. A genome-wide analysis would likely add many more genes to the short list of those already identified as important in aminoglycoside clearance. Furthermore, additional characterization of gene function identified using high-throughput methods would be far simpler in *Drosophila* than in humans, primates, zebrafish, and other organisms used previously to identify genetic modifiers of aminoglycoside toxicity.

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Acknowledgments

Alicia Martin
Bioengineering, Genome Sciences
armartin@stanford.edu

My research interests are primarily in genetics and developmental biology. I will be pursuing a PhD at Stanford University in Genetics beginning this fall.

Trace Contaminant Degradation by Wastewater Organisms

Wayne McNeal, Jr.

Abstract

Trace-level contaminants originating from pharmaceuticals and personal care products (PPCP) represent a new class of contaminants which are suspected to adversely impact aquatic life at very low concentrations. PPCPs often enter aquatic systems through wastewater treatment plant effluent. The identification of organisms capable of degrading PPCPs will contribute greatly to the implementation of new processes for the removal of PPCPs during wastewater treatment. This work focused on identifying microorganisms that could degrade naproxen, a common pharmaceutical used for pain relief and fever reduction. Microorganisms capable of degrading naproxen were enriched from activated sludge. Microbial communities were enriched through multiple transfers in defined minimal media to remove non-target organisms while naproxen degradation was monitored. Community diversity in the enrichments was monitored using terminal restriction fragment polymorphism (TRFLP). A simplified enrichment was spread on solid complex media, where six single-organism colonies were selected. Of these, two have shown evidence of the ability to degrade naproxen. Future work will include confirming the purity if selected isolates, and identifying these using DNA sequencing.

Introduction

Wastewater treatment plants (WWTP) effectively eliminate most contaminants in wastewater. However, they were not designed to eliminate contaminants at trace-levels. Wastewater treatment plants are known to be the main discharge source for pharmaceuticals and personal care products (PPCP). [4] PPCPs are suspected to cause adverse affects on aquatic life such as marine phytoplankton. [1] Trace-level concentrations of contaminants in wastewater have become a growing area of concern because much is yet to be discovered about their affects to the environment and aquatic life. [3] Analytical chemistry methods in the past did not have the capability to detect trace-level concentrations, which has limited research in this area. Current and more modern methods available today have lower detection limits, allowing new avenues of research in trace-level contaminants from PPCPs. [11] Thus, because this research field is relatively new, many negative long-term impacts to the environment and aquatic life have yet to be determined. [2, 13] Neglecting this issue could

lead to unforeseen consequences, which may compound and lead to a more serious environmental problem.

Naproxen is biodegradable in a WWTP, but is not completely degraded and concentrations can be measured in wastewater effluent[11]. Analytical methods have recently been able to detect at trace concentrations and the long term aquatic impacts of naproxen have not been fully studied. Despite not having specific information on how naproxen affects the environment, it is still part of a cohort of other PPCPs that do have known aquatic effects and pose a potential risk to the environment. It would be relevant and pertinent to target and eliminate naproxen through biodegradation.

Methods

The goal of this research was to identify organisms from wastewater treatment processes that can degrade naproxen. A wastewater activated sludge microbial community was enriched for its ability to degrade naproxen through multiple transfers and isolated microorganisms were obtained.

Original inocula source.

Activated sludge was obtained from West Point Treatment Plant (West Point) located in Seattle, Washington, USA. West Point is a non-nitrifying secondary treatment facility that serves a combined sewer system in the industrial, commercial, and residential areas of Seattle.

Media

Minimal liquid media recipes were used with naproxen for enrichments. Media recipe includes vitamins and ammonia as a nitrogen sources. Solid media included R2A complex media amended with naproxen for colony selection.

Naproxen aqueous stock

The aqueous stock for naproxen was created using sterile water (18 Ω, Millipore) and laboratory grade naproxen (state manufacturer), diluting into solution by mixing or applying heat while mixing. The solution was then autoclaved for sterilization.

HPLC analysis

Samples are preserved in 50% Acetonitrile (HPLC grade) and the other 50% consists of the sample. Average retention time is less than 8 minutes. 0.005 mg/L, 0.01 mg/L, 0.1 mg/L, 1 mg/L, 1.5 mg/L standards of naproxen were used for analysis.

Results

Minimal media inoculated with 1% activated sludge showed complete degradation of naproxen within 10 days. The degradation ability was maintained through 8 transfers (Table 1). In transfer 8, naproxen degradation was similar in cultures receiving both a 1% and a 0.1% transfer (Figure 1), suggesting that the naproxen-degraders may have been present in high concentrations.
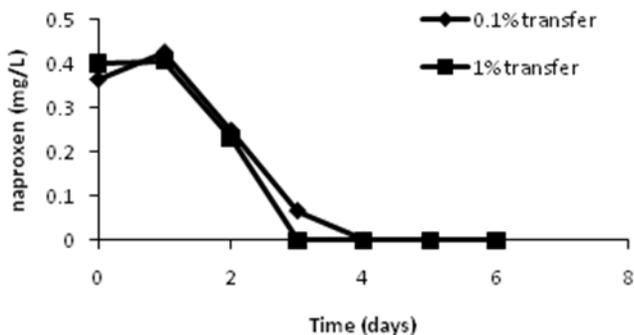
Transfer 8

Figure 1. Naproxen degradation through multiple transfers of a microbial community enriched from activated sludge. All transfers consisted of 10% inoculum, with the remaining 90% as minimal media, except as noted in the figure legends.

Table 1. Transfer Data

Transfer Number	Percent Inoculation	Time to Complete Degradation (days)
1	10%	$5 > d < 9$
2	10%	$12 > d < 19$
3	10%	$5 > d < 14$
4	10%	$2 > d < 5$
5	10%	$3 > d < 9$
6	1%, 10%	$d < 5$
7	1%, 10%	$d < 5$

Six distinct colony morphologies were observed when Enrichment transfer 8 was plated on R2A media with 1mg/L naproxen (Table 2). Of these, three were capable of degrading naproxen,

indicating that both naproxen-tolerant and naproxen-degrading bacteria were present in the original inoculum.

Table 2. Colony Descriptions

Isolate Designate	Description	Concentration at day 8 (mg/L)
WTM1	small, white/beige, defined edge	0.35
WTM2	small, clear-orange, non-defined edge	0.58
WTM3	small, white/beige, clear edge	0.20
WTM4	large, white center, clear with defined edge	0.48
WTM5	medium, clear-beige, non-defined edge	0.20
WTM6	very large, white center, clear edges, white rings in center	0.39

Discussion & Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that bacteria capable of naproxen degradation are likely present in activated sludge. While the biologic transformation of naproxen has previously been postulated[12], this represents a first demonstration of this ability under laboratory conditions.

Other experiments with naproxen have shown degradation can be performed with fungus. These experiments have shown complete naproxen degradation within six hours.[5] Although the results show longer degradation times; the starting biomass is only 10% of the total volume. Depending on whether the mixed community is in growth phase or death phase, there could be a significant lag time before degradation occurs. Depending on how closely the current enrichment is monitored, degradation could have occurred before a sampling point was taken.

Other studies have shown that many PPCPs can be degraded using biodegradation. Most of the PPCPs that were tested did not show

significant degradation for more than 50 days.[13] Results from the mixed community showed degradation in less than 10 days and some instances degradation occurred in less than 5 days.

Some studies have suggested that naproxen is degraded co-metabolically.[6] Further testing is needed to determine if the organisms isolated in this study or other organisms degrade naproxen as a toxic response, co-metabolically, or for energy gain.

The results from this research have been very promising and have contributed greatly to the progress of implementing new methods for treatment of PPCPs in wastewater treatment plants. There are other areas that have to be thoroughly investigated before the isolated organisms are implemented in a WWTP.

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Wayne McNeal, Jr.
Civil & Environmental Engineering
yellow5blue06@gmail.com

I am interested continuing research in transportation engineering, specifically Intelligent Transportation Systems, Mass Transit, traffic analysis, and storm water management. I am currently entering the graduate program in Civil & Environmental Engineering at the University of Rhode Island with the intention to obtain a Masters and PhD in transportation engineering.

Chicana Military: Presenting Unknown Soldiers through Oral Histories

Delores Mondragon

Abstract

Academic literature including Chicano scholarship has throughout history erased or ignored minority military women, especially Chicanas, from historical contributions and continues to do so. Government legislation excluding women from combat also contributes to this erasure; by creating an atmosphere where women are not seen as "real" soldiers. My goal is to acquaint you with these unknown soldiers through an exploration of their life in the military. The intersectionality that exists in these Chicana women— active duty, reservists, and veterans—permeates in their stories; giving us a glance into the diversities and similarities that exist. My goals, in researching this unique group of women, are to springboard further research and stop their erasure.

Currently evolving ethos of equality and progressive leadership is allowing Chicanas to excel, helping them incorporate faster than ever before—transforming our ranks. Soon we will see a greater number of Chicanas—because of the expected growth in the Latino recruitable population and because of feminist progressive thought—requiring that we study this group. Studies of this group from a Chicana feminist lens are also needed. What I found, in analyzing this small number of women, is that they are faced with many obstacles and triumphs as minority women that contributes to the kaleidoscope of our American military. They proudly serve and contribute to our country—making it necessary to include their experiences in scholarly work.

"'I think if I'd never come into the Marine Corps, I never would have finished college or gained the confidence that I've developed over the years…I would have believed I was a second-class citizen, reinforcing all the stereotypes for a Hispanic female."[1] Brigadier General Angie Salinas, highest-ranking Hispanic female in the Marine Corps and the first woman to command Marine Corps Recruit Depot San Diego.

"Here I was, about to go into a war zone, with the men sitting around me in that room, and I still wasn't getting

the respect as a soldier they gave each other."[2] Latina
POW Shosana Johnson

Introduction

Little attention has been given to Chicanas in the military
including, but not limited to, the intersectionality present, and the
dichotomy of expected cultural norms and feminism these women
navigate. As the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated
servicewomen are dying for this country and not fleeing the
responsibility bestowed upon them when taking the oath. The push to
erase archaic ideas of gender and culture cannot be defeated or overcome
in the military if it is not actively sought by the higher-ups including
scholars.

As I started this research I looked up the current list of service
members who had lost their life and noted that on February 10, 2010
Adriana Alvarez from San Benito, Texas lost her life at the age of 20.[3] I
need for the public to know that a woman of Mexican decent gave her
life for her country and that this heroic sacrifice should not be perceived
as in vain. "As of July 31, 2006, there were 24,188 Latinos [and Latinas]
officers and enlisted soldiers deployed, with more than 360 Latinos [and
Latinas] sacrificing their lives for this country in Iraq and Afghanistan."[4]
So, why not speak of the identity of those men and women who have
given their lives? Maybe just maybe, they will stop and pause the next
time they yell for all Mexicans to leave "their" country or implement
laws that hurt Chicano communities e.g. Arizona. As, "the military is the
only large organization, apart from hierarchal Christianity, that cannot
draw its middle management from outside its ranks," it is important to
cultivate an atmosphere of acceptance.[5] So what happens when
recognition and understanding is not sought? Or where abuse is allowed?
It can have a prolonged affect in the ranks that will take generations to
correct.

I am interested in this issue because attention, support, and
recognition should be given to this "unique group that unlike Caucasian
women, [Latinas] move between the two worlds of Latino culture and the
work (i.e. military) culture."[6] My research questions are—what are the
issues currently faced by these Chicana women and how do they
navigate career, home, and culture?

I will go about answering these questions through oral histories.
The following women presented segments of their lives I examined with
hopes of answering these questions and in the process make them visible
through scholarly work. Through this paper I provide these Chicanas a
space of their own to tell their stories. My goal is to produce work that

will help to educate others. In the process inspire and take away the loneliness of Latinas by having these Chicanas share their life, their struggles, and their accomplishments. Because if we Chicanas do not do it, it is unlikely it will be anybody else's priority.

Review

Aside from their absence in scholarly work amongst dominant culture, Chicanos too contribute to their absence by speaking of service members as male only. A current justification of the reason many *Mexicanos* joined during WWII as written by Manuel Gonzalez, "…the high enlistment rate owed something to the macho ethic permeating Mexican society; military service represented a way of proving their manhood."[7] But what explains the enlistment of Mexicanas? As countless Chicano books teach the histories of the Chicano people they negate the histories of Chicanas that contributed to the defense of this country—so this must be highlighted and corrected.

Other research addressing the Latina perception in the military is done for the benefit of recruitment and retention because they are the new desired recruit. This reason alone makes me question the genuine concern for these women as well as the validity of their work. As quoted in Latina Perceptions of Diversity Climate in the Military, "…the military should consider targeting this group by employing recruiting messages that emphasize strong proactive posture toward fair treatment in the military."[8] What is the goal of this study? What I found in this literature is that a disconnect still exist especially with the belief that all Latino military communities embrace their Latina counterparts.

Some "authoritative" figures have also contributed to the erasure of minority women in the military. Oliver North's passive comment in his recent book, *American Heroes: in the fight against radical Islam,* to showcases "authoritative" commentary that knowing or unknowingly negates a portion of the military that is relevant today. Oliver's comment in its benign essence demonstrates a long held belief that erases the real diversity of our military, as he puts it, "If it were not for the uniform and helmet, blonde-haired, blue eyes SSG Layla Elbel would have no trouble passing as the quintessential American girl."[9] Why would you say this? Again, I come back to the passive aggressive implications of comments like this. Oliver North and many of this generation have to learn that diversity in our military is essential and should be emphasized, valued and presented at every opportunity. Even if the numbers are small recognition alone of everyone's involvement exposes the heterogeneity of our military and Oliver North as a designated "authority," should know this. I am demanding this from him and everyone that writes about

our service members. The reality is that "authorities" in the military community continue writing histories of our military grossly under representing women and minorities.

Last year Pvt. Francheska Velez, a murdered victim of the Fort Hood shootings, was brought to my attention because she disarmed bombs in Iraq (a combat job).   Yet, as is typical of the media to perpetuate stereotypes, most news sources, reported and identified Pvt. Velez as a pregnant Latina soldier.[10]Why did our news sources not mention her job or accomplishments? I need you to appreciate this—for you see not just "quintessential" Americans die for this country and not only men are in the "hurt locker."

I was able to find distinguished mentions of men and women awarded for their service, but noticed the absence of known Chicana heroes. Sgt. Leigh Ann Hester, who was awarded the Silver Star and "became the first woman in history to earn the award in close quarters battle," is everywhere. [11] As I read her story in Oliver North's *American Heroes* I wondered why Veronica Alfaro a Mexican American woman who was awarded the bronze Star with valor was nowhere to be found. "She had already received a combat action badge for fending off insurgents as a machine gunner," and was clearly a Chicana hero.[12] Why was she neither recognized nor worthy of notation? She too could be inspiring to many. In fact Sgt. Hester's story is played over and over on American Forces Network on military bases. The interesting detail I observed is that all stories told are of Caucasian Americans unless there is a designated cultural month.

Another example of this erasure from history is the repeated mention of Crawford v Cushman, but no mention of Ana Flores which merits credit for being one of the first women to bringing attention to the unjust discharge of women from the military because of pregnancy—but much like Brown v The Board of Education, the Lemon Grove Incident who preceded the Brown case was forgotten by most.[13] The Ana Flores case was a lawsuit granted class action status—yet hardly anyone knows about her fight.[14] She is one example of many Latina women that exuded feminism in the face of retarded social norms within the military complex. It is women like Ana Flores that illustrate the veracity of Latinas.

I will address known and unknown aspects of these women's lives through a lens not frequently used—as a Chicana feminist veteran. I will write the truths seldom relinquished or sought by this group of women. My hypotheses are that these women deal with issues ignored or misunderstood by military leaders because of the intersectionality present.

Method

      I interviewed women who were aware I had an understanding of military culture and language. I also had access to their environment on military bases and ships making encounters possible. I understand Chicana cultural norms and expectations, and used code-switching as a form of communication used by most Chicanas. Cultivating an atmosphere of trust and understanding was paramount considering the delicate issues discussed in such a protective culture. So, last names were not used only job title and first name as a form of anonymity. To maintain neutrality and flexability. I chose to state a word and asked them to elaborate on what came to their mind. The words used were: family, food, religion, sexuality, gender, class, language, work, race, and marriage. I had ten Mexican-American women participate ranging in age from 19-36. They were active duty, reservists, and veterans who were from three branches, Navy, Army, and National Guard. I got them to participate by explaining to them that I wanted to provide a platform for them to tell others of their life as Chicana women in the military. I met with eight of the women and we had one interview ranging from 30 minutes to an hour. I corresponded with the other two due to distance and deployment.

Results

      As I spoke with these women diversities and similarities came out through their stories. Only one practiced her religion, most came from a single parent home, their mother worked outside the home. I am not generalizing these findings to all Latinas, as my study group consisted of ten women, but further research to see if this is pervasive in this group is called for.

Religion

      RPSN Tiffany stated that she was not really religious. She also stated that it was probably better that she was not religious or prejudice to be a better Religious Program Specialist in the Navy.

      HM2 Crystal stated that she did not really go to church. When Crystal turned 15 her mom started going to Christian church and dad followed; now they have their own church in west Dallas. In Virginia she went to a Baptist church, here in Japan she was going to a church off base until she was put on the night shift at the hospital for five months. She is going to start attending church soon.

CS3 Janet stated that she was a Christian but "sadly I don't practice my religion as much as I would like. I read the bible underway and try to go to services in port."

HM2 Andrea stated that when she was in the military she was not religious at all, but now that she is out she is a practicing Christian.

PSSN Gabriela told me that she was a Catholic/Christian—in between, "whichever one you are you are the same person" But she has not been in church for 2 years. She stated that the military has a lot to do with her lack of participation. Her father is a preacher and she would go to church 6 times a week. "You go and you don't feel the same thing, you don't really fit in, it is different and you can't go on duty days or when you have to work."

The lack of religious practice by most in this group of women was surprising, considering the cultural norm attached to religion. Some could not find the time away from work to practice their faith. Further study is necessary to see if this military norm affects their cultural identity. Although not often addressed this is very common in the military, and these findings bring evidence to this belief –duty comes first.

Family

LS1 Zoila—"A chief on the Lassen said, 'Pacheco you are the only Mexican I know that has no kids and you are old.' Yeah, a *guero*! I think he is from CA." I asked her what was the reason she did not have a child before. "I tried before and I had a miscarriage. My husband was out to sea." Her husband used to be in the military. "He got out after 8 years. I did not want to try again because I was afraid for the longest time. I don't want to go through all that mess again. I was already older I was 27. My husband was in at the time. We are financially stable. And then [after the miscarriage] we waited. I did not want to be a *viejita* when my kids get older. I am the oldest child and my mom is not *metiche* (nosy) but she said, 'if you are going to have kids the older you get the harder it gets.' When I got pregnant before [first pregnancy] I thought it was perfect timing because my husband was on the Lincoln [navy carrier] and they were in dry dock [out of commission for repairs]. He would be there and I was shore duty. But OK I thought it would work out perfect. It did not."

Where have you been stationed? "USS Blue Ridge for 4 ½ years, Whidbey Island 3 years, and the USS Lassen 2 years. I stayed on Blue Ridge longer because I got married. My husband was on the ship. He went to shore duty and I stayed on the Blue Ridge. Most people think

that the female gets off the ship but I did not. It was based on who had the most sea duty and he had more. I was on the Lassen for 2 years until this year [she gave birth]. I do not know where I am going next."
So your husband got out after 8 years, how is that? "In the beginning it was weird. If both of us were in it would be harder for us to have a family. I believe one parent has to be at home." After that, " he got out and he went to the reserves. And he was out for less than a year and they called him and asked him if he wanted to go to Germany to be mobilized for a year. He said yes so he went to Germany. I was in the window for orders. I applied for other billets like Bahrain and Whidbey Island and they denied them. When I called the detailer he said, 'you have been to Japan don't you want to go to Japan?' No, I really want to go somewhere else. So I applied and applied again. One of the times the results came back saying there were no racks available for females at the Squadron. If there is no BEQ [bachelor enlisted quarters] they [women] do not go on the ship. When you apply for jobs in JASS [job list] it shows jobs for women at sea they told me to go to Japan. So they [also] told me I would be penciled in for the Lassen. So do I choose the Lassen or get orders where ever they need me? So that is how I got on the Lassen."

How did people on the ship react when you told them you were pregnant? "I guess some people were mad and some were not. We have a lot of young people get pregnant. Single and E-3 and below but I was an E-5. Some of them were half my age. Some people got mad saying, 'she is just doing this to get out of sea duty.' I was and E-5 and married, there was no problem with me staying here. But if you are like E-3 and below and single they send you to the states because of child care and everything else. If you are an E-4 and single you cannot live out in town unless you have been in for more than 4 years. If you are married you can stay. I came here [FISC] because I was pregnant on LIMDU [limited duty] orders. I have a year after I have the baby to go back to sea duty because I owe the time I have to go back to finish my sea time. When pregnant you go to ADMIN, get everything routed and signed. Once it gets signed by the CO, get it back and return it to the member. I do mostly collateral duties. I am the treasurer for Multi cultural meeting. I am part of the first class association and if they do other fundraisers and I have nothing to do I help them out."

"We always had our money separate except once when we owned a house in WA—*el tiene su dinero y yo tengo el mio* [he has his money

and I have mine]. Whoever goes to the store buys and uses own account."

"Going back to the ship—sometimes I say I should have waited a little bit longer—my daughter is 2 ½ months—since I was in for over 10 years. *Yo quiero uno* [I want one child]my husband was an only child for 6 years—so he said because we move so much we should have another child so she is not so lonely…."

"Husband first boyfriend in Navy—I was 24 [when she wed] so parents didn't say anything—compared to my sisters *yo ya habia vivido la vida* [I had already lived my life]. Husband from El Paso—I told my sister I was getting married—she told my dad—my dad was like 'What?'—*se va a casar* [she's getting married] regardless—'y donde se va a casar?'[where is she getting married?]—dad thought I was going to get out *iva a conocer una persona* [and meet someone]—*le dije que iva en tal tiempo y que me iva a casar* [I told him I was going at a certain time and that I was going to get married]—we flew to California *conocio a mi papa's* [meet my parents] we drove to Texas and *me case* [I got married]. *Conosi a su familia en el aeropuerto—y nos casamos. Mis papas conocieron a sus papas cuando nos casamos.* [I met his family for the first time at the airport and then we got married. My parents met his parents for the first time when we got married.]" My husband—*su papa es el que ase de comer* [his father is the one that cooks] so he [her husband] is fine with doing the cooking and washing."

LS1 Zoila's story is just a small example of the fine lines all Latinas have to navigate within their culture, home, and career. She kept her name, did not follow cultural norms to get married and balanced being the main breadwinner. In analyzing this story I can't help but conclude that she exuded feminism.

Mothers

SSgt. Yolanda—" As for my mother. I see my mother as a very strong willed person. Unfortunately, I'm a lot like her. She is very strong willed. She came to the states having really nothing. She worked in the fields in California. I remember she would get up at the crack of dawn to go pick the fields and come back some time during mid-day or mid- afternoon. Then she would go to school at night. Once she had enough education and was more confident in her English she got a job as a daycare teacher in El Centro, CA. Then she would work at day at the daycare and school at night. As time progressed, my mom started her own daycare center. My mom now owns her own business to this day. I

see my mom as a role model in many ways. [She is] a very strong person that can get through anything. By far is my mom perfect, but for a worker, she is one of the hardest working people I know. She has gone through a lot yet she has accomplished what she wanted."

PFC Laura—Parents divorced and mom worked two jobs, "she is very strong willed, very strict in her roles. She sets the rules in the house—very strict."

HM2 Crystal—Mom was a single working parent for a majority of Crystal's life. "If you ask any of us we would say that, our mom is the strongest woman we know."

HM2 Andrea—"Most influential person was my mom she was not a nurturer—very hard core. I give her credit for my audacity—which helped me through boot camp." She is married but dad was always gone (truck driver). "My mom is really tough she went to college with three children at home."

PSSN Gabriela—"Mom was independent, she worked…mom was gone so much." Her mom is the one that provides the steady income, dad is a day laborer.

HM3 Maritza—"I lived with my mom because my parents divorced when I was 13, grandma helped raise me." Her mom moved to the U.S. and her dad stayed in Tijuana. Now she is the manager of a cleaning company.

RPSN Tiffany—"My mom [single parent] worked and grandma watched us all the time."

The fact that these Chicanas showed strong feelings about their mothers leads me to believe that the lifestyle their mother lived, of independence and hard work, influenced them to view the military as a viable option. I find that feminism was continuously displayed and that this might have been developed because of their mother.

Further Findings

Population growth, dual working households, and updated policies and practices have brought change. This might seem simplistic but the truth is that because of these changes and because we went to countries that had cultural views of women so different from our own increasing the need for women—Latinas increasingly are becoming a viable option. According to recent DOD surveys over one third of the military consider themselves a minority. Based on studies conducted by the Hispanic Pew Center population increase of Latinos will make them the desired recruit.[15] "As of September 2006, Hispanic men accounted for 11 percent of enlisted men and Hispanic women were 12 percent of enlisted women. The Hispanic share of commissioned officers is much

lower: 4.8 for men and 5.3 percent for women—with a slight edge for Latinas." [16] Further supporting a need for research.

Another unexpected surprise is that in all enlisted ranks E-1 to E-6 Latinas out number Latinos in their respective gender representation yet in the E-7 to E-9 category Latinos outnumber Latinas 7.7 percent to 6.4 percent respectively.[17] Affirmative action policies have increased Latinas presence in the ranks, but the exclusion policies of the past have also diminish leadership positions. This has unexpectedly created a lack of mentors for Latinas. But if we think long term—the possibility is that these Latinas might out number and out rank Latinos and all minorities in the future.

Combat

The military would have been unable to conduct a "correct" war without women on the front lines to support it. The ability of women to prove their worth has presented itself and all women have proven essential and capable of performing. In a reactionary way the military has seen the effort of these women and some have reversed their way of thinking because of what they see on the ground. Retired Lt. Col. Baumann who commanded women and who was "old school" doubted women could handle the rigors of war, "Not only could they handle it, but in the same way as males. I would go out on patrols every single day with my battalion. I was with them. I was next to them. I saw with my own eyes. I had full trust and confidence in their abilities."[18] Because of this increased awareness the military has stepped up its effort to alleviate the negative behavior towards women. "And all the services have started educational programs to address aspects of a hierarchical warrior culture that some say contributes to hostility toward women."[19] Yet as these educational programs are implemented, jobs defined as "combat" are still being technically denied to women, this needs to change because they are already performing but still need to be seen as "real" soldiers by our government.

This is important because many minorities are slated to do combat work on the front lines "according to 2001 DOD statistics, while about 10 percent of all military personnel are Latinos, Latinos make up 17.7 percent of the frontline combat occupations….In the Army, Latinos and Latinas occupied 24.7 percent of such conscripts and in the Marine Corp, 19.7 percent. In other words, Latinos and Latinas are overrepresented in combat positions…," raising their risk of death.[20] On this note, why are so few speaking of the Latinas that are dying in these combat positions? What happened to the war activists and Chicano leaders? "In Afghanistan and Iraq, the military has quietly sidestepped

regulations that bar women from jobs in ground combat. With commanders needing resources in wars without frontline, women have found themselves fighting on dusty roads and darkened outposts in ways that were never imagined by their parents or publicly authorized by Congress."[21] Many in the military have realized that combat zones are not that clear anymore and stories are surfacing about this reality, "this technicality is overshadowed by the fact that in the war on Terror, the 'front line' is everywhere," putting everyone that serves in danger justifying a need for change in legislation.[22] There is no clearer example of these blurred lines than Shoshana Johnson's experience. As a cook in the rear, she would acquire POW status, the same status held by two Apache pilots detained with her—the lines are no longer present.

Sexual Discrimination and Harassment

      I have been a part of this community for fifteen years and recognize, just as surely as anyone who recognizes these issues, a flaw still exists. This can plainly be seen in the process of implementing sexual harassment rules and publicizing its detriment to unit cohesion. Our military's patriarchal leadership maintains homogeneity similar to that of the last century serving its community yet maintaining a "brass ceiling." Women are still under threat and it will continue if women are left out of leadership positions, in and of itself, enforcing an atmosphere of tolerance. "They face sexual discrimination and rape, and counselors and rape kits are now common in war zones."[23] Is this what the military has created with its indifference— "push" these women to a place where the DOD's alienating tactics creates an atmosphere for complacency and invisibility that dilutes these women's struggles and makes rape a norm? How can they have any fight in them towards social change, if they are "gagged" or lead to believe it is the victims fault? HM2 Crystal on a peer that reported she had been rape, "she might have felt bad about what she did and wanted to say one of them raped her." PSSN Gabriela's opinion on rape, "some people ask for it." HM2 Andrea commented on her peers view of women perceived as promiscuous that were raped, "She deserved it. Who cares." RPSN Tiffany here in Japan far from the frontlines has had moments if discomfort where, even thought she was not the one spoken about, sexually verbal comments of other women had shocked her. Yet, she has not reported the guys, "I don't say anything because it doesn't truly bother me because it is not directed towards me so I kinda ignore it—but I just feel like I've had to grow a tolerance towards it because when I first got in I found it more shocking and now I'm just kinda like getting use to it." SSgt. Yolanda's experience, "I lost count on how many times I was discriminated due to my sex or race. I

tend to ignore it and fight that much harder. It makes me who I am today." I found that when heard or experienced sexual harassment they just "deal" with it, don't report it, and sometimes blame the victim. I should point out that not all of these women heard of experienced this.

Feminism

> …women activists within the military environment, both military and civilian, have often been reluctant to self-identify as feminists. Indeed, military women have generally tended to eschew the label. Given their small numbers in the armed forces and concern to gain acceptance, women may be hesitant to adopt a posture that would alienate them from their male counterparts.[24]

Examples of feminism at work while navigating the fine likes of cultural norms:

LS1 Zoila on why she kept her last name, "Why should I change my last name? everybody [told me] you should change your last name because it is tradition. That is what everybody says…tradition is for him to support me. As far as I am concerned he is not supporting me."

PSSN Gabriela's comment on peers low expectations of women in the military—"I want to prove them wrong—I'm a fighter."

HM2 Crystal—"I always wanted to prove myself stronger—even before I joined the military—I always wanted to prove I was like one of the boys."

LS1 Zoila debunking acceptable sexist cultural norms exhibited in this Latino's expectations, "I don't know how to make tortillas—*No sabes* [You don't know]! Then they ask, *Entonces para que te casastes* [So then why did you get married]? *Uno que estaba conmigo* [One that was stationed with me said], *Mi ama hacia tortillas* [my mom made tortillas]—e*sa es tu mama guey* [that is your mom dummy]. They ask, Porque *no nos haces de comer?* [They ask me why I don't make them food]—I say, *porque no te lo haces tu guey* [why don't YOU make it dummy]?"

Culture

PSSN Gabriela [quoting a comment by a superior] "… you are Mexican your accent makes you sound like you are suppose to work in a kitchen somewhere"

CS3 Janet "I try to cook it [Mexican food] every chance I get but the ingredients aren't always available in Japan."

SSgt. Yolanda, " The military…puts a burden on me to me to continue my heritage on my own while I live outside of my culture. Due to this, I am losing my Spanish language because I have no one to speak it with. My children do not know much of the Mexican culture because they haven't grown up with it. I am losing my Mexican identity."

RPSN Tiffany, "I never felt SO identified as Hispanic… your last name is not such a big thing [outside the military]. My last name is…[a Mexican surname]… it is pretty obvious that I am a minority in the military…last name is plastered everywhere all over your pants, shirt, and jacket…."

HM3 Maritza states that in a military environment you conduct business only in English, Spanish is prohibited.

HM3 Denise comments on trying to maintain some cultural norms, "I let him do the bills and he gives me an allowance, which is fine as long as 'you keep cleaning!'"

Mentorship

I learned I was not alone in feeling mentors were unavailable. According to two studies conducted "Latinas, as any diversity group, have difficulty finding effective mentors." [28] Through experience and as I interviewed military women I concluded that this affected the morale of many Mexican American women. HM3 Maritza, "I never see a Mexican Navy Chief, not one, I would like to see more Mexicans up there especially females." Not many see or know of a leader that looks like "*nosotras*," but many comment on knowing of the Filipino mafia, or the segregation on ships that benefit from a racial quid pro quo. HM3 Denise, "you have to be the right race in the military—not a lot of Hispanics—like you are not up to their standards—I feel it." The likelihood that these women will find a mentor that looks like them is small for now. I see the numbers though—minorities will soon be the majority in the military. The increase of Latinas could change the face of military leadership and increase mentorship in the military for all minorities especially Latinas.

There are many issues facing Latinas in the military yet, "Without a return to the draft, the need for women is unlikely to go away." [25] The truth of combat and the continued presence of sexual discrimination these women have to face on a daily bases, especially on the battle field, is overwhelming. Along with these problems and the realization that Latina service members are feminists without mentors really present a unique intersectionality. Even though the word feminism is not mentioned by these Chicanas, they are fervent feminists constantly

proving they are equal to men. They are refusing to follow certain cultural norms that make them second class citizens.

Conclusions

We have to recognize women fighting our wars, especially Latinas. Because these wars, "have cultivated a new generation of women with a warrior's ethos—and combat experience –that for millennia was almost exclusively a preserve of men." [26] "In reality, American women do engage in combat, so it's probably time to make it a written policy. If policy changes, maybe attitudes will too." [27] A positive sign, of recognized credit, was recently quoted, "Commanding officers often commented that if anything the women had a slight edge over the men in completing tasks, that they tended to be more thorough and go farther to research a problem that their male counterparts…." [29] PFC Laura reiterates the sentiment, "…men are lazier they don't have the drive, women try harder…." Yet, "their success, widely known in the military, remains largely hidden from public view. In part, this is because their most challenging work is often the result of a quiet circumvention of military policy." [30]

Their view of life in the military has really surprised me, and has changed my perspective of the military. I began serving my country in 1995 when allowing women on combat ships was just two years old, "[repeal of] the provision of Title 10 that prevented women from serving on combat ships" and a patriarchal resentment permeated my enlistment. [31] The racial and sexual discrimination I faced were not being faced by most of these women to the scale I and many other women had faced. It shocked and impressed me. The military was progressing forward and Iraq and Afghanistan, as stated above, was the proving ground for all women. I do know conditions are not perfect for all women, but they are (in my opinion) lessened by the presence of women in the trenches— suffering with the guys. Findings met expectations but contradicted my view that they were victims of circumstance and that change was not happening. e.g. combat. I concluded that I had to modify my hypotheses. I found that not all Chicanas had the same experiences.

In searching for the elusive Chicana I was able to get to know women that serve their country proudly. Many demonstrate a clear sense of mission, determination, and satisfaction with the service. Most are contemplating the military as their career because they love their job and find it a humanitarian mission. Through a Chicana veteran lens I was able to unlock perceptions and truths unknown outside this culture. More needs to be understood for this group of women to flourish in a military and Chicano culture they have to navigate—especially if this group is

targeted for recruitment and retention. Overall, these women are surpassing expectations in combat, are fighting the hurdle that is sexual harassment, and are balancing family and cultural norms while displaying feminism all in the same breath. I hope that through their words and through this space, an understanding can be reached, an admiration can be felt, and attention can be rightfully given. Also, please know that not all are alike, not all come from the same place, and not all are victims of their circumstance.

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Delores Mondragon
American Ethnic Studies Department
lolasisle@hotmail.com.

My research interest includes studying the lives and the intersectionality of Chicanas and Native Americans in and out of the military. I intended to attain my PhD. in Chican@ Studies from the University of California in Santa Barbara.

African American and Asian American Racial Relations in the Pacific Northwest

Michael Motte

Abstract

In the Seattle area, one of the most unusual racial dynamics present seems to be the relationship between the African Americans and Asian Americans who populate the area. The two groups seem to usually interact very little when compared to most other racial groups that can be found in the surrounding locale. This investigation was conducted to try and discover some of the reasons why by directly asking people of the racial groups. A number of people, male and female, are asked their feelings on the matter and given some standard questions with a scale to rate their perception of the racial dynamic. By using this procedure, this investigation hopes to compare and contrast the general feelings and perceptions between the two groups by directly questioning how the members of each race feel on the matter. This is supposed to be a reflection of Quintard Taylor claiming that each race rose from close competition in the beginnings of each races' arrival in the Northwest, and memories from this time carried over to sour their current relationship. Current findings claim that the relationship is mostly cold, if considered at all. Therefore, this racial dynamic between these two minority groups has not been investigated very thoroughly, leading to a gap in research which this research and investigation hopes to help lessen and improve both the quality and quantity of the body of research available on this topical subject.

Introduction

This research is geared towards a very interesting racial dynamic that occurs in one of the highest concentrations in the United States on the West Coast. African Americans and Asian Americans are dispersed throughout the United States, but have a very rich and unique history specifically grounded in the Pacific Northwest, that is relatively recent for a country, especially one as new as the United States. According to the research done before this by Quintard Taylor, the history of the Pacific Northwest is very heavily tied to these two rather small, but influential races. Their common history laid groundwork for the current interactions, according to Taylor, and this research was conducted to find out specifically how the members of each race viewed the current racial interactions. This was   accomplished by a series of interviews, eight African Americans and eight Asian Americans, four males and four

females of each race. Initially, there were supposed to be five males and five females of each race, but African Americans are difficult to find around the University of Washington campus, and several were not willing to talk about such a personal issue, so the numbers were reduced to four to balance the ratios of male to female, African American to Asian American, and it was still difficult to secure this amount of African Americans willing to participate in the study. Interviews were then recorded with a handheld device and then a full transcription of each interview was made.

Along side each interview was a short questionnaire made to give the interviewee talking points as well as keep track of the scale that was used along side the interview. The scale will be covered in-depth when it becomes very important near the charts at near the end of the paper, therefore posting at this point in the paper would be premature and would merely add to a sense of ambiguous redundancy.

The interview subjects were told prior to the interview that parts would be recorded and used in research, and they were told that they would remain completely anonymous and any names used would be stricken from the transcription, and the voice recording destroyed when the research process was completed. I planned on trying to gather one person from each race and gender with an age of at least thirty years, but that became rather difficult looking for an Asian American on campus who was of that age and born in the United States, as well as willing to talk about the sensitive subject of race, but an African American male and female were found and successfully interviewed.

Lastly, this research on how African Americans and Asian Americans view this racial dynamic should help open up a dialogue to show African Americans and Asian Americans that something strange is going on between the two races, and help make the first steps towards repairing this situation easier. This research investigates several possible causes which will allow for subsequent research plenty of new information and options to continue in this vein of research.

Brief Analysis of the Most Substantial Quotes

Throughout the entire process of gathering information and the analysis of data, several perceptions became clear through the various takes and views each anonymous individual gives. Several of the more interesting and telling quotes are listed to highlight how some of the members of each race and gender feels about the current racial dynamic. Each individual who did the interview and answered the questions knew from the beginning that they were to be entirely anonymous for the study, which led to very interesting and candid responses for some of the

questions. This is very good, as that was the point to being entirely anonymous and one of the goals of the study. After each quote, a short analysis will be given according to the content of the answer and its relevance to the study, which may or may not be referenced later or expanded upon at a subsequent point in the essay. For the sake of the length of the essay and the amount of text from the length of each transcription, some of the analyses may be brief, and one or two of the least interesting transcriptions may be altogether skipped in favor of the more fascinating transcriptions which also fit together with others or maintain a theme that connects well with what a previous or following speaker said during their interview.

Asian American Females

> "So I think that the relationship in general between African Americans and Asian Americans, just hasn't been good. It has gotten a little bit better but it just hasn't been good in general because of how Asians perceive themselves and quote unquote Americans in general. They just perceive Americans as lower than (Asians), especially if they are from an Asian country."
> - Asian American Female # 2

In this quote, one of the most persistent themes first occurs, which will be repeated several more times in many more quotes on racial relations, which is the concept that Asians and Asian Americans sometimes view themselves as superior, or at least different from most other races in a way that makes them much harder to approach than people of other races.

> "So I think especially with the election of Obama, he is a well known figure around the world I'm not sure if it's going to help Asian Americans and their views of African Americans, but I think it will definitely help ease the tension a little bit." - Asian American Female # 2

In this quote from another Asian American female, the idea that President Barack Obama is an instrument of redefining racial relations, as his election would not have happened if people from all the different races in the United States did not vote for him. Therefore, he is logically a symbol for the improvement of the relationships between all the races present at this time.

> "I think race relations between African Americans and
> Asian Americans is neutral, now, because of our
> president. I would say before, it would be cold or at least
> a two, but I think, because we do have a Black president,
> that helps a lot, so I would bump it up to neutral." –
> Asian American Female # 3

This quote is another example of President Obama being cited as a sample of the improvement of racial relationships. This interviewee also claims that she gave her answer on the scale that was used in information gathering a higher rating solely based on the fact that Barack Obama was elected president and mentions this quite proudly. This scale will be explained in detail later in the paper, but a basic overview is that the scale runs from one to five, with one being bad, three being neutral as stated, and five being good. It must also be noted that she raised her rating from "cool" to "neutral" which means his election, in her opinion, would have made the relationship between the races neutral, not positive or warm.

> "Yeah, because I went to a school that was very diverse,
> and I have friends who are African Americans and its
> just race wasn't that big of an issue at our school,
> because we were pretty mixed." – Asian American
> Female # 3

In this quote, another theme emerges, which is that the school years, usually middle school or high school, had a lot to do with the way that people perceive people of other races. Usually, as will be demonstrated and analyzed later, people who claim they went to more diverse schools tended to grade themselves higher when it came to their acceptance and interactions with people of other races. This clearly would be positive when it came to interactions later in life.

> "I would say neutral because for some reason I don't
> have many African Americans female friends and I don't
> know why that is and I think the people I hang out with
> in my network and they are mainly White or Asian or
> some other race and I don't have any close African
> American female friends, not that I don't socialize with
> them, you know I go to places where they are too, but
> for some reason they are not in my immediate social
> network, and I don't know why, maybe because we
> don't go to the same places as much, you know?" –
> Asian American Female # 3

In this quote from another Asian American female, we get another theme, which is that Asian Americans don't socialize with any other race very much, and they are not really in the vicinity of many other races, which makes them very difficult to approach to someone who is not part of the Asian race. The fact that this comes from an Asian American shows us that some members of the Asian American community are aware of the stigma, even if they do not try to continue or end its spread.

> "I'm giving on a general scale a two because African American and Asian American relations are something that I am not used to seeing, and especially in the as community they rationally have a lot of prejudices but I think that's just because they are not used to spending time with each other, but yes, that's all." – Asian American Female # 4

In this quote from an Asian American Female, we have the main concept that most everyone believes is the main cause between African Americans and Asian Americans racial relations being somewhat cold. This is the idea that African American and Asian Americans do not spend too much time in each other's company, which leads to problems in understanding one another and social isolation between the two groups of people.

Asian American Males

> "The media, I'm not sure why they do that, I guess with the media and all, Black people can be more like tribal and like more, like expressive and stuff in the media and the Asian is more like drawn in and geeky kind of guys and they kind of like make the contrast in the media and stuff, a lot. - Asian American Male # 1

This quote from the first Asian American male sets the tone for many of the interviews that followed. He also hit upon several aspects that seemed to appear several more times in from other interviews that were done. One aspect that was mentioned was the perceived difference in the two cultures, with African Americans being more expressive as a whole, while the Asian Americans community as a whole is more quiet and reserved, which is how it is always portrayed in the media. This, of course could lead to stereotyping on both sides and a feeling of already knowing that the other race will be vastly different.

"School I guess its like it has a lot to do with like, the, general idea that overseas Asians have of Black people like they are scary and stuff they kind of fall into stereotypes a lot because there are not a lot of Black people over in Asia and some of the second gens (generation) also kind of have that mindset because of their parents, and also the fact that Asians just kind of stick together in general. Like the (people recently from overseas) basically you know, they kind of stick together because that's the language they are familiar with, so really they're not, they don't really have great relations with anyone really besides themselves." – Asian American Male # 1"

This quote touches on the idea that members of the Asian race that came from overseas are very biased when it comes to interacting with people of other races. He also mentions that improvement in the second generation of Asians and are born in the United States may also be hampered as their parents may have influenced their mindset at an early age, or may even continue to do well into their high school years, according to the interview from this male. It's also worth nothing that this Asian American did use what is generally considered an offensive term to denote that he specifically meant Asian immigrants who have recently arrived in the United States (Fresh Off the Boat).

"I sort of see two camps, this is a far generalization, but I get along with them or I don't, the ones I don't get along with, tend to be the stereotyped ones, I used to have one in my dorm, and he thought he was a ghetto gangster and he was very obnoxious, some of them, a lot of them are kind of cool, but we don't have a lot in common. And every once in a while there's like ones I do have stuff in common with, and I don't know a better way to say this but whitewashed, there's no better way to explain it." – Asian American Male # 1

Here is one of the main problems that tended to surface, which was the stereotype of African Americans tend to be the standard, angry, unpleasant, gang-affiliated person often celebrated in the media in various ways, which tends to scare most anyone of any other race. The Asian American Male called him repeatedly in the interview, the "ghetto gangster type" which he mentions, and tends to prefer his friends to be "whitewashed."

> "So, just in a broad macro sense, I think it's really because its two minority groups that are both minorities compared to another racial group which pretty much owns America, which is the White racial group and so just how people react in those situations is compete with each other, what should be happening is solidarity-solidarity. But what is happening what is naturally going to happen is competition, I think and you know, you stereotype the other side, and all that good stuff." - Asian American Male # 2

The Asian American Male who said this takes a more economic and theoretical view of what he sees happening between the two races, and also throws in his opinion on how the two interact with the third race, which he claims "owns America." He claims, due to this structure, the two races will naturally be opposed to one another, but does claim that unity would be the better option, even if it may be unnatural.

> "I think it depends on the economic state that one or the other group finds themselves in. If it continues in this way, then I think it's just difficult, like when you are a student or younger, then you have more hope, you are just a more hopeful, united person. When you start working and you're not earning as much as you should be, qualified to earn and all that and you got a family to feed, then you start getting really—stressed. And so the time for open thinking and freedom of exploration it kind of gets pushed back because you got to go to that nine to five, and you got to toil in a job that, unjustifiably you can move yourself up in, for whatever reason. So if the economic state changes where there is more economic mobility, because I think that's what the real issue is, its like class and money, then I think change will just follow naturally, because I think most people are open-minded people, but like if you talk to students they are usually liberal and when they get older they become more conservative." Asian American Male # 2

This quote is actually very intriguing and insightful. The Asian American Male further expands upon his theory of economics playing a major role in the way that the two races interact and it leads to an amazing exposition. One of the main elements he cites is how the two are merely working to try and survive under unfair scrutiny from what

surrounds them, and it naturally leads to a survival mentality which may alter how one sees their surroundings and account for severe hostility in unwarranted situations.

> "Ah, sports. I have played a lot of sports, and stereotypically there are a lot of Black males that play sports, boxing and stuff, I don't know, something about sports just forces you to be friends with people. So I had good experiences, and then they are going to get picked up in a shitty minivan, and I'm going to get picked up in a shitty minivan, and the White kid's going to get picked up in a BMW, so I guess you can bond more, I guess, you know its all subconscious, I don't know I never thought about it before." – Asian American Male # 2

This quote references one of the main arguments that some of the Asian American males repeatedly mention when they claim they have a strong relationship with African Americans. Sports and other similar circumstances allow Asian Americans to bond with African American members of their community. Sports are repeatedly mentioned, as teambuilding unites anyone in the sport, regardless of race as all members of the team are expected to act as one united entity. The idea of similar circumstances being used as a cohesive is also highlighted clearly by the Asian American male in his short theoretical story about him and an African American equivalent being contrasted by a Caucasian male who is more than likely of a higher economic class being picked up from a sporting event in a much nicer vehicle than either him or his African American counterpart, which led to a bond even though they were from different racial backgrounds.

> "Honestly, just listening to adults speak about Black people, at least Asian adults, it's usually more of a warning and you want to avoid Black people, that's usually the impression if not a literal translation of what I understand them to say." – Asian American # 3

This interviewee makes this statement as his first sentence during the interview. His statement plainly claims that he has heard from adults that as a rule, the younger generation should avoid African Americans and should be cautious around them. Furthermore, in the context of his statement, it sounds as if he has heard this repeated several times and from several sources as he has gotten older. This would be a reflection of what was said by Asian American # 1, on the fact that adults and people who have not had much contact with African Americans just

believe as a simple rule to avoid them to be on the safe side, and pass this belief on to the following generations, making for slowed and stunted progress. The fact that he also felt the need to state this first also may show that it is in the forefront of his mind as it may have been repeated often as he aged.

> "I think the primary reason why is because when I first came to Tacoma, it was, I will say a lot different than -----. Especially going to a public school it was significantly more diverse than a Catholic private school where it was primary Caucasian male and the minority was Asian. But, I honestly believe because of the public school system I became more accustomed to all races, African Americans included, and so you know, I think it's honestly because I am a male, and I can find more things in common than not, like video games or something like that, or playing cards, I mean that was always fun, I guess based on past experiences, you know just finding things in common with other males kind of makes it easier to befriend them." – Asian American Male # 3

Here is a quote that reinforces a previously stated concept from Asian American Male #1 and repeated by Asian American Male # 2, and introduced by Asian American Female # 3 which is once again, the school had a large part in exposing the populous to diversity, and more diverse schools helped people interact more freely with people of different races. Also, as expressed by the interviewees before him, this male also found that finding things in common with people of other races naturally helped him feel more at home with the other groups around him, even though he found his through card games and video games as opposed to the previously stated sports.

> "OK, so the reason I kind of feel that way is because, well talking on the as am side point of view I know that a lot or most Asians have this view that White people are the superior race and that they really look up to White people so a lot of the stereotypes that White people want other people to have Asians really just kind of follow it and just really kind of suck up to it." – Asian American Male # 4

In this very strong statement, the Asian American male feels very strongly about how he thinks other Asian Americans view people of

other races. In this specific quote, how Asian Americans and Caucasian people interact in his observation. He thinks that some Asian Americans view Caucasians as a superior race, which opens the idea that some race would have to be viewed as inferior to the others which, more than likely, is the place African Americans are characterized as holding in the minds of these same theoretical people.

> "So I think that's one of the main things, especially with older generation when they like talk about Black people they are alike, "--- where did you get this kind of information? What are you talking about?" its like half of this is not even true. It's a lot of the psychological mindsets kind of make it hostile." – Asian American # 4

This quote which follows the previous one expands on the discussed interpretation of a certain group of Asian Americans viewing African Americans an inferior race. A second theme is also shown which has been talked about in previous interviews as well. The Asian American interviewee speaks about the older generation specifically mentioning to stay clear of African Americans as a literal warning to the younger generation. However, a positive is mentioned here as well, with the youth acknowledging that the older generation is giving incorrect and stereotyped information, which the youth knowingly rejects, which could signify a distinct change and improvement.

> "Well partially because I grew up in Tacoma and there is a lot of diversity particularly lots of Black people there too and there I don't know, once you get all the things the media tells you and all that stuff out of your mind, and you just have an open mind to it, every one is just it doesn't matter what race you are, it just all comes down to everyone is just people everyone, were all human beings, and I kind of pride myself on being open-minded, and just being able to think logically and not having the television tell me how to think." - Asian American Male # 4

In this quote, the diversity once again appears to surface, with the male citing previous experiences in Tacoma as a place where he learned to interact with many different races, which was mentioned by a previous interviewee. The concept of media distorting how people view others is also touched upon by this Asian American male, who has identified this aspect and tries to reject the influence.

African American Females

> "People like Obama and seeing people in power and then in the University and in my class I have a certain professor. And I won't say her name and there is a good mixture of Asian Americans and African Americans and Caucasians. So people can see a professor and say maybe some of the things my parents say are not true." – African American Female # 1

Again, President Barack Obama makes an appearance in the interviews as a source of racial relations improvement, or at least a person who can cause significant improvement due to his strong presence as an African American symbol. There is also a hint that the African American Female's parents and relatives may actually be biased to Asian Americans as well, but this does not appear in any other interviews and is not mentioned again. Due to a lack of evidence, this is hard to comment further on.

> "I have a lot of friends who are Asian Americans and I think its easy to make generalizations if you only know few, and since I know so many and I just am able to relate to them and there are very few African Americans who go to UW but there is quite a bit more Asian Americans and I feel I can relate to them a lot more, compared to White people." – Asian American Female # 2

This quote shows the basic feeling of many ethnic people at the University of Washington. There is a large amount of Caucasians who attend the University, and while many people who are a minority, this is usually the case through many high schools and continues into college. However, when someone of another ethnicity is in the same circumstance, there tends to be an opening for a bond to begin.

> "White people don't seem to have a problem displaying their prejudice against Asians to me. I sold cars for a couple years, and if an Asian drives up in a car you hear tons of things. I worked only with White men. I was the only woman there for a while. They didn't want to wait on them. A White man pulls up and, 'There's a citizen!' And they're excited. As much negativity as there was with Blacks, I see that with White relations, I see that in the workplace. I don't think Asians know that though. I don't think that the negativity is overt in our society.

Where you might say it's overt against Blacks because we have that black-white dichotomy always going on there, and Asians don't seem to be part of that mix, but when you get White people alone, they will express negativity about Asians." – African American Female # 3

There is a lot of information in this quote. One of the main pieces is the lengthy comment on what the female has heard from Caucasians about Asian Americans. This is the only concrete evidence of such a situation in all of the interviews, so this cannot be examined further, it is interesting to note.

African American Males

"I responded with a two because what I have noticed as an African American from the Asian community that is not directly involved with the African American community, the stereotypes and portrayals they have seen in the media, be it on TV or through magazines is this kind of dominating or fearsome individual especially from the African American males. So I've noticed hesitant movements, kind of, just not wanting to be involved with the African American crowd from the Asian female because of this overarching fearful tactic and I don't know if that's the education that goes on at home, but just from my encounters from them there tends to be some type of, I want to use a better word than "fear" right now but that's the only real word I can use to describe it. It's not a scare tactic; it's just something about us as African American males that they know they're not supposed to associate with them. The Asian male I view as different, the Asian male seems to be more outgoing to get to know the African American community and finds a lot of correlation in that within sports, and I don't know so much about politics, but there's a correlation that they find and I definitely find a correlation within sports, we find something in common." – African American Male # 2

This quote from this African American male is very interesting and very insightful. He touches upon the several things covered in other interviews and also offers some interesting opinions on what he sees around him with incredible insight. He first touches upon the same idea

that has been seen with the media offering very negative views of
African Americans in the past and the African American community is
still in the process of recovering and being judged on an individual basis.
He also quickly mentions that he thinks there is some teaching of
stereotypes in the homes of the Asian American community, which,
according to some of the interviews from the Asian American
interviewees, there really is evidence of this occurring. Last, he hits upon
the fact that the Asian American and African American community
nicely blend together over sports and games of a digital variety and
physical games. In this quote, there is an amazing synthesis of many of
the features of the African American and Asian American community
when they come in contact with one another. The fact that this African
American male has experienced all of these situations and eloquently
mentions them one after another was a great and amazing shock for this
research.

> "So for Asian and African Americans the reason that I
> think it's a four, the relationship is, if you look at south
> Seattle we are in the same community, if you look at
> Richmond now, we are in the same community. There's
> not a lot of difference right now between us, its all
> heritage. But its temporary times were growing up in the
> same neighborhoods, same schools, same community
> services, things like that, and so, there's not really much
> of a difference between us that will cause us to not be
> socially cohesive with one another. I guess it's the way I
> grew up, in my household, I was never taught to
> discriminate, as first, didn't know what that was, as
> much. I guess, my changing elementary was a major
> factor." – African American Male # 3

From the speaker of this quote, there is a good deal of hope from
the speaker, who views the two racial groups of African Americans and
Asian Americans as becoming closer and closer due to the proximity of
the two physical communities of people. He feels that this will become a
uniting force as a common similarity which will allow for social
interactions in this generation and the following generation. Future
investigations will be able to validate or invalidate this claim.

Presentation of Numerical Data

As each interview was conducted, the interviewee was asked to
fill out a small questionnaire which included a five-point scale rating
certain aspects of African American and Asian American racial relations.

This was to gather numerical data which would be a visual representation of how each race felt on the status of the relationship. As mentioned, each interviewee was given a five-point scale to rate certain aspects of the African American and Asian American communities and how they interact with one another. The scale was numerical, but it also corresponded with a rising scale which was related to how warmly the two races related with one another in each interviewee's opinion, with one being cold or negative, three being entirely neutral, and five being good, or warm. Each number between these naturally corresponded to a rating between the previously mentioned entries.

Asian American Females

	ASF 1	ASF 2	ASF 3	ASF 4	Average
Q. 1	2	3	2.5	2	2.375
Q. 2	3	4	5	4.5	4.125
Male		3	5	5	4.333333
Female		3	3	5	3.666667

Figure 1. Data representation of Asian American Females answering questionnaire. ASF stands for Asian American Female.

Question one, abbreviated in the table as Q. 1, was phrased "Generalization of Asian American and African American relations, in the person's opinion." As shown, each female rated the relation between "neutral" and "cold" with and average moving towards a two on the scale. Question two is phrased as "Where the person views themselves in the scale they gave in racial relations?" On this question, every entry is neutral or above, with everyone answering above their previous entry, which feeds into an "everyone is better than average" mentality, which is also interesting as everyone questioned answers to be at least neutral, while the general feeling of the previous question is moving towards cold.

The third and fourth rows asks each person, how they, in this case, Asian American females, feel about males and females specifically of the other examined race, in this case meaning African Americans. Asian American Female # 1 felt the need to abstain from this question as she began to feel uncomfortable after a certain amount of time answering questions. Unfortunately, this somewhat skews the data, but based on what is listed, males are surprising rated nearly a full point higher than females, shockingly showing that gender as a similarity does not lead to a more warm environment, or something else is taking place in this dynamic.

Asian American Males

	ASM 1	ASM 2	ASM 3	ASM4	Average
Q. 1	2.5	2	2	2.5	2.25
Q. 2	4	3	3	3.5	3.375
Male	3.5	4	3.5	3	3.5
Female	3.5	4	3	3	3.375

Figure 2. Data representation of Asian American males answering questionnaire. ASM stands for Asian American Male.

The structure of this chart and questionnaire follows the same format as the previously discussed chart, and the following charts will be the same as well, which saves the need to repeat the content of each question and the structure of the graph and proceed straight to analysis. The Asian American males seemed to feel roughly the same way as the Asian American females on the general feeling of Asian American and African American racial relations in general, which does lead some creditability as an accepted consensus from the Asian American standpoint. It is also worth noting that each person also agreed upon the feeling that they were better than the average once again. As everyone felt comfortable answer all the questions, the data is more consistent, and it is worth noting that there is basically no difference between the feelings of male and female in the case of Asian American males.

African American Females

	AFF 1	AFF 2	AFF 3	AFF 4	Average
Q. 1	3	2	2	2	2.25
Q. 2	5	5	5	5	5
Male	5	5	3	4	4.25
Female	5	5	3	3	4

Figure 3. Data representation of African American females answering questionnaire. AFF stands for African American Female.

This chart shows some of the same trends as the previously shown charts but with several differences. First, the answer to question two is significantly higher than either of the previous entries with all the females answering five for a solid "good" rating across the chart. This is a surprising occurrence which seems to have no information to back support this finding, yet seems to be too solid and agreed upon to dismiss as an anomaly. This would suggest that the African American females of

the University of Washington have several examples of solid relationships between African Americans and Asian Americans. The question would be if this holds true in the rest of the African American female population in the surrounding area of the University of Washington, or if this study just managed to find the four African American females who have a fantastic relationship with Asian Americans. Also, the trend of being better than the average is quite common place and is well-documented in various fields and numerous studies, however a result like this is completely astonishing and nothing like it appears in the other charts to this extent. If a follow up study were to be conducted, this would be one of the strongest points to investigate as a starting point.

To finish the analysis of the table, African American females had no noticeable difference between males and females, but were some of the highest overall ratings for the category. The African American females scored the two opposite genders except for Asian American females scoring African American males slightly higher. The fives across the board is definitely the biggest surprise of the study, with African American females having such a strong and positive view of the racial dynamic, which is strangely enough not reflected or reciprocated in any way, shape, or form in the Asian Americans ratings on African American females.

African American Males

	AFM 1	AFM 2	AFM 3	AFM 4	Average
Q. 1	4	3	3	5	3.75
Q. 2	5	3	3	4	3.75
Male	5	4	2	5	4
Female	5	2	4	3	3.5

Figure 4. Data representation of African American Males answering the questionnaire.

This final chart depicting African American male answers to the questionnaire does not seem to hold very many interesting revelations in data or the experiences of its participants. The two interesting pieces may be that there is one African American male who gave the highest possible answer on the second question, meaning he is fully at ease in the Asian American community in his personal opinion. Secondly, African American Male # 4 gave a maximum five on the first question, which is the only instance of this happening in the entire survey. However, this does come with a complication, as he is one of the older males

interviewed, claiming an age of 30+, and he repeatedly mentioned that he views the relationship as "way better than it used to be" signaling that he may have based this answer on a comparison to what he observed as a younger person, or as a child. There is also an interesting trend of most numbers being higher than most of the other study groups, but it's not significant enough to be of much note. The males and females differ by a half point, with the males being higher than the female which is contrary to what the other study groups claimed they felt. Meaning Asian American males rated interactions with African American males lower than Asian American females did, but this is all opinion and a rather small sample size.

All this information basically amounts to several key aspects to take away from this research investigation. First, as expected, African Americans and Asian Americans do view their interactions as a whole as cold, and at best, neutral. This was expected, and was confirmed by this investigation. Yet, there are some people who fit in quite well with the other race quite well, as demonstrated by the African American females who participated in the study. Also, there was the concept of the gender of each race involved, and the question of the gender of a person would help to offset the difference of race. Overall, this piece of the investigation seemed to be mostly an non-factor or inconclusive, as there was only one instance of more than a half-point of difference in the data, and it was not verified by any other combination of race and gender studied. There were several impressive bits of information uncovered in the transcriptions of the interviews that was revealed by accident, however. The idea that many of the stereotypes between African Americans and Asian Americans does come from the media and is closely held onto people from overseas, which in turn is passed to the next generation, even if the people have been in the United States for a significant amount of time. It is also worth noting that every person of Asian American origin was also of the second generation, which was surprising and more common than previously expected. This leads to speculation on how the next generation will follow, as significant change has occurred in only one generation. Finally, it was surprising how often President Barack Obama appeared in transcriptions with no preparation or mention of him in the questionnaire. The aspect of an African American president would be quite interesting to study on racial relations, and possibly lead to the question of presidents of different races in America and how people think that would further change racial dynamics.

In conclusion to this study, amazement and relative hope would be the proper reaction to these findings. Most of the information and

results turned up expectations that were relatively expected with most research groups turning in a neutral to cool perception of the two racial dynamics, which is rather unfortunate, but expected. However, there was an astonishing find with African American females turning in their particular first hand experience of the racial relationship as being across the chart positive fives, which was completely unexpected and is a clear strong point for a second, focused study. If the reason these African American females feel so warmly towards the Asian American community can be discovered, then a clear pathway towards repairing a relationship which is confirmed to be recognized as poor by this study could be found and positive and lasting progress could be next.

There were two major limitations that were found over the course of the study that would need to be clarified, if a research procedure similar to this was to be conducted, or repeated. The final questions of the questionnaire, as listed in the appendix, reference the scenario of a landmark in California being preserved as a symbol of Asian American and African American unity. This was not covered in this essay, as the first four people who were interviewed had nothing to say on it, and asked if they could not comment or skip the questions. This led to a problem of imbalanced information gathering and non-uniform interviews, so the question was unfortunately dropped altogether. Secondly, there was a problem with the terminology as processed by the people being interviewed. Great care was always taken to define Asian American as someone being born and primarily raised in the United States, however it is evident by many transcriptions that "Asian" and "Asian American" was being used to define people from other countries, so a more strict definition may be needed or this taken to account if this study was to be performed and perhaps improved upon. Thankfully, this did lead to some very interesting results and the identification of a problem in the form of racial stereotyping overseas, and how it is being reflected in the current generation of Asian Americans who happen to be second generation. Yet, if a follow-up investigation was to be conducted, the most interesting information would likely be the analysis of African American and Asian American females and how they interact and perceive their racial relations.

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Acknowledgements

Michael J. Motte
English Department
M.J.Motte88@gmail.com

My research interests include further investigation on racial relations in various areas of the country and how races are perceived in other countries around the world. My intended Ph.D. program is to pursue English, however this may change as this is not as open to racial relation investigations as other fields.

Segmentation of Glioma on Magnetic Resonance Imaging: Accuracy of a Semi-Automated Method

Shokouh Pardakhtim

Abstract

Introduction: Gliomas are the most common of all primary brain tumors, and are uniformly fatal, despite all treatment[1]. To reliably assess glioma growth, radiation oncologists use manual segmentation to define the target tumor volume. Although this method is accepted as the gold standard, it can be challenging and time consuming. Methods: We have developed a semi-automated segmentation method to increase accuracy and decrease measurement time. We also aimed to evaluate tumor volumes of gliomas from magnetic resonance images (MRI) using the manual segmentation and semi-automated segmentation methods. These tumor volumes were extracted from pre-treatment MR imaging from six glioma patients. Results: Series of pre-treatment scans were evaluated by two independent observers using the semi-automated segmentation method. Regions of hyper-intensity on gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted MRI, hypo-intense regions inside the gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted abnormality, and the T2 volume were assessed independently by each observer.The relative intra-observer error and inter-observer error and error between the two segmentation methods were calculated. The intra-and inter-observer errors for semi-automated segmentation method were, 0.057-3.97%, and 0.031-3.4%, respectively for gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted radius, 0.17-11.4% and 0.094-9.97%, respectively for gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted volume, 0.22-3.32%, and 0.24-3.95%, respectively for T2 radius, 0.66-9.64%, and 0.73-11.32%, respectively for T2 volume. The inter-observer error for manual segmentation method for the volume of both modalities was taken from literature to be 3.5-7.8%[2] . The mean, median, standard deviation and coefficient of variation were, 9.52, 9.67, 1.77, and 19%, respectively for gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted volume, 2.69, 2.75, 0.59, 20%, respectively for gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted radius, 10.34, 10.37, 1.42, 10%, respectively for T2 volume, and 2.97, 2.98, 0.48, 16%, respectively for T2 radius. Conclusion: Our semi-automated segmentation method was much more reliable than manual segmentation method. No significant differences were observed between the volume changes determined by our observers. Semi-automated segmentation tool can provide reproducible, reliable and accurate tumor volume assessments.

Introduction

Characteristics of gliomas

Gliomas are diffuse, highly aggressive brain tumors that account for about half of all primary brain tumors[3]. This invasiveness contributes to their dismal prognosis, often ranging from 6 to 12 months[4]. Unlike solid tumors, gliomas consist of motile cells that can migrate as well as proliferate. There is no clear boundary between tumor and normal tissue, and the number of tumor cells residing in normal tissue cannot be determined[5]. Experimental results indicate that within seven days of tumor implantation in a rat brain, locally dense tumor growth remains at the implantation site while solitary glioma cells can be identified throughout the central nervous system[6, 7].

Continued developments in computerized tomography (CT) and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) have brought increases in the ability to detect gliomas and define glioma geometry. However, medical imaging has not been able to accurately determine the degree of tumor cell invasion peripheral to the bulk of the tumor mass, thus hindering adequate assessment and treatment[4, 8]. Most glioma treatments are directed locally to the bulk mass when, in fact, the active tumor growth and invasion is elsewhere[3]. It follows that even upon extensive surgical resection well beyond the grossly visible tumor boundary, recurrence near the edge of the resection bed ultimately results[9]. Tumor recurrence also develops after local irradiation treatment is administered[10, 11].

The prognosis for patients with gliomas depends on many factors, including the histologic type and grade of malignancy, the patient's age and level of neurological functioning[4, 5]. However, the grade of malignancy includes at least two factors, net proliferation rate and invasiveness, that are estimated histologically but practically never defined accurately[5].

Mathematical modeling of gliomas

Mathematical modeling of biomedical phenomena can be extremely helpful in analyzing factors that may contribute to the complexity intrinsic in insufficiently understood developmental processes and diseases. Since essential properties of gliomas are impossible to measure in vivo, mathematical modeling is an ideal approach. Despite the complexity of gliomas, some of the basic components of this disease have been ascertained. Based on present knowledge, Dr. Kristin Swanson and colleagues have developed a model to describe the invasive nature of glioma growth dynamics based on two

key parameters: net proliferation rate and migration rate of cells[6].

Using information obtained from clinical imaging such as MRI , Positron Emission and Computerized Tomography (PET, CT) tumor volumes can be measured, and parameters to a mathematical model of glioma growth in individual patients can be calculated[1]. Changes in tumor volume, shape characteristics and visualization are essential elements to parameterizing and studying this mathematical model, as the model is continually developed and refined based on iterative comparisons between simulated and measured growth. Thus, an accurate reproducible tumor segmentation is essential.

Magnetic Resonance Image Modalities

Patient-specific tumor characteristics from MRI are used as the principle source of data in this investigation. Although there are several modalities of MRI, there are two common MRI modalities used in this study: gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted, and T2. Regions of hyper-intensity on gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted MRI reveal the tumor's vasculature by imaging gadolinium leaked in the brain from newly formed blood vessels, supplying the tumor with oxygen in a process called angiogenesis. The bulk mass of the tumor is well represented on gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted MRI. Hypo-intense regions inside the gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted abnormality for pre-operative data can often represent necrosis, or dead tumor tissue for pre-operative scans, often found in high grade gliomas. If the scans are post-operative then the regions of hypo-intensity in the gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted MRI can be resection cavity and not actually necrosis. The region of enhancement on T2 MRI is often much larger than and encompasses the gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted region. T2 MRI reveals the edema or swelling caused by the growing tumor.

Methods for Extracting Information from MRI or CT scans

Defining the gross tumor volume (GTV) can be accomplished by one of several methods, typically utilizing information from either CT or MRI scans. Most frequently, radiation oncologists define the target volume by manually outlining the tumor on multiple two-dimensional image "slices" from the scans. This supervised method is very time-intensive. Additionally, it is limited by the ability of radiation oncologists to produce consistent results as differentiating between subtle variations in the intensity of pixels, especially at the border of a tumor, can prove difficult even for experts[12]. Though medical imaging technology has experienced many recent advances, glioma GTV delineation still

depends on time-consuming and subjective manual outlining[13].

Manual tumor delineation is an ideal candidate for development through increased automation through a computerized segmentation system. Several segmentation techniques falling under three general categories have been proposed for multispectral MRI data: supervised, semi-automated and fully automated. Supervised methods require operator selection of a region of interest (ROI) for each image in the scan to train the automated classifier. Unsupervised segmentation techniques require no operator input to process data sets, while the aforementioned manual outlining method requires the operator to produce careful outlines of the tumor for every image slice on which enhancing regions of tumor appears. We have developed a semi-automated segmentation method specifically for use with gliomas to replace manual outlining. Our goal in this investigation was to establish the accuracy and reproducibility of tumor segmentation results obtained through this new tool relative to the gold standard, and to report inter- and intra-observer variability.

Methods

Data collection

For the purpose of this study, only axial MR images were used. This study is restricted to gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted, and T2 modalities. Gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted was used for the purpose of seeing the bulk mass of the enhancing tumor. T2 was used to designate regions which presumably include a significant majority of invasive tumor cells, and edema**.** Six cases with high-grade glioma (glioblastoma) were identified through our database and collected for this study. Each patient had at least two pre-treat image studies. All patients had not previously received surgery or radiation therapy. Four observers that had numerous experiences studying MRI data for both modalities prior were recruited. Two of the observers measured each MRI scan twice using semi-automated segmentation method, while the other two observers measured each MRI scan using manual segmentation method. A total of 13 studies, 26 series, and 52 measurements for inter-observer and intra-observer were collected. For accuracy, a master judge reviewed all the measurements to make sure the correct region was included.

Units of measure

For many analyses, it is often useful to consider the radius of a sphere of equivalent volume to the GTV, so that

Segmentation of Glioma on Magnetic Resonance Imaging: Accuracy of a Semi-Automated Method

$$v = \frac{4}{3}\pi r^3 \quad (1)$$

and in particular, we have

$$r = \left(\frac{3v}{4\pi}\right)^{1/3}.$$

In order to translate uncertainty in a volume measurement of the form $(v = v \pm \Delta v \cdot v)$ where Δv is a relative error less than one we see that the corresponding uncertainty in the radius of a sphere of equivalent volume (equation 1), has the form

$$
\begin{aligned}
r &= \left(\frac{3v}{4\pi}\right)^{1/3} \\
&= \left(\frac{3(v \pm \Delta v \cdot v)}{4\pi}\right)^{1/3} \\
&= (1 + \Delta v)^{1/3} \cdot r \\
&= \Delta r \cdot r
\end{aligned}
$$

where Δr is a composite relative percent error of the form $r = r \pm \Delta r \cdot r$ so that $\Delta r \geq 1$ and the error is $1 - \Delta r$.

From literature we used the inter-observer variability in terms of volume as 3.5-7.8%[2], which when translated to an equivalent uncertainty in spherical radius using the above method, yields 1.2-2.5%. The uncertainty for the manual segmentation method was taken from the literature because the MR images were measured by radiologist which are experts, and this method is their standard tool to analyze the MR images. Since the literature has already been accepted and published, we used their inter-observer variability.

Intra-observer data

   The intra-observer variability was calculated using the semi-automated segmentation method. The lesion volume computed for each MR image was analyzed two times by two different observers for the purpose of collecting intra-observer data. Total of 13 studies, 26 series, and 52 measurements were collected using the semi-automated segmentation method and a time interval of three weeks was decided

between observations in order to exclude recollection of identified lesions in a previous analyzed examination [2].

Inter-observer data

Two users segmented tumor-positive regions using our new semi-automated segmentation tool, across 28 studies. Each observer was blind to the other's assessments, but a third-party reviewer analyzed both observer's measurements individually. The reviewer, who was an experienced evaluator of MRI data, served as a third set of eyes to more accurately distinguish tumor regions from normal anatomical features of the brain. Through visual estimation, the reviewer's goal was to ensure that less than 10% of visual error existed on less than two slices in the stack. Figure 1d is an example of the output produced by the semi-automated tool after an image had been segmented by one of the operators and submitted to the reviewer for approval. The perimeter of the segment is super-imposed upon the original image to make it easier for the reviewer to visually validate accuracy. Tumor segments were then either approved and used in calculating volume, or rejected and re-measured by the appropriate operator. Rejected measurements were re-submitted to the operator, accompanied by detailed comments describing areas requiring corrections. After the re-measurements were completed, they were reviewed for a second time, at which point they advanced to final approval or entered the next iteration of the rejection process. When both observer's measurements were approved, the volume for each was calculated by taking the sum of the tumor-positive pixels and multiplying by the voxel volume. The average of these two volumes, corresponding to each observer, was then averaged to yield the accepted volume for that particular study. This process was repeated for gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted and T2 MRI modalities across various tumor sizes and tumor locations in the brain.

Semi-automated segmentation

Our semi-automated segmentation method is a software package developed in MATLAB[14]. Data acquisition from MRIs used a semi-automated image-processing program that consisted of four parts: MRI (gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted and T2) thresholding (http://www.mathworks.com/matlabcentral/fileexchange/6770), background subtraction, general region of interest selection by the user, and a computational determination of different tumor regions of a glioma. MRI thresholding involved use of the "Isodata" program formulated by Ramachandran[15] to determine a threshold value for MR images to begin segmentation of the imaging abnormality.[5] However,

this thresholding was not sufficient to separate the high-intensity tumor region relative to the white and gray matter of the brain in the gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted or T2. Thus, a MATLAB isodata algorithm for background subtraction utilizing user-input was employed to remove the maximum amount of the background less the tumor. Following the background subtraction and isodata thresholding of the MR images, final tumor regions from the gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted and T2 data were user-selected to avoid other high intensity regions of the scan such as the skull [Figure 1b]. The program took the raw MR image data and based on user input, removed pixels in order to more accurately segment the tumor from the rest of the brain. The user then selected the region containing the tumor, producing a binary image of the tumor[Figure 1d]. Once all of the 2-dimensional slices in the image stack were measured, volume and surface area measurements were computed by converting the number of tumor positive pixels into volumes by multiplying the number of tumor positive voxels by the volume element.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)
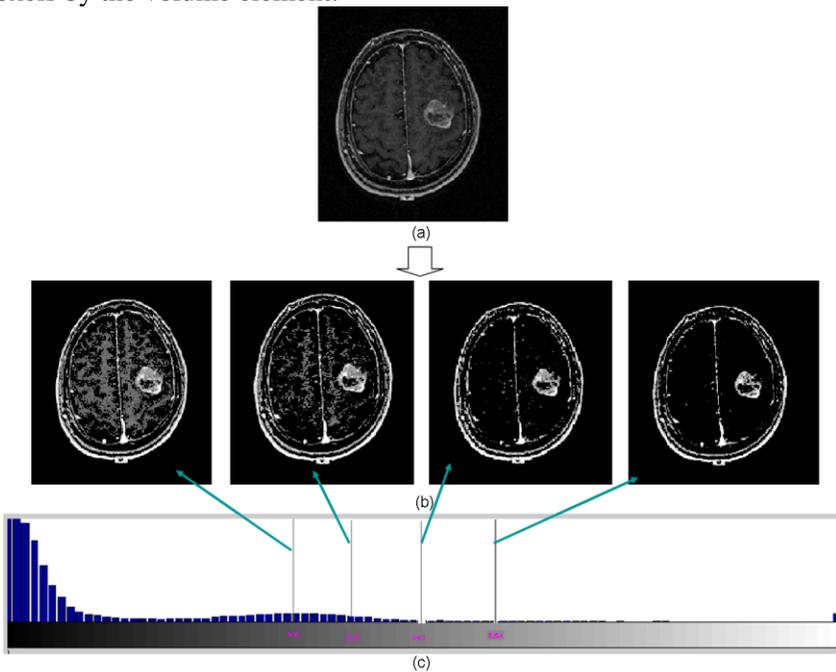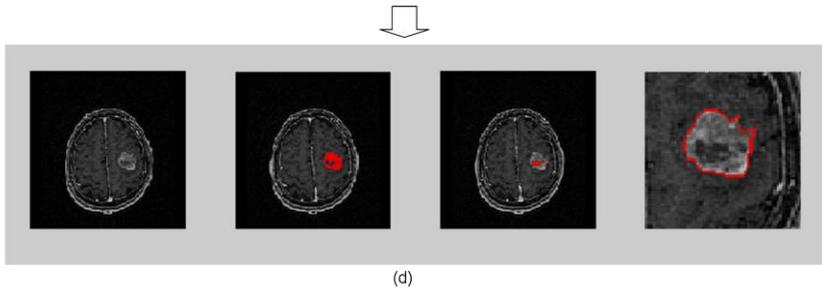
Figure 1. Segmentation results of brain tumors using semi-automated segmentation method. (a) Original image. (b) Various thresholding levels. (c) Intensity Distribution. (d) Tumor segmented from MR images.

MRI Protocol: University of Washington

MRIs were acquired using a 1.5 Tesla GE system (Horizon LX Echospeed with 9.1 software). The preoperative Stealth navigation studies included axial T1 with contrast (3D gradient echo, TE/TR minimal, 1.3 mm slice thickness with no skip, FOV 26), axial T2 FSE (TE 97.3, TR 4000, 1.7 mm slice thickness with no skip, FOV 26). Follow-up scans including standard gadolinium-enhanced T1-weighted (TE minimal, TR 350), T2-weighted (TE 102, TR 4300) are obtained in 2D mode with a spin echo sequence and slice thickness of 5 mm with no inter-slice spacing.

University of California Los Angeles

MR imaging sequences were acquired on a 1.5T scanner and included, in most cases, sagittal T1-weighted (TR, 400–550; TE, 14; section thickness, 5 mm), axial T1-weighted (TR, 400; TE, 15; section thickness, 3 mm), T2-weighted fast spin-echo (TR, 4000; TE, 126–130; section thickness, 3 mm), proton attenuation (TR, 4000; TE, 13–15; section thickness, 3 mm), and gadolinium diethylene triamine penta-acetic acid (Omniscan, 10–20 mL; Amersham Health, Princeton, NJ) enhanced axial and coronal T1-weighted images (TR, 400; TE, 15; section thickness, 3 mm), with a field of view of 24 cm and a matrix size of 256   256. All scans contained at least T1 pre- and postcontrast and T2-weighted images.

MRI Modalities

We considered the following image sequences to represent equivalent T2-weighted MRI abnormalities: T2 FSE, T2 FSE-XL, TSE T2. Similarly, for contrast-enhanced T1-weighted MRI, the following

were considered equivalent representations of the tumor abnormality: T1 POST, T1 3DGR, T1 GAD, T1 POST GAD.

Manual segmentation (gold standard)

Existing manual segmentation measurements from two different observers were used. The manual segmentation method was performed in Image J, as well as the technical image analysis and tumor volume alculations. From the manually traced region of interest, an area was computed for each slice and by multiplying the area by the image slice thickness plus the space between image slices, the volume for the slice was calculated by hand. Unlike the semi-automated segmentation method, the manual segmentation method requires that the hypo-intense region be measured by hand. Since the manual segmentation method is the industry standard method, the error associated with this method was taken as ground truth. The inter-observer error for manual segmentation volume was taken from previous research done by Kai Xie. The accuracy of the method and the variation between and within measurers was assessed.

Error analysis

We translated our source data (volume) in to a radius of a sphere of equivalent volume (equation 1). From the translated data, the relative error for radius was calculated using this formula

$$\frac{\Delta r}{r} = |R_1 - R_2| / R_{max}$$ where R_1 is the radius from the observer one's measurements, R_2 is radius from observer two's measurements, and R_{max} is the radius from the observer that has the maximum results. From all the relative errors that were calculated, we took the minimum and maximum. To calculate the intra-observer and inter-observer error, we used the same approach. Then we compared these values to published ranges 3.5-7.8% [2]. We used 3.5-7.8% [2] value for both of the image modalities we considered, and assumed this error to be indicative of uncertainty in data regardless of modality.

Results

Intra-observer variability

For gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted the intra-observer error of radius and volume using semi-automated segmentation method was 0.057-6.13%, and 0.17-17.29%, respectively. T2 had the intra-observer of 0.19-3.32% for radius, and 0.58-9.64% for volume.

Inter-observer variability

The inter-observer error of radius and volume for gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted modality using semi-automated segmentation method was 0.031-3.41%,and 0.094-9.97%, respectively. The T2 modality had an inter-observer error of 0.24-3.95% for radius and 0.73-11.32% for volume. The inter-observer error of radius and volume for both modalities using manual se gmentation method which was taken from literature was 1.15-2.54% ,and 3.5-7.8%, respectively [2].
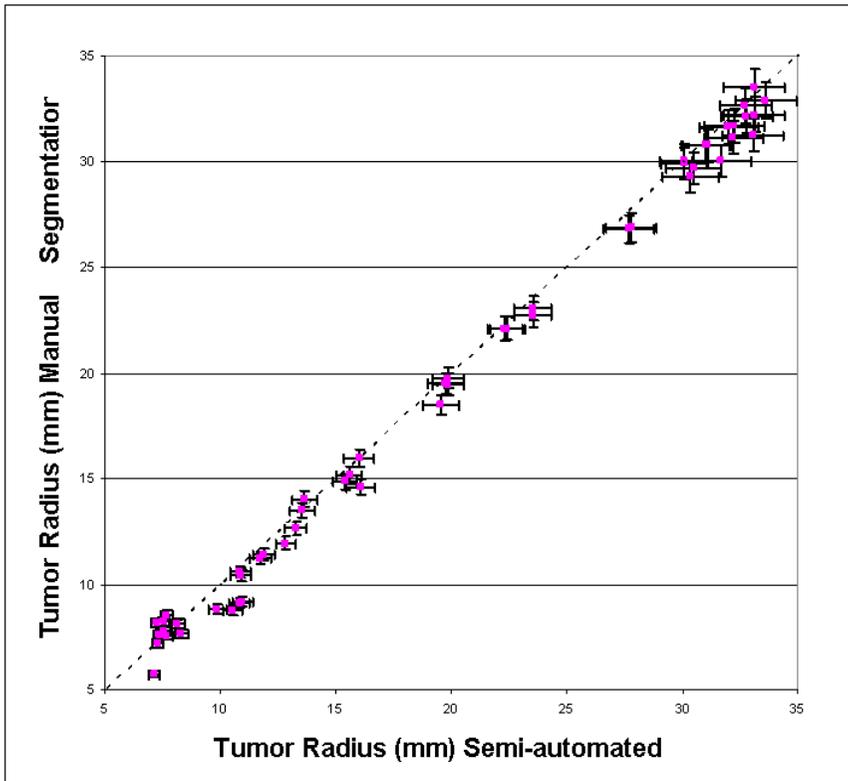
Figure 2. Plot of tumor radius for all the data (both modalities, and both observers) comparing semi-automated segmentation method with the manual segmentation method. Error bars along the x-axis represent the relative error using semi-automated segmentation method and   the error bars along the y-axis represent the relative error using the manual segmentation method.

Discussion & Conclusion

We have concluded that our method provides reproducible, reliable and accurate tumor volume measurements that can be reliably used to assess parameters to the mathematical model, regardless of observer.

Semi-automated segmentation method decreases the challenge of identifying tumor-positive pixels and can produce more reliable tumor segmentation. The semi-automated segmentation method eliminates the effect of hand quiver, and opens the possibility for non-radiology-experts to segment brain tumors, all in less time.

Example of small error

We had the relative error of 0.000936 on gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted modality for a patient who had a bigger tumor volume, which was closer to the edge of the brain.
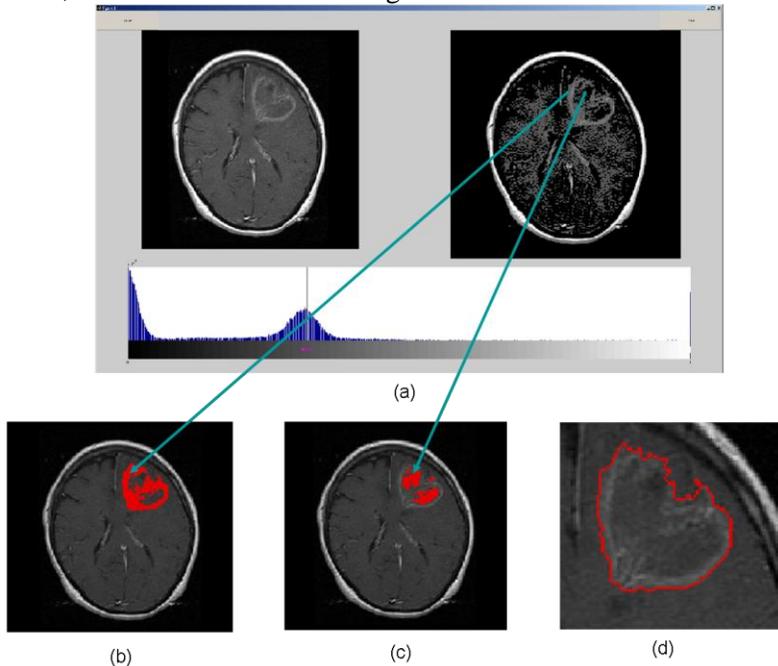
Figure 3. A situation where we had a very small relative error. (a) Intensity Distribution. (b) Hyper-intense region. (c) Hypo-intense regions. (d) The real tumor that includes both hyper-intensity and hypo-intensity

Example of large error

The relative error of 0.113239 was computed on T2 modality for a patient with a smaller tumor which was next to the ventricle.
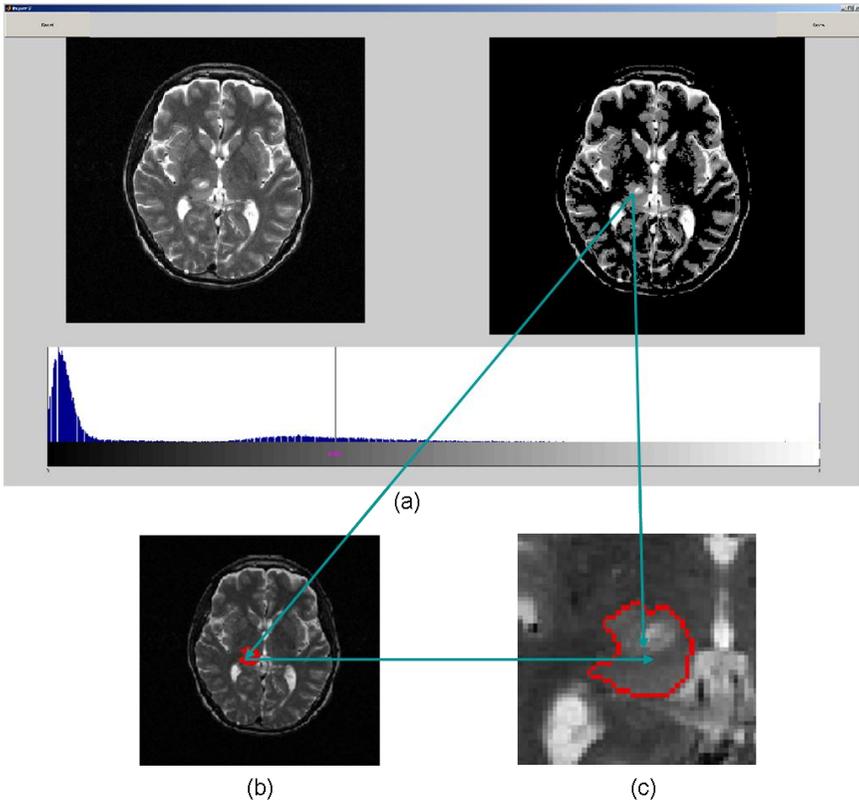
Figure 4. A situation where we had a large relative error. (a) Intensity Distribution. (b) (c) Hyper-intense and hypo-intense region.

Figure 5. (a) intensity Distribution. (b) (c) Real tumor which includes
hyper-intensive and hypo-intensive regions.

In Figure 5c, the outline shows the tumor region, and the regions with hyper-intensity are red. Our semi-automated program fills in the interior hypo-intense regions, resulting in the slice segmentation shown in Figure 5b. When measuring gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted modality, the user must select a general but closed region of interest around the hyper-intense region so that our program can fill in the interior regions of hypo-i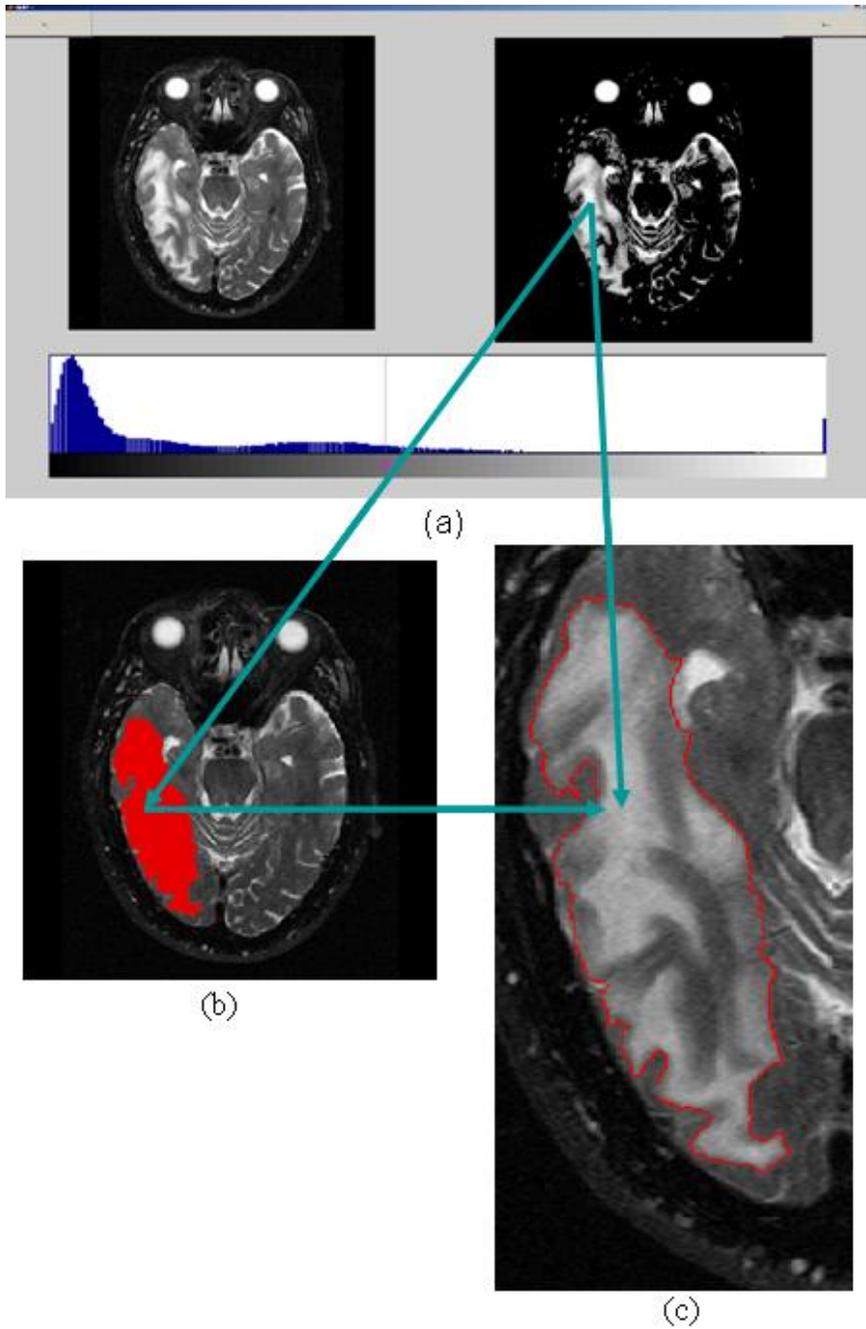ntensity. By using a lower threshold and tracing around the tumor, the user can make sure that the hypo-intense region is enclosed and included.

Usage of Tumor volume data in mathematical modeling

Volume data segmented from serial MRI offer a time evolution of tumor growth, from which we can calculate volumetric growth velocity. By approximating the tumor to a sphere, we can also derive the radial growth velocity and use Fisher's approximation, $v = 2\,\text{root}(Dp)$, in conjunction with gradient curves assessed from gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted and T2 volume data to calculate the model parameters D and p. In general, the tumor volumes captured by the semi-automated method were larger than volumes obtained manually. A possible source of this is displayed in figure 5c, where the tumor area captured by the semi-automated method includes not only the hyper-intense region, but the hypo-intense region enclosed by the hyper-intense region. This results in a larger area computed than if a manual segmentation method were employed by an operator who chose to trace around these regions to separate them explicitly. Another source of this higher volume captured by the semi-automated method can be seen in figure 3. Here the outer edge of a gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted image was measured, and the hypo-intense region is algorithmically assessed, whereas a manual measurement would be traced independently.

Usage of tiffs for spatial analysis of tumor growth

In addition to volumetric data, a key output of the tumor segmentation process is the image of the tumor itself, isolated from the rest of the brain. These images are saved as a three-dimensional stack of binary (logical) images in TIFF form, with resolution identical to the original MRI. Coregistering serial MRI allows us to spatially compare segmented tumor outlines and analyze the size evolution as well as location and morphological migration.

Separation of tumor hyper-intensity from "normal" brain using semi-automated segmentation method

One of the features of our semi-automated segmentation method that substantially decreases the challenge of capturing accurate tumor volume data is the background subtraction with adjustable thresholding. This allows the operator to vary the level of grayscale pixels that appear in the image, effectively filtering-out the relative low intensity "normal" brain structures from the higher-intensity tumor enhancement. In general, this offers a huge advantage for segmenting T2 images, in which hyper-intense regions lack a clear border with tumor negative cells, unlike most gadolinium contrast-enhanced T1-weighted enhanced imaging, which usually shows a clearly-delineated hyper-intense boundary encircling the necrotic center of most gliomas.

This semi-automated segmentation method may increase accuracy by decreasing the potential for human error. By removing pixels below a threshold, tumor edges are defined in a more reproducible manner, rather than visual estimation and hand dexterity, which can both vary widely between operator sessions as well as different operators.

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Multi-cultural Dance: An Effective Tool for Teaching Multi-cultural Education

Brittney L. Patterson

Abstract

Multi-cultural education has become an important topic of research and development since the Civil Rights Movement. In dance specifically, scholars from both anthropology and dance have produced literature about dance forms outside of the European idioms of ballet and modern, but these "other" dance forms are not always incorporated into university dance curricula. I will examine instances in which non-Western dances have been incorporated into university dance programs and compare the types of learning students experience in these university classes with that students experience outside university settings. This research could not only be a model for dance programs to develop an enriched dance curricula, but for other university programs to take initiative to diversify and develop curricula that achieve the goals of multi-cultural education.

Introduction to Multi-Cultural Education

Multi-cultural education is a concept that has been evolving since the Civil Rights Movement. It is an especially important concept for scholars in the American education system as they think of ways in which to reform this institutional system to promote greater success for all students. Before multi-cultural education was introduced, most scholars and policy makers in the education field favored a model of assimilation (Braxton, 2000). Assimilation is the idea that minority students can be absorbed into majority culture, exemplified in the metaphor of the "melting pot," first introduced in the early 1900's (Banks, 1988). Minority students are thought to be added into a pot with majority culture and melted together to create an America culture. However, many early advocates of multi-cultural education who combated this idea offered a metaphor of a "salad bowl" where different groups in America could be added to a bowl to make a "salad" but the groups could still maintain their individuality (Banks, 1988). Currently, many scholars assume the definition of multi-cultural education is the study of any culture outside of Anglo-American and European culture. I believe that this definition is problematic. This definition, while not only being vague, promotes segregated learning over integrated learning. In contrast, multi-cultural education pioneer James Banks suggests that multi-cultural education promotes interaction between different cultures

by providing theoretical models and concepts that include but are not limited to European traditions (Banks, 1988). Building on his ideas for the purpose of this paper I will define multi-cultural education as that which: promotes interaction between diverse students, challenges students to think critically about their own position in cultural hierarchies, and includes content that enables students to appreciate and value diverse cultures.

There are many reasons why multi-cultural education became popular in the 1960s. For the first time in history minorities were demanding more from the government in different institutions, schools being one of the most important. Minority groups wanted more teachers from their ethnic group, more classes that taught minority culture and history, community control over schools, and the rewriting of textbooks (Banks, 1988). The first thing that schools tried to implement at this point was minority history into the curriculum. Nevertheless, this did not work for a number of reasons. One was that many assumed that only minority students needed to take history classes from their own culture (Banks, 1988). They tried to implement monoethnic history classes into the schools, but these classes were often unsuccessful because the teachers did not have the necessary tools to teach these classes and there were few minority teachers. Policymakers and researchers figured they would focus their efforts to develop multi-cultural education in places outside the classroom, such as developing resources on campuses that addressed the needs and interests of minority students.

Because multi-cultural curriculum experienced problems early on, academics and policy makers concluded that to foster multi-culturalism in universities, they should look elsewhere. Banks asserts that the total environment of the school should foster a multi-cultural theme that sticks with the students in every aspect. In universities, this is seen in multiple places such as: scholarships that encourage minorities to apply, outreach to high school students from diverse backgrounds, clubs and organizations that promote diversity, hiring minority faculty members, and communities where minority students can relate to one another. Although these efforts have had positive effects, the classroom has been virtually ignored by university.

The Classroom: Where Multicultural Education Should be Focused

Vincent Tinto's Student Departure Theory focuses on the factors that will help create a successful learning environment for students so that they will make it to graduation and universities will see higher retention rates (Tinto, 1993). Many studies suggest that minority students feel marginalized in the context of the larger university, which

then has an impact on minority retention rates. In one study, researchers found certain characteristics of Latino students who had difficulty getting involved in their community college, two of the top reasons being that students had negative experiences with teachers or staff and student felt left out of place in mainstream college culture (Braxton, 2000). Both of these interactions happen in the classroom, but there has been little research on how to change the classroom so that minority students' needs and interests are integrated into the classroom experience. Many of the studies focus on integrating minority students into already existing classrooms instead of changing the content so that it is relevant to all students.

Educational theorist Carter G. Woodson believed that students need to see themselves reflected in the course content and that validation and inclusion would help colleges retain minority students (Hubbard & Sofras, 1998). The idea of inclusion also benefits students from majority cultures, because these students can strengthen their self-learning through interacting with other students who are not like them (Pace, 1984). Furthermore, research has been done that shows that students who participated in classrooms that promoted interaction with other students displayed evidence of more effective learning (Pace, 1984). Another study found that the linked learning community had both direct and indirect effects on student's commitment and retention (Braxton & Milem & Sullivan, 2000). The researchers' found that students who participate in linked learning classrooms are more confident and approach their teacher more often. These studies suggest that the most effective learning experience should foster interaction among students and course content should represent people from diverse backgrounds.

Multicultural Dance Education: a Dynamic and Innovative Classroom

One dynamic space that could provide a successful model for other degree programs is a dance program. University dance classrooms around the country have made attempts to develop multi-cultural dance curriculum and integrate into their programs. Some scholars believe that dance is the perfect vehicle to bring the multi-cultural issue to the forefront of education. Dance scholar Claudia E. Cornett argues that dance can be used to give meaning to other subjects in students' education. She believes that dance can: "increase sensitivity, respect, and cooperation; gives joy; is a part of real life; develops self expression, self concept, confidence, and leadership; gives opportunities for experimentation, creative problem solving, and imagination; is an alternative form of communication; and is an important means of understanding and expressing culture" (Cornett, pg. 288, 2000). Because

of these significant aspects, it is effective in achieving the goals of multi-cultural education. I believe that if the university wants to achieve the goals of multi-cultural education it should look to the successes and failures of the dance classroom.

Methods

My research focuses on multi-cultural dance and how it can be a model for multi-cultural education. I set out to learn how multi-cultural dance had been incorporated into universities in New York City and Seattle. I also looked at how dance was learned outside of universities and if the surrounding community impacted the multi-cultural dance options that were offered in the university setting. My goal was to examine the effectiveness of multi-cultural dance education in terms of the goals of multi-cultural education.

To achieve the goals of my research, I used a combination of interviews and fieldwork. I interviewed about 10 people from different ethnic, socio-economic, and age ranges. The questions varied depending on the individuals. The fieldwork consisted of several different elements. I chose to focus on salsa instead of other multi-cultural forms because I determined early on that salsa had certain resources in the community and in university settings which helped me to answer some of my research questions. In New York and Seattle, I took salsa classes taught by instructors because I was interested in how their teaching methods differed from dance professors in universities. This fieldwork also gave me a chance to talk with the students taking the classes and examine how their experience differed from dance students in the university. Another important part of the fieldwork was going social dancing. Surveying the social realm was critical in understanding the culture of a multi-cultural dance form. It helped me to understand the importance and meaning of dance, which I believe is important to study critically.

Another method I used was examining dance programs at universities in Seattle and in New York City. After doing preliminary research I decided to focus on the University of Washington, Columbia University, and New York University because of the popularity and reputation of their dance programs and also because of the multi-cultural options they offered. Outside of their dance programs, I was interested in the diversity of the school compared with the diversity of the city.

Results

New York vs. Seattle

I hypothesized before starting my research that multi-cultural options in dance probably depended on the city. I believed that in New York, the university dance programs would have more multi-cultural options because of the cultural diversity of the city and cultural resources available in the city. Contrary to what I expected, I found that the percentage of minorities in the city of New York was higher than in Seattle but the percentage of minorities in university dance programs was almost the same. I also found that while the University of Washington was the only school in Seattle to offer a dance degree it had more multi-cultural options than New York University and Columbia University. What did have an impact was the faculty in the departments. For example, at the University of Washington, one of the professors, Ruthanna Boris, who had helped to found the program in 1990, was instrumental in making sure to incorporate dance forms outside of ballet and modern because she believed it would make the dancers more worldly. Her impact is clear in the types of classes the department offers.

Currently, the requirement to graduate from UW's dance program is taking some course in multi-cultural dance. Part of the reason the department is able to offer this is because they chose hire faculty who can teach diverse curriculum both technically and in a classroom. At the other schools I looked at, this was not the case. They usually hired faculty who could either teach technique or who could teach academic classes.

Another interesting finding alluded to above was that at NYU and Columbia many of the classes offered were either studio components or classroom components. Therefore, students were either learning technique or they were learning about the history but they were not asked to do both. At UW, most of the multi-cultural options were combination classes. I found that asking students to do the movement helped them gain a personal connection to the content while asking them to learn about the history helped them to get a richer understanding of the culture. I was extremely surprised because New York City has more ethnic diversity and thought that it would be reflected in what was offered in the universities. One professor believed that at her university there was not support on the part of the department for hiring faculty who could teach studio and classroom courses.
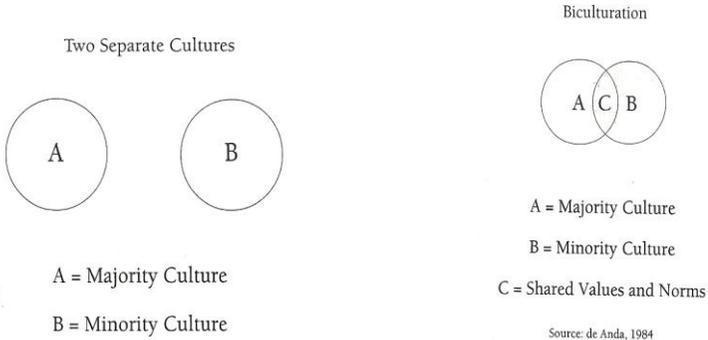
There are people with academic training but they can't find jobs. They would rather have three people teaching in the studio and one

person teaching the history. They use words such as history and theory just to mean stuff that is not in the studio. Part of this is because of the standards from the Association of Dance but this is a problem in terms of the structure of the field. (dance professor at Columbia University, personal interview 2010)

Looking into this further, I found that there was not a lot of communication between dance instructors in the community and dance professors, which could be a reason why the surrounding community is not impacting the university community. At the present moment, it is difficult to say what impact communication between the two would have on dance classes, university classes, or bringing in more diverse students, but I would like to explore this more in the future.

The Importance of a Multi-Cultural Classroom

To describe my understanding of the importance of the classroom, I looked at Diane de Anda's expansion of biculturation theory. De Anda's theory explained that people previously looked at majority and minority culture as two separate communities that have little interaction with one another. De Anda then theorized that in actuality the culture of a majority and a minority shared certain norms and values that made it possible for them to interact with one another. The concept of bi-culturation can describe the interaction between minority students and the larger majority culture on campus. It articulates a specific process that minorities go through in society where their culture is not necessarily isolated or on the outside of majority culture. Instead, the majority and minority culture interact with one another and develop a relationship that is a sub-culture with specific characteristics of both cultures (De Anda, 1984). Refer to Table 1 and Table 2.

Two Separate Cultures

A   B

A = Majority Culture

B = Minority Culture

Source: de Anda, 1984

Table 1

Biculturation

A C B

A = Majority Culture

B = Minority Culture

C = Shared Values and Norms

Source: de Anda, 1984

Table 2

In interviewing students and reflecting on my own experiences, I realized that this theory can be applied to the university community with specific modifications. A is the majority students and the university culture, while B is the minority students, but the point of intersection is the classroom. I believe that the classroom is point C where many people assume that majority and minority students come together and interact based on shared values and norms. In contrast, I found that the classroom is actually the place where minority students learn to adapt to the norms and values of the majority culture. In other words, majority students are not learning about the values and norms of minority students and are not being challenged to adapt to other systems of learning. This is a key reason why minority students are not feeling validated or included because they are learning to be assimilated into the greater university culture instead of feeling that their own culture is valued. This classroom interaction is important in understanding what multi-cultural education can provide for a university. Changing this model could potentially offer validation and provide feelings of inclusion for minority students which could impact retention and could work as a space for students from majority culture to have experience with knowledge systems outside their own which would help to enrich their academic experience.

The classroom without a doubt is a key component in fostering multi-cultural education. Until recently, the classroom was not a focus of research studies because of the problems teachers experienced in implementing multi-cultural education. Because of these problems, administrators decided to target other areas of universities to create a more diverse environment on campus and an environment that is more welcoming for minority students. Some of the programs I found at the University of Washington that responded to this problem were: extra-curricular activities (for example clubs and organizations that are for specific minority groups), scholarships that recruit and retain students from disadvantaged backgrounds, efforts to hire faculty members from diverse backgrounds or fields of study, and programs that service minority students. I found that at most universities, these types of initiatives were geared toward creating a diverse campus. Even though these efforts have led to an increase in diversity on campus, they have not led to significant interaction between students from different backgrounds. I believe focusing on the classroom will help to increase the interaction among majority and minority students. Based on my experience and the experiences of the participants in my study, I found that there could be a solution which has been previously overlooked. To illustrate my solution I have created the table below.
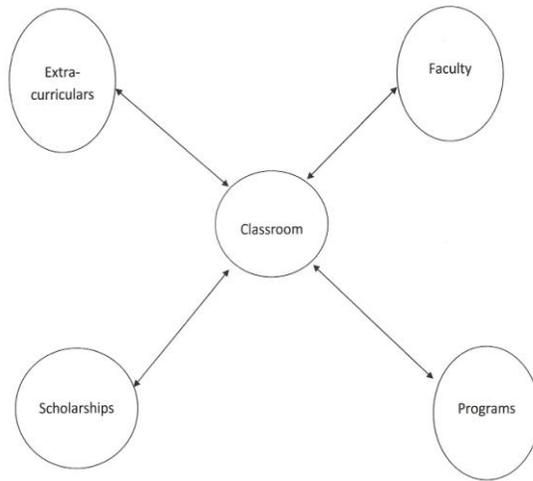
Creating a Diverse University Environment

Table 3

This table illustrates the areas which impact diversity in the university community. That is not to say that there are not more, but in this project these areas that I found most effective. If multi-cultural education is important to the university, the classroom should be the place where the university fosters this interaction. The other four areas described above are important, but none of them has the same dynamics as the classroom. The classroom is the only place on campus where students and instructors from majority and minority cultures are forced to meet with one another. Because of this, it should be a focus of the university's initiatives in multi-cultural education. In many experiences, the university did not foster interactions between students in the classroom, which is why after class most students decide to seek companionship from people who look just like them. One student I interviewed that identified as a salsa dancer but had not taken any classes in the dance department felt that there were no comonalities between classmates and her. One student explained, "I go to class and then I come to the ECC (Ethnic Cultural Center). I don't have anything in common with my classmates, so I don't want to talk to them. They don't understand who I am, and they don't care." (UW student, personal interview 2010) If the University wants not only diversity in students but interactions among diverse students in which the students learn from each other's

differences, then it should make the classroom the center focus for initiatives in multi-culture education.

A dance classroom provides the perfect space for multi-cultural interaction and cross-cultural learning. One reason that multi-cultural dance forms provide this space is because you cannot talk about multi-cultural dance without talking about socio-economic status, history, race, politics, oppression, and nationality. The students that I interviewed brought up at least one of these topics in describing their experience with multi-cultural dance and often cited it as having a meaningful impact on their learning in the classroom. A couple of the minority students that I talked to decided to look into minoring in dance after taking a class in multi-cultural dance. This is evidence to me that this type of education was so impactful that they sought to find more of these experiences by continuing their studies in the dance program.

For many of the students I interviewed, their understanding of cross-cultural issues was profound in the multi-cultural dance classes they took. Because dance is an embodied experience and can be felt extremely personally, students were able to get to know their classmates better. They also felt more comfortable participating in discussions. In an interview with one minority student who took a multi-cultural dance class, he discussed the impact that it had on him personally and academically.

I decided to take the salsa class because it was different then the regular business classes I was used to taking. Before the class I thought that we would be in the studio learning the steps and I was surprised to find out that we had to do readings. But the readings we did in the class helped me to understand the culture of what I was learning. Now I can go out to salsa clubs and dance, I made a lot of friends in my class. We were reading all these case studies and it's cool to go out with my friends and say oh this [what students learned in class] really is true. (UW student, personal interview 2010)

I suggest that if Universities are serious about multi-cultural education, they should look at the multi-cultural dance classroom, specifically one with a studio component and one with a classroom component. Many of the students who participated in these types of classes had profound learning experiences and interactions with other students.

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Weathering the Storm: The relationship between coping and affect in survivors of child sexual abuse

TeQuiero Roberts and Debra Kaysen

Abstract

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is associated with psychological disorders such as depression and PTSD, of which negative affect (NA) is a prominent feature. Maladaptive coping is also common among survivors of CSA and has been linked with increased pathology in trauma populations. This paper looks at the relationship between coping and affect in survivors of CSA. Data for this retrospective, self-report study were collected as a part of a larger grant. Several ANOVA analyses were used to run the data. Results are that coping moderated NA in women with histories of CSA such that women who used more avoidant coping had significantly increased NA. There was, however, no significant difference in positive affect between groups with or without the use of avoidant coping. These results suggest that the experience of trauma itself does not create negative psychological outcomes, but rather that the coping methods used to deal with the trauma play an etiological role in the psychopathology of trauma victims. Results of this study may help to explain resilience seen in some women with histories of CSA.

Introduction

Childhood involves critical cognitive, emotional, and interpersonal developmental tasks (Fantuzzo, Weiss, Atkins, Meyers, & Noone, 1998; Luria, 1961; Radke-Yarrow, Nottelmann, Martinez, Fox et al, 1992) including the development of reasoning abilities and effortful control skills (Kochanska, Murray, & Harlan, 2000). Abuse suffered in childhood can interfere with the progress of various developmental tasks (Dante, & Rogasch, 1994), and may impact the development of coping skills and emotional development (Bal, Van Oost, De Bourdeaudhuij, & Crombez, 2003; Wyatt, & Newcomb, 1990). Childhood maltreatment has been linked with blunted or negative affect (NA) and affect dysregulation (the inability to handle negative emotions) in general (Cicchetti & Rogasch, 1994). Although the majority of children who suffer from abuse recover (McQuaid, Pedrelli, McCahill, & Stein, 2001), research has shown that for some children negative psychological effects associated with child abuse may persist into adulthood (Banyard, Williams, & Siegel, 2001; Littleton, & Breitkopf, 2006). This paper will focus on child sexual abuse (CSA) in particular and its association with NA in adult female survivors.

CSA

Definitions for CSA in the literature vary. The most commonly accepted definition of CSA, however, is any unwanted sexual experience perpetrated on an individual younger than 16-18 by a caretaker or otherwise trusted person in her life, or anyone more than five years older than the victim (Finkelhor, 1994). While there is some evidence to suggest that rates of CSA may be on the decline (Sedlak, Mettenburg, Basena, Petta, McPherson, Greene, & Li, 2010), CSA remains relatively common. In his review of retrospective surveys, Finkelhor (1998) found that nearly 20% of adult women reported experiencing some form of CSA, while other sources estimate that one in twelve children will experience some form of sexual abuse (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hmby, 2005).

CSA is associated with elevated risk for developing psychiatric disorders (Dinwiddie et al., 2000; Jumper, 1995; Kendler et al., 2000). One longitudinal study found that young adults with histories of CSA were nearly twice as likely to suffer from a mental health disorder, and that CSA specifically accounted for 13.1% of mental illness with the sample population (Furgesson, Boden & Horwood, 2008). Other studies have reported that individuals with histories of CSA are at risk for disorders such as major depression (Putman, 2003), PTSD (Kaysen, Resick & Wise, 2003), bulimia, and some anxiety disorders (Dinwiddie et al., 2000). A meta analysis done by Paolucci, Genuis, and Violato in 2001 showed that lifetime prevalence rates for major depression are typically 3-5 times greater than in populations without histories of CSA. In addition, Gladstore et al. (2004) found that women with histories of CSA were more likely to engage in self-harming behaviors while depressed, and have increased suicidal idealization.

Although many of the studies on the effects of CSA have been conducted with community or treatment-seeking samples, specific detrimental effects relating to CSA have also been found in college student populations. Evidence suggests that victims of CSA drop out of college at an elevated rate when compared to non-victims (Duncan, 2000). While studies conducted on community samples have found that women with histories of CSA are 2-3 times more likely to be sexually revictimized as adults (Classen, Palish, & Aggarwal, 2005), a study looking exclusively at college women reported that 69% of college women with histories of CSA were sexually revictimized compared to 42% of college women with no history of CSA (Kessler & Bieschke, 1999).

Weathering the Storm: The relationship between coping and affect in survivors of child sexual abuse

Affect

According to Russell's (1980) circumplex model of affect, the expression of emotional states (affect) are best described in a continuous fashion. Russell plotted these emotions on a circle and found that similar emotions appeared in clusters together, with their opposite emotions appearing in clusters on the opposite side of the circle. Further research has grouped these clusters of similar emotions into groups. Emotions such as anger, anxious, and scared are used to describe NA, while emotions such as happy, enthusiastic, or inspired are used to describe positive affect (PA) (Watson, Clark, & Tellegan, 1988). Although these clusters appear to be opposite expressions of each other, Russell posited, and further research suggests, that NA and PA are actually independent expressions of emotion and are, therefore, able to be measured independently (Diener & Emmons, 1987; Russell, 1980; Watson & Clark, 1997).

In the general population, the ability to effectively balance emotions (affect regulation) is associated with good mental health and a reduction of disorders associated with NA affect such as major depression (Gross & Munoz, 1995). Among trauma victims specifically, research has shown a connection between affect dysregulation and increased mental illness associated with NA (Weiss, Longhurst, & Mazure, 1999). In one study, populations of trauma victims experiencing PTSD-like symptoms (and therefore increased NA) and impaired affect regulation had increased negative symptoms and overall reduced mental health (Tull, Barrett, McMillan, & Roemer, 2007). Other research has found that, within populations with histories of childhood abuse and CSA, affective dysregulation mediated the relationship between abuse and NA (Gratz, Tull, Baruch, Bornovalova, & Lejuez, 2008). Furthermore, in his 1999 study, Zlotnick found that affect dysregulation mediated symptoms of borderline personality disorder (BPD) and PTSD (both of which are associated with NA) in women with histories of sexual trauma. Other research has indirectly linked CSA with psychological problems featuring NA such as depression, poor self-esteem, and anxiety disorders (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986).

Coping

There are several definitions for coping in the literature. For the purpose of clarity, this paper focuses on the process model of coping in which coping is a fluid process used to respond to a perceived stressor (Lazarus, 1993). In this model Lazarus (1993) cites two basic types of coping: problem-focused coping which attempts to change either the person or the environment; and emotion-focused coping by which an

individual attempts to deal with the emotions associated with the stressful situation through changing how the situation is perceived, or changing the attention given to the stressor (either approach, or avoid). Attempts to cope with a situation can either be either adaptive (successful), or maladaptive (unsuccessful).

Suppression, or avoidant coping is associated with more negative outcomes, and is thought to be maladaptive (Spaccarelli, 1994). In turn, CSA is associated with more avoidant coping (Bal, Van Oost, Bourdeaudhuij, & Crombez, 2003). Other research has also suggested a relationship between maladaptive coping and increased psychopathology featuring NA among trauma victims (Bal, Van Oost, Bourdeaudhuij, & Crombez, 2003; Cantón-Cortés, & Cantón, 2010). However, since the majority of studies examining coping in relation to CSA have been cross-sectional causation cannot be determined. Within college populations, some studies have found a relationship between avoidant coping and PTSD symptoms in college women with histories of CSA (Cantón-Cortés, & Cantón, 2010). Use of maladaptive coping strategies has also been associated with increased rates of sexual revictimization. Filipas and Omen (2006) found college women with histories of CSA and who also used avoidant coping strategies were 4 times more likely to experience sexual revictimization than women with no history of CSA. It could not be determined, however, if maladaptive coping caused the increase in revictimization, or if women who were revictimized use more maladaptive coping strategies.

In sum, CSA is associated with disorders associated with high NA (Tull, Barrett, McMillan, & Roemer, 2007; Weiss, Longhurst, & Mazure, 1999; Zlotnik, 1999). The present paper seeks to add to this literature by looking specifically at the relationship between CSA and NA, and how maladaptive avoidant coping moderates that relationship. Based on the empirical data on CSA, NA, and coping, we hypothesized the following relationships:

H1: CSA will be associated with higher NA and lower PA in comparison with women with no CSA.

H2: Higher avoidant coping will be associated with higher NA and lower PA.

H3: Type of coping will impact the relationship between CSA and NA, with those endorsing higher levels of avoidant coping demonstrating a stronger relationship between CSA and NA.

Weathering the Storm: The relationship between coping and affect in survivors of child sexual abuse

Methods

Participants

Participants were 194 undergraduate women enrolled at a large west-coast university. The average age was 20.71 years (SD = 2.06). The sample was composed of 64% Caucasian, 24% Asian/Pacific Islander, 12.% other, which is representative of the university population. The majority of the sample consisted of junior and senior students (32% junior and 39% senior as compared to 11% freshman and 17% sophomore). Of the women included, 73% (n = 142) experienced some form of CSA, 11% (n = 21) had experienced childhood rape, 49% (n = 95) experienced both CSA and adult sexual assault, while 27% (n = 52) had no trauma history and served as a control. There were no significant differences between the CSA and no trauma group on any demographic variables.

Procedures

This study utilizes secondary data from a larger study of health behaviors in college women (R21AA016211 PI: Kaysen). Inclusion criteria were the following: either having experienced a) at least one episode of CSA, or b) having no history of exposure to Criterion A traumatic events; and consuming 4 or more drinks on one occasion at least twice in the past month. Participants completed a 20-minute online screening assessment and 45-minute online baseline assessment immediately after screening. All measures used in this study were self-report. Participants were reimbursed $45 for participation in both screening and baseline assessments. The university's Institutional Review Board for studies involving human subjects approved all procedures.

Measures

Coping was assessed using an abridged version of COPE called the Brief COPE (Carver, 1997) which asks 28 questions assessing for 14 different types of coping including active coping, acceptance, humor, self distraction, and using emotional support among others. In this study, a composite avoidance coping scale was computed by summing the items assessing behavioral disengagement, denial, and self-distraction forms of coping. This avoidance coping scale has been used to measure avoidant coping in other studies on sexual assault (Starzynski, Ullman, Filipas, Townsend, 2005).

CSA was defined as an unwanted experience of a sexual nature occurring between the victim and a person she trusted, or a person who

was at least five years older than the victim. CSA was assessed using Finkelhor's (1979) Childhood Sexual Victimization Questionnaire (CSVQ). The CSVQ identifies the perpetrator, and the type of sexual abuse. Type and nature of abuse (e.g. genital or no, penetration or no) were also recorded.

Affect was measured using the brief measure of PA and NA scale (PANAS) developed by Watson, Clark, and Tellegan (1988). This measure has been shown to be a reliable retrospective measure of affect, and can reliably detect trends in affect for a period of two months pre-administration (Watson, Clark, & Tellegan, 1988).

Results

CSA and Avoidance Coping

To test whether there were differences between women with no trauma exposure and women with histories of CSA, a univariate ANOVA was conducted. The ANOVA examined trauma history (IV) on avoidance coping (DV). There was a main effect for trauma history with women with CSA histories ($M = 11.47$, $SD = 3.21$) reporting significantly higher use of avoidance strategies, $F (1, 185) = 12.52$, $p < .001$ than the no trauma group ($M = 9.65$, $SD = 3.14$).

CSA and Avoidance Coping on Affect

To test the three hypotheses, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. Analyses were performed using SPSS MANOVA. The MANOVA examining affect was a 2 (trauma history) X 2 (avoidance coping) design. Avoidance coping was split into high and low avoidance based on a mean split. Dependent measures were NA and PA. Using the Wilks Lambda criteria, there was a significant main effect for trauma history, $F (2, 182) = 3.64$, $p < .05$ and avoidance coping, $F (2,182) = 7.43$, $p < .001$. In addition, the interaction between trauma history and avoidance coping was also significant, $F (2, 182) = 4.44$, $p < .05$.

Follow-up univariate ANOVAs conducted on NA were significant for trauma history, $F (1, 183) = 6.57$, $p < .05$ and avoidance coping, $F (1, 183) = 11.44$, $p < .001$. Women with histories of childhood abuse reported more NA ($M = 16.26$, $SD = 6.76$) than women with no past trauma histories ($M = 13.73$, $SD = 4.19$). Similarly, women who use more avoidance strategies to cope reported more NA ($M = 16.66$, $SD = 6.93$) than women who use fewer avoidance strategies ($M = 13.33$, $SD = 4.31$). The interaction between trauma history and avoidance coping was also significant for NA, $F (1, 183) = 8.80$, $p < .01$, (see Figure 1).

Weathering the Storm: The relationship between coping and affect in survivors of child sexual abuse
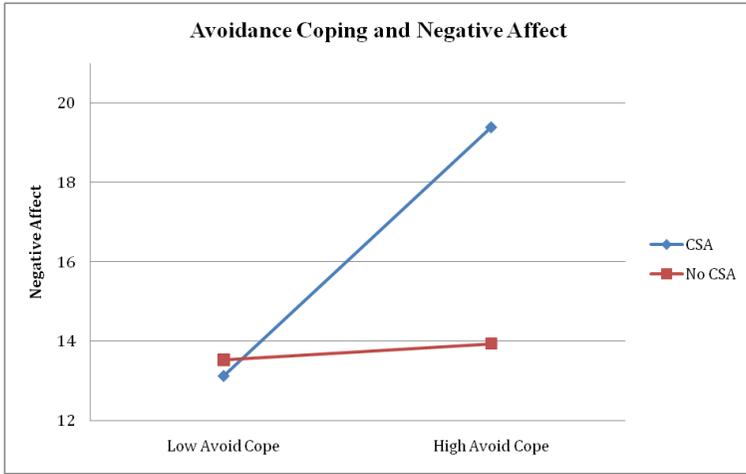

Figure 1.   Avoidance Coping and Negative Affect.

Based on the results from the univariate ANOVA, within individuals who do not engage in avoidance coping there is no difference between individuals based on trauma history. Conversely, within participants who use more avoidance coping, women with histories of child sexual abuse endorse more NA than women without prior trauma exposure. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs conducted on PA were non-significant for trauma history, $F (1, 183) = .61$, avoidance coping, $F (1, 183) = 3.11$, and the interaction, $F (1, 183) = .19$ (see Figure 2).
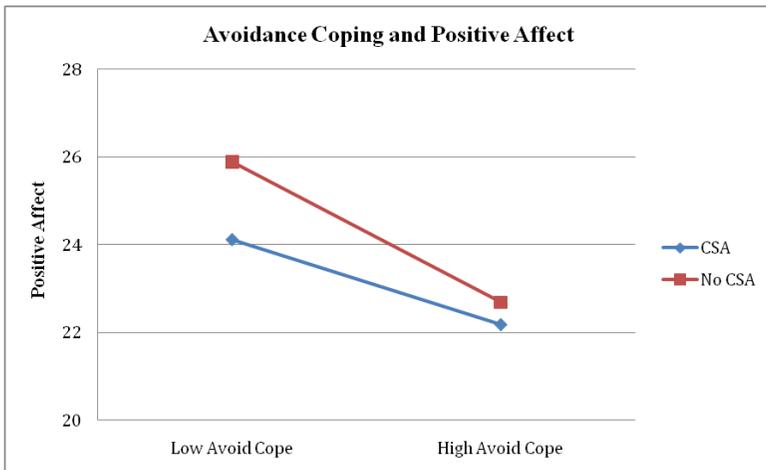

Figure 2. Avoidance Coping and Positive Affect.

Discussion

Conclusions

In general our results supported our overall hypotheses. Women with CSA histories were more likely to utilize avoidant strategies. As we hypothesized, CSA was associated with higher NA, as was avoidant coping. Moreover, the relationship between CSA and NA was moderated by the extent to which women used avoidant coping strategies. However, we failed to find any relationship between CSA or coping and PA. The study provides an important addition to the literature addressing possible mechanisms for psychological distress following trauma exposure.

The results of this study suggest that trauma exposure may affect NA predominantly through differences in coping strategies. That being said, child sexual abuse clearly does have an effect on NA, both directly, in those women who are utilizing avoidant strategies, and indirectly, through increased use of avoidant strategies. One question that remains to be addressed is how child sexual abuse may lead to increased use of avoidant coping. As children, avoidant strategies may have been adaptive as they served to distance the individual emotionally or physically from her abuser, or other adults who were not able to, or were unwilling to stop the abuse (Shapiro, & Levendosky, 1999). Following childhood, these women may have retained these avoidant strategies.

Although avoidant coping may be adaptive in the short term, it is associated with greater long-term consequences (for a review see Spaccarelli, 1994). Similarly, in our study, use of more avoidant strategies was associated with higher NA. Avoidant coping has been hypothesized to be an etiological factor in the development of a number of affect-related disorders such as depression and PTSD, both of which are found at elevated levels in survivors of child sexual abuse. Some think there is a connection between the avoidance of memories and trauma-related cues and the maintenance of PTSD symptoms (Dunmore, Clark, & Ehlers, 1999; Foa, & Kozak, 1986). As trauma-related cues like emotions, memories, or reminders are not addressed, extinction does not occur and anxiety symptoms persist (Foa, & Kozak, 1986; Rothbaum, & Davis, 2003). Another similar explanation posits that when victims use avoidance coping, they are not allowing themselves to go through cognitive appraisal (assigning meaning to events) which then serves to maintain symptoms of PTSD (Veronen, & Kilpatrick, 1983). Similarly, depression has been thought to develop and be maintained through avoidance behavior whereupon a person copes with a loss by withdrawing, thus losing the potential for positive reinforcement

(Martell, Addis, & Jacobson, 2001). In sum, women with CSA who experience negative stimuli (memories associated with trauma or trauma cues) may be motivated to remove the stimuli through avoidance. This creates a negative reinforcement for avoidance which functions to maintain the behavior. The avoidant behaviors then serve to increase risk for psychological problems.

The results of this study may be useful in helping to explain resilience following experiences like child sexual abuse. In the absence of avoidant coping, both women with and without childhood sexual abuse histories reported the same degree of NA. Moreover, we found no differences between women with and without childhood sexual abuse histories in their degree of positive emotions. These results suggest that it is not the experience of the trauma itself that causes negative psychological outcomes, but that these outcomes may in fact be a function of the ways in which the individual copes with the trauma. Given the critical role of addressing avoidance behavior in empirically based therapies for depression, like Behavior Activation treatment (Jacobson, Martell, & Dimidjian, 2001), and PTSD, like Cognitive Processing Theory (Resick, & Schnicke, 1992) and Prolonged Exposure (for a review of this and other treatments for PTSD see Foa & Meadows, 1997), a component of their efficacy may be due to the direct way in which they address the use of avoidance coping. Future research may want to look specifically at whether addressing avoidance coping mediates treatment outcomes for these therapies. Results of this study may also be useful in explaining the strong association between affect dysregulation and mental illness in trauma populations (Gratz, Tull, Baruch, Bornovalova, & Lejuez, 2008; Tull, Barrett, McMillan, & Roemer, 2007; Weiss, Longhurst, & Mazure, 1999). It is possible that avoidant coping is preventing victims of CSA from effectively regulating their negative affect leading to increased levels of psychopathology.

Although the cross-sectional design of this study does not allow for conclusions regarding what causes increased NA in women with CSA and high avoidance coping, we will hypothesize some potential explanations. It is possible that women with CSA are experiencing increased levels of NA when they use avoidant coping due to the severity of their stressor (memories of trauma experience) which causes increased anxiety and distress compared with women with no CSA. If this is the case, it suggests that stressor severity moderates the relationship between avoidant coping and NA. Another possibility is that women with histories of CSA are using more avoidant strategies overall which is creating a more negative environment in general. We would also like to briefly hypothesize a possible explanation for the lack of difference in

PA between women with, or without CSA. There is some research to suggest that women with histories of trauma utilize both adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies (Walsh, Fortier, & DiLillo, 2009). It may be that the presence of adaptive coping strategies along with avoidant coping strategies is allowing the women to still experience positive outcomes from non trauma-related stressors in their lives. Furthermore, it is possible that women with CSA only use avoidant strategies to deal with their trauma symptoms, and use more adaptive strategies to deal with other stressors in their lives. The fact that women with histories of CSA do have normal levels of PA suggests that these women are able to enjoy life in general, and that they only struggle in areas related to their trauma.

Limitations and Summary

One of the major limitations of this study is that women with histories of CSA were combined with women who had experienced both CSA and adult sexual trauma. Because both groups were combined we cannot tell in this study if revictimization is a key factor in explaining the relationship between avoidant coping and NA in women with CSA. Future studies may want to separate victims who have only experienced CSA from those who have CSA and adult sexual trauma. Like the majority of other studies looking at aspects of CSA, the other two major limitations of this study stem from its cross-sectional, and retrospective self-report design. Some have suggested that self-report may artificially inflate relationships between variables (e.g. Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003) although others have suggested that the effect may not be significant (Spector, 2006). In addition the cross-sectional nature of this study makes it impossible to determine directionality so we cannot say if avoidant coping increases NA, or if NA increases avoidant coping. Finally, because the sample used in this study consisted of more upperclassmen (71%) than lowerclassmen (28%), there is evidence to suggest this population may have been very high-functioning. Duncan (2000) found that trauma victims drop out of college in larger numbers in their freshman and sophomore years with only the highest-functioning going on to their junior and senior years. While this is a limitation in that it makes the results found here less genralizable across all trauma victims, it does suggest that the results found are representative of a robust effect as they were taken from a very high-functioning population.

In sum, this study found that CSA was associated with increased levels of NA, but not increased levels of PA. We also found that avoidant coping appears to moderate the relationship between CSA and elevated rates of NA. Results of this research suggest that type of coping plays a

significant role in mental health outcomes of women with histories of CSA. Future research may want to further explore the relationship between type of coping and symptom severity of women with CSA histories.

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TeQuiero Roberts
Department of Psychology, University of Washington
Kiki.am20@gmail.com

I am interested in addiction and factors associated with risky behaviors and mental illness. This fall I will be beginning a Ph.D. program in clinical psychological research at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

Adapting, Belonging, and Preserving in America: Jewish Identity Negotiations among First-Generation Bukharian Jews

Ruben Shimonov

Abstract

The Bukharian Jewish community has received minimal attention in academic discourse. Bukharian Jews currently constitute a dynamic immigrant presence in the U.S. This study investigates how Bukharian Jews internalize and make a meaning for their identity in the U.S, especially among first, 1.5, and second generation Bukharian Jews. This research project contributes new data and theory to the field of Jewish Socio-cultural studies, immigration, and post-Soviet and Mizrahi studies.

Introduction

The Bukharian Jewish community, an ethno-religious identity group with a millennia-old history in Central Asia, has received minimal attention in academic discourse. This is a shame not only because of the gap that is consequently left within Jewish and Near Eastern studies, but also because of the contribution that can be made to immigration studies via researching the Bukharian Jewish community in the United States. Bukharian Jews currently constitute a dynamic immigrant presence in the U.S., especially considering their small demographic size. In New York, for example, they have established economically and culturally vibrant locales in less than a quarter of a century. The majority of Bukharian Jews have immigrated to the United States—usually as refugees seeking asylum—within the past two decades. We are thus in a position to investigate their immigrant experience *as it is occurring*. We find ourselves at the most opportunistic moment to ask, how has the Bukharian Jewish mass emigration from Central Asia[1] to the United States impacted the community members' sense of ethnic, religious, and cultural identity—their conception of what it means to be "Jewish" in general and "Bukharian Jewish" specifically?

Within this main inquiry, the following sub-questions can then be investigated: Have the differences between the socio-political environments of Central Asia and the U.S. influenced the way that Bukharian Jews view and actively pursue their Jewish identity—both personally and communally? In other words, what kinds of cultural and

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[1] Bukharian Jewish immigrants in the U.S. are mainly from Uzbekistan, but a sizeable population from Tajikistan also exists.

religious changes might be occurring as Bukharian Jews are creating new lives for themselves in the United States? How do Bukharian Jews relate to other Jewish American communities, as well as to Israel (the other main settlement of Bukharian Jewish immigrants) and the dwindling community that remains in Central Asia? All of these questions—centering on the ways that Bukharian Jewish individuals internalize and make meaning of their identity, and how migration has affected this process—are significant queries that must be presented and investigated. The questions gain even more import when we hone in one the young adult population of Bukharian Jews in the United States. These first-, 1.5-, and second-generation Bukharian Jewish Americans find themselves in perhaps the most fluid and active arena—as they are constantly interacting with, and operating within, a large and diverse number of Jewish and non-Jewish networks in American society.[2] Raising the aforementioned questions, this research project contributes new data and theory to the field of Jewish socio-cultural studies and the subfields of Jewish-American, post-immigration, post-Soviet, and Mizrahi studies.

Literature Review

The Self-Group Dialectic
      With this research endeavor, my ultimate objective has been to explore the effects of immigration on communal and individual forms of identity among Bukharian Jews who are between the ages of 18 and 35 and constitute the first-, 1.5-, and second-generation young adult population. However, for the particular paper at hand (which has served as the first part of my year-long research on the topic), I have directed my research inquiry specifically to Bukharian Jewish young adults living in Seattle. According to the largest Bukharian Jewish organization in North America, the Bukharian Jewish Congress of the USA and Canada, Seattle's Bukharian Jewish community is among one of the ten most "flourishing…community centers" in the United States (Kandov 29), with over 100 families living in the Greater Seattle area. Thus, Seattle has a sufficient enough Bukharian Jewish presence for me to begin

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[2] The term "1.5 generation" refers to people who have immigrated as children or young adolescents (Rumbaut 48). The term has emerged to make a more nuanced categorization of immigrant generations, as the 1.5 generation—although technically part of the first-generation—is in many ways more connected to the experiences and social dynamics of second-generation immigrants. At the same time, their memories and experiences as immigrants themselves differentiate them from the second-generation.

exploring my inquiry in this city. Using the methods and analytical tools that will be discussed in the following two sections, I have developed the following thesis[3]: An essential way in which Bukharian Jewish young adults negotiate their sense of Jewish belonging is by means of a complex and fluid hybrid of individualism and interaction with various Jewish community networks. A deeply-rooted, yet often tense, relationship between the self and the external, communal realm influences the ways that Bukharian Jews make meaning of their Jewish identities. I refer to this process as the *self-group dialectic*. Specifically with my first two interviewees, I have noticed that they have created, through the self-group dialectic, perceptions about: 1) local Jewish communities and institutions, 2) the general nature of Bukharian Jewish communities—particularly vis-à-vis the Bukharian Jewish centers of New York City, and 3) the nature of Jewish religion and observance. These perceptions have, in turn, guided the ways in which the respondents have personally identified as Jews in general and Bukharian Jews specifically at various moments in their lives. What is more, the interviews show that Jewish and Bukharian Jewish identity are not one and the same. Although one's Bukharian Jewish identity can, and does, have varying degrees of influence on broader Jewish belonging, my interviewees have, at least partially, separated and compartmentalized their Bukharian Jewish identity from broader Jewish affiliation. As the paper will show, this process of division is itself also a product of the self-group dialectic.

After situating the reader via both a review of the necessary theoretical and empirical literature, as well as a discussion of my methodology and personal theoretical contribution, the paper will address each part of the thesis, showing three ways in which the self-group dialectic manifests itself. For every part, I will present my interviewees' responses separately, and then attempt to synthesize them at the end of each section. Although this essay only highlights the first two interviews of my extended project, the resulting rich and vital information makes the interviews important in their own right, while also establishing a solid foundation for further research. In such, let us look at these two interviews as preliminary case studies that, although ultimately

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[3] Although this specific paper uses data from only two in-depth, structured interviews, the thesis presented here actually reflects data collected from 11 other interviews and 90 surveys that I have conducted since writing this paper. Although none of the other data is presented in the initial report at hand, the large amount of additional primary information that I have gathered and analyzed has in fact further supported the main argument of this preliminary essay.

being part of a much larger body of data, merit separate attention via the information that they put forth.

Before continuing, I must iterate that when using the term "Bukharian community," I do not intend to connote that all Bukharian Jews form one monolithic enclave. I simply use the term to refer to the collective population of Bukharian Jews in a given geographical space (the U.S., Israel, the world). Indeed, as my research will show, Bukharian Jewish identity (or shall I say, identities) includes a multiplicity of norms and discourses that are diverse, fluid, and internalized differently by different people. Furthermore, when I use the term "community members," I only mean for it to serve as a reference to any people who identify, in some way, as Bukharian Jews. However, I do not intend to imply that all people who somehow identify as Bukharian Jews see themselves as active "members" of the community. Again, my research will actually point to the contrary. In fact, the complexity, heterogeneity, and paradoxes of Bukharian Jewish identity are the exact factors that drive my paper's main argument.

Theoretical Framework

In order to contextualize my project, this section will describe how my project fits into previous research on immigration and Jewish identity, as well as the limited amount of work that has been produced about Bukharian Jewish immigration. I will show both the ways that this literature has helped guide parts of my project, as well as some of the remaining gaps that my research will help fill. Because very little research on Bukharian Jews has been achieved, the literature review will mainly allow me to present relevant theoretical perspectives that have enlightened my own analysis. Conveying different theories within immigration and Jewish studies, I am thus able to employ theory triangulation, "the use of multiple perspectives to interpret the results of a study" (Tashakkori Teddlie 41).

Several ambitious sociological studies on American Jewish identity have emerged in the last decade, two of which have been explicated in The Jew Within: Self, Family, and Community in America (Cohen, Eisen) and Connection and Journeys: Assessing Critical Opportunities for Enhancing Jewish Identity (Horowitz). Aside from the large sample size of both studies, they offer detailed interview guides—which approach the topic of Jewish identity from a breadth of perspectives—that can be employed by future researchers. These appendices have in turn helped me in my formulation of an interview guide. Furthermore, both studies make substantial theoretical contributions. Cohen and Eisen focus on the autonomous and

individualist sentiments that guide the creation and recreation of modern-day Jewish identity in the U.S., arguing that "today's Jews…have moved away from the organizations, institutions, and causes that used to anchor identity and shape behavior [because] the discovery and construction of Jewish meaning in contemporary America…occur primarily in the private sphere" (2). While Horowitz's main argument—that "a person's Jewish identity can be conceptualized as both the cause and consequence of choices made at certain points throughout an individual's lifetime" (xiii)—also focuses on the Jew as a sovereign actor, her influential contribution is a more nuanced conceptual approach to studying Jewish identity. Horowitz claims that "in addition to looking at Jewish practices and involvements, it is essential to examine the subjective, inner experience of being Jewish in contemporary society" (183). In such, her approach combines an investigation of a person's active participation in "religious and cultural-communal practices and activities" with an exploration of "a person's identity in terms of his or her self-perception and self-definition as a Jew" (iv). Furthermore, Horowitz' emphasis on "journeys" points to the notion that an individual's Jewish identity is not stagnant through the person's life; rather it is dynamic and ever-changing (182) and can "no longer be tracked by a 'canon' of normative religious behaviors and practices (183). The implication of this argument is that we must understand contemporary Jewish identities in a versatile and heterogeneous manner because "there are diverse ways of being Jewish" (Horowitz 183).

Both the Cohen/Eisen and Horowitz studies possess major drawbacks, however. The two studies disregard important pockets of the Jewish population living in the United States, as all of the scholars focused their research solely on American-born Jews (Cohen and Eisen 5; Horowitz iv). Furthermore, Cohen and Eisen's analysis seems to have been deeply, perhaps even subconsciously, influenced by Ashkenazic hegemonic discourse (Cohen and Eisen 76)—which suggests to me that the majority of their informants were Ashkenazim. The drawback of The Jew Within also lies in its focus on a specific age group, the baby boomer generation (Cohen and Eisen 5). Consequently, the works of both Cohen/Eisen and Horowitz marginalize many Jewish communities in the United States. Other scholars have begun to address these communities. In particular, Friedman's article—*On Halloween We Dressed Up Like KGB Agents': Reimagining Soviet Jewish Refugee Identities in the United States*—greatly contributes to filling in both a geographical and generational gap in the literature on Jewish

Americans[4], as she focuses on Soviet Jewish immigrants. Aside from addressing a segment of the Jewish American population that has hitherto been largely under academia's radar, Friedman's study makes an important theoretical contribution in regards to post-immigration identity—especially pertaining to Soviet Jewish immigrants. She proposes that "the making of identities by former Soviet Jewish refugees and their children in the United States is a transnational process", in which the "meanings and lessons of past collective group identifications and family memories may be evoked or reworked as boundaries are negotiated with the institutions of the new host society" (237). Underscoring this argument are concepts of fluidity and transformation (Friedman 239) that also guided the works of Cohen/Eisen and Horowitz. Friedman's perspective is more nuanced, however. Her *process- and relation-centered* approach recognizes both the dynamic and, yet, not fully autonomous nature of identity construction: "the adoption…of group identities, affiliations, and allegiances reflects how an individual thinks about himself or herself in the context of the historical and symbolic meanings attached to any particular identity. It represents as well the ways individuals negotiate their identities in the face of myriad power relation and social institutions, including family life, that shape possibilities and behaviors" (Friedman 240). Therefore, an important implication of Friedman's work is the idea of symbolic and discursive transnationalism. As another research project, surveying 311 Russian Jews in New York who either came as children or are the children of immigrants, reveals, "direct" processes of transnationalism are not common for Jews from the former Soviet Union (Kasinitz et al 105). In the surveyed sample size, "82% had never been to the former Soviet Union since emigration (or since birth)" (Kasinitz et al 105), and thus "strong ties to their parents' country are the exception, not the rule" (Kasinitz et al 115). Nevertheless, while the transnational tendencies of Jews from the former Soviet Union might be symbolic when discussing their countries of emigration, "even this group showed considerable transnational activity directed toward Israel" (Kasinitz et al 105). While shedding light on a dimly-lit research topic, and offering unique theoretical frameworks, even Friedman and Kasinitz's research leave certain gaps in the field—as their studies focuses on Soviet Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and, thus, does not address Jews from other former Soviet republics, like the Bukharian Jews of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The dearth that I have noticed in the literature is one

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[4] When stating "Jewish American," I simply mean to refer to Jewish persons permanently living in the U.S.

important reason why I have decided to direct my research to members
of this community.

The works of Friedman and Kasinitz et al fit into a larger
discussion of a theoretical concept within immigration studies that has
informed my study: transnationalism. Recently, "many scholars have
come to acknowledge that international migration can no longer be seen
as a one-way process. Events, communities, and lives…are increasingly
linked across borders" (Levitt, Waters 5). Consequently, "a growing
body of work uses a transnational lens to explore the experiences of the
immigrant generation" (Levitt, Waters 12). Especially pertinent to my
project is the growing body of literature that uses "a transnational
perspective to make sense of the second-generation experience", thus
asking "whether transnational practices will persist among the second
generation" (Levitt, Waters 12). In answering this question, many studies
have found that "transnational activities are not central to the lives of
most of the second generation" and "are likely to become even less
significant over time" (Levitt, Waters 20). For example, as the study
previously mentioned, on Russian Jewish immigrants and their children,
argues: "only a minority of cases [show] the kind of sustained
commitment to maintaining meaningful ties to the parental home
societies that would seem to be necessary for transnationalism to flourish
in the second generation" (Kasinitz et al 117). At the same time, "from a
comparative perspective, it seems clear that connection to their parents'
homelands will be more important for the present second generation than
they were for immigrants' children of an earlier era, and such ties are
thus a topic that requires careful study" (Foner 250). We cannot merely
discard the concept of transnationalism on the younger generation
because of an even more important reason, which has also been alluded
to in the previous paragraph:

> The fact that most children do not want to return to live
> in their ancestral homes, are not completely fluent in the
> parents' ancestral tongue…does not justify dismissing
> second-generation transnational practices…Such a gold
> standard overlooks the effect of the many periodic,
> selective transnational activities that some individuals
> engage in at different stages of their lives. It also
> underestimates the powerful influence of the
> transnational social fields in which these individuals are
> embedded…[Furthermore, it] privileges actual
> movement and mistakenly overlooks the resources,
> discourses, and social contacts in…that strongly shape
> the lives of the children of immigrants. Over time, and

taken together, these influences can have a cumulative effect, particularly at the local level. (Levitt Waters 20)

Therefore, exploring the more subtle instances of transnationalism is important when attempting to make sense of the 1.5- and second-generation experience. Factors like location and inter-generational interaction become particularly important as they point to "the impact of parental transnational attachments and the transnational social spaces they engender on second-generation lives" (Levitt, Waters 22). Hence, although the majority of 1.5- and second-generation young folks might "not actively engage in transnational practices, their parents' involvements and the fact that the are growing up in a context infused with homeland values and behaviors strongly affect their life trajectories" (Levitt, Waters 22). In regards to family interaction, others have noted that "members of the second generation, in the process of learning more about their family histories and ancestral homes, incorporate elements of these narratives and experiences into their own self-concepts. They may become more transnationally active as a result, or they may come to new ways of thinking about their place in the United States" (Levitt, Waters 22). Regarding the role of place in the transnational process, one study has found "an interesting paradox…these young people clearly live in a transnational social space that is increasingly vibrant. But…the existence of such a space may diminish the incentive for the second generation to engage in actual transnational practices. Because [such communities have] recreated [their] culture so effectively and completely, the second generation can access their homeland without ever having to go home" (Levitt, Waters 23). Therefore, a lot of scholarship has pointed to the "indirect," but just as salinet, forms of transnationalism that emerge among the second generation, thus urging us "to think about transnationalism not solely as actual transnational practices but as imagined returns to the homeland through memory, cultural discovery, and longing" (Levitt, Waters 24). Such an understanding allows us to understand transnationalism as a symbolic and discursive process: "the homeland is thus not merely an actually physical place but also a place of desire that one returns to in one's imagination", thus causing the younger generation to have "strong symbolic attachments to their ancestral home, although their factual knowledge" could be "quite limited" (Levitt, Waters 24). As we look at Bukharian Jewish immigrants, we will take into account this framework in conjunction to find out how transnational process are at work, whether they are decreasing, and what new or unexpected forms they are taking. As we will show, for example, transnational process to other places occur, as well as discursive transnational processes.

Adapting, Belonging, and Preserving in America: Jewish Identity
Negotiations among First-Generation Bukharian Jews

For my project, I have synthesized and adjusted all of the
theoretical paradigms mentioned above to help me analyze my data—the
central role of the Jewish individual in constructing his or her identity,
the importance of subjective self-perception in Jewish identification, the
fluid and dynamic process of constructing and reconstructing one's
Jewish identity in different time and space, the negotiation of self-
identity in a dialogue with narratives, events, people and places that have
either been directly or indirectly experienced, and the physical,
discursive and symbolic processes of transnationalism among the 1.5-
and second-generation—have all helped me conceptualize my research
design and analyze my research findings. In fact, I find instances of all of
these processes in my group of study. Yet, I am also able to further add
to the literature as none of the studies cited in this section have focused
on the population of this project. Furthermore, some analytical gaps
persist, which have been already highlighted. In regards to scholarship on
transnationalism, for example, scholars have noted that "we need to
know more about how the second generation will act as independent
adults…we need to have a fuller discussion of language loss and its
consequences for transnationalism…we need to know more about the
second generation's marriage choices and their consequences…[and] we
need further explorations of the role of religion in transnationalism"
(Jones-Correa 234,235). My project attempts to explore these questions
as well. In summary, this essay refers to the combining and reworking of
the aforementioned theories as a separate theoretical framework that I
have entitled the *self-group dialectic*—the continuous reworking of
Bukharian-Jewish self-identification through an interaction with different
Jewish and Bukharian Jewish environments and peoples during a
person's life. My theoretical framework fits into the larger sociological
emphasis on the "on-going interaction between self and others" (Greil
and Davidman 550), particularly influenced by theorists who view
identity as "the ability to keep a narrative going" (Greil and Davidman
555) and who stress "the malleability and contingency of contemporary
identities" (Greil and Devidman 556).

The construction of my framework also owes a lot to the
important work of historian David Biale. In fact, the *self-group dialectic*
is partially an extension, both nominally and conceptually, of Biale's
notion of the "self/other dialectic", which he delineates in Cultures of the
Jews. In the book, Biale argues that Jewish communal forms of identity
have emerged and developed through a constant interaction with the
dominant, changing communities in which Jews have lived: "for every
period of history, interaction with the non-Jewish majority has been
critical in the formation of Jewish culture [as] it was precisely in their

profound engagement with the cultures of their environment that the Jews constructed their distinctive identities" (Biale xviii). This interaction, Biale argues, was dialectical in nature because it included a simultaneous process of cultural influence and resistance—both processes necessitated an awareness of, and engagement with, the "other". Other scholars like Raymond P. Schneindlin have echoed this point, stating that, throughout their long and diverse histories, Jewish communities "have interacted with the nations and cultures among whom they have lived, adapting to their environment while retaining a variety of continuities" (Schneindlin xvii). While Biale and Schneindlin focus on the dialectical relationship of Jewish communal identity vis-à-vis other identity groups, the self-group dialectic applies the dialectical dynamic of identity construction to individuals vis-à-vis Jewish networks, communities and institutions with which Jews interact. In other words, there is a deeply-rooted relationship between the self and the broader *internal* communities, in which the construction of individual identity is always in a relationship with the broader community. The community affects both what the individual chooses to do and not do. In such, just like in the self-other dialectic, the present-day Bukharian Jewish young adult is influenced by larger communal processes and dynamics, yet is able pick and choose—to a certain level—which parts to internalize and identify with.

Background

As has been already stated, an incredibly small amount of scholarly information about Bukharian Jews presently exists. An even smaller amount has focused on the immigrant experiences of the Bukharian Jews; and when discussing the younger generation of immigrants, the literature is virtually nonexistent. Let us look at the limited amount of literature that has been produced, primarily the works of Kandinov, Cooper, and Kaganovitch, in order to offer some background information on Bukharian Jewish migration.

As Kandinov accurately states, "the logic behind the complex process of the Bukharan Jews' waves of emigration can only be understood within the context of the prevailing socioeconomic…atmosphere in the Soviet Union and post-communist Asia after the Soviet empire's collapse. In addition, the specificities of these peoples' perception of the situation must be taken into account" (30). So, what were the social, economic, and political dynamics that led to the almost complete disappearance of Bukharian Jewish presence in Central Asia? In broad terms, we can distinguish several main waves of immigration, all of which were produced by particular social, economic

and political predicaments. As Kandinov mentions, "it is worth noting that the social character…of the Bukharan Jews' emigration from Uzbekistan for the past twenty five years is not homogenous" (34).

        Although "the Bukharian Jewish Diaspsora in the Americas goes back to the 1940s and 1950s" with the first immigrants arriving from Western Europe and Israel (Kaganovitch 113), the first significant "wave"[5] of Bukharian Jewish immigration occurred in the 1960s and was primarily composed of Bukharian Jews from Israel. Bukharian Jews "driven by Soviet repression, utilized various means to escape to contiguous countries [including present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan] and to Israel as early as the 1920s. During the 1960s they left Israel and came to America" (Kandinov 52). By the early 1960s, "the presence of dozens of Bukharan Jewish families in New York impelled this small ethnic group to formulate the creation of a concise, organized entity" (Kandinov 52), and so in 1963 the first Bukharian Jewish community center was established (Kandinov 54). The second immigration wave occurred in the 1970s, including "mainly former Soviet managers and business people" that were escaping Soviet persecution and anti-Semitism (Kandinov 34), and the early 1980s when a small number of "members of the creative intelligentsia, professionals and specialists of various profiles" were able to leave the Soviet Union (Kandinov 34). By the early 1970s, there were about 100 Bukharian Jews in the US, and in the 1970s and 1980s, about 3500 Bukharian Jews immigrated from Israel and the Soviet Union (Kaganovitch 113). The advent of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the late 1980s began a radical shift in immigration policy, and Bukharian Jews were able to immigrate legally in larger numbers—usually by way of western Europe—to the U.S. This was a precursor to the largest, and main, wave that lasted from the early to the late 1990s and included "virtually the entire social spectrum of Bukharan Jews from Uzbekistan" and Tajikistan (Kandinov 34). Unlike the immigrants of earlier waves, who cited "anti-Semitism as one of the main reasons for their actions," the immigrants of the 1990s were affected by the "self-determination in former Central Asian Soviet republics," which caused "many locals [to be viewed as] 'foreign' or 'unfamiliar' in the land of their forefathers and suffer the consequences" (Kandinov 45). This, "coupled with the steep decline in the quality of life in the region" have been, according to Kandinov, the main reasons of immigration for the 1990s generation (45).

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[5] In actuality, all of the immigration episodes that occur prior to the late 1980s can hardly be called "waves" as they constitute very small quantities of immigrants.

Queens, New York (especially the neighborhoods of Rego Park, Forest Hills, Main Street and Flushing), became the main enclave for Bukharian Jews in the U.S., and, although less concentrated today, we can still view it as the main center of Bukharian Jewish immigrants in the U.S. (Kandinov 68). Other important areas of settlement in the U.S. have been Atlanta, Phoenix, Seattle, and Boston (Cooper 3). One big finding that Kandinov made during his ethnographic research of 71 Bukharian Jews in New York in the late 1990s is their post-immigration "heightened awareness of belonging to the history and traditions of Jews…one cannot help but notice a distinct rebirth, mass yearning and inclination of the people for its national-religious traditions and customs" (160). Furthermore, he claims that "without any exaggeration one can state that there is an active revival of Bukharan Jewish culture, in the form unique arts…the publication of newspapers, journals…poetry, drama" (Kandinov 164). Kandinov's work is important and is perhaps the only rigorous project on Bukharian Jewish immigrants. However, it is dated and does not focus on the younger generation, although Kandinov does ask questions about this section of the population: "What is the social portrait of these new American, Bukharan Jewish young people, whose views and values will soon greatly influence the future American community?" (150); "While Bukharan Jewish young people are adapting to American society and learning is values and simultaneously saving their own national specificities, culture and traditions, what is the perspective for this process in American reality? What does this country have in store for [this] small group of people"? (Kandinov 154). I attempt to answer some of these questions, while simultaneously comparing his findings to mine.

By 2000, "ten years after emigration restrictions were eased and then finally lifted, [Bukharian Jewish] history in the region—which stretches back about two millennia—[has been] rapidly drawing to a close" (Cooper 2). Observing the immigration patterns of Bukharian Jews in the 1990s, Cooper makes a provocative claim: "Despite the fact that they have largely concentrated in specific areas (such as New York and Tel Aviv), complex immigration patterns have fractured tight-knit community-groups and family groups that historically had been centered around specific locales in Central Asia. As a result of these dramatic population shifts, the Bukharian Jewish 'homeland' has not only been decentered, it has exploded and dissolved…as group boundaries are reconfigured at a rapid place, the individual is forced to renegotiate not only what it means to be a Bukharan Jew but also what Jewishness itself means" (3). Furthermore, she states that "Jewish aspects of their identity are still debated. In their new homes, however, it is their *Bukharan*

Jewishness—the aspect of identity that distinguishes them from the other
Jewish groups with whom they now live—that defines their 'groupness'
and is now a salient subject of discussion and debate" (Cooper 9). In my
own research, I test these arguments as I try to figure out how this crucial
and unprecedented moment of flux affects the identities of Bukharian
Jewish young adults. In general, although I find in my work that there is
less of the "decentralization" that Coopers alludes to, the processes of
identity construction among those that I surveyed were certainly
complex, paradoxical, and dialectical, which echoes the following
observation by Cooper: "oscillating between inside perspectives and
outside ones, they carry multiple—often conflicting—ideas about
identity with them" (Cooper 9).

The topic of dialectical processes also concerns Kandinov, who
ultimately argues that Bukharian Jews will experience a "dialectical
unity of two [processes that are] developing as two mutually inseparable
trends…[Finding themselves] in the American 'melting pot' and passing
through its neutralizing process, this small nation simultaneously will
strive to preserve its national and religious continuity, which correspond
to the tried and true American tradition of the 'ethnic mosaic'"
(Kandinov 158). As he states, the "American Bukharan Jewish
community is developing its culture, language, art and customs as part of
the American 'ethnic mosaic'" (370). In other words, Kandinov stresses,
in the process of assimilation in America, "the importance of establishing
borders in this assimilation, a measure utilized throughout history to
preserve Judaism as an ethnic…formation" (Kandinov 370). And so, his
claim fits well with Biale's conceptual framework of the self-other
dialectic—which stresses the semi-porous properties of Jewish
communities that have helped them create distinct cultures while
adapting to social and historical shifts. The extent to which this
preservation/assimilation dialectic occur in the present day with the 1.5-
and second-generation Bukharian Jews is something that I attempt to
investigate, while also looking at processes of assimilation and
preservation vis-à-vis other Jewish communities as opposed to merely
"American society".

Methods

I will now discuss the methods that I have used in this paper, in
addition to the methodology employed as my project developed and
expanded over the course of the year. This section will point to three
main methods that have helped me understand the ways that Bukharian
Jews make meaning of their Jewish identity in the United States: 1) a
review of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature, 2) qualitative

analysis (structured interviews and content analysis), and 3) quantitative analysis (surveys and statistical analysis). Two of these methods will be employed in the present project, which focuses on the opinions and experiences of two Bukharian Jewish young adults living in Seattle. Incorporating the quantitative component, my final project possesses a *methodological triangulation*, a research technique widely advocated in the social sciences recently that connotes "the use of multiple methods to study a research problem" (Tashakkori Teddlie 41). Since the final project combines qualitative and quantitative approaches, it goes beyond merely employing "multiple-data-collection methods" (Glesne Peshkin 24), but also uses what has been coined the "mixed methods" approach (Tashakkori Teddlie ix). Many within the fields of the social sciences are beginning to recognize that the most potent way of performing social science research is through a combination of qualitative and quantitative sociological methods (Tashakkori Teddlie 5). Consequently, my final project uses both face-to-face interviews (n=13) and mass surveys (n=90) with Bukharian Jews from various regions of the U.S. The interviews have allowed me to obtain a detailed and nuanced view of the different opinions and life experiences of Bukharian Jewish young adults. Having conducted my interviews before disseminating the surveys, I used a "sequential mixed method design", in which "the researcher conducts a qualitative phase of a study and then a separate quantitative phase" (Tashakkori Teddlie 46). I must acknowledge that the sampling used for both the interviews and surveys was not random, but rather "purposive," since I used snowball and convenient sampling (Tashakkori Teddlie 73). Nevertheless, given the mixed methods approach and the fact that my final sample size is not particularly small given the total population, I claim that it is still possible to use the data in order to make some preliminary findings.[6] In conclusion, as many other researchers have realized, I have found that only a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods will allow me to gain the keenest understanding of my research question—how Bukharian Jewish young adults in the U.S. describe their lives, feelings, and backgrounds in terms of Jewish belonging. Although I have presented a strong affinity for the mixed-methods approach, this preliminary project does not yet incorporate survey data. I will now discuss in greater detail the specific methods that this paper employs.

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[6]Furthermore, it would be extremely difficult to obtain a random sample of a population that is already quite small and difficult to access without "convenient" means.

Adapting, Belonging, and Preserving in America: Jewish Identity Negotiations among First-Generation Bukharian Jews

My investigation must first be grounded within the existing literature and theory on Jewish identity and immigration. In regards to the former, what is especially needed is sociological and anthropological literature that investigates Jewish American identity and identity formations of Jews from the former Soviet Union; and in regards to the latter, I refer to works that explore the effects of immigration on first-, 1.5-, and second-generation young adults as well as literature that specifically investigates the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. Consequently, my project's preliminary method is a literature review of the relevant theoretical and empirical research that, although not directly focusing on my population of interest, can grant my project the necessary tools to introduce, contextualize and analyze my data. Because none of this literature has focused on Bukharian Jews, my final paper will hopefully, in albeit a small way, contribute to the current scholarly conversations and debates on the mentioned issues. Furthermore, through a review of the relevant literature, I develop a theoretical framework that guides the analysis of my unique findings. Incorporating the very limited amount of available scholarship, I also offer, in the literature review section, background historical information on Bukharian Jewish immigration waves from Central Asia to the U.S., Israel, and Europe.

For this specific project, I used qualitative, structured interviewing.[7] Both interviews lasted about two hours and took place in a public space. They were audio-recorded and eventually transcribed. In conducting and analyzing my interviews, I employed a semi-hermeneutic approach (Spickard 127) combined with narrative/discourse analysis (Spickard 131). Such an approach gave my informants a platform to speak about how they understood themselves and viewed their own lives. At the same time, however, it allowed me "to uncover patterns in the interviewee's answers" (Spickard 127) and "analyze the stories for indications of deeper meanings" (Spickard 131). Furthermore, my analysis of the interviews roughly followed the analytical steps outlined in Weiss' Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies, namely coding, sorting, local integration, and inclusive integration (181)—for which I employed hermeneutical software, Atlas.ti. As this specific paper only uses data from two interviews, it employs a case-study approach (Weiss 168).

As I have mentioned, to make broader, macro-level inferences, my final study relies on more than just qualitative research. Thus, for my

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[7] The description that follows applies to all thirteen interviews that I ultimately conducted as well.

extended project, I constructed and disseminated questionnaires with both close- and open-ended questions that further investigate the ways that Bukharian Jews in the United States think about their Jewish identity. Ultimately, I was able to survey 90 subjects from across the country. These surveys were transmitted via a secure website and analyzed with statistical software (SPSS), thus providing me with trends and statistics that would not be obtainable through interviews. For both the interview and surveys components, I recruited people via online interest groups. I have taken the necessary measures to ensure that my research is conducted in the most ethical manner. I formulated a consent form, approved by the UW Human Subjects Division, for both the interviewees and survey takers. I have kept all interviews (including their transcriptions), field notes, and surveys in a secure location. The subjects' anonymity have been preserved at all times. Their names and other identifying information has been kept confidential. All of these measures were presented in a consent form that the subjects were given before any data was collected from them.

Data and Analysis

For the interviews discussed in this essay, I spoke with a 29 year-old man from Tashkent and a 33 year-old woman from Bukhara. The respondents will be referred to by their initials N.S. and O.B., respectively. My personal relationship with the two subjects is quite distant: I had previously never met one of the respondents (although we share mutual acquaintances) and met the other interviewee only once in a group setting. In this section, I will write about some of the highlights from my interviews. I will present the data topically, pointing to three underlying themes that continuously emerged from my informants' responses: 1) general perceptions of Bukharian Jews and their communities, particularly in reference to New York, 2) attitude towards local Jewish communities, and 3) attitude towards Jewish observance.[8] This thematic organization—which required rigorous coding, sorting and integrating—will thus simultaneously allow me to present and analyze the data. Ultimately, I argue that, via the three mentioned themes, we gain insight into a dualistic—often paradoxical—process that I refer to as the *self-group dialectic*. Within these themes, other topics that were consistently interwoven into the interviewees' responses were family dynamics, romantic and platonic relationships, and personal histories—which, in fact, become crucial "sites" for the self-group dialectical

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[8] Because of the fluid nature of identity, no topic will be mutually exclusive from another. Indeed, as my analysis will show, these topics are highly interrelated.

process to occur. In this process, the informant's level of Jewish belonging is guided by recognizing her or himself as an autonomous and sovereign individual. Yet, at the same time, the identity negotiations are continuously conducted via interactions with other people and environments—including family members, various Jewish communities and organizations, Bukharian Jewish organizations, and other relevant institutions (see figure 1). The interactions within this self-group dialectic have presently led the subjects to assume an ambivalent view towards Jewish and Bukharian Jewish belonging, which has manifested in a conscious effort to ascertain their respective boundaries with communal Jewish belonging. While a focus on individual identity is most important in the construction of Jewish belonging, there is a constant awareness of broader networks that affects what my interviewees have chosen to accept and reject in regards to their Jewish and Bukharian Jewish notions of self. Furthermore, this process of negotiating identity through a simultaneous cognizance of autonomy and group participation is fluid—changing with time and environments. Although the understanding and expression of my subjects' sense of Jewish and Bukharian Jewish identity has changed with time, the process that causes this change—the self-group dialectic—has remained consistent.
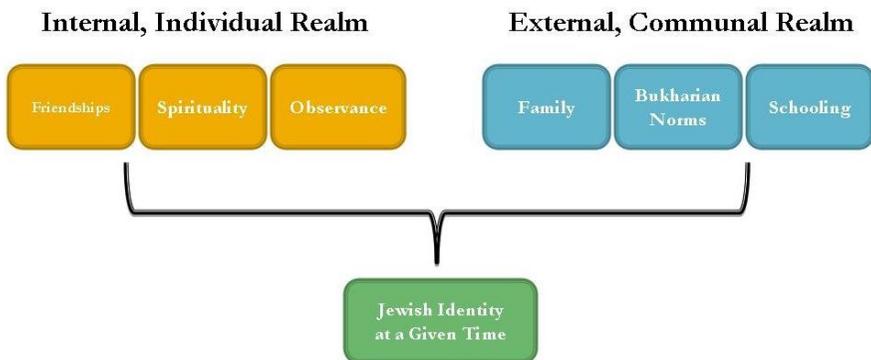
Self-Group Dialectic, A Visual Representation

Figure 1

"Certain Things inside That Culture Are Very Beautiful; It's Just That…": An Ambivalent Relationship with the Bukharian Jewish Ethos, and Its Effects on Individual Identity

One topic that consistently arose during my conversation with N.S. and O.B. was their perception of Bukharian Jewish communities, norms and institutions—what I refer to as the Bukharian Jewish ethos. Their interactions with the community has produced ambivalent feelings, which have then affected how they place themselves within the community, and, in turn, within Bukharian Jewish self-identification. This is one facet of the self-group dialectic in regards to the relationship between the self and the broader Bukharian Jewish community. The other facet of this process concerns the opinions that are formed through *indirect* interactions. We will see this especially with N.S., who, via his interactions with his family, has formed generalized perceptions about Bukharian Jews that have consequently affected the limits to which he identifies with the broader Bukharian Jewish community. As we will observe, the tense and complex process of balancing individual and group identity is clearly at work for both the ways that N.S. and O.B. make meaning of their Bukharian Jewishness.

In my candid conversation with O.B., she expressed to me quite a conflicting view of the ways she sees Bukharian Jewish communities. Her internalization of the group dynamics has influenced her in ways that are both positive and negative. Reflecting on certain facets that have resonated with her, she stated:

> Some of it, I love very much, I totally dig it: the music, the food, the loudness…I think the music is great. I think the food is awesome. I think the ideas are good, [for example, cooking] together as women. A lot of my Judaism is connected to women cooking together because I cooked with my great-grandmother, and that's how I learned about *kashrut*…Now that I understand what she was doing, there is so much meaning for it to me.

However, immediately after mentioning these aspects, she told me that she had a difficult time with the ways that she saw the culture being harnessed. "It's more what you do with it [that becomes the problem]. This constant struggle for fake respect…I hated that, I resented it very, very much…You put all this effort, hoping to bring something very beautiful, but then it gets perverted." And so, looking back on her early adulthood interactions and experiences, she had "resented [the] Bukharian community for taking lot of traditions out of the context." *Brit*

Milah, for example, "becomes a big huge thing, chasing after fake honor, who's going to be the one to hold the baby, but the spiritual meaning of it is completely lost…the pride becomes the religion." Elaborating on her frustration with what she saw as a conflation of religion, O.B. remarked:

> I think that's what becomes the problem…for a lot of Bukharian Jews, the customs had become Judaism…I have a lot of cousins…the majority of my relatives live in New York….they naturally send them to the Jewish schools, [but] when the kids come home and they tell their grandparents that this is not kosher…a lot of them pulled their kids out. They were like, 'who are *you*'?!

Aside from the religious confusion and hypocrisy that she saw in her community, O.B. also had other points of contention: "I struggled very hard with the treatment of women by the Bukharian community…like the division of the role[s], the inequality that a man can do this but a woman cannot…lot of unhealthy dynamics. The problem that I had is that nobody wanted to speak about them. It [was] very difficult." Other domestic dynamics irked O.B. as well. When she moved from home at the age of 20, she recalls that it was a "whole drama." "For three years," she explained, "my parents wouldn't tell anybody that I didn't live with them" because they thought the Bukharian community would not approve of this. "The community can have a very strong hold on you if you really strongly identify with it," O.B. mentioned.

O.B.'s tenuous perceptions and interactions with Bukharian communal dynamics ultimately had a salient influence on her individual choices and the way she marked her Jewish identity—specifically her desire to distance herself from the community in her early 20s, at which time she was also going through the process of conversion since her maternal grandmother was not Jewish. In this process, she saw the American Orthodox community as a stark foil to her upbringing:

> I think at the time I was converting I definitely saw Orthodox as this beautiful, very holy thing. When you look from outside it feels so clean, so appropriate…I didn't see the problems in there…I compared the Bukharian community against that…I identified [the Orthodox community] with a sense of cleanliness, [but] I saw Bukharians as very messy, very unclean in their actions, in their behavior, like these ridiculous [and lavish] weddings…So at the time I really felt that the

Orthodox Ashkenazi community was so pure, [and so] it was very, very attractive to me.

Yet, O.B.'s attitude has shifted through time and space via different interactions. Her changing outlooks have been constantly affected by her maneuvering through different environments. During our long conversation, O.B. told me that she did undergo a process where she ultimately came to terms with all facets of her Bukharian past and identity, a lot of which she owed to therapy that provided her with "a space and a time where you can come in and talk…and hear yourself say…and you don't have to pretend anymore." Therapy gave her "a chance to figure out what I want it, what I need, and I guess just delayed acceptance of who I am." That acceptance involved reflecting upon all facets of her feelings towards Bukharian Jewish communal and normative aspects. "For the longest time I felt very much damaged by the Bukharian community," O.B. told me, "I was an educated girl who had ideas that other people couldn't relate to." Yet, at the same time, she holds on to the facets of Bukharian Jewish culture that bring her pride: "I know that there are certain things in my upbringing and my culture that define who I am…Certain things inside that culture are very beautiful…certain dynamics are just great, like emphasis on family[,] the noise, and the closeness…It's just that you know, you also need space to chill out and be on your own…I think [the culture] has a lot of beautiful things; it just needs a little better balance." Looking back on her journeys of identity, O.B. mentioned: "with my conversion, I was sort of trying to reject the Bukharian culture, sort of like 'I don't know who the hell you are people, I am starting over and new." And a lot of *baal teshuvahs* go through that, and I think that's unfortunate because you should not reject who you are...You got this hidden message that it's a good idea , reject where you come from, that's a new beginning for you and I don't think that's a good idea. You are…not just one single experience."

Consequently, it seems that O.B. was finally able to reconcile everything by striking a balance between her individual identity and communal identity, and she is at a point where she sees her Bukharian Jewish background as her "sense of tradition." It seems like a large part of that reconciliation included appreciating the elements that she liked, rejecting and critiquing the things that she disagreed with, and recognizing herself as part of—while simultaneously independent from—the broader Bukharian Jewish community. This last process necessitates a fluid identity, not a pigeonholed one: "I [was] not wanting myself to [be] put in any specific box." Rather, she was able to arrive at a point when she could say, "look, I have this box that is called me…and

inside this big box there is Bukharian and me." But she doesn't mind interaction with other communities. Her identity does not come at that expense.

> Do I think that we need to be separated? No I don't. Do I think we need to keep our tradition? Yes. But is it okay that we blend our traditions? Sure Of course. I mean if I marry a Yemenite guy, and we keep a little bit of this a little bit of that that's fine…so it's very important to keep your tradition going, but I am not afraid to bring other traditions to join in…there is lot of beauty in Bukharian tradition, there is lot of warmth, there is lot of joy and laughter, so like to me its beautiful thing and that what I want to have and if there is something that beautiful in Yemeni culture or Ashkenazi, that's fine bring it on, as long as were able to pass it on to children.

At the same time, her communal bonds and allegiance add complexity to the statement above:

> I am not comfortable at all with the Sephardi kids giving up their identity and accepting Ashkenazi identity…that's one of the reasons why id rather marry a Sephardi guy ; You don't want to lose the tradition. And if you have like this whole generation of kids, so many Sephardim join chabad and they completely forego the traditions of their fathers. On one hand its great thing that they strongly Jewish. On the other hand Lubabvitch is not our tradition…

As O.B. looks forward, her experiences and negotiations play a role in her opinion of what the future holds for Bukharian Jews:

> One of the things that is very unfortunate with the Bukharian community is we have an opportunity here to change a lot of things. Back there, we were not taught how to…process our feelings, how to think what we want. Here, we have an opportunity to change all of that. We can have an honest conversation, and talk about [the fact that] there were a lot of beautiful traditions, but the traditions got corrupted…[people] abused those traditions right and left. I see that in my family all the time.

However, she sees potential in the future generation:

> [It] is totally different, very different…I think our generation has the best. We can raise dour children to learn how to have healthy conversation and to embrace the world…whether or not were going to exercise it, I don't know

And in regards to her own future, O.B. said: "One of the things I for sure hope to do is to take my kids back to Bukhara. Preserving memories is very important for me. I don't forget where I come from." O.B.'s vision of what the future can hold for Bukharian Jews has affected her views on marriage: "I felt that by marrying a Sephardi[9] guy we could repair the damage that our community had done. We can raise children who adhere to the tradition…and I think when I have kids, I'll have a lot more traditional life—a combination of modern orthodox and Bukharian stuff." However, again, her individual awareness has made this objective challenging: "I want to marry a certain person who would understand me. I still would like to marry somebody who is Sephardi, but it's kind of hard because I feel very much misunderstood by my own community, what drives me, my ideals, they don't understand, they can't relate, they think this is craziness."

While for O.B. direct interactions with individuals and community structures have played a role in her views the Bukharian Jewish ethos, and her delicate place within it, N.S.'s opinions of the Bukharian Jewish ethos were particularly influenced by another self-group dynamic—his relationship with his family. When speaking to N.S., I clearly noticed that his discussion of the Bukharian Jewish community were formed via a hybrid of personal observations and familial influences, which has led to a very mixed outlook on Bukharian Jews as a social identity group. Ironically, though, a lot of his seemingly individualistic decisions are influenced by the group familial fabric, and thus another layer of the self-group dialectic emerges.

> When I go to New York [to visit family] I don't stay with them, I stay in a hotel but we get together, like in the city…I'm not going to say I'm private but I'm private with certain people…[my mother] would say, "Bukharian Jews I love them to death but they talk too much"…You tell one person something and everybody

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[9] She identifies Bukharian Jews as Sephardim—not because she thinks that Bukharian Jews are originally from Spain, but because they fit into the broader categorization of Near Eastern Jews. The accuracy of this is much less important than the way it gets internalized.

> knows, and you can't have secrets, you can't have
> privacy…And so I'm very careful as to what I say to
> whom in that community.

Clearly, the same concerns over privacy that plague N.S. in regards to the Orthodox Jewish community in Seattle (which will be later iscussed) affect how he views Bukharian Jewish communities in general. His uneasiness is perhaps even more severe in regards to Bukharian Jewish enclaves because of his family's explicit warnings against excessively engaging with the community. Much like his wariness of the Orthodox Jewish community in South Seattle, N.S.'s generalized perceptions of Bukharian Jews have impacted his behavior and self-identification. Similar to his interaction with Orthodox Jewry, this negotiation does not necessarily come from direct interaction with many members of the community. Rather, it stems from family influence. During the course of our interview, the informant mentioned—in joking manners—his ambivalent perceptions of Bukharian Jews multiple times. Every time he discussed these opinions, he would mention how his family helped shape them:

> My family always, they speak of Bukharian Jews as if
> they're different from us. [They would say:] "Bukharian
> Jews talk too much, they gossip, they're not as smart
> perhaps…they're more peasant-like, they're louder, less
> tactful"…All these things, they stay with you, all these
> negative connotations. But we're that, yes we are, but
> we're a little different. We don't really associate with the
> community.

> While there are traditional facets that his family has distanced him from, other aspects of family are still impressed on him. For example, when he dated a Japanese girl, "nobody approved of her." And this then directs the discussion to marriage and relationships, at which point N.S. tell an interesting story that has clearly resonated with him and has shown him the extremely deep-rooted nature of Bukharian Jewish identity.

> I don't know if it's true or not, but my mother told me
> that … There were six families that moved to
> Uzbekistan, to Tashkent, however many years ago—six
> families. Eventually everybody married each other, let's
> put it that way [laughs], so, in a sense, they're all
> connected and you can't really escape from it. Like

something tells me that my parents were like distant cousins, you just can escape it.

On the topic of marriage, N.S. told me that he does approve of Bukharians Jews only marrying other co-ethnics. As an example, he brought up his brother in New York who is "not married because everybody's pushing him into only marrying a Bukharian girl, and he doesn't like them [and] that's the only reason he's not settled down." Thus, N.S. has observed the hold that tradition can have on an individual. Recalling his mother, he told me:

> My mother got married when she was 21 and that was considered old… She was pressured to get married because she didn't want to be the old maid, and I think because they sort of lived in the community, even Tashkent is a community—it's not urban in that sense…it's still small enough to be a community—that her parents, my grandparents, really knew a lot people and they didn't want them talking like Bukharians like to talk. So, just to appease everybody, 'go get married, be like everybody else.' But there wasn't some great romance, and 'oh ewe dated and we fell in love'…it was a little more practical.

N.S. has marked his distance from Bukharian Jews via a narrative that his family has transmitted to him. At the same time, he does not completely abandon his Bukharian Jewish identity. He recognizes that he and his family are Bukharian Jews, but he also notes that they have consciously been on the periphery of this identity—similar to the way that he and his family remain at the margins of the Seattle Jewish community (which will be developed later). As we will see, many other critical perceptions that have shaped N.S.'s level of Jewish belonging are influenced by the ideals of his family. Ultimately, N.S.'s complex attitude towards Bukharian Jewishness even affects the way that he identifies with the term "Bukharian Jew":

> Do I identify with that term? I do and I don't …In one aspect, I do identify as a Bukharian Jew because that's where I'm from, that's my heritage…that's the origin. And I don't [identify] in whatever my family says: [Bukharians are] uneducated, loud, pretentious, talk too much, wear a lot of gold… To me, as a Bukharian Jew, it's just in the name and just me personally knowing

> where I come from, not really associating or doing
> anything about it.

The fact that there is a certain part of his Bukharian Jewish identity that he will never be able to escape correlates to Friedman's claim that identity negotiation is never fully independent from outside forces (309): there are "some dimension to be more or less flexible and optional, while others feel more compulsory" (317). One of the only voluntary ways that my interviewee has continued to identify with Bukharian Jewishness is through food: "That's the only preservation, preservation of food…The cuisine is excellent and something you want to keep… So if I want really good *plov*, *bakhsh*[10], I go to my mother's house; she makes me that food…I would consider *plov* to be authentic if my mother made it or my grandfather." Such a description is a perfect example of "symbolic ethnicity and religiosity"—which functions to "give people a 'peg' on which to hang their identities in an increasingly large and impersonal society" (Greil and Davidman 556). Furthermore, we can observe that even N.S.'s symbolic identification is hinged on his family's actions (in this case, preparation of "authentic" food). In summary, my interviewee has clearly demonstrated that his self-identification is a lot more influenced by group factors than what might be apparent at first glance. Although my informant greatly values the private and individual sphere, one impetus for this admiration is an anxiety over the scrutiny of community members. In such, Cohen and Eisen's analysis of the autonomous modern Jew can only contribute so much to our understanding of people like N.S., as it does not explain the traditionalist, almost clannish, rationale that often influences individualist identity. Perhaps, this cannot be explained because Cohen and Eisen, unlike Friedman, have a specific lens that they utilize, disregarding immigrant Jews whose transnational experiences still affect them. For Soviet Jews, for example, experiences of anti-Semitism, paranoia and fear have been deeply internalized.

At the Margins: Identifying with Local Community

Another prevalent topic that continued to emerge during my conversation with my informants was their outlook on Jewish communities, whether local or distant. For N.S., his outlook on Jewish communities and organizations, particularly observant ones, in Seattle has influenced his identity. Shaped by his life experiences and encounters with these organizations, the informant's present outlook on them has directly affected the way he views his own position within

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[10] Traditional Bukharian Jewish dishes.

these networks. The following quote clearly indicates the way that N.S. negotiates his own Jewish belonging via perceptions of a particular Jewish community and its geography:

> I think location had a lot to do with [my family's level of observance]. I think if we settled in Seward Park, it would play a bigger role. I don't know if it would be…out of desire…or pressure—because you're part of this community and everybody observes you. You're driving around in a car on Friday night, your reputation would be a little tarnished. So I think I would be…perhaps more inclined to be more serious about the religion than now. But it wouldn't be out of my desire to learn more; it would be out of my desire not to be judged, which is, I think, is worse; it's…fake.

N.S. views Seward Park—a neighborhood in South Seattle with a large Orthodox Jewish constituency—as the center of observant Judaism in Seattle, and thus he has consciously distanced himself from this center. The quote also gives us insight into the reasons why the informant keeps such distance. Since he is not an observant Jew, he worries that he would be scrutinized and criticized in the Seward Park community. Another quote, also regarding Seward Park, sheds further light on this apprehension because he discusses another important factor—the role that his family has played in developing the anxieties:

> I was always either in Queen Anne or in downtown…that's the thing, I'm not anywhere near where Jews are…my mother, I think, or my family in general kind of planted that seed in my head: stay farther away 'cause you don't want people to gossip…Jewishness was nice to know, but it wasn't practical for my lifestyle in downtown, where's the *shul* in downtown? What, am I going to walk all the way to Seward Park just to associate myself as a good Jew? It really doesn't make sense. And my family doesn't want to live in Seward Park because people talk.

N.S.'s family has clearly left an imprint on his attitude towards seemingly tight-knit Jewish communities. Throughout the interview, N.S. mentioned his parents' and grandparents' doctrines of not engaging "too much" with Jewish communities, so as to maintain privacy. Friedman's observation of the children of Soviet Jewish immigrants parallels N.S.'s interaction with his family: "Growing up partly in the

United States and partly outside, the 1.5 and second generation respond
to their immigrant parents' ideas and attitudes" (309). Clearly, the
discursive influence of N.S.'s family on my interviewee has played a
vital role in shaping his views on communal belonging, which are
encapsulated in the following quote: "So I'm always somewhat
associated with Jewishness but never at the center of it. I'm always
around it." This ambivalent and wary outlook on communities allows us
to clearly understand the informant's opinions on community and
preservation:

> I'll be honest with you: if you're not living in a
> community, it's gone, you're a gonner…I think it helps
> if you have that support system. I think if you consider
> yourself a Bukharian Jew here in Seattle, you're going
> to, unless you preserve through your children, it dies
> with you. Whereas in New York, where there's a larger
> population of Bukharian Jews and they're all kind of
> sticking together in the same Queens neighborhood, I
> think they will identify as a people.

In summary, in the passages above, we see the informant looking to
Seward Park as a reference point for observant Jewish communal life. By
connecting his geography to places outside of this reference point, he
marks the extent of his belonging—as he considers himself, both
figuratively and physically, "around" but never "at the center" of the
Seattle Jewish community. Yet, he does not merely negotiate his
Jewishness vis-à-vis the Seward Park community. His process of
constructing Jewish social identity is directly related to his interaction
with family members, who have lived outside of the Seward Park
reference point in order to keep their communal Jewish participation at
arm's length. An underlying thread that weaves my entire discussion is
N.S.'s constant ambivalence towards Jewish belonging. In his own
words: "Nothing is black and white. It's all gray." Specifically,
pertaining to the topic of community, it is interesting to note that, while
the subject keeps a concerted distance from Jewish communities in
Seattle, he attended both an Orthodox Jewish primary school and high
school and even taught at the former school. Thus, the informant is in no
way completely outside the Orthodox Jewish world in Seattle. Given the
quotations presented in this paragraph, I would argue that he has kept the
Jewish community at bay not in spite, but precisely because, of his
interaction with Orthodox Jewish networks.

Local communities clearly played a role in how O.B. viewed her connection to Jewish belonging as well. For O.B., local community played a vital role in the way she internalized and exhibited her identity even before immigration. In Bukhara, she lived in a self-described "Jewish ghetto", a *mahallah*. As she recalled, "The society itself…segregated everybody…you had your Uzbeks who are Muslims, you had Russians who did their own thing, and then you had Jews who did their own thing…The Jewish presence in Bukhara was quite traditional, the holidays, everybody had a *khuppah*, the boys had a *bris*…we had synagogues." When her family immigrated, they settled in Baltimore. O.B. recalls, "That's actually where a lot of mess started for my family, because [of] my grandmothers being Russians…so the question [was] then: are my parents Jewish and are the kids Jewish." And so, after immigration, "the problem [of conversion] started more or less pretty much right away." The problems particularly grew "once [they] started to integrate" into the Orthodox community. O.B.'s siblings, for example wanted to attend yeshiva, but the schools "have a very detailed questionnaire that you have address" about Jewish lineage. O.B. mentioned that "In Bukhara it was a very common problem that a lot of intermarriages would happen during World War II", but she stressed that "not many understand the implications of it…I have cousins who are not Jewish. They think they Jewish and they go to yeshiva but they not Jewish because their grandmothers were Russian and their mothers are not Jewish." As O.B. and her siblings' Jewishness was scrutinized by Jewish law, four of the five siblings had decided to convert and went through the orthodox conversion process. For O.B., it was ultimately "a choice, what do I want to pass on to my children, which identity do I want to pass on." For her parents, who did not convert, the situation was a source of tension, however: "it was a struggle, because my dad to this day doesn't accept this ruling…my parents struggled a lot with us becoming orthodox…It's a struggle on a daily basis." For O.B. her decision to undergo an orthodox conversion had everything to do with marking her Jewish identity: "It all goes back to the identity, but it was not claiming your Bukharian identity, that was like strictly claiming your Jewish identity, making sure there was no discrepancies anymore." Clearly, however, all were influenced by the legal culture of their new place of residence and what is dictated, especially since OB says "I wanted to integrate myself…when you live in this in-between world, it's very painful world…if you make peace with it, then its fine, but obviously I never made peace…I couldn't be one leg here, one leg there. I needed the clarity, and at the time the orthodox structure appealed to me very much."

To further explore her orthodox identity, she went to Israel and studied in a seminary for one year. O.B.'s interactions with the local communities had a profound influence on her sense of Jewish belonging—religiously, ethnically and culturally. In Israel, she formed an identity against the backdrop of the broader, predominantly Ashkenazi, community that she observed at her seminary. As we recall, she was originally attracted to Ashkenazi communities vis-à-vis the Bukharian communities. But, now, something else was occurring:

> "So in Israel I had to defend my Sephardi identity…I went to seminary…so that was the first time…when my sense of Sephardi identity had started to come up…because there is a lot of prejudice against Sephardim. So one of the things that I had to struggle with is the perception that Sephardi women are stupid…[Some of the]prejudice I felt was from the girls at school, someone saying 'oh wow, you're Sephardi, that's amazing, you have a degree?'. There is a lot of…even in Israel to this day there is a division between Ashkenazim and Sephardim…I felt at the time, and I still feel very strongly about it [that] I had wanted to specifically marry a Sephardi guy. It didn't matter to me if he was Bukharian or non-Bukharian, but I wanted him to be Sephardi because the kids, in terms of tradition, they follow the father, [and so] we can raise children who adhere to the tradition."

Clearly, her experiences in Israel played a role in O.B.'s reaffirmation of her non-Ashkenazi identity. The accuracy of whether Bukharian Jews can be categorized as Sephardim is not important here; what is important, however, is the way that such an identity is internalized: "supposedly we are really from Persia, and they started out in Bukhara. The first community was in Bukhara, then they spread it out…for the longest time Sephardim meant Ladino, then it was the Middle East, then it was North Africa, then it was Central Asia." Her tense experiences with Ashkenazi culture not only made her more aware of her identity, but it also made her realize how much she wanted to marry a non-Ashkenazi. Furthermore, the interactions played a role in her beginning to question her personal Orthodox identity. As she described to me, she felt prejudice "on several different fronts"; she did not only feel prejudice from the Asheknazim but from the Sephardic orthodox community as well.

> "[In Israel] I struggled with several different
> things…[That] was really the beginning when I started
> having doubts about the orthodox lifestyle…I felt
> [prejudice] on several different fronts…[The] Sephardi
> orthodox community is very much prejudiced against
> girls who are not always traditional…sort of when you
> have gone from bad girl, so to speak, to good girl,
> they're not really accepting of woman such as
> that…That took me by complete surprise.

Community dynamics had an effect on her religious outlook. As she
came back to Baltimore and engaged with the Orthodox community
there, more struggles occurred that pushed her further away from
orthodox Judaism. Clearly, the self-group dialectic took her through a
journey.

> From '03 to '05, I was just mostly trying to figure out
> my orthodox identity and at certain pint it just stopped
> makings sense. I just saw a lot of discrepancies.
> Essentially what happened with me was when I was on
> the outside looking at the orthodox community, I only
> saw the beautiful cover, but you don't get to see the
> actual dynamics that take place inside the community.
> So after a few years, I started to see the dynamics, and I
> was just like there's a lot of resemblance to the
> Bukharian dynamics too, and that's when I started to
> understand that these dynamics they're not specifically
> Bukharian community…they're kind of universal…like
> inequality, like people abusing the teachings in order to
> promote themselves, the divorce of theory [from]
> practice. In theory this is how it should be, but in
> practice that's something completely different.

As was previously mentioned, the realization that O.B. was finally able
to make also made her come to terms with her Bukharian Jewish identity:
"and I'm also at peace with my Bukharian identity, there's no more pain
over those discrepancies, like I understand the community had to survive,
they did the best they could with the circumstances given, I mean who
am I to judge them? It's no longer important to explain to them what they
did wrong, at one point I has this powerful desire to explain to them. It
just doesn't matter. I just accepted the way it is." O.B.'s interactions
caused her to reorient her identity, and rediscover her individual self.
This was strengthened by a sense of self that was already present,
especially in regards to her opinions on gender.

What really started doing me in was the attitude towards the woman by the woman. Some of the lectures I went to were constantly making fun of feminism, like 'look at those crazy woman who chase after career at the expense of the family'. And I was thinking…if the career makes them happy let them be happy…I guess that's what kind of got me, I had this ideal, this absolute purity, but life is not ideal right?...It was harder and harder for me to reconcile the differences.

And so, a negotiation of the self took precedence, but still through a clear interaction with the community.

> So in 2005, that's when I was just thinking I am really unhappy with orthodox Judaism, by 2006 I started to keep less and less and less…and then in 2007 I had moved out to Seattle and slowly it was just like…I also understood that I needed to move away from my family to decide what I wanted to do, move away from the community because they're always there, there's strong feeling of guilt…distance was very important…because you don't want to feel the pressure from the community. It's very difficult when you go through the change.

O.B. recognized the strong influence of communities, and so, when she moved, she was expressing her personal identity in opposition to communal identity. But community was still important: "I wanted smaller Jewish community because Baltimore Jewish community is very segregated because it's big, people can afford to get into little silos." The process was hard, "it took me a long time to just be stable myself in my own identity, and just be at peace with who I am." What is interesting is to note is that her past community experiences in Baltimore have influenced her present opinions of Orthodox community in South Seattle because of its strong resemblance, in her opinion, to the Baltimore community.

"Picking and Choosing": Outlook on Judaism
       Hitherto, I have investigated my interviewees' thoughts on Jewish belonging through their perceptions of various Jewish communities. This discussion, however, has not yet addressed the way that N.S. and O.B. defined their Jewish identification in broader terms. I will now concentrate on my interviewees' thoughts on this issue by discussing their outlooks on Jewish observance and religion.

During my conversation with N.S., I noticed a distinction that he continuously conveyed during our interview between Jewish religion and Jewish heritage/culture. Let me begin with an observation that I made while transcribing the interview: N.S. used "Jewishness" four times during our conversation, while "Judaism" was used only twice. Does this mean that his Jewish identity hinges more on non-religious affiliation? Various segments of my interview with him demonstrate that this is precisely the case. During multiple instances, N.S. discussed his need to separate Jewish culture and heritage from the religion, because he identifies with the former. This is clearly a conscious separation he has made, as he has been greatly exposed to Jewish religious learning via Orthodox Jewish schooling from middle until the end of high school. I argue that his effort to distance himself from the religious components of Judaism is exactly linked to his direct interaction with these institutions, as well as to family influence. The following quote shows the divisions that N.S. has made in his personal negotiation of Jewish belonging: "For me personally I would say [being Jewish] is more cultural because if I say it's religious then I'm a hypocrite. Because if I say it's both, then I have to be religious to be a Jew, which I'm not. I'll do stuff…for the sake of preservation of the culture." At the same time, N.S. by no means completely disengages from the religious component of Jewish identity. However, when addressing the religious elements, he consciously performs the autonomous actions described by Cohen and Eisen—as he is actively engaged in "picking and choosing among…practices and texts so as to find the combination" that he, as an individual, "can authentically affirm" (9):

> When studying religious texts, I think you can pick up on a lot of good ethics: how to live our life properly, not do bad things. But then when I look into other aspects of the text…to me, [they're] a little extreme. I'm not going to abide by that. But I'll take certain aspects of it that are more connected to my life at this time and I'll use the idea.

One interesting point that N.S. makes when discussing religion is a connection between observance and education. As has been the case in many of his opinions, family is brought up when discussing this connection, as he uses his great-grandmother as an example. According to N.S., she would always go to her son's house "with a meal prepared already that's only hers in her own Jewish kosher plate." As N.S. recalls, "if my grandmother would cook for the whole family, [my great-grandmother] would eat her own stuff; she was that kind of a Jew."

Immediately after this comment, he states that "she wasn't educated in a sense….that's all she knew—religion. That was her identity. My grandparents were already educated. My grandmother was a judge. Her secular knowledge was extensive." As he links worldliness to secularism, N.S. is thinking very much within the context of the modern, secular, autonomous Jew. However, the issue is complicated with the following quote:

> What does it mean to be Jewish? Well, what I would tell people is not necessarily what I believe. If I were teaching a class, I would say to be Jewish is to solely identify with one particular religion, abide by its rules and regulations and laws…I would say that, and everything that that entails. For me personally, to be Jewish is preserving a culture not in the religious sense….it's association more with the culture than the religion.

Once again, we see a connection to the culture, and not the religion. However, the respondent still feels the need to address religion, especially when talking about how we would define Jewishness when in front of others. The "self" is thus undermined. It is further compromised by the respondent's multiple allusions to the necessity—perhaps even burden—of preservation: "I think it's important to preserve the story 'cause you don't want to be the cause that breaks the link, that's too much baggage…I mean my kid, you know, I'm going to tell him everything there is to know about Judaism." Perhaps, this attention to preservation points to something more abstract, something that is less easily explained on paper, but by no means any less real for the negotiator. This intangible, highly subjective association is further evidenced when, on two separate occasions, N.S. refers to his Jewish identity with a very abstract word, person: "It's my identity as a person, not necessarily a religion…It's important for me as a person." And so, while it is important to see how others impact self-identification, let us not negate other factors that are harder to explain or are far too personal to be fully explained by the frameworks like the *self-group dialectic*— factors that also include character traits. In N.S.'s case, for example, I noticed a consistent concern with remaining sincere and genuine in his observance, or lack thereof, of Judaism.

For, O.B., her present Jewish identity is also defined in abstract terms: "what Judaism means to me is being a decent human being. Jewish values are about respecting others...Judaism is about we are different, but it doesn't mean because I'm different I'm better. All it

273

means is that we're different, that's all there is to it, I and I think that's what Judaism is to me today." For O.B., two particular aspects played a role in her understanding of Judaism: memories with her grandmother and issues of Jewish law. When recalling early Jewish memories and the people that have had an effect on her Jewish upbringing, O.B. stated: "Definitely my great-grandmother's influence…a lot of stuff that had to with traditional holidays, the preparation…anything to do with the practical aspect of it: cooking, cleaning the house, having certain foods, not having certain foods…separation of meat and dairy…and all of that goes really back to my great-grandmother…my great-grandmother was really my grandmother…She was very traditional…to the extent that she understood halachah, she was an Orthodox lady." O.B.'s grandmother had a salient influence on her. She was seen as the Jewish anchor: "we always had Shabbat, all the holidays" because of the grandmother. O.B.'s detailed and fond recollections of her grandmother explain a common theme of memory and preservation that emerged during our conversation:

> "I think its very important for us to keep the traditions going, the memory of it, its very important for me to have pictures ….kids in my family they had never been in Bukhara but they know a lot of history about my great-grandmother, and they know she was a determining factor for some of us, the kids to convert."

While O.B.'s distant past laid the religious and traditional groundwork for her identity, her more post-immigration past affected her identity with Judaism in a more technical and rigid way. Through her interaction with the orthodox communities in the US and Israel, the idea of Jewish law (halakhah) had become, and has in many ways remained, an important identity marker for her. The idea of abiding by Jewish law surfaced many times in our interview. In fact, she mentioned the word "halakhah" during nine different instances. Halakhah was especially pertinent when she discussed her definition of a Jew:

> At the end of the day you go by the law, but your sense of identity is not based on the law, your sense of identity is based on a whole number range of experiences…that's how you base your identity…so sure you can have a Jew who thinks he's a Jew but he's really not a Jew not according to the law…You either Jewish or you're not Jewish, and that's it. How you choose to express it is up to you, but you either a Jew or you're not a Jew and that it. So if someone who's like me who has a very strong

sense of Jewish identity, do I think that they're Jewish?
No I don't. You only Jewish if your mother is Jewish or
you converted, anything else you're not Jewish. You
might think that you're Jewish, and good luck to you,
but you're not a Jewish, your state of being is not
Jewish.

We can now more clearly understand why it was so important for her to
convert. As she internalized the Orthodox definition of a Jew, she knew
that she had resolve the discrepancies in her identity. "We were not
Jewish," she told me in a matter-of-fact manner, "and I understood that. I
understood that implication very much."

While having rejected much, O.B.'s has nevertheless clearly
retained many elements from her Orthodox background. Besides her
opinions on Jewish law, this background has also affected her opinions
on other Jewish denominations: "Truthfully, between a reform Jew and a
Muslim, I'd rather my kid marry a Muslim, especially a girl. ….I just
don't get reform thing, I understand it and what not but just don't
connect with it spiritually. I've gone to reform reconstructive synagogues
few times, I just don't get it. It's very hard for me to connect…I just
don't really think it's a Jewish thing. Of course that's how I was raised,
that's my prejudice." Yet while O.B. possess very rigid definitions of
what it means to Jewish because of her community interactions, the
discussion is complicated because of her personal beliefs, through which
emerges a more abstract definition: "it's a state of being, it's a
combination of different things. Legally, spiritually, mentally,
combination of different things. It's a state of being…that's all there is to
it…You can be spiritually Jewish but not observe shit—pardon my
language. You can observe everything but not be spiritual at all…I don't
think of it as an ethnicity. It just who you are now, that's what being
Jewish is". Clearly, she has combined communal and personal opinions,
with an emphasis on journey, to define her often paradoxical view of
what it means to be Jewish: "I think what I didn't understand back then,
and maybe that's something that realization come with wisdom and age
that your identity will go through changes" "im not observant, for sure,
but when I choose to do something, I do it orthodox style…I always say i
just do my own thing, because I think one of my struggles had been
defining who I am. It had to be one perfect answer and if you have that
answer then you have everything else, and I just think it's silly."

Conclusion

In this essay, I have attempted to present the complex and multilayered stories of two young adults who lives in Seattle and identify, each in their own way, as Bukharian Jews. Furthermore, I have tried to offer some analysis and explanations of the self-identification patterns that I have notice in my interviews with the respondent. Building upon existing theoretical frameworks, I have argued that my interviewees are continuously marking their individual and unique Jewish identities, yet doing so via a dialogue with people and environments outside of "the self" that change with time and geography. In N.S.'s case, this interaction has catalyzed a conscious decision to remain on the periphery—but never fully outside—of Jewish belonging in general, and Bukharian Jewish identification specifically. This figurative and literal spatial negotiation is something that is not discussed in existing literature, and I hope that I will gain more insight into this process upon incorporating and analyzing other interviews and surveys into a future paper. While developing an analysis on the role of space and geography in my final paper, I hope to also focus more on the possible role of Seattle—a city very much outside the Bukharian Jewish "hubs" of cities like New York or Atlanta—as a catalyst to a distanced Bukharian Jewish self-identification. O.B. has also used place to negotiate her *own* place in identity. In her case, the self-other dialectical process has largely occurred through a journey and maneuvering about different environments. Ultimately, both respondents have pointed to the dynamic, changing, and multi-faceted properties of Jewish identity in contemporary society. Much of the scholarship has already shown this phenomenon. What I hope to have added to the literature is the fact that a similar process, but with its own peculiarities and predicaments, is occurring among Bukharian Jews in the United States.

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Appendix: Interview Guide

Introductory remarks:
- My academic biography.
- Summary of current research and objectives.
- Anonymity and confidentiality.
- Do you have any questions before we begin?

Basic biography:
- First, let's start with a bit of your basic biography (age, profession, place of birth, family).
- Now, please tell me about your interests and activities.
- Can you touch upon important highlights in your Jewish life? Can you please elaborate on the types Bukharian-Jewish activities you and your family did during childhood and adolescence?
- Let's go back to specific parts of your upbringing. What kind of school did you go to? (What did it feel like, as a Jew/Bukharian Jew, going to school?)
- What kind of friends in school? Was it important for you to have Jewish and Bukharian Jewish friends? And, if you dated, was it important to date a Jew/Bukharian Jew?
- Please describe your or your family's immigration to the US. When did this happen? From where did you or your family emigrate, and why? What language(s) were spoken at home?

Current views of identity:
- How would you describe being Jewish? What does it mean to you to be Jewish?
- a religion, a culture, an ethnicity, a race, a nationality, something else?

- How would you define a Bukharian Jew? What does it mean to you to identify as Bukharian Jewish?
o Is being a Bukharian Jew an important part of your overall Jewish identity?
    - How, if at all, has your identification as a Bukharian Jew affected your relationship with others—specifically your friendships and romantic relationships?
        o Marriage, children

Identity in a broader context:
- How do you relate to the broader Jewish community in your city, in America? Do you identify as an American Jew?
- Do you find that the title "Bukharian Jew" describes you? What do you feel about the terms "Sephardi" and "Mizrahi" Jew? What about "Russian Jew"? Stereotypes?
- Has immigration changed the way you and/or your family practice Judaism currently?
- Do you go to synagogue, partake in any Jewish organizations?
- Please tell me about your level of observance? Do you think of yourself as religious or spiritual?
- How do you, if at all, maintain your identity with Bukharian Jewishness today? Pressure to preserve?
- What do you think is the future of Bukharian Jewish identity in the US? Bukhori.
- Do you have any connection to B Jews outside of the US, particularly in Israel or Central Asia?

Concluding remarks:
- I would like to ask you a question that I will be asking all of my interviewees at the end of our session: if you had to describe, in one sentence, how you self-identify what would that sentence be?
- Before we conclude, do you have anything you'd like to add or clarify? Is there anything I should have asked you that I did not?
- Thank you very much for taking the time to speak with me. I appreciate your honesty and frankness, and I would just like to once again reiterate that I will preserve your anonymity as I progress with my project.

Transformative Games and Virtual Ethnicities: Routes to Affect in the Negotiation of American Identity

Joseph Thompson

Abstract

American national identity has constantly evolved since the outset of the country. This project approaches identity formation from a Deleuzian ontology, and not from an approach that relies on notions of representation. I contend that, in order to develop itself, Americanness has sought out spaces that offered greater affective capacities, relationships and movements from which novelty can emerge and identity can become new. These spaces have often been the perceived subjectivities of others, resulting in historical trends such as "playing Indian" or surrogate bodies in American literature, as written about by Philip Deloria and Toni Morrison. More recently, first-person shooter video games have become attractive locations of the "virtual" realities of game play. I argue that the first-person shooter performs the same social work as earlier acts of subjectivity repositioning, while attempting to challenge commonly circulated notions of the "virtual" as pertaining to video games.

Introduction

The object is identity. While being a practically immutable material constant of human existence, it is also the site of process and the material of repetition. This project attempts the balancing act in reading identity: affirming the immediacy of its experience, and acknowledging its anfractuous becomings.

Identity, insofar as is meant in the works dealing with ethnicities used in this paper, is a collection of signifiers that denote and connote established cultural meanings. These bundles of signifiers conflate, fracture, disjoint and reconstitute themselves, the appearance of which we perceive as, more or less, a unified self.

Affect offers a productive lens through which one can analyze instances where American identity lunged forward and availed itself of new venues of change. It allows us to think about phenomena as disparate as player Indian and first-person shooter video games as productive sites of ongoing identity formation and the insatiable hunger for full-formedness.

These escapes, appropriation of ethnic identity figurations and the game worlds of first-person shooters, are often thought of as forays into spaces of concrete, performed fantasies. This project uses notions of

the virtual-as-real and affective capacities to invert that view, where the escape becomes movement through spaces where potentials are not foreseen.

Identity and Affect: Moving Into Movement

Since it has come to know itself as such, American identity has glowed with the promise of fulfillment. From America's inception as a space of self-definition and a destiny that was to constantly struggle to manifest itself, there has been a vector, a question mark hanging over identity. White Americans have historically been at the helm of a sense of national identity, primarily because the figure of the American was a role self-defined. This paper's focus lies on the continuum between racial and national identity, as exemplified by the role of whiteness as an organizing principle both for contemporary notions of Americanness and American ethnicities. How our focus elides more from one into the other depends on the historical moment and the modes of transformation available, for some modes speak more strongly to one than another.

To begin, I will call our focus the *identity project of Americanness*, taking a cue from Omi and Winant's theory of racial formation. They define *racial formation* as the "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed."[1] Transformation is our focus. They go on to describe the inadequacy of the commonplace views of race as formed either through culture or social structures and suggest that concepts of race emerge through the *linkages* between these forces:

> Racial projects do the ideological "work" of making these links. A racial project is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or exploration of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines. Racial projects connect what race means in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organized, based upon that meaning.[2]

The notion of racial formation is useful to us because of the inextricability, both material and ideological, of whiteness and Americanness. To examine the American identity project, we must be

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[1] . Michael Omi and Howard Winant, <u>Racial Formations in the United States</u> (New York: Routledge, 1994) 55.

[2] . Michael Omi and Howard Winant 56.

aware of its common ground with racial frameworks. But unlike the identities addressed by racial formation, identities negotiated *around* an organizing principle (whiteness), Americanness began by defining itself *as* an organizing principle. Because of this we must account for the process of transformation as something less encumbered by dominant forces than the transformations, often violent contortions, experienced by non-white racial identity projects. Transformation, occurring under one's own power, is free to follow motivations of will. The motivation here has everything to do with fulfillment: both intrinsically, referring to the project's rootedness in becoming and completion, and extrinsically, reflexing to other identities.

Looking at the instances of encounters between whiteness and othered racial figurations in Deloria and Morrison's work, identity is dealt with most primarily on the level of signification: *how does identity exist as representation*? This is commensurate with the racial formation analytic, as identity is still encountered as a signifier of a *meaning*. But what of our second site of examination, the first-person shooter? There is representation in first-person shooters, to be sure, but the salient feature of this type of game is not the concreteness of representation, but the agitation inherent to play. This is where the notion of affective capacity, Deleuzian ontology, enters for us. The turn that must occur to make clear the connection between the historical appropriation of othered racial figurations and the first-person shooter is to shift our focus from *after the fact* of representation to the moment *before* identity solidifies into signification.

The problem with focusing solely on representation is that it reduces the experience, ownership and inhabitance, of identity down to something that is so dissociated from life that it becomes nearly impossible to account for the occurrence of change or movement. Change and movement are vital to our focus; this is how affect introduces itself. Brian Massumi begins *Parables for the Virtual* by stating, "When I think of my body and ask what it does to earn that name, two things stand out. It *moves*. It *feels*. In fact, it does both at the same time. It moves as it feels, and it feels itself moving. Can we think a body without this: an intrinsic connection between movement and sensation whereby each immediately summons the other?"[3] From this we can accept the entanglement of being and movement, and of movement and affect, for the purpose of thinking about change.

For Massumi, change, novelty, actualizes itself from out of affective capacity. There are many words and notions which become

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[3]   Brian Massumi, <u>Parables for the Virtual</u> (Durham: Duke UP, 2002) 1.

reoriented in the consideration of affect: positionality, motion, reality, virtuality, potential, and possibility. The most fundamental conceptual shift occurs around the basic couplet of real and unreal. Because the virtual is that space from which novelty emerges, and because it is generally viewed as the obverse to the real, we can talk of it as the unreal in "real vs. unreal."

Traditionally the unreal/virtual has been thought of as opposite from the real, as in *figure 1a*, something unlivable and abstract. But when thinking in terms of affective capacity, as in *figure 1b*, the virtual is not a space of unreality, but an extended parameter, another area of reality. The real, as we have known it, is clarified as the *actualized*, the part of reality that has been reduced and solidified into something that bears signification. [4] In this model the virtual is the *field of potential*, the real that has not yet been actualized, "the pressing crowd of incipiencies and tendencies."[5] The virtual and the actual bookend the continuum of the real. As for identity, it is encountered on the level of representation, but it is also encountered through motion and potential. Locating the spaces to which identity escapes in pursuit of its own assemblage may help in understanding the processes by which it evolves, recognizing its own futures in the mirages evaporated from affect becoming actual.

Possibility, in this model, is the only thing actually opposed to the real, as in *figure 1c*. Whereas potential is an unquantifiable field, an indeterminate substance of intensity that effectively exhausts itself in the actualizing of the concrete, the possible is derived after the fact, constantly referring back to the actual. Massumi states it as an issue of directionality: "Possibility is back-formed from potential's unfolding. […] Potential is unprescribed. It only feeds forward, unfolding toward the registering of an event: bull's-eye. Possibility is a variation *implicit in* what a thing can be said to be when it is on target. Potential is the *immanence* of a thing to its still indeterminate variation, under way."[6]

Going forward with this framework for thinking about the actual and the virtual, we can focus on access to virtualities as access to unforeseen actualities. The fields of potential contingent upon any given actualized context is space and energy from which new contexts will precipitate, which will in turn unfold different fields of potential. This potential, virtuality, the "super-linear abstraction" of the actual, is the vital impetus, the *élan vital* that is the ecstatic space of encounter with the new.

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[4]   Massumi 30-31.
[5]   Massumi 30.
[6]   Massumi 9.

Transformative Games and Virtual Ethnicities: Routes to Affect in the Negotiation of American Identity

The way that affect pronounces itself through feeling is dynamic in resonance and temporality, fluttering spillages over the threshold of repetition, linear experience and perception. Massumi writes about these
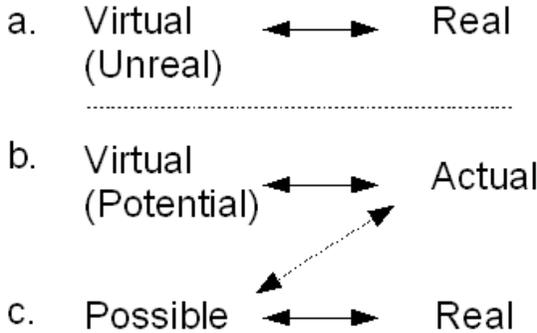
a. Virtual ⟵⟶ Real
   (Unreal)

b. Virtual ⟵⟶ Actual
   (Potential)

c. Possible ⟵⟶ Real

Figure 1. Different models of the real and the virtual.

overflows; "The escape of affect *cannot but be perceived*, alongside the perceptions that are its capture."[7] This *capture* is the way by which something potent and pre-signification can by perceived, processed, and reflected upon as an event in linear perception (most commonly, emotion). Massumi continues about the temporal contextualizations of the escape of affect:

> This side-perception may be punctual , localized in an event (such as the sudden realization that happiness and sadness are something besides what they are). When it is punctual, it is usually described in negative terms, typically as a form of *shock* (the sudden interruption of functions of actual connection). But it is also continuous, like a background perception that accompanies every event, however quotidian. When the continuity of affective escape is put into words, it tends to take on positive connotations. For it is nothing less than the *perception of one's own vitality,* one's sense of aliveness, of changeability (often signified as "freedom"). One's "sense of aliveness" is a continuous, nonconscious self-perception (unconscious self -reflection or lived self-referentiality). It is the perception of this *self-perception*, its naming and making conscious, that allows affect to be effectively analyzed - as long as a vocabulary can be found for that which is imperceptible but whose escape

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7   Massumi 36.

from perception cannot but be perceived, as long as one is alive.[8]

At this point it should be made clear that affect and repetition are not being taken as a dichotomy but, rather, the ebb and flow of the cycle of becoming, the convection of emergence. I am referring to repetition and representation as inherently linked in the creation and experience of identity because only through repetition do emergences become invested with symbolic value that codify them as representations. Phillip Thurtle and Robert Mitchell write that, "Although it is common to think of anomalies as a break in a repetitious series, it is more accurate to think of them as produced through the act of repetition. To begin with, norms need to be established before an event can be judged as anomalous; an event is "anomalous" only when it suspends our expectations of what *usually* happens."[9] This construction of expectation can be thought of as the given actualized context for which there is a field of potential that will eventually actualize the new, which will recondition the context and, in turn, the field of potentials. This underscores the importance of the context in the first place, the symbolic economy, and how it establishes a static ground on which unseen limbs may grapple to reshape the field. N. Katherine Hayles articulates the importance of repetition and representation in biological and informational terms:

> Although mutation disrupts pattern, it also presupposes a morphological standard against which it can be measured and understood as a mutation. If there were only randomness, as with the movement of gas molecules, it would make no sense to speak of mutation. … Mutation is crucial because it names the bifurcation point at which the interplay between pattern and randomness causes the system to evolve in a new direction. It reveals the productive potential of randomness that is also recognized within information theory when uncertainty is seen as both antagonistic and intrinsic to information.[10]

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[8]   Massumi 36.

[9]   Phillip Thurtle and Robert Mitchell, "The Acme Novelty Library: Comic Books, Repetition, and the Return of the New," Configurations (The Johns Hopkins University Press and the Society for Literature and Science 2007, 15: 267-297)

[10]   Katherine Hayles, How We Became Posthuman (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1999) 33.

So, we can go forward in a way that is not limited to a representation-based conception of identity projects while also recognizing the importance of representation, symbols, images and their perceptions. When one identity moves itself in pursuit of development, it does not chase directly after an increase of affective capacity, but after a signifier which then may bring one into encounter with transduction. Massumi links the potency of images with the immediacy of emergence:

> "Transduction is the transmission of a force of potential that cannot but be felt, simultaneously doubling , enabling, and ultimately counteracting the limitative selections of apparatuses of actualization and implantation. This amounts to proposing an *analog* theory of image-based power: images as the conveyors of forces of emergence, as vehicles for existential potentialization and transfer."[11]

So, for the development of the identity project of Americanness, the goal has been to seek encounters where transduction can happen. This has often occurred through spaces of intensity and difference. The spaces being pursued may have initially had an entirely different allure from how they actually interacted. We can understand the importance of Americanness's urgency in inhabiting new spaces, be they bodies or virtual game worlds when Massumi says, "It is the edge of virtual, where it leaks into the actual, that counts. For that seeping edge is where potential, actually, is found."[12] It is this seeping edge that we look to now.

Ethnic Figurations and Appropriations

Playing Indian: Authenticity and Actualization

In the early twentieth century, Ernest Thompson Seton, co-founder of the Boy Scouts of America, said that "Indian teachings in the fields of art, handicraft, woodcraft, agriculture, social life, health and joy need no argument beyond presentation; they speak for themselves. The Red Man is the apostle of outdoor life, his example and precept are what young America needs today above any other ethical teaching of which I have knowledge."[13]

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[11] Massumi 42-43.
[12] Massumi 43.
[13] Philip Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998) 96.

In his work with the Boy Scouts of America, Seton's concern was of the creation of a modern American identity, one that furthered the promise of honor, duty and independence. This work occurred at a time when industrial development and urban growth threatened the solidity of the erstwhile rugged sense of Americanness. And for Seton, the way to develop this sought-after American character was through a immersion in the America known by his *original* Americans, Natives. Through Indian role play, he hoped to imbue in younger generations a reverie for the natural world and a renewed sense of belonging on this continent at the outset of a daunting new century. It is through this and varied other instances that Philip Deloria illustrates the role of the Indian and its

Figure 2. Seton's Indians dancing during a 1908 camping trip.[14]
figurations in the ongoing development of American national identity through the act of "playing Indian."

Indeed, the work to further a sense of national identity has always been a particularly daunting task, as so much of this nation's character is grounded in the idea of fulfillment. From the first colonials onward, arrival on a new land has been a charge for reinvention. But, ever since first encounters, there has been an obstacle to becoming fully

[14]   Shorpy Historic Photo Archive, "Wyndygoul War Dance: 1908." 12 July 2007, 23 Apr. 2010
        <http://www.shorpy.com/node/1293 >.

"American", of the Americas, and that has been the figure of the Indian. Before the first Europeans settled here, there had already been fully functioning societies whose existence deflated the idea of an awaiting blank slate of a continent. This Indian presence had to be accounted for somehow in the development of any sense of self for these Americans; neither ignoring or extermination would satisfy the ontological quandary proposed to the identity of an American. Indianness was a question mark hanging over American identity. The answer to that question was authenticity. And the question was, of course, "What is missing?" Authenticity is what Indians had that white early Americans did not, as early white Americans came to feel. Authenticity meant everything: a sense of belonging, knowledge, psychic communion, manifest destiny, *entitlement*. Authenticity meant audience with the spirit of the continent. Indigenousness would mean authenticity, but becoming aboriginal would mean retreat from forward facing self-invention; it would signify de-evolution, a castration of their independence from place. As Phillip Deloria writes about white Americans' perception of Indians:

> They spoke for the 'spirit of the continent.' Whites desperately desired that spirit, yet they invariably failed to become aboriginal and thus 'finished.' Savage Indians served Americans as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national Self. Coded as freedom, however, wild Indianness proved equally attractive, setting up a 'have-the-cake-and-eat-it-too' dialectic of simultaneous desire and repulsion.[15]

Indians were figured, at once, as the key to belonging to (or rather, on) the continent, *and* the barrier to belonging. These are the makings of an irreconcilable grapple. American identity, civilized identity, was to be fashioned around and in opposition to the perceived nature of Indianness, yet a vital and still unlocked essence of Americanness was tied up in the figure of the Indian. To the early American, the looming symbolic figure of the "Indian" was both a specter of unattainability in regards to their own nativity on this new continent, and also a warrant to become psychically bonded with the land.

Looking at the Boston Tea Party, probably the most widely known example of playing Indian, it is easy to situate this type of performance, playing Indian, in a way that mitigates its symbolic power. The Boston Tea Party could be summed up as a mob who, angry over an

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[15]   Deloria 3.

import dispute, put on "Indian" disguises and ransacked several cargo ships and dumped their contents into the bay. But *disguise* was not the point of the costumes, as Deloria points out; the leaders of the mob were well known and easily recognizable and many costumes made no attempt to conceal the wearer's identity.[16] In this situation, the same act of civil disobedience could have occurred with no costumes and no reference to Indians, so why *did* it happen the way it did?

The act of donning "Indian" garb and acting in a wild and uninhibited manner, juxtaposed with the expected continental composure of whiteness, became a passage from one subjectivity, one which did not feel wholly belonging in America, to one that seemingly held secrets to true communion with the land. While this act of playing Indian can be

Figure 3. "Indians" dumping tea during the Boston Tea Party[17]

thought of as an act of *consumption*, momentarily assuming identity signifiers, if taken in context with the psychic deficiency implied by the

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16   Deloria 6.
17   Archiving Early America, "An Eyewitness Account of the Boston Tea Party." 05 June, 2010.
<http://www.earlyamerica.com/review/2005_winter_spring/images/teaparty4.jpg>.

very act of becoming that it sought, the trajectory of the identity project of Americanness points at a *reconditioning* of the everyday. Or, rather, a reconditioning of its own experience of the world. As Deloria writes about the affect exerted on the symbolic underpinnings of Americanness, "Playing Indian encouraged people to reject the stories and language that helped structure the common sense of everyday life."[18]

This kind of productive play can be seen as an effort to undertake change on not only oneself but, ultimately, on the environmental context in which identities form. Returning to Seton's concerns with what he felt was a stagnant national character:

> The American identity, however, sprang largely from the traditions of the Revolution. Modernity, Seton sensed, had rendered the older paradigms obsolete at the moment of their greatest power. Expressions of unified American identity that came out of the revolutionary tradition were undermined by corporate monopolies, cutthroat competition, strikes and populist and reform movements. The result was a set of self-conscious attempts to salvage what was being increasingly pointed to as an older, better, but unfortunately disappearing America.[19]

This aim, to salvage through performance something that was disappearing, whether conscious or not, is telling of the productive power inherent in play. As the "Indians" play themselves they not only disorient their own positionalities but, through their own repositioning, affect the *actual* context of play. As Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman write, "Transformative play is a special case of play that occurs when the free movement of play alters the more rigid structure in which it takes place."[20] In fact, this play, not just in but *through* and *of* structure, is corroborated by Massumi's take on cultural positionality. He writes that positionality, even as it allows movement between social positions, reifies the grid on which movement occurs. This reification of a grid of possible positions renders real movement all but unaccounted for, as even interloping between locally established positions becomes difficult. So how can one even account for newness? Massumi elucidates the problematic of positionality with Zeno's paradox of movement, by thinking of the movement of an arrow in the "commonsense way":

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18   Deloria 184.
19   Deloria 100.
20   Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman, Rules of Play (MIT Press, 2004) 305.

> […] as a linear trajectory made up of a sequence of
> points or positions that the arrow occupies one after the
> other. The problem is that between one point on a line
> and the next, there is an infinity of intervening points. If
> the arrow occupies a first point along its path, it will
> never reach the next – unless it occupies each of the
> infinity of points between. Of course, it is the nature of
> infinity that you can never get to the end of it. The arrow
> gets swallowed up in the transitional infinity. Its flight
> path implodes. The arrow is immobilized.[21]

The way that playing Indian can evade this trap of punctuality, of becoming just another position to be inhabited, is by shifting our focus from Indianness as a destination to playing as a way of *becoming* (not being), as a type of movement. Authenticity as an essence, precipitating from history, social context, lived experience, physical inheritance and any number of other criteria, marks the arrival of one's subject unto ontological terra firma. To possess it is to have completed a circuit of transformation, to have closed the infundibulum of self. But authenticity can also be seen as a position on a trajectory, one not yet reached (like a target). In this regard, Indianness and everything it represents for Americanness: authenticity, permanence, and belonging (all also representing punctuality), becomes a mirage that always lingers just past the precipice of play. This is the allure of play, the attraction exerted by playing Indian: movement and affect.

This movement and affect proves thrilling, the "perception of one's own vitality."[22] Deloria writes about it in terms of representation:

> Almost everyone has experienced the sense of personal
> liberation that attends the wearing of disguise, be it
> Halloween masks, cross-gender clothing, or garments
> signifying a racial, ethnic, or class category different
> from one's own. Disguise readily calls the notion of
> fixed identity into question. At the same time, however,
> wearing a mask also makes one self-conscious of a *real*
> "me" underneath. This simultaneous experience is both
> precarious and creative, and it can play a critical role in
> the way people construct new identities. As they first
> imagined and then performed Indianness together on the
> docks of Boston, the Tea Party Indians gave material

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21   Massumi 6.
22   Massumi 36.

form to identities that were witnessed and made real.
The performance of Indian Americanness afforded a
powerful foundation for subsequent pursuits of national
identity.[23]

The liberation that Deloria speaks, the "changeability (often
signified as "freedom")", is not only capacity to affect oneself but to
affect the context of the everyday that, in turn, affects the self.[24] Up to
this point the reader may have made the assumption that this "freedom"
is a *good* thing. But make no mistake, this process of becoming is not
socially benign. Encounters with virtual, play, only knows and
recognizes itself as such; it is pre-social.[25] But that is all. Once potentials
actualize, become punctual, represent through repetition and otherwise
inscribe themselves into an environment, they exist in the social. It is
perhaps, in part, because of the excitement and power felt when pursuing
identity signifiers tied up with Indianness that Americanness has
expressed such disdain when the post-colonial material circumstances of
reservation life have created real Indians that upset their romantic
identity mirage. S. Elizabeth Bird writes about the dissonance of
expectation and reality:

> And when Indians refuse to be quaint, White culture's
> imagery condemns them. In the nineteenth century,
> those who did not fit the mold of the picturesque Indian
> were portrayed as dissolute, pathetic drunks and misfits.
> In the 1990s, although it is clear that the Noble Savage
> has gained ascendancy in mass culture, we must be
> careful not to assume that the negative imagery has
> disappeared. It becomes clear that as long as Indians are
> powerless (or safely dead), it is easy to portray them as
> noble.[26]

With so much at stake for the ongoing development of the
identity project of Americanness, we can see how the tarnishing of an
important go to image can fuel such desperately vitriolic expressions as
the oft repeated variations of "Indians are proof that niggers fuck

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[23]   Deloria 7.

[24]   Massumi 36.

[25]   Massumi 9.

[26]   S. Elizabeth Bird, "Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s-
1990s," <u>Dressing in Feathers</u>, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder: Westview Press,
1996) 4.

buffalo."[27] This anger underscores the important of preference towards certain trajectories of identity, not all movement is deemed equal

The reader will not be surprised by Deloria's disappointment in the response of Americanness to change via another. "But the world to which one returned was not that of Indian people, and , in that sense, play allowed one to evade the very reality that it suggested one was experiencing. It offered the concrete ground on which identity might be experienced, but it did not call its adherents to change their lives."[28] Thinking of this act of appropriation as a movement of becoming rather than a wearing of a mask, play, in fact, agitated the concrete ground on which identity might be experienced (and precipitated) and did call its adherents to change their lives - just not in a way that is socially prescripted. There is no premise of an exchange and although the becoming is pre-social, the being is not. But contemporaneous with being always is becoming, there has yet to be the arrival longed for. "You can't change your nature and mode of consciousness like changing your shoes. Years must go by and centuries must elapse before you have finished. [...] It is a long and half-secret process."[29]And, as is historically obvious, the constantly reconditioned context of being for America has had the result of subjugating reliable vehicles for transformation, and the bodies that are born into those identities.

Africanist Persona:Playing with Decoys

Of course, the Indian is not the only racial figuration that has ended up serving as a space of play for the development of the identity project of Americanness. In *Playing in the Dark*, Toni Morrison examines the presence of black-bodied characters, and the construction of their figurations, in early American literature. Through this meditation on black presence in a formative phase of the development of Americanness, she interrogates popularly circulated knowledge about the character and genesis of American literature:

> For some time now I have been thinking about the validity or vulnerability of a certain set of assumptions conventionally accepted among literary historians and

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[27]   Other variations have paired Chinese or Mexicans with goats and various other farm animals. I have encountered several instances of this phrase anecdotally and a quick search of the Internet will yield a variety of related results.

[28]   Deloria 184.

[29]   D.H. Lawrence, Studies in Classic American Literature (London: Martin Secker, 1924) 26.

critics and circulated as 'knowledge.' This knowledge
holds that traditional, canonical American literature is
free of, uninformed, and unshaped by the four-hundred-
year-old presence of, first, Africans and then African-
Americans in the United States. […] Moreover, such
knowledge assumes that the characteristics of our
national literature emanate from a particular
'Americanness' that is separate from and unaccountable
to this presence.[30]

From this it is clear that Morrison is working against a notion of
Americanness that is already bound up with the construction of
whiteness as a normalizing principle, which apparently is independent of
the presence of blackness. Morrison's claim is that this literary presence,
the surrogate bodies which she collectively calls *Africanism*, has played a
vital role in the shaping of literary "whiteness" and, in turn,
Americanness as it understands itself. First, by Africanist persona,
Morrison does not signify actual blackness, as experienced by actual
people, but rather she uses "it as a term for the denotative and
connotative blackness that African peoples have come to signify, as well
as the entire range of views, assumptions, readings, and misreadings that
accompany Eurocentric learning about these people."[31]

Reading works such as Marie Cardinal's *The Words to Say It*,
Willa Cather's *Sapphira and the Slave Girl*, Gertrude Stein's *Three Lives*,
and Ernest Hemingway's *To Have and Have Not,* Morrison was struck by
the space and dynamics created between white and black bodies in the
text. Predictably, the black characters were the quasi-passive objects of
white characters, serving their needs and often performing or being
reduced to undesirable or downright deplorable traits. "As a writer
reading," Morrison writes, "I came to realize the obvious: the subject of
the dream is the dreamer. The fabrication of an Africanist persona is
reflexive; an extraordinary meditation on the self; a powerful exploration
of the fears and desires that resides in the writerly conscious."[32]

This fabrication, like the fabrication of Indians through which
Americans have played, is a moment in the ongoing convection of
conditioning the environment, the field of potential, from which newer
and newer actualizations of Americanness emerge. Not only did these
constellations of identity signifiers act as targets for which the trajectory,
the movement itself, was the point, but the perceived necessity of

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30	Morrison 4.
31	Morrison 6.
32	Morrison 17.

constructing these targets at all elides the affect already exerted by white American subjectivity, an affective capacity that seems forgotten when endeavors of re-positioning are opted for instead. "What Africanism became for, and how it functioned in, the literary imagination is of paramount interest because it may be possible to discover, through a close look at literary 'blackness,' the nature – even the cause – of literary 'whiteness.'"[33]

This nature of literary whiteness, as Morrison reads, is something constantly in evasion of its own state of being bound to others. But the location of this conflict in the text is a sleight of hand that distracts from the actual transformative processes taking place outside and through the text. Looking at the text, not as the total location of transformation, but as a point in a space of play, the act of reading becomes generative, agitating. The act of reading, for people reading from a position of Americanness, becomes a state of play which disorients the reader's position and transcends rules of play. Because, as Derrida warns, "As soon as it comes into being and into language, play *erases itself as such.*"[34] But it is not necessarily an arc that irreversibly terminates into representation; remember Massumi's "theory of image-based power: images as the conveyors of forces of emergence, as vehicles for existential potentialization and transfer."[35] Representation does not squelch capacities of affect, intensities, but only dampens them, that is, when not aligned correctly to *convey* intensity.

Whiteness, Americanness, is shaped by opening routes to "imaginatively act out" taboos in a space of potential created between the text and the reader through active reading. "Just as entertainers, through or by association with blackface, could render permissible topics that otherwise would have been taboo, so American writers were able to employ an imagined Africanist persona to articulate and imaginatively act out the forbidden in American culture."[36] Rendering permissible is not necessarily the focus for us, but rendering *sensible*. The focus is the transduction of intensities, allowing a space, a middle ground, a meeting point between connotations and feelings, through which a reader can actively not only imagine, but feel. Feeling being the sense that occurs before precipitation into the symbolic, it is the space where newness is first encountered.

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[33]   Morrison 9.

[34]   Jacques Derrida, <u>Dissemination</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 156.

[35]   Massumi 42-43.

[36]   Morrison 66.

Speaking as a writer, Morrison says that, "The ability of writers to imagine what is not the self, to familiarize the strange and mystify the familiar, is the test of their power."[37] But we are careful not to locate the imaginative work solely within the text. The imaginative work occurs between the eyes and page, between the reader's perceived positionality and that which is being imagined, the virtuality springs not from the occupation of a different position but from the movement from a position. When those virtualities are reduced, through the conscious processing of *feeling*, into actualities, they exert their shapes reflexively back onto the contextual conditions, reconditioning. In this way, as the play in playing Indian, reading through black bodies has meant transformation of (white) Americanness. As Morrison elegantly states about writers (and for that matter, readers), "For them, as for me, imagining is not merely looking or looking at; nor is it taking oneself intact into the other. It is, for the purposes of the work, *becoming*."[38]

At this point, we can see the way in which racial figurations, conjured on a conscious level as bundles of signifiers which could be manipulated in service of an American identity project, establish a mode of becoming that extends Baudrillard's precession of the simulacra back to the genesis of Americanness. The precession of the simulacra "is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal."[39] For Baudrillard, something like Disneyland exists not as a location and embodiment of fantasy, but as a kind of decoy that, through contrast, upholds our perception of America as real.[40] The racial figurations at the center of playing Indian and Africanist persona could stand as similar decoys, release vents of psychic turmoil, that simultaneously serve as spaces of development and, in contrast, solidify an authentic sense of Americanness. But, in this relationship, Baudrillard's paranoia towards the modern condition of the hyperreal lends too much value to a lost sense of authenticity. The real is something that has been lost and we are now damned to a hyperreality of sourceless facsimiles. Keeping in mind that I am not arguing for positivity or necessity of the aggressive pursuit of American self-development at the the *actual* expense of othered identity projects and the bodies that live through them, the *hyperreality* of target identity figurations and Americanness itself is a testament to the freedom and movement afforded in the generative play that has surrounded such positionalities. Now as we proceed into designated

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37   Morrison 15.
38   Morrison 4.
39   Jean Baudrillard, <u>Simulacra and Simulation</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981) 1.
40   Baudrillard 12.

spaces of play, authenticity all but disappears as a conceptual underpinning of identity.

First-Person Shooters

Gamic Vision and the First-Person Shooter

First-person shooters, or FPSs for short, are video games defined primarily by the optical perspective experienced by a player within the game world. A player experiences the game from a first-person perspective, looking out as one moves through the world. This gaze is an important difference between FPSs and other video games, in which the player can see their character's avatar performing actions in front of them, maintaining a certain distance between a player's actions and the gamic results. The FPS is one of the most potent sites of encounters with the virtual to emerge recently. Although they are most often drawn into public discourse on account of either their dazzling visuals or gratuitous violent content, they offer some extremely novel innovations in how a media consumer engages their own positionality with a media's content and form, affording for spaces of play and affective capacities.

In the FPS, a consistency is attempted that would extend a sense of embodiment across from the player to the in-game character. Attempts to build this consistency, this proxied agency and surrogate sense, have always been problematic and different takes can be found in cinematic history. Alexander Galloway traces the FPS perspective, or *gamic vision,* to the deployment of what Paul Willemen calls the "fourth look, " which is when the viewer is confronted head on by the action on screen.[41] Not often used, this shot "forces the viewer to confront his or her own voyeuristic position."[42] Many of the conversation scenes in Jonathan Demme's 1991 film, *The Silence of the Lambs,* prominently use the "fourth look," alternating between shots of two people talking directly to the camera, almost making eye contact with the viewer. As alienating as this camera maneuver can be, it sets a precedent for the observe shot, the point-of-view shot:

> Occasionally, two of the looks – the look of the camera and the look of a single character – merge together, so that the camera lens and the eyes of a character become one. This results in a rather extreme first-person point-

[41]   Paul Willemen, <u>Looks and Frictions</u> (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994).
[42]   Alexander Galloway, <u>Gaming: Essays on Algorithmic Culture</u> (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006) 40.

of-view shot, where the camera pans and tracks as if it
were mounted on the neck of a character. When the
camera fuses with the character's body, the viewer sees
exactly what the character sees, as if the camera "eye"
were the same as the character "I."[43]

The point-of-view shot, though aligned with the visual
perspective of a character, still does not locate the viewer *within* the
character. The camera more or less rides the character, doing little to
quell sensations of voyeurism in the viewer. The alienation can be seen
not as a fault of technique, but as a matter of degree. The next step in the
direction of positioning the narrative world around the gaze of the viewer
is the subjective shot:

Yet subjective shots are more extreme in their
physiological mimicking of actual vision, for, as stated,
they pretend to peer outward from the eyes of an actual
character rather than simply to approximate a similar
line of sight. Thus subjective shots are much more
volatile. They pitch and lurch. They get blinded by light
or go blurry. And within the diegesis, they elicit
Willemen's "fourth look" often, as other characters
address the camera directly (in an attempt to maintain
the illusion that the camera is actually another
character).[44]

The way that many subjective shots have been utilized in film
correlates to another definitive element of the FPS: weapons. Examples
in film include Robert Montgomery's *Lady in the Lake,* James Cameron's
The Terminator, Jonathan Demme's *The Silence of the Lambs,* Alfred
Hitchcock's *Spellbound* and *Topaz,* and Gus Van Sant's *Elephant,* to
name just a few. Most FPS games situate the player in the
bodily position of the character so that the whole body itself is not seen
but, instead, just a hand holding a weapon.[45] I will come back to this
element of FPS game play more thoroughly later. But first we should

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43   Galloway 40.
44   Galloway 43.
45   Some games deviate from this "rule" in that they either give the player
a non-weapon tool to hold (such as the portal gun in Valve's popular *Portal*) or
no tools at all (such as in Electronic Arts' *Mirrors Edge*). This is becoming less
and less of a rarity; as such, it is difficult to say if there are simply more
exceptions within the FPS genre or if newer sub-genres are emerging which can
no longer be defined as "shooters."

take another look at the evolution of the FPS perspective within games and challenges to reaching an affective and effective sense of embodied immersion.

Subjective shots, in film, are most often used as a tension-building device, not something that more concretely situates the viewer within the narrative world. These shots typically "represent the vision of aliens, criminals, monsters, or characters deemed otherwise inhuman by the film's narrative."[46] This serves as an inhibition to immersion, especially considering the prevalent use of the subjective shot to produce the gaze of computers or robots (think *The Terminator, Robocop* or *2001*). There have been some successfully affective instances of the subjective shot in film (for instance Kathryn Bigelow's *Strange Days*) by emphasizing not only the *position* from which the viewer sees, but also the *movement* of the gaze. This is approaching the threshold of the FPS's unique claim on the subjective shot: the FPS not only defines gamic vision with movement, but with the space in which the player moves. Galloway elaborates:

> This point can be summarized in an initial claim: gamic vision requires fully rendered, actionable space. […] [G]ame design explicitly requires the construction of a complete space in advance that is then exhaustively explorable without montage. In a shooter, because the game designer cannot restrict the movement of the gamer, the complete play space must be rendered three-dimensionally in advance.47

With movement and action being requisites of gamic vision and any sense of immersion in the FPS, we can see that the experience of a game is not something that is passively received by a player. It is something that privileges interaction with elements of the game world, inviting the player to affect and being affected by the gamic environment. Sometimes games try to too fully merge embodied sense with diegetic sense and the result can collapse immersion into uncanniness. Laurie Taylor examines the first-person view game, but not FPS, *The X-Files Game* , based on the popular television show, for it's attempt at immersive consistency.

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46   Galloway 50.
47   Galloway 64.

Figure 4. Screen shot of the first widely popular FPS, Doom.[48]

In the game, the player assumes the identity of FBI Agent Craig Wilmore
and actions within the game are witnessed through his eyes. At one point
in the game, Agent Wilmore looks into a mirror, gazing back at
himself/the player. For Taylor, rather than forging a sensory consistency
that bridges across the threshold of media, this moment massively
alienates the player from the character:

> For the player, this produces an uncanny, disruptive
> effect: ripping apart the seams of the game space. Under
> the normal conditions of the physics of this game world,
> Wilmore *cannot* look back at the player. […] Agent
> Wilmore's place is within the space of the screen, as
> witnessed by others who are also within the space of the
> screen. But the player is outside of the space of the
> screen and Wilmore is performatively aligned with the
> player, so Wilmore's place should also be outside of the
> screen.[49]

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[48]   Wikipedia, "Doom (video game)." 08, June 2010,
<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/d/de/Doom_ingame_1.png>.
[49]   Laurie Taylor, "When Seams Fall Apart: Video Game Space and the
Player." Game Studies, Vol. 3, Issue 2, Dec. 2003, 25 Nov. 2008
<http://gamestudies.org/0302/taylor/>.

Missteps in diegesis and immersion such as in *The X-Files Game* are redeemed by similar but more effective instances in games such as *Prey.*

Prey: Seams, Perspectives and Immersion

Prey is an FPS that positions the player as "Tommy," a Cherokee man living on a reservation who is abducted by aliens at the outset of the game. The object of the game is to rescue Tommy's girlfriend, Jen, and avenge the death of Enisi, Tommy's grandfather, who have both also been abducted. The game begins in the bar where Jen works, moments before the abduction. Tommy is dissatisfied with his life on the reservation and contemplates what he should do while looking into the bathroom mirror. This moment begs responses from both narratological and ludological approaches.[50] And while this moment may set up the expectation of failure such as Agent Wilmore experienced, there are some important differences. The gameplay of *The X-Files Game* did not take place in a fully rendered, three-dimensional space but occurred in a succession of still images and interstitial video clips which, in a technique similar to cinematic montage, gave the sensation of first-person movement. But the game itself offered little to no spatial freedom, making the mirror segment more jarring, experienced by a captive audience, than it would have felt under the actual control of a player. Also, the visage of Agent Wilmore, with which the player is expected to identity themselves, is an actual photographic recording of an actor, bringing the avatar into stark relief against the gamic assemblage of the rest of the narrative world.

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[50]   Narratology and ludology are, more or less, two distinct schools of thought in video game theory. Jon Dovey and Helen W. Kennedy describe the two approaches: "Broadly speaking, the former has argued that games can be studied through recourse to existing literary and humanities methods of understanding texts, whilst the latter has argued that this cannot be the case since a computer game is not a conventional text at all but an activity more akin to play or sport. […] In order to understand and describe gameplay, theorists have begun to redefine the idea of 'interactivity' as configuration." Jon Dovey and Helen W. Kennedy, Game Cultures: Computer Games as New Media, (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2006) 23.

Figure 5. Tommy looking at himself/yourself in the mirror in Prey.[51]

In *Prey's* mirror segment, Tommy opens his eyes, looking down at a sink. He slowly lifts his head, easing the player into close proximity with the avatar, and looks into the mirror so that the player can see Tommy's reflection. Either to himself or to the player, Tommy asks, "What are *you* lookin' at?" Tommy questions himself, thinks out loud about what to do with his life; every gesticulation of his head is mimicked in the swaying of the "camera." Ludologically, through Tommy's movements, his gaze, his touching the sink, he crosses and ruptures the seam that fell apart for Agent Wilmore: the inside-outside border. Gaston Bachelard explicates the quandary of this boundary:

> In any case, inside and outside, as experienced by the imagination, can no longer be taken in their simple reciprocity; consequently, by omitting geometrical references when we speak of the first expressions of being, by choosing more concrete, more phenomenologically exact inceptions, we shall come to

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51   "Prey – Bring your diaper bag – cause it's scary!" <u>Dedoimedo</u>, 07 June, 2010, <http://www.dedoimedo.com/images/games/prey-tommy.jpg>.

realize that the dialectics of inside and outside multiply with countless diversified nuances.[52]

Not simply a a dichotomy to straddle, the inside-outside issue presents a continuum, a space where movement means radical encounters: novelty. Successes such as this illustrate how the FPS can co-construct with the player a novel point of view, not unlike the novel points of view imaginatively and generatively experienced by white Americans *playing* with othered racial figurations. The *sense* of embodiment extended and cultivated through such an instance approach what Massumi describes as virtual synesthetic perspectives:

> Affect is *the virtual as point of view*, provided the visual metaphor is used guardedly. For affect is synesthetic, implying a participation of the senses in each other: the measure of a living thing's potential interactions is its ability to transform the effects of one sensory mode into those of another. (Tactility and vision being the most obvious but by no means the only examples; interoceptive senses, especially proprioception, are crucial.) Affects are *virtual synesthetic perspectives* anchored in (functionally limited by) the actually existing, particular things that embody them. The autonomy of affect is its participation in the virtual. *Its autonomy is its openness.*[53]

This completes a circuit of concepts: affect as sensing of the virtual, the virtual as point of view, point of view (in the FPS) as not just position but gaze of movement, movement being essential to the sensation of affect. Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin corroborate the vital importance of movement, *participation,* to the successful excess of affect in video games: "Like many of the other role-playing games, *Myst* is in effect claiming that it can succeed where film noir failed: that it can constitute the player as an active participant in the visual scene.[54]

It would be wise to point out, in case it has been assumed, that the *virtuality* commonly cited in video games is not the same virtuality that we are concerned with. That is to say that just because a video game has a fantastical premise does not mean that it can facilitate a player's

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[52]   Gaston Bachelard, <u>The Poetics of Space</u>, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969) 216.

[53]   Massumi 35.

[54]   Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin, <u>Remediation</u> (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999) 97.

continuity of affect. As Massumi warns; **"*The medium of the digital is possibility, not virtuality,* and not even potential. It doesn't bother approximating potential, as does probability. Digital coding per se is possibilistic to the limit."**[55] Although it may sound like this is the end of the line, as far as the FPS is concerned with regard to affect, digital coding is not the entirety of the gaming experience, just as a text is not the entirety of the reading experience. As Sue Morris states, "[...] Multiplayer FPS games are 'co creative media'; neither developers nor players can be solely responsible for production of the final assemblage regarded as the 'the game', it requires input from both."[56] The play co-created between the player, software and hardware agitates the stationary parameters of play, as in Derrida's figuring of writing as play. As McKenzie Wark writes, **"**It is not the game that is the precondition of play, in other words, but play that is the condition of possibility of the game."[57] Galloway agrees with the disorientation of the game as a prerequisite to play: "Play is, in this way, crucial to both language and signification, even if play erases itself in the act of bringing the latter concepts into existence."[58]

Warcraft and Paintlust: Torture and Expectation

In November 2008, blogger and *World of Warcraft* player Richard Bartle wrote a blog post expressing his moral outrage at the experience of playing the *Wrath of the Lich King* expansion pack. In the course of playing the game, Bartle came up against the task of torturing another character within the game in order to complete the level. He recalled that, "Basically, you have to take some kind of cow poke and zap a prisoner until he talks."[59] A few days after his initial post, Bartle followed up saying that, although the torture was not absolutely necessary to complete the level after all, he was still upset. He said, "When I signed up to play *WoW* I knew it had fireballs, so I expected killing. I knew it had rogues, so I expected thieving. […] I wasn't expecting consequence-free torture quests in *WoW*. Getting on was a

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[55]   Massumi 137.

[56]   Sue Morris, "Wads, Bots and Mods: Multiplayer FPS Games as Co-Creative Media," <u>Level up: Digital Games Research Conference Proceedings</u>, Copier, M. and Raessens, J. (eds) (University of Utrecht/DIGRA), CD-ROM, 2003.

[57]   McKenzie Wark, "Designer Playtime," <u>Rhizome Digest</u>, 05 Jan. 2004, 05 June, 2010 <http://www.rhizome.org/editorial/digest/?msg=00095>.

[58]   Galloway 27.

[59]   Richard Bartle, "Torture Outburst," <u>(Ln(x))</u>[3], 19 Nov. 2008, 22 Feb. 2010, <http://youhaventlived.com/qblog/2008/QBlog191108A.html>.

shock."[60] For Bartle, the upsetting thing was that the confrontation with torture broke his expectations of the parameters of play. We remember that the sensation of affect, when it is punctual, is often recognized as shock, a negative burst of sensation. In this instance, the affective reach of play seems to have transcended the boundaries of the game, but the affect was not continuous, but punctual. What is to be made of this type of rupture in game play?

Approximately a year and a half earlier in FlatFile Galleries, Chicago, Wafaa Bilal was being shot with paintballs. Bilal, an Iraqi professor and artist living in the U.S., lived in a single-room installation at the gallery for a month, during which time he was exposed to a paintball gun which could be controlled by anyone accessing the project's website. The project was titled *Domestic Tension,* in response to his brother's death by an unmanned American drone. The project's aim was to probe notions of responsibility and anonymity regarding the capacity to kill and harm others, specifically concerning America's military involvement in Iraq.[61]

Very quickly, online participants became possessed with a "paintlust" and devoted substantial effort to shooting Bilal as frequently as possible.[62] In a sense, the firing of the paintball gun became not anomalous, but the background of everydayness for the duration of the project. The script running the paintball gun was hacked so that it now fired nonstop, like a machine gun. The brief respite Bilal enjoyed when the paintballs ran out were the punctuations of novelty. Despite this odd inversion of expectation, many participants would become incensed if Bilal ever left the view of the web cam mounted on top of the gun turret (a view which must have looked identical to the gamic vision of the FPS). They accused him of being a liar and the project a sham. They asserted their expectation, their entitlement to shoot him again. They knew they were hurting him, that they caused him to *feel* something and, through that, they felt something themselves. The thrilling and sickening shock of shooting someone (even if just with paintballs) became less and

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[60]   Richard Bartle, "Tortuous(sic) Replies..." (Ln(x))[3], 26 Nov. 2008, 22 Feb. 2010, <http://youhaventlived.com/qblog/2008/QBlog261108A.html>.
[61]   Wafaa Bilal and Kari Lydersen, Shoot An Iraqi: Art, Life and Resistance Under the Gun, (San Francisco: City Lights, 2008) 1.
[62]   The participants of the project constitute both people who attempted to shoot Bilal, and people who attempted to deflect shots at him. The mechanism by which the paintball gun worked averaged clusters of shoot commands so that, if someone shot at a corner of the room, one could throw off a shot aimed at Bilal's head.

less punctual, became continuous. Expectation frames the capacity to
affect and be affected.

Half-Life 2: Cheating Space and Insistent Novelty
         We would be remiss in our discussion of the FPS to not address
Half-Life 2, possibly the most popular and prominent FPS to appear in
the last decade. *Half-Life* was lauded for its impressive visual
innovations and strides forward in deepening the plot from the first *Half-
Life* game. In the game world of *Half-Life 2*, the player is positioned as
Gordon Freeman, theoretical physicist, who was the accidental instigator
and hero of a catastrophe in which aliens were teleported across an inter-
dimensional portal into an underground military research compound. At
the outset of the game, after an indeterminate amount of time has passed
since the end of the first game, you are thrust back into the world to find
that the alien intruders never left and have actually colonized most of the
planet.
         The game takes place in City 17, one of several completely
colonized urban centers left in the world. At the center of the city is the
Citadel, the alien force's headquarters, which is surrounded by a large
modular system of barriers that slowly eats its way outward, consuming
whole buildings. With the Citadel providing constant spatial
obstructions, de Certeau's concept of strategies and tactics becomes
extremely relevant. He defines strategies as "the calculus of force-
relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power
(a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated
from an 'environment.'"[63] A tactic is defined as "a calculus which cannot
count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), not thus on a
borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a
tactic belong to the other."[64]
         With this set of tools, it is easy to view City 17 as a place that
begs the deployment of tactics by the player. At almost every turn during
gameplay, the player is confronted with a frenzied chase or fire fight in a
space that is irregular, cluttered, boxed in or even shifting. One could say
that tactics within *Half-Life 2* work in the movement through the game
space and it would be accurate, but we do not have to stop there. If we
confined our application of tactics to the more or less expected paths of
movement in gameplay, we might fall into the trap of positionalities,
only flitting along preordained routes and positions. And it would not

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[63]   Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1984) xix.
[64]   De Certeau xix.

take full advantage of the real agitation of play. Moving forward, we must grapple with one of Galloway's four moments of gamic action: the non-diegetic operator act.

Galloway defined four distinct acts that can take place in relation to a game that sit along two intersecting axes. These axes are diegetic/non-diegetic (meaning that the act either does or does not take place within the narrative world of the game) and operator/machine (meaning that the act is performed by either the player or the software/hardware).[65] The prime example of a non-diegetic operator act is to pause the game. The act takes place outside, above the game world. In resource management style games such as *Civilization* or *The Sims,* this act constitutes much more of the gameplay than in the FPS. But the non-diegetic operator act can still have profound effects on the experience of the FPS in the form of the cheat. Galloway does not give much weight to the act, as it does sidestep the parameters of gameplay. "Cheats are mostly discouraged by the gaming community, for they essentially destroy traditional gameplay by deviating from the established rule set of a game."[66]

Although cheats can seen as rupturing the very space in which play occurs, we do not have to take the game as an *a priori* premise of play. McKenzie Wark writes, "Rule breaking might also point to a certain limitation in thinking of play within the context of the game. Is the rule breaker still playing the game? Or has the rule breaker discovered that play can exceed the game?"[67] This points back to Derrida's notion of play as an agitation of the field in which play occurs, that play "erases itself as such" when it comes into being. This overflowing of play from the very confines of the established game highlights the importance of cheats and reaffirms our value in the FPS as a space that did hold the potential for cheating in the first place.

Half-Life 2 actually provides an easy method to access cheats through the developer console, a command line window that can be accessed during gameplay by pressing "~". One personal favorite among cheats in Half-Life 2 is the "noclip" command, which allows the character's body to move in any direction, through any surface. This cheat mode brings de Certeau's notion of tactics back into potent relevance for the game, as the player literally becomes unhinged from any constrictive spatial localization. Not only can a player move through the game world in a novel way, but the player's perception, sensing, of

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[65]   Galloway 12.
[66]   Galloway 13.
[67]   McKenzie Wark .

the game world is drastically changed. It is common for most games to
not visually render surfaces that, because of the expected angle of
viewing, will not be seen by the player, in order to cut down on computer
system resource consumption. In a way, this is an exertion of great affect
upon the game world by the player. As we saw with Agent Wilmore in
The X-Files Game, a player's sense of immersion and extended
embodiment are so precarious that the slightest misstep in game design
and performance can tear at the seam. But here, as we see in figure 6, the
player, through their own uncharted movements, ruptures the seams of
the game world's very own spatial integrity. Through movement, the
player encounters drastic, unforeseen effects: backgrounds fade and

*Figure 6. A view of the Nova Prospekt level in
Half-Life 2, seen using the "noclip" cheat.*

flicker, buildings and landscapes disappear and implode, the skybox goes
dark, textures and colors glitch and overlay. Strange things happen; play
overtakes the game.68

      Moving forward from space, we will see how the FPS can also
agitate a player's encounter with scales. In gameplay, the player quickly
comes up against forces that are of an unseen and almost unimaginable

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68   In three-dimensional game, the sky (and often other faraway
environmental elements, such as mountains or skylines) are rendered as images
on the inside of a giant box, the "skybox," that surrounds the space of gameplay.

scale (extra-planetary and extra-dimensional). The point of the game is revolution. In a nutshell, the player must, as Gordon Freeman, perform catalytic acts that build toward a massive uprising against the alien force, called the Combine. In *Welcome to the Desert of the Real,* Slavoj *Žižek* writes that nostalgia around memories of revolution, failed revolutions in particular, is the manifest longing to relive those revolutions and redeem the failures. Past failures to act, or to act properly, he claims, constantly haunt a dissatisfied present. "We should therefore accept the paradox that, in order to really forget an event, we must first summon up the strength to remember it properly." This seems to suggest a kind of preferential inevitability to certain outcomes of revolutionary actions. "In order to account for this paradox, we should bear in mind that the opposite of *existence* is not nonexistence, but *insistence*: that which does

Figure 7. View of of the Citadel,
headquarters of the Combine in Half-Life 2.

not exist, continues to insist, striving toward existence."[69] Although Žižek often eschews concepts of Deleuze's, does this not resonate with the Deleuzian ontology of the real as encompassing the actual and the virtual (or that which exists and that which insists upon existing)? I ask

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[69]   Slavoj *Žižek, "Passions of the Real, Passions of Semblance," Welcome to the Desert of the Real,* (London: Verso,
        2002)22.

this to indicate that Žižek's take on the issue of nostalgia and preoccupation with revolution is not incommensurate with our approach to becoming, thus far.

Through the practice of gameplay, the player is kept in a state of tension constantly, scurrying through urban rubble and evading enemies. The prosaic, mundane tasks that the player must perform within the game can create a sense of work for the player, not exactly escape. Timothy Welsh argues that a similar process occurs in the Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas video game. "It is the very function and definition of leisure to feel like a break from the obligations of the everyday, like a time of freedom, 'free time' to indulge oneself as one please."70 But, using Lefebvre's notion of leisure and labor being bound in a coterminous relationship, necessitating each other, leisure will always be built

Figure 8: View from airliner cockpit looking at the World Trade Center, taken from the pilot episode of *The Long Gunmen,* broadcast March 2001.71

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70   Timothy Welsh, "Everyday Play: Cruising for Leisure in San Andreas," The Meaning and Culture of Grand Theft Auto, ed. Nate Garrelts (Jefferson, NC:McFarland and Company, 2006) 133.
71   "The Long Gunmen Episode 1: Pilot," PlaguePuppy's Cafe 07 June, 2010
<http://www.plaguepuppy.net/public_html/Lone%20Gunmen/final%20approach%20%20-%20%20yves%20steps%20in.asf>

obversely around labor, referring to it. As such, Welsh notes, "Elements like eating, dating, working, etc, reference the everyday and thereby set up a contrast to the non-everyday elements like murder, theft, prostitution, etc, constituting the virtual San Andreas."72 In other words, for anomalies to be anomalous, there must by a less novel context established, as Hayles described in regard to information, randomness and mutation.

Phillip Thurtle and Robert Mitchell write that comic books perform several important imaginative tasks for us: they hold a store of novel permutations of catastrophe and they allow us to engage these catastrophes that occur on an industrial scale (through the body of the superhero) from our position in a human scale. 73 They cite the coincidence of the 9/11 catastrophe and the publishing of the Superman comic, issue 596, as an example, not of an "insistent" Real which emerges through violence, but of the potency of this "database, accessible in everyday experience, of extreme or novel experiences."74 Of course, comic books do not have a monopoly on media that, in hindsight, seem to have anticipated the events of 9/11. From action movie plots to album covers, there were countless specters of such an event. The pilot episode of The Lone Gunmen, a spin-off of the popular X-Files that aired in May of 2001, depicted a government plot to increase arms sales by deliberately flying a commercial airliner into the World Trade Center.

Knowing that the FPS can also provide a store of novel experiences, what sets it apart? The difference in resonance with comic book and an FPS, for instance, is similar to the distinction between the alienating point-of-view shots in film and the immersion in a game such as Prey: actionable space. Thurtle and Mitchell write, "Superheroes enable a 'kaleidoscopic' experience of modernity not by normalizing, but rather by establishing links between different scales."75 In a game concerned with such grand disaster as global alien invasion, the protagonist can not be called anything other than a superhero. In the climax of Half-Life 2, Freeman must explode the Combine's dark energy generator, located at the top of the Citadel, so that no alien reinforcements can travel through their portal.76 The action required of

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72   Welsh 133.
73   Thurtle and Mitchell 281.
74   Thurtle and Mitchell 270.
75   Thurtle and Mitchell 281.
76   Coincidentally, in the follow-up episodes of the game, the exploded Citadel bears an eerie resemblance to the slumped and smoldering towers of the World Trade Center when it was attacked.

the player must be undertaken with a human, albeit gamic, body, but the
results are nothing less than could be expected from Superman himself.
But now, not only has the body of the hero become immaterial (as a node
between tensions of scale), but it has become reinvested in the material
through the extended embodiment experienced and projected by the
player.

The player has become not repositioned, but unpositioned,
experiencing the movement and affect that a superhero would feel if a
superhero could feel. The player's body (the character) has become the
connective, interstitial tissue that exerts force on a variety of scales. As
such, the feeling, the sense experienced by the player is that which is not
only unimaginable, but untenable in everyday life. The affective capacity
offered by the FPS takes up the charge held by acts like playing Indian,
not just by attempting to feel the world as that who I am not, but by
feeling different worlds as that which cannot live: the virtual.

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Acknowledgements

Joseph Thompson
Comparative History of Ideas, Music
josephbenjaminthompson@gmail.com

My research interests, at the moment, lie somewhere near the intersection of ethnic studies, critical race theory, new media and critical theory, specifically in regards to examining the myriad factors involved in the development of identities. I will begin the graduate program in American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin in autumn 2010.

Geoeconomic Strategies of North and South Korea: Free Economic Zones as Spatial Fix

Kavit Tural Sumud

Abstract

This paper examines the geoeconomic discourses surrounding the development of the North Korean Kaesong Industrial Complex, a free economic zone six miles north of the Demilitarized Zone that separates the Koreas. In particular, I examine the way academic literature, media and governmental reports frame Kaesong as a modality where the two Koreas can meet in preparation for eventual reunification. These discourses promote a performative, imaginary geography replete with an active negotiation of border articulation envisioned through an economic flatness and promoted by trade. Instead, as governmental reports from both sides of the Pacific tacitly accept the longevity of the North Korean regime, as well as recognize the political and economic costs of what Korean reunification would entail, a push by the Korean governments has been made for maintaining the geopolitical status quo on the peninsula. This is done by putting development within Kaesong under terms of a détente, sustained by the legacies of imperial geographies, and through which all state motives and discourses for development in Kaesong should be reexamined. I find that my framing captures the real considerations of regional and foreign powers, multinational corporations and the geostrategic interests of North and South Korea, but are otherwise absent. By augmenting the dominant discourse, my paper points towards unseen ramifications of the contemporaneous transformation of the two Koreas, which had been formerly caught in Cold War geopolitical scripts, but have become self-motivated geoeconomic actors utilizing these scripts to negotiate the terms of their own development logics within neoliberal governance strategies.

Introduction

Six miles across the demilitarized zone that separates the two Koreas lay the Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC). Comprising an area of less than 25 square miles, the KIC is a free trade zone that serves as an 'oasis of capitalism' in a 'decrepit' Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) economy that is one of the last remainders of the 'Cold War' Newsweek 2005; Nanto and Manyin 2008). The KIC started as a 'win-win' for the DPRK economy (Yonhhap 2009; Nanto and Manyin 2008) —a 'queer' (Eon-Sang 2009) highly symbolic joint industrial project' (Nanto and Manyin 2008), whose aim is, as the slogan goes,

'Korean co-prosperity' (Young-bong 2009). However, in March 2009, the North Koreans began to indefinitely hold captive a South Korean employed within the KIC (Al-Jazeera 2009; Atlanta Journal-Constitution 2009). The South Korean worker, only identified by his surname of Yoo, has been held on a number of charges, including denouncing the DPRK system and encouraging a female employee to defect from the country.

Outrage rose from the Republican of Korea's government (ROK), headed by conservative leader Lee Myung-Bak, who demanded release of the worker for future promise of the continued security of the KIC's operation. South Korean media has been ablaze with editorials claiming that the DPRK has 'broken a basic agreement on guaranteeing non-disenfranchisement of the right to body, residence and ownership and assuring the basic rights of South Koreans under probe' (Dong Al-Ibo 2009). North Korea has largely stayed silent on the issue, and views the topic of the DPRK worker separate from other issues that they have over the development of the KIC. These concerns came to a head on May 15th, 2009 with the annulment of all contracts in the KIC by DPRK leader King Jung-Il. Kim wants a re-make of the area that better benefits the North and its workers, citing rampant abuse of land lease contracts and underpayment of DPRK workers. He demands unconditional acceptance of the new contracts by the South (JoongAng Daily 2009). The ROK's reaction to the situation was that the North held an 'unjustifiable attitude and [should] withdraw the announcement' (Korea Times 2009).

How did it come to this? How did a win-win situation result in a stalemate that has the North telling the 101 Korean companies stationed in the KIC that they 'are free to go' if they choose not to negotiate (JoongAng Daily 2009)? And who, in this incredibly complex situation, is right here? As a recent article in the Korean JoongAng Daily put it, debate over Inter-Korean relations can follow mathematician Blaise Pascal's axiom, 'A meridian decides the truth.' (JoongAng Daily 2009)—meaning that truth can change by degrees, and it depends from which angle one is looking at. By that logic, it is my belief that the debate over Yoo by the ROK and KIC contracts by the DPRK represents a scenario where the workers inside Kaesong have become geopoliticized, held up as symbols of each country's geoeconomic strategy.

These strategies have a multi-faceted history, which is crucial to understanding the situation outside the scenario painted in biased Western media. My paper will discuss how recent trends in South Korean development attempt to redefine space in the DPRK for its own economic development serve as the root cause of the situation.

Specifically, I will look at the placement of Kaesong as the third node in an envisioned Incheon-Seoul-Kaesong growth triangle that bears remarkable—though more covert—similarity to that previously undertaken in the Malaysia-Indonesia-Singapore triangle (Sparke et al. 2004). South Korea redefinition of space in the KIC in the context of the growth triangle, is a chance to enshrine the area in neoliberal reforms and make it a 'site where capitalism and market economy merge with a socialist planned economy to create a third economic order' (Eon-Sang 2009). This is, in my belief a direct attempt to exploit the workers of the DPRK to position the ROK as a competitive manufacturing center in the Northeast Asian regional economy. Thereby, my paper will detail how the neoliberalization of the ROK economy, as well as capital's spatial fix, has led to the development of Kaesong and increasing inter-Korean relations. Most importantly, I seek to examine realities of both the North and South Korean arguments over Kaesong and the workers inside it outside the paradigms of western international relations.

Geo-economic Scripting of the ROK and DPRK Economies

Understanding Kaesong requires placing its nascent development inside of broader geoeconomic scripts about the Korean peninsular economy in general as well as its import in Korea's ranking within the Northeast Asian economy. This is not the angle taken by most scholars, who have instead focused on the role that DPRK economic development plays in providing security to the South Koreans, be it freedom from nuclear fear (Gardner 2006; Beal 2005; Lee 2004) or fears about an eventual diasporic rush into the country of DPRK migrants in the case of the nation's collapse (Lee 2004; Nanto and Manyin 2008; Wijekoon 2008). However, while the nuclear issue has been covered in considerable detail, I, like the ROK workers and businesses based in Kaesong believe, that there is 'no imminent risk of war' (Business Week 2009). It is a telling note that in a week which included the rescission of a truce that ended the 1950-1953 Korean War, as well as underground nuclear testing, that share prices in Seoul actually rose 2.2% the day of the news and stayed relatively unchanged the next day, with the key economic indicator of the Kopsi, actually rising .3% (Business Week 2009). Businesses in Kaesong, contacted for their opinion on the 'threat' from the DPRK say that 'people in Korea and those who closely follow the Korean question have learned lessons from Pyongyang's numerous provocations…[and] there's absolutely no sign of panic or even worries in factories at Kaesong' (Business Week 2009).

Focusing on the nuclear issue is a paradigm of worry that is decidedly Western, one that tacitly ignores the fact South Koreans have

in general come to accept a nuclear Korea (Harts-Landsberg 2004; Lim 2006) as well as see unification of the Koreas as an eventuality (Gardner 2006; Nanto 2008; Harts-Landsberg 2006; Kim and Moussawi 2006; Lim 2008; Suhk-Sam 2004). In my research, I have found instead that the geoeconomic significance of the KIC is of greater importance to the South Korean people, both locally and where they see themselves placed internationally.

The integral question behind the birth of the KIC, is why a *free* trade economic zone in a country that is portrayed as an isolated economy with impassable controls on all monetary transactions? While some assert that the KIC is a 'visible economic bridge' between the capitalist South and the socialist North (Suhk-Sam 2004), intonating that it is the North's choice to open its economy (for a variety of reasons discussed later), with the South Koreans tagging along. My view is that KIC's development has not occurred within a vacuum, and instead is a part of the greater economic plan of the South Korean government.

South Korea's Turn towards Neoliberalism and Crisis Economics

This plan can be illustrated through the free economic zones (FEZs) in South Korea that serve as precursor to the KIC as well as providing the necessity of its development. The two most prominent FEZs are Yeoudio (based in the Han River in Seoul) and the Incheon Free Economic Zone (IFEZ). The dominance of China in the manufacturing section of Northeast/East Asia, has led countries like Korea, to specialize in intermediary activities such as financial centers, logistics, and research and design (Lee 2005). The presence of Japan, the world's second largest economy, and China, the region's monolith of an economic engine, in the area has Korea reeling for an advantage.

How does Korea then come from behind to compete regionally? It goes decidedly local, refashioning its urban centers to compete for mobile capital. Unlike Keynesian/Fordist economics which hoped that the industrialization of urban areas would lead to the development of the national periphery (Brenner 1998), traditional Korea development plans centered on the dispersal of economic activity to prevent clustering (Lee 2005, Rimmer 2004). For foreign investors, this had been one of their largest complaints (Rimmer 2004). Other past criticisms of the Korean government included: in house activity of logistics, rigid financial regulation and high taxes, and strict labour laws (Lee 2005, Rimmer 2004, Kim & Bang, 2003).
Foreign 'criticism' should be measured against the fact that the main 'concern' of the investors in bringing FDI to Korea was that the country had not accepted conditions of capital account liberalization (CAL). The

country had been developing at a rather high rate through the 1970s-1980s based on government restricted controls of capital (Harts-Landsberg 2004; Singh 2000). However, when the Kim Young-Sam government pushed to admit the country into the OECD in the 1990s, problems started to arise. The OECD requires its nations to meet certain guidelines, including 'the agreement to pursue efforts to reduce or abolish obstacles to the exchange of goods and services and current payments and maintain and extend the liberalization of capital movements (Singh 2000). CAL opened the doors for 'reckless borrowing and lending by the Korean commercial banks, merchant banks, and other financial institutions that subsequently led to the financial crisis of 1997' (Singh 2000).

As well as the entrance into OECD, the Korean economy pre-1997 crash suffered from a long history of US and Japanese involvement. In recent work by Korean Scholar Martin Hart-Landsberg, he mentions the complicated growth dynamics behind the Korean economy from the post-Korea war era to the 1997 financial crisis (Hart-Landsberg 2004). While this paper will not cover everything in this history, it will hit on what I believe are some of the key points in turning the tide to the creation of IFEZ and the liberalization of South Korea.

Initially, the South Korean government pursued a 'self reliant economy' built upon import substitution, but the initial costs of such an undertaking and the country's low level of critical infrastructure would have necessitated a large trade deficit that the US was unwilling to fund. Japan, fearing a major competitor in the region, also nixed the idea (Hart-Landsberg 2004). Instead, both the US and Japanese government pushed the Korean economy to adopt an export-oriented growth economy and Korean willingness to do so provided them with substantial loans, grants, and commercial credits from the two foreign governments to ensure the country's rapid industrialization (Hart-Landsberg 2004). However, the growth of the Korean export industry and the challenge it presented the US, as well as a growing trade surplus (at its highest 7.3 billion), made the US pressure Korea to 'drop its tariffs, end it quantitative restriction on imports, liberalize its service sector, and improve its protection of international property rights' (Hart-Landsberg 2004). Fearing the loss of the US market, the Korean economy took some initial steps in the early 1990s, with the most dramatic being their entrance into OECD.

US involvement surrounding the Korean financial crisis was twofold, yet essential to its occurrence. The US devalued the Yen, which caused Japan to regionalize its production into southeast Asia and China, helping to develop China as a manufacturing center and pressuring the Korean manufacturers; and second, even though their actions essentially

required Korea to join OECD to remain 'competitive', the US threatened to block their entry if the government did open its financial markets for the benefit of US banks and brokerages (Kristof and Sanger; Hart-Landsberg 2004). Additionally, when the financial crisis was in its beginning stages, the IMF sent a diplomat named Hubert Neiss to Seoul. However 'it soon became apparent that the deal Neiss was negotiating would fail to satisfy one interested party—the US Treasury' (Bluestein 2001; Hart-Landsberg 2004). To prevent this, the US sent Treasury Undersecretary David Lipton to monitor the agreement, which he later stalled, allowing the crisis to deepen. The crisis that could have had its impact lessened was now full blown and ripe for disaster capitalism (Hart-Landsberg 2004; Klein 2006). The election of Korean president Kim Dae-Jung, enshrined the reforms of the IMF, and started the process of liberalizing the nation's economy—much to the benefit of the US.

This brings us back to IFEZ. The new 'model of growth for the Korean economy' to meet IMF guidelines is right out of the neoliberal toolbox (Business Korea 2007). The Korean economy is currently being transformed from 'traditional industries to high-tech and high value industries through foreign investments' (Business Korea 2007). On November 14th, 2002, the Korean Congress 'passed the *Act on the Designation and Operation of Free Economic Zones* and in August 2003, the government designated a part of the city of Incheon as the first major free economic zone in Korea. Subsequently the neighboring Busan/Jinhae (BFEZ) and Gwanyang Bay Area (GFEZ) zones were also created. The government, however, did not initially advertise the legislation as that of the 'Act on free economic zones, but was announced as the Act on special economic zones' (Lee 2005). Thereby, free economic zones in Korea are considered 'as being equivalent of special economic zones,' which have existed in China since 1979—a result of that country's 'open door policy.' However, in a race to the bottom to differentiate IFEZ from China for reasons beyond geographic advantage, the government's policies for the zones are trying to be unequivocally more business friendly than those found in China (Rimmer 2004).

In fact, within IFEZ, the Korean government's '#1 keyword for conducting affairs is "business friendly", that is, supporting business-friendly policy' (Business Korea 2008). Benefits of the zones include 'tax friendly incentives and exemptions from labour laws' (Business Korea 2008). IFEZ exempts its participants from tariffs and reductions in corporate and income taxes for a period of up to three years based on the level of investment. Paid vacation time and menstruation leave, staples of Korean labour law, are also exempt for investors. The gamble seems to

be paying off. Since the enactment and development of IFEZ and the
2007 Korea-USA free trade agreement, investment has started to pour
into the area. Since inception, IFEZ has gathered 37 billion in FDI from
companies such as GM Daewoo, AMEX, DHL, Gale International,
POSCO, Portman Holdings, and Vaxgen (Business Korea 2008).
        IFEZ was not the Korean government's first foray into free
economic zones. As political squabbles and decisions over the details of
IFEZ, BFEZ and GFEZ were being worked out, the Korean government
established the Yeoudio district in Seoul (Rimmer 2004). However,
while the zone did prosper, it was considered quite small (Business
Korea 2008). Capital's spatial fix had outgrown Yeoudio, and the Korean
government, seeking an outlet, worked ever more diligently on IFEZ.
The creation of IFEZ then, is also an example of how capitalism is
dependent on the 'production of space' (Brenner and Theodore 2002)
and is 'a ruthless destroyer in which old structures are placed by more
powerful competitors, more efficient forms of production, more
appealing commodities' (Friedmann 2002). IFEZ's creation, though,
takes the ruthless destruction of space to an 'unprecedented level' (Lee
2005). To create IFEZ the Korean government developed land
reclamation policies to take back whole sections of Incheon from
indigenous populations and created whole new mini cities in previously
'undeveloped', but isolated areas. This extreme method shows the
seriousness of the government's actions, and how much the progress of
the economy relies on the development of the country's urban areas.
Korea's moves are an attempt to rescue the nation from 'entropic decline,
as it announces the arrival of new cultural heroes (entrepreneurs)
(Friedmann 2002; Robinson 2004).

Creation of and Labor Issues around Kaesong
        But why this seeming tangent on IFEZ and South Korea?
Doesn't the DMZ act as a buffer between the two Koreas, limiting
interaction, especially economic activity? The answer is that Kaesong's
propinquity as well as crucial complimentary factors for Korean
development makes it a regionalist spatial fix for the South. Urban
development limits had constrained Seoul from developing. Specifically
a factory limit location 'in the Seoul metropolitan area, established to
control overpopulation, the only two areas near the capital that allow for
this type of foreign investment [manufacturing] are the Incheon Free
Economic Zone and the KIC (Lim 2008). Since IFEZ had already been
developed as a logistics center for the country, (with some high skilled
labor manufacturing located in one of its zones), Korea still needed an
area in which to produce low skilled goods in order to increase its

standing in the Northeast Asian Economy. In a classic case of the growth triangle scenario, then, Kaesong found its purpose.

Starting in December 1998 and 1999, Chung Ju-young, the former Chairman of Hyundai-Asan, a major Korean chaebol, presented to both Korean governments his West Coast Industrial Development Plan (Suhk-sam 2004). After much discussion, and a variety of proposed sites on the part of both governments, The Kaesong area was chosen[1]. In August 2000, an agreement was made between both Koreas and Hyundai-Asan, with the latter actor being responsible for the construction of 'an industrial park of 20-40 million pyong[2] (Suhk-sam 2004). While the project was initially designed as a private economic cooperation, due to subsequent funding difficulties on the part of Hyundai-Asan, some of the rights to the project were handed over to the Korean Land Corporation, a branch of the South Korean government (Suhk-sam 2004).   The groundbreaking ceremony for the park and plans for its development did not occur until June 30, 2003, with construction beginning in April 2004 (Lim 2008). During 2000-2003 the Korean governments worked on ironing out details such as: ensuring free passage across the DMZ and on establishing tax, accounting, banking, and labor laws to be applied to the KIC (Kim and Moussawi 2007).

The KIC was designated a 'duty free zone, with no restriction on the use of foreign currency or credit cards and no visa required for entry or exit' (Nanto 2008). Additionally, 'property and inheritance rights are ensured, south Korean lawbreakers are not to go on trial in the North, the corporate tax rate is 10 to 14% [China's is 15%] with an exemption for the first five years after generating profits and a 50% reduction for the ensuing three years (Nanto and Manyin 2008). Corporate income tax is paid to the DPRK government. Wages for workers are set at $57.50 dollars a month (minimum wage+ social insurance fee of 15%) (Nanto and Manyin 2008; Yoon 2007). These wages are supposed to be paid in cash to the North Korean workers, but instead are given to a central North Korean government body, who distributes an unknown amount of money the workers. Estimates have the gross salaries of workers at anywhere from 3 to 33 dollars (Nanto and Manyin 2008).

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[1] It should be noted that during this discussion, the North Koreans offered the Shindig area, which is along the Chinese-North Korean border. In previous engagements with China, North Korea had hoped to develop this area, but due to the high costs of initial investment as well as little interest on the part of the Chinese, the plan failed (Lim 2008, Lee 2004). The significance of Kaesong's location will be discussed further along.

[2] 1 pyong: 3.954 square yard.

All of these incentives are considerably more advantageous for
Korean companies investing in Kaesong, than if they had done so in
China. With similarities in language, communicating to hired workers is
easier than overcoming linguistic barriers in China, and Vietnam.
However, is that wages paid to Kaesong workers is roughly half to a
third paid in China ($100-$200), less than Vietnam ($60) and eight
percent that paid to Korean workers in the Seoul area (Lim 2008, Nanto
and Manyin 2008).

At present, 101 South Korean firms operate 'in the industrial
park', with a total of 20,000 DPRK workers. The zone was generating
close to 841 million dollars in profit a year (Kim and Moussawi);
however, plans were to have these numbers expand rapidly by 2012-
2015. Goals by the Hyundai-Asan company were to have 1,500 South
Korean companies functioning by 2012 employing some 350,000 DPRK
workers and profits produced by these workers exceeding that of 4
billion (Nanto and Manyin 2008). Economic affects for the ROK include
value added income amounting to 3.4% of GNI, and the creation of ten
thousand job positions, which totals about 4.6% of the 'economically
active' population (Yoon 2007). Other economic affects for the DPRK
include gross income of $.6 Billion (3.3% of GNI) and the possibility for
creation of jobs that will amount to 6.14% of the 'economically active'
population'.

Experiences of companies already placed in the KIC during the
pilot project and first phase are illuminating. The ROK (through its Inter
Korea cooperation fund) 'offered companies that establishes their
operations in the KIC […] loans with low interest rates equal to those
applied to public works projects, in the amount of about 40 million as of
the end of 2005 (Nanto and Manyin 2008). Most companies there 'use
labour-intensive manufacturing processes' producing low quality goods
like textiles and appliances. Raw materials are shipped from Incheon and
manufactured in Kaesong. Produced goods then travel over the DMZ
tariff-free to reach their primary destinations of Russia and China.

As an example of why this process is advantageous to ROK
companies, let's look at the ShinWon clothing company. ShinWon set up
shop in the KIC 'to take advantage of the dexterity and lower cost of
[DPRK] workers, favorable logistics, and to avoid no tariff barriers in
China and Southeast Asia' (Nanto and Manyin 2008). Manufacturing in
the KIC approximately 16% of five of its clothing lines there 'it expects
to accrue considerable savings in production costs', a benefit which the
ShinWon Company considers to be 'optimal when compared to those it
has in China, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Guatemala.' In this one example
{amongst many} we see the growth triangle at work. Sponsored and

subsidized by Seoul, the ShinWon took a risky prospect in developing in Kaesong but chose it because of the favorable logistics that could be provided in Incheon/IFEZ and produced by 'dexterous hands' at a low cost in the DPRK.

On a special note, throughout my reading, I have noticed numerous examples of ROK companies acting genuinely 'surprised' at the 'dexterity', ability of DPRK workers to learn, and their productivity levels—which they assumed would be lower for reasons that can only lie in deep seated, quasi orientalist notions of workers in socialist countries. The language used to describe DPRK workers by South Korean writers rings eerily similar to the 'nimble fingers' themes that promote the use of Southeast Asian and Latin American women (Elson and Pearson 1981, Barrientos 1996; Spark et al 2004). It assumes that North Korea has been isolated and its people are unaware of technology, and thereby suited quite well to menial, repetitive tasks. This is a wrong assumption, as will be seen below in the section of North Korea.

A Third Economic Order

As has been shown, the ROK development model of free economic zones is integral to the continued growth of the ROK state. It is these pressures, however, that are placed on the Kaesong workers. Development in Kaesong is often described by those in the ROK as a carrot in its overall 'sunshine policy', enacted under President Kim Dae-Jung, which seeks to promote inter-Korean relationships with economic cooperation rather than sanctions and military threats. The sunshine policy has 'broad support amongst South Koreans [and] the KIC has become the centerpiece of the [ROK's] plan to engage the North (Kim and Moussawi 2007). Kaesong is a beginning step to what the Economist Intelligence Unit, a branch of *The Economist* sourced by the US government in their report to Congress on the KIC, claims are the 'three crying needs' the DRPK economy needs: deeper market reforms, greater openness, and above all, massive investment to modernize decrepit plant and infrastructure'[3]. It is my belief, that the story of South Korean worker Yoo is the way that President Lee Myung-Bak can push for further such reforms, as well as make the KIC a more self-sustaining process---absent the heavy subsidization it now receives.

However, this argument of the DPRK's needs begins with completely misconceived assumptions about the DPRK economy as well as its relations with other nations. Much to the chagrin of the United

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[3] The Economist Intelligence Unit. Country Report, North Korea, May 2007. P.13. Sourced in CSR Report to Congress, Nanto and Manyin2008.

States, the DPRK is anything but isolated. The DPRK has formalized
diplomatic and commercial relations with over 150 nations; has (with the
support of China) revamped its infrastructure, including mining facilities;
and in 2008 its gross income rose nearly 30% to 40 Billion (Newsweek
2009). For the myth of the DPRK making its money from the black
market, drug and arms deals, while the DPRK has sold missiles to Iran,
Syria and Pakistan, this accounts for only 100 million of its GNI, with
drugs and other black market activity adding very little to that total
(Newsweek 2009)[4]. For a further look at the increasing economic
activity of the DPRK with its neighbors, see figure 1 in the Appendix.

Additionally, if we take a closer look at the projected benefits of
the KIC, we can see they aren't that influential in comparison for either
the ROK or the DPRK. Economic affects for the ROK include value
added income amounting to 3.4% of GNI, and the creation of ten
thousand job positions, which totals about 4.6% of the 'economically
active' population (Yoon 2007). Other economic affects for the DPRK
include gross income of $.6 Billion (3.3% of GNI) and the possibility for
creation of jobs that will amount to 6.14% of the 'economically active'
population' (Yoon 2004). So what then is the reason behind the DPRK's
pullout and the ROK's insistence on funding the expensive initiative?

David Harvey's argument that capital's impulsion to accelerate
its turnover time and eliminate spatial barriers to its circulation process
necessarily entails the production of relatively fixed and immobile spatial
configurations is instructive here (Brenner 2002; Harvey 1982).
Coupling with the neoliberalization of the Korean economy post 1997
financial crisis, and Korea's hope to become a competitive international
logistics/manufacturing hub in the Northeast Asian region, the creation
of IFEZ and Kaesong represent the current machination of capital's
placement in the ROK economy. The growth model of SEZ's,
represented by IFEZ, GFEZ, BFEZ, and the KIC as mentioned earlier,
are capital's attempt in the ROK to fashion a space where certain
economic activities can occur that promulgate the most unhindered path
of development.

The ROK hopes that development in KIC will teach Kim Jung-Il
about 'modern high technology factories […] as well hope the KIC
exposes average North Koreans to modern business methods and to the
accouterment of Western society' (Nanto and Manyin 2008). However,
development in the KIC is not truly aiming for these absurd goals (given

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[4] For a further look at the increasing economic activity of the DPRK with its neighbors, see
figure 1 in the Appendix. and Figure 2 for Economic Trend in North Korea from 1990-
2004.

that Kim Jung-Il has already worked on modernizing his infrastructure), and instead, I believe is engendering and formalizing spaces of uneven development in the DPRK with which the ROK can take future advantage of during (in their view) the inevitable re-unification process between the Koreas.

As Brenner and Theodore have noted in their work on actually existing neoliberalism, 'uneven development is endemic to capitalism as an historical-geographical system: it is a key expression of capital's relentless drive to mobilize particular territories and places as forces of production' (Brenner and Theodore 2002) Hyundai-Asan's planning of Kaesong as an area of low cost, labour intensive manufacturing has promoted and enshrined free economic zones in the DPRK as having a specific purpose in inter-Korean trade, especially with the highly developed roles of Incheon and Seoul as logistic and financial centers, respectively. Due to the actions after the 1997 financial crisis that led to the broadening of Japanese manufacturing to Southeast Asia, as well as the phenomenal rise of China, Korean manufacturing has been looking for an area that it provides it a comparative advantage. Formalizing space in Kaesong and eventually the land that currently contains the DPRK, the Koreans can have an area of cheap land, living standards, and a whole set of workers that could provide the needed advantage they've been seeking after. This process of uneven development [being far from anathema to capitalist states] is

> …associated not only with new opportunities for capital but also with any number of potentially destabilizing effects that may undermine the 'structured coherence' upon which sustainable capital accumulation depends. In response to these persistent dilemmas, capitalist states have mobilized a variety of spatial policies intended to regulate the uneven development of capital. Strategies of territorial development and place promotion may be introduced in order to channel economic capacities into particular locations and scales. Alternatively, strategies of territorial redistribution of industry and population across a particular territory… (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

As the ROK government in the future rescales its governance in the face of broadening neoliberal reforms towards the local level, this signals a 'hollowing out' of national state regulation, and as a consequence a move away from the autocentric national economy that

ruled in Korea during the post-War era (Brenner 1998). As a
consequence, the ROK becomes increasingly reliant upon local
governance and the promotion of sub-scale spaces that push the national
economy. For instance, the actions of Mayor Ahn-Sang Soo of Incheon
and his development plans for IFEZ are crucially important for the health
of the ROK economic growth. Additionally this, coupled with the
Sunshine Policy, puts the ROK in a tough spot to react to the DPRK's
actions towards Kaesong. It was a vast underestimation of the North by
venture capitalists to assume that Kim Jung-Il would not recognize this.

Kim Jung-il, Spatial Fix and The History Of Socialism

Given what we discussed so far, was Kim Jung-il, as the South
sees it, 'unjustified' in his actions to pull out of the KIC contracts? It is
my contention that Kim is using Kaesong and the workers inside it, as an
emblem of his own historical understanding of capitalism and its power
to change nations. When Kim Jung-Il went on his recent, and much
publicized tour of China's special economic zones (especially
Shenzhen), it was heralded as his recognition of the benefits of
capitalism and CAL (Nanto and Manyin 2008) and a 'prelude to reform'
(Lim 2006). As Lim writes 'supporters point to Kim's trip to Shanghai in
January 2001, when he exclaimed that Shanghai had undergone a
cataclysmic transformation and 'changed beyond recognition' as well as
an internal memo released by Kim after his visit as proof (Lim 2006).
Further proof for this position may be given by the increasing ties
between the North Korean and Chinese government—$.49 Billion in
2000 to $1.39 Billion in 2003—which raised China's share in North
Korea's total trade from 20 to 30 percent.

However, moves by Pyongyang over Kaesong should be read
through Kim Jong-Il's historical geographic view of history. While he
may be 'curious about the world outside North Korea, he tends to focus
on technological marvels themselves rather than the institutional
infrastructure4 that has made these technological developments possible'
(Lim 2006). However, most important is Kim's view of the history of
socialism when it interacts with capitalism and the success of regimes in
the aftermath. Kim is 'extremely concerned about his personal safety and
regime stability given the precarious external environment'. Smaller
than a 'typical Chinese province', the DPRK has limited capability in
creating economic reforms in the periphery of its country (Lim 2006),
without it 'creeping' into the center, and overtaking much of the socialist
market philosophy. Kim smartly sees market economy reform as having
a natural tipping point, where once reaching critical mass in a country,
becomes a tide with which one cannot fight against. As the1999 Perry

Report by the US government details 'chances remain slim that Pyongyang will actually go down the path of significant policy adjustments and economic reforms given the potentially far reaching political and social consequences of such action […] the policy team believed that the North Korean regime would strongly resist such reform, viewing it as indistinguishable from a policy of undermining (Lee 2004; Perry 1999).

Kim's recognizes the 'merits of the Beijing Consensus which maintains state leadership and political control while undertaking market-oriented reform', he is more to admire the recent actions by Putin to take back central command of the economy after market reforms have started to occur to prevent the collapse of power (Ram 2004; Lim 2006). He looks at countries in the former CIS their introduction of special economic zones and the irreversibility of market reform on the governments of these countries (Roland and Verdier 1994) and recognizes the creeping control of South Korean market reform. A fate he deftly escapes through some of his 'outlandish actions' (Lim 2006).

Conclusion

Thereby, understanding the geopoliticization of Kaesong requires recognizing a few items about overall Inter-Korean development: the history of neoliberal reform and changing governance in the ROK government, the reality of North Korean economic activity in the world, Kim Jong-Il's viewpoint on history, and the role of capital's spatial fix of overturning and redefining space for its forward movement. Viewing these items synergistically, it is possible to see how workers in the KIC become geopoliticized towards each nation's geoeconomic strategies and beliefs.

The ROK has redefined a space in a foreign country across a demilitarized boundary line that works for its own advantage and seeks to exploit the workers of North Korea. It's a sardonic twist on the general discourse when the country the ROK perceives as 'desperate' and in need of any economic activity it can get, has a leader that recognizes history and fights back against the unfair contracts fashioned in his country. Not to say that the DPRK is an idealized country—far from it— but mainstream analysis forgets that localized economic/labour geographies are much more complex than the languishing Cold War 'god trick' themes that still survive today. Even a military dictatorship can sometimes recognize exploitation.
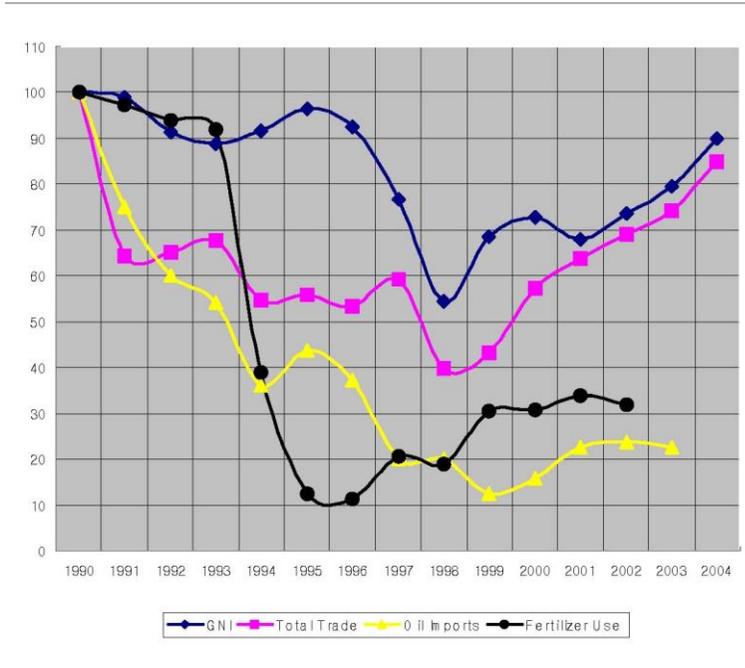
Appendix 1: Graphs of Economic Trends in North Korea

Figure 1. Composition of North Korea's Trade.

Year
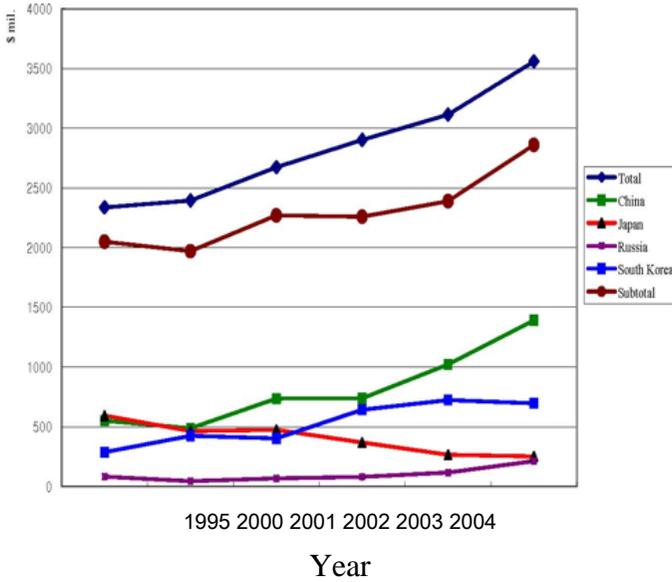
Source: Kotra (www.kotra.or.kr); Ministry of Unification
(www.unikorea.go.kr) Note: "Subtotal" sums up all North Korea's
external trade except its trade with South Korea.

Figure 2. Economic Trends in North Korea, 1990-2004.

Source: North Korea's GNI, trade volume, crude oil imports, and fertilizer use estimates are provided by the Bank of Korea, Kotra and the Ministry of Unification, Korea Energy Economics Institute, and FAO, respectively.
Note: Level values are converted to index numbers and normalized at 100 in base year 1990. Base-year values are as follows: GNI, $23.1 bil.; trade volume, $4.2 bil.; oil imports, 18.5 mil. Barrels; and fertilizer use, 832,000 tons.

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Kavit intends to pursuer a Doctorate in Human Geography with a specialization in Geoeconomics, Free Economic Zones and the Deterritorialization of the State.

Kavit Tural Sumud
Department of Geography
sukavit@u.washington.edu