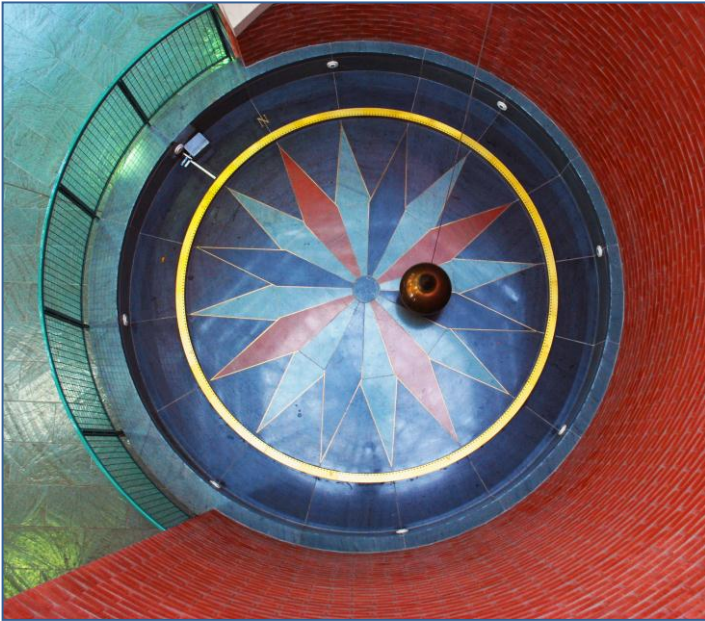


The McNair Scholars Journal  
*of the University of Washington*



Volume XI  
Spring 2012

THE MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

*UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON*



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

One of the great delights of higher education is that it provides young scholars an opportunity to pursue research in a field that interests and engages them. The McNair Scholars Program offers support and opportunity for students to pursue scholarly research, and The *McNair Scholars Journal* plays an important part in that support by publishing their results. The Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity is pleased to publish the eleventh 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 eleventh edition of the University of Washington's *McNair Scholars Journal* to our reading audience. The collective excellence of these seventeen 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, Brooke Cassell and Issa Abdulcadir, 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 eleventh edition of the *McNair Scholars Journal*.

Dr. Gabriel E. Gallardo  
Director, McNair Program  
Associate Vice President for Student Services and Academic Support  
Programs, Office of Minority Affairs

From the  
**Dean of the Graduate School**

It is a privilege to introduce the eleventh 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.

Dr. Gerald J. Baldasty  
Vice Provost and Dean of The Graduate School  
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## **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  
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Volume XI

Spring 2012

**Contents**

Food Access In South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity <i>Teresa Bailey</i>	1
Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students <i>Brukab Sisay</i>	19
Racial Tokenism in Graduate Education: Narratives of African American Women <i>Sharece Corner</i>	37
Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges <i>Bryan Dosono</i>	43
Fracture Resistance of Internal Connection Zirconia Implant Abutments <i>Chastity Dunlap</i>	59
Vasa: Navigating an Ocean of Pacific Islander Knowledge <i>Nestor Tupufia Enguerra Jr.</i>	73
Kumaon Khoj (Discovering Kumaon): An Anthology of Kumaon Experiences <i>Melissa Espinoza</i>	85
Metal Abundance Calibration of the Ca II triplet in RR Lyrae Stars <i>Thomas Gomez</i>	101
Power Increases Pressure to Demonstrate Fairness <i>Albert Han</i>	113
Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance <i>Muhammed Y. Idris</i>	123

Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth <i>Jessica Lusk</i>	141
Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule <i>Dustin Neighly</i>	161
The Digital Revolution: Disability and Social Media <i>Monica Olsson</i>	179
Rice or Cornbread :The Slave at the Dinner Table, Exploring African American Foodways <i>Venetia Ponds</i>	203
Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks <i>Phillip Poonka</i>	217
Identifying Root Sources for the Detroit Public Schools Education Crisis: An Examination of the Evidence <i>Malaika Robinson</i>	245
Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation: Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War <i>Zachary Ramos Smith</i>	257

# **Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity**

Teresa Bailey

## **Abstract**

*The background research conducted focuses on food deserts, the health impact of insufficient access to healthy food options and critiques of alternative food security programs. This background research was used to further a study of food access in South Park. South Park is identified as a food desert in Seattle because residents have limited access to quality food and grocery stores in their neighborhood. A qualitative interview study asks residents of South Park, particularly communities of color and groups in which English is not their primary language, about their perceptions regarding limited access to food and the effectiveness of current food security programs in their neighborhood. The qualitative interview findings are compared to the survey results administered by a local non-profit to understand community member's perceptions of food access in South Park. This has potential to inform food security programs in South Park of residents' perspectives and add to the small pool of research concerned with how effective alternative food programs are in serving the highest-risk communities, low-income communities of color.*

## **Introduction & Background**

Year after year, the U.S. tops the charts of developed nations with nearly two thirds (64.5%) of its population qualifying as obese (AOA, 2005). However these rates are not evenly affecting every racial/ethnic group. African Americans have 51% higher prevalence of obesity, and Hispanics 21% higher compared with non-Hispanic whites (CDC, 2009). A comprehensive review of food deserts, or an area without access to a supermarket or fresh food, explains that the obesity epidemic is disproportionately affecting low-income communities of color because access to quality food is unequal across neighborhoods. An absence of supermarkets results in increased exposure to energy-dense food found at convenience stores and fast food businesses. Findings state that these high-caloric and energy dense foods lead to poorer health outcomes compared to diets available at supermarkets supplying fiber and whole food options (Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). A study analyzing zip codes throughout the United States—representative of

more than 28,000 zip codes—shows low-income areas as having only 75% of the accessibility to supermarkets that their middle-income neighbors enjoy (Larsen, Story & Nelson, 2008). The study also finds that Latino-majority neighborhoods have only 32% of the access that White-majority neighborhoods receive (Larsen, Story & Nelson, 2008). These statistics illustrate that access to food is unequal at the expense of people of color. It is disconcerting that low-income communities of color are being denied the basic human right of food, consequently having higher morbidity due to obesity related diseases.

The root cause of this inequality is conceptualized in a few ways. One perspective focuses on the need for education about how to eat quality food that will not cause negative health outcomes. Others focus on structural barriers such as discriminatory redlining, which pose an immense challenge to businesses sustainability in low-income communities of color. Additionally, lower property values and purchasing power in certain neighborhoods due to white flight, explains the unequal distribution of supermarkets (Guthman, 2008). The response to the issue of unequal food access can be seen in the efforts of the food justice movement. “The concept of food justice contextualizes disparate access to healthy food within a broader and more historicized framework of institutional racism” (Alkon & Norgoord, 2009, 291).

The focus of the food justice movement consists of improving access through alternative food practice that increases the availability of fresh organic produce, concentrating on education that instills a particular culture of eating. The alternative food practice manifests itself in farmers markets, community supported agriculture (CSA), the local food movement and farm-to-school programs. These projects are addressing a public health crisis. However, how effective are these programs in serving the highest-risk communities: low-income communities of color?

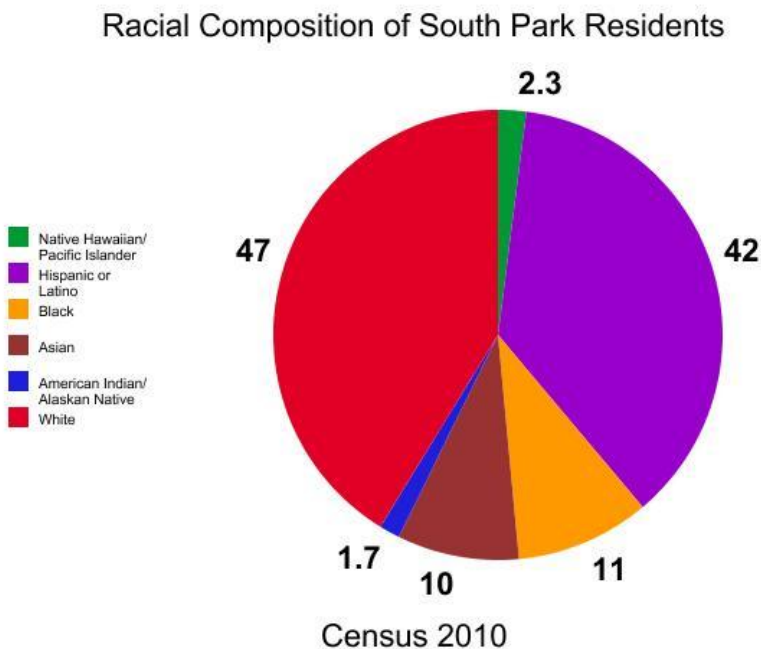
Though the movement is well intentioned, some literature argues that there is a disconnect between the subjects of the alternative food practice, and those who it targets. Guthman critically reflects on the color-blindness and universalism of the alternative food practice participants. She comments that, “together, the research speaks to how many of these projects reflect white desires and missionary practices” (Guthman, 2008, pg 394). A study of the demographics at farmers markets finds that whites comprise 75% of the customer base, clearly showing that farmers markets are a white space (Payne, 2002). Guthman argues that these spaces are not only occupied by white bodies, but also racially insensitive perspectives held by the alternative food movement alienate and offend the communities that the projects are meant to serve

## Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity

(Guthman, 2008). What Guthman and other researchers have identified concerning a lack of anti-racist practice within the alternative food programs is problematic as it likely compromises the efficacy of these projects and potentially causes more harm than good. Anti-racist practice is a commitment to working towards racial equity by being critical aware of social identities and environment, and acting accordingly. It is a perspective that is invaluable in the efforts of eliminating race based health disparities. In an effort to further Guthman and others research, this study interviews resident of South Park, Seattle about their perceived access to food and the effectiveness of the local food security programs.

### *South Park*

South Park is a neighborhood in South Seattle, located near the Duwamish River. It is a small residential neighborhood surrounded by a large industrial sector. According to the Census 2000 data, the population was 3,708, making it one of the smallest residential neighborhoods in King County. It is a diverse community with a high white and Latino population; demographics of South Park are located in Figure 1.



*Figure 1. Racial Composition of South Park Residents 2000*

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Within South Park there are multiple organizations involved with food security and access, including Lettuce Link, Providence Regina Food Bank and Environmental Coalition of South Seattle (ECOSS). Lettuce Link is a food security program whose work in South Park surrounds their giving garden on Marra Farm, located in South Park. The produce grown on Marra Farm is donated to the local food bank, Providence Regina food bank. The Providence Regina food bank is an integral source of food for both residents and non-residents traveling to South Park. Within the Providence Regina building is the office of ECOSS, who is the fiscal sponsor of the Healthy Food Project in South Park. The Healthy Food Project is on a two-year grant and includes Lettuce Link, Community Coalition for Environmental Justice and the Pea-Patch as collaborators on the project. The goal of the Healthy Food Project is to address health inequalities by providing access to healthy choices of food. As part of the Healthy Food Project, ECOSS administered a survey of South Park residents to assess access to food and what changes residents desire. Details are provided later regarding this aspect of their project.

## **Methods**

### *Qualitative Study*

A purposive sample was recruited consisting of South Park residents who varied in race/ethnicity, gender and age in attempt to provide the opportunity for the diverse residents of South Park to voice their thoughts concerning food access. Snowball sampling was used, beginning with clients and volunteers of Providence Regina Food Bank, consequently the interview sample consisted mostly of low-income individuals. South Park has a high Latino population, hence it was important to conduct some of the interviews in Spanish to gather the voice of those residents. A Spanish translator, a resident of South Park, was used in three of the interviews. A total of fourteen interviews were conducted. Participants were asked questions regarding their access to food, ideas for improvement and their experiences with the food security programs in South Park and community project engagement more broadly (see Appendix A for the interview guide). All interviews were recorded then tapings reviewed multiple times; notes were taken to code general themes and to extract direct quotes.

### *ECOSS Food Access Survey*

The goal of the survey was to assess where South Park residents get their groceries, and what project they think is valuable in improving

## Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity

food access. The purpose was to guide the Healthy Food Project in effectively meeting the food access needs of the South Park community. The survey was constructed by the ECOSS staff in collaboration with the staff of Lettuce Link (see Appendix B for a copy of the survey). The survey was distributed at the food bank, door-to-door and online via a convenience sample of South Park residents (N=141).

### Results

Following are the results integrating both the qualitative interviews and survey data.

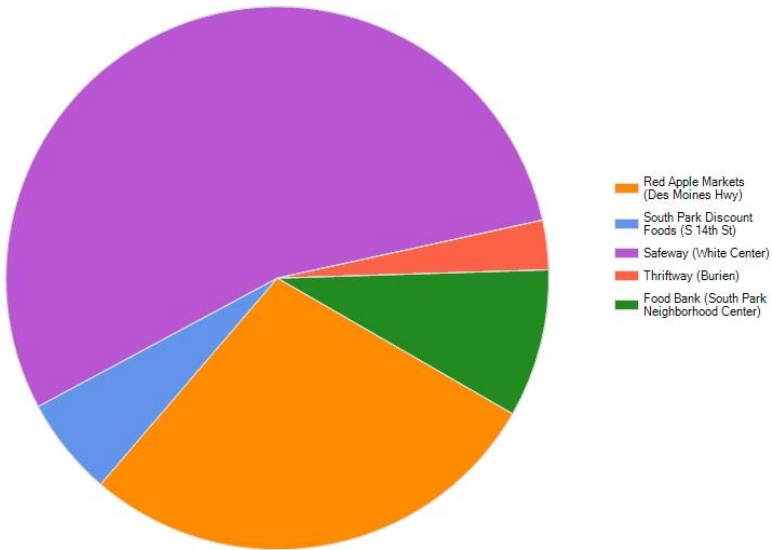
#### *Framing Food Access in South Park*

The most frequent answer to the question “where do you source your groceries?” mentioned large grocery stores in neighborhoods outside South Park (White Center, Burien) and Providence Regina Food Bank in South Park. The Providence Regina Food Bank was described as a dependable food source and especially helpful for low-income residents. The food bank however is only open twice a week, and each day has mainly different clientele and was described as supplemental to the food necessary for an entire week. White Center and Burien were popular locations because of their bus access and nearness to South Park, but also for the competitive prices the grocery stores in White Center and Burien can provide.

A few mentioned Red Apple or three convenient stores within South Park as a food source. Those who described the convenient stores as their main source of food and sufficient in what they provide were not individuals providing food for their family, and in this way differed from the rest of the participants. One resident described their thoughts on food options in South Park as, “*We got a store like a gas station, mini mart. But nothing healthy. The closest thing we have is Red Apple, kind of a mile from South Park, but it’s over 99, it’s dangerous*”. This description is similar to the perceptions of other participants and begins to explain why the food shopping options within South Park are not popular amongst residents. The ECOSS Food Access survey had similar findings to the question of where South Park residents source their food. The findings are shown in figure 2.

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Where do you buy or get groceries most often? These are a few examples. Please select one of the following or specify your location.



**Figure 2.** *ECOSS Survey Results: Grocery Source Locations for South Park Residents.*

The main concerns with the convenient store in South Park and the nearby Red Apple included minimal variety of food, the high price of food and the quality and cleanliness of the stores and the products they sell. One participant described a time she had bought tortillas from one of the local convenient stores and at home discovered rat droppings and bite marks in the tortillas. This anecdote relates to the overall dissatisfaction with the food available at South Park establishments. Other participants explained that the produce at Red Apple is often nearly rotting. The issue of minimal variety surfaced in a few ways. Two participants explained that they did not think that the convenient stores in South Park have enough fresh produce; another two explained that there was not enough fresh meat and one participant stated that there was not enough Asian food. The concern of high prices arose as the most prominent deterrent to shopping within South Park. *“The way I do is I go to a few stores and look for the cheapest one. It depends on my economy”*. This participant describes an experience shared by several of the participants: the need to find the cheapest price of food. The stores within South Park are convenience stores, and thus the high prices are not only due to a lack of competition in the area but also the scale at which the convenience stores purchase their items.



## Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity

Access to a grocery store is one of many issues the community of South Park faces in accessing basic consumer needs. One participant explained that South Park lacks basic consumer options most neighborhoods have, *“It’s not just that the bridge closed, we need more street lighting and a pharmacy”*. The comment also refers to the South Park Bridge closing June 2009 due to mechanical, electronic and structural reasons, without a confirmed reconstruction plan. It remained closed for 18 months; reconstruction just began May 2011. Residents commented how this has negatively impacted the businesses in South Park. In addition it has made transportation for residents difficult. Transportation when traveling outside of South Park was an additional barrier for residents when accessing grocery stores. *“Shopping with bus transport to White Center means a 3 hour round trip. This is difficult if you have children.”*

### *Solutions*

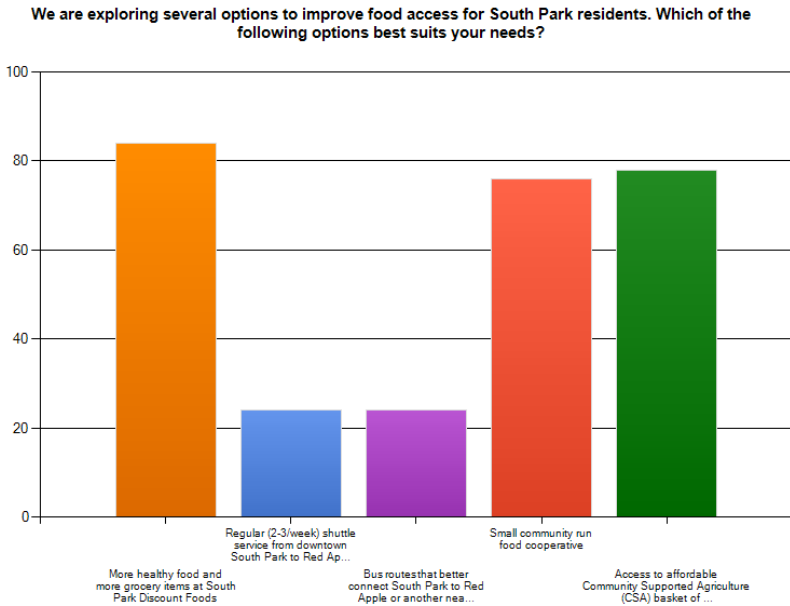
The most frequent response to the qualitative interview question of how the participant envisions improving access to food was to have a large conventional grocery store in downtown South Park with competitive prices. One of the participants also described an interest in seeing a farmer’s market in South Park. Two other participants suggested giving more money to the Providence Regina Food Bank.

The desire of the community to have a large grocery store in South Park was clear though the interviews. Addressing the proposed solution of having a grocery store open in South Park opens many avenues for future inquiry. Why is this not a current focus of the community food projects in South Park? What advocacy process is required to acquire a grocery store? Is a neighborhood like South Park able to support the consumer demand necessary to keep a large grocery store open?

A participant vocalized skepticism of whether South Park is a large enough neighborhood to provide business for a full size grocery store. One research participant explained that she does not think that providing items for the Asian population would actually encourage her to shop in South Park. She believes that she and others would still go to the Asian food markets in White Center, which will always have lower prices and more selection. This one participant’s concerns raise the question of whether a grocery store in South Park could have competitive enough prices to draw residents to shop there.

The results from the ECOSS survey show different responses to the question of what solutions South Park residents would like to see in

improving food access. Figure 3 shows the results for the survey question “We are exploring several options to improve food access for South Park residents. Which of the following options best suits your needs?” The answers differ from the qualitative interview results because the survey question did not offer as an option the most prominent answer from the in-depth interviews: a competitive priced grocery store in down town South Park.



*Figure 3. ECOSS Survey Results: Options For Improving Food Access.*

### *Community Engagement*

In response to qualitative interview questions regarding community engagement in the food security projects working in South Park, the majority of participants stated they were unfamiliar with the community food projects. Many of the residents were familiar with the food bank, because the majority of them were patrons, and the food bank was a starting point for the sampling process for the qualitative study. It is however important to note, that the ECOSS office is located in the food bank. There are thus opportunities for engagement, yet most interviewed residents were not aware of ECOSS and the Healthy Food Project, and thus not engaged.

To address this, some participants suggested that there be meetings held in Spanish to educate the Latino community about the projects and get them involved: one participant strongly advised for the inclusion of

## Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity

people of color in the planning of food security community projects. Related to this one resident stated in reference to a local non-profit “*They don’t hire nobody bilingual. They are in the community but they don’t have any people of color, no translation for people of color*”. Another suggestion was sending flyers about projects door to door in multiple languages.

One participant stated that residents are not interested in community service and activism. A couple participants viewed South Park as a cohesive community with a perfect community engagement dynamic; these participants were aware of Lettuce Link, but not the Healthy Food Project.

The interview responses, which had a complete lack of awareness of the Healthy Food Project were not surprising. The qualitative interviews were collected just prior to the quantitative survey administered by the ECOSS as part of the Healthy Food Project. The survey was the first method of outreach to the general community of South Park for the Healthy Food Project, yet was administered a year into a two year project.

Healthy Food Project meetings were held every month, led by ECOSS and attended by collaborative partners such as Lettuce Link. During these meetings it was clear that the partner organizations were frustrated with ECOSS staff and their approach to implementing the Healthy Food Project. Lettuce Link has an anti-racism initiative that is central to their organization’s work. A tenant of anti-racism work is to have the people who are most impacted by a situation have decision-making power and lead the efforts to making social justice change. The decision by ECOSS staff to wait a year before reaching out for community input was not inline with Lettuce Link’s anti-racist practice. When Lettuce Link entered the South Park community they put forth great effort to include the community in the giving garden on Marra Farm.

In discussing community engagement issues with Lettuce Link staff, they state they have made a significant effort to engage the community through outreach such as passing out flyers in multiple languages and offering community events to introduce residents to Lettuce Link’s programs and have invited them to get involved. Despite these efforts, Lettuce Link’s presence was minimal according to the qualitative interviews, though more prominent than the Healthy Food Project.

### **Discussion**

The findings from the interviews frame the issue of access to food in South Park in multiple ways. The majority of participants were most

concerned with the high prices of food in stores within South Park, and thus travel to larger neighborhoods that have multiple stores enabling competitive prices. The stores within South Park downtown are convenience stores, and thus the prices are not only due to a lack of competition in the area but also the scale at which the convenience store purchases their items; they do not benefit from large bulk purchases. The participants explained that South Park does not have the basic conveniences for everyday living, as do most neighborhoods. This issue is compounded by limited access to transportation; residents without car access must travel a one-way nearly hour-long bus trip to reach downtowns of other surrounding neighborhoods with adequate stores.

According to the interview findings the most common response for how to improve food access in South Park was to have a large grocery store open in down town South Park. This proposed solution however was not a part of the ECOSS Food Access survey. ECOSS chose to focus on projects with goals that seem to differ from the community's desires. The reasons behind this disconnect could potentially be addressed through further research. The situation of community food programs focusing on projects, which do not align with the desire of the residents interviewed, may explain the findings derived from questions concerning community engagement. The majority of participants were not aware of the food programs working in South Park and suggested sending flyers about the program to residents. However, in discussing these issues with Lettuce Link staff, they state they have made a significant effort to engage the community through outreach.

Lettuce Link, unlike ECOSS has an anti-racism initiative as an active part of their organization. Although they too have a majority white staff, as ECOSS, the program director of Lettuce Link is cognizant of the impact having a majority white staff has on engagement of the community. The Lettuce Link program director shared this issue with the board of directors of the organization and plans to hire from within the South Park community. The goal of Lettuce Link to hire staff from the South Park community addresses a key component of anti-racism, having people who are most impacted in leadership positions. It also addresses a critique made by a South Park resident, that there are no people of color working in the community food projects. The desire to improve upon this is clear, as Lettuce Link intends to hire a resident of community. The comparison between Lettuce Link and ECOSS suggests that having an analysis and practicing anti-racism helps improve community food justice projects so that they are relevant to the communities they work in.

The interviews were not representative of the community. The sample due to snowball sampling beginning from the foodbank, resulted

## Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity

in a heavily low-income sample of the residents of South Park. Though the interview findings are not representative, they are significant because the targets of the community food projects are those with the most marginalized food access, including low-income residents. Thus it is important to recognize when a group of low-income South Park residents are sampled, the majority were not aware of the community food projects, however Lettuce Link had a stronger presence than the Healthy Food Project. A potential explanation of the disconnect between the community food program and the community it serves is that the goal of the program does not align with the goal of the community in terms of the framing and solutions for food access. This dynamic is what Guthman's research on colorblindness and the absence of an anti-racism lens in food justice work directly addresses. One interview participant speaks to this by explaining that "*They are in the community but they don't have any people of color, no translation for people of color.*" This participant shared that they see the non-profits as entities with their own agendas, without a real understanding of the South Park community. The participant states that there are no people of color on staff at these organizations, and this inhibits the connection to the community. This is where Guthman's suggestion of using an anti-racism lens is so significant. An anti-racist organization would recognize that it is important that the staff reflect the community. The disconnect between the projects and the community is disconcerting because it questions the value of the projects. In conclusion, using an anti-racist lens to guide the inclusion of community members in constructing the focus of community food access projects is important for ensuring that the project is useful in addressing the needs and desires of the community.

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### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my research adviser Tracy Harachi, an associate professor in the School of Social Work. Professor Harachi has guided me through out the entire research process, teaching me practical research knowledge and insight into researching with a social justice lens. I would also like to thank Professor Ebaso Sarka, Professor Ratnesh Nagda, and my mentor Aster Solomon Teclé. These individuals inspired me to pursue research and gave me the support I needed to believe that I could and should attain a Ph.D. I would like to thank the McNair program and all the staff for the opportunity to reach my academic dreams, and to support me the whole way. Last, but surely not least I would like to thank my family, friends and partner for being supportive and assuring me that

Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food  
Insecurity

I could do it, when I did not believe in myself.

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My research interests concern structural inequalities with a focus on race, and the value of an anti-racism lens, which I apply to issues such as food access. I intend to attain a Ph.D in the field of Social Work.

**Appendix 1: Qualitative Interview Question Guide**

1. Can you describe where you get your food from?
2. Can you tell me what about this place(s) do you like?
3. Can you tell me what you dislike about it?
4. If you could change something about how or where you get your food from, what would it be?
5. Is it easy and convenient for you to source groceries transportation wise?
6. Do you ever have problems getting food? What kinds of problems come up?
7. Did you go to the South Park Farmer's Market? Can you describe your experience when at the market?
8. Have you heard of Lettuce Link? Do you know that Lettuce Link donates food to the South Park food bank? If you do, what do you think about it? Do you see it as part of the community? Why or Why not?
9. Have you heard of the Healthy Food Project?
10. Do you think that you and your community are actively involved in the community food projects?
  - a. If so, can you describe the engagement?
  - b. If not, why do you think there is a lack of engagement in the community food projects?
  - c. What do you think could improve accessibility and desire for engagement?



Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food  
Insecurity

**Appendix 2: South Park Food Access Survey**

1. Are you a resident of South Park?  
 Yes  
 No
  
2. Are you the person who most often buys groceries for your family?  
 Yes  
 No [*Could I speak with the person who most often buys groceries for your family? (if not available: "Thank you. I have no other questions")*]
  
3. How often do you buy groceries at a store in South Park?  
 3 or more times a week [Skip to #5)  
 1 or 2 times a week [Skip to #5)  
 Less than once a week [Skip to #5)  
 Never or almost never  
 Other \_\_\_\_\_ [Skip to #5)
  
4. What are the reasons you don't buy groceries in South Park? [Check all that apply]  
 Stores do not carry what I like to buy  
 Items are old, going bad, dusty or expired  
 Not enough variety  
 Stores are not clean  
 Too expensive  
 Safety issues (loitering, poor lighting, broken glass on the ground, etc.)  
 Not in a convenient location  
 Other \_\_\_\_\_

Are you more likely to shop at a store in South Park if these changes were made?

- |     |    |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
5. Stock more types of fruits and vegetables [ ]
  6. Carry additional food items [ ]
  7. Carry fresher food [ ]
  8. Clean up the store [ ]
  9. Improve safety around store [ ]

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

10. Bilingual store workers and signs in my language [ ]  
11. Better bus route to stores (shorter ride/closer bus stop)[ ]  
12. Are there other changes to South Park stores you would like to see?  
Please describe:

13. We are exploring several options to improve food access for South Park residents. Which of the following option best suits your needs?

- More healthy food and more grocery items at South Park Discount Foods
- Regular (2-3/week) shuttle service from downtown South Park to Red Apple (or other nearby grocer)
- Bus routes that better connect South Park to Red Apple or another nearby supermarket
- Small community-run co-op
- Access to affordable Community Sponsored Agriculture (CSA) basket of fresh seasonal produce
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

14. How often do you buy groceries at a store outside of South Park?

- 3 or more times a week
- 1 or 2 times a week
- Less than once a week
- Never or almost never
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

15. Where do you buy or get groceries **most often**? [check one]

- Red Apple Markets (Des Moines Hwy)
- South Park Discount Foods
- South Park Grocery (Food Center)

White Center Grocers:

- Albertsons
- El Castillo
- Center Oriental Grocery
- Chemos
- Heng Heng Supermarket
- El Paisano
- QFC
- Safeway
- White Center Supermarket
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

Food Access in South Park: Framing and Solutions for Food Insecurity

Burien Grocers:

- Fred Meyer
- Thriftway
- Trader Joe's
- Other \_\_\_\_\_
- Food bank
- Some other store. Please tell us where:  
\_\_\_\_\_

16. How do you get to the grocery store **most of the time**? [check one]

- My own car
- Borrow someone else's car
- Ride with someone else
- Bus
- Bike
- Walk
- Other \_\_\_\_\_



# **Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students**

Brukab Sisay

## **Abstract**

*This study offers an examination of issues related to representation in higher education faced by traditional African American students and 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation East African students. Through data collection and interviews conducted with students, administrators, and staff, this research aims to shed light on the benefits and consequences of lumping together these diverse students and the politics surrounding this practice. It explores the challenges faced by these students when they are all categorized as “African American” without regard to the differences between each of the ethnic groups that are included in this category. This kind of identity lumping is oftentimes practiced in university recruitment and retention practices. As a consequence, this practice tends to ignore the different immigration histories of these groups, disregards the unique challenges faced by each group, and sends a message of forced assimilation to everyone lumped into that category. On the other hand, this practice promotes unity and provides political and financial benefits. This study proposes that decisions regarding the use of categories for these groups should be mindful of the benefits and costs of aggregation as it deeply affects all groups.*

## **Introduction**

Academic research on U.S. education demonstrates that schools have historically perpetuated or reinforced socio-economic inequalities between dominant and minority groups. They point out evidence of low college participation rates among racial groups such as African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders, and they also show that a good proportion of those who are able to make it to higher education do not eventually earn their college degree (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ogbu, 1987). To counteract these high rates of exclusion and attrition, a growing body of scholarship has documented a variety of strategies, from institutionalizing policies that affirm commitments to access, to formulating culturally-sensitive programs that mitigate the effects of stress-inducing campus climates, to creating access and retention programs for underrepresented ethnic groups (Banks, 1995; Gay, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999).

The problem that arises for “African American” students is that due to a lack of disaggregation, this category includes traditional African

American students, as well as recently immigrated African students, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation children of immigrants, Afro Caribbean's, and Afro-Latinos who have different experiences and challenges from one another. My research focuses on East Africans in relation to traditional African American students to answer the question, why are all African diasporic students categorized together and what are the implications? My theory was that there are both strengths and limitations in grouping these populations. Where they are combined, the strengths are that a broader community is formed but the limitations are that the needs of the non-traditional African American students may be missed, misunderstood, or not given enough attention. When they are separated, the strengths are that the individual needs of the distinct communities are better met, but the connection and identification with other African American communities may be lost. Despite the consequences of doing so however, in this paper I argue for disaggregation as mixing two or more groups of African descent into one category of identity without regard to the differences between these groups results in disadvantaging all of the members of these groups.

### **Methods**

In carrying out my research, I have used three main methods; historical/archival research, interviews of university community members, and data gathering on rates of enrollment, retention, attrition, and graduation. In conducting historical/archival research, I used resources including library searches, database searches, newspapers, journal articles, and books. Through these sources, I sought to gain information regarding the immigration histories and historical categorizations of my groups of study. I also sought to find out how scholars who study this issue understand and debate it. Secondly, I have conducted interviews of 17 first generation East African, second generation East African, and traditional African American University of Washington staff, faculty, and students who are familiar with the issues faced in college by East African and/or traditional African American populations. I asked them about their opinions regarding the separating versus joining together these distinct communities, and also asked them about their opinions on the different challenges they face as members of these populations and how they view themselves in relation to the other members of this "African American" group. Lastly, I worked with the Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity to collect data on the enrollment, retention, attrition, and graduation rates of "African American" students as they're currently lumped, and to compare that to data on East African Students, who we defined as Ethiopian, Eritrean,

## Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students

Somali, and Sudanese. As there are no formal ways to distinguish members of the East African population, members of the Assessment Unit of the Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity looked through their databases name by name to disaggregate the East African students from the larger “African American category”. This data is collected from the UW enrollment data and the UW Study of Attrition and Retention.

Although I would have liked to look at immigrants from other parts of Africa, as well as Afro Caribbeans, and Afro Latinos, I was limited in time and resources and thus use the East African students versus other Black students comparison to understand how differences between these communities do exist and can be applied to other non-traditional African American communities as well.

### **Findings**

#### *Historical and Contemporary Context of African Immigration to the U.S.*

Although scholars have argued that Africans may have stepped foot in North America as early as 1526, (Gomez, 1998) 1619 is widely accepted as the factual date when 20 African indentured servants were brought to Jamestown, Virginia. Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the slave trade would bring millions of Africans, mainly from West Africa, to the U.S. who would be robbed of their cultural, linguistic, and historical connections to Africa. By 1750 the black population in the United States reached 750,000 (Gomez, 1998), and by 1860 reached 4.5 million (Gomez, 1998). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century African populations from the Caribbean were a large component of the Black population in the U.S., especially as many of the slaves brought to the U.S. were purchased in the Caribbean. It was in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that the first signs of large-scale voluntary immigration of Afro Caribbeans could be seen in Census data. However the immigration act of 1924, which limited the number of non-European immigrants, would quickly reduce the numbers of Afro Caribbeans and Africans coming to the U.S. It would be through the 1952 Immigration and Nationality act, which placed quotas on immigration, and the 1965 Immigration Act which allowed immigration from all countries into America, that higher numbers of African diasporic voluntary immigrants came to the U.S.

With East-African immigrants in particular, the late 1970’s and 1980’s would be the beginning of a sizeable wave of immigrants. Pushed out of their home countries through factors such as war, poverty, and colonial powers and with policies including the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, the Diversity Visa Program aka the visa lottery, the Immigration Act of 1990, and the Refugee Resettlement Policies (Blyden

and Akiwumi, 2009) pulling them to the U.S. it's no wonder why these African Immigrants came in large amounts. It is important to note that these policies allowed for the arrival of both skilled professionals and unskilled workers. African-born immigrants who numbered 2538 in 1900 increased to 363,819 in 1990, and by 2005 this number would be over a million (Crary 2007).

With this upward trend of African born immigrants continuing to this day, and with greater numbers seeking permanent residency and citizenship status, we're presented with a challenge: How do we understand these immigrants as Americans, and particularly as African Americans when they're very different culturally, linguistically, and in their experiences from traditional African Americans who descend from the historical legacy of slavery? And more importantly for this research project how should we categorize these immigrants in relation to traditional African Americans?

### *Historical and Contemporary Context of Black Categorization in the U.S.*

The most revealing categorizations of race in America, which have served as a basis for the ways educational institutions categorize the race of their students, comes from the U.S. Census. From 1790, when the first Census was issued, to 1880 the Census only recoded "color" not race (Sweet, 2011). Not mere semantics, color was the primary determining factor of race in the U.S. at the time rather than heredity. In 1890, the categories of white, black, and mulatto expanded to include quadroon and octoroon. This lasted shortly however as the 1900 Census began to employ the one-drop rule, stating if you were any part black, you were fully black, having only white and black as options (Sweet, 2011). This was also the first year that "color or race" was included as the way to self-categorize on the forms. The word "color" would be dropped in 1950, brought back in 1970, and permanently dropped in 1980 (Sweet, 2011). In the 1910-1940 Census' racial categorizations went back and fourth including Mulatto in some years and excluding it in others. The next big change would happen in 1950, when for the first time being tri-racial, for the only time in Census history, was accepted as a legitimate race. This was due to the high number of mixed white, black, and Indian ancestry living in the U.S. (Sweet, 2011) 1960 was the first year that self-reporting began, and 1970 would be the first year that the "other" category was included which allowed people to write in racial identities that the government disregarded. It would also be the first year that "Negro" was expanded to "Negro or Black." This categorization



## Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students

expanded to “Black, African Am., or Negro” in 2000, which appeared on the most recent 2010 Census as well (Sweet, 2011).

On the issue of disaggregation, it’s very important to take close note of which identities are disaggregated and which are not. For example the 2000 Census was the first year that “Asian Pacific Islander” was disaggregated into two separate options, rather than a single identity as it had been since 1980. More interestingly boxes for groups including Guamanians and Samoans have existed since 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau). In the 2010 Census some of the specific racial identities that were on the form include: Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, Guamanian, and Samoan. The fact that certain countries and racial identities are listed while others are not places value on the individuality of those identities while disregarding those not included on the form. Coming back to the category “Black, African Am., or Negro” those who are recent immigrants from Africa or from the Caribbean are implicitly grouped with traditional African Americans, unless they choose to check other and write in a different racial identity. Another thing to notice is the conflating of race and ethnicity with the category for African diasporics. Whereas countries are listed for other racial groups allowing for the checking of one’s ethnicity, with black people there is no ethnic distinction other than African American and through the use of the words “Black” and “Negro” the category that does exist on the Census becomes a racial distinction.

Lastly, I want to give special attention to the ways in which I noticed the identities “Black” and “African American” being largely understood. In my interviews and research I discovered three main aspects to the ways in which people spoke about these identity groups. First they connected the terms to the legacies of slavery and the civil rights movements, and assumed that anyone who identifies as “Black” or “African American” inherits that legacy in the U.S. context. Secondly, there was a lack of focus on the diaspora, and a lack of confronting how North Africans, East Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Afro-Latinos are included at times and excluded at other times from this group. Lastly there’s an issue of colorblindness, which I believe affects these first two issues. In a positive effort to have unity among “Black” people, and as a resistance to the philosophy of colorblindness, some people thought that it was a good thing to keep the heterogeneous African diasporic groups as one identity. However they didn’t think about how in doing that they were actually reproducing colorblindness by perpetuating the invisibility of non-dominant members of the group.

### *Student interviews*

The interviews I conducted with different groups of African diasporic students revealed that students, regardless of how they identified, whether as first generation African immigrants, second generation children of African immigrants, traditional African Americans, or even mixed (having one parent who is an immigrant from Africa, and another who is a traditional African American), all favored disaggregation of the “African American” group. When asked about how she felt about the lumping of all African diasporics together, one first generation East African student said:

The issue with not being able to specify where you’re from is that it takes away from your heritage. A lot of Africans don’t necessarily identify with being African American. They’re Somali, they’re Ethiopian, they’re Nigerian and that’s very different from being African American. You have a totally different experience.

When I asked her to explain this further she discussed how she felt that she didn’t identify as African American, but as African. She talked about how she felt partly guilty for applying for scholarships and participating in programs for African Americans when she felt that she was only African American through others’ eyes, not her own. Here she touched on an issue that I saw reflected in other students as well, mainly that many resources for African American students were created to undo the centuries-long injustice of exclusion from higher education for traditional African Americans and that Africans who get those scholarships or use those resources are taking it away from those who it was actually meant for. When I asked her why she felt only “partly” guilty she talked about how even though she sees herself as African, the majority of people, especially those who aren’t African diasporic don’t make that distinction. So even though she’s not a traditional African American, she does get treated like she is, so she feels some ownership of that identity as well. Although she recognized her inclusion into the “African American” category, she still favored disaggregation, stating that she felt that things were hidden when the lumping occurs. This interviewee touched on the issue of identity that was even more bluntly explained by another East African student I interviewed. He said:

I believe it’s a question of identity. We should have more options. Whatever you are, you should be able to represent it.

## Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students

This issue of being assigned an identity that is not their own is something that was another constant theme in the interviews I conducted with first generation students. This student kept mentioning how frustrating it was for him to fill out forms and applications where he always had to check other. He said that he thought it was ridiculous that the university assumes that all Africans are the same, let alone black people. He even asked why it happens for black people but no one else.

One student who identified as a traditional 4<sup>th</sup>+ generation African American initially told me that she didn't see anything wrong with the lumping together of African diasporics. She said that she grew up around Kenyans and identified with them, and that she thought there was value in keeping African and African Americans together. However when I asked her to talk about some of the challenges that might be different for African and African Americans she talked about language issues, cultural issues, and differences with the parent's expectations of interacting with their child's school. She said that she could see how resources could be directed differently to fit the unique needs of the different communities within this large "African American" category. When I asked her to give a concluding statement to what she things should happen she said:

Before I agreed with lumping and I understand the unity argument but it's wrong. We're different people with different challenges.

Another student I talked to who identified as both African and traditional African American, since she her mother is Eritrean and her father is traditional African American, struggled with making a declarative statement one way or another. When I asked her why she felt conflicted she said that she understood both sides of the argument around disaggregating but felt that she couldn't personally pick one identity over the other. She felt she was both. Furthermore she said that she felt that there were others like her, even those who weren't mixed who would similarly have trouble picking one identity over the other since social factors such as who your friends are and what community you surround yourself with could influence how you identify. However when I asked her to think about it in the context of university data collection, and what could be changed in recruitment and retention practices if the data was available she said that she believed that disaggregation should happen. I then asked her what she thought about the argument about keeping unity by keeping African Diasporics under one category. To this she replied:

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Grouping us together signifies unity but doesn't create unity, rather it creates more tension.

In this telling response, she refuted what seemed to be the largest argument for lumping, unity. Furthermore, she added that unity isn't achieved by checking the same box on a form, that rather that is superficial form of unity. She told me that unity is achieved through working together on issues that are similar in among the communities, and in being allies in the struggles of others. She said that associating unity with lumping only creates the illusion of unity. When I asked her to explain this she said that walking around campus she sees the divide between African and African American students, they don't often hang out together or fight in the same struggles. As an example she discussed how there is a Black Student Union, African Student Association, and Somali Student Association on campus and how even though they're all black people, she didn't feel that they had a strong unity. She concluded our interview with saying that disaggregation could actually promote unity if we could see specifically how different groups are doing and how we can lift one another up.

### *Administrator and Staff interviews*

The faculty and staff I interviewed had more varied responses than the students, with most in favor of disaggregation and a few in favor of lumping. One of my first interviews was with a traditional African American administrator. Although he understood and strongly saw the value in lumping for the purpose of unity he told me why disaggregation should still happen. He said:

During my activist years during the late 60's early 70's we identified with Africa, the mother land, so to separate descendants of slaves from other Africans makes no sense to me. We all were colonized and/or enslaved so why shouldn't we be together? Plus we have common ancestry in a sense, well all of humanity's common ancestry is Africa, but we have the phenotypic makeup that says we cant be anything else! But we identified with third world people, oppressed people so to separate Africans and African Americans socially makes no sense to me, and it still makes no sense to me. But I think that we have to struggle with that or struggle against that and make the intellectual argument as opposed to the emotional one.

## Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students

I asked him to explain what he meant by “making the intellectual argument”, and he said that even though we’re all African, some more removed from the continent itself than others, we do have differences in our levels of achievement at the university level. He said that emotionally we want to keep the unity and stay together, but intellectually there is value and benefits that could come from disaggregation of the “African American” category. Another administrator I interviewed, who also identified as a traditional African American, admittedly recognized the potential benefits but argued that the consequences could outweigh them. She said:

If the disaggregation of the data leads to the divisiveness, then the costs are way higher than the benefit that we might accrue. From a resources perspective what do you get out of that other than divisiveness in the community with one group saying that our group needs more resources or attention or the other group saying that our group is being displaced by this group that needs more resources or attention. If we could control how people could use the data then I wouldn’t have a problem with having it out there but once you have data that disaggregates like this you have no control over how people will use it to either hurt a certain population or hurt the whole population.

This interviewee also told me that the population of African Diasporic students on campus is so small anyway that it’s not worth the divisiveness. On this point she said:

I think we should keep the data the way it is. I have concerns about disaggregation even though I know there are benefits to it. I say that because we have less than 200 black students coming into our freshman class every year so to disaggregate that and split that up really hurts unity, it separates us even more.

This interviewee believed that there were more important struggles that needed to be fought for African Diasporic students in higher education than the disaggregation of data, and argued that it wasn’t worth the potential consequences. However when asked specifically about how disaggregation might help in the retention of black students she admitted an irreconcilable shortcoming of lumping. She said:

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

We're not able to track educational outcomes. Are there different educational outcomes for 4<sup>th</sup> generation African American students vs. 1<sup>st</sup> generation African American students? We just don't know.

Another staff member I interviewed identified as a first generation African immigrant and associates and allies with traditional African American as well as East African communities. She told me she values the idea of keeping the unity, but that as an administrator she would be able to do her job better if she had more accurate data regarding her students. In her words:

In terms of African American students, the more we know, the further we'll go so I just look at it as a tool, it's more than categories, it's a tool that could help me to better help students succeed.

She discussed with me how the disaggregation of current data and more representative data collecting practices could shed light on the specific challenges and success of the the heterogeneous members of the "African American or Black" group. She argued that treating it as a single homogenous group is doing a disservice to all the students. A traditional African American staff member argued a similar point in telling me:

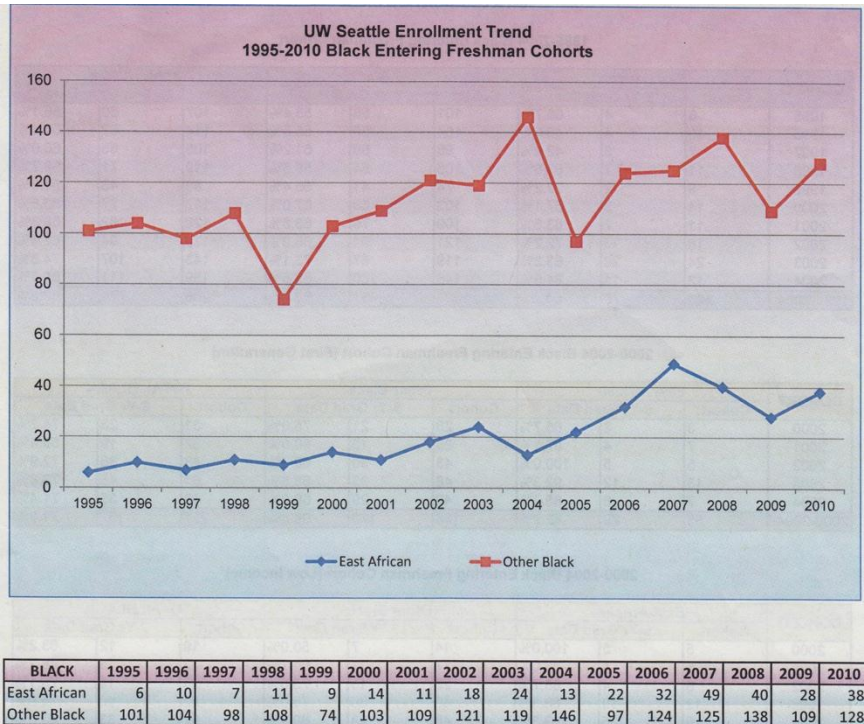
Separate us from the standpoint that we have different histories, and we need different services, and just because we look similar doesn't mean the same services are needed. We need to create programs to serve the needs of the people, and we don't even know who the people are when we hide behind lumping.

The administrators and staff members I interviewed seemed to be more understanding of the historical and unifying importance of lumping but mostly were in favor of disaggregation. As program coordinators and policy makers they acknowledged that data informs their work, and mostly agreed that more specific data could help them.

## Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students

### Data

In tabulating the numbers of East African students who are enrolled, at the University of Washington Seattle in comparison to other students who identified as “African American” the evidence revealed that there is an increasing percentage of East African students who are enrolling (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** UW Seattle Enrollment Trend 1995-2010 Entering Black Cohorts. Shows higher rates of enrollment among East African students since 2001.

With first year retention data the results were largely the same for East African and other Black students, even when comparing the most vulnerable populations, first generation students and low income students (Figure 2). This was expected as the majority of students do return for their second year of college.

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

1ST-YR RETENTION DATA									
2000-2009 Black Entering Freshman Cohort									
COHORT	East African			Other Black			TOTAL BLACK		
	Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data		Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data		Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data	
2000	14	13	92.9%	103	97	94.2%	117	110	94.0%
2001	11	10	90.9%	109	100	91.7%	120	110	91.7%
2002	18	18	100.0%	121	113	93.4%	139	131	94.2%
2003	24	21	87.5%	119	111	93.3%	143	132	92.3%
2004	13	13	100.0%	146	136	93.2%	159	149	93.7%
2005	22	21	95.5%	97	85	87.6%	119	106	89.1%
2006	32	31	96.9%	124	112	90.3%	156	143	91.7%
2007	49	46	93.9%	125	115	92.0%	174	161	92.5%
2008	40	35	87.5%	138	129	93.5%	178	164	92.1%
2009	28	25	89.3%	109	99	90.8%	137	124	90.5%
<b>2000-2009</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>92.8%</b>	<b>1191</b>	<b>1097</b>	<b>92.1%</b>	<b>1442</b>	<b>1330</b>	<b>92.2%</b>

2000-2004 Black Entering Freshman Cohort (First Generation)									
COHORT	East African			Other Black			TOTAL BLACK		
	Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data		Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data		Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data	
2000	3	3	100.0%	28	28	100.0%	31	31	100.0%
2001	7	6	85.7%	25	21	84.0%	32	27	84.4%
2002	5	5	100.0%	43	41	95.3%	48	46	95.8%
2003	13	12	92.3%	48	44	91.7%	61	56	91.8%
2004	7	7	100.0%	42	40	95.2%	49	47	95.9%
2005	15	15	100.0%	31	26	83.9%	46	41	89.1%
2006	19	18	94.7%	35	31	88.6%	54	49	90.7%
2007	27	24	88.9%	35	32	91.4%	62	56	90.3%
2008	26	22	84.6%	51	46	90.2%	77	68	88.3%
2009	22	19	86.4%	31	24	77.4%	53	43	81.1%
<b>2000-2004</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>91.0%</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>90.2%</b>	<b>513</b>	<b>464</b>	<b>90.4%</b>

2000-2004 Black Entering Freshman Cohort (Low Income)									
COHORT	East African			Other Black			TOTAL BLACK		
	Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data		Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data		Cohort	1st-Yr Retention Data	
2000	5	5	100.0%	14	14	100.0%	19	19	100.0%
2001	5	5	100.0%	17	14	82.4%	22	19	86.4%
2002	6	6	100.0%	20	19	95.0%	26	25	96.2%
2003	12	10	83.3%	40	38	95.0%	52	48	92.3%
2004	6	6	100.0%	46	40	87.0%	52	46	88.5%
2005	7	7	100.0%	23	20	87.0%	30	27	90.0%
2006	14	14	100.0%	23	20	87.0%	37	34	91.9%
2007	22	21	95.5%	44	39	88.6%	66	60	90.9%
2008	22	20	90.9%	61	56	91.8%	83	76	91.6%
2009	16	14	87.5%	28	24	85.7%	44	38	86.4%
<b>2000-2004</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>93.9%</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>89.9%</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>392</b>	<b>91.0%</b>

*Figure 2. UW Seattle 1<sup>st</sup> year Retention Data 2000- 2009 Black Entering Freshman Cohort. Comparing the averages of data from 2000-2009 for the 1<sup>st</sup>-year retention of East African Students to relation to other black students we see that there aren't any significant differences for all the students or for first generation students. There's a 4% difference when looking at first generation students but still a minor difference.*

Third year attrition (drop out) data was a bit more revealing in showing who had dropped out by their third year. The data showed that East African students have lower drop out rates when compared to other black students (Figure 3). The difference isn't incredible, but the fact that one exists points to differences in college going experiences between the groups.



Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of  
African and African American Students

East African 3-Yr Attrition Data Period: 2002 - 2006							
Cohort Year	Cohort Size	1st-Yr Attrition		2nd-Yr Attrition		3rd-Yr Attrition	
2002	18		0.0%	4	22.2%	3	16.7%
2003	24	3	12.5%	4	16.7%	4	16.7%
2004	13		0.0%	1	7.7%	1	7.7%
2005	22	1	4.5%	3	13.6%	4	18.2%
2006	32	1	3.1%	1	3.1%	3	9.4%
<b>2002-2006</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4.6%</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>11.9%</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13.8%</b>

Other Black 3-Yr Attrition Data Period: 2002 - 2006							
Cohort Year	Cohort Size	1st-Yr Attrition		2nd-Yr Attrition		3rd-Yr Attrition	
2002	121	8	6.6%	15	12.4%	23	19.0%
2003	119	8	6.7%	13	10.9%	22	18.5%
2004	146	10	6.8%	19	13.0%	21	14.4%
2005	97	12	12.4%	16	16.5%	22	22.7%
2006	124	12	9.7%	23	18.5%	26	21.0%
<b>2002-2006</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>8.2%</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>14.2%</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>18.8%</b>

**Figure 3.** East African 3<sup>rd</sup> year Attrition Data compared to Other Black 3<sup>rd</sup> year Attrition Data for the period of 2002-2006. Looking at the averages of the 2002-2006 data on the bottom rows of the two charts, we see an 18.8% attrition rate for Other Black students, and only a 13.8% attrition rate for East African students, a 5% difference.

Sixth year graduation data, the ultimate retention if you will, is the most revealing of the data we collected. Looking at all East African and all Other Black students there seems to be only a minute difference between the two. However, looking at first generation and low income students there are large differences between the performances of the two comparison groups. Furthermore the last column which shows total black students, which is the single number that we see via the practice of lumping, is skewed and masks the large difference we can see when there the data is disaggregated.

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

## 6-YR GRADUATION DATA

### 1995-2004 Black Entering Freshman Cohort

COHORT	East African			Other Black			TOTAL BLACK		
	Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data		Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data		Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data	
1995	6	4	66.7%	101	56	55.4%	107	60	56.1%
1996	7	4	40.0%	104	58	55.8%	114	62	54.4%
1997	10	3	42.9%	98	60	61.2%	105	63	60.0%
1998	11	7	63.6%	108	64	59.3%	119	71	59.7%
1999	9	2	22.2%	74	41	55.4%	83	43	51.8%
2000	14	8	57.1%	103	69	67.0%	117	77	65.8%
2001	11	7	63.6%	109	75	68.8%	120	82	68.3%
2002	18	13	72.2%	121	81	66.9%	139	94	67.6%
2003	24	20	83.3%	119	87	73.1%	143	107	74.8%
2004	13	11	84.6%	146	100	68.5%	159	111	69.8%
<b>1995-2004</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>64.2%</b>	<b>1083</b>	<b>691</b>	<b>63.8%</b>	<b>1206</b>	<b>770</b>	<b>63.8%</b>

### 2000-2004 Black Entering Freshman Cohort (First Generation)

COHORT	East African			Other Black			TOTAL BLACK		
	Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data		Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data		Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data	
2000	3	2	66.7%	28	21	75.0%	31	23	74.2%
2001	7	4	57.1%	25	15	60.0%	32	19	59.4%
2002	5	5	100.0%	43	30	69.8%	48	35	72.9%
2003	13	12	92.3%	48	33	68.8%	61	45	73.8%
2004	7	6	85.7%	42	29	69.0%	49	35	71.4%
<b>2000-2004</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>82.9%</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>68.8%</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>71.0%</b>

### 2000-2004 Black Entering Freshman Cohort (Low Income)

COHORT	East African			Other Black			TOTAL BLACK		
	Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data		Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data		Cohort	6-Yr Grad Data	
2000	5	5	100.0%	14	7	50.0%	19	12	63.2%
2001	5	4	80.0%	17	11	64.7%	22	15	68.2%
2002	6	4	66.7%	20	15	75.0%	26	19	73.1%
2003	12	10	83.3%	40	30	75.0%	52	40	76.9%
2004	6	5	83.3%	46	28	60.9%	52	33	63.5%
<b>2000-2004</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>82.4%</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>66.4%</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>69.6%</b>

*Figure 4. 6<sup>th</sup> Year Graduation Data comparing East African, Other Black, and Total Black students. The first chart, which includes all members of those groups, shows only a slight difference when looking at the bottom row which averages years 2000-2004. The second chart, which compares first generation students, shows a large difference with East African students graduating at a 14.1% higher rate than other black students. The third chart, which compares low income students, shows an even larger difference with East African students graduating at a 16% higher rate than their Other Black peers.*

As we can see from this data, lumping together these various groups skews that data by underemphasizing the effects of underrepresentation of East African students at the UW. Furthermore, lumping creates the false impression that African Americans who are descendants of historical American slavery are numerically improving their rates of retention and graduation, when in actuality certain groups, East Africans in my study, are inflating the numbers.

## Conclusion & Significance

This study proposes that we begin looking more thoughtfully at the implications of lumping the heterogeneous group of African Diasporics together in data collection policies, particularly in higher

## Together But Unequal: Contemporary College Experiences of African and African American Students

education. Through this research project I discovered that students overwhelmingly see a need for disaggregation, as do the majority of administrators and staff I talked to. Furthermore, I saw that in disaggregating the data there are important differences in the graduation and retention rates of East Africans in relation to other African diasporics, especially among vulnerable populations, which are masked when they're all lumped together.

Although the benefits and need to disaggregate seemed well supported there were two reasons that seemed to explain why disaggregation hasn't happened. First was the issue of the complexity of how the group would even be broken out. People didn't know where to start or where we would stop with disaggregating the group. Furthermore they argued that it's too complex when it comes to second generation students who are children of immigrants. Are they African or African American? So the complexity of disaggregation seemed to prevent disaggregation. Secondly, many administrators discussed with me the reality that they follow federal and state policy, because they report the data in the way the government ask for it so they can get funding. So because the federal government asks for data as it exists on the census, the bar is set very low, and thus disaggregation does not happen.

Despite these challenges to disaggregation, I'm advancing the argument that it should happen, and that beyond higher education, it needs to happen fully at the k-12 level as well for us to be able to make accurate conclusions about access and equality. For us to know if our institutions of higher learning are equitably educating the different members of our community we need to have accurate data that reflects who the students are. As it is now, it masks the truth. Furthermore we do a disservice when all the programming right now is directed to traditional African American students; the images, the activities, the content, not to other African diasporics who count as members of that population without being truly represented. We can easily draw parallels with the disaggregation of African diasporics to that of Asians and Pacific Islanders. As this once singular group was disaggregated, valuable data has come out that has produced more effective recruitment and retention programs for Pacific Islanders. I argue that a similar benefit could come out of disaggregating the "African American" category as well.

I do want to be clear however that I am not arguing for a long list of disaggregated categorizations for African Diasporics. In fact I think that trying to imagine that these racial categories can adequately represent all the different social identities and forms of identification out there is problematic because we get into the idea that these categories are moving towards or are the basis by which we measure justice and that is

extremely dangerous. What I argue for instead is that we think critically about how the data is used and how lumping does a disservice to members of a group when they're not accurately represented.

In conclusion there are two issues that also need further examination in relation to disaggregation. The first is how we look at intersecting identities. For students who are mixed or have different aspects to their identity such as gender, disability, and language that could affect their success in certain academic spaces we need to assess how to incorporate that along with race as factors that need more attention. Secondly, with the issue of divisiveness that could come from disaggregation, we would also need to have an open and continuing dialogue about the internal and external uses of the data, and keep the focus on helping all students, not on separating or breaking the unity that seems to be there from lumping.

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### **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost thank you to my mentor and advisor Dr. Rick Bonus, who has not only opened my eyes to the possibilities of graduate school, but has taught me to be a better person along the way. He has given and taught me so much, I would not be here today without his mentorship and support. I would like to thank the Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program – especially Dr. Gene Kim, Jorge, & Ashley who were invaluable sources of encouragement and advice along the way. Thank you for believing in me and in my potential to go to graduate school. Thank you to my mentors Dr. Chandan Reddy, Dr. Ileana Rodriguez-Silva, and Dr. Kiko Benitez who’ve inspired me and encouraged me to continue the struggle with them. Thank you to Dr. Emile Pitre and Dr. Sheila Edwards Lange, who were so helpful and supportive of my research. Thank you to Dr. Ed Taylor for being a constant mentor and source of encouragement for me. Thank you also to the staff members of The Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity and The Office of Admissions who were so generous with their time and knowledge. Thank you to the Ethnic Cultural Center for being my home away from home on this campus. For the communities that created and have sustained it thank you very much. Lastly, thank you to my family and close friends, especially Nestor, Deborah, and Stalie who have been unceasing sources of love and support.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

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I am interested in studying relationships across race, diaspora, and education, with a specific focus on recent African immigrants, particularly from East Africa, and their struggles in schooling within the United States. I will be attending the University of California Berkeley to pursue a PhD in African Diaspora Studies.

# **Racial Tokenism in Graduate Education: Narratives of African American Women**

Sharece Corner

## **Abstract**

*This study focuses on the experiences of African American women graduate students at the University of Washington, Seattle. Specifically, the study investigates how African American women graduate students experience racial tokenism and how their progress in their graduate programs affects their understanding of tokenism. Data come from semi-structured interviews with 6 African American women at the masters and doctoral level from both the social and natural sciences. Given the drastic under-representation of African American women at the graduate level, it is imperative to analyze the unique position they experience and their understanding of racial tokenism. This study hopes to add to the knowledge of racial tokenism and provide useful insight to think about how higher education institutions and personnel devise programs can assist African American women.*

## **Introduction**

My research focuses on racial tokenism and its impact on African American female graduate students at the University of Washington in Seattle. Racial tokenism, according to Dr. Yolanda Niemann of the Washington State University Ethnic Studies Department, is “overt and covert racism and stigmatization,” (Niemann, 1999:111). According to institutional data from the University, African American women graduate students make up 0.5% of the natural science programs and 1.3% of the social science programs. Given the drastic under-representation at the graduate level, it is imperative to analyze the unique position that African American female graduate students experience and their understanding of racial tokenism.

In my previous research I focused on African American women undergraduates, administrators and faculty members (see Corner, 2010:1-18). With my new research I wish to expand to focus on graduate students because of their varying undergraduate experiences and their transition to graduate level work. I intend to give voice to these individuals by examining their distinct positions and specific challenges while attending the University. Although there is a significant amount of research conducted on the African American experience in higher education, the literature fails to specify the distinct experiences of African American women students, specifically those pursuing an

advanced degree. Examining the transitional phase from undergraduate education to possible faculty positions of these individuals is crucial aspect of my research.

### **Theoretical Background**

Three theoretical and empirical studies provide a backdrop for my research. Similar to my previous research on African American undergraduates, faculty, and administrative females in higher education, I apply Patricia Hill Collin's (2000) *Black Feminist Thought* to understand the complex circumstances that African American female graduate students encounter. Collins (2000) argues that it is important for African American women to gain a platform and build community with one another in academia. Furthermore, she explains the importance of dialogue and communication that is needed for women of color to be able to survive oppression. Collins states "for Black women new knowledge claims are rarely worked out in isolation from other women of color and are usually developed through dialogues with other members of a community" (260). Applying Collins' framework describes the significance behind African American female graduate students uniting in order to cope with racial tokenism and overcome marginalizing encounters. Her framework is crucial to my research because it explains the importance of African American women to unite together in order to combat oppressive circumstances within graduate school.

Second, I apply Constance M. Carroll's theory regarding African American female's distinctive position within higher education due to the lack of representation and role models in higher education. In *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* (1982) by Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith, Constance M. Carroll states, "Black women have had very few models or champions to encourage and assist them in their development. Black women have developed themselves on their own, with no help from whites or Black men, in order to 'make it' in academic institutions" (119). This explanation of "self-development" is a significant concept which many of the participants expressed during the interviews. Although most of the participants had solid relationships with their mentors, majority of the women had to rely on themselves for personal growth.

Lastly, the theoretical framework of Lori Patton in work from *My Sister's Keeper: a Qualitative Examination of Mentoring Experiences among African American Women in Graduate and Professional Schools* emphasizes the role of mentorship within graduate education. Patton especially emphasizes the importance of having a successful relationship



## Racial Tokenism in Graduate Education: Narratives of African American Women

with their faculty mentors. Women with negative relationships with their faculty mentors experienced a heightened sense of confusion and isolation within their program. Patton states “the external mentoring relationships tend to support to psychological development of African American women. African American women who do establish mentoring relationships of experience career-related benefits and are willing to serve as mentors for others” (515). Dr. Patton contributes to my theoretical framework because she also emphasizes her work through Collin’s alliance building mechanisms.

Together, Collin’s theoretical framework on self-development, Carroll’s recognition of the importance of role models, and Patton’s emphasis on supportive faculty mentors help us define the landscape of success for African American women to cope with or challenge oppressive circumstances such as racial tokenism in graduate school.

### **Methodology**

Three main themes emerged in the interviews. The first theme is assertiveness that most of the African American women within the social and natural sciences expressed while in their program. This is evident when one of the participants explains:

I came in and they turned around, 20 something people turned around and they saw a Black face and it was me and it has been like that in the program but I did not let that bother me though, I came here to study and everybody in here is a student (Doctoral student in the natural sciences).

Many of the individuals understood the complexities and challenges that come along with graduate education but this was not a hindering factor for their experience. This determination led to the second theme which was opened mindedness that many of the women expressed for unifying with marginalized and non-marginalized groups. Due to the optimism and strength of each participant these women understood the importance of alliance building with members of diverse backgrounds. This is evident when one of the participants shared:

I recognize that the glory of all people makes me greater and if it is just about my glory then I am no different than the dominant culture, it has got to be about all of our stories because in humanity we are all interconnected.

This comment symbolizes the willingness and ability that these individuals have to unify against oppressive circumstances that occur within graduate education. There were also no significant differences between social and natural sciences because of the small numbers within graduate programs. In general the women tend to unite together rather than face marginalization on their own. Overall, the most enriching part of the interview was learning how open and inclusive the participants were to empowering other women of color through the graduate experience.

The final emergent theme related to challenges that African American women face in graduate school. Recruitment was difficult due to the scarce numbers of these individuals in graduate programs and the responsibilities that each participant had both personally and academically. Many of the participants discussed the strenuous schedule between community outreach, faculty relationships, and being a teaching assistant to undergraduate students. Although, these women experienced extremely challenging workloads, their graduate education or enthusiasm was not compromised.

### **Conclusion**

This study is vital because it gives an awareness and understanding to the unique challenges that African American women graduate student's experience. I wish to fill the gap between the lack of information on these individuals and to reinforce their presence as both leaders for the underrepresented community and positions of power in academia. My research connects the significance of African American women graduate students creating dialogue amongst themselves and the importance of forming community. My work is crucial because women of color are often left out of literature and their struggles are categorized with the male or white women experience. Lastly, I hope that through my findings I will be able to educate other individuals to hopefully understand the potential challenging effects of racial tokenism on these African American women graduate students.

My research also ties into my futures plans after I graduate the University of Washington, Seattle. I wish to receive a Master's degree in American Studies to guide my research for a Ph.D. in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies. Through my work I aspire to conduct similar research on other women of color to compare the experiences with marginalization. With these aspirations I hope to not only offer a perspective of African American women in higher education but to also share my research at both local and national levels. In addition to expanding my present research, I wish to expand the scope to other

## Racial Tokenism in Graduate Education: Narratives of African American Women

women of color as each and every group has a unique history with race in America.

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### Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my friends and family for being there when I have needed them most. I would also like to thank the McNair Program for providing \$3,500 and the opportunity for my research to be fulfilled. Finally, I thank Dr. Biren (Ratnesh) Nagda, Associate Professor of Social Work, for guiding me through my research and for being a brilliant role model.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Sharece Corner

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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. I will be attending the University of Massachusetts, Boston Fall 2011.

# Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

Bryan Dosono

## Abstract

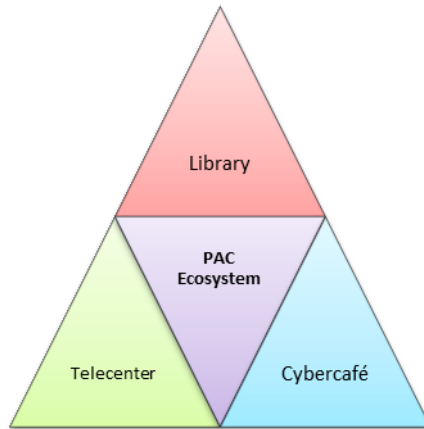
*The public access computing (PAC) ecosystem in South Africa includes public libraries, telecenters, and cybercafés. These PAC venues offer marginalized and underserved populations opportunities to access and use computers and the Internet to meet their information needs. Based primarily on interviews with venue staff and focus groups with venue users, we assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of telecenters and cybercafés, and their contribution to community development. Government-sponsored telecenters continue to exhibit the same problems reported a decade ago, and libraries are slow in offering technological services. However, cybercafés that are set up through entrepreneurial initiatives fulfill an increasingly important niche and introduce a strategic business model for disadvantaged communities. Learning from the experience of cybercafés can be an effective way to finally overcome the shortcomings of telecenter experiences of the last decade in South Africa.*

## The landscape of public access computing in South Africa

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have great potential to contribute to community development (Unwin, 2009). Numerous experiences with public access to ICT through venues such as telecenters and public libraries have taken root in South Africa and around the world as part of strategies for digital inclusion (Parkinson, 2005; Pather & Mitrovic, 2008; Powell, 2002; Van Belle & Trusler, 2005; Warschauer, 2003). In South Africa, after the end of apartheid in 1994, the country's government has heavily invested in policies and programs that address societal injustices. These efforts are apparent in the establishment of new schools, clinics, roads, and electrical projects in rural and underserved areas that empower disadvantaged communities. In addition, the government of South Africa created the Universal Service and Access Agency of South Africa (USAASA), a pioneering and strategic response to address social and economic inequities through the use of ICT. USAASA seeks to provide universal service, defined as "a reliable connection to the communication network that enables any form of communication to and from any part of South Africa," and universal access, or "the ability to use the communication network at a reasonable distance and affordable price which provides relevant

information and has the necessary capacity in under-serviced areas” (Weir-Smith, 2006).

While most of USAASA’s programs have focused on the establishment of non-profit community telecenters that offer access and use of computers and the Internet, other PAC initiatives of importance in the country include libraries, cybercafés, and other types of venues. In South Africa, the experience of PAC through public libraries is only incipient, with very little research about it; libraries are increasingly trying to offer PAC services as well as books and other printed materials. In addition to telecenters and libraries, in the last few years South Africa has experienced the appearance of cybercafés, small businesses that offer computers with Internet access and other connectivity services. The presence of cybercafés has transformed the landscape of public access of ICT, even in marginalized communities and townships in South Africa. Cybercafés can also have what Argentinean researchers called an involuntary contribution to community development (Finquelievich & Prince, 2007): they can contribute to development even if that is not their mission or purpose.



*Figure 1. Public Access Ecosystem in South Africa: Libraries, Telecenters and Cybercafés.*

What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of the main PAC venues in South Africa, and how can they better contribute to community development? To answer this question, in 2010 we conducted a study of venues that offer public access to computers and connectivity to the Internet in South Africa. This study builds on earlier studies of the PAC landscape in the country—especially the study by James and colleagues (James, Finlay, Jensen, Neville, & Pillay, 2008), part of a broader study commissioned by the University of Washington (Gomez, 2009)—which constitutes the first documented attempt to study the public access

## Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

ecosystem including libraries, telecenters and cybercafés in developing countries, and in South Africa in particular.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: first we present a review of the recent literature in relation to PAC in South Africa, and we then describe the research methods implemented in our study. We then present the findings and discuss their implications for practice and policy decisions.

### **Literature Review**

An underlying principle of PAC is that public access venues incorporating ICTs bridge the digital divide by providing access to information for underserved communities. Such centers can bring communities together to create a knowledgeable society by strengthening the population and improving its ability to fight poverty. Three main areas for the development of ICTs in South Africa are focused within the country's libraries, telecenters, and cybercafés. HIV-AIDS health centers were included as significant "other" PAC venues in previous studies (James, et al., 2008), but their services and their main users are significantly different from the multi-purpose community telecenters, libraries and cybercafés that serve the general population. Another interesting South African experience with public access computers that are not connected to the Internet is offered by the Digital Doorway (DD) project, which installs free-standing computers in a robust and weather-resistant casing in disadvantaged areas of the country, as a way to offer freely accessible computers that users can experiment and play with, without any formal training and with no external input (Thinyane, Slay, Terzoli, & Clayton, 2006). Digital Doorways are sometimes considered PAC venues that help underserved populations gain access to ICT and its information benefits. Studies of the DD claim that children can teach themselves to use computers fluently (Gush, 2008), but the project is controversial. Given the lack of Internet connectivity and of user training and support, we did not include DD in our study of PAC.

**Libraries:** Although South Africa boasts over 1500 libraries, only a fraction of them are well-resourced and located in the old 'white' municipal areas. The remainder of the country is then left with libraries that are under-resourced (James, et al., 2008). Some provinces have more advanced strategies for improving libraries and equipping them with ICTs, while other provinces have lagged behind and have done little to resolve the problems. However, support for the library sector has been increasing steadily, which can be attributed to the special allocation of upgrading and expanding libraries in the national budget of previous years. This trend has also been noticed within the underserved libraries.

More and more services within these libraries—like training centers and kiosks—are becoming a part of the greater movement to improve public access to ICTs (Stillwell, 2006).

A landscape study report prepared for the University of Washington's Center for Information and Society discusses the current state of libraries in South Africa (James, et al., 2008). In general, libraries are understaffed and librarians lack the appropriate education to sufficiently help patrons with their information needs. The need for computers and Internet access in libraries is widely regarded as much a priority as the need to increase the number of books and other library resources. This demand is increasing not only for internal administrative purposes, such as electronic cataloging and book loans, but also for Internet searches. The lack of serviceable furnishings in libraries also affects the value of the libraries as places to study. Libraries are largely used by schoolchildren for educational purposes and by students studying through distance-educational institutions from local universities.

Telecenters are a form of public access to computers and the Internet as a non-profit initiative with an explicit development objective. Most telecenters are multipurpose, offering a range of services and ICTs, often including photocopying, computer printing, faxing, phone, computer training, Internet, plus other value-added services that vary from site to site. As such, telecenters are sometimes located in places where the market is not providing such services, or otherwise attempt to reach a broader segment of the population than the market would.

With the establishment of the USAASA created in 1996 by the Telecommunications Act, the agency promoted goals of universal access and universal service in the under serviced areas of South Africa. During the Act's initial five years, USAASA devoted most of its energy to supporting the creation of telecenters across the country. Those selected were given equipment and basic training to run as self-sustaining entities. While its original target was hundreds of such telecenters, USAASA developed only 65 (11 of which were "mini-centers" and 54 of which were full-fledged telecenters), which experienced a variety of problems almost immediately (Parkinson, 2005).

By 2001, one-third of those telecenters were not functioning, half lacked telephones, and only a few had access to Internet (Benjamin, 2001). This stressed the difficulties of maintaining ICT equipment in rural and township areas, combined with the difficulties of centralized procurement. All of this trouble then brought upon an important question into light: are telecenters sustainable? While some authors determined sustainability solely by the financial flows of a telecenter, others



## Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

included determinants such as relevancy of services, human resources, and infrastructure (Mayanja, 2001).

In Benjamin's early studies of South African telecenters, to gauge levels of sustainability, three loose indicators were used: salary (whether the telecenters paid a salary to the managers), profit (whether the telecenter produced a profit monthly), and success (whether the telecenter managers and/or the USAASA field workers felt the center had been successful). Based on focus group discussions with the telecenter managers, there was consensus that telecenter operations required a position based on all three measures of profit, salaries and success. Overall, under a third of the centers appeared to have a reasonable chance of sustainability. It was also agreed that of the existing USAASA telecenters, only about a quarter of the telecenters appeared to have a chance of sustainable operation for at least five more years without external assistance.

According to Parkinson, by 2003, the situation had deteriorated. USAASA was hindered by a poor reputation, internal management difficulties, and poor relationships with other key organizations. It was difficult to ascertain crucial information from operators that allowed it to effectively monitor progress. It never developed definitions, indicators, or benchmarks for any key terms that would allow it to strategize effectively (Parkinson, 2005). One problem was that the focus of the projects was on the technology more than the development services. As a result, USAASA shifted its goals to addressing development more than technology.

By 2005, other people were beginning to draw similar results to Benjamin in 2001. In terms of ICTs in development, Bell and Trusler's interpretive case study of a South African rural multipurpose community center provided hopeful signs that ICTs could indeed be of practical use in a variety of situations, but particularly in the area of supporting entrepreneurial development projects (Van Belle & Trusler, 2005). In 2005, Mosse and Bryne also reaffirmed similar findings from 2001. In various developing countries, the prevailing culture of information and communication naturally mirrors the practice of reporting data upward to satisfy the needs of the bureaucracy, rather than supporting action at the local level of the community, where information is often needed the most (Mosse, 2005).

Currently, the national policy to implement the delivery of ICT through telecenters is far from reaching its national goals (Attwood, 2010). In a careful analysis of recent telecenter experiences sponsored by USAASA, Attwood and colleagues still find the same problems in telecenters identified by Benjamin over a decade ago, in relation to

telecenter technology and equipment; origin, governance and power relations; managers and facilitators; purpose and model of operation; and user needs and social norms. South African telecenters are still facing the self-evident truth that in order to have a positive impact they need to function properly first.

As long as telecenters do not function properly, they cannot be expected to produce much social impact. By providing access to functional phones, faxes, computers and Internet, users learn skills and can access the knowledge, communication and opportunities that enable them to compete in today's technology-driven market. The key to empowering poor and marginalized South Africans is to provide them with the means to lift themselves out of their poverty. The many small telecenters are supposed to be providing just these opportunities. The contributions that community volunteers bring to the telecenters should not be overlooked. The most successful of telecenter managers develop a strategic plan for recruiting, training, retaining and rewarding volunteers that will save the telecenter operational costs in maintaining ICT equipment in the long run (Roman, 2002). Other authors also list the importance of the technical and administrative skill of facilitators as an important factor in the success of a telecenter. Per Arellano, however, not all ICT interventions are equally successful. A number of contingency factors need to be in place for continued success: communications infrastructure, community buy-in and support, sustainable revenue model, and last but not least, trained and committed staff (Arellano, 2009).

Cybercafés are a recent phenomenon in South Africa, and one that has been very little studied. None of the studies of telecenters (above) mention the existence of for-profit cybercafés offering public access to computers and Internet in South Africa. This situation is unique: by 2009 cybercafés were already the most frequent form of PAC in developing countries, outnumbering both telecenters and libraries combined (Gomez & Camacho, 2009). The Internet café phenomenon has been portrayed as a revival of "the original notion of the coffee-house where people gathered to read newspapers, gossip and generally do what is now called networking" (Lee, 1999). In many places, the cybercafé combines the culture and social dynamic of the traditional café with the more global perspective that Internet provides. Since then, cybercafés have become more of an interest for local entrepreneurs (Mwesige, 2003). Establishing how exactly the people of South Africa are using the nascent cybercafés provides an important baseline that will be helpful for mapping out strategies for further development and use of ICT in the country. The emerging phenomenon of cybercafés in South

## Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

Africa may offer valuable insight to strengthen other PAC initiatives which have, by most accounts, failed.

Mobile phone service in South Africa has been a recent innovation with massive potential in poor communities. However, little attention appeared in government information initiatives to improve and expand mobile capabilities and content. Aside from voice calls and traditional personal text messaging, mobile phones have been used for low-level applications, such as text messaging, ringtone downloads, and photo sharing (James, et al., 2008). The popularity of mobile technology has cast a shadow on some models of public access as the perception grows that individual access to data will soon be widely available in developing countries through mobile phones. However, new opportunities like mobile technology should not be considered a substitute but can rather be a complement to the overall landscape of PAC (Sey, 2009).

### **Research Methods**

The present research study was conducted in 2010 and included (1) literature review of PAC in South Africa, and (2) five semi-structured interviews with staff in telecenters and cybercafés, informal interviews with cybercafé users, and one focus group workshop with users of telecenters in marginalized communities near Cape Town, South Africa. These locations are peri-urban, marginalized townships around Cape Town—Khayelitsha, Bonteheuwel, and Belhar—and they were selected as an example of current status of both telecenters and cybercafés in underserved communities in South Africa.

The structured interviews with staff were conducted in a way that encouraged open conversation about (1) the venue, (2) information and content, (3) the users, (4) roles of the infomediaries, (5) perceived impact, and (6) the future. The focus group workshop allowed us to explore in-depth perceptions, uses and benefits of the services offered at the telecenter and of its limitations. The information gathered sheds insight about the current state of public access computing in South Africa by assessing the information ecology—needs, practices, interactions—for community development.

All data was qualitatively analyzed to compare and contrast with existing literature about PAC in developing countries and South Africa in particular, and to explore emerging perceptions of impact of PAC among users and venue operators.

## Findings

Results of this study highlight the continuing challenges faced by unsuccessful telecenters to provide quality service, scalability, sustainability, and community impact, and the opportunity presented by what appears to be a successful model of cybercafés in marginalized communities in South Africa.

### *Belhar and Bonteheuwel: Examples of Stagnant Telecenters*

Belhar and Bonteheuwel are peri-urban communities of the City of Cape Town in the Cape Flats area. We visited the site and interviewed the manager of the telecenter in Belhar, which had 17 computers for general use: mostly new machines installed through an USAASA grant less than a year before, but most of them are out of service due to viruses or other software problems. The center provides adult education, community gardening, and daycare services—all of which are conducive to a family-friendly space. Patrons mostly use the computers to find information to serve their educational needs and complete government-related transactions. The majority of users in the telecenters are women. These women are often using the online resources of the center as a means of finding new job opportunities outside of the factory or agricultural labor. The telecenter at Belhar serves a low-income community, but the telecenter is barely used.



**Figure 2.** Children use the computer to surf the web at a telecenter in Belhar, South Africa.

The telecenter operator often shows students how to use the Internet for school homework, but is frustrated by lack of technical knowledge to maintain the server or computers in working order, and expects USAASA to provide the technical support instead. Even the air

## Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

conditioning unit—purchased with USAASA funds—was out of service, and it was also expected to be repaired by USAASA. Despite this, the manager of the telecenter would like to see it evolve into a larger, multi-purpose center with governmental departments and additional services working in tandem. We noted every computer had a sticker with a toll-free number for 24/7, on-site technical support that was part of the USAASA grant. Nonetheless, the expectation was that a USAASA officer was the one that needed to deal with the problems, and the technical support service had not even been contacted. Telecenter managers call USAASA, only to find the agency inundated with other priorities. This lack of follow up results in the telecenter manager filling complaints that takes a while to be heard by USAASA. ICT equipment then continues to stay broken within the telecenter, which becomes a disservice to patrons who have to wait for additional computers to become available.

At the community telecenter in Bonteheuwel, we conducted staff interviews and a 3-hour focus group workshop with users of the telecenter. The group included six trainees: five of which were female and one was male, and three staff members: two females and one male. Ages of the group ranged from 18 to 25. The telecenter provided courses on computer literacy, professional development, and other relevant training. The highest priorities of the telecenter were relevant to instruction and employment. The manager of the campus explicitly stated a need for the telecenter that resulted from job assistance for the unemployed. Compared to local government offices, clinics, and schools, the telecenter was noted as the most visited place for the community when looking for information. The center provides the cheapest faxing and copying services so that its people would not have to go out of the area to get a similar service. Such convenience results in only a nominal charge for its patrons to cover operational costs.



*Figure 3. Focus group workshop in a multipurpose community telecenter in Bonteheuwel, South Africa.*

Notable advantages of the telecenter in Bonteheuwel were the affordability of services in comparison to nearby cybercafés, and on-site assistance with friendly and supportive staff. The telecenter is currently working on strengthening the services it provides to its community to make them work better in conjunction with other services. The telecenter in study also had growing concerns that were observed by the trainees. There was never a time when all computers were working at once. For instance, only six of twenty computers were functional at the time of our visit, which users said was typical. Surprisingly, none of the newer computers were working. Moreover, a number of network points do not work, and only one computer is connected to the printer. There was also a lack of effective marketing of services; not many patrons are aware of training courses. Moreover, waiting times to use the computers in the telecenter were frequently long.

Nonetheless, focus-group participants were most enthusiastic in stating that computers made their lives easier and allowed them to conveniently access information quicker. The government should care about ICT because it “builds capacity” as a person, and allows people to stay informed on current events through instant communication with the rest of the world. More importantly, focus group participants pointed out that learning to use computers and the Internet is an important tool to help “better oneself” through gaining more confidence in their computer abilities, and in turn, more assurance in their interactions and in their outlook for the future.

At the time of our visit, the manager of the multipurpose center in Bonteheuwel had just decided to try a new model of operation for the telecenter: the operator, a young man with some technical and people

## Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

skills, would be paid a proportion of the revenues of the telecenter in lieu of a fixed salary. As a result, the new operator was very eager to get the broken computers working, the network fixed, and the word out that the telecenter was there to serve the needs of the community.

### *Khayelitsha: Cradle of South African Cybercafés*

Khayelitsha is a partially informal township in Western Cape, South Africa, located on the Cape Flats in the City of Cape Town. We visited several cybercafés in Khayelitsha and interviewed two of the managers of the locally owned and operated company that runs the cybercafés as a profitable business with no government subsidies or contribution. We observed several of their cybercafés located in central shopping areas of Khayelitsha. All of them were clean, well-lit, well-resourced, and received heavy traffic. The cybercafés offered structured training courses—generally on 3-month durations, totaling 4 hours per day for 5 days per week—in specially equipped training rooms with 25-30 stations and a video projector. They also offer computers for public use; generally 12 to 15 individual stations with access to a printer. Their location in shopping areas drives a lot of traffic, but it also means that their rent is high—several times higher than it would be outside of the shopping complex. Their intention to expand and establish more centers confirms that despite the high rent and lack of government support, they are profitable and successful.



**Figure 4.** Women take a class on computer literacy at a cybercafé in the Khayelitsha, South Africa.

The different cybercafés were all near their full capacity at the times of our visit—a regular weekday morning or afternoon. Trainees were mostly unemployed women, with ages ranging from late teens to

late 30s, with the majority in the 18 to 25 year old age bracket. Trainees pay roughly around R200 (USD \$30) registration fee, and then R500 a month for a three-month course. The centers are registered and accredited with iSett Seta (see <http://www.isett.org.za/default.asp>); they have their own curriculum, mostly focused on developing skills in basic email, web browsing, and Microsoft Office Word, Excel and PowerPoint. The cybercafé offers printed instructional booklets for each trainee. We held informal conversations with trainees at several of the cybercafés, and the picture was pretty similar in all: trainees are young and poor, mostly women (“men here don’t want to better themselves,” they claimed), and they all want to learn computers in order to get a job. But there are no jobs to be had, even for those who learn how to use computers. What do they actually like the most? “Facebook!” is the unanimous answer. They all have created and printed their resumes, but more importantly for them, they have created Facebook accounts and are in communication with each other and their friends and relatives both inside and outside of the town. They take pride in being part of an information society through Facebook.

The cybercafés in Khayelitsha offered training and public access computers, and they each received around 250 patrons per day, with the majority being women—there was an approximate ratio of nine women to one man. In addition to computer access, the town’s cybercafés offered related services such as printing, CD-burning, photocopying, and lamination. The cybercafé operator played an important role as the initial starting point for many first-time users in order to build their skills and confidence with computer literacy. Across the board, although patrons wanted to print their resumes and find information about jobs and government services, entertainment was one of the biggest reasons why people wanted to use Internet. Patrons frequently downloaded music, played virtual games, and watched pornography (male patrons only). Patrons are often charged extra for “downloading” as opposed to “surfing,” a matter of paying for more bandwidth use. Computers that break down are promptly repaired or replaced, and we did not see a single computer out of service in the cybercafé locations we visited.

Cybercafé use is growing, as is the interest of the cybercafé owners to continue expanding. From the first cybercafé that opened up in 2008, they are now operating about ten successful branches in different parts of Khayelitsha, and want to keep on growing.

### **Conclusions**

Telecenter problems still exist in the same conditions as discussed by Benjamin 10 years ago. There is something inherently



## Public Access Computing in South Africa: Old Lessons and New Challenges

wrong with the telecenter model. We noted many computers out of service, and reports of technical problems in the telecenters do not receive immediate attention—something that has been reported by other researchers before. Although USAASA provides the required technology for telecenters, and we confirmed that the technology includes on-site technical support with a 24/7 toll-free number, the paternalistic view of USAASA as provider of funding, equipment, and solutions prevents the telecenter operators to find solutions by themselves in order to make their facility work. The immediate change of operator attitude by the Bonteheuvel telecenter to make computers function when offered compensation in proportion to revenue generated is the most telling: in the existing model, there is no incentive to make telecenters work.

There has been much debate on the model of the telecenter. Should they function as a business or as a community service? This brings back the concern of financial sustainability and whether the poor can afford to pay for using telecenters. In 2001 Benjamin reported that just over a third of the USAASA telecenters in South Africa reported basic profitability—with USAASA providing computers, furniture and other hardware—and that financial concern was a major cause to telecenter collapse (Benjamin, 2001). Ten years later, Attwood and Braathen concluded that the problems plaguing telecenters in South Africa are still the same as those reported in 2001. These problems have also been stated repeatedly by scholars and activists ever since, leading to the conclusion that community telecenters are basically not able to operate as a business (Attwood, 2010).

Nonetheless, outside the sphere of action of the South African government agency USAASA, a new breed of cybercafés is taking hold and building upon a growing demand for ICT skills and entertainment services. Users, even in marginalized, poor, and underserved communities, are willing to pay in order to use PAC venues that actually work. With the generalized perception that learning to use computers is a gateway to a better future, or at least, a source of stronger self-confidence and sense of “bettering oneself,” the ground is fertile to provide the PAC services that telecenters currently fail to offer.

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Old Lessons and New Challenges

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### **Acknowledgements**

I want to thank Dr. Ricardo Gomez for providing me with research and publication opportunities that revolve around his area of study. I also want to thank Dr. Gene Kim, my adviser from the McNair/Early Identification Program, who inspired me to conduct research as an undergraduate student.

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# Fracture Resistance of Internal Connection Zirconia Implant Abutments

Chastity Dunlap

## Abstract

*The objective of this research project was to test and analyze the failure of internal zirconia abutments for the maxillary central incisor (front top tooth). Since a tooth cannot recover naturally from tooth decay or fracture, implants may be used to replace the tooth and restore the fixture. A dental implant is an artificial tooth root, the jawbone fuses with the implant to provide a secure platform for a prosthesis (artificial tooth) and the abutment is a piece that connects the prosthesis to the implant. Zirconia abutments are proposed to be used since ceramics can transmit light, giving the tooth a natural look in comparison to the metal abutments used prior. Since the usage of this material for abutments is fairly new, a growing number of companies are developing their own unique zirconia abutments by combining various materials with different implant-abutment interfaces and geometries. There is not enough data regarding the fracture resistance and the fracture location of the different zirconia abutments as well as guidelines in choosing the optimal zirconia abutment to be used in different sections of the mouth. The fracture strength of three different internal connection zirconia abutments (Atlantis, Procera, Lava) with variable implant-abutment interfaces was measured and compared. The sample with the zirconia cemented onto the titanium post could withstand the highest load (~ 700 N) than the all zirconia and friction forced abutment. Optical microcopy was then used to determine the reason for failure, the location of failure, and how the failure occurred. For the Lava sample, failure occurred due to plastic deformation of the titanium post. For the Procera abutment, failure occurred due to the high forces at the metal/ceramic interface. The Atlantis sample failed inside of the abutment and propagated around the circumference of the abutment to the outside section. Fracture strength and failure mechanisms were evaluated with respect to materials and geometries to provide guidance to the dental community.*

## Introduction

A dental implant is an artificial tooth root which a periodontist places in the jaw to hold a replacement tooth or bridge as shown in Figure 1. The dental implants are intimately connected with the gum tissues and underlying bone in the mouth. Dental implants are ideal for people with good general oral health in order for the mouth and gum surrounding the

implant to heal properly. It has been shown that with proper condition and care, a dental implant could last a lifetime.



*Figure 1. Schematic diagram of an implant, implant abutment, and crown installed inside of a bone and gum.*

Prosthetic implant abutments can be made from a variety of materials, such as titanium, surgical stainless steel, and gold. Recently, there has been a desire to make abutments out of white ceramics in order to better complement the aesthetics of a dental implant restoration. The use of ceramic material is limited because their compressive strength being lower than titanium, gold, and noble metals.<sup>2</sup> Due to the difference in compressive strength, metal prosthetic abutments are used for the posterior molar areas, due to the increased masticatory forces at this location of the mouth.<sup>3</sup>

### **Background**

Currently, there is much research being done to implement all ceramic crowns with all ceramic abutments to provide the best looking tooth implants. Ceramic abutments used to be made from pressed and sintered aluminum oxide. In recent years, glass-infiltrated alumina and yttria-stabilized zirconium oxide abutments has been introduced. The aluminum oxide (alumina) abutments were compared to the zirconium oxide (zirconia) abutments, and it was shown that both types of all-ceramic abutments exceeded the values for maximum incisal forces reported by past literature (90 to 370 N).<sup>1</sup> Zirconia abutments have been found to be twice as resistant to fracture as alumina abutments, therefore

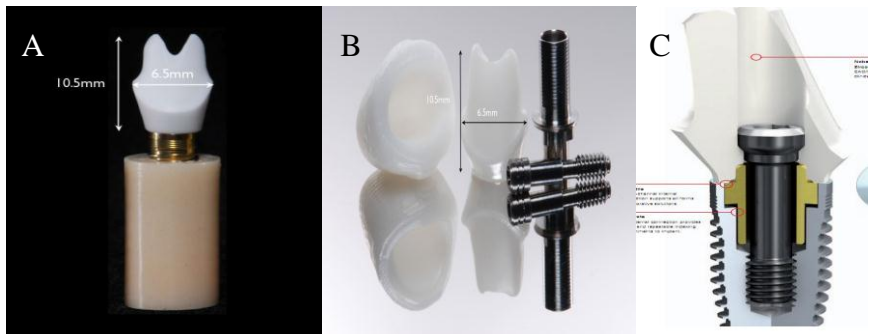
making zirconia a more desirable material to be used in the case of all ceramic implants.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the amount of current data regarding zirconia being strong enough to be used intraorally, standardized tests and appropriate methods of statistical analysis has not been performed to compare the strength of computer designed zirconia abutments made by different processes.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of one study was to compare two commercially available types of zirconia abutments, the Procera AllZirkon and the Atlantis abutment in zirconia (AAZ). Fifty-eight zirconia abutments were developed by two different manufacturers and were measured for precision of key abutment interface features and were tested with increasing constant load until fracture. It was concluded that there were no significant differences between the 4 key interface features measured on the two differing abutment samples. The mean load to failure for the Atlantis abutment was much higher than that of the Procera abutment. In addition the Atlantis abutment demonstrated a significantly lower probability of failure across the range of human occlusal loads. The initiation location crack propagation between the two different abutments was examined and proved that for both cracking was different. Ultimately, what this research group proposed was that zirconia should only be used as an alternative to titanium when esthetics is of concern.

### **Methodology**

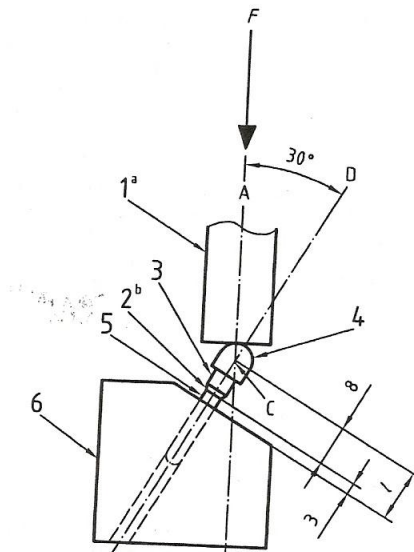
#### *Mechanical Testing*

The three geometries researched and tested were Atlantis<sup>4</sup> (Figure 2A), Lava<sup>5</sup> (Figure 2B), and Procera<sup>6</sup> (Figure 2C). The samples were put together and mounted by Jae Seon Kim, DDS from the University Of Washington Department Of Restorative Dentistry. Procera was made with a zirconia abutment and a short titanium post that was friction fitted to the zirconia abutment; therefore there was no bonding. The Lava abutment was a zirconia abutment that was bonded to a titanium post inside, where the titanium post was about 2 mm shorter than the zirconia abutment. The Atlantis abutment was created as pure zirconia.



**Figure 2.** Three geometries that were tested (a) Procera, (b) Lava, and (c) Atlantis.

The fracture strength of the three different internal zirconia abutments with variable implant-abutment interfaces was measured and compared. Mechanical testing was conducted with the Instron 4505 at a rate of 1 mm/min according to ISO 14801<sup>7</sup>. For the Procera and Atlantis samples, the load was applied to the abutment until complete fracture occurred and the Instron machine stopped testing. For the Lava samples, complete fracture did not occur, so testing stopped after ~161 s of a constant load of 1 mm/min. A figure of the sample set-up for mechanical testing is shown in Figure 3.



**Figure 3.** Schematic of test set-up.

The mounting apparatus (component 6 on Figure 3) for the abutments was installed on the Instron machine. The samples were mounted to the apparatus and a force (symbolized by the symbol  $F$  in the



Figure) was pushed onto the sample 30 degrees from the top. One of the key parts to this experiment was defining failure. It was expected for some of the samples to not crack (Lava) and instead plastically deform. For the other samples, it had to be determined whether failure was the onset of cracking or when the sample completely fractured and broke apart. It was determined that failure for Procera and Atlantis should be defined as the first onset of cracking and for the Lava samples it should be the onset of plastic deformation since the sample could withstand high loads without the zirconia cracking.

Past experiments looked at changing the abutments, not the system but for this experiment the opposite was done. For the experiment, four specimens for each type of the samples (Atlantis, Procera, Lava) were mechanically tested. Each specimen was tested with an initial load of zero and eventually increased by small increments to range from 400-800 N. In order to detect the onset of cracking, the load being applied to each sample was video recorded to match the time of failure to the amount of load on the load vs. time graph.

### *Optical Microscopy*

The main reason for using optical microscopy was to determine whether the cracking for the Atlantis and Procera abutments began internally. In order to look further at why each abutment failed, it was important to use optical microscopy (Olympus SZH10 stereomicroscope) to look at the fracture surface under magnification and take images.













For the Procera and Atlantis samples, only two of each four abutments tested were analyzed underneath the stereomicroscope. Depending on location on the sample and the property desired to examine, different magnifications were used to get a further look at the type of failure that could've occurred. For the Lava sample, it was of interest to examine the connection between the ceramic and the metal to see if that was the cause of failure or whether it was the metal implant that plastically deformed, resulting in failure of the abutment.

## **Results**

### *Mechanical Testing*

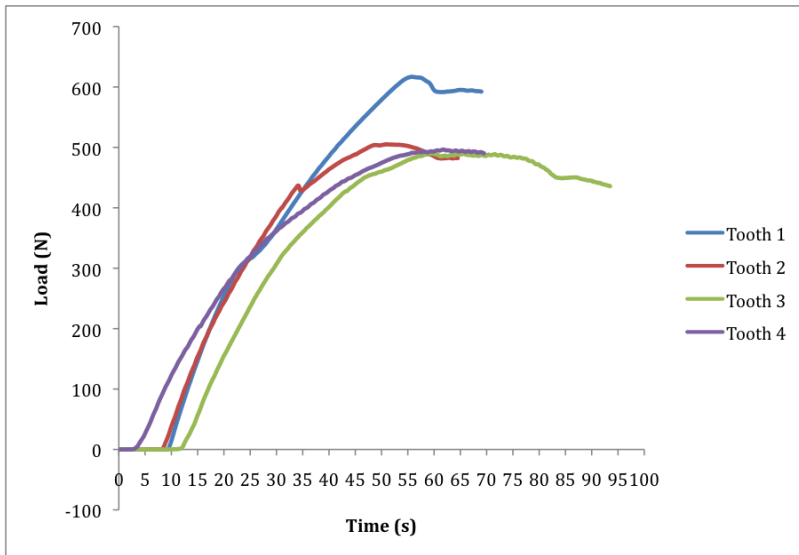
For each of the tests, an image of the failed specimen was captured as shown in Table 1. The red marking on the base of the abutment represents the place the load was applied to the abutment.

*Table 1. Pictures of each specimen for the Procera, Lava, and Atlantis abutments, courtesy of Jae Seon Kim, DDS.*

	<b>Procera</b>	<b>Lava</b>	<b>Atlantis</b>
Specimen 1			
Specimen 2			
Specimen 3			
Specimen 4			

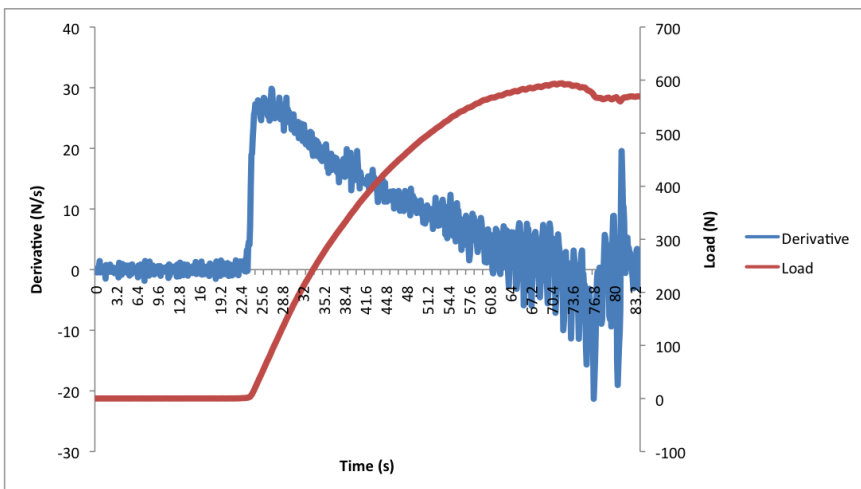
Since there were complications with the video, it could not be used to detect the onset of cracking. Instead, the graph of load vs. time and load vs. displacement could only be analyzed in conjunction to the optical analysis. Each abutment tested consisted of a base, implant, screw, abutment, and crown. In order to conduct the mechanical tests, each of these components had to be considered in terms of failure. Since the geometry of each abutment was complex, and failure could've been from several sources such as deformation in the metal implant or cracking of the abutment, there were many possible places of deformation. Therefore the graphs of load vs. time or load vs. displacement were difficult to interpret and did not give clear results. An example of the graph of load vs. time for the Atlantis abutments is shown in Figure 4.

## Fracture Resistance of Internal Connection Zirconia Implant Abutments



**Figure 4.** Graph of load vs. time for the Atlantis specimens.

In order to determine when failure happened, the data was interpreted in two ways. First, the slope of the load vs. time was plotted on the y-axis and time was plotted on the x as shown in Figure 5. It was expected that the first major change in the graph would represent the first onset of failure. It was suspected that the first major change in load could be due to the onset of cracking for the Procera and Atlantis samples and plastic deformation for the Lava samples.



**Figure 5.** Graph of Derivative vs. time and slope vs. time for the Atlantis sample

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By examining the slope vs. time curve for each type of abutment, the first change in the curve was recorded and the average load, the maximum load and minimum load for each type of abutment was calculated, as shown in Table 2.

*Table 2. By finding the first change in the derivative vs. time graph, the average load of all four tests for each abutment was recorded. The max load and the min load were used to find the standard deviation.*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Ave. Load of 4 Tests (N)</b>	<b>St. Dev.</b>	<b>Max Load (N)</b>	<b>Min Load (N)</b>
Atlantis	331.94	157.05	426.40	204.30
Procera	302.24	154.86	398.60	179.60
Lava	247.90	0.00	247.90	247.90

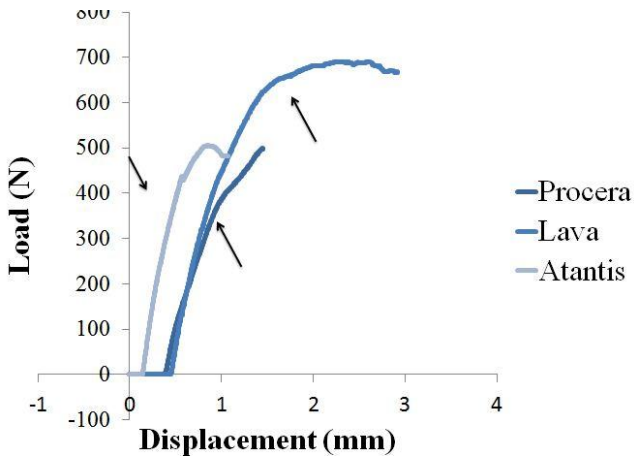
Looking at the first derivative for the Procera and Lava samples was effective, but it was not effective for the Lava specimens because there was not major change. For the second method of determining when failure occurred, the load vs. time graph was analyzed to find the first maximum load value. For each curve, the location of the first maximum was recorded and since each type of abutment had 4 different abutments being tested, the average load of all four was calculated. In addition to the average load, the maximum load and the minimum load was noted in order to find the standard deviation as shown in Table 2.

*Table 3. By finding the first maximum value at for each abutment, the average load of all four tests for each abutment was recorded. The max load and the min load were used to find the standard deviation.*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Ave. Load of 4 Tests (N)</b>	<b>St. Dev.</b>	<b>Max Load (N)</b>	<b>Min Load (N)</b>
Atlantis	263.88	84.53	330.78	211.24
Procera	152.23	120.97	240.76	69.69
Lava	488.22	168.20	634.34	396.46

Once all of the load and time values at failure were recorded, the most representative curve for each the Procera, and Lava, and Atlantis was selected and the Load vs. Displacement was graphed to determine the estimated value of the load at failure as shown in Figure 6.

## Fracture Resistance of Internal Connection Zirconia Implant Abutments




**Figure 6.** Load vs. Displacement for the most representative curves from all three geometries. The arrows represent the first max load of each curve, which in result represent the load and displacement of failure.

### Optical Microscopy

In order to look further at why each abutment failed, it was important to use optical microscopy to look at the fracture surface under magnification and take images. Table 3 shows the images taken with an Olympus SZH10 stereomicroscope.

**Table 4.** Optical microscopy images for the Procera, Lava and Atlantis samples.

Procera	Lava	Atlantis
		

## Discussion

### Mechanical Testing

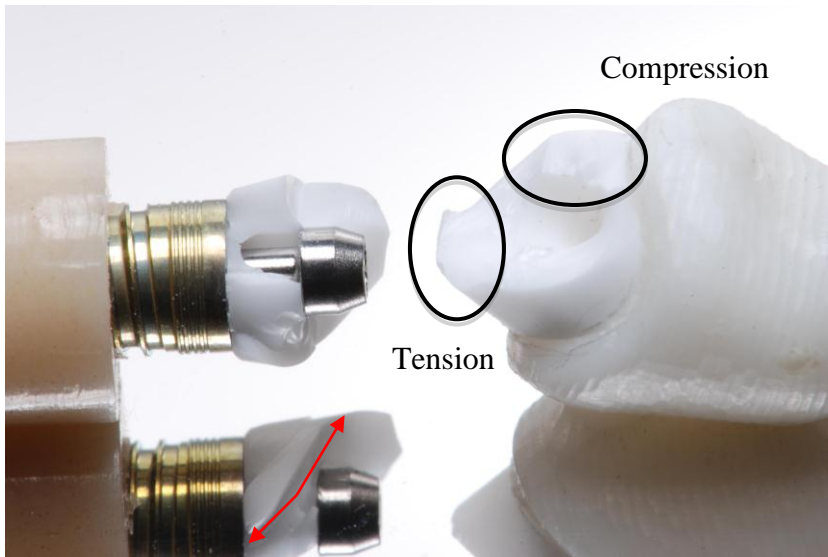
Once the Instron testing was complete, it was necessary to determine how to interpret the data. By using the change in slope for the Procera and Atlantis samples, it appeared promising because the change in slope could've been due to internal cracking that began. The initiation of cracking could've forced the redistribution of load, and therefore a significant change in the load vs. time graph. For the most part,

determining plastic deformation for the lava sample was simple because the graph was constant up until a point there was a slight change in slope and the graph went back to being constant.

Using the derivative vs. load curves for each sample, a load was determined as the point of failure and that value was pointed out on Figure 6. Figure 6 shows that for the Procera and Atlantis samples, they both experienced a failure around 400 N. Lava on the other hand showed a failure at 600 N. Clearly, Lava could handle higher loads than the other two abutments. This trend is also apparent when looking at the average loads at failure determined a different way as mentioned in the results section. The average loads for the Procera and Atlantis was 495.21 N and 509.42 N respectively. Lava handled a load up to 720 N, which again was much higher than the other two samples. For Procera and Atlantis, there was a significant difference from the two methods of determining the load at failure, therefore it cannot be determined the exact value of the load. However, one important piece of information obtained is that was that the completely zirconia abutment (Atlantis) and the abutment which was friction fitted to the titanium insert (Procera) consistently experienced the same load at failure. This is promising for the advancement of all ceramic abutments because it showed similar values to the partially ceramic abutment. In addition, it could be concluded that the Lava sample exceeded the other abutments in ability to handle load.

### *Optical Microscopy*

The main reason for using optical microscopy was to determine whether the cracking for the Atlantis and Procera abutments began internally. In Table 1, some of the specimens were broken in ways that resembled if the piece had begun to fracture internally. For the first Atlantis specimen, from looking at the top piece of the abutment, as shown in Figure 7, it is clear to see which of the piece was in compression and in tension. In addition to that the crack propagation can be in on the bottom half of the abutment.



*Figure 7. First specimen for the Atlantis.*

In addition to this image, the third image in Table 3 shows how the crack propagated around the surface of this piece. Looking at the outer edge, the crack propagates away from the top (from the inside) to crack surface. One sign of the direction of crack propagation is that the ripples on the crack surface become wider as the crack moves along.

Looking at the Procera abutment under the microscope revealed metal scrapes on the inside of the ceramic. This was determined to have been due to the force of the titanium insert onto the ceramic when the force was applied. Therefore it could be concluded that crack initiation began on the inside of the abutment again, the great force induced specifically it where the metal comes in contact with the ceramic.

For the Lava abutment, it was confirmed looking under the microscope that the ceramic didn't crack but it was the deformation of the titanium insert that resulted in failure.

### **Conclusion**

Examining ceramic abutments is crucial for the advancement of restorative dentistry. The mechanical properties of ceramic abutments is not widely known and understood. For the experiment, the Lava design did not fracture but failed due to plastic deformation. The Procera and Atlantis failed due to internal cracking at the metal/ceramic interface. All of the samples held high loads in comparison to a bite, which exhibits forces from 100-200 N.<sup>1</sup>

One suggestion for improving the dental implant abutment would be to optimize attachment method. The metal/ceramic contact makes high stress. Since failure initiated near the screw ceramic contact, in order to change that the contact area would need to be increased in order to distribute the stress over more surface. This could be achieved by creating a plane contact versus a line contact. Past research<sup>8</sup> suggested that whenever possible, wide diameter implants should be used to reduce the likelihood of long-term component fracture. A suggestion I would make for furthering this specific research topic is to conduct acoustic emission testing (AET). AET listen for energy released by the objet. Since the ability to discern between developing and stagnant defect is possible with this type of testing, the onset of internal cracking can be determined.

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**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank everyone at the Office of Minority Affairs, McNair, and EIP for their support and dedication to my research and academic future. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Brian Flinn for helping me through the research process and the development of my failure analysis of the tooth abutment. I would like to thank Jae Seon Kim, DDS for preparing the samples and assisting with mechanical testing. Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for their continued support and always being my cheerleaders.

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My research interests involve characterizing nanodevices, failure analysis of biomaterials, and working with composite in regards to the aerospace industry.



# Vasa: Navigating an Ocean of Pacific Islander Knowledge

Nestor Tupufia Enguerra Jr.

## Abstract

*This research provides a framework for developing a curriculum in Pacific Islander (P.I.) history and culture for Seattle high school and college levels and within the academic contexts of ethnic studies, multicultural education, and postcolonial studies. Through historical analysis, archival research on original documents of P.I. historical and cultural expressions, content analysis of existing P.I. Studies curricula in other universities, and interviews of professors in P.I. Studies, this study offers a theoretical foundation, a comparative lens, and a set of courses for institutions to consider. These were used to develop a prospective curriculum that will not only educate students on P.I. studies, but address issues of race, power, and colonization in general and as they apply to P.I.s and all students.*

## Introduction

A big part of the Pacific Islander experience is the continuous and constant struggle with their identity and culture as a Pacific Islander and as an American. These identities and values often conflict and cause tensions for Pacific Islanders and Pacific Islander communities. An example of these tensions is education. As a Pacific Islander in America, there is stigma associated with succeeding in school. Being successful in school is contrary to the stereotypical ideas portrayed by popular media in which Pacific Islanders are only known for their brute strength, athletic prowess, and exotic dancing. Breaking through the constraints of these stereotypes can cause repercussions like feeling excluded or being called a sell out. Another consequence related to this stigma is that it is culturally inappropriate for students to pursue higher education. Pacific Islander cultural expectations dictate that family comes before anything else. This ensnares many young Pacific Islanders into believing in an illusion where it is more important to dive into the work force rather than attain a good education (Spickard et al 2002). The need to immediately support the family becomes an obligation and sacrificing one's future or life becomes second nature for Pacific Islanders. In the American cultural norm, this is unusual, for to go this far for family members and the success of the entire family is not as important as the success of the individual. These ideals are then enforced through different institutions like schools.

In this research, I work on developing a framework for a curriculum for high school and college levels on Pacific Islander history and culture to alleviate the endeavors and the stigma associated with Pacific Islanders in the institution of education. Courses in these categories are difficult to find and curriculum like these are quite understudied and undertheorized. My primary research question will be, how can a historically specific and culturally appropriate curriculum on Pacific Islander studies be developed? I will frame my work within theoretical conversations regarding multicultural education, pedagogy, colonial and post-colonial studies, and under the larger framework of Ethnic Studies. This research is not meant to develop teaching strategies or lesson plans for the classroom, but to create a space and framework for discourses on curriculum for Pacific Islander studies. In this research, I argue that school has become another ocean that many Pacific Islanders have to navigate, but they do not have the right equipment. I argue that curriculum is the *va'a*<sup>1</sup> that is needed to navigate this *vasa*<sup>2</sup> called education. In examining Figure 1, I believe that this image embodies my argument of school as another ocean for Pacific Islanders to navigate. I hope that this research will show the need for a culturally specific curriculum and critique the notion that there is a universal curriculum that can be taught to everyone. I hope my research will show an alternative form of curriculum that is Pacific Islander oriented.



*Figure 1<sup>3</sup>. Navigating an Ocean of Knowledge in Education.*

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<sup>1</sup> Va'a – Samoan word for boat or water vessel.

<sup>2</sup> Vasa – Samoan word for ocean.

<sup>3</sup> Image created by Vaeomatoka Valu 2006. Banner for Pacific Islander Partnerships in Education (PIPE).

### *Vasa*

Before the institutions of education were established in the Pacific Islands, the source of knowledge for its people came from the ocean (Palaita 2010). Much of the nourishments and resources not only came from the land but also from the ocean. The ocean was an extension of the land. Life came out of the ocean and the ocean sustained life. The knowledge to weave, navigate, carve, and perform many other Pacific Islander cultural practices came out of necessity to survive out in the ocean (Palaita 2010; Diaz 2011). This is why the Pacific Islander term for ocean, particularly in Samoan, is vasa. Vasa is made up of two Samoan words, *va* and *sa*. *Va* means space and *sa* means sacred. Together they form a word that literally means sacred space.

Va (Space) + Sa (Sacred) = Vasa = Sacred Space = Ocean.  
(Palaita 2011)

The ocean or vasa has a profound meaning and reverence for Pacific Islanders. It is a space that nourishes the body and a metaphorical space that nourishes the mind. History, religions, stories, and other narratives of Pacific Islanders were all derived from the ocean (Palaita 2011). People who were able to survive the journey across the vasa earned the right to have their stories and narratives be told and remembered. The vasa is both a rewarding and punishing space for Pacific Islanders (Bonus 2011). If one fails to cross the vasa, it could mean death. But those who survive become part of a discourse that shapes Pacific Islander knowledge.

### *A Need for Curriculum*

Today, the space for knowledge is within an institution called education or in its form of schools and classrooms. Knowledge and learning, especially for Pacific Islanders, are no longer focused on the vasa but replaced by schools. The vasa is not just a body of water but a source of knowledge for many Pacific Islanders. Epeli Hau'ofa (1998) writes about the vasa as one big continent that he called Oceania. Since the colonization of the Pacific Islands, Pacific Islanders have been taught that the Pacific Ocean is what separates the Pacific Islands from each other and from the world, and that the Pacific Islands are just small masses of land that were isolated out at sea. Hau'ofa proposes that instead of perceiving the Pacific Islands as divided by a vast vasa, imagine rather the vasa as space that unifies these islands to each other and the world. With this kind of imagination, the islands no longer seem

isolated but connected with multiple islands to form the continent of Oceania.

*Invisibility*

The world of Oceania covers a third of the world, but there are very few scholarly works on this vast area that many Pacific Islanders call their vasa. This center of knowledge still continues today with cultural exchanges that range from Africa, India, the Americas, Great Britain, Germany, and many more countries, yet there are very few scholarship produced about the vasa. Despite the large size of the vasa, the Pacific Islands and its people have been rendered invisible. An example of this is in Figure 2. Here is a map of the United States that can be commonly found in schools and textbooks, but the only Pacific Islands acknowledged here are the Hawaiian Islands.

This map and many similar maps like this represent the United States. However, they do not acknowledge that the U.S. expands into the Pacific Ocean and not just limited to Hawaii. Islands like American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Marianas Islands, the Marshall Islands, Palau, and Midway Island are part of the United States as territories or associated states of the U.S.<sup>4</sup> and span across the Pacific Ocean, but they are not recognized in common maps like in Figure 2. Knowledge about Pacific Islanders and the vasa are not taught in these institutions of education and are often made invisible.



**Figure 2<sup>5</sup>.** Map of the United States.

<sup>4</sup>A list of U.S. territories. Website: [http://www.usa.gov/Agencies/State\\_and\\_Territories.shtml](http://www.usa.gov/Agencies/State_and_Territories.shtml) Accessed 5/11/2011

<sup>5</sup> Image found on Google Images, Website: <http://www.focus-array.com/> Accessed 5/13/2011.

*Knowledge that is Devalued and Disempowered*

Knowledge of the Pacific Islands being made invisible makes it difficult for Pacific Islanders to find schools and their education meaningful. Meyer (2001) wrote that it was strange that one day, he woke up and realized that everything he had learned in school, or read in books, have not absolutely been shaped by a Hawaiian mind. This is the experience that many Pacific Islanders share. Education or schools are spaces for all kinds of knowledge, but rarely is there any knowledge produced about Pacific Islanders. Knowledge about Europeans, Americans, and other westerners are valued in schools, but there are rarely any connection made to the Pacific Islands. Learning about Pacific Islanders becomes perceived as a waste of time because there is no need for knowledge for such small islands with small populations. Here is one third of the world that is made invisible and yet everyday, as Hau'ofa wrote, this Oceania is constantly being belittled (1998). This sends a message to many Pacific Islanders that their culture, their way of life, is irrelevant. These subtle messages are then internalized among Pacific Islanders, within their communities, and in their everyday lives.

Belittlement in whatever guise, if internalized for long, and transmitted across generations, could lead to moral paralysis and hence to apathy and the kind of fatalism that we can see among our fellow human beings who have been herded and confined to reservations. People in some of our islands are in danger of being confined to mental reservations, if not already to physical ones. – Hau'ofa (1998)

The consequence of knowledge being invisible is that it becomes devalued and disempowering for the people of the Pacific Islands (Hau'ofa 1998).

*A Need for a Culturally Responsible Curriculum*

Why is there a need for a Curriculum?

The truth is, Hawaiians [as well as for other Pacific Islanders] were never like the people who colonized us. If we wish to understand what is unique and special about who we are as cultural people, we will see that our building blocks of understanding, our epistemology, and thus our empirical relationship to experience is fundamentally different. - Meyer (2001)

Meyer (2001) writes about how Pacific Islanders, specifically Hawaiians, are fundamentally different from their colonizers especially when it comes to learning, and that schooling is a space that “dismisses the idea that empiricism is culturally defined.” With schools not recognizing this, it causes disparities for Pacific Islanders in education. Scholars like Geneva Gay (2000) write about making culturally responsible pedagogies that use cultural knowledge and experiences that make education more meaningful and effective for marginalized people of color. James Banks (1996) also writes about multicultural education, or how making culturally specific curriculum enables students to succeed in school. Hau’ofa (1998) writes about how our own Pacific Islander people need to be part of creating Pacific Islander knowledge – to be part of the production of knowledge, and not just any knowledge, but culturally relevant knowledge. “Knowledge is a bounded system of discourses and experiences that are accumulated or concentrated in such a way that it becomes uncontested truths, and when these truths are exercised over other, knowledge becomes power” (Palaita 1998). The need for a culturally responsible curriculum will not only contribute to knowledge of Pacific Islanders but also to the empowerment of marginalized people like Pacific Islanders.

### *Vasa as the Curriculum*

For this research, I would like to focus on three frameworks that are essential for a Pacific Islander curriculum. Because of the lack of Pacific Islander scholars in the United States, I was only able to interview two Pacific Islander professors who have worked extensively with Pacific Islander students and have taught issues relevant to Pacific Islanders. These Professors are Prof. Rick Bonus and Prof. David Palaita. I had made efforts to interview Prof. Vicente M. Diaz, but I was only able to make it to his talk/lecture at the University of Washington titled, *Rethinking Indigeneity with Outrigger Canoes*. I wished to interview more Pacific Islander scholars, but many of them were outside of the scope of time and space for this research. Based on these interviews and literature, I would like to create a space or vasa<sup>6</sup> to begin a discourse in creating a Pacific Islander curriculum starting with the frameworks of Imperialism, Oral culture, and Resistance.

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<sup>6</sup> Using vasa in the context of a sacred space.



*Imperialism*

Imperialism frames the experience.

- Linda Tuhwai Smith (1999)

For many Pacific Islanders, imperialism is both a physical and mental experience. Imperial empires have colonized much of the Pacific, and for many Pacific Islanders, they feel confined or surrounded by empire. There is no longer a vast vasa to navigate, but only a tiny island that Pacific Islanders are confined to. To better understand this experience, we must understand Figure 3. Examining Figure 3 shows the relationship that Pacific Islanders had with the vasa before colonization. Here is the vasa, and then across the vasa, there are islands populated by people or tagata or tautautano. The arrows represent cultural exchanges that people share with each other when they navigated or crossed the vasa. These cultural exchanges can be about food, language, navigation, stories, tapa<sup>7</sup>, dances, or even love. These constant exchanges across the vasa are still continuing today. Figure 3 shows that the vasa can be imagined as a medium that fosters cultural exchanges and knowledge. Each island becomes a center of knowledge that can traverse the vasa. All of the islands can become multiple forms of knowledge that is exchanged over the vasa (Palaita 2010; Hau'ofa 1998).

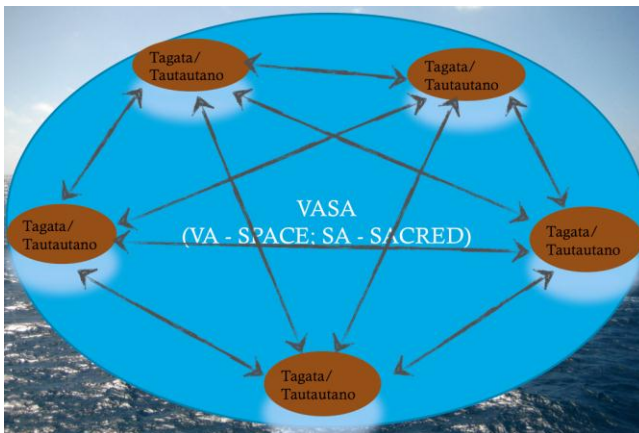


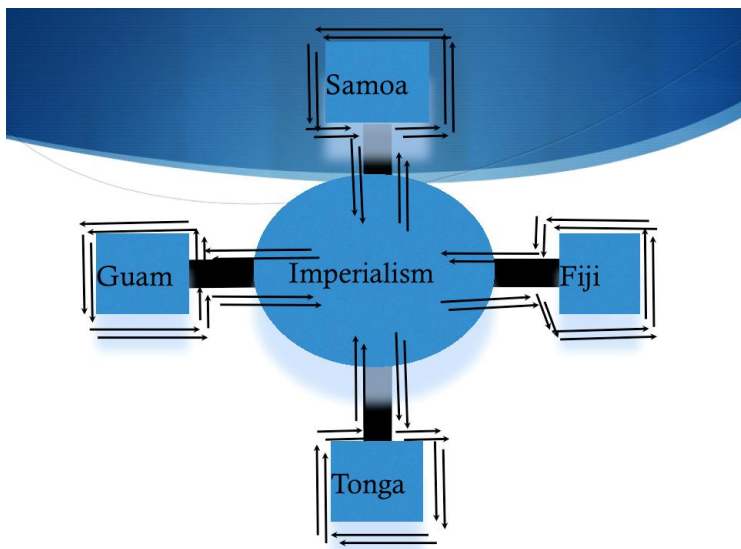
Figure 3<sup>8</sup>. Vasa Diagram.

When the Pacific Islanders were colonized, the vasa was no longer a space for knowledge production or exchange, but became

<sup>7</sup> Tapa is cloth made from the bark of a paper mulberry tree. Found in most of Polynesia and used as clothing for special events.

<sup>8</sup> Diagram made by David Palaita.

redefined as a space that confines and produces borders. In examining Figure 4, when imperial powers came to colonize the Pacific Islands, they placed labels on the people, the tagata, the tautautano that lived in these islands. Labels like Samoa, Tonga, and Guam confined them to specific islands whereas before, there was this vast network of exchange between all peoples of the vasa. In Figure 4, there is no longer any multiple centers of knowledge, like in Figure 3, but only one center, which is the imperial power. In Figure 4, the arrows also represent knowledge and cultural exchange, but here, knowledge begins and ends with the imperial power. There is no knowledge exchange between the islands, and this leaves only the imperial power as the only source of knowledge that is perceived as the uncontested truth. Hau'ofa (1998) proposes that we must reimagine the vasa as a space without borders, one that unites rather than divides the islands, and something that can be a space of knowledge that can contest the dominant imperial knowledge about the Pacific.



*Figure 4. Imperial Diagram.*

With this ideology of the vasa, I would use it as the basis for creating a curriculum specifically for the study of Pacific Islander histories and contemporary culture.

### *Oral Culture*

Another framework of this curriculum would be oral culture. In the Pacific, knowledge is preserved and passed on through oral tradition and practices, while in western education; the method for preserving knowledge is through written texts and records like books and literature. Pacific Islanders always face this tension between oral and written culture especially in schools. In written culture, knowledge is valued if it is written down or recorded by those in power, and those in power are usually those who own the land. Hence, there is this emphasis of knowledge being historically land-based. In the oral culture of the Pacific, knowledge is always changing like the vasa. Knowledge is based on the vasa and those who have survived and crossed the vasa constantly negotiate these knowledges. It is no surprise that Pacific Islander students are not doing so well in Western-based curricula that do not allow room for negotiation.

For this curriculum, I would like students to be introduced to an alternative way of generating and transforming knowledge. Students would need to learn how to receive and pass knowledge through chants, song, and speech. I would also like to have students perform research on contemporary oral traditions and practices. These can be through spoken word, plays, as well as materials such as those from YouTube.

### *Resistance*

Another framework that should be part of the vasa curriculum is resistance – how Pacific Islander culture has continued or transformed in the contemporary. Students will observe how resistance is practiced today. Students will also explore different types of resistance. Some acts of resistance can be as obvious as independence parades or even presentations on the nuclear bombings in the islands, like those in the Marshall Islands and Tahiti. Students will also examine alternative forms of resistance. One form of resistance can be observed in the body, like dancing and tattoos. Students may examine the meanings behind dances and how dances can be used politically. They may also examine tattoos and tattoo making, including the histories of how they have survived to the present and how the culture and art of tattooing have been transformed over the years. Students may also analyze how the meanings and symbolisms behind the tattoos are connected to acts of resisting colonial powers. Observing how Pacific Islanders are working to revive their culture through arts like carving and paintings is also another example of resisting. Even the revival of Pacific Islander sports and cultural practices like outrigger canoe racing, the revival of navigation and long distance canoeing, as well as the different ways of

experiencing seafaring will surely engage students in their quest for explaining contemporary resistance.

Another set of spaces of resistance for Pacific Islander communities constitute the schools. One important factor that is connected to resisting, which many fail to see, is the importance of empowerment. So often are Pacific Islander stereotypes portrayed as passive and friendly people that little is mentioned of their resistance and empowerment. Resisting against Western curriculum plays an important role in the empowerment of a community. Haunani-Kay Trask states “We are not happy natives...the anger is actually a safety valve...what’s the alternative? I’d rather make art than, you know, commit murder.” (Spickard 2002) The struggle of resisting is only enjoyed through the sense and feeling of empowerment. Hau’ofa says it best:

We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truly and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically, in the tiny spaces which we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed lace, and from which we have recently liberated ourselves. We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom. – Hau’ofa (1998)

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, schools have become a vasa for Pacific Islanders to navigate. They are both punishing and rewarding experiences, and surviving them has been key to their survival or success. For this research, I hope to have shown that using this ideology of the vasa is a creative and productive way for performing scholarship for indigenous people without totally abandoning western knowledge. I hope to also have shown that this can be an ongoing example of culturally responsible teaching and curriculum transformation. I hope this research will help continue conversations about developing Pacific Islander based curricula and help develop other curricula that are more appropriate and empowering for colonized and marginalized people.

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### **Acknowledgements**

I would first like to thank my sisters and family for supporting me throughout my educational endeavors, especially my parents Nestor and Luse, and my aunt Tupe and uncle Pago. They are the ones who motivate me to continue school. I would especially like to thank my advisor and mentor Prof. Rick Bonus for everything he has done for me and for making me successful in school. He has inspired me to hopefully become a professor and mentor just like him. I would like to thank Prof. David Palaita for opening my eyes to the vasa and for his valuable support of my work. I would also like to thank the McNair program, especially Dr. Gene Kim, Ashley, Jorge, and Rosa. Without them, I would not have developed the conviction and confidence to pursue a Ph.D. and conduct research. I would also like to thank my partner and life-long friend Deborah, who is always supportive of my work and research. Without her, I would be a mess both physically and

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

metaphorically. Thank you and fa'afetai tele lava to everyone and to the vasa that has brought me this far. Much alofas to you all.

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I am interested in research about education in relation to race and I am also very interested in anything that has to do with Pacific Islanders. I plan to pursue my Masters and Doctorate degrees in education and I hope to develop a curriculum for Pacific Islander studies and contribute to Pacific Islander scholarship.

# **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 Uttarakhnad, 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



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

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 phenomenon 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 phenomenons 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 (Pathak 1997, 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).

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

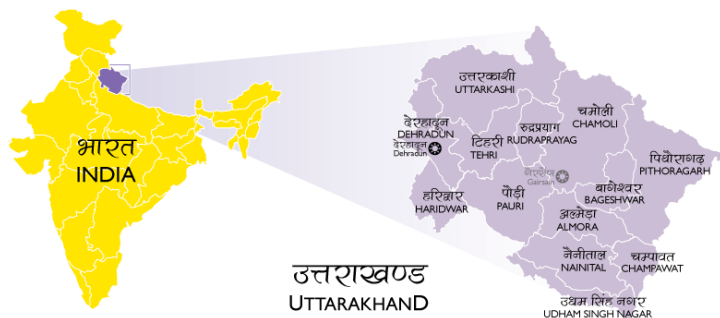


Figure 1. Map of Uttarakhand.



Figure 2. Map of Kumaon and Garhwal 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 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 range of personal histories based on different generations. Because of current literature on the region,<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> Please refer to literature review section for further information.

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

order to find the common themes that ran through the journals I did a 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<sup>2</sup> 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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<sup>2</sup> Development, empowerment, childhood, livelihood, hardships, education, Kumaon, and rural India.

*Table 1. Variables.*

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 vary from 18-65 years of age	Ratio

### 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 listens 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



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

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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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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Kumaon Khoj (Discovering Kumaon): An Anthology of Kumaon  
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## Figures

Figure 1: Map of Uttarakhand:

<http://www.uttarakhandtourtravels.com/map.html>

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

## Acknowledgements

I owe a great amount of acknowledgements to all the individuals who made this research project possible. I would like to start out by thanking Keith Goyden and Dr. Rebecca Klenk for introducing me to Kumaon and all the inspiring individuals there. Without both of their

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

hard work put into the program, I never would have had this opportunity. I owe my biggest thank you to all the individuals in Kumaon who took time out of their lives to enrich mine. Bahut Dahnyavad. All of their contributions have made the difference in my research and my experience in Kumaon. I want to thank Alex Saunders, an outstanding class peer who has contributed much of his insight and was a great life couch along the way. I would like to thank Megha Thakkar, thank you for all your time translating the journals. Deepa Pathak, thank you for helping with the start of this project. I would like to give a big thank you to all the faculty and staff who mentored me as I unraveled this research, Kacy McKinney, Dr. Michael Brown, and Ph.C. Christina Wygat. A big thank you to the McNair Staff, Jorge Martinez, Ashley McClure, Dr. Gene Kim, and Rosa Ramirez, thank you for believing in my research. Thank you McNair and EIP Scholarship who funded my research. Family, thanks for supporting me all along the way. I appreciated everyone's insight and support.

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Geography and Comparative History of Ideas

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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.

# Metal Abundance Calibration of the Ca II triplet in RR Lyrae Stars

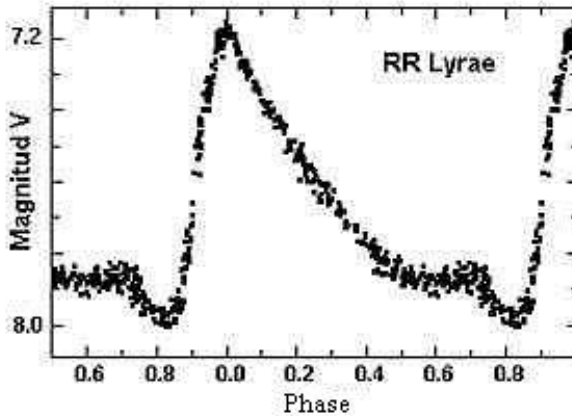
Thomas Gomez

## Abstract

*The GAIA Satellite is likely to observe thousands of RR Lyrae with a small spectral range, between 8470Å and 8750Å at a resolution of 11,500. In order to derive metallicity from GAIA, we are obtaining numerous spectra of RR Lyrae stars at a resolution of 30,000 with the APO 3.5m echelle spectrograph. We have correlated Ca II triplet EW with Fe II abundances, analogous to Preston's (1959) use of the Ca II K line to estimate metallicity in RR Lyrae Stars. These relations have also been re-derived at the GAIA spectral resolution.*

## Introduction to RR Lyrae

RR Lyrae stars are a variable star initially found in globular clusters. These stars pulsate in brightness and size with a period on the order of 10 hours. Figure 1 shows a light curve showing the phase of the pulsation and the relative brightness of the star and the spectral type (see Appendix regarding spectra and spectral type.)



**Figure 1.** *The pulsation of an RR Lyrae star*  
([http://www.astro.washington.edu/users/premap/projects\\_archive.php](http://www.astro.washington.edu/users/premap/projects_archive.php)).

RR Lyrae have been found to also be field stars (stars that are all over the sky, not associated with a cluster) and have been named after the star RR Lyrae in the constellation Lyra. Due to the consistency of RR Lyrae, these stars have been good measures of distance to other galaxies and

have given us clues about the structure and formation of our own galaxy. RR Lyrae come in 3 subtypes, RRab, RRc, and RRd. RRab stars are the overwhelming majority of RR Lyrae and will be the focus of this study. Their light curve is shown in Figure 1. RRc stars have periods on the order of 3 or 4 hours instead of 10 hours like RRab stars. They also do not have quite as sharp of an increase in brightness as RRab stars and do not vary as much in spectral type. RRd stars are a very rare type of star that pulsates with a double mode.

## **Introduction to the GAIA Satellite**

During the next decade, the study of galactic structure will be greatly enhanced thanks to two new instruments, the Large Synoptic Sky Survey (LSST) and the GAIA satellite. The European Science Agency (ESA) is heading the GAIA satellite project, the replacement of Hipparcos<sup>1</sup>. GAIA will map an estimated one billion stars, including many RR Lyrae variable stars of type RRab, which are important for galactic structure.

In addition to measuring parallaxes and proper motions, GAIA will measure a small spectral window between 8470Å and 8750Å with a resolution<sup>2</sup> of 11,500. This is designed to get radial velocities of stars using various sharp lines including the Ca II infrared triplet. The GAIA spectral window also includes some of the Paschen hydrogen series. GAIA is supposed to measure each star 70 times on average and the spectra taken over the course of the mission will be averaged to get a radial velocity. The GAIA spectral window is shown for several RR Lyrae (SW And, XZ Cyg, and X Ari) in Figure 2. Figure 3 shows the corresponding H $\alpha$ . We correlating the Ca II triplet EW with the derived [Fe/H] for RR Lyrae as did Preston in 1959, and Clementini et al (1991).

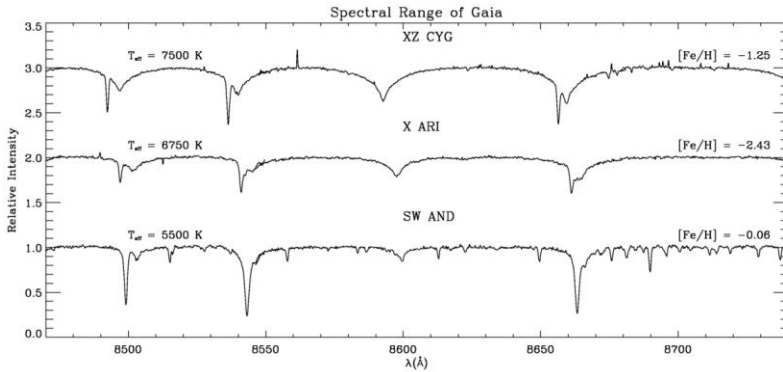
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<sup>1</sup>Hipparcos uses trigonometric parallaxes to determine distances to nearby stars.

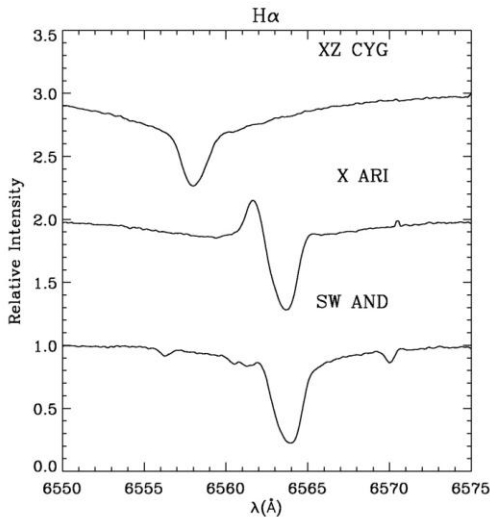
<sup>2</sup>Spectral Resolution is a function of how finely spectral lines are made on the camera,  $R = \lambda/\Delta\lambda$  where  $\lambda$  is the wavelength.



## Metal Abundance Calibration of the Ca II triplet in RR Lyrae Stars



**Figure 2<sup>3</sup>.** The GAIA spectral window for 3 RR Lyrae at various temperatures,  $[Fe/H]$ , and phase.



**Figure 3.** The  $H\alpha$  part of the spectrum, which allows us to determine the phase and other stellar activity of the star.

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<sup>3</sup>  $H\alpha$  profiles show that the infrared spectral lines are not affected much by the phase of the star's pulsation. For example, the featured spectrum from X Ari is at a time when the star is undergoing shocks. The Paschen series has deeper absorption with increasing temperature and the Ca II triplet lines get more blended with increasing  $[Fe/H]$ .

## Observation and Data Reduction

We have observed many RR Lyrae stars with the 3.5m telescope at APO with the echelle spectrograph, which has a resolution of 35,000, which covers a wavelength interval from 3500Å to 10,400Å with good signal-to-noise in the 8500Å region. We observed only R Rab type stars because RRc types are too unusual and preliminary results show a different relationship which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Data reduction was accomplished using programs in the Image Reduction and Analysis Facilities (IRAF) package. The spectra of RR Lyrae stars were measured both with the full resolution and with the resolution reduced to that of GAIA. Spectra of the RR Lyrae stars were observed at random phases in order to replicate GAIA observations.

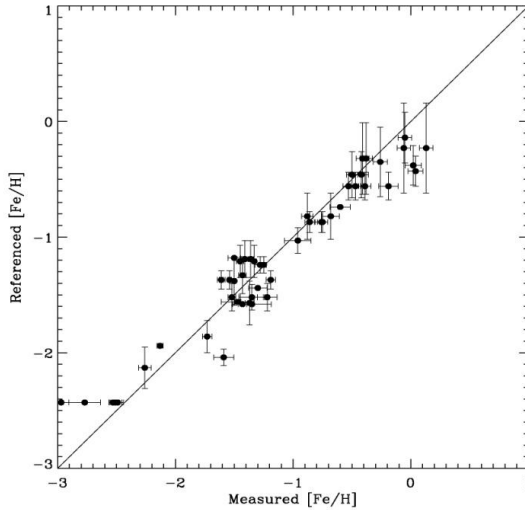
## Determining [Fe/H]

The measurement of equivalent widths<sup>4</sup> (EW) was automated by a program written by Wenjin Huang in the Interactive Data Language (IDL). Lines of the Hydrogen Paschen and Balmer series, the Ca II K and Ca II triplet, and selected lines of Fe II were measured.

Once we had the EW of all the lines we needed, we used an abundance analysis program, MOOG, to determine [Fe/H] of the star. MOOG uses the input EW and a model atmosphere made by Kurucz to determine several parameters of the stellar atmosphere. Comparison of our measured value of [Fe/H] and the referenced value of [Fe/H] is shown in Figure 4.

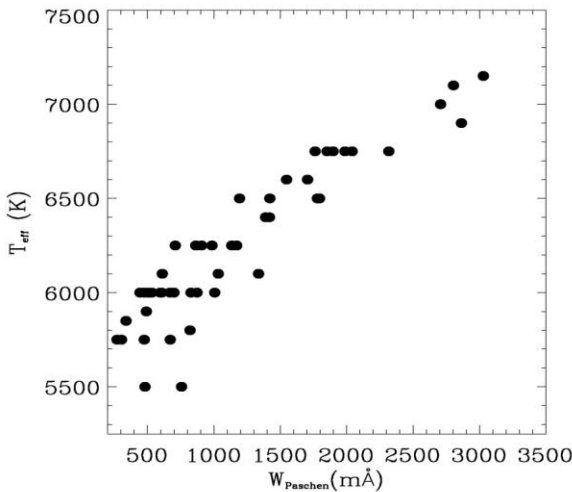
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<sup>4</sup>The total area of the line under the continuum is the same as the area of a box drawn from zero to one. The width of the box is the equivalent width.



**Figure 4.** The Measured  $[Fe/H]$  compared to the referenced  $[Fe/H]$ .

In order to get the correct model atmosphere, we need the effective temperature (see Appendix A regarding effective temperature) of the star. The temperature of each star at the observed phase was determined from the Balmer and Paschen hydrogen lines using Kurucz atmosphere models. Figure 5 shows how the EW of the unblended Paschen line at  $8598\text{\AA}$ .

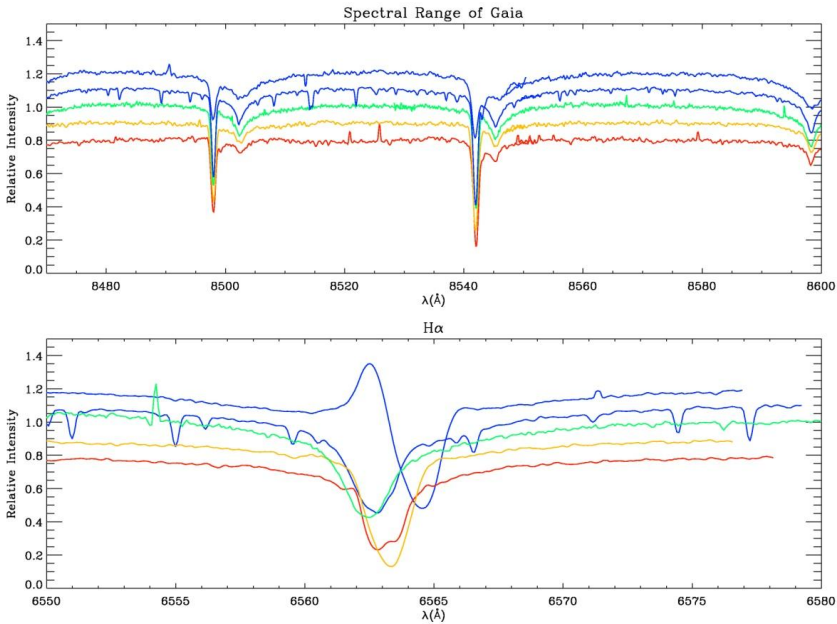


**Figure 5.** The effective temperature of the star, compared to the EW of the unblended Paschen line at  $8598\text{\AA}$ .

**[Fe/H] Calibration**

Preston (1959) was able to relate [Fe/H] with  $\Delta S$ , the difference between spectral types derived from the Ca II K line and the Balmer series. Clementini et al. (1991) was able to derive a tighter correlation between [Fe/H] and the Ca II K (EW).

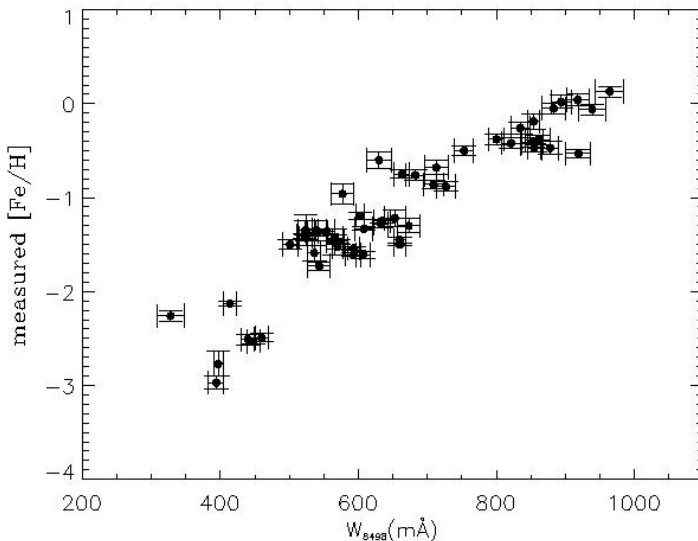
In order to ensure that the phase and emission that happens during the pulsation cycle does not affect the EW of the Ca II lines, we observed stars multiple times, such as X Ari. We show the different temperature phases of X Ari in Figure 6.



**Figure 6.** The first two lines of the Ca II triplet and the H $\alpha$  line, comparing any emission with events in the infrared. The spectra are color coded by temperatures. Blue is 6750K, red is below 6000K, and the orange and green fill in the intermediate temperatures.

The Ca II triplet lines maintain their shape and depth, yet depreciate minimally with decreasing temperature. The Saha equation, which calculates the ratio of ionized atoms to neutral atoms shows that the ratio of Ca II to Ca I is roughly constant at these temperatures, with more Ca II appearing in the star with increasing temperature. However, during H $\alpha$  emission, when shocks are flowing through the star, the Ca II lines are not as deep, but get greater full widths at half maximum, maintaining their EW within 10%.

Because we can approximate the temperatures of the stars as being roughly the same, then the only factor that will affect the EW of the Ca II lines is  $[Fe/H]$ . Therefore, we should expect that we can derive a relationship between the Ca II triplet EW and the  $[Fe/H]$  of the star. The line that can best be measured is the Ca II line at  $8498\text{\AA}$  because it can be fitted with a Gaussian and is minimally blended with the Paschen line at  $8502\text{\AA}$ . The small separation between the other Ca II lines and their neighboring Paschen lines makes measuring them more difficult, especially for metal rich stars. Measurements are best made when the Paschen lines are at their weakest in order to best determine the EW with minimal errors. The comparison of  $[Fe/H]$  to the EW of the Ca II line at  $8498\text{\AA}$  is shown in Figure 7.



*Figure 7.* Shows the relationship between  $[Fe/H]$  and the EW of the Ca II line at  $8498\text{\AA}$ .

We show in Figure 1 several examples of the GAIA spectral window for different RR Lyrae stars at different phases in their cycles. In the metal rich stars, the Paschen lines are clearly blended with their neighboring Ca II line. As expected the Paschen series varies with temperature, but does not show any obvious emission at phases in which  $H\alpha$  goes into emission.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, we see that this is one of the best methods to determine  $[\text{Fe}/\text{H}]$ . This method is superior to previous studies by Preston's (1959) method of using  $\Delta S$  and is a better calibration than Clementini's (1994) use of the Ca II K line. The Ca II triplet has clean detections, whereas the Ca II K line has many smaller lines that make measuring its EW very difficult. As good as this is, this still has some limitations due to the size of the telescope and sample of stars. A 3.5m telescope is small by today's standards and is not large enough to get good signal to noise on more distant and perhaps more metal poor stars. Although, we can predict how this relationship would be affected, but without data, there is no way to tell. The GAIA satellite will detect thousands of RR Lyrae and there will be no need to get spectra to determine  $[\text{Fe}/\text{H}]$  for this relation will allow us to obtain it without any further work. One of the advantages of this method is how it is nearly phase independent. Since RR Lyrae are good indicators of stellar populations, this will allow those interested in galactic structure to probe the galaxy.

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## Appendix A: Spectral Type

Stars emit light in the form of blackbody radiation, meaning that they put out light in all wavelengths that is somewhat distributed around a peak wavelength, corresponding to the effective temperature of the star. The effective temperature of the star is the temperature at the “surface of the star.” For example, the sun has an effective temperature of 5700K, while the brightest star, Sirius has an effective temperature of 9940K (Adelman et al 2004). The sun's peak wavelength is derived from Wein's law, shown in equation 1 where h, c, x, and k are all constants.

$$\lambda_{\max} = hc/xkT \approx 2.897 \times 10^6 \text{ nm K} / T \quad (1)$$

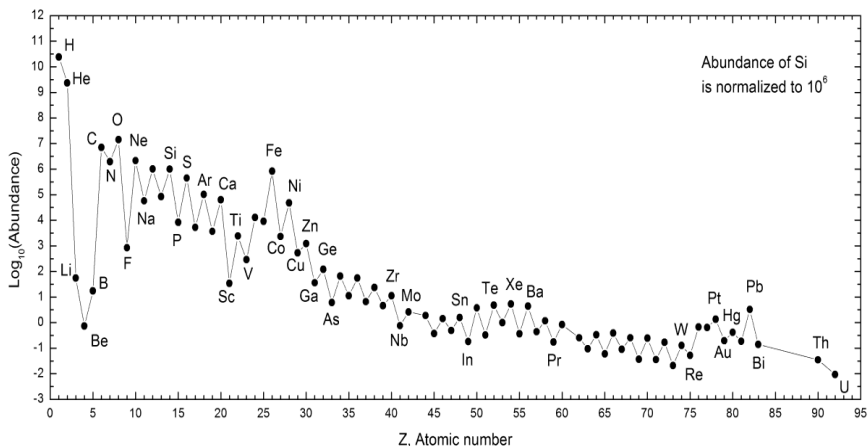
Even though the star emits blackbody radiation from its core, the atmosphere of the star will absorb light at specific wavelengths, corresponding to a particular element and how much of that element is in the star. Since Hydrogen is the most abundant element, by a factor of 10, it will have the strongest lines in the star. Spectral types are determined by the strength of the Hydrogen lines, A,B,F,G,K,L,M,O,T in order of strongest Hydrogen absorption to the weakest Hydrogen absorption. However, if one were to order in terms of temperature, then it would be O,B,A,F,G,K,M,L,T where O is the hottest and T is the coolest. L and T are so cold that they do not emit light in the visible and are infrared objects.

RR Lyrae are stars that will fluctuate between K and A type. For example, X Ari (Fig 6) shows a fluctuation from 5600K to 6750K, which is G to F. Other stars such as RRc will start at 7000K and go to 8000K or hotter.

In the atmosphere of the star, the temperature determines how many electrons are able to be excited in their atoms and then fall back to the original energy level. So for Hydrogen, the lines in the visible spectrum are called the Balmer lines.  $H\alpha$  is the  $n = 3$  to  $n = 2$  transition of electrons in their orbits,  $H\beta$  is the  $n=4$  to  $n=2$  and so forth for  $H\gamma$ ,  $H\delta$ , etc. The most energy transitions occur when the effective temperature of the star is about 10,000K. Above this temperature, electrons have so much energy that they leave the Hydrogen atoms and they become ionized. Below this temperature, there isn't enough energy to make the electrons jump up to these higher energy levels. So both increasing temperature and decreasing temperature will weaken the strength of these Hydrogen lines.

**Appendix B: [Fe/H]**

[Fe/H] is a quantity derived from the 1950's that determines the amount of heavy metals in the star. The number is usually given in log values with A1 showing solar abundances.



A1. Solar abundances for H,He,C,O,Ca,Fe, etc ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abundance\\_of\\_the\\_chemical\\_elements](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abundance_of_the_chemical_elements)).

Iron (Fe) is one of the more abundant elements and has some of the strongest lines across a wide range of temperatures of stars. The value [Fe/H] given above is compared to solar abundances where a star with [Fe/H] = 0.0 has solar abundance, whereas a star with [Fe/H] < 0.0 is more metal poor than the sun. Stars with [Fe/H] = -2.0 have 1/100<sup>th</sup> the amount of iron in the atmosphere than the sun. These stars have become of interest because they are thought to be among the oldest population of stars in the Universe.

**Acknowledgements**

This research was supported by the Kennilworth fund of the New York Community Trust. I also thank McNair Scholars Program, specially Gene Kim and Ashley McClure and Jorge Martinez at UW for their support and help with the paper.

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## Metal Abundance Calibration of the Ca II triplet in RR Lyrae Stars

I plan to attend the University of Texas at Austin for my graduate program, which focuses on stellar astronomy, the subfield that I want to study for my Ph.D.



# Power Increases Pressure to Demonstrate Fairness

Albert Han

## Abstract

*While there are many studies documenting the freeing effects of power, less research has examined the constraining effects of holding power. In this study, we propose that an expectation of fairness is placed upon the powerful. Due to their need to demonstrate fairness, we predict that power holders will experience heightened sensitivity and distress in situations that threaten their ability to be seen as fair. In the first test of our hypotheses, we asked participants to imagine receiving a request for work-related help from either their subordinate (high power condition) or peer (no power condition). In addition, we manipulated group status of both the participant (own group status: minority or majority) and the target person requesting help (target group status: minority or majority) by stating that most of the company was composed of the same sex (majority condition) or a different sex (minority condition). We expected to find 1) a main effect for power such that high power participants (vs. no power) would experience more concern in their ability to demonstrate fairness 2) that high power participants receiving a request for help from an ingroup subordinate would experience more threat than high power participants receiving a request from an outgroup subordinate and 3) that minority powerholders receiving a request for help from a minority subordinate would feel the most concerned about their ability to demonstrate fairness. Results indicate support for our first prediction, high power participants felt more concerned about others perceiving favoritism than participants in the no power condition. Our second prediction was also supported; participants were more worried about others perceiving favoritism when they were high in power and the requester was of the same sex. Our third prediction, that participants in the minority powerholder/minority subordinate condition would feel the most threat, was not supported.*

## Introduction

Whenever humans interact, power is at play. Although there are many variations of the definition of power, all fit under a common theme: Power is control (e.g., Emerson, 1962; French & Raven, 1959; Thibaut & Kelly, 1959; see also Overbeck, 2010). Power is dynamic and situation specific. Certain resources are valuable in certain situations; those holding power hold a relatively high amount of control over resources that are valuable within the current situation. For example, a

solo violinist who holds a high level of power in the symphony hall may not hold any power on the football field. In addition, if we image how the violinist thinks, feels and behaves in the two different settings mentioned previously, we can expect to see a very different person.

Much research has focused on the positive and freeing effects that come with holding power. Keltner, Gruenfeld and Anderson (2003), proposed an Approach/Inhibition Model to explain these effects. According to their model, power leads to the activation of the approach system. The approach system involves attention to rewards, experiencing positive emotions, automatic cognition, a disinhibited state and trait driven behavior. For those lacking in power, the inhibition system operates. The inhibition system's effects are complementary to the approach system, focusing attention on threats, experiencing negative emotions, controlled cognition and inhibited behavior. Research has generally supported this model. For example, powerful people are more optimistic (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006), conform less to others' opinions (Galinsky, Magee, Gruenfeld, Whitson & Liljenquist, 2008), and smile because they feel good as opposed to their powerless counterparts who smile out of obligation (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998). It is important to note that although power increases certain "negative" behaviors such as stereotyping (e.g., Goodwin, Gubin, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2000) it is the powerless, not the powerful, that are negatively effected by such behaviors (Cook, Arrow & Malle, 2011). Indeed, regardless of intentionality (i.e., by default or design), stereotyping reinforces the power structure, giving more power to the powerful by keeping the powerless in their place (Fiske, 1993).

Although the current state of research might lead one to assume that power engenders absolute freedom, this is clearly not the case. Factors such as competition for status and external change (e.g., corporate mergers) can threaten and/or change the existing power structure (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). In addition, the powerless can harm the reputation of the powerful through gossip (Keltner, Van Kleef, Chen & Kraus, 2008). As the authors note, gossip takes place when the target is not present, giving the target no control over what is said except through "acting in ways that fit the expectations of low-power individuals" (Keltner et al. 2008, pg. 165). We believe that powerful individuals are especially sensitive to situations that threaten their ability to meet the expectations of their followers, the expectations put upon them specifically because they are powerful. Initial evidence can be found from studies examining the relationship between power and competence. Simply put, competence is expected of powerful people (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Kay, Jost, & Young, 2005;

Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007). When a powerful person is not able to fulfill the expectation of competence, they may experience distress or dissonance. In one study, power holders who felt incompetent became aggressive towards others (Fast & Chen, 2009). In addition, powerful participants who were given a chance to affirm their self-worth (either in a power-related or unrelated domain) did not show the same heightened aggression, indicating that aggression was an ego-defensive response to threat.

The current research aims to examine another possible expectation placed upon the powerful: Fairness. Evidence for the existence of the fairness expectation can be found in research examining both powerful and powerless individuals' reactions to violations fairness. Research has shown that when power differentials seem illegitimate, power holders show less approach behaviors while the powerless show more approach behaviors (Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn & Otten, 2008). Aquino, Tripp and Bies (2006) found that low power employees are more likely to seek revenge for an offense committed by a higher power target when the procedural justice climate of the organization is low. In another study, employees who felt that their pay was inequitable (after receiving a pay cut) stole from the workplace to make up the difference (Greenberg, 1990). We propose that powerholders are aware of the expectation of fairness placed upon them and that situations that hinder their ability to demonstrate fairness will be threatening.

### **Study 1**

In our study, we created a situation which threatened the ability for a powerholder to demonstrate fairness that may also have real world relevance. We asked participants to imagine a work situation in which they were either a manager of 10 employees (high power) or a peer amongst the 10 employees (no power). Participants were asked to imagine that they had received a request for help from either their subordinate (high power participants) or a peer (low power participants). If, as we predict, power increases the need to demonstrate fairness, a main effect should emerge for power in that high power participants experience more distress in fairness-threatening situations than no power participants. We also manipulated the participants' group status (majority or minority) and the help requestor's group status (majority or minority). This manipulation was included to enhance threat to the ability to demonstrate fairness. People generally prefer members of their own group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; but see also Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Jost, Banaji & Nosek, 2004). Accordingly, we expected that receiving a request for help from an ingroup member (e.g., member of the same sex)

would constitute a higher threat to the ability to demonstrate fairness than receiving that same request from an outgroup member. Thus, we predict that high power participants would feel more distress when the request for help came from a subordinate that shared their group status (i.e., male or female). Finally, we were interested in examining a power holder with minority group status (manipulated by sex) who is asked for help from a subordinate holding the same minority group status. This situation can be illustrated by the following example: A woman manager in predominantly male company is asked for help from her only female subordinate (assuming, for example, that the manager oversees a group of 10 employees). In this case, it is possible that the woman manager might be concerned that helping her only female subordinate would be perceived by her male subordinates as displaying favoritism. This study set out to examine these effects.

## **Method**

### *Participants*

The participants were 173 students (73 females) from the University of Southern California. The participants were randomly assigned to one of eight conditions in a 2 (own group status: minority or majority)  $\times$  2 (requester's group status: minority or majority)  $\times$  2 (power: high or none) between-subjects factorial design.

### *Procedure*

The study was administered online using the Qualtrics Survey Software. After inputting demographic information, participants read a vignette that contained our manipulations of own group status, target's group status and power. Specifically, participants were asked to imagine working for a company in which another employee had asked them for help. Own group status was manipulated by indicating that most of the company employees, including the CEO, were of the same sex (i.e., own group majority) or of a different sex (i.e., own group minority) as the participant. The requester's group status was manipulated by indicating that the person asking for help was either part of the minority or majority (again, using sex). Finally, power was manipulated by indicating that the participant was the manager (high power) or co-worker (no power) of the person requesting help. Managers were also told that they were in charge of ranking employees by their performance and that these rankings were made public.

To illustrate, a male participant in an own group: majority, requester's group: majority, high power condition read that they were a manager working for a company in which most of the employees were

males. They were asked to imagine that a subordinate, who as part of the majority is also male, had asked them for help.

After reading the vignette, participants were asked questions about their concerns with showing favoritism by helping the target. Specifically, we asked about personal distress (e.g., How comfortable are you with this situation?), thoughts of how *others* might perceive the situation (e.g., Given the situation, how concerned would you be that others might perceive you as playing favorites?), willingness to help the target (e.g., How likely are you to provide additional assistance to your peer?, How often would you provide additional assistance to your peer?). Finally, we allowed an open response for participants to indicate any other thoughts that they might have.

## Results

We began by conducting a 2 (own group status: minority or majority)  $\times$  2 (requester's group status: minority or majority)  $\times$  2 (power: high or none) three-way independent ANOVA on concern that others would perceive favoritism. We found a main effect for power, indicating that high power participants experienced more concern over being perceived as playing favorites than no power participants,  $F(1, 165) = 5.76, p < .05$ . No other effects were significant.

Planned contrasts revealed that participants in the high power condition who received a request for help from a target of the same group status (i.e., high power, own status: minority, requester's status: minority or high power, own status: majority, requester's status: majority), were significantly more worried that others would accuse them of favoritism than all other groups combined,  $t(165) = -2.05, p < .05$  (see Table 1). No other effects were significant.

**Table 1.** Effects of Power and Group Status on Concern (Study 2).

	High-power		No-power	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Same status	4.73 <sup>a</sup>	(1.42)	3.92 <sup>b</sup>	(1.66)
Different status	4.26 <sup>b</sup>	(1.58)	3.94 <sup>b</sup>	(1.73)

*Note: Means with different subscripts differ at the .05 level as determined by an independent-samples t-test.*

## Discussion

In our first test of the hypotheses, we found that those occupying a high-power role felt a heightened level of sensitivity and distress in a situation that threatened their ability to demonstrate fairness. We found that participants in high power conditions were more likely to feel

concern that others would perceive them as playing favorites than participants in no power conditions. In addition, planned contrasts revealed that high power participants receiving a request for help from a target of the same group status felt the most threat to their ability to demonstrate fairness. Finally, our prediction that participants in the minority manager, minority subordinate condition would feel more distress than participants in the majority manager, majority subordinate condition was not supported.

### **Contributions**

This study extends research examining situations in which the powerful are more sensitive to threats than the powerless. Fast and Chen (2009), found that power holders who felt incompetent were more likely to be aggressive. Other research has shown that the powerful do not show more approach behaviors than the powerless when their basis of power is illegitimate (Lammers et al. 2008). In our study, receiving a request for work-related help from an ingroup member caused powerful participants to be concerned about others perceiving favoritism, presumably because this situation challenged their ability to demonstrate fairness. Taken together, the literature seems to suggest that the powerful are highly sensitive to a certain type of threat; a threat to their power (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005; Scheepers, Ellemers & Sintemaartensdijk, 2009). When the powerful sense a threat to their power, their psychology shifts towards that typically associated with powerlessness (e.g., attention to threats and concern about others' opinions). This initial analysis fits well with the approach/inhibition model of power which states that unstable power relations can threaten the powerful, causing them to act with the behavioral inhibition typically associated with the powerless (Keltner et al. 2003). In addition, the threat of losing power may cause rebound behaviors initiated to reclaim power. Research has shown that the prospect of losing power is weighted more heavily than the prospect of gaining power (Pettit, Yong & Spataro, 2010). People are highly averse to losing power and will put effort into maintaining their status, even when doing so means acting selfishly (Petit et al. 2010). Work by Georgesen and Harris (2006) support this line of reasoning. In their study, powerful participants whose positions were threatened (i.e., unstable) felt more anxiety (an emotions typically associated with powerlessness) and indicated a desire to control the interaction (a rebound effect to reassert their positions). Research on stereotyping also lends support for the proposed logic. Stereotyping reinforces the social hierarchy, keeping the powerless in their place (Fiske, 1993). One study found that participants who felt that their power was threatened (i.e.,



illegitimate) focused on negative stereotypic traits of their subordinates, an effect not found for those whose power was not threatened (Rodríguez-Bailón, Moya & Yzerbyt, 2000). The current experiment, along with the evidence reviewed above, suggest that threats to power are highly aversive and cause a shift in psychology towards that associated with the powerless. In order to reassert power, rebound effects may ensue.

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## **Acknowledgements**

This research was conducted while the author was at the University of Washington. Portions of this research were supported by a McNair research grant. The author wishes to thank Nathan Fast for his guidance in conducting the current research.

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

# Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance

Muhammed Y. Idris

## Abstract

*What are Islamic Interbank Markets? How do Islamic financial institutions (IFIs) manage liquidity risk? What investment grade assets do IFI's hold to manage liquidity risk? Furthermore, what is the return on these investment grade assets called? These are some of the many questions, regarding the mechanics of Islamic Financial Institutions, that this paper addresses. While there has been much research on the legal, philosophical, and structural aspects of Islamic finance-i.e. political economics, financial law, etc., there is surprisingly a dearth of quantitative analysis of Islamic financial institutions. The purpose of this research study was to produce a white-paper examining the mechanics of an Islamic financial institution through its financial statements. Using the Islamic Bank of Britain as a case study, the findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of an emerging industry, Islamic Banking and Finance.*

## Introduction

*"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)*

There are countless of definitions of what Islamic banking and finance is and is not. For the purpose of this paper, I define Islamic finance at its most fundamental level: a mode of finance which is in accordance with the precepts, principles, and values of the Islamic ethico-legal system, or *shariah*. In practice this means processes, contracts, and instruments which are consistent with the objectives of the interpretation of the Islamic ethico-legal system, or *fiqh*; particularly with regards to economic jurisprudence.

According to Dr. Natalie Shoon, Head of Product Research at the Bank of London and the Middle East, the development of financial systems and contracts in accordance with the Islamic law, established on profit-loss sharing basis, can be traced back to Medieval Times (1,000-1,500 AD). These medieval financial systems were created in large part to strengthen trade relationships between the Ottoman Empire and the Spanish (Schoon).

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

The development of modern Islamic financial institutions, on the other hand, can be traced back to the early 1970s with the establishment of the Mit Ghamr Savings Project in Egypt<sup>1</sup>. Since the mid 1980s, and particularly in the past decade, global financial markets have seen the unprecedented growth of Islamic financial services. They have expanded from individual investment vehicles into diversified sectors including sovereign wealth-funds, financing of various infrastructure projects, and commercial and mortgage banking. This is evident when taking into consideration the number of corporate and foreign investors raising financing capital through shariah-compliant instruments (Devaux). 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 customer base, which has long since demanded services compliant with Islamic law, the industry has seen significant growth in its assets, with an annual average growth rate of 15% over the past three decades (Jafri). According to data released last year by Lipper, a Thomas Reuters company, there are currently 586 Islamic funds in operation managing \$37bn in assets, with a bias towards equity funds, mixed asset, money markets, and Sukuk funds<sup>2</sup> (Lipper). 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). It is important to note that there are not only 1.3 billion Muslims worldwide, but there is also trend by conventional investors to tap into liquidity pools in the Islamic world.

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, it is expected that the industry will grow at a rate 20% to 25% per year from current assets of \$300 billion (Al Suwaydi; Boodai; Aloush). Banking giants such as Swiss-based UBS AG, New York-based Citigroup and London-based HSBC have also taken notice of this growth and have expanded their services to offer financing and

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<sup>1</sup> Mit Ghamr Savings Project was a co-operative organisation in which the depositors also had a right to take out small loans for productive purposes. In addition, the project attracted funds to invest in projects on a profit-sharing basis.

<sup>2</sup> Sukuk are the Islamic Bonds and Sukuk Funds are Islamic fixed income investment funds.

## Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance

banking options in adherence to Islamic jurisprudence. Such favorable news coverage is often used by proponents of Islamic finance to illustrate both the relative distinctiveness and attractiveness of Islamic finance. Proponents of Islamic finance and banking argue that it is not only viable and profitable, but also a substantive alternative to its conventional counterpart.

It is also important to note, however, that the growth within Islamic financial markets is not without its fair share of critics. Critics of Islamic finance, which include some Islamic scholars, argue that many of the contemporary practices of Islamic banking and finance are not in line with Islamic economic jurisprudence and simply replicate conventional financial transactions and products misusing permissible Islamic financial contracts. Scholars such as Prof. Haider Ala Hamoudi, at the University Of Pittsburg Law School, argue that contemporary Islamic financial transactions violate a fundamental consideration of Islamic contract law, which states that two contracts cannot be embedded into one sale contract (Ala Hamoudi). One such objection is sometimes raised with regards to the murābaha sale, in which the contract of promise and the sale deed are considered two contracts in one sales contract. The objection is that as the promise is made binding, it takes on the characteristic of a sale, leading to two contracts in one sale. Other unfavorable critiques of Islamic finance can be found within other areas of academia. Prof. Timur Kuran, a Duke University Economist and Political Scientist, in his seminal text, *Mammon: Economic Predicaments of Islamism*, argues the doctrine of Islamic economics is simplistic, incoherent, and largely irrelevant to present economic challenges.

The expansion and growth of the Islamic banking and finance industry into mainstream global markets over past decade has given rise to a sense of curiosity and desire to understand such a system. This newfound curiosity with Islamic economic systems has given rise to the development of major research initiatives at research universities worldwide, such as the Harvard University Islamic Finance Project. Such initiatives have in turn produced an extensive body of literature on the legal, philosophical, and structural aspects of Islamic finance- i.e. political economics, financial law, etc.; particularly in the context of the global financial crisis. Promoting or critiquing the extent to which Islamic banking and finance is a relevant and substantive alternative to its conventional counterpart is beyond the scope of this paper. The purpose of this paper is to take a step towards developing a conceptual framework of the mechanics and structure of Islamic financial institutions for future quantitative analysis. In order to develop a sound theoretical foundation for this paper, I first explore Islamic finance

literature with particular focus on Islamic finance after the global recession. I then use the Islamic Bank of Britain as a case study for examining the internal mechanics of an Islamic financial institution operating in a western economy, with special reference to liquidity risk management. Lastly, I draw upon the conclusions of this study's findings and make suggestions for future research.

### *Islamic Finance in the United Kingdom*

The study of Islamic financial institutions and markets within the Islamic World (Middle East, North Africa, Southeast Asia) has been intensively digested. As the broader literature on the subject is moving towards a comparative analysis between conventional and Islamic financial institutions, I believe that it is more relevant to study Islamic financial institutions in the context of western economies. This allows us to control for factors distinct to economies in the Islamic world, i.e. culture and regulation. As such, this paper analyzes a wholly shariah-compliant retail bank in the United Kingdom. In order to prime this discussion I will first examine the history of Islamic banking in the United Kingdom.

### *The Al Baraka International Bank 1982-93<sup>3</sup>*

The first attempt to penetrate the financial services industry in the United Kingdom by Islamic financiers was an initiative led by Sheikh Saleh Kamel of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Sheikh Kamel, an early pioneer of the Islamic finance, is a successful entrepreneur and businessman with holdings in real estate, media, and finance. Al Baraka International Bank purchased Hargrave Securities and took control of its three London-branches in 1982, which were licensed to take deposits via current accounts. These branches specialized in housing finance offering 10-20 year fixed shariah-compliant mortgages utilizing a murābaha structure<sup>4</sup>. Through the early 1990s, the Al Baraka International Bank's UK branches saw relatively steady growth, with deposits exceeding £154 million by 1991. This was achieved mostly through mudarabah investment accounts. For reasons I have not been able to identify the Al Baraka International Bank United Kingdom interests came to an end in 1993. (Why?)

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<sup>3</sup> Wilson



## Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance

### *The United Bank of Kuwait/Al Ahli United Bank*<sup>5</sup>

The United Bank of Kuwait and the Al Ahli United Bank established an Islamic Investment Banking Unit in 1995, developing what they termed a “Manzil home ownership scheme.” This home ownership scheme provided customers shariah-compliant modes of real estate financing. By 1997 the enterprise was providing murābaha-based Islamic mortgages. In 1999, The Manzil home ownership scheme was the first retail home financing solution to use ijara-based mortgages in the United Kingdom<sup>6</sup>. It is important to note that the use of an ijara contract as a basis for shariah-compliant mortgages was at the time widespread throughout established Islamic financial markets.

### *HSBC Amanah*<sup>7</sup>

In 1998 HSBC, a global financial services company headquartered in London, established HSBC Amanah, a dedicated Islamic finance subsidiary. HSBC Amanah was established with the purpose of operating in a global Islamic financial network with a focus on the United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States of America, and Malaysia. While its initial purpose was not to serve any retail banking services in the United Kingdom, HSBC Amanah saw an opportunity in shariah-compliant residential real estate financing plans with the abolishment of paying a double stamp duty on Islamic mortgages in 2004.<sup>8</sup> The bank took advantage of this opportunity by creating Amanah Home Finance solutions which offered customers Islamic mortgages utilizing both ijara and diminishing musharaka structures. HSBC Amanah has since expanded its services offering shariah-compliant solutions for personal-retail banking, commercial banking, and wealth management.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> As an Islamic mortgage is in essence two transactions whereby a bank purchases a property on the customer’s behalf and sells the property to the customer with a markup, a stamp duty is charged on both transactions. Before the abolishment of the double stamp duty, Islamic financial institutions would pass these additional costs to the customer, charging a higher premium. This would make Islamic mortgages more expensive and less attractive relative to conventional mortgages.

## *Lloyds TSB*<sup>9</sup>

Lloyds TSB is another prominent London-based bank which offers Islamic financial products. However, unlike HSBC, Lloyds TSB offers these shariah-compliant solutions alongside its conventional solutions. Lloyds offers both Islamic current accounts and home financing solutions utilizing a diminishing musharakah structure. Lloyds TSB was the first financial institution to offer variable rate Islamic home financing solutions, pinning rental rates to LIBOR.<sup>10</sup>

## *Islamic Bank of Britain*

The Islamic Bank of Britain (IBB) is the first independent Islamic retail bank in the United Kingdom “established and managed on a wholly shariah compliant basis.” (IBB) As such, the IBB is a prime case study of an Islamic financial institution offering both Islamic retail financing products and operating within a western economy. In this context, the Islamic Bank of Britain is not only competing for customers with their conventional counterparts, but also competing with well-established financial institutions offering Islamic financing solutions.

In the following section I will first describe the primary source of this case study, the Annual Reports and Financial Statements 2009 & 2010 after which I will delve into an extensive examination of the Islamic Bank of Britain, surveying its internal framework, processes, and products and then focusing on the management of liquidity risk.

## *Case Study: Islamic Bank of Britain (09-10 Annual Report and Financial Statements)*

The primary source of this case study of the Islamic Bank of Britain (IBB) is its annual reports and financial statements for the years 2009 and 2010. These financial statements are presented in Sterling (£) and were prepared in accordance with the International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) (IBB). According to the financial statements they were approved by the board of directors of the bank on 3/15/2011 (2010) and 3/24/2010 (2009), and were audited by KMPG Audit plc (IBB 2010). Furthermore, basis of preparation notes explain that both financial statements were prepared on the on-going concern basis and historical cost basis.

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<sup>9</sup> Wilson

<sup>10</sup> London Interbank Offering Rate – is a daily reference rate based on the interest rates at which banks borrow unsecured funds from other banks in the London wholesale money market.

### **Islamic Bank of Britain**

As mentioned in the previous section, the Islamic Bank of Britain is the first independent Islamic retail bank in the United Kingdom. Founded in 2004 with its operational headquarters in Birmingham, the IBB tapped into a promising Islamic retail banking market in the United Kingdom with approximately 1.8 million potential Muslim customers. The promise within these markets came from many Muslims in the United Kingdom who as professionals with relatively competitive salaries were continuously lobbying for Islamic alternatives for their financial needs. According to its 2009 annual report, the Islamic Bank of Britain uses “retail deposits to fund all customer finance assets and has no reliance on wholesale funding” (IBB 2009). This is a telling indicator of prudent banking practices, as wholesale banking tends to be volatile and interest rate sensitive. However it is important to note that Islamic Bank of Britain along with many conventional banks felt the full adverse affects of the recent global financial crisis of 2008. Due to heavy concentration in real estate, and most of all of its assets invested in very short term commodity murābaha and wakala assets, the bank continued to experience high losses during and post crisis (2008: £5,910,700; 2009: £9,492,744; 2010: £8,125,342). In a recent statement released by the Bank, it attributed these losses to poor real estate market conditions and historic lows in 2008 and 2009 Islamic interbank yields affecting margin income which contributed to a 67% reduction in operation income (WSJ). These conditions persisted into 2010 as it was yet another tragic year of hemorrhaging losses for IBB (2010: £8,125,342). Furthermore, the statement elaborated that the “Islamic Bank of Britain's ability to generate new business has been, and is being, restricted due to a number of factors including the limited availability of funding for new assets and the limited capital available. Any material increase in net income [would] be dependent upon further injections of capital.” (WSJ) With losses continuing to erode its capital base, the Islamic Bank of Britain had to raise additional capital twice, in 2009 and 2010, via the placement of new ordinary shares in order to remain solvent. Subsequent losses and an already majority stake in the IBB lead the Qatar International Islamic to purchase, in 2011, all outstanding shares it did not already own.<sup>1112</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> According to IBB's 2009 Annual Report, the Bank raised new capital totaling 7.5m by issuing new shares in January 2009. Moreover, according to the IBB's 2010 Annual Report) in August 2010, “an ordinary resolution was passed at an extraordinary general meeting increasing the authorized share capital of the [bank] from 7,250,000 to 28,488,233 by the creation of an additional 2,123,823,3000 new Ordinary shares.

Analyzing the full effects of the financial crisis on the Islamic Bank of Britain is beyond the scope of this paper. As the purpose of this paper is merely to analyze the mechanics of an Islamic financial institution I will next elaborate on the internal mechanics of the Islamic Bank of Britain.

### *Account Breakdown*

As of 2010, the Islamic Bank of Britain became the provider of the widest range of sharia-compliant products in the United Kingdom (IBB 2010). The IBB offers its customers a wide range of alternatives for deposits including, current accounts, savings accounts, term-deposit savings accounts, and treasury deposit accounts. All accounts are non-interest bearing but are profit-sharing accounts based on the *mudaraba* or *wakala* deposit contracts whereby the bank and the customer share a pre-agreed percentage of any profit earned on investing of customers deposits. This profit sharing arrangement implies that the bank has the accounting mechanisms to in fact allocate cost to the various accounts and determine the accounting profit after cost allocation. This gives rise to another question regarding the substantive difference between Islamic and conventional finance. Is this form of finance really profit sharing?

Customer *murābaha* deposits consist of Islamic financing transactions involving the bank arranging to purchase an asset on behalf of the customer and reselling the asset to the customer at a pre-agreed price (IBB 2010). Customer *wakala* deposits consist of Islamic financing transactions or agreements in which the customer appoints the bank as its agent to invest their deposits according to specific conditions in order to achieve a certain specified return (IBB 2010). According to the IBB's 2010 annual report, profit calculation is undertaken at the end of each calendar month.

Customers receive profit returns on investments in accordance with terms and conditions of specific accounts. Current accounts receive no profit returns as they are simply demand deposit accounts. Savings accounts require the lowest minimum balance of £1 and profits are calculated monthly. Term-deposit accounts require a minimum deposit of £5,000 and profits are calculated every one, three, or six months. Lastly, Treasury deposit accounts profits are calculated every one, three, or six months require a minimum of £100,000, which is invested in interbank instruments through the London Metal Exchange. (Wilson, see commodity *Murābaha* section).

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<sup>12</sup> August 2010 already owned 80.49% of outstanding shares in the IBB.

## Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance

### *Islamic Consumer Financing Plans*

All consumer financing transactions are completed using a murābaha structure in which the company purchases a good on behalf of the customer and sells it to the customer at the purchase price plus a pre-agreed upon mark-up. Settlement of sale price is often deferred for an agreed period and paid in installments. According to the 2010 IBB annual audit, consumer finance assets are recognized on the date the good is sold by the company (IBB 2010). The report elaborates on the accounting policy of consumer finance assets: “consumer finance account balances are initially recorded at fair value and are subsequently measured at amortized cost<sup>13</sup>.” (Citation)

### *Commercial Property and Home Purchasing Plan*

The principal financing activity of the Islamic Bank of Britain is real estate financing. According to the Islamic Bank of Britain’s 2009 annual report, home purchase plan solutions achieved “strong growth,” resulting in near 100% “increase in the Bank’s customer finance assets” (IBB 2009). This doubling of real estate lending was a major contributor to the banks deteriorating performance.

All real-estate financing is provided using a diminishing musharaka agreement between the bank and the customer. The bank enters into a contract to purchase a piece of real-estate jointly with a customer. The bank goes on to receive rental income from the customer relating to the bank’s ownership equity in the property. The customer is purchasing the banks ownership in the property over time, thereby reducing the bank’s effective share. According to Islamic Banks of Britain’s 2010 Annual Report, “the transaction is recognized as a [shariah-compliant] financial asset upon legal completion of the property purchase and the amount receivable is recognized at an amount equal to the net investment in the transaction.” (IBB 2010) This simply means that initial direct costs incurred by the bank directly attributable to negotiating and arranging the transaction are included in the initial measurement of the receivable. Rental income, as described in the IBB’s 2010 annual report, “is recognized to provide a constant periodic rate of return on the Bank’s net investment.” (IBB 2010)

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<sup>13</sup> The amortized cost is “the amount at which the asset is measured at initial recognition, minus repayments received relating to the initial recognized amounts, plus the cumulative amortizations using an effective yield method of any difference between the initial amount recognized and the agreed sales price to the customer, minus an reduction impairment”.

## *Risk Management*

The practice of risk management within Islamic finance is a relatively new concept; moreover it is a budding field of study within academia. Risks that Islamic financial institutions are exposed to and in turn are required to manage can fall within three categories. The first category includes risks inherent to all financial institutions that can be managed using conventional risk management systems. For example, in order to mitigate credit and market risks, Islamic financial institutions, use conventional risk management systems such as establishing authorization limits and structures for the approval and renewal of credit exposure limits. Secondly, there are certain risks which are distinct to Islamic financial institutions which cannot be mitigated using conventional risk management systems. An example is shariah-compliance risk or as defined in the 2010 IBB's Annual Report, "risk of loss arising from products and services not complying with Shariah compliant requirements or in accordance with Islamic principles." (IBB 2010) Lastly, and most relevant to this paper, are risks that are inherent to all forms of finance which cannot be managed by Islamic financial institutions using conventional risk management systems. The management of liquidity risk within Islamic financial markets cannot be managed using conventional risk management tools due to the prohibition of interest. For example, a common risk management system for managing liquidity risk is the use of interbank markets through which banks with excess funds lend these funds to banks with fund shortages. The maturities of these financial assets are very short, often overnight, and the profit generated from the loan is interest. Islamic finance prohibits all forms of interest and as such cannot access conventional interbank markets.

In the next section I will examine liquidity risk management within Islamic finance with particular emphasis on the Islamic Bank of Britain.

## **Liquidity Management Risk**

Historically, Islamic financial institutions invest substantially all of their assets in long-term investments such as Islamic mortgages and infrastructure financing projects. On the other hand, the funds used to finance all of these financing transactions comes from short-term customer deposits. As such, when examining the balance sheets of Islamic financial institutions we find that their financial assets tend to be long-term and their financial liabilities relatively short-term. This

## Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance

produces maturity mismatch of financial assets which lends itself to liquidity and margin risks.

In regards to the Islamic Bank of Britain, it's 2010 annual report provides the following color in regards to residual contractual maturities of financial liabilities: All banks deposits (notional value of £881,403) and over 60% of customer deposits (notional value £116,458,042) have contractual maturities under 1 month (IIB 2010 23).

Within the Islamic Bank of Britain, liquidity risk management is the responsibility of an internal treasury department, which according to its annual report is responsible for "monitoring the liquidity profile of financial assets and liabilities." (IBB 2010) But what risk management systems are available to and used by this financial institution? The following section elaborates on this question examining two risk management systems, Islamic interbank markets and investments in investment grade assets.

### *Islamic Interbank Markets*

Simply put, Islamic interbank markets are the shariah-compliant equivalents to traditional interbank markets. Within these markets Islamic financial institutions with excess funds supply Islamic banks with funds shortages to meet their funding requirements. However, it is important to note that Islamic financial institutions in general, particular those institutions which do not operate in geographic regions with already well-established Islamic interbank markets, have limited ability to tap short-term funds to meet cash-flow requirements within broader Islamic interbank markets (Khan). In theory and practice Islamic interbank markets replicate traditional interbank markets, so what really distinguishes the former from the latter? The answer to this question, arguably semantic, is that the processes through which funds are transferred and profits are generated within Islamic interbank markets are based on structures and contracts that are in accordance with Islamic law. The statement by the Islamic Bank of Britain, that historic returns in Islamic interbank markets was a root cause of its widespread losses, signals that the IBB was actively participating in these markets. Later research projects will include a thorough examination of Islamic interbank markets.

### *Investment Grade Assets*

Investment grade assets are by definition any financial assets that have a minimum rating of BBB. But who is rating these instruments and how are they rating them? Although the banks financial assets as investment grade suggesting a rating of BBB or higher, I have unable to

find any rating agency information regarding them. According to its 2010 annual report and financial statements, the Islamic Bank of Britain held investment grade assets with a notional value of £160,333,251 (2009: £155,951,375), which comprised of financial assets including commodity murābaha, wakala, and other advances to banks with contractual maturities less than 1 year (IBB 2010).<sup>14</sup>

### *Commodity Murābaha*

A commodity murābaha transaction is a traditional murābaha contract whereby the good being purchased and delivered is a commodity. It is defined as a financial transaction in which the bank buys a commodity and sells it to a customer on pre-agreed terms and conditions. The terms and conditions include both a deferred payment schedule and a predetermined selling price that includes a profit markup. The main liquidity management system in the United Kingdom by Islamic Financial Institutions has been commodity murābaha trades through the London Metal Exchange (Arab News, Parker).

### *Wakala*

A wakala contract is an agency contract in which the bank traditionally appoints a customer (who wishes to receive financing) as an agent of the bank. The customer, as an agent of the bank, then receives the funds to purchase the desired good on behalf of the bank within a murābaha structure. In accordance with the terms and conditions of the contract the customer then buys the good from the bank in deferred installments. According to the 2010 IBB annual report, the agent of the bank after receiving the sum of money “invests it according to specific conditions in order to achieve a certain specified return.” It is important to note that this transaction is implemented on a profit-risk sharing basis, in which the agent is only obliged to return the invested amount only in the case of default, negligence or violation of any of the terms and conditions of the wakala contract (IBB 2010).

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<sup>14</sup> Investment grade financial assets can also be used to mitigate credit risk. Assets maturing in between 3 months and 1 year, including a 2010 balance of 850,735 (2009: 622,510) “representing repayable security deposits held by banks that have issued a guarantee to cover to [bank’s] future customer card transactions with MasterCard.” This is an example of investment grade assets used to manage credit risk.



### **ROI – Interbank Markets and Investment Grade Assets**

Banks, both Islamic and conventional, are in the business of and generate revenues by providing financing. A distinguishing characteristic of Islamic finance is the prohibition of interest. The opinion of the majority of Islamic scholars is that what distinguishes the murābaha profit from imputed interest on conventional loans 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, profits are generated when something having intrinsic value or utility is traded for money. Financing, in accordance with Islamic law, according to this opinion, should *always* be based on illiquid assets, which creates real assets and inventories (Usmani). This understanding of revenue generation in Islamic banking and finance gives rise to two very important questions: Are there any revenues generated by the IBB from holding liquid investment grade assets? What is the return on these investment grade assets called?

After careful examination of the Islamic Bank of Britain's annual reports and financial statements, I have found evidence that would suggest that investment grade assets held by the bank are used for revenue generating purposes. According the IIB's 2010 annual report "commodity murābaha receivables are recognized upon the sale of the commodity to the counterparty and wakala receivables are recognized upon placement of funds with other institutions." It is not clear, however, whether the income generated from these assets are recognized as profit or solely used for risk management purposes. This point draws attention to an ongoing debate amongst Islamic scholars on the permissibility of liquid investment grade assets as risk management products. As for defining the return on these investment grade assets: According to the IBBs annual report, income on both commodity murābaha and wakala receivables are recognized on an effective yield basis. "The effective yield rate is the rate that exactly discounts estimated future cash payments through the agreed payment term of the contract to the carrying amount of the receivable." (IBB 2010) Simply put, the effective yield rate is equivalent to the interest rate of return that conventional financial institutions receive on investment grade assets they hold. However, it is argued that the "distinction" between the effective yield rate and an interest rate is the underlying asset; shariah-compliant financial assets such as commodity murābaha and wakala or non-shariah compliant financial assets such as U.S. Treasury securities.

## Conclusion

According to the IBB's 2008 annual statement, approximately 68.00% of its ordinary shares were held by a wide array of shareholders in 2008 (IBB 2009). 17.37% of ordinary shares were held by HE Sheik Thani Bin Abdulla Bin Thani Jasim Thani and 14.63% were held by the Qatar International Islamic Bank (IBB). By the end of 2008, the Islamic Bank of Britain suffered £5,190,700 in losses (IBB 2009). In January of 2009, the IBB raised new capital totaling £7.5 million via a placement of new shares (IBB 2009). That year IBB continued to experience substantial losses totaling £9,492,744 (IBB 2009). Hemorrhaging losses continued into 2010 requiring a significant shareholder, the Qatar International Islamic Bank, to acquire an additional 2,000,000,000 shares in the bank making it the parent undertaking of the IBB (IBB 2010). By the end of 2010, after multiple injections of much needed capital into the IBB, QIIB's ownership share in IBB ordinary shares jumped to 80.95%, diluting HE Sheik Thani's ownership stock to 6.44% and other shareholder's ownership share to 12.61%. Losses that year totaled £8,125,342 (IBB 2010).

Like many other failing financial institutions, the Islamic Bank of Britain faced the ultimatum of being bought out by a bigger firm or closing its doors. Accordingly on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011, the Islamic Bank of Britain released a press statement in which it announced that it had reached an agreement with the Qatar International Islamic Bank (QIIB) on the terms of a recommended "unconditional cash offer to be made by QIIB for the entire issued and to be issued share capital of the [IBB] not already held by QIIB" (Wall Street Journal).

This empirical analysis of the Islamic Bank of Britain supports several conclusions. *First, Islamic Financial Institutions are in no way inherently immune to cyclical economic crises.* Like their conventional counterparts, Islamic financial institutions operate within financial markets which are subject to the same systematic risks. Furthermore prudent banking-both conventional and Islamic- involves sound credit analysis. At the end of the day, like any bank, they have to make good loans. *Secondly, secondary markets are an integral part of risk management within Islamic finance, particularly liquidity and margin risk management.* Shariah compliance instruments are needed to address these risks. *Lastly, the "distinction" between permissible and impermissible profits within Islamic finance is simply that permissible profits are generated using structures and contracts that are in accordance with Islamic law.*

The purpose of this paper was to take a first step towards developing a conceptual framework of the mechanics of Islamic financial

## Understanding the Mechanics of a Prudent Financial Statement within Islamic Banking and Finance

institutions for future quantitative analysis. In order to develop a sound theoretical foundation for this paper, I first explored Islamic finance literature. I then used the Islamic Bank of Britain as a case study for examining the internal mechanics of an Islamic financial institution operating in a western economy with special reference to liquidity risk management.

The Islamic financial industry has since taken steps towards developing an established risk management corporation, to serve as a clearinghouse to facilitate interbank shariah compliant transactions. The International Islamic Liquidity Management Corp (IILM) is a collaborative effort by 11 central banks or monetary agencies (which include Indonesia, Iran, Luxembourg and the United Arab Emirates), as well as two multilateral organizations (The Islamic Development Bank and the Islamic Corporation for the Development of the Private Sector) to assist institutions offering Islamic financial services in addressing their liquidity management (IILM). The IILM will issue shariah-compliant short-term papers in international reserve currencies, such as the US dollar and the euro to facilitate greater investment flows for the Islamic financial services industry. The IILM will also be part of their efforts to enhance cross-border flows and also as part of an initiative to facilitate the growing significance of the international dimension of Islamic finance and its increased role in the international financial system (IILM).<sup>15</sup>

While this empirical analysis supported several conclusions, more importantly, it raised additional questions regarding the practice of finance in accordance with the laws, precepts, and principles of the Islamic ethico-legal system: Are Islamic interbank markets wholly shariah-compliant? Is income generated from liquid shariah-compliant financial assets by Islamic financial institutions recognized as profit? Is there a real substantive difference between the practice of Islamic and conventional finance or do Islamic financial practices and products simply replicate their conventional counterparts? Future research addressing such questions would allow for a better understating of the mechanics and dynamics of Islamic finance and financial institutions.

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<sup>15</sup> Initial contracts will be in major currencies because it is to facilitate cross-border liquidity management

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### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my advisor, Mr. Robert Richards, the  
McNair Program, and my friends and family for this opportunity and for  
the support and motivation in pursuing a graduate education.

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# **Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth**

Jessica Lusk

## **Abstract**

*Recent epidemiological studies indicate significant mental health disparities among American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) youth including higher rates of substance abuse, mood disorders, and suicides compared to peers from other ethnic groups. While these findings can paint a bleak picture for AIAN youth, these data need to be understood within the broader socio-environmental context of AIAN communities. AIAN communities have endured a long history of past injustices and traumatic genocidal events (e.g. historical trauma). Furthermore, they face present day adversities such as societal marginalization, inequities, and traumas. Indigenous scholars have widely accepted that these salient social and contextual factors play a contributing role in the continuance of mental health disparities for AIAN. Using an interdisciplinary approach this study integrates research from the fields of developmental psychopathology, social work, and sociology with the construct of historical trauma to examine the mechanisms by which historical trauma, and the accompanying historical trauma response, influence risk factors associated with the development of depression and substance abuse in AIAN youth. We present a theoretical model explaining how these factors influence the various pathways towards mental health outcomes. We propose that historical trauma contributes to adolescent depression and substance abuse by influencing exposure to violence, maternal depression, and parental and family monitoring and support systems.*

## **Introduction**

An extensive body of scientific research has thoroughly documented the many inequalities and adversities American Indian and Alaska Natives (AIAN) have and continue to experience. Research has shown that AIAN communities have poverty rates double that of the general population, inadequate housing, inequities in education quality and attainment, and higher rates of physical and mental illnesses (Sarche & Spicer, 2008). In addition, AIAN youth are more likely to be exposed to and experience a range of traumatic events than their peers. AIAN communities have high rates of early and often unexpected traumatic deaths due to injuries, accidents, suicide, and homicide (Sarche & Spicer, 2008). According to a 2004 report by the Department of Justice, AIAN

have the highest per-capita rate of violent crime victimization - nearly twice the rate of the general population, with almost two-thirds of the perpetrators being non-native (Perry & Statistics, 2004). Similarly, AIAN youth between the ages of 12 and 19 are more likely than their non-native peers to be the victims of both simple assault and serious violent crime (Sarche & Spicer, 2008; Pavkov, Travis, Fox, King, & Cross, 2010).

As a result of various social and environmental inequities, AIAN youth and adolescents are disproportionately exposed to multiple adversities and/or repeated trauma and loss. These adversities in the environment and social context of AIAN youth are believed to be associated with the disparities found in mental health, including higher rates of substance abuse, mood disorders, and suicide (Alcantara & Gone, 2007; Szlemko, Wood & Thurman, 2006; Whitbeck, Walls, Johnson, Morrisseau & McDougall, 2009).

### **AIAN Youth Mental Health Disparities**

Researchers began assessing prevalence rates for mental health problems among AIAN youth approximately 20 years ago. The Great Smokey Mountains Study (GSMS) found that among AIAN youth (9-13 years) rates of substance use or dependence were significantly higher (1.2% vs. 0.1%) than rates of the non-indigenous youth included in the study (Costello, Angold, Farmer & Erkanli, 1997). Beals et al. (1997) found that older AIAN adolescents (14-16 years) experienced significantly higher rates of ADHD and substance abuse than the comparison sample of non-AIAN youth (e.g. data from the Oregon Adolescent Depression Project), and that 16.5 % of the study participants met criteria for one mental disorder and 12.9% met criteria for two or more disorders (Beals, Piasecki, Nelson, Jones, Keane, Dauphinais, Shirt, Sack & Manson, 1997).

More recently Whitbeck et al., (2006) conducted a large longitudinal study of youth from a single Midwest tribe (Whitbeck, Johnson, Hoyt & Walls, 2006). Although not strictly comparable to the GSMS, results revealed consistently higher rates of disorders among similar aged AIAN youth (e. g. 10-12 years) than those reported over a decade ago. Results showed rates of substance abuse, behavioral disorders, and depressive symptoms were roughly twice that of those reported in the GSMS. Findings from the follow-up assessment conducted at mid-adolescence (e. g. 13-15 years) revealed dramatic increases in mental health problems (Whitbeck, Yu, Johnson, Hoyt & Walls, 2008). Rates of major depressive episode more than doubled from 3.2% to 7.8%. Rates of substance use disorders increased more than eight



## Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth

times from 3.2% to 25.5% - nearly three times that of the rate for the general population (9.4%) (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2005).

In addition to having higher rates of depression and substance use disorders, AIAN youth have disproportionately higher rates of suicide, with rates reported to be three to seven times higher than that of their non-Native peers (Dorgan, 2010; Miniño, Anderson, Fingerhut, Boudreault & Warner, 2006; Wexler, 2009). A study examining racial and ethnic differences in rates of suicidal behaviors among adolescents found that AIAN males had the highest incidents of suicide, and rates of non-lethal suicide attempts were highest among AIAN females (Goldston, Molock, Whitbeck, Murakami, Zayas & Hall, 2008).

While epidemiological findings can paint a pretty bleak picture for AIAN youth, these data need to be understood within the broader socio-historical and environmental context of AIAN communities. Failure to recognize the colonized position of AIAN while interpreting epidemiological findings could lead to a misinterpretation of the causes of mental health disparities (Walters, Simoni & Evans-Campbell, 2002).

### **Context of Colonization, Historical Trauma**

The socio-historical and environmental context of AIAN includes a long history of past and present injustices and traumatic events inflicted upon them. An extensive body of literature has thoroughly documented these assaults including community-wide massacres, prohibition of spiritual and cultural practices, forced relocations, and forced removal of children through boarding school policies. Taken together these events amount to genocide, resulting in the loss of languages, cultural practices, and land. Furthermore, the loss and trauma associated with these genocidal events has continued to affect current generations of AIAN (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Gone & Alcantara, 2007; Kirmayer, Brass & Tait, 2000; Walters & Simoni, 2002; Whitbeck et al., 2009).

The framework of historical trauma (HT) emerged as a response to adequately address the possible impacts of massive cumulative group trauma on present day generations. HT refers to the present day sense of acute loss felt by members of group with a common race, ethnicity, and/or religious affiliation, who have experienced numerous traumatic events (e.g. over generations) inflicted upon them (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008). In broad terms Braveheart (1998b) describes HT as a “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding” and conceptualized the sense of loss accompanying HT as “historical unresolved grief.” Symptoms associated with historical

unresolved grief are an intensification of normative emotional reactions such as anger, guilt, sadness, and helplessness that are often covered up by feelings of shame, powerlessness, and inferiority. These affective responses are associated with a pattern of diverse psychological and physiological reactions that has been termed “historical trauma response” (HTR) (Brave Heart, 1999).

Historical trauma response has similarities to post-traumatic stress disorder, however, given that the events associated with HTR impacted entire communities and occurred over a period of several hundred years, there are significant differences between the two constructs. Whereas, PTSD is a response to negative reactions to traumatic events occurring in an individual’s lifetime, HTR refers to an individual’s response to multiple traumas occurring over several generations (e.g. community wide massacres, forced boarding school attendance, destructive of tribal lands). Unlike PTSD, HTR addresses how a traumatic history becomes part of a present day shared common experience, leading to both an individual and collective perception of a single traumatic trajectory for the entire group (Evans-Campbell, 2008).

Research demonstrating an association between HT/HTR and negative health outcomes has been increasing over the past 30 years. This growing body of research suggests that HT and HTR may be associated with symptoms of PTSD, guilt, anxiety, depressive symptoms, and substance abuse (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Brave Heart, 1998b; Dodgson & Struthers, 2005; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt & Chen, 2004). In addition research has suggested that HTR may be correlated to impaired family communication, stress around parenting, and impaired ability to bond with others (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Heavyrunner-Rioux & Hollist, 2010; Jones, 2008; Whitbeck, et al., 2004; Walters et al., 2002).

While research on HT/HTR has mainly focused on adult mental health outcomes, the extent of health disparities faced by AIAN youth necessitates an understanding of how HT and its associated affective responses (e.g. HTR) in adults may influence developmental trajectories of AIAN youth. This study presents a model theorizing how HT/HTR interacts with other ecological risks to influence developmental processes, placing AIAN youth at risk for mental health problems.

### **An Ecological Approach to Youth Developmental Processes**

Ecological perspectives on youth development indicate that developmental processes occur within nested systems; the macrosystem (e.g. societal beliefs), exosystem (e.g. community characteristics), and microsystem (e.g. family, school, peers). Youth development consists of

## Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth

interactions between individual-level factors (e.g. emotional regulation, coping style), and factors existing within a youth's ecology. Risk and protective factors existing within each level of ecology (e.g. macrosystem, exosystem, and microsystem) can affect developmental processes in negative or positive ways (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993). As the presence of risks increase within various levels of a youth's ecology the occurrence of negative mental health outcomes become more likely, conversely the presence of protective factors at various levels of youth's ecology may explain positive adaptation despite exposure to cumulative risks (Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993).

Although AIAN consist of diverse tribal communities/nations with specific languages and cultural practices, they share common historical factors including a history of genocide and ethnic cleansing policies (e.g. boarding schools, forced relocations). General theoretical models of risk do not address what influence these specific factors may have on youth developmental outcomes (Whitbeck, 2011). The proposed theoretical model hypothesizes that the disparities in mental health outcomes found among AIAN youth cannot be fully understood without identifying and addressing those specific risk factors resulting from this shared history, and status as a colonized people.

Colonial history, anthropological writings and the resulting discourse on AIAN has created commonly accepted "social facts" about AIAN identity and cultural traditions that contribute to the perpetuation of stereotypical images, and/or the inappropriate marketing of AIAN culture (Kirmayer et al., 2000). For example many New Age spirituality and rhetoric promotes the notion that AIAN practice a universal and generic form of harmonious, animistic, and environmentally based spirituality. This belief obscures the diversity in cultural traditions and religious beliefs among AIAN, and ignores centuries of European contact (Kirmayer et al., 2000), contributing to their ongoing structural oppression.

Present day colonialist beliefs (e.g. prejudiced) and the ongoing structural oppression and marginalization of AIAN interact with HT and HTR exacerbating their affects, posing a significant risk to functioning at the level of the exosystem (e.g. community), the microsystem (e.g. family and school), and the individual - all contributing to poor mental health outcomes among AIAN youth.

### *Exosystemic Risks Towards the Development of Depression and Substance Use in Youth*

Previous research on youth has established that exosystemic risks such exposure to community violence is a cumulative stressor associated with attention impairment, intrusive thinking, anxiety, and presents a risk towards the development of depression and substance abuse in youth (Aisenberg & Ell, 2005; Ceballo, Ramirez, Hearn & Maltese, 2003; Kliewer, Lepore, Oskin & Johnson, 1998; Cooley-Strickland, Quille, Griffin, Stuart, Bradshaw & Furr-Holden, 2009; Overstreet & Mazza, 2003). In a sample of fourth and fifth graders from an economically disadvantaged neighborhood, Ceballo et al., (2003) found the experience of personal victimization and/or witnesses of violence were associated with reports of depressive affect and feelings of hopelessness. Additional research has found that exposure to community violence not only tends to weaken an adolescent's bonds to family, school, and community social institutions, but also at the same time promotes favorable conditions towards drug use among adolescents (Jang & Johnson, 2001). Yabiku et al., (2007) suggests that substance use can become a viable option for coping with exposure to violence, crime, and substandard living conditions.

Similar to other populations, exosystemic risks (e.g. exposure to community violence) are also associated with psychological distress and the development of substance abuse among AIAN youth (Gray, 1998; Goodkind, Lanoue & Milford, 2010; Hawkins, Cummins & Marlatt, 2004; Heavyrunner-Rioux & Hollist, 2010; Jones, Dauphinais, Sack & Somervell, 1997; Malcoe, Duran & Montgomery, 2004). Nails & Mullis (2009) found that the presence of crime, drug sales, and violence in the community, was the strongest predictor of depressive symptoms and substance use among AIAN youth. Additionally, Silmere & Stiffiman (2006) found that negative community environment (e.g., fighting, stabbings, and drug use) had an inverse relationship with factors identified with successful functioning (e.g. good mental health, being drug free, clean police record, and positive psychosocial emotions) among AIAN youth.

### *Historical Trauma and Exosystemic Risks for AIAN youth*

For AIAN youth, forced relocations and ethnic cleansing policies profoundly disrupted community functioning resulting in an ongoing trauma that continues to influence exosystemic factors (Kirmayer et al., 2000). Reservations originally operated similar to large concentration camps or penal colonies by restricting the rights of residences and imposing poverty (Whitbeck, Walls, Johnson, Morrisseau, & McDougall,

## Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth

2009). The trauma ensuing from this cultural discontinuity continues to influence the functioning of social relationships, practices, and institutions within AIAN communities, resulting in HT being embedded within the context of community (Kirmayer et al., 2000). The interaction between HT and the functioning of communities exacerbates the effects of exosystemic risks towards community violence, and subsequently increases the likelihood of the development of depression and substance use in AIAN youth.

In addition to dramatically changing social norms forced relocations also eradicated traditional ways and means of survival by forcing AIAN to move to geographically isolated areas that often had little productive land value, and no economic value to Europeans (Whitbeck, Walls, Johnson, Morrisseau, & McDougall, 2009). As a result AIAN were unable to rely on traditional knowledge, unable to survive on the land they now occupied, and became dependent on the government for food, shelter, and healthcare (Whitbeck et al., 2009). The resulting trauma (e.g. HT) ensuing from this dramatic disruption in ways of sustainability interacts with current exosystemic risks towards the development of substance use and depression in youth, and exacerbates their effects.

Today, many reservations still experience severely depressed socioeconomic conditions, as evident by US Census Bureau (2001) report showing that AIAN have the highest poverty rate (24.5%) of all ethnic groups in the United States (Whitbeck, 2011). Disproportionately low funded poorly administered and culturally inappropriate substandard service in health care, education, and social service systems contribute to ongoing economic disadvantage (McLeigh, 2010; Waller, Okamoto, Miles, & Hurdle, 2003). For example a 2005 Government Accountability Office Report showed that Indian Health Services (IHS) clinics often lack funds to provide suitable staff and equipment (Whitbeck, 2011). Further research has found that many AIAN women experience their service at HIS as marginalizing and part of the continuation of HT (Dodgson & Struthers, 2005).

For some AIAN today, reservations have become symbols of both maintaining traditional culture and the traumatic loss of that culture by forced relocations, ethnic cleansing, broken promises, continual encroachment on tribal lands, and the continuing pressures of assimilation (Whitbeck et al., 2009; Whitbeck, 2011; Szlemko et al., 2006). For many AIAN social problems (e.g. exosystemic risks) on reservations serve as constant reminders of trauma (e.g. HT) (Whitbeck, 2011). Current exosystemic risk factors are exacerbated by this interaction with HT, and subsequently increase the likelihood of the

development of depression and substance use among youth.

### *Microsystemic Risks contributing to the Development of Depression and Substance Use in Youth*

In addition to distal risk factors (e.g. oppression and exposure to community violence), more proximal factors within the microsystem of a youth can also influence developmental outcomes (Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993). Previous research has established that parental depression, parental substance abuse, and family conflict are microsystemic risks towards the development of substance use and depression in youth (Cicchetti & Toth, 1998; Fear, et al., 2009; Garber, Keiley & Martin, 2002; Kennedy, Bybee, Sullivan & Greeson, 2010). Parental depression contributes to chronic interpersonal stress that can lead to maladaptive parenting behaviors, and affect the quality of parenting, presenting a risk towards poor social functioning in youth. In turn, poor social functioning is predictive (e.g. risk factor) of the development of depression and substance use in youth (Hammen, Shih & Brennan, 2004; Brody & Ge, 2001).

In addition to influencing social functioning, research has repeatedly demonstrated that offspring of depressed parents are more frequently exposed to chronically stressed family environments and family conflict (Fear, et al., 2009; Hammen et al., 2004). Findings from (Zhou, King & Chassin, 2006) showed that among families with a history of parental substance abuse, the presence of family conflict significantly increased the odds towards the development of substance use in youth. Previous research has shown that youth who frequently witness family conflict have physiological stress responses; difficulties in affect regulation, and a heightened sense of self-blame all of which are associated with the development of depression and substance use (Kennedy et al., 2010; Saltzman, Holden & Holahan, 2005). Furthermore for youth in middle childhood, this exposure and subsequent responses can impair their ability to adapt to increasing academic demands and relationships with peers, creating additional microsystemic risks towards the development of depression and substance use (Kennedy et al., 2010; Margolin & Gordis, 2000).

Microsystemic factors such as parental depression, parental substance use, and family conflict have also been found to be risk factors for AIAN youth (Yu & Stiffman, 2010; Hawkins, Cummins & Marlatt, 2004). Stanley, Beauvais, Walker & Walker (2009) found that having an alcoholic father significantly increased the odds of substance use initiation among AIAN youth. Additionally a study examining predictors of substance dependence in AIAN adults found that a history

## Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth

of problematic parental substance use and witnessing family conflict more strongly predicted substance use than any other forms of family stress (e.g. divorce, separation, or death of a parent) (O'Connell et al., 2007; Yu & Stiffman, 2010).

### *Historical Trauma and Microsystemic Risks for AIAN Youth*

Previous research has found disproportional rates of depression, substance abuse and family conflict among AIAN adults (Beals, Novins, Whitesell, Spicer, Mitchell, & Manson, 2005; De Coteau, Hope, & Anderson, 2003; Duran, Malcoe, Sanders, Waitzkin, Skipper, & Yager, 2004; Libby, Orton, Novins, Beals, & Manson, 2005). Scholars suggest that this disproportion is associated with HT and symptomatic of HTR (Brave Heart, 2003; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Kirmayer, Brass, & Tait, 2000; Morgan & Freeman, 2009; Szlemko, Wood, & Thurman, 2006; Walters, Simoni, & Evans-Campbell, 2002; Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). Recent studies have found that thoughts regarding losses related to historically traumatic events (e.g. HT) are very prevalent among contemporary AIAN adults, (Dodgson & Struthers, 2005; Jervis, Beals, Croy, Klein, Manson & Team, 2006; Whitbeck et al., 2004). Furthermore Whitbeck et al., (2004) found that thoughts of historical losses impacted up to one- third of AIAN parents/caregivers, and are associated with symptoms of emotional distress (e.g. HTR). Further analysis of findings suggests that of those who experienced frequent “thoughts of loss” may be more responsive to proximal stressor (e.g. poverty, unemployment, and current traumas) (Whitbeck et al., 2004). Additional research Whitbeck et al., (2009) revealed that persistent thoughts of historical loss (e.g. HT) appear to have both emotional and behavioral qualities, and are associated symptoms of depression, anger, and alcohol abuse. It is important to note these findings represent evidence of the relationship between HT and negative mental health outcomes for only one indigenous nation. However, given the similar experience of a history of genocidal traumatic events across all AIAN peoples, it is highly likely that similar findings would be found among other indigenous nations.

Further evidence for the relationship between HT/HTR and mental health outcomes among AIAN adults from other nations is evident from recent epidemiological findings, of high rates of PTSD, depressive disorders, and depression and comorbidity with alcohol dependence among AIAN adults (Beals, Novins, Whitesell, Spicer, Mitchell, & Manson, 2005; Duran, Malcoe, Sanders, Waitzkin, Skipper, & Yager, 2004). For AIAN youth these findings are suggestive of the interaction between HT/ HTR and microsystemic risks (e.g. parental

depression and substance use) that may exacerbate the effects of these risks by increasing exposure to them.

Current research suggests that the interactions between HT /HTR may reach beyond the level of individual family members and may impact entire family systems, by influencing patterns of family conflict and styles of communication/parenting ((Evans-Campbell, 2008; Gone, 2007; Jones, 2008; Oetzel & Duran, 2004). While the risk factors for family violence in AIAN (e.g. substance use, poverty, and a history of witnessing family violence) are the same as within other populations, the reasons for the disproportionately can be contributed to Colonization (Jones, 2008; Oetzel & Duran, 2004; Tehee & Esqueda, 2008).

The introduction of Western beliefs that historically devalued and exploited AIAN peoples, not only influenced risk factors such as poverty and employment opportunities, but also severely disrupted traditional gender roles and labor division within families. Stereotypical images of AIAN men as “ savages”, and women as “Indian princess” devalued traditional gender roles, and patriarchal and cash based economy systems alter the way in which AIAN women and men managed family resources (Tehee & Esqueda, 2008; Yuan, Koss, Polacca & Goldman, 2006). The resulting trauma (e.g. HT) interacts with present day experiences of oppression and microaggression, and for some AIAN, leads to the experience of an “anger turned inward” (Jones, 2008), that McEarchen (1998) found to be a unique factor in patterns of family conflict among Navajo men.

Perhaps the most devastating from of ethnic cleansing policies was the forced removal of children by boarding schools and non-tribal foster care that stripped youth of their cultural identity, forcefully imposed a European American cultural value system (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Szlemko et al., 2006). These policies have undermined family systems and parental competence by depriving many AIAN of traditional parental role models, disrupting the transmission of AIAN values and cultural knowledge to next generation, and subsequently fostering the intergenerational transmission of many of the social ills causing distress among AIAN families and youth (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Partnership et al., 2008; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Gone, 2011).

### **Conclusion**

This paper seeks to examine how historical trauma interacts with risk factors with the macrosystem, exosystem, and microsystem of AIAN youth, to illustrate the mechanisms by which historically traumatic events have influence patterns of functioning within the social context of AIAN today. Furthermore, recent research has found that historical



## Influence of Historical Trauma on Developmental Pathways for American Indian and Alaska Native Youth

trauma not only influences youth developmental outcomes indirectly, but also directly. Whitbeck et al., (2009) found that nearly one-fifth of youth (11-13 years) had thoughts pertaining to historical losses with emotional responses (e.g. HTR) to these thoughts.

It is important to understand the contextual factors and trajectories/pathways leading towards mental health outcomes for AIAN youth, but future research examining environmental factors contributing towards positive mental health outcomes is needed. Without this information, it will be impossible to eliminate the mental health disparities among AIAN youth. Consistent with a risk and resilience framework, future research needs to moved beyond examining how historical trauma contributes to negative outcomes, and focus on identifying protective factors and processes that buffer the negative effects of risks, and promote wellness. Many AIAN youth show tremendous strength and resilience. A holistic approach to health and healing in AIAN communities requires a better understanding of the community strengths contributing to resilient processes.

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### **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost I would like to recognize and thank Dr. Udell for her support and guidance through out my undergraduate education, and this research process, but most importantly, for her mentorship, support, and tremendous patience as I struggled through these processes.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

In addition I would like to thank the McNair Program for funding this project and their assistance throughout the year.

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I am interested in examining the ways in which historical and socioeconomic contextual factors influence families and youth development within a risk and resilience framework. After completing my MSW I intended pursue a Ph.D. in Social Welfare.

# Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

Dustin Neighly

## Abstract

*The common narrative holds that William's conquest of 1066 ushered in a new era for England, one in which Norman rulers imposed continental models of administration on their new kingdom. Unfortunately, this common narrative is not entirely true; rather than foisting an entirely novel model of governance upon the English people, William's methodology of rule subsumed existing English structures of shire, hundred court, and sheriff. Furthermore, while the English upper-nobility experienced a rather drastic and unpleasant sea-change following William's conquest, Anglo-Saxons constituted a sizable portion of the Sheriffs for more than a generation. These local officials, responsible for enforcing the King's rights, collecting taxes and other revenues, and ensuring the King's peace, remained the principle agents of English domestic policy under William and his successors. In addition to the continued employment of Englishmen as sheriffs, William also made extensive use of English royal writs, concise missives sent from the King to his sheriffs, bishops, and nobility informing them of his intentions and will. These writs had been pioneered by the Anglo-Saxon kings of England and remained one of the central mechanisms of royal administration during and after William's reign. A comparison of the documentation issued by William in Normandy and England, both before and after the conquest of England, demonstrates not only his reliance upon customary Anglo-Saxon methodologies of rule, exemplified in the office of the sheriff, but also the degree to which he and his successors increased the rights and responsibilities of the Sheriffs. In some ways, primarily concerning localized, ground-level administration, William's conquest of England introduced Anglo-Saxon mechanisms of governance into Normandy.*

On January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1066, Edward the Confessor, King of England, died without an heir. After a year of tension and bloody struggles, culminating in the Battle of Hastings on October 14<sup>th</sup>, Harold Godwinson, the last Anglo-Saxon King of England, was dead and William the Bastard of Normandy was to be known to history as William the Conqueror, King of England. Along with his crown, William won a highly advanced state with a nuanced and intricate government; a state

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

whose mechanisms of operation had no parallel in William's Norman duchy.

The measure to which William adapted his rule to these Anglo-Saxon mechanisms, versus adapting them to suit his own methods, is one that scholars have debated for some time now. As M.T. Clanchy once wrote, "No event in English history has been more continually or fiercely debated than the Norman Conquest."<sup>1</sup> Some scholars share Stenton's famous sentiment that, "the first century of English feudalism opened with the battle of Hastings."<sup>2</sup> Paul Hyams, for example, summarized the legacy of this conquest as a, "booster shot of [Norman] influence."<sup>3</sup> Other scholars, however, do not draw such a drastic demarcation; Emma Mason made a case for the continuation of Anglo-Saxon methods of governance, citing evidence of "Anglo-Saxon legal procedures" in use as late as 1077.<sup>4</sup> Though she does not take this evidence of continuity as far as some have,<sup>5</sup> it is clear that certain Anglo-Saxon methods of rule remain after the conquest. These tools of governance include the sheriff, the shire structure, and the writ. Unfortunately, as Judith Green stated, "surprisingly little has been written about the Conqueror's sheriffs."<sup>6</sup> This paucity extends, I would argue, to the mechanism by which the King communicated with his sheriffs – the writ.

Although the Anglo-Saxon state was quite intricate and varied regionally, it is possible to sketch a rough outline of its form and function. The country was divided into a series of administrative units known as shires; these administrative units were roughly equivalent to the modern county structure. One of the purposes of the shire was to provide court services for the surrounding area. This was done through the aptly named shire court, where disagreements over land rights were arbitrated. The sheriffs were the primary agents of royal power within this structure. Their duties included protecting the king's rights, collecting taxes and fines from the shire court, and even mustering the

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<sup>1</sup> M.T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers: 1066 – 1307* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 31.

<sup>2</sup> Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066 – 1166* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 9.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Hyams, "The Common Law," *Anglo-Norman Studies IV* (1981), 78.

<sup>4</sup> Emma Mason, "Change and Continuity," *Anglo-Norman Studies VIII* (1985), 165.

<sup>5</sup> James Campbell, in his work *The Anglo-Saxon State* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), attempted to argue for a continuity of governance (or some semblance thereof) that stretches to pre-Roman times.

<sup>6</sup> Judith Green, "The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror," *Anglo-Norman Studies V* (1983), 129.

## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

local military levy – it was this broad range of powers, as W.A. Morris pointed out, that made the sheriff so useful to the Anglo-Saxon (and later Anglo-Norman) state.<sup>7</sup>

Anglo-Saxon kings used writs to send instructions to the various shire courts throughout England. Writs were small, compact missives, generally measuring between “7 to 10 inches in length and from 2 to 7 inches in width,” and consisted of less than a dozen lines each.<sup>8</sup> They were used to notify regional administrators when the king had made changes to the rights and privileges of someone living within a given area. Upon its reception, the writ would be read aloud, or “published,” in the shire court. Afterward the beneficiary of the writ’s privileges would keep it as a “record” that could be produced as evidence in court whenever they needed to reassert their rights.<sup>9</sup> The maintenance of writs by beneficiaries acted as a safeguard for their possessions.

One of the most striking features that separated the Anglo-Saxon writ from the charter forms, both English and Continental, was the way it disconnected the personage of the king from the execution of his will. As Bishop and Chaplais argued, the use of writs as a safeguard of rights “may be regarded as one of the most important phases in the general change-over from an oral procedure to a written one.”<sup>10</sup> The mechanism of the writ meant that the king was no longer required to be physically present to grant lands, an extremely useful tool in a country as large as England. In effect, the Anglo-Saxon writ ensured that the royal prerogative would be followed on a local level throughout the entire country.<sup>11</sup> Instead of having to be personally involved every time they modified land rights, Anglo-Saxon kings could, and did, trust that their various regional administrators were carrying out their orders. The writ had the added benefit of also providing a receipt, of sorts, to the beneficiary. Instead of having to rely upon personal memory, large

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<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed and nuanced view of the sheriffs and their shire courts see W.A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester: University Press, 1927), 17-74.

<sup>8</sup> Bishop and Chaplais, *English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), x.

<sup>9</sup> Bishop and Chaplais, *Royal Writs*, xi.

<sup>10</sup> Bishop and Chaplais, *Royal Writs*, xi.

<sup>11</sup> I am employing the term “country” here in its loosest sense. Although the concept of an “English people” existed during this period, that of an English land did not inculcate itself into governmental philosophy until the reign of King John. It was during King John’s reign that the title “rex Anglorum” (translation: “King of the English”) became “rex Anglie” (translation: “King of England”); see James Bloom, *English Seals* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), 66.

estates, both lay and ecclesiastical, began transitioning toward an institutional memory.<sup>12</sup> The large number of extant Anglo-Saxon writs demonstrates the lasting efficacy of this form.

The Normans did not have a mechanism comparable to the Anglo-Saxon writ. In contrast, the Norman system of government relied on a much more personal mechanism of rule. The Normans did issue formal written documents recording the transfer of land in the form of charters, as did the English. However, the ability to transfer land rights and grant privileges associated was tied very closely to the physical presence of the grantor. For example, prior to sailing to England in the fall of 1066, there were a flurry of provisional land grants to religious institutions – the Norman knights were buying soul insurance in the event that they died in England. What is striking about these land grants is not their occurrence or recordation; it is their extremely personal nature. In one grant, William gave Fécamp lands in England; he did so by presenting the monks with a ceremonial knife, a physical symbol of his gift.<sup>13</sup> In another instance, a Norman, Roger de Montgomeri, released his claim to some lands, granting them to an Abbey in Rouen. However, what is important to note is that the charter documenting this transfer claims that it was performed, “in the presence of the monks.”<sup>14</sup>

The best evidence for the Norman’s reliance on physical presence for land grants prior to the conquest occurs in a charter from around 1066. The charter claims that Roger, son of Turold, had given land to Fécamp. However, as he died before he could confirm his gift with a charter, “his knight William Trenchefoil made that gift in his stead.”<sup>15</sup> As Roger was not physically present at Fécamp to confirm his gift, nor was there a mechanism by which he could notify the Abbey, the gift was invalid. It was not until William Trenchefoil could physically vouch for the grant that it became legal and thus codified in a charter. For the Normans the charter form was an *ex post facto* recordation of land grants. Rather than expressing the Duke’s prerogative, the charter form merely records a previous act; an act which required the physical presence of grantors. This directly contrasts with the pre-emptive nature

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<sup>12</sup> Bishop and Chaplais, *Royal Writs*, xi.

<sup>13</sup> H.W.C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 1. (N.B.: *Regesta* citations give document number unless otherwise noted).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Regesta* 3 and J. Horace Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899), 78. (N.B.: *Calendar* citations give document number unless otherwise noted)

<sup>15</sup> *Regesta*, 6.

## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

of the Anglo-Saxon writ which did not require the physical presence of the grantor to ensure its execution.

Almost immediately following William's victory at Hastings, however, he began issuing Anglo-Saxon style writs. William's earliest writs provide the best evidence of the differences between the Norman and Anglo-Saxon methods of land grant. William confirmed a land grant to St. Peter's at Bath in a writ dated between March and December of 1067, William's first year as King.<sup>16</sup> What is most striking about this is that this writ was not issued by William directly. According to Round, in *Feudal England*, this writ was drafted by William fitz Osbern during William's absence.<sup>17</sup> The Anglo-Saxon writ form granted William a flexibility of rule unparalleled in Normandy at the time.

Before we can successfully investigate the changes William made to the writ form, we must first examine the Anglo-Saxon writ form in greater detail. The Anglo-Saxon writ was highly formulaic and can be broken down easily into discrete, standardized segments. Beginning with the name and title of the issuer, the writs follow with a notification clause, purpose clause, prohibition clause, and occasionally finish with a blessing clause. Each of these clauses followed its own standardized form. For example, although there are variations within the name and title clause, these are limited to only minor spelling differences ("king,"<sup>18</sup> "kyng,"<sup>19</sup> "kyngc,"<sup>20</sup> "cyngc,"<sup>21</sup> and "cing"<sup>22</sup>) and the substance of the clause is unaffected by them. These discrepancies may reflect either differences in the regional nature of the writs or the individuals' writing them; unfortunately, such a digression is beyond the scope of the current research, although this linguistic difference in pre-Conquest writs may prove fruitful research later.

The notification clause follows after the name and title clause. Since writs were created to be read at the shire court, the notification list reflected the general make-up of these courts.<sup>23</sup> As such, the names in this section appear in descending order of importance, beginning with the

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<sup>16</sup> *Regesta*, 7.

<sup>17</sup> James Round, *Feudal England* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895), 430.

<sup>18</sup> As in Harmer 38, 68, 71 (King Harold's writ), 75, 105, etc. – F.E. Harmer, *Anglo Saxon Writs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952) (N.B.: Harmer citations give document number unless otherwise noted)

<sup>19</sup> As in Harmer 73, 76, 93, etc.

<sup>20</sup> As in Harmer 77, 79, 90, etc.

<sup>21</sup> As in Harmer 33, 35, 39, etc.

<sup>22</sup> As in Harmer 62, 85, 86, etc.

<sup>23</sup> Harmer, pp. 45.

most important individual and proceeding down to the least important. The order of these notifications is, generally: Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, Abbot, Sheriff, and, finally, Thegns.<sup>24</sup> Although anomalies do occur in this order,<sup>25</sup> the general scheme holds throughout all of Edward's writs.<sup>26</sup> In King Harold's only surviving writ this tradition continued with his placement of Abbot Æthelnoth before Sheriff Tofig who, in turn, preceded the Thegns of Somerset.<sup>27</sup>

The purpose clause, on the other hand, was much more varied than the notification clause. Rather than indicating a lack of solidified form, these variations existed because of the wide range of rights and privileges that writs enabled. However, within this broad framework the rights themselves existed as standardized, "alliterative jingles."<sup>28</sup> These alliterative couplings represented traditional land rights, such as "sac and soc," which granted the, "profits of jurisdiction arising from offences committed upon their lands,"<sup>29</sup> and "toll and team," which grants the right to take a toll for goods on an estate, as well as the right of jurisdiction in instances of an individual possessing unlawful goods.<sup>30</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon writs were rounded out with the prohibition clause, forbidding anyone from interfering with the stipulations outlined in the writ. Once again, the Anglo-Saxon prohibition clauses employed highly standardized language, usually beginning with the injunction that the king, "Ic nelle gefafian þæt" (trans: "I will not allow that") and followed by a threat of punishment.<sup>31</sup>

The final element of the Anglo-Saxon writ was its shortest and perhaps most irregular element: the blessing clause. The blessing clause,

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<sup>24</sup> Again, with the characteristic variation in spelling ranging between "þeignes," (Harmer, 45), "þegenas," (Harmer, 40), "þeines," (Harmer, 42), etc.

<sup>25</sup> The position of Earl and Abbot appears to be more fluid than the rest of the hierarchy. For example, in Harmer 64 and 65, Earl Harold precedes Abbot Æthelnoth, while Harmer 4 shows an instance where the abbots came before the earls in the notification clause. However, this ordering appears anomalous and is possibly related to the substance of the writ, which consists of rights granted to Abbot Ordric.

<sup>26</sup> For a more granular breakdown of individual notifications see Harmer pp. 45-54.

<sup>27</sup> Harmer 71.

<sup>28</sup> Harmer, pp. 87.

<sup>29</sup> Florence Harmer, "A Bromfield and a Coventry Writ of King Edward the Confessor" in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Bruce Dickins* ed. Peter Clemons (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), 95.

<sup>30</sup> Harmer, *Bromfield*, 95-96.

<sup>31</sup> For a more detailed breakdown of the nuances in prohibition clauses see Harmer, pp. 66-67.



## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

when it was included, generally read to the effect of, "God keep you."<sup>32</sup> This clause, however, was the exception rather than the rule and occurred in only a few authentic writs.<sup>33</sup> As such, I do not consider it fundamental to the proper classification of an Anglo-Saxon writ. The blessing clause is an interesting case study for the fluidity of the Anglo-Saxon writ form. Although writs were extremely formulaic, especially within the alliterative elements of the purpose clause, it was still an evolving form during the pre-Conquest period. The variability of the blessing clause illustrates this fluidity.

The most obvious change that William's administration made to the Anglo-Saxon writ form was issuing them in Latin, as opposed to Anglo-Saxon. This change was marked by a transition period beginning in 1071<sup>34</sup> during which William issued writs in a dual-language format. Latin eventually became the dominant language of the writ by the end of William's reign. However, R.C. van Caenegem notes that "the bilingual, Latin-English writ... had a longer life than one would expect," lasting until the reign of Henry I.<sup>35</sup> The context and circumstances of this change will be discussed later in this paper.

One of the most seemingly innocuous changes that William made, but most informative for our purposes, was to append the genitive, "Anglorum," (trans: "of the English") to his regnal title, as opposed to the unmodified "king" of previous Anglo-Saxon writs. This change coincided with the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Latin, around 1071. In his work, *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill*, R.C. van Caenegem argues that the addition of this epithet came from a cross-contamination with the continental charter form. Caenegem does acknowledge that the pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon charters contain similar language (i.e. "N., king of N."), however, he believes that timing of this change, "certainly points to the influence on the writ of the Norman charter."<sup>36</sup> However, upon closer inspection of the Norman charter form, van Caenegem's theory proves unlikely.

The Norman charter form does include the genitive, "of the <peoples>," but it does so in a fashion distinct from that employed in William's Latin writs. In the Norman ducal charters, the genitive epithet

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<sup>32</sup> EHD II, 33.

<sup>33</sup> Harmer, 38, 47, 72 and 101; as well as the possibly spurious additions in 102, 103, 106, etc.

<sup>34</sup> *Regesta*, 47.

<sup>35</sup> R.C. van Caenegem, *Royal Writs in England from Conquest to Glanvill* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1959), 142.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 143.

is generally prior to an individuals' rank. For example, a charter dating between 1049 and 1058 lists William as "Willelmus, superna disponente clementia, Normannorum princeps gloriosus" (trans: "William, having been placed by the highest mercy, the famous leader of the Normans").<sup>37</sup> Another charter, this one issued the year of the Conquest itself, designates William as, "Normannorum dux Guillelmus" (trans: "William, the Duke of the Normans").<sup>38</sup> This pattern is consistent throughout the majority of William's Norman ducal charters; the genitive-title pattern is present in a total of thirty five acts,<sup>39</sup> while the title-genitive pattern is only present in twenty one acts.<sup>40</sup> While some of his father's charters do exhibit the title followed by genitive motif, this is far from a consistent scheme.<sup>41</sup> If, as van Caenegem posits, William's Latin writs imported their genitive designations from pre-Conquest ducal charters we should expect to see a similar amount of variation within the writs themselves. This is clearly not the case. As van Caenegem himself points out, "in the trustworthy originals the style of the Conqueror is 'Willelmus rex Anglorum.'"<sup>42</sup> It is important to note that the title-genitive construction occurs far more frequently than the two notifications which he cites (*Regesta* 236 and 283), namely *Regesta* 192, 258, 261 (possibly spurious), 270, etc. In contrast to the highly variable placement seen in pre-Conquest ducal acts, the language of William's Latinate writs consists of a stable and fixed construction.

Van Caenegem himself provides even further evidence debunking his theory. He points out that the "by the grace of God" formulation so common in the ducal charters is, "as a rule absent after 1066 and is certainly absent from the writs, as before."<sup>43</sup> If his original hypothesis of cross-contamination were true, it seems likely that there would also be evidence of this rhetorical device carrying over into the

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<sup>37</sup> Marie Fauroux, *Recueil des Actes des Ducs de Normandie* (Caen: Société d'Impressions Caron, 1961), 140; Translation mine. (N.B.: Fauroux citations give document number unless otherwise noted)

<sup>38</sup> Fauroux, *Recueil*, 233; Translation mine.

<sup>39</sup> Fauroux 94, 99, 109, 110, 115, 122, 126, 127 (francorum rex), 128, 132 (both francorum rege and normannorum principis), 139, 140, 141, 145, 148, 150, 160, 161, 177, 194, 196, 197, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 218, 223, 231, 233, 234.

<sup>40</sup> Fauroux 98 (1070), 102, 111, 118, 123 (regem francorum), 136, 142, 146, 147, 156, 158, 167, 172, 178, 179, 189, 198, 215, 220, 224, 229 (1066).

<sup>41</sup> For examples of genitive-title construction see: Fauroux 71, 80, 87, 90, etc.; For examples of the title-genitive construction see: Fauroux 69, 70, 85, 86, etc.

<sup>42</sup> van Caenegem, *Royal Writs*, 143.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 143-144.

## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

writ form; however, it is notably absent and, in its absence, we see the flaw in van Caenegem's logic. It is highly suspect that van Caenegem's theory of charter osmosis would operate on one aspect of the form yet remain wholly impotent on another, especially when the two were so closely associated with one another in the Norman charters.

Another change in William's writs was an alteration in the order of the notification clause. This modification was just as subtle as the inclusion of "Anglorum," but both its causes and effects had far more immediate and wide-ranging consequences. As outlined above, the order of the Anglo-Saxon address list reflected the social hierarchy of Anglo-Saxon culture itself. It is no surprise then that William maintained the hierarchy extant in the Anglo-Saxon writs upon his adoption of the form. William's earliest writs, those issued in Anglo-Saxon and dating between 1067 and circa 1070, follow the familiar pattern of Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, Sheriff, and Thegns.<sup>44</sup> Beginning around 1070, with the first of William's bilingual writs, the Earls disappeared from the notification list and their position was replaced by the sheriffs.<sup>45</sup> For example, a bilingual writ from 1071 is addressed to, "Bishop Herfast, Abbot Baldwin, and the sheriffs Picot and Robert Malet."<sup>46</sup> While another, dated between 1080 and 1086, is addressed to, "Bishop Rimigius and Peter de Valognes [sheriff]<sup>47</sup> and the sheriff and all of Herts."<sup>48</sup>

The change in the notification list coincided not only with the transition of writs from Anglo-Saxon to Latin, but also with an increase in the responsibilities of the sheriffs themselves. Soon after 1070, the sheriffs became more central to William's administration. The growing importance of the sheriffs is demonstrated in a writ drafted sometime between 1070 and 1076.<sup>49</sup> This writ, addressed to "Ralph Bainard [sheriff of Essex], Geoffrey de Mandeville [sheriff of Middlesex], and Peter de Valoines [sheriff of Hertford],"<sup>50</sup> served to inform the sheriffs of William's decision to separate the Ecclesiastical courts from the hundred courts. This writ clearly demonstrates William's growing reliance on the

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<sup>44</sup> *Regesta*, 9, 12, 14, 25, 41, 42, etc.

<sup>45</sup> *Regesta* 138, 160, 175, etc.

<sup>46</sup> *Regesta*, 47.

<sup>47</sup> Green, *Sheriffs*, 140.

<sup>48</sup> *Regesta*, 235.

<sup>49</sup> Douglas and Greenaway give this writ a date range between 1072 and 1076, but state that it was "probably [drafted] April 1072"; David Douglas and George Greenaway, *English Historical Documents II: 1042 – 1189* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953), 79. (N.B.: EHD II citations give document number unless otherwise noted)

<sup>50</sup> *Regesta*, 93.

sheriffs in the local administration of England throughout the 1070's. Had the Earls maintained the power they had in the beginning of his reign (those who survived his initial invasion that is) then they would have also received this information. However, William addressed this writ to the sheriffs exclusively, indicating the changes occurring within his chain of command.

It is important to point out that the Earls did not disappear entirely from the post-1070 notification clauses. However, the writs which do include Earls reflect the changing power dynamics detailed above. The most prominent post-1070 writs addressed to the Earls pertain to the abuses of sheriffs, abuses that were concomitant with their rising power and importance.<sup>51</sup> It is only natural, given the abuses were committed by the sheriffs, that William would turn to his Earls to conduct any inquiry into their behaviour. Furthermore, that these abuses were observed after the sheriffs received an increase of status in William's writs should come as no surprise. The process of William's conquest destabilized the balance of power within England, a balance that future Anglo-Norman kings were constantly attempting to buttress.<sup>52</sup>

One final addition William made to the writ was the inclusion of a witness list. Harkening back to the physical presence required in Norman grants, the witness list was, as the name implies, a list of people who witnessed the issuance of a writ. The list was appended to the end of the usual and still highly formulaic writ. Interestingly, the introduction of witness lists and Latinate writs did not happen simultaneously, nor were the witness lists universally applied in the early years of William's reign. Although witness lists became more frequent during the latter half of William's reign, it was not until Henry I's writs that their use became common place.<sup>53</sup> The most interesting feature of the witness list, at least for our purposes, is the date of its inception – circa 1070.<sup>54</sup>

We have now catalogued at least four changes to the Anglo-Saxon writ form: the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Latin, the inclusion of the "Anglorum" epithet, the increasing prominence of the sheriff, and the introduction of the witness list. Although these features may seem unrelated, a common thread holds them all together – the date of their introduction. All of these modifications began around the year 1070.

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<sup>51</sup> *EHD* II, 38, 39, 40.

<sup>52</sup> For an overview of Henry I's efforts to assert control over his sheriffs see M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers: 1066-1307* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 53-59.

<sup>53</sup> van Caenegem, *Royal Writs*, 148.

<sup>54</sup> *Regesta*, 51, 53, 62, etc.

## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

A myriad of theories have been put forth to explain these changes, each dealing with a discrete element of the change and have, thus far,<sup>55</sup> failed to address the systemic alterations that William made. We have seen, for example, that van Caenegem postulated a cross-germination with the ducal charter form that resulted in the inclusion of the “Anglorum” moniker.<sup>56</sup> M.T. Clanchy, on the other hand, argued that the transition into Latin was due to Anglo-Saxon being “uncouth” and unintelligible to William’s chancellors.<sup>57</sup> A list of William’s chancellors does reveal a turn-over in administration around 1070, as demonstrated in the chart below:

Name	Date (approximate)
Regenbald – <i>Anglo-Saxon</i>	1066
Herfast – <i>Norman</i>	1068 - 1070
Osmund – <i>Norman</i>	1070 - 1078
Maurice – <i>Norman</i>	1078 - 1085
Girard – <i>Norman</i>	1085 – 1090

**Figure 1.** Chancellors of William the Conqueror<sup>58</sup>.

However, Clanchy’s theory ignores the fact that the transition from an Anglo-Saxon chancellor to a Norman one (from Regenbald to Herfast) did not coincide with the changes listed above; in fact, it occurred approximately two full years prior.

These theories rely only partially upon the historic contingencies of William’s conquest and prove to be unsatisfactory when the other three elements of change are taken into account. If, for example, Clanchy’s “uncouth” theory were to hold, how could it explain the extended use of bilingual writs? Conversely, as discussed above, if van Caenegem’s hypothesis on charter osmosis were true, why does the syntactical construction of the writ’s epithet differ from the charter form? There is obviously another factor that has been left out of each of these scholar’s theories. That factor is the Harrying of the North.

In 1069 the Northumbrians rebelled after joining forces with a Danish fleet under the banner of the surviving English claimant to the throne, Edgar Aetheling. In response to Edgar’s uprising, William,

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<sup>55</sup> Save for one, brief passage in Bishop and Chaplais, *Royal*, xiii.

<sup>56</sup> See above.

<sup>57</sup> Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 30.

<sup>58</sup> Source: Bishop and Chaplais, *Royal Writs*, xv.

“utterly ravaged and laid waste,” the Northumbrian shire.<sup>59</sup> His scorched Earth policy was so thorough that much of the northern regions were still listed as wasteland in the Domesday survey fifteen years later.<sup>60</sup> Following William’s destruction of the north, two of the three remaining Anglo-Saxon Earls, Morcar<sup>61</sup> and Edwin,<sup>62</sup> were removed from power and William began appointing even more Normans into positions of authority. For example, William appointed Lanfranc, a continental monk, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070.<sup>63</sup>

William did not completely remove all Anglo-Saxons from his government following the Harrying of the North. Waltheof, the last remaining Anglo-Saxon Earl, kept his position until 1076, when he was convicted of treason and subsequently executed.<sup>64</sup> In addition, Judith Green’s compilation of sheriffs in 1086 includes seven Anglo-Saxon names, four of whom are men of some measurable wealth.<sup>65</sup> W.L. Warren argued, persuasively I believe, that William needed to include Anglo-Saxons in his administration in order to successfully use existing Anglo-Saxon mechanisms to govern effectively.<sup>66</sup> However, following the Harrying of the North and Waltheof’s execution in 1076, their numbers were greatly diminished and subject to increasing pressures from William. These pressures came, in part, in the form of the changes William made to his writs.

Paradoxically enough, the most obvious change to the writ form represented William’s most modest method to emphasize his dominance. While the change in language from Anglo-Saxon to Latin would have undoubtedly reinforced the foreignness of England’s new ruler, the transition occurred in response to William’s changing needs; the dynamic nature of local administration necessitated this transition in language. As power shifted away from Anglo-Saxon magnates toward new Norman sheriffs, those whose responsibility it was to receive and enact the writs would no longer be as familiar with the English language as their predecessors. As such, a transition seems almost natural.

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<sup>59</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1069, ver. D in *EHD II*, pp. 155.

<sup>60</sup> Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 30.

<sup>61</sup> Morcar was imprisoned by William after surrendering in 1072, according to the *ASC*, ver. D & E in *EHD*, pp. 159.

<sup>62</sup> Edwin was killed in 1072, according to the *ASC*, ver. D & E in *EHD II*, pp. 159.

<sup>63</sup> Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 30.

<sup>64</sup> *ASC* 1076, ver. D & E in *EHD II*, pp. 163.

<sup>65</sup> Green, *Sheriffs*, 140-141.

<sup>66</sup> W.L. Warren, “The Myth of Anglo-Norman Efficiency,” in *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 34 (1984), 113-132.

## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

However, the continued presence of Anglo-Saxon sheriffs required William to issue bilingual writs well into the latter years of his reign. The presence of these English sheriffs, and their associated dual-language writs, reiterates William's need for administrators experienced in the Anglo-Saxon method of governance.

This is not to say, however, that William did not take advantage of the Latin language to reinforce his authority. The very nature of a dual-language writ attests to this fact. If William continued to issue his writs in English so that his Anglo-Saxon subjects<sup>67</sup> would be able to read them then we are left to wonder about the utility of the bilingual format. If the individual receiving the writ could read one of the languages, why include both? I believe that the bilingual writ indicates William's desire to reinforce his authority among his dwindling, yet still vital, pool of English administrators. These administrators, familiar with the Anglo-Saxon writ form, would, in general, have no need for a Latin copy of the same writ. However, William's Chancery invested the time, money, and effort into creating these bilingual writs as a way of reminding local administrators that William was now solidly in charge.

William's most blatant method of emphasizing his dominance via the writ was his inclusion of the "Anglorum" epithet. Quite simply put, this addition to his title reinforced William's position not only as King, but as King of the entire English people; a fact that would have been reiterated with every Bilingual and Latin writ he issued. Furthermore, William's use of "Anglorum" echoed Alfred the Great's use of the epithet, "Anglorum-Saxonum rex," (trans: King of the Anglo-Saxons) approximately one hundred and seventy years earlier. Alfred, a West Saxon king from the late ninth century, began using this appellation in an effort to both justify his conquest of Southern England and to forge a concept of a unified English people in the face of Viking invasions.<sup>68</sup> Like Alfred, William's use of the term appears to stem from his need to emphasize his lordship over the whole of England. The fact that this designation flourished amid rebellions in the north, much like Alfred's own problems, only adds further validity to this theory. Much like Alfred's own propaganda campaign, William was attempting to unite the people he was in the process of conquering.

Changes in the notification clause reflected this process of conquest. Beginning around 1070, as detailed above, the Earls were

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<sup>67</sup> Be these the beneficiary of the writ, the sheriff, or some other, unknown party involved in the writs transmission and recitation at the Shire court.

<sup>68</sup> David Pratt, *The Political Thought of Alfred the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 106-107.

effectively replaced by Sheriffs in William's writs. Rather than an instance of writs acting as propaganda mechanisms, this alteration in the form came about from changes in the ground level governance of England. William was quite familiar with Edward the Confessor's own problems with the English earls, and the rebellions of the north gave him new reason to distrust their power. This distrust played itself out, as attested in the writ notifications, in his increasing reliance upon sheriffs to enact the royal prerogative. The rebellions of 1070 and 1076 served to expand the power of the sheriffs. William's writ of inquiry into abuses by the sheriffs in 1077<sup>69</sup> demonstrates the dangers of such an expansion. However, faced with the alternative of rebellious magnates wielding enormous resources, William chose to disperse power to the sheriffs. Given the numerous dangers William faced, it is not surprising that he turned to the traditional, well established mechanisms of Anglo-Saxon governance, the shire court and its agent, to reinforce his power in England.

The inclusion of the witness list in William's post-1070 writs is one of the most difficult to reconcile changes. As demonstrated above in one of William's writs of 1067, as issued by William fitz Osbern,<sup>70</sup> the physical nature of Norman land grants was no longer a requirement for William's government. However, these lists became more robust and more common during the latter portion of William's reign. Although, van Caenegem notes, the witness lists were an exception rather than a rule until Rufus' reign.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, these witnesses represented a hodgepodge of men local to William himself, rather than the important witnesses seen attesting ducal charters.<sup>72</sup> This disparity between the writ witness list and those of the charter form dissuade me, again, from applying van Caenegem's notion of charter-creep. It is possible that these witness lists were an effort to emphasize the validity of grants; however the historical precedent of writs being accepted without attestation negates this hypothesis. I believe that a satisfactory theory can only be put forth after a more in depth analysis of the individuals attesting William's writs, those attesting his charters (both pre- and post-1070) and the language contained within all of these sources. Unfortunately, such an analysis exceeds the scope of the current essay.

The Anglo-Saxon writ form proved so useful that William appears to have implemented them in Normandy. We must be wary,

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<sup>69</sup> See note 51 above.

<sup>70</sup> *Regesta*, 7. See note 16 above.

<sup>71</sup> van Caenegem, *Royal Writs*, 148.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, 149.



## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

however, of accepting Haskins' overreaching claims that, "writs fly in either direction across the Channel."<sup>73</sup> As David Bates pointed out in his monograph, *The Earliest Norman Writs*, "we know of only four possible Norman documents in writ-form for the forty years between 1066 and 1106."<sup>74</sup> Equally, however, we must avoid Bates' own hardline position that Anglo-Saxon forms did not have a noticeable influence on the administration of Normandy.<sup>75</sup> That the writ form was in use in Normandy is undeniable – one exists. While the dating of the earliest extant Norman writ to appear on the Continent, known as the Montebourg writ, is still debated, it exhibits clear parallels with its Anglo-Saxon predecessors:

*Willelmus rex Anglorum omnibus suis ministris tocius Normannie salutem. Precipio vobis ut res Sancte Marie de Monteborc quiete sint ab omni consuetudine et sine theloneo transeant quocunque venerint.*<sup>76</sup>

~

*William, King of the English, greets all his ministers of the whole of Normandy. I command you that the affairs of Saint Marie of Montebourg be quit from all customs and pass over without toll whithersoever they go.*<sup>77</sup>

The Montebourg writ contains the hallmarks of the traditional Anglo-Saxon writ form, albeit slightly modified (as detailed above). The name and title clause replicate William's Latinized writs word for word, with the characteristic title-genitive motif. The notification and purpose clauses are also extraordinarily reminiscent of the familiar Anglo-Saxon writs. Bates' argument that the general nature of the address clause negates its connection with Anglo-Saxon forms<sup>78</sup> proves fallacious, as it ignores the numerous generally addressed writs issued both before and after the conquest.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, as Mark Hagger illustrated in his

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<sup>73</sup> Charles Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 54.

<sup>74</sup> David Bates, "The Earliest Norman Writs," *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 395 (Apr., 1985), 266.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 80, n. 55

<sup>77</sup> Translation mine.

<sup>78</sup> Bates, *Norman Writs*, 270.

<sup>79</sup> For pre-Conquest examples, Harmer 109 and 110 are both addressed to "ealle mine b. 7 eorlas 7 þegnas on ælcere scire þe[r] land ligce in to Ealdan Mynstre."

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

rebuttal to Bates, the changes to the notification clause were simply modifications to the writ form to incorporate it into extant Norman administration methods but the mechanism itself remained the same;<sup>80</sup> put simply, though the trappings changed slightly to accommodate the governmental hierarchy of Normandy they did so within the existing framework of the Anglo-Saxon writ mechanism.

Even if we accept Bates' criticisms (which I do not), the Montebourg writ is not the only evidence of writ usage in Normandy. A writ is mentioned in a charter from Normandy dating circa 1077. This charter reads, in part:

*per me vel per brevem meum abbatem summeam*<sup>81</sup>

~

*I will notify the abbot through myself or my writ.*<sup>82</sup>

If the abbot were unfamiliar with this form then William's mention of the writ would have no power in binding his agreement. Yet it was clearly accepted as a valid promise within the confines of this charter. The physical presence necessary in pre-Conquest Norman charters was being replaced by the use of written documents that were fashioned after the Anglo-Saxon model.

Though William's conquest began in 1066, it by no means ended in that year. Pauline Stafford once wrote of Cnut's invasion of England that, "conquest must be recognized as a process not an event."<sup>83</sup> This statement applies equally to William's own reign. Viewed in this light, his changes to the Anglo-Saxon writ form do not represent a fundamental alteration in their use as a mechanism of rule; quite the opposite is true – William's reign is characterized by his adoption of Anglo-Saxon methodologies of rule. The initial, unmodified, adoption of the Anglo-Saxon writ form early in the conquest indicates that William recognized its utilitarian functions. Contrary to van Caenegem's notion of William

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(translation by Harmer: "[greetings to] all my bishops and earls and thegns in every shire where there is land belonging to Old Minster.") Conversely, *Regesta* 12 gives a Post-Conquest example of William I addressing his "bishops and earls and thegns in whose shires Abbot Baldwin [of Bury St. Edmunds] has lands."

<sup>80</sup> Mark Hagger, "The Earliest Norman Writs Revisited," *Historical Research*, Vol. 82, No. 216 (May, 2009), 182.

<sup>81</sup> Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 54.

<sup>82</sup> Translation mine.

<sup>83</sup> Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1989), 70.

## Continuity through Conquest: William the Conqueror's Appropriation of Anglo-Saxon Methodologies of Rule

overlaying Norman forms onto the Anglo-Saxon writ, the changes that William made were in direct response to the dynamic realities in England throughout his conquest. As William suppressed the Earls' rebellions and vied for dominance across the whole of England, he looked to traditional Anglo-Saxon mechanism of the writ, sheriff, and shire court to bolster his claim to the crown and exert his influence. The alterations William made to the writ form were part of a concerted, deliberate, and conscientious attempt to reinforce this authority. However, these changes all relied on the core structure of the writ that remained consistent throughout his conquest. Furthermore, as references to writs in Normandy and the existence of writs themselves points out, this Anglo-Saxon structure influenced the way William and his descendants ruled in Normandy.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the people and programs that have helped me in my research and have ultimately made this paper a reality.

This paper would not have been possible without the continued support and guidance of the Ronald E. McNair program. Dr. Gene Kim's endless supply of energy and enthusiasm helped brighten several dreary Seattle winter days. Rosa Ramirez and her couch provided much needed respite during the arduous research process. Jorge Martinez and Ashley McClure's advice has helped guide all of my academic endeavours.

Dr. Thomas Cramer's recommendations for literature on Anglo-Saxon government were of immeasurable help. The resources Dr. Stephen Hinds gave me regarding Medieval Latin were invaluable in helping me navigate an unfamiliar morass.

I would like to especially thank my adviser, Dr. Charity Urbanski. I would have been absolutely lost without her guidance, council and encouragement. Our frequent afternoon discussions proved both insightful and uplifting.

However, my deepest thanks go to my fiancée, Natasha Lewandrowski. She has been supportive and understanding even in the presence of precarious piles of books and frequent absences of her partner. She stood with me even as I exchanged comfort for passion and for that I am eternally indebted to her.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

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# The Digital Revolution: Disability and Social Media

Monica Olsson

## Abstract

*Social media forums such as Facebook, YouTube, and blogs are a growing part of our digital media culture. These forums are increasingly becoming accessible to people everywhere, providing a platform for individuals to claim space in public media. I will investigate through qualitative research how the disability community—a historically marginalized community within the context of commercial/mainstream media—uses social media to claim visibility within public spheres. I am particularly interested in exploring how people with disabilities use social media to celebrate disability identity, to challenge dominant narratives of disability, and to and locate disability community.*

*This study engages scholarship from three academic fields: Disability Studies, Media Studies, and Women's Studies. These materials and concepts work together to strengthen my theoretical framework of social media and source analysis. My qualitative research necessitated scrutiny or address of social media sources and beyond that, my own participation in the very forums I analyze. First I followed the activity of five disability blogs (including a photo project). I logged notes regarding the postings, comments, and conversations between participants on these blogs once a week for six months. Two blogs will be discussed in this essay. Secondly, I followed the activity of two Facebook groups using the same method of note taking. As a member of these groups I also participated in conversations when appropriate. Lastly, I screened both amateur and professionally produced disability-related videos on YouTube, logging notes regarding story narratives and viewer comments. One specific video from YouTube will be discussed in my work.*

## Introduction: The Digital Revolution

The digital revolution is here and now. Never before have people so quickly and easily accessed information and events from all over the world, or connected with each other personally and professionally through the use of digital and social media. We are now living in a digitized world, and there is no turning back. Conceptually and experientially our digital realities are constantly in flux or motion and ever changing. The Internet's history for example, begins as early as the 1950s and 1960s, and was only formally introduced online in 1969,

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

known then as ARPANET. At that time only certain major universities such as UCLA and the Stanford Research Institute were experimenting with its capabilities on computers. In other words, the Internet was originally intended for computer scientists, engineers and librarians for organizational or categorical purposes—personal entertainment or home use was not yet a consideration or goal. Email service was introduced to the ARPANET system in 1972, but it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s when systems started to become standardized and user-friendly Internet interfaces were developed.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that groundbreaking metamorphosis has taken place over the past three decades—a snowball of digital creation manifested in ways that may almost feel like overnight to some. YouTube, for example, is just 6 years old, created in 2005 it is now the leading Internet service for people to upload and share videos.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Facebook launched in 2004, Twitter in 2006, and today each site has 600+ million and 200+ million users worldwide<sup>3</sup>. Activity on these forums as well as on online journals referred to as blogs/photo blogs/video blogs or vlogs, now regularly appear in daily televised and print news productions or social commentary programming. Social media forums are increasingly considered to be legitimate sources for current information and debate by media professionals. Politicians, religious leaders, celebrities, and every day citizens alike are turning to social media as a way to successfully transmit ideas, messages, or even campaign slogans. It is absolutely imperative to pay close attention to these developments as they prove our developing digital cultures produce important social/cultural/political consequences.

It is reasonable to assume that everyone and anyone regardless of identity/cultural positionality may benefit from certain aspects of social media use such as event planning and community organizing. I argue however, social media is *especially* useful and revolutionary to disability communities and individuals with disabilities. This is because social media provides alternative platforms to claim public space and visibility

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<sup>1</sup> Howe, Walt. *A Brief History on the Internet*. March 2010. Web. 14 April 2011. <<http://www.walthowe.com/navnet/history.html>>

<sup>2</sup> The creators of YouTube are Chad Hurley, Steve Chen, and Jawed Karim. Google bought YouTube for 1.65 billion in 2006. Mark Zuckerberg is creator/owner of Facebook. Jack Dorsey is the inventor Twitter.

<sup>3</sup> Figures found on statistics webpage generated by Facebook and, Myers, Courtney Boyd. "Twitter users now sending 1 billion tweets per week." *The Next Web*. 14 March 2011. Web. 1 April 2011. <<http://thenextweb.com/twitter/2011/03/14/twitter-users-now-sending-1-billion-tweets-per-week/>>.

in ways that bypass mainstream media production where disability is predominately excluded, and social media may also be more accessible to certain people depending on individual needs regarding mobility, communication/language skills, and emotional expression.

### **Social Media Explained**

#### *Defining the Activity: Background Information*

A myriad of digital and media scholars such as Henry Jenkins, Sharon Daniels, and Beth Haller are taking notice of the digital revolution. They recognize that stronger theoretical understanding of seemingly digital small “trends”—hits on YouTube video streams or status updates on Facebook for example—enables these activities to be repositioned as formative cultural moments. These “trends” are in fact part of a massive shift from analog media to digital media. They are quickly becoming the building blocks of our contemporary world—a social media culture made possible through the digital revolution.

Social media is a term classifying various forums people use to network with each other and participate within the digital world. Sites such as YouTube, Facebook, and blog forums are tools people use in order to access and share information, images, texts, and other materials quickly. Perhaps most importantly, however, social media provides a unique avenue for people to express themselves, to effectively organize communities, and to engage in social change.

When acquiring a Facebook account, a people are given relative control over their respective pages and accounts.<sup>4</sup> On Facebook one can create and share status updates as desired. Status updating is like micro-blogging, a term used to describe tweeting activity on Twitter. People on Facebook can create photo albums, “tag” the presence of others in their photos, send messages privately, chat live with friends, write on other people’s “walls”, or post videos and songs. Users can belong to various groups (public or private) on Facebook (i.e. student organizations, book clubs, activist groups, support groups etc.) and create event pages with the ability to invite other people on Facebook to attend the event. The updates, postings, or comments people choose to publish on their Facebook accounts appear instantly, meaning that when logged in people are creating and viewing live and interactive digital activity. Blogs sites like wordpress, blogger, and blogspot are spaces where people can

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<sup>4</sup> User control is relative because Facebook has the right to censor photos or other material reported as inappropriate. Facebook has received a lot of criticism from its constituents about the level of privacy available through automatic account settings.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

journal publically online for various reasons. Social activists for instance keep blogs as a way to critique social-political situations, to offer different viewpoints, and to chronicle social justice movements. Often times a blogger builds a following of other digital participants who then post comments (if the site allows) on the entries—creating community conversation. Photo blogs are similar but prioritize the inclusion of photography and images over text-based information.

YouTube is another social media forum where users may also have personal accounts or “channels” to upload and organize their own videos or the videos of others. Anyone can view videos that are kept public, prioritize favorites and, like Facebook, post comments that appear below the videos. A part of what makes YouTube desirable is its accessibility—it is not a site intended for exclusivity or professionals but it is for everyone. In fact, since 2008 YouTube is one of the top ten visited websites globally. In the first chapter of *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture* the book’s authors explain the goal of YouTube’s original creators: to “remove technical barriers to the widespread sharing of videos.”<sup>5</sup> As a result, participants do not need high levels of technical knowledge or experience in order to access YouTube, upload videos, or view video streams. During the first few years of the site’s existence YouTube’s creators experimented with a few different marketing strategies in attempt to find out what media makers and consumers wanted/needed the most, finally landing on YouTube’s popular tagline “Broadcast Yourself.” Decidedly, it is YouTube’s community functions that secure the site’s popularity and accessibility. For instance, people can copy video URLs and then paste them elsewhere, such as on their Facebook walls or blog pages. This function in particular supports the creation of intricately webbed relationships between an infinite number of people and an immeasurable array of sites—true to the sentiments of the digital revolution. Various scholars view this kind of activity as “digital citizenship”, meaning that when a person logs onto their Facebook or YouTube accounts they become a participant and member of a live active community or e-democracy/electronic democracy.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Burgess, Jean, Joshua Green, Henry Jenkins, and John Hartley. *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*. Cambridge: Polity, 2009. Print.

<sup>6</sup> Longford, Graham. "Pedagogies of Digital Citizenship and the Politics of Code." *Techne* (2005): 68-96. Web.



### Theorizing Key Features of Social Media

Member participation, community empowerment, immediacy, and access to the public sphere constitute the currency of social media; these features define social media's functionality. Tara McPherson stresses the concept of interactive participation in her article *Introduction: Media Studies and the Digital Humanities*. The main premise of McPherson's article argues for an outlet that will support the multi-modal academic scholar, akin to what she refers to as "blogging humanists" in the digital humanities. She does, however, use YouTube as a way to explain what I mean my interactive participatory culture.<sup>7</sup> McPherson writes, "What is most important about these networked experiments in mediated and multimodal expression are the actual acts of making or producing that they enable as well as the new kinds of social behavior and collaboration they engender"<sup>8</sup>. She goes on to argue the presence of videos on YouTube is not the most important aspect of the website itself, but rather, the "interactive" process of uploading, viewing, re-posting, and commenting. I differ with McPherson on this point, as I do believe the existence of videos available on YouTube specifically portraying disability representations is of immeasurable importance. Whether made by an amateur or professional, the videos themselves transmit messages and alternative stories unavailable elsewhere. That said I remain convinced that McPherson's analysis is crucial, since she highlights a key factor in social media and social networking: participatory culture.

Additionally, Sharon Daniel a digital media artist herself takes this concept a step further in her article *Hybrid Practices*, where she not only notes the importance of participation, but also explores elements of personal empowerment and community development in digital media. Daniel uses her own digital art project titled *Public Secrets* produced for the online journal *Vectors*, as an example of these things. *Public Secrets* explores moral complications behind the "the war on drugs" in the U.S. through the inclusion of audio narratives from women incarcerated at the Central California Women's Facility (CCWF). Daniel clarifies as one of her project's goals: "To empower the participants to represent themselves in the media, and, thus, to participate in and shape the public discourse around the social conditions and material circumstances they face on a daily basis."<sup>9</sup> Although Daniel was the lead coordinator and

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<sup>7</sup> Tara McPherson. "Introduction: Media Studies and the Digital Humanities." *Cinema Journal* 48.2 (2008): 119-23. Print.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 123

<sup>9</sup> Daniel, Sharon. "Hybrid Practices." *Cinema Journal* 48.2 (2009): 155-59. Print.

person responsible for ensuring the project's presence online while working with the website designer, she views *Public Secrets* as participatory and as a form of community empowerment for these women. "By giving evidence—by acting as witness to their own experience and making their statements public—they become the source of their own resubjectification and stake out a claim to dignity."<sup>10</sup> The crucial point here is that although these women are in prison, thus physically kept out of the public sphere, it is through the use of online media these women are accessing the digital public sphere and claiming empowerment.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, media scholar Henry Jenkins recognizes the importance of digital media for a different community. In his article "The Work of Theory in the age of Digital Transformation" Jenkins reflects on the access to and use of digital media for gay and lesbian identified youth in the U.S. Jenkins considers in his work several instances where a person struggling with his or her own sexual or gender identity may feel isolated. He asks his readers to mediate briefly on what it may be like for a questioning youth to live in a small or rural town, or to feel as though it is impossible to be "out" at home or in school. Under these circumstances there is a severe lack of community, and opportunities for self-reflection or external support. The Internet, or Cyber space, however, offers access to community almost instantaneously.<sup>12</sup> It is a place Jenkins argues where youth can go to identify others like themselves, to engage in conversation, and to escape certain realities of their physical world. He imagines cyberspace as a route to utopian imagination. This is a valuable theoretical exercise as it speaks to locating alternative narratives (accessing different and positive stories about other gay/lesbian identified people) through these mediums, which can provide some sort of critical relief to these individuals. It is important to note that Jenkins wrote this article a few years before Facebook or YouTube were created. His argument remains useful, however, and his reflections concerning the need to find community within a marginalized population such as gay/lesbian youth is applicable to disability communities.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 155

<sup>11</sup> I mention Daniel's project *Public Secrets* because her work shares an overall connection with my analysis of disability and social media because she locates the voices and stories of marginalized or disenfranchised persons within a public domain context.

<sup>12</sup> Jenkins uses the term "cyber space" as an alternative word for Internet. Cyber space is used though to expand the definition of Internet in order to encompass the culture of interaction and sociality online.

### **Disability Studies Perspectives: Models of Disability**

Disability is a normal and natural part of the human existence; it is a universal experience—meaning individuals with disabilities are found in every corner of the world. According to the Disability and Media Alliance Project (D-MAP) almost twenty percent of people in the U.S. (54 million+ Americans) are disabled.<sup>13</sup> Disability constitutes the largest minority class in America and yet it is one of our least visible communities. This continued invisibility and a lack of social recognition for disability communities reflects the fact that disability is still largely viewed through a medical model rather than a social model; the former defines disability as medically problematic or burdensome. Within the medical model of disability society's goals are to “cure” or “fix” the disabled person. The medical model focuses on changing or fixing “problems” while simultaneously placing blame on the individual with a disability. This messaging casts dominant narratives of disability as negatively “different” or “non-normative”, and that persons with disabilities (PWD) are responsible to change and conform in order to meet society's standards of normality.

Disability Studies is a growing academic field presently found mostly in the humanities—although select universities in the U.S. have established separate disability studies graduate and certificate programs. Disability Studies provides clear alternatives for viewing or analyzing disability. Simi Linton, the author of *Claiming Disability*, explains this:

Disability studies has arisen in the past twenty years to focus an organized critique on the constricted, inadequate, and inaccurate conceptualizations of disability that have dominated academic inquiry. Above all, the critique includes a challenge to the notion that disability is primarily a medical category....By refusing the medicalization of disability and by reframing disability as a designation having primarily social and political significance, disability studies points to the inadequacy of the entire curriculum with respect to the study of disability.<sup>14</sup>

The social model views disability as a social-political identity and not solely as a medical issue. While there is obviously no uniform experience of disability, people with disabilities do share common social-political

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<sup>13</sup> D-MAP is an organization promoting fairer and more accurate reporting of disability through collaboration with journalists and other media organizations.

<sup>14</sup> Linton, Simi. *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity*. New York: New York UP, 1998. Print. It is important to note Linton's book was published over ten years ago, so the field of disability studies is now more than 30 years old.

experiences in terms of how they are viewed, labeled, and treated by the majority of non-disabled people. This model of disability decidedly defines it as a civil rights and social justice issue. Accordingly, the social model of disability encourages and supports the celebration of disability identity, culture and pride: both theoretical and tangible spaces are now actively being created (groups on Facebook are just one example) for people to claim, or more accurately, to reclaim disability through redefining what it means.

### **Mainstream Disability Representation**

Currently mainstream media usually does one of two things regarding the portrayal of disability identities. Representation of disability (physical or cognitive) is either left out of media all together, or it is illustrated in ways that smack of negativity and tokenism. The mission statement of D-MAP states, “People with disabilities are too often portrayed as tragic, malevolent, or inspirational figures who spark pity or fear, or who deserve accolades for triumphing over adversity. Rarely are they depicted as complex individuals whose lives and experiences include, but are not entirely defined by, their disabilities”<sup>15</sup>. This is a common theme among many other reports or analysis of disability inclusion in the media.

Even when there are clear attempts to better ‘flesh out’ or ‘normalize’ a disabled character, there is still is often a lack of true complexity or reflection of a disability experience. The popular TV show *Glee* is a strong example of this somewhat failed attempt at inclusion. *Glee* has been lauded by many show critics and fans alike (most of whom arguably do not identify themselves as disabled) for writing disability into their storyline at all. The implicit messaging behind this praise is that since there is no real requirement or *need* to include disability, the show’s producers are therefore exceptionally progressive. *Glee*’s storyline includes a male student Artie who uses a wheelchair and a young woman with Down’s syndrome Becky, who is the assistant to the school’s cheerleading coach.

The actor who plays Artie’s character is able-bodied in real life, and this is only the beginning as to why disability communities are skeptical of his character. Artie often daydreams of becoming able-bodied and of not using a wheelchair anymore. Artie’s girlfriend during a Christmas edition episode asks Santa Clause to give Artie the ability to use his legs. This privileges able-bodied people and experiences over

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<sup>15</sup> Disability and Media Alliance Project. “Mission Statement.” Web. 1 April 2011. < <http://d-map.org/Mission>>.

celebration and inclusion of his disability. In one episode in particular titled “Wheels” there is a significant dance sequence involving wheelchairs and several cast members. At one point during a dream-like sequence Artie *gets up out of his chair* to dance. Quickly after this episode aired an overwhelming response from the disability community and disability activists appeared online. Innumerable blog entries critiqued the scene, calling for more progressive and accurate portrayals of disability. Becky’s role is more problematic than Artie’s. She is given almost no depth at all. Instead of forming any sort of meaningful relationship with the other students, her scenes consist of following the cheerleading coach around all day long taking direction, and providing occasional humorous relief.

### Methodology

The goal of my research was to investigate the use of social media forums by persons with disabilities. Of particular interest to my research is the question of how individuals with disabilities utilize social media in order to do the following:

1. Create nuanced understandings and representations of disability identities and experiences.
2. Claim and celebrate disability publically.
3. Confront negative stereotypes/dominant narratives of disability, and to produce alternative narratives that more accurately reflect the lived experiences of individuals with disabilities.
4. Find other disabled individuals as a way to locate and participate in disability community.

I followed (a term meaning to visit regularly) five disability specific blogs including photo projects—two will be mentioned in detail. I also followed two Facebook groups taking notes a weekly basis for six months. I viewed several disability videos on YouTube, one of which will be discussed at length. I kept notes of the activity and conversations taking place on these forums (i.e. postings, comments), and when possible participated in the conversations myself, as I am a member of the two separate Facebook groups. Additionally I held one in person interview with a local Seattle disability activist and conducted three email interviews with people who identify as disabled.

I then used a software program called Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis program in order to organize and code the text and photographic material with key terms or categories such as: “disability community,”

“disability culture,” “identity pride,” and “identity shame.” In addition to my working knowledge of Atlas.ti I also used Word processing as a way to code by data through color-coding with the ‘highlighting’ function and labeling using the ‘comments’ function. I do not include a specific literature review section. However, I do use disability studies theory and media studies theory in my analysis with references to select scholars. A background in women’s studies gives me a strong working understanding of identity politics and intersectionality that also informs how I make sense of the data.

## **The use of Social Media by Disability Communities**

### *Blogs*

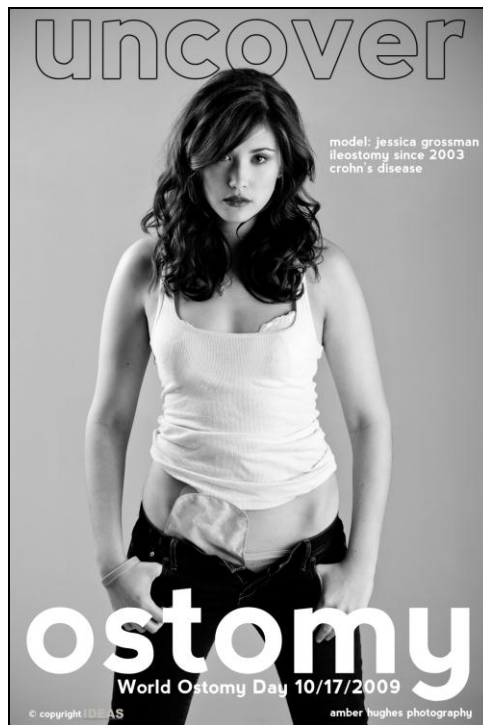
The graduate disability studies program at Temple University regularly updates their blog titled “Disability Studies, Temple U.” with disability related “happenings” from around the country. What is particularly useful about their blog is that students at Temple University were the first to initiate and upkeep something called a disability blogroll. Created in 2009 the blogroll is a running list in alphabetical order of all the disability themed blogs found and identified by these students. As of March 2010 a study shared that an estimated 70 percent of the 250 blogs listed in the blogroll had shown recent activity within a few weeks prior to the investigation.<sup>16</sup> This is the first time a system like this was created in an academic setting with the goal of tracking activity from disability bloggers for anyone to easily access. Blogs are a like a cyber highway rich with accounts of recent events, stories, images, personal antidotes and other information. Blogs constitute tools in the disability justice movement because they give an opportunity for people to tell their own stories—a way to effectively exercise control over the production of disability narratives. Furthermore, some people are unable to socialize regularly or equally partake in traditional activist activities, such as protesting in the streets, because of differing mobility needs, chemical sensitivities, fatigue etc. In these cases, blogging is an accessible alternative.

Uncover Ostomy [blog example 1] is an awareness project founded in 2009, and it is supported by the Intestinal Disease and Awareness Society (IDEA) and the Ostomy Associations of America (UOAA). The project discusses and celebrates living with an ostomy bag. An ostomy bag (or pouching system) is a small medical device attached to someone’s abdomen as a means to collect waste through the

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<sup>16</sup> Haller, Beth A. *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media*. Louisville, KY: Advocado, 2010. Print.

creation of a stoma, a small opening or cavity on the body (abdomen.) Uncover Ostomy is predominately a social media project and campaign found online with a Twitter account, Facebook page, website, blog, and even a YouTube channel. It features the stories and photos of a young college student named Jessica Grossman, also known as Jess. The homepage of Uncover Ostomy's website is simply designed with an evocative black and white photo of Jess directly facing the camera. Her tank top is carefully placed above her stomach purposefully revealing or "uncovering" her ostomy bag to the digital world. The text next to her image reads, "I'm Jess. I'm your average university student. I go to class, study hard and occasionally have some fun. I lead a completely normal life. And I have an ostomy"<sup>17</sup> Below is the photo found on the home page of Uncover Ostomy.



*Figure 1. Jessica Grossman pictured in Uncover Ostomy promotional photo.*

Jess Grossman was diagnosed with Crohn's disease and eventually underwent a surgery in her early twenties that removed part of her intestine and gave her the ostomy bag. A unique aspect of her story

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<sup>17</sup> Uncover Ostomy homepage <<http://www.uncoverostomy.com>>

to consider is the switch from having mostly an “invisible” disability to having a more “visible” one. Crohn’s disease is a condition others cannot easily see or identify as it affects the intestines. After surgery however, with the addition of a bag, Jess now has a more visible or apparent disability because the bag exists outside her body. She uses the blog forum to reflect upon her experiences with the bag. She writes in a causal tone that is approachable and relatable to readers. More than that, Jess’s writing and choice in topics are truly inviting and create a sense of community. Her latest blog entry dated June 1<sup>st</sup> 2011 is humorously titled “Jess’s Ultimate Bathing Suit with a bag [and also without since I like to consider myself quite fashionably accurate] Guide”. In this blog entry Jess thoroughly outlines different bathing suit cuts, sizes and styles that accommodate for a variety of bodies with ostomy bags for both men and women. She includes pictures of the clothing with explanations. Her bathing suit entry is an example of information and resource sharing among the disability community. Because much of the information available about disabilities and living with disabilities in commercial or mainstream media comes from the medical world, it can be cold and unapproachable in delivery—furthering the sense of isolation. Furthermore, clothes shopping—especially bathing suits—are a big topic of interest among Crohn’s communities and people with ostomy bags. This is not a commonly addressed topic at the doctor’s office however. There is a need to find an outlet for this information and a kind of conversation that allows people to discuss tips or share resources. People are turning to social media to find these outlets instead of commercial media or even their doctors. There are seven comments under Jess’s bathing suit blog post for ostomates.<sup>18</sup> One person wrote Jun 2<sup>nd</sup>:

Hi Jess, This is my first time visiting your blog and it's the first ostomy blog that is interesting....It's easy to read, it's practical and it feels real! I read articles from ostomy magazines and ostomy charity groups etc, and they all have someone spouting on about how they changed their life around, which is a good thing, but they all have articles saying the same....And I think to myself, when is someone going to write about something that will help me out in the practical day to day of living with an ostomy? But my prayers have been answered and here it is! Anyhow, I haven't been in a swimming pool since my ileostomy (July 1995) and I am going to a conference on the 10th

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<sup>18</sup> Ostomate is someone who has an ostomy bag.



of June to a hotel with a pool, so I will take your advice and I will let you know how I get on. Keep up the good work!<sup>19</sup>

This quote is emblematic of empowering disability conversation and community participation that I argue is increasingly found in social media. Beth Haller is a professor of Journalism and New Media at Towson University in Maryland and author of the book *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media*. She supports my argument in her first chapter titled “The Changing landscape of disability “news”: Blogging and Social Media lead to more diverse sources of information”. By way of introduction she defines blogs as participatory journalism, akin to my own framework of participatory media. She explains “for the disability community, blogs have a significant role in activism so they may last longer than typical personal diaries or musings-style blogs.”<sup>20</sup> In this chapter Haller discusses the range of themes and types of blogs found on the Internet such as activist oriented versus personal, and she also includes direct quotes from several disabled bloggers.

There are between five and ten comments found under most of blog posts by Jess at the official blog for Uncover Ostomy. An even greater following exists on the Uncover Ostomy Facebook page. This Facebook page or website is slightly different than a traditional “group” as it does not have “members”. Instead, people “like” the page and then attain the privilege to view photos and post comments. A total of 2,962 people have “liked” the page, an impressive number of people to follow and become active on a Facebook page. During my six months of research I found when visiting the Facebook Uncover Ostomy page that postings by many different people occurred on a daily, sometimes hourly basis—making this a very active community. Jess herself is an active participant on the Facebook page. For example, on June 8<sup>th</sup> 2011 Jess posted a comment explaining that while living with a bag, she is still stubborn about food consumption, and eats whatever she wants. Jess then posted a link to a food themed blog post she had written earlier on her blog for others to read. Within a 24-hour period, 13 people had “liked” the comment and 11 people had commented on the wall post. Just a few hours prior to Jess’s wall post, another person had made a comment asking for information on how to deal with malfunctioning ostomy bags.

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<sup>19</sup> Uncover Ostomy Blog < <http://uncoverostomy.com/blog/2011/6/1/jess-ultimate-bathing-suit-with-a-bag-and-also-without-since.html#comments>>.

<sup>20</sup> Haller, Beth A. *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media*. Louisville, KY: Advocado, 2010. Print.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Again, within a 24-hour period 12 comments followed the post, and had developed into a conversation among three different people discussing barrier creams to try and differing ostomy “systems.”

Alissa Cowan, one of my interviewees discovered Uncover Ostomy a year ago one evening when she decided to search “Ostomy” on YouTube. She watched the videos by Jess Grossman and visited the blog. In an email interview this year she reflected on the impact the project has had on her. Cowan wrote, “When I read her biography, it seemed really close to everything I had gone through. I started to cry because I had always felt that I was so young to have this kind of appliance and her courage was truly inspiring and made me feel like I was still worthy of love as an individual.”<sup>21</sup> This quote is powerful because it speaks to the emotionality of identifying as disabled. For Cowan, seeing herself and her own story reflected back through another young woman’s experience not only gave her a sense of relief, but a severely needed sense of community or connection. Cowan goes on to write,

When I decided to take the photo of myself with my ostomy bag, it wasn’t because I wanted to be like Jessica Grossman...I never put it anywhere online for others to see or anything. It was more just for me. To be able to look at myself and what I had gone through and realize that I should never be afraid of my own body.

In this quote Cowan explains she was inspired to experiment with taking photos of herself revealing the bag like the photos of Jess. Cowan took these photos as a way to personally claim her disability with a sense of empowerment and self-love. It does not matter that Cowan’s photos have been kept private or offline because the process of self-reclamation was indeed successful.

American Able [Figures 2 and 3] is a disability and gender photography project by a Canadian student named Holly Norris. While her personal website is not a blog per se, it is set up stylistically like many other photo blogs. Additionally, her project has been talked about and re-blogged by many disability bloggers including: Disabled Feminists, Gender Across Borders, American Thinker, and the National Center on Physical Activity and Disability blog (NCPAD.) American Able is a project that critiques the clothing ads by American Apparel, a company whose products are manufactured within the U.S. and is self-

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<sup>21</sup> Cowan, Alissa. "Questions!" 29 May 2011. E-mail.

proclaims itself to be a “sweatshop free” industrial revolution.<sup>22</sup> Holly Norris is not taking issue with the clothing however, she takes issue with how women are portrayed in the company’s ad campaigns. Like many other advertisements the women in American Apparel’s ads are extremely thin, almost appearing to be emaciated. The women are often in awkward unrealistic poses that hyper-sexualize them. They are all of one particular body type (read: nondisabled and often white) that offers very little diversity to consumers. Norris explains the purpose of the photo project on her website,

American Able" intends to, through spoof, reveal the ways in which women with disabilities are made invisible in advertising and mass media. I chose American Apparel not just for their notable style, but also for their claims that many of their models are just ‘every day’ women who are employees, friends and fans of the company. However, these women fit particular body types....In a society where sexuality is created and performed over and over within popular culture, the invisibility of women with disabilities in many ways denies their sexuality, particularly within a public context.... The model, Jes Sachse, and I intend to reveal these stories by placing her in a position where women with disabilities are typically excluded.<sup>23</sup>

Below are two images from the American Able project. The first image introduces Jess to viewers and centers her physical disability has a positively highlighted part of the photo series. The second one is particularly interesting as the pose actively sexualizes Jes. It also confronts linear definitions of gender and sexuality, as the additional model is also a female-bodied person. The second model’s aesthetic in the photo challenges gender presentation as she presents elements of masculinity in relation to Jes. There is an intentional sexual tension between the two models, thus effectively “queering” the photo.

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<sup>22</sup> American Apparel website.

< <http://americanapparel.net/contact/ourworkers.html>>.

<sup>23</sup> American Able. < <http://hollynorris.ca/americanable#h39067524>>.

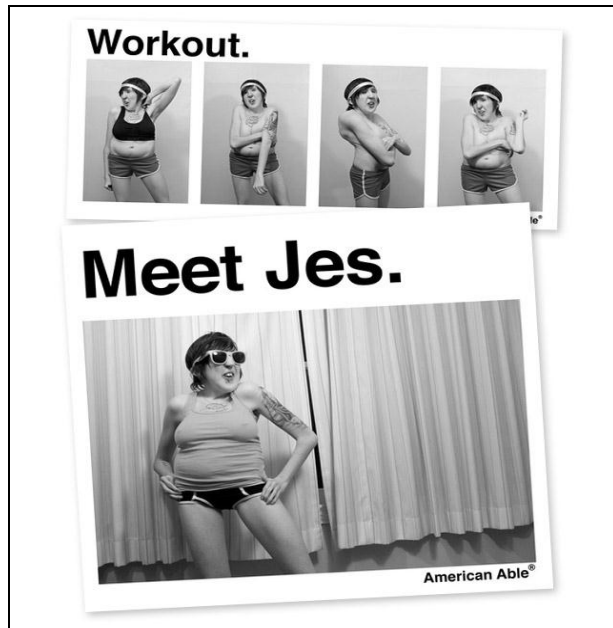


Figure 2. Jes Sachse in "Meet Jess" and "Workout" of American Able.



Figure 3. Jes Sachse pictured with model in "Little Black Dress" of American Able.

Norris directly points to the invisibility of disability in her project, specifically disabled women in mass media. She is also a friend of Jes Sachse, and together they decided to complete a project that would quickly become an Internet sensation. In addition to pointing out the inequities for women in the media, she reveals a substantial challenge in mainstream disability narratives: people with disabilities are rarely portrayed or celebrated as sexual; in fact, they are overwhelmingly infantilized and labeled as asexual. The truth, however, is people with disabilities are sexual and they have sex. Depending on someone's disability or disabilities, some people experiment with alternative positioning, timing, or may find various tools or aids that provide appropriate accommodations. Disability communities are using social media to access spaces in which to celebrate their sexualities and challenge the dominant narrative of asexuality.

### *Facebook*

Facebook celebrated its seventh birthday in February 2011 and is now the most widely used social networking site globally. Haller's book reflects on the unique relationship between Facebook and people with disabilities.

This explosion of Facebook has included many people with disabilities. It is a way to organize disability rights actions, let others know about disability related news, promote events or just find like-minded disability rights advocates. It also has the advantage of mitigating some disabilities, like providing an easy communication system for people who are deaf or have speech disabilities.<sup>24</sup>

Billie Rain is a friend of mine, and a Seattle-based artist and disability activist identifying as having multiple disabilities including multiple chemical sensitivity disorder (MCS). In addition to being the driving force behind Fierce Bodies, a non-toxic personal care product company free of chemical fragrances and toxins, Rain is also the creator of a Facebook group called Sick and Disabled Queers (S&DQ). This is a private support group for people identifying as disabled and queer. The word sick is purposefully reclaimed and used as a way to refer to people who experience chronic illness. Disabled people and disabled activists often use words such as sick, cripp/krip, or gimpy/gimp love as a way to express community pride. The group was created in November 2010,

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<sup>24</sup> Haller, Beth A. *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media*. Louisville, KY: Advocado, 2010. Print. p 6.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

born out of a conversation between Rain and another group member Katie Tastrom. In an email interview Tastrom explains how S&DQ was created.

I think I have a really special relationship with S&DQ because I was there when it started. Billie and I were chatting on Facebook and I was telling hir [sic] how now that I moved back to upstate NY I felt really isolated from other queers and sickos. And because Billie is brilliant, ze [sic] suggested starting a fb group and started it that evening and I was the first member. So, S&DQ, besides being this awesome thing in general, for me shows a lot about the amazingness of friendship and community and what can happen when you speak about what you need. And from that moment on and as the group grew, I really saw these amazing ways that people can come together and support each other in ways that work for them.<sup>25</sup>

As a member of this group I have been able to follow its activity at an intimate level. During the month of November when the group was created it had fewer than 20 members. Seven months later, S&DQ now has 200 members, and membership has sprawled across the country. This group is incredibly active with at least three to 20 or more posts a day. It is a safe space where members can discuss things such as new dating situations, krip sex, where to find unscented products, or events from the day. A strong interconnecting web of support and compassion weaves between members. The group is welcoming, and even though some people post more than others, there is equal opportunity for participation. During an in person interview on Billie Rain explained to me,

I think one of the problems of the Internet is that it relies too heavily on linguistic communication too much, and that it's hard for people with certain kinds of disabilities to participate. With that said, there is a lot of different kinds of disabilities represented in that group, and I love that there are conversations about how people can be accessible for each other. The pity, fear, or hate thing isn't there. What's left is just people talking, which is how it should be everywhere. There is basic understanding that you don't suck just because you have access

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<sup>25</sup> Tastrom, Katie. "Disability and Social Media." 7 May 2011. E-mail. Tastrom uses "hir" and "ze" as a way to neutralize gender in reference to Billie Rain who prefers not to use male or female gender pronouns.

needs, and there is space for people to say, 'I'm in a lot of pain right now.' I think part of the violence of ableism is social-physical isolation, and confronting isolation is part of what is so cool about the Internet.<sup>26</sup>

On April 23<sup>rd</sup> I posted a document to the group titled "What does Sick and Disabled Queers mean to you?!" with questions about why people participate, how they participate in the group, and what they get from being a member of the group. A participant named Lance Worth replied to the post "I get stuck at home and it's easy to feel Stuck and Isolated.... this group brings me deep peace because I know there are others like me around! I've given and gotten mad support from this group." Five people "liked" his response as a show of support. Similarly, Emi Barkus is a member who accesses Facebook more regularly when she does not feel well, depending on the fluctuations of her illness. Barkus states "It's a radical thing for me to read the words of other queers with chronic illnesses and various disabilities, and get a sense for how people are surviving in their unique situations."<sup>27</sup> Barkus goes on to explain that she used to only allowed herself to date when she was in remission phase (i.e. more able-bodies) due to feelings of shame, and the belief that she is more attractive when less disabled. The S&DQ group, however, is challenging these beliefs. She explains that the group "...allowed me to explore the idea of dating during a long-term relapse....I've begun to question, and live in opposition to, the forces of internalized ableism when it comes to these ideas of beauty and desirability. The sick and disabled queers Facebook group has actually been a big inspiration to me on that front."

### *YouTube*

In 2007 Amanda Baggs, a woman with autism, defined by medical professionals as "non-verbal," posted a self-directed video on YouTube called "In My Language." Her intension with the video was to explain her life with autism and confront ableism.<sup>28</sup> The video is eight and half minutes long and eloquently edits together scenes in Amanda's 'native language' with scenes that encompass a more 'traditional' form of communication as she uses a computer to translate her thoughts into spoken word. Baggs created the video in her own home. The unpolished

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<sup>26</sup> Rain, Billie. "Disability and Social Media." Interview. Print.

<sup>27</sup> Barkus, Emi. "Disability and Social Media." 10 May 2011. E-mail.

<sup>28</sup> Ableism is discrimination or prejudice against individuals with disabilities.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

raw aesthetic adds to her message in a way that no professional could ever achieve.

The beginning of the video begins with Baggs interacting with the environment around her. She touches books, runs her fingers through a stream of water from a kitchen faucet, and sometimes hums, rocks her body, or shakes her hand. The viewer wants to believe that the water or the book stand for something or symbolize something important to Baggs. In the second part of her film she quickly debunks this assumption, pointing out the able-bodied world's compulsion to make sense of what does not make sense to them or what is different. She is firmly unapologetic when calling attention to the harsh discrimination she experiences because of her autism. Baggs' story is not meant to evoke a sense of pity, but rather it offers up an honest dialogue between her and the viewers.

Halfway through the video at about the 4:30 minute mark, we see Baggs standing in her living room, her profile is to the camera, and a dog is on the couch behind her. As she moves slightly back and forth we hear a voice-over. Text appears on the screen as her thoughts are communicated via computer. "They judge my existence, awareness, and personhood. The way I naturally think and respond to things looks and feels so different from standard concepts or even visualization that some people do not consider it thought at all, but it is a way of thinking in its own right."<sup>29</sup> Later in the video Amanda looks directly at the camera, staring for what may seem like a long time to some viewers. Her voice is heard again as voice-over, and Baggs' stare appears to be a visual confrontation of viewer confusion. Her stare is strong and unyielding, yet it is also an invitation for viewers to look back or stare at her. During the five years that the video has lived online, it has received a total of 1,025, 133 views—an incredible number of hits for a short YouTube video! Furthermore, 3,811 people "liked" the video while only 284 people "disliked" the video. What is exceptionally noteworthy however, is the stream of comments and responses that follow the video. There are three video responses posted, and a total of 1,643 written comments. An overwhelming majority of the comments are positive in nature, but some are negative and teasing. Baggs herself actively joins in the conversation with the screen name 'Silentmiaw.' She answers questions and

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<sup>29</sup> Baggs, Amanda. "In My Language." YouTube video. 2007.  
<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JnylM1hI2jc>>.

<sup>30</sup> Haller, Beth. *Ibid.* 27.



challenges comments ripe with assumption or judgment. Below is an example of conversation between Baggs and other person in 2009. These comments are found directly below the original video. These selected comments and the video as a whole are strong examples how a disabled person uses social media to confront commercial narratives of disability while simultaneously creating their own story.

Viewer 1: “Why do you say eeeeeeeeeeeee? it doesn’t really sund [sic] like a language, how can EEEEEEEEEEEEE! be translated into all those words?”

Silentmiaw: “It’s a sound-related response to the things going on in the video (recorded while I was watching the video). Sound-related stuff is obviously not all I was doing in the video.”

Viewer 1: “why can’t you just speak english, onstead [sic] of going EEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE! all day long?”

Silentmiaw: “What makes you think I do it all day long? :-).”

## **Discussion**

Throughout my research I encountered various obstacles or challenges within the social media and digital world. This was a good opportunity for me to remember that our digital world is not a perfect opportunity for all people, nor does it offer digital utopia. As I completed my selected readings and continued my work, I came to understand the meaning of a term the “digital divide.” The digital divide refers to the gap between people who have access to technology and the people who do not have access to technology, and who thus cannot fairly participate as a digital citizen. There are many different reasons why a person may not have access to technology regularly or at all. Although computers and online interfaces are becoming gradually more economical, technology as a whole is still relatively expensive. Some people cannot afford to own their own computers, pay for the Internet on public computers, or may live too far away from a public library. Furthermore, access to education and information or technical training is a big factor in relation to technology use. People who have not had equal access to education—this includes a disproportionate amount of disabled people—are less likely to know how to use technology. This is also seen within elderly communities. There is a digital divide among older people as they did not grow up with our current digital climate, and thus did not have the same opportunities to learn about it as younger generations do.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Finally, computer technology and many websites still remain inaccessible to certain disabled people depending on their access needs. Facebook for example, despite its popularity, is inaccessible to people with visual impairments using screen readers. Accordingly, there is now a Facebook group with over 2,500 members protesting the sites inaccessibility and petitioning for it to change.

Another challenge in my research process was the presence of online bullying. I found this was mostly not an issue on disability related blogs or Facebook groups. It is reasonable to assume that bullying is less an issue on these forums because people have sought out these forums from a desire to participate positively in the conversations and become a part of community. Facebook groups can also be kept private from the public and people are invited to join the group by pre-existing members. YouTube however, is more inherently open. If the videos are uploaded online and no restrictions are placed upon them, then anyone can view the videos and post comments. This is simultaneously the best and worst thing about YouTube's functions. It opens up a substantial amount of space for communication and learning to take place between people. It also allows people who may not want to confront their assumptions or stereotypes concerning disability, to post mean or insulting comments. Several comments in response to "In My Language" called Baggs a 'retard' or discussed how they did not like the video.

With that said however, my research does show the crucial benefits of social media to people with disabilities and disability communities. There is a growing number of disability blogs and Temple University's blogroll will continue to list them. Throughout my process of coding interviews, images and texts I found conversations regarding disability identity were overwhelmingly linked with conversations regarding social media culture, thus disability culture is a part of our social media culture. Haller closes the first chapter in her book with the conclusion that new communication technology has "given disabled people a way to communicate that does not have to be filtered through mainstream news or entertainment media. With that voice, people with disabilities can tell the world about their own stories and life experiences."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, by way of conclusion, the use of social media can be brought home to the University of Washington (UW). Disability activists at UW have started using Facebook this year as a tool for disability justice activism on campus. A group of students including myself created a group called "UW Disability Revolution". The group is less than four months old and has already grown to 97 members including non-student community members and university alumnus. It is a place for people to

share experiences, ideas, and to organize events and action. As a way to advertise for campus-wide disability justice and to spread word about the group, we organized a sticker campaign during this year's Disability Awareness week in May. Below is an image of the sticker.



*Figure 4. UW disability justice sticker campaign advertising Facebook group.*

During the next couple of months a few individuals will publish a document on the group providing a statement of purpose for UW Disability Revolution. There will also be a call for story submissions. Students at the UW identifying as disabled will be asked to share their experiences of the campus and institution from a social model and personal perspective. These submissions will be sent to a private email.

I end here. I hope you find us on Facebook.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank the McNair staff and mentors, especially Gene Kim, Ashley McClure, and Jorge Martinez for their continued support and encouragement throughout the year. I would also like to acknowledge that I am a recipient of the McNair research-funding award, and without this scholarship my research and participation in the program would not have been possible. I would like to also thank my research and thesis advisor Jennifer Bean from the Comparative Literature Department. Her guidance has been invaluable, and her presence a joy to be around.

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

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# Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table

## Exploring African American Foodways

Venetia Ponds

### Abstract

*Although Red Beans are a staple dish among American slave descendants, some choose to eat their beans with rice while others choose cornbread. Are these choices a matter of personal preference or is it part of the structural past of a slaves' diet resurfacing on contemporary black dinner tables? This research focuses on the complicated intersection between food, geography, and family history under the food-ways framework. I use nine semi-structured, video-recorded interviews featured in a complementary documentary film. This research will reconcile contemporary Blacks with their slave past, showing them that the slave in the past is with them now. These intersections expose the effects of slavery as a socializing institution and its enduring impacts on contemporary cultural practices.*

### Introduction

There is a commercial that I see quite often on television that touches on the finding of identity. It is an Ancestry .com<sup>1</sup> commercial that I feel uncomfortable with every time I see it. It features a black man who in the beginning of the commercial says he was afraid to look at his ancestry because he knew where his family tree might end up. However he goes on to say that he did use Ancestry .com and he found out that his great-great grandfather was born a slave but died a businessman. He then states in ringing tones "And that was worth finding." That commercial disturbs me on many levels. The most significant one is that this man does not find a connection to his family's slave past to be of worth. The worthlessness of the slave is emphasized with this commercial, by his hesitancy when speaking of the slave, by the pride in his voice when he brags about the businessman and in his last statement that gives worth only to the his ancestor as a businessman and not to his life as a slave. When we go looking for our past we are seeking to find out who we are and how we became the person that we are today. Whenever, I see that Ancestry.com commercial, I am frustrated that the man in the commercial feels that somehow he can relate more to a

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<sup>1</sup>[http://www.ancestry.com/home/lo/merlin?abname=MerlinFreeImageTest\\_26052011&abvalue=Loggedout\\_image\\_preview26052](http://www.ancestry.com/home/lo/merlin?abname=MerlinFreeImageTest_26052011&abvalue=Loggedout_image_preview26052)

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

businessman that he has no connection with, rather than the slave whose lifestyle affects him even now.

More than ever Americans are searching for a link to their past. The current appetite for personal genealogical research, that once was the territory of Bibles, libraries and old letters, has moved to the internet. In 2005, one of the largest genealogy organizations, the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, went online with FamilySearch.<sup>2</sup> Once online it joined powerhouse Ancestry.com that was launched from a publishing company in 1996. Online research for the past is one way to find out about your ancestors and their link to you. *Foodways* are another.

The New Georgia Encyclopedia defines Foodways as "... a comparatively recent term, is the study of the procurement, preparation, and consumption of food," or to make it simple, it is the why and what of eating.<sup>3</sup> To learn about people through food, anthropologists and their humanities colleagues, the folklorists, study the nutritional and culinary features of foods as well as the social practices that revolve around them.<sup>4</sup> Anthropologists reach the past through the people they study. The anthropological journey concerning humans and what is meaningful to them can encompass a study of a people through "cultural anthropology, linguistics, physical anthropology and archaeology."<sup>5</sup> Exploring people in diverse cultural locations and finding out "how peoples' behavior changes over time," are some of the questions anthropology tries to answer.<sup>6</sup> "Who am I?" and "How did I get here?" are central questions concerning identity.

Many Black people do not know very much about their families' slave past. That lack of, and pride in, the historical knowledge of their peoples' American journey causes a disconnect between contemporary Blacks and their place in American History. That distance, that disconnect is why the slave is not worthy, as things of worth are always

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<sup>2</sup> About FamilySearch, FamilySearch.org, <https://www.familysearch.org/about>

<sup>3</sup> New Georgia Encyclopedia is an award winning online project of the Georgia Humanities Council and the University System of Georgia/GALILEO.

Foodways articles are listed under Folklife. This is from the overview on Foodways. <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-687>,

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> What is Anthropology, Career Paths and Education, American Anthropological Association

<http://www.aaanet.org/profdev/careers/Careers.cfm>

<sup>6</sup>What is Anthropology, Career Paths and Education, American Anthropological Association

<http://www.aaanet.org/profdev/careers/Careers.cfm>

Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table  
Exploring African American Foodways

passed on. What the man in the commercial has been taught is to distance himself from his past. He can see himself relating to that businessman but he finds nothing in common with the slave.

Recently I took a class called the Anthropology of Food, where we did a lot of thinking about people through the food that they eat. This way of studying people through food is coined *foodways*. The premise of Foodways is that “what you eat is who you are.” When you learn about your foodways you learn about your history and about yourself. Anthropology Professor Carole Counihan of Millervilles University has written, “Foodways influence the shaping of community, personality, and family. The study of foodways contributes to the understanding of personhood across cultures and historical periods.”<sup>7</sup>

For contemporary black Americans their foodways journey is connected to Africa via their deep southern roots. The African influence on the cuisine of the South goes way back. Carnegie-Mellon Professor Edda Fields-Black in her book Deep Roots, traces the route of West Africa's tidewater rice farming to the American South. She cites a Portuguese slave trader's record on September 24, 1793, as the first detailed description of irrigated rice cultivation among farmers in the Rio Nunez region of coastal Guinea. “By the mid-eighteenth century,” Fields-Black says, “South Carolina planters had taken the raw materials of West African rice-growing technology and transformed them to South Carolina's emerging coastal rice industry.” Her book ties rice production in the south with the transmittal of tidal rice-growing technology by African captives. The book, What The Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives by authors, Hebert Covey and Dwight Eisanach, focus on “some of the ways that food related to slave culture; how it was used to control, punish, and reward slaves.” In their book, researched in part through plantation records and planter journals, Covey and Eisanach find evidence that, “in South Carolina so much rice was grown that it sometimes replaced corn in the slave diet.” That was also the case in Georgia where slaves were often fed rice unfit for export.<sup>8</sup> For most slaves though *corn* was king.

Covey and Eisanach, using research culled from the Works Progress Administration's Federal Writers' Project of the 1930s, has found “Heavy reliance on pork and corn is an undisputed fact of the

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<sup>7</sup>Counihan, Carole M. The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power. New York and London: Routledge,p6

<sup>8</sup> Covey and Eisanach, What The Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave,p4 Paraphrased from Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller eds. (1998), Jewett and Allen 2004

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

slave diet...”<sup>9</sup> In a laundry list of slave rations per state corn is listed as the primary weekly ration for every state with the exceptions of Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina who often list rice. For some slaves and poor southerners corn “was almost the only food.”<sup>10</sup> The slaves consumed what foods they were given. They also consumed them in the manner they were given.

Corn mush, a porridge-like dish made by adding hot water was fed to slaves in a community tub or trough. Covey and Eisnach quote Frederick Douglas as he writes about his experiences at mealtime on the plantation, “Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set upon the ground.”<sup>11</sup> On some plantations corn meal was given out weekly. This corn meal would be fashioned into, corn meal mush, corn pone, corn dodgers, griddle cakes, and of course, corn bread.

Sam Hilliard in an essay written for American Philosophical Society, entitled Hog Meat and Cornpone: Food Habits in the Ante-Bellum South, states that “The dominance of cornbread as the bread for the Deep South is unquestionable.” The popularity he believes may be owned to “Its use for slave food presumably was due to the cheapness of corn meal compared with wheat flour.”<sup>12</sup> Corn uses one-tenth of the seeds that wheat uses and produces four times the food value. If you need to feed large numbers of cattle or people, corn is the crop you should sow.

There are many tales and claims as to just where the dish red beans originated the most prevalent tying the dish to exiles from Saint-Domingue. The difference between the dishes as it is cooked in the Caribbean is that in the US the beans and rice are not cooked together.<sup>13</sup> What is not disputed is that in the New Orleans, the city that claims red beans as their own, they were traditionally cooked on Monday, as that was wash-day. Authors Karen Trahan and Sharon Stallworth Nossiter,

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<sup>9</sup> Covey, Hebert and Dwight Eisnach, *What The Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives*, Greenwood Press, 2009,p3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p80.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p69.

<sup>12</sup> Hilliard Sam, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 113, No. 1 American Philosophical Society (Feb. 20, 1969), pp.1-13.

<sup>13</sup> Trahan Karen, and Sharon Stallworth Nossiter, *Red beans and Rice, New Orleans Cuisine: fourteen signature dishes and their histories*, Tucker Susan and S. Frederick Starr eds., University Press of Mississippi, 2009, p132-137.



## Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table Exploring African American Foodways

write in their essay on the history of red beans and rice, in the book, New Orleans Cuisine: fourteen signature dishes and their histories that, “Since ham was a common Sunday dish, slowed cooked beans the next day made good use of the ham bone.”<sup>14</sup>

Contemporary Black Americans display their ethnic identity as descendants of the American slaves every time they eat the traditional food, red beans. Roger Abrahams, president of the American Folklore Society, explains that “...ethnic or regional identity can be acted out within the home by eating certain foods prepared a special ways.”<sup>15</sup>

I thought about how in my family there are two distinct ways to eat red beans. My mother’s way, a pile of snow white rice covered in creamy red beans and my father’s way, a yellow cornbread smothered in beans. One family, one dish, eaten two different ways.

### **Central Question**

Are these choices a matter of personal preference or is it part of the structural past of a slaves’ diet resurfacing on contemporary black dinner tables? This research focuses on the complicated intersection between food, geography, and family history under the food-ways framework. I use nine semi-structured, video-recorded interviews featured in a complementary documentary film. This research will reconcile contemporary Blacks with their slave past, showing them that the slave in the past is with them now. These intersections expose the effects of slavery as a socializing institution and its enduring impacts on contemporary cultural practices. My research will survey patterns in food practices to see if this is a foodways process or simply a matter of taste.

### **Methodology**

This study conducted over six months is an attempt to locate contemporary Black food-related behaviors with a geographic slave past. To do this, ethnographic data and anecdotal evidence were collected in a series of filmed interviews between June 2010 and March 2011. Black residents of the greater Seattle, WA, area were interviewed in a directed-interview-situation on their choice of side dish with Red beans, a

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Abrahams Roger, *Equal Opportunity Eating, Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: the performance of group identity* / Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, co-editors., University of Tennessee Press, 1984, p20.

traditional soul food<sup>16</sup> favorite. The participants were people I either knew from my personal life or people I had met while studying for my bachelor degree at the UW. Cheri Gray and Richard Mingotish are old friends of mine who are also acquaintances of each other. Darryl Morris was my UW Shuttles driver. Darryl was not known to any of the other participants. Among the students, Keisha Credit, Kayla Huddleson, Solomon Robbins, Chelsea Jackson, Malaika Robinson and faculty member, Dr. Pitre, there were some varying degrees of familiarity. There was a total nine participants.

### **Demographics**

1. All interviewed had ancestors that lived in the US and were US slaves prior to the US Civil War.
2. The participants were made up of UW five students, one UW staff member and one UW faculty/administration member. Also interviewed were two longtime area residents not affiliated with the UW.
3. All of the lifestyles of the group included some college education.
4. Participants relationship status was not relevant to this study.
5. Ages of interviewees ranged from mid-sixties through early twenties.
6. The participants included live in King and Snohomish counties respectively.

All Interviews were conducted solely myself, in private with the exception of two of the student interviews, Solomon and Malaika, who were interviewed on film consecutively. All of the interviewees seemed quite comfortable with the questions concerning their food choices and their families' slave past. Speaking of personal histories can sometimes be quite personally revealing, so ensuring the comfort and consent of the subjects was of supreme importance. None of the participants were provided with the questions before hand, although all knew that they were to be interviewed about their food choices and about their family's geographical background. All interviewees were asked to tell their favorite way to eat Red beans and were asked about their families past geographic locations. The interviews were conducted in a definitely freeform conversational style with open-ended questions used as guidelines. Subjects were told that they would be participating in a film that would be shown at a conference and a paper that was to be published. Before the actual interview began an explanation of the purpose of the interview and a little background of what my own food

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<sup>16</sup>—noun: traditional black American cookery, which originated in the rural South, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/soul+food>.

## Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table Exploring African American Foodways

preferences are and what my family's past is. This is how I introduced the interview:

"My mother was a Creole raised in New Orleans, she always cooked rice for our red beans. Now, my dad was a sharecropper from Arkansas and he liked cornbread with his beans. My mom could care less about cornbread. My mom's folks were freed Negroes from Louisiana, while my dad's folk were sharecroppers from Arkansas and slaves in South Carolina. My dad's grandmother was Choctaw from a reservation in Oklahoma. I am always torn between rice and cornbread. I like cornbread better but I feel that rice is what I should have. What do you like? How does your plate look?"

Although the interviews were very free-form, to ensure conformity these questions are asked of all participants:

1. Do you eat Red beans and rice?
2. Did you eat red beans growing up as a child?
3. How are they made?
4. How do you like your beans served/ Describe how you like to eat them?
5. Where are your folks from?

### **Findings**

Interviews revealed that although almost all participants ate their beans with rice, to the people whose ascendants were slaves in coastal areas cornbread is seen as an accessory that can be easily replaced by bread. While descendants of inland plantation slaves spoke of cornbread at length, explaining its place in the family life, the special way their family cooked it. Inland slave descendants often claimed cornbread as essential to a meal of red beans.

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

*Table 1. Participant findings.*

Name	Preference	Homeland
Darryl Morris	Rice	Texas
Chere Gray	Cornbread	Texas
Emile Pitre	Rice	Louisiana
Solomon Robbins	Cornbread	Oklahoma
Malaika Robinson	Rice	South Carolina
Keshia Credit	Rice	Louisiana
Kayla Huddleson	Cornbread	Georgia
Chelsea Jackson	Cornbread	Texas
Richard Mingotish	Cornbread	Mississippi

## Discussion

*Table 2. Discussion Legend.*

Cb	Corn preference
R	Rice preference

The method I used to identify whether the participant would be placed under the label *Cornbread* or the label *Rice* was based on the response of the participants when asked to describe their plate of red beans. Participants who became labeled as CBs spent a significant amount of time talking about Cornbread. CBs described their cornbread often in detail. They often would describe what condiment, if any they liked with their cornbread, like Solomon whose folks were slaves in Oklahoma, who liked his with honey and butter or Richard who wanted hot sauce. Some of them described how the cornbread was eaten with the beans. As when Chere stated, “I like my cornbread in a bowl. Gotta have it in the bowl.” “Cornbread, in the bowl, covered with the beans and lots of sauce,” she says, cupping one hand into a bowl shape and while the other hand waves over mimicking a pouring motion.

In an interview Jerome Dotson, lecturer in African-American history at the UW he placed the contemporary black Americans’ preference for rice or cornbread with their beans as being a geographical one connected to their slave past. Americans of all persuasions whether direct descendants of slavery or not, do eat rice and/or cornbread with beans of all kinds or as John Reed of UNC-Chapel Hill tells us in his essay *Southern Eats*, “...in the South, blacks and whites have historically eaten at separate tables, but in so far as their means allowed, they ate the

## Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table Exploring African American Foodways

same things, a splendid blend of African, European, and Native American.” The influence of the slaves on southern cuisine can be seen not only in the food choice but also in the African cooking technology that pervades southern cooking.<sup>17</sup> Jerome Dotson, a lecturer in American Ethnic Studies at the UW says, plainly speaking:<sup>18</sup>

The consumption of cornbread on one hand and the consumption of rice really comes down to where you are from. And part of that too is a reflection of Dietary regulation in slavery. So for example, if you were living in an area along the Southeastern coast or even the gulf coast, more likely you have rice as a slave, because it was easily grown in those regions. There are these tidewater regions so there is enough water for rice to grow. Conversely if we move inland corn is going to be a product that is easier to grow.

Participant preference for either rice or beans followed closely his observation. All the participants whose folks were slaves in inland states placed a higher emphasis on cornbread consumption than did coastal state descendants.

The most significant finding was the difference over cornbread consumption among the participants. Cbs without prompting, spoke of how often cornbread was eaten in their family, while Rs did not. Chere’s family had cornbread two or three times a week. While Kayla, a senior at the UW, proclaimed, “Cornbread is a like a mainstay in our family. I like cornbread. And cornbread is essential part of a red beans and rice meal.” Kayla and Chere both spoke more about cornbread than the red beans.

The Inland descendants of the slaves almost always waxed lyrical over cornbread. My longtime friend, Richard, whose feet are planted firmly in the Cb camp, voice actually softened, as he loving said, “Gotta have with cornbread though, good cornbread, good cornbread has always been the best. I like butter on my cornbread, too, hot cornbread and butter.” Conversely costal descendants spoke more about how the red beans were cooked. and their cornbread was always on the side of their plate never central as it was for Solomon(Cb) one of the students interviewed. “I like mush it all together. Cuz it is oatmeal. I like mix my

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<sup>17</sup> Covey, Hebert and Dwight Eisnach, What The Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives, Greenwood Press, 2009, p42.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Jerome Dotson Spring quarter 2011.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

cornbread up with red beans, it do with meat in it, and I'll eat it like that," Solomon says never once mentioning rice.

Social practices relating to the consumption of red beans were diverse. All the interviewees over thirty with the exception of Malaika, who has several young children, described red beans as a special occasion meal, one that came in the midst of a family gathering. "Ideally is to have it around Thanksgiving or Christmas when you could even have it with dirty rice." This may represent a changing in status for red beans from a staple to a special occasion food as the participant grows older. While the students, Keisha, Solomon, Kayla, and Chelsea, all who live with their parents, indicated that red beans and or beans in general were a staple part of their mealtimes. A comment that the older participants made in reference to their youth; "We grew up with red beans and rice" comments Chere, while Richard reflected that, "red beans and rice were always the staple." This suggests that beans as an economical protein supplement are still part of a growing black families' diet as they are in so many southern working class families, black and white.

Darryl, Chelsea and Chere, all come from Texas. Chere from central Texas, while Darryl and Chelsea come from closer to the gulf coast. Both Darryl and Chelsea spoke of rice dishes within their family, however, Chelsea, whose folks are a little further away from the coast than Darryl's showed the importance of cornbread in her family when she spoke, "Then I like cornbread and I like it the hot water cornbread. We make individually, so you put that on the side. And that is usually on the side by my beans so I can sop up the juices." So even though Chelsea could have been labeled an R, she was labeled Cb because her family still makes their cornbread from scratch.

### **Conclusion**

Geography defined the regulation of the slave diet. They were fed what could be grown cheaply to feed a lot of people. If the slave owner could grow the cash crop rice cheaply, it was fed to the slaves. If the plantation was inland the slaves were feed corn which could be grown easily. These intersections expose the effects of slavery as a socializing institution and its enduring impacts on contemporary cultural practices. In other words every time I eat my favorite dish of "Red beans and rice," I am acting out/experiencing my ethnic identity as a southerner, even though I been to the southern part of the US relatively few times in my life. Nutritionist Alberta B. Childs in 1933 notes that "Although the tendencies to maintain and let go traditions affect many

## Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table Exploring African American Foodways

aspects of the culture...observers have noted that foodways seem particularly resistant to change.”<sup>19</sup>

So what have I learned? I have learned that what I thought was a simple matter of taste is not. It is the socializing institution of slavery that is still affecting the Black dinner table today. So whither I choose cornbread or rice these food choices shed light on my history by tying me regionally and ethnically to my slave past.

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Ogden Jane, *The Psychology of Eating: From Healthy to Disordered Behavior*, John Wiley and Sons, 2010, ISBN 140519121X, 9781405191210 ‘Food is communication’ a paraphrase of ‘Food as Cultural Identity Food is a form of communication about an individual's identity and about this identity in the context of others. Jane Ogden is Professor of Health Psychology at the University of Surrey, UK

Camp Charles, *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, by the Gale Group, Inc. Read more: [http://www.answers.com/library/Food & Culture Encyclopedia#ixzz1HvEWyrDH](http://www.answers.com/library/Food%20&%20Culture%20Encyclopedia#ixzz1HvEWyrDH) The term "foodways" refers to the connection between food-related behavior and patterns of membership in cultural community, group, and society.

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<sup>19</sup> Alberta B. Childs, quoted by Susan Kalcik, *Symbol and Performance, Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*, University of Tennessee Press, 1984, p39

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

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Childs Alberta B., quoted by Susan Kalcik, *Symbol and Performance, Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*, University of Tennessee Press, 1984, p39 Nutritionist Alberta B. Childs way back in 1933 noted that "Although the tendencies to maintain and let go traditions affect many aspects of the culture...observers have noted that foodways seem particularly resistant to change".

Abrahams Roger, *Equal Opportunity Eating, Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: the performance of group identity* / Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, co-editors., University of Tennessee Press, 1984, p20 Roger Abrahams, president of the American Folklore Society explains that "...ethnic or regional identity can be acted out within the home by eating certain foods prepared a special ways."

Reed, John Shelton, *Southern Eats, Dixie Emporium: Tourism, Foodways and Consumer Culture in The American South*, edited Anthony J. Stanonis, University of Georgia Press, 2009, p206 Dr. John Reed of UNC- Chapel Hill." ...in the South blacks and whites have historically eaten at separate tables, but in so far as their means allowed, they ate the same things, a splendid blend of African, European, and Native American."

Fields-Black, Edda, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* , Indiana University Press, p3 p179 p8, "By the mid-eighteenth century, South Carolina planters had taken the raw materials of West African rice-growing technology and transformed them to South Carolina's emerging coastal rice industry." Carnegie-Mellon Professor Edda Fields-Black in book *Deep Roots* traces the route of the technology transfer of



Rice or Cornbread: The Slave at the Dinner Table  
Exploring African American Foodways

West Africa's tidewater rice farming to the American South. She cites a Portuguese slave trader's record on September 24, 1793 as the first detailed description of irrigated rice cultivation among farmers in the Rio Nunez region of coastal Guinea. "...the transmittal of tidal rice-growing technology by African captives"

Covey, Hebert and Dwight Eisanach, What The Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives, Greenwood Press, 2009, p3, p69, p80, p42 "Heavy reliance on pork and corn is an undisputed fact of the slave diet..." Covey and Eisanach state that "in South Carolina so much rice was grown that it sometimes replaced in the slave diet. Paraphrased from Finkelman Paul and Joseph C. Miller, eds., Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery, MacMillan Reference Library, 1998

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### **Acknowledgments**

I am grateful to the staff at the UW's Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program, Ms. Rosa Ramirez (Student Services Coordinator); Dr. Gabriel Gallardo (Associate Vice President of OMAD/Director of McNair/EIP), Ashley McClure (Graduate Student Advisor); and Dr. Gene Kim (Associate Director of McNair/EIP). I would like to thank the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

I am indebted to Jorge Martinez (Graduate Student Advisor, McNair) who offered valuable advice and held my hand. A special thanks to Jerome Dotson, for his valuable assistance and without whose insight this film would not have been made.

I am equally grateful to my mentor, Dr. Ileana M. Rodríguez-Silva, Ph.D., she gave me moral support and guided me in different matters regarding the topic. I thank her for her overall support.

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Venetia will pursue her graduate studies at the University of Florida, where she intends to complete a doctorate in Anthropology.

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## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

Phillip Poonka

### Abstract

*The lack of biomedical diagnostic tests in low resource settings has prompted research interest in point-of-care diagnostics. 2D paper network immunoassays are rapid, disposable, low-cost, and self-contained, like conventional lateral flowstrips, but boast the capability to increase assay sensitivity and range of applications through multi-step processes. However, flow behavior of fluids in these devices has not been extensively characterized experimentally. Knowledge of flow behavior is crucial for designing multi-step devices where timing is important. We present a low-cost flow velocimetry tool that utilizes electrochemical marking to obtain knowledge of flows. A previously introduced electrochemical marking method that uses electrodes to generate marks in a flowing phenol red solution was expanded to produce robust flow markers that can be tracked in two dimensions with a velocimetry algorithm developed in Matlab. This tool was applied to characterize flows in 2D paper network geometries, including bifurcations and corners. It is anticipated that the results of this work will aid the design of paper based diagnostic devices with increased control over timing and uniformity of fluid delivery for improved performance.*

### Introduction

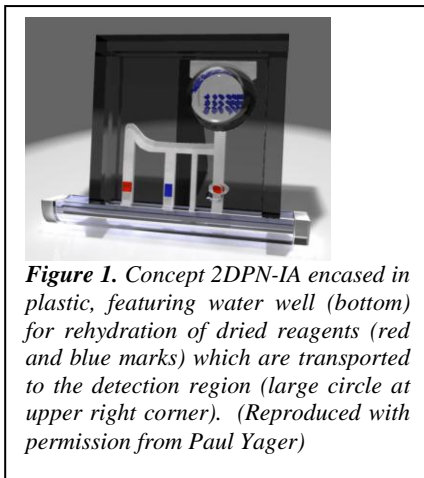
There currently exists a large need for rapid low-cost biomedical diagnostics in low-resource settings; this need especially concerns developing nations, where many people suffer from infectious diseases that are otherwise largely treatable following accurate and timely diagnosis [1]. It is estimated that 1 million to 3 million deaths are caused by malaria yearly, the majority of which occur in Africa, where most cases are left untreated [2]. Additionally, around 3 billion people worldwide remain exposed to the disease [3]. Accurate diagnosis of disease not only leads to identification of patients who need treatment, but prevents mistreatment, which decreases the available supply of medicines and can accelerate drug resistance [1]. There are many problems that dictate the success of diagnostic technologies in low-resource settings including public mistrust, a lack of infrastructure, a lack of power and supplies, and a lack of technical skills, so effective technologies must address these difficulties [4]. Diagnostics at the point-

of-care level are ideal, because it has been shown that technologies developed for high-resource settings cannot simply be translated into low-resource settings as witnessed by donated equipment that can become idle in deteriorated clinics due to lack of maintenance or supplies [5].

In response to this need for low-resource, point-of-care diagnostics, our research group has focused on the development of a two-dimensional paper network (2DPN) platform, which is rapid, disposable, low-cost, and self-contained, like conventional lateral flowstrips, but additionally boasts the capability to increase assay sensitivity and range of applications. These 2DPN immunoassays have multiple inlets per detection zone for sequential delivery of reagents in order to enhance analyte sensitivity via chemical amplification or perform tests otherwise not possible on lateral flowstrips, including the possibility of multi-analyte detection (see Figure1).

The problem is that the flow behavior of fluids in 2DPN membranes has not been extensively characterized experimentally. A general framework for understanding flow was previously presented describing different flow regimes in 2DPN devices composed of straight flowstrips with variable width channel geometry, using crude manual measurements of flow markers and comparisons to simulated data [6]. However, a detailed quantitative measurement of flow is needed that can be applied to flowstrips of various two-dimensional geometries. This knowledge of flow is essential for the design of effective multi-step assays, where precise timing is important [7]. The identified project need is a method for characterizing these flows through flow velocimetry, or generation of vector fields describing velocity profiles throughout any section of the flow channels. A knowledge of flow behavior will allow for the effective design of paper based diagnostic devices and will include the ability to characterize various paper membranes and understand the manner in which reagents are transported. It will also allow for performance evaluation of various designs and geometries.

We aimed to gain an understanding of fluid flow behavior in 2DPNs through the development and use of a low-cost flow velocimetry



*Figure 1. Concept 2DPN-IA encased in plastic, featuring water well (bottom) for rehydration of dried reagents (red and blue marks) which are transported to the detection region (large circle at upper right corner). (Reproduced with permission from Paul Yager)*

## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

tool to address the stated problem of a lack of understanding and the need for experimental characterization of flows. The hardware that is necessary for marking flows and acquiring images was expanded from previous efforts to include new electrode arrays [7]. Additionally, the software for both the generation of marks and image analysis were developed. The velocimetry tool, protocol, and generalizations from analyzed data sets were anticipated deliverables. The project was composed of the following three aims:

### *Aim I: Flow Marker Generation and Characterization*

In the first phase, an appropriate marker was sought for use in the final velocimetry algorithm. The electrochemical marking method developed by Kauffman et al. was used and elaborated to generate marks in a solution of 1 mg/ml phenol red in pH 6.13 phosphate buffered saline (PBS) flowing through the paper channel [7]. The two primary candidates were band and dot shaped flow markers.

### *Aim II: Velocimetry Software Development*

In the second phase, algorithms for tracking phenol red flow markers were designed and implemented in Matlab (MathWorks, Inc., Natick, MA). These algorithms were applied to describe flow marker transport in uni-directional flowstrips.

### *Aim III: Application to 2DPN Geometries*

In the third phase, the flow velocimetry tool was applied to characterize flows through complex geometries currently used in the 2DPN devices being developed in our laboratory (flowstrips with bifurcations and corners). It is believed that knowledge of the flow behavior throughout devices can be used to improve the device designs. For example, if fluid containing the analyte of interest does not pass uniformly over the capture region, the design may be modified to compensate for this non-uniformity. The vector fields can also be used to locate any regions of dead space, where the fluid is not moving effectively.

## **Experimental**

### *Marking Apparatus*

An electrochemical marking technique developed by Kauffman et al. was used to generate flow markers in 2DPN devices made of nitrocellulose flowstrips (Millipore Hi-Flow Plus 135, Billerica, MA) and cellulose wicking and delivery pads (Millipore, Billerica, MA, Whatman, Maidstone, Kent) (illustrated in Figure 2) [1].

The movement of the markers was recorded with a web camera (Logitech Webcam Pro 9000) and the displacement vectors were measured with algorithms implemented in Matlab. Velocity vector fields were obtained through multiplication of the displacement vectors by the frame capture rate.

The general setup for the electrochemical marking technique required a positive counter electrode extended into the fluid well and a negative working electrode contacting the flowstrip.

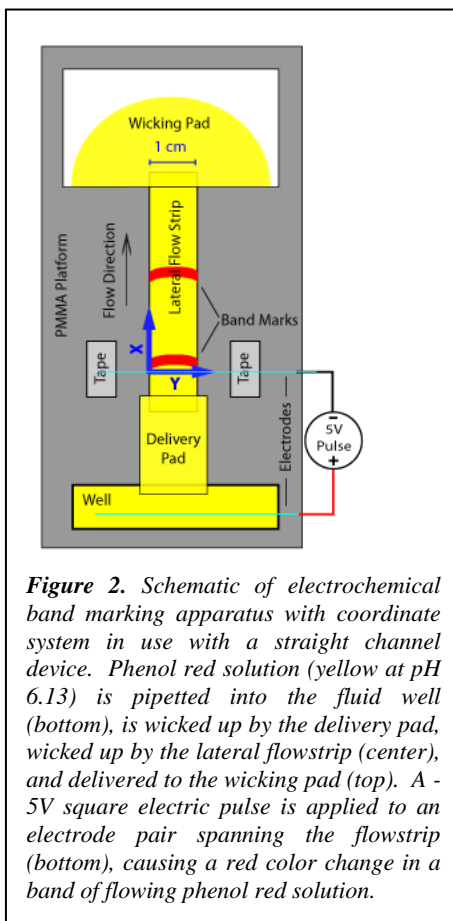
A LabVIEW (National Instruments, Austin, Texas) controlled DAQ module (NI USB-6008) was used to deliver 5 V pulses for defined durations, which resulted in a visible color change in the solution.

Several marking electrodes were experimented with to meet Aim I. The final

electrode used for band markers was a 30 gauge straight silver plated wrapping wire (KYN30(1)14232-R., Cable Connection). The final electrode used for dot markers was an array of gold plated spring-loaded connector pins (0901-0-00-00-00-00-11-0, Mill Max Manufacturing Corp., Oyster Bay, NY), commonly used to test circuit boards, which were fastened to a PMMA support. The gold surface on the tips of the electrodes was sanded to enhance electrochemical conversion. The details of these electrode configurations are described in the results.

### 2DPN Design, Fabrication, and Assembly

The paper devices were constructed with Mylar® backed nitrocellulose flowstrips (Millipore Hi-Flow Plus 135, Billerica, MA) and cellulose absorbent pads (Millipore, Billerica, MA, Whatman, Maidstone, Kent) for delivery and wicking pads. The flowstrips and



**Figure 2.** Schematic of electrochemical band marking apparatus with coordinate system in use with a straight channel device. Phenol red solution (yellow at pH 6.13) is pipetted into the fluid well (bottom), is wicked up by the delivery pad, wicked up by the lateral flowstrip (center), and delivered to the wicking pad (top). A -5V square electric pulse is applied to an electrode pair spanning the flowstrip (bottom), causing a red color change in a band of flowing phenol red solution.

## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

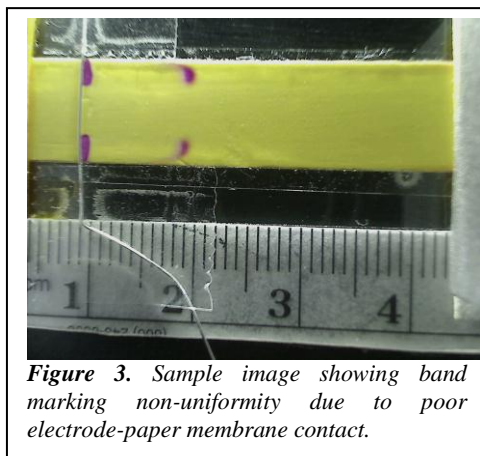
pads were designed with AutoCAD (Autodesk Inc., San Rafael, CA) and cut from material sheets with a CO<sub>2</sub> laser cutting system (M360, Universal Laser Systems, Scottsdale, AZ). A variety of 2D flowstrip geometries can be designed. Simple straight flowstrips were primarily used in Aim I and II and bifurcating y-shaped strips and strips with turns were later used in Aim III.

The flowstrips were affixed to a 75 x 25 x 1 mm glass microscope slide with double-sided tape (3M, St. Paul, MN) and the delivery and wicking pad were overlaid on the entry and exit channels of the flowstrip respectively, with 5 mm of overlap. The pads were also affixed to the glass slide with double-sided tape and were secured with PMMA weights which served to maintain uniform pad-channel contact. The delivery pad was positioned to extend approximately 15 mm past the edge of the glass slide and was slightly bent over the edge to extend into a fluid well. The glass slide, with the device facing upward, was placed on a black (55 mm x 160 mm x 20 mm) PMMA platform attached to a 7 mm deep fluid well made of 2 PMMA layers. The use of glass slides enabled the user to prepare multiple 2DPN devices in advance for use on the support stage, so that used devices could be rapidly disposed and replaced with new devices.

### Results

#### *Aim I-a: Band Marker Generation*

Initially, band markers were generated according to the visualization method previously developed by Kauffman et al. [7]. All tests were conducted on straight flowstrip 2DPN devices as described in the methods section. It was found that implementation of the original method did not always result in uniform marks. In particular, the edges of the flowstrip tended to mark while the center remained unmarked. This effect was due to the non-uniformity of contact between the wire and paper membrane. As the wire was secured with tape on one side of the flowstrip, pulled taught, and extended across the slightly elevated flowstrip, an arc tended to form in the wire over the center of the flowstrip, where the wire made no contact with the paper membrane. A sample image demonstrating this marking non-uniformity is shown in Figure 3.



Upon close inspection, a solution was reached: two additional layers of tape were added to the microscope slide on either side of the flowstrip, making sure that there was no contact between the tape and sides of the flowstrip which could cause fluid to wick away from the flowstrip. This provided a more level surface for the wire to rest upon. The electrode was then kept as straight as possible and extended over the flowstrip, and secured on either side with tape. The electrode-paper membrane contact was then carefully inspected using a magnifying visor, and any elevated regions of wire were gently depressed with the tip of a flathead screwdriver, if needed, while caution was exercised to prevent contact between screwdriver tip and paper membrane. Wire depression was avoided if possible, as it caused irregular areas of slightly larger mark size. Figure 4 shows a comparison of band markers generated in different devices.



## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

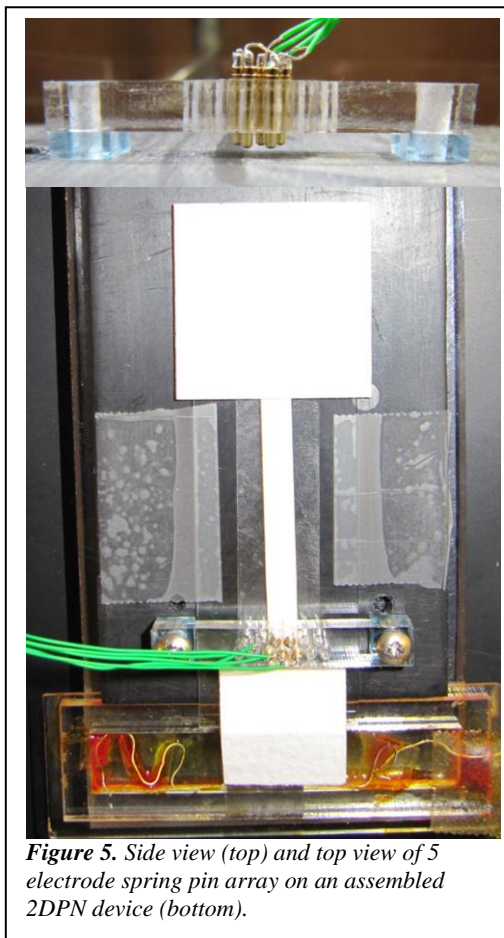


**Figure 4.** Sequence of frames containing band markers travelling from left to right in two different devices (left and right columns, respectively) showing varied band morphology due to differences in electrode contact. The leading and trailing edges of marks develop different curvatures. The white-colored region trailing the markers, which becomes more prominent in the bottom frames, is discussed in the “Aim II” section of the results.

*Aim I-b: Dot Marker Generation*

Due to the need to quantify flow rates in multi-directional flowstrips and the inability to extract this information from band markers (as explained in the “Band Algorithm Development” section) an alternate marking scheme was required, which allowed several discrete regions of fluid to be marked. During preliminary experiments, the ability to generate dot marks as described by Kauffman et al. (contacting the tip of the active working electrode wire to the paper membrane) was investigated [7]. However, the small area of the wire tip created damage marks in the fragile paper membrane

A more reproducible method was sought that was less destructive and required fewer manual adjustments. A rigid electrode material was desired to avoid the problem of unwanted bending and repositioning. In addition, an electrode was desired that exerted minimal pressure upon the paper membrane to reduce damage to the membrane. These needs were met with gold spring-loaded pin electrodes (0901-0-00-00-00-00-11-0, Mill Max Manufacturing Corp., Oyster Bay, NY); these electrodes were rigid and featured a rounded tip and a spring-loaded shaft which allowed the electrodes to independently adjust for any surface non-uniformities in the paper membrane or minor elevation differences in the electrode array. These spring pin electrodes were fastened into the tightly fitting holes of an array base made of PMMA cut with the CO<sub>2</sub> laser. In an effort to maximize the number of dot marks generated on a flowstrip, the pins

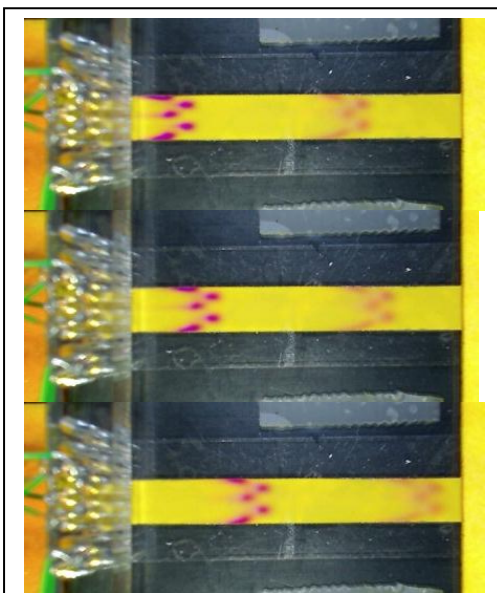


*Figure 5. Side view (top) and top view of 5 electrode spring pin array on an assembled 2DPN device (bottom).*

## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

were arranged in a staggered configuration (see Figure 5). When the new electrodes were tested by being activated one at a time (physically disconnecting the other electrode leads), it was found that the marks were all fainter than those generated with the wire tip electrode, qualitatively. In addition, the 5 marks differed in intensity and size. Most notably, the working electrodes with the shortest separation from the counter electrode generated the largest size and greatest intensity marks and apparently shielding the remaining interconnected working electrodes. It is hypothesized that the “shielding” effect is due to an uneven distribution of current through the working electrodes attributed to a difference in resistance between the counter electrode and the working electrodes, which were all at the same potential but positioned at different distances from the counter electrode. The resistance path was least between the working electrodes closest to the counter electrode, resulting in the greatest current and electric field strength. To prove that this effect was not attributed to a difference in the electrodes themselves or the number of electrodes in a column, the orientation of the array was reversed and, once again, the marks generated by the working electrodes nearest to the counter electrode were larger and more intense (data not shown).

Like the pin electrodes used to generate band marks, these spring pin electrodes were also gold plated. The presence of faint marks supported the hypothesis that the gold surface coating is a potential cause of low intensity mark generation through poor electrochemical conversion. In an attempt to increase the overall mark intensity, the electrode tips were sanded with a Dremel tool. When these sanded electrodes were tested, the resulting marks were larger and of higher intensity (see Figure 6). Aside from gold removal, the increased size may be due to the fact that the contact area was increased during sanding.



**Figure 6.** Dot marks generated with independently activated electrodes of sanded spring pin array, showing increased mark uniformity.

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In order to overcome the electrode “shielding” effect, each electrode had to be toggled or activated independently, one per given instant. The need for additional hardware and a new program for independent electrode control, as well as the desire to utilize more universal components for the ease of use of subsequent users, justified the decision to replace the out-of-production microcontroller and obsolete TxBASIC code for a LabVIEW controlled DAQ module (NI USB-6008).

In order to inactivate all but one electrode, the pulse generating hardware was modified such that an additional circuit was added consisting of n-type MOSFET transistors (FVN10LP) which acted as open circuit switches. The LabVIEW program was designed to accept the following parameters: total pulse duration (ms) and activation period of individual electrodes (ms). The program would iterate between electrode lines, sending a +5V signal through the first digital I/O line, remaining in that state for the activation period (typically ~2 orders of magnitude less than the total pulse duration), switching the line output to 0V, and repeating for the next electrode line. Each electrode duty cycle was simply 1 divided by the number of electrodes. No observable difference was seen in marks generated with 25, 50, and 100 ms activation periods, so 25 ms was chosen as it allowed for faster switching between electrodes, in theory providing more uniform generation of the group of dots over time. Several pulse durations were investigated, including 2.5, 5, 7.5, and 10 s, and it was found that a total pulse duration of 7.5 s worked well for the 5 electrode array. This equates to 1.5 s total time spent in active state by each of the 5 electrodes. Shorter pulses produced marks that had lower persistence over time while longer pulses produced marks with the morphology of an elongated ellipse, which is more difficult to track with one descriptor (e.g. centroid) as a gradient of flow velocities may be exhibited upon the mark (e.g. during a turn in the flowstrip) (i.e. a single mark may simultaneously experience different flow directions in different mark regions). After the hardware and software for independent electrode control was implemented, the resulting marks appeared more uniform in size and intensity and no longer exhibited the shielding effect. Both the issues of low intensity marking and shielding were addressed with the measures described. Because the non-oxidative gold plating was sanded, the exposed copper alloy surface tarnished after several initial uses, and required light sanding before every use thereafter.

### *Aim II-a: Band Algorithm Development*

Initially it was assumed that the desired flow information—velocity direction and magnitude—could be extracted from every region

## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

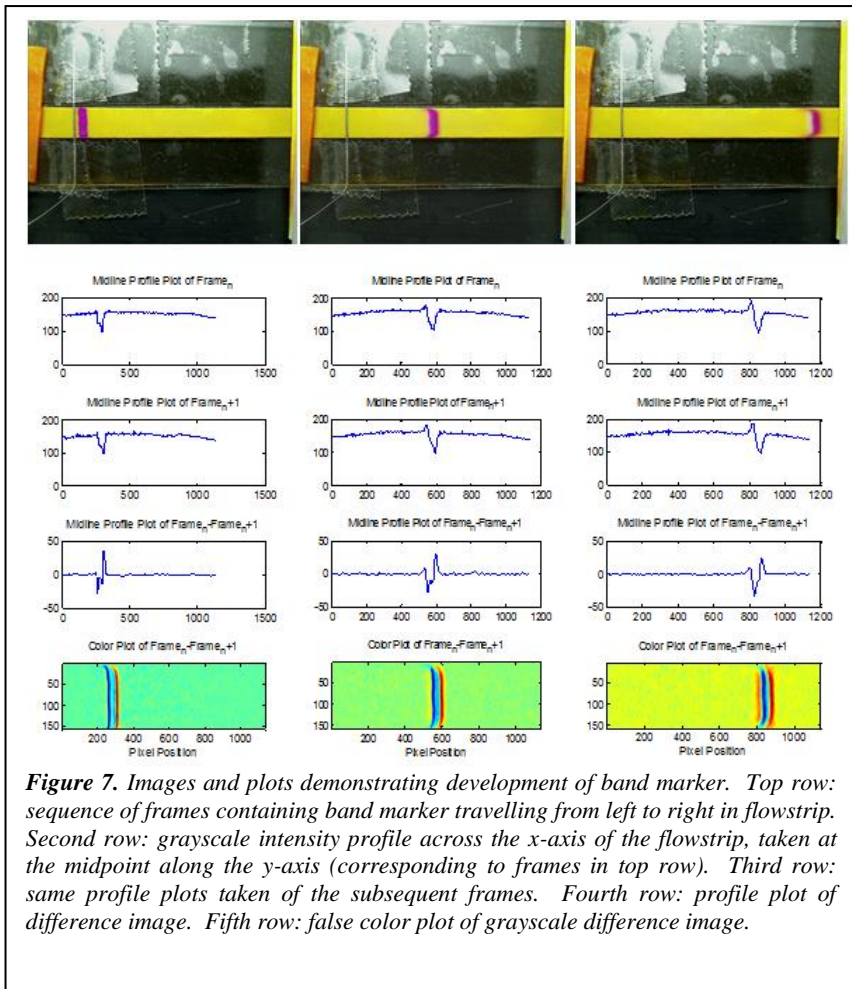
of the band marker. The band marker was originally deemed to be a superior flow marker than the dot markers, as every region across the y-axis of the flowstrip was marked, suggesting that the velocity information could be extracted for the entire y-axis width of the flowstrip. For this reason, initial efforts in velocimetry algorithm development were exclusively focused on band markers.

In order to select an appropriate tracking algorithm, the flow markers had to be analyzed for particular features of interest that could be tracked. The band grayscale intensity profile plots across the x-axis of the flowstrip were analyzed at various positions across the flowstrip y-axis, including the center. A sample sequence of plots is shown in the second and third rows of Figure 4. The intensity profiles displayed lower intensity values (near 100 intensity units) in the regions of the flowstrip containing the band mark than in the unmarked regions of the flowstrip (near 150 intensity units). The band profile appeared as an asymmetrical trough that was negatively skewed toward the trailing edge of the band, while the unmarked regions remained at a relatively constant baseline intensity value. It was believed that the trough corresponded to the region of the mark with highest concentration of de-protonated phenol red, due to visible light absorption. This was believed to be the most persistent feature and the best descriptor of the mark position, so it was selected as the feature of interest to be tracked. The trough tended to be rather rounded without a clear minimal point. A sharper, more refined trough and peak were generated by subtracting the following frame from the current frame and using the resulting difference image (see bottom row in Figure 4). This step also served to subtract the image background.

The band mark development during its travel along the flowstrip was analyzed based on the intensity profile plots of the second and third rows of Figure 4. Initially, near the working electrode, the band profile consisted of a single trough. As the band progressed, a peak trailing behind the trough developed. This peak corresponded to a white colored region at the trailing edge of the band. The origin of this white region was unknown but it was speculated that it could be the result of pH dependent dye chromatography that causes the marked dye molecules to move faster than the unmarked dye molecules, leaving a region of the clear PBS solvent in its wake.

The intensity profile plots of the difference images initially exhibited a large magnitude peak and two smaller absolute magnitude troughs. As the band progressed, the peak decreased while the troughs increased in absolute magnitude, eventually merging into one large trough.

It was noted that there was a substantial amount of noise in the grayscale intensity signal. This noise was characterized by jagged intensity peaks and may be attributed to dark current and read noise in the CMOS array, digitization, phenol red protonation and diffusion, and membrane imperfections which lead to glare. The presence of this noise made it difficult to isolate a minimal point of the band trough. The grayscale image was smoothed in the x-direction with a 5 pixel moving average to reduce high frequency noise.



## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

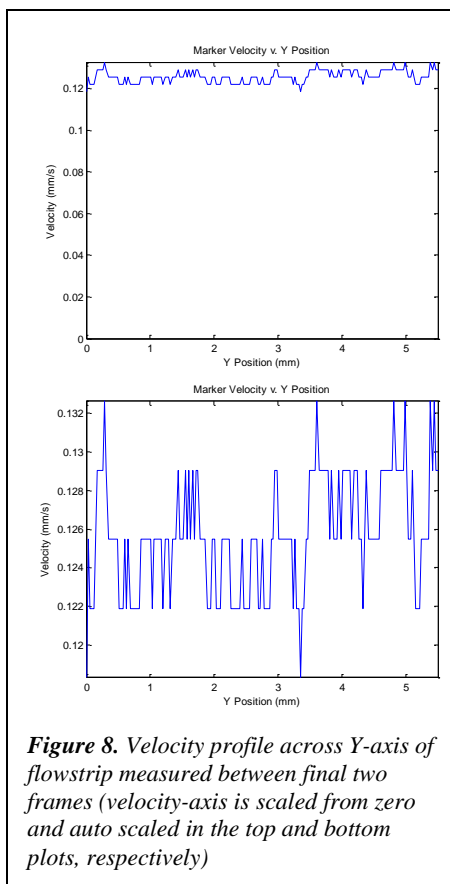
After several two-dimensional band tracking approaches were unsuccessfully attempted, band shaped markers were deemed unsuitable for analysis of multi-directional flows; two-dimensional velocity data could not be extracted from the displacement of the band marker. Instead, band markers were used to extract velocity magnitudes from uni-directional flow in straight flowstrip devices.

In this final algorithm, all of the frames were rotated to alignment with the horizontal and the region of interest (the entire flowstrip surface upstream of the marking electrode) was cropped using GUIs. Another GUI was used to measure the pixel length of a user specified length object (e.g. the flowstrip y-axis width) by positioning a line segment across this known length, to produce a pixel to mm conversion factor. A set of three measurements was required, which calculated the average length and standard deviation, in order to reduce operator errors and quantify the measurement uncertainty. The frames were then converted to grayscale and smoothed with a median filter. The difference image between subsequent frames was produced, resulting in a sharp band peak and trough. The difference image was then scanned down the x-axis length of the flowstrip to locate the position of the trough for every pixel across the y-axis width of the flowstrip. This procedure was repeated until every frame in the desired set was analyzed. After all of the band positions were calculated for the desired selection of frames, displacement vectors were calculated by taking the difference between computed positions in two subsequent frames. The displacement vectors were later converted to velocity vectors, by using the scaling measurements to convert pixel length to millimeters, and dividing this length by the frame period.

### *Aim II-b: Band Algorithm Implementation and Data Analysis*

The one-dimensional peak tracking algorithm was implemented on band data collected in straight flowstrip devices. The velocity profiles across the y-axis of the flowstrip were analyzed at certain positions along the x-axis of the flowstrip. Though the visibly increased curvature of the band during travel suggests decreased flow velocity near the flowstrip edges, the frame-to-frame velocity profiles across the y-axis of the flowstrip do not show clear trends at this relatively short timescale—namely a velocity profile that resembles the displacement curvature of the band edges (refer to Figure 4 for a sample band image). A representative profile plot is shown in Figure

with an average velocity of  $0.126 \pm 0.003$  mm/s, which corresponds to a  $35.1 \pm 0.8$  pixel displacement measurement. The data variability may be attributed to both system variations and method variations. System variations may arise from changes in the paper membrane density and thickness, which would alter local flow rates. Method variations may be caused by digitization errors stemming from the spatial resolution. The measurement uncertainty of approximately 1 pixel suggests that the resolution limit is the primary source of error. Increased variation in velocity is especially seen near the flowstrip edges and may be attributed to weak signal-to-noise ratio at the edges, as the increased mark elongation along the x-axis at the edges presents a greater surface for dye diffusion and interaction with the lower pH regions, causing a more rapid decay in dye intensity than that which occurs at the center of the band mark. In addition, because the edges are not perfectly straight but have minor cutting imperfections, some sections of the underlying PMMA

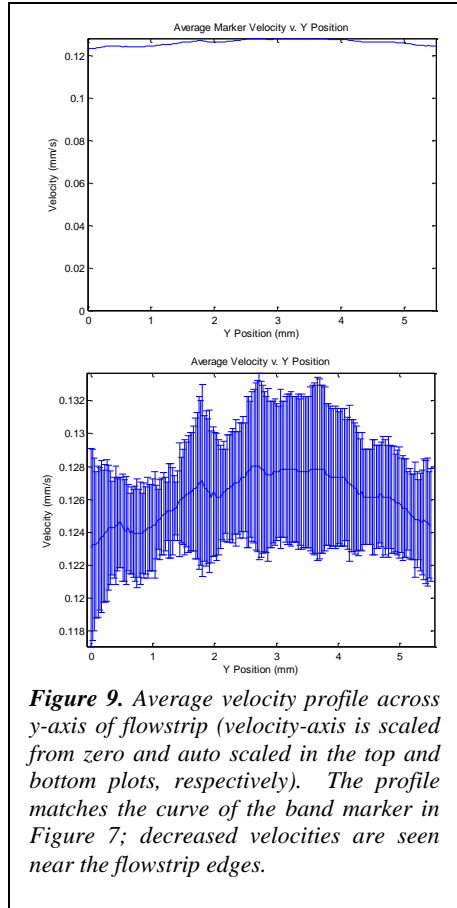


**Figure 8.** Velocity profile across Y-axis of flowstrip measured between final two frames (velocity-axis is scaled from zero and auto scaled in the top and bottom plots, respectively)



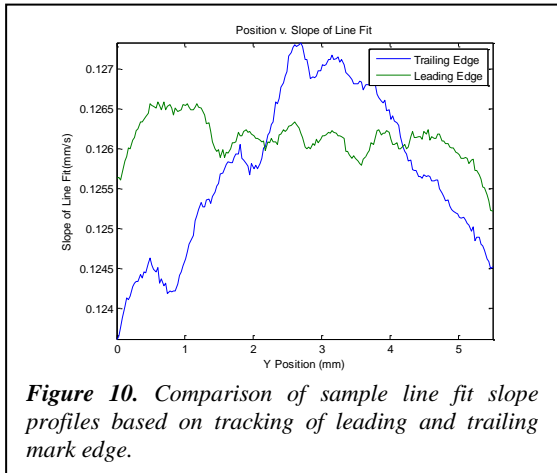
## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

support may be visible even after image cropping, which will result in false peak detection along scan lines near the edges. The frame-to-frame velocities were averaged in hopes of obtaining some trend across the y-axis of the flowstrip, as velocity changes in frame to frame measurements may have been obscured by noise. The average velocity profile across the y-axis of the flowstrip is shown in Figure 9 for comparison. The velocity profile appeared more smooth and continuous than that of the frame-to-frame measurements, and its curvature resembled the curvature of the band edge. The anticipated trend of decreased velocities at the flowstrip edges and increased velocities at the center was seen.

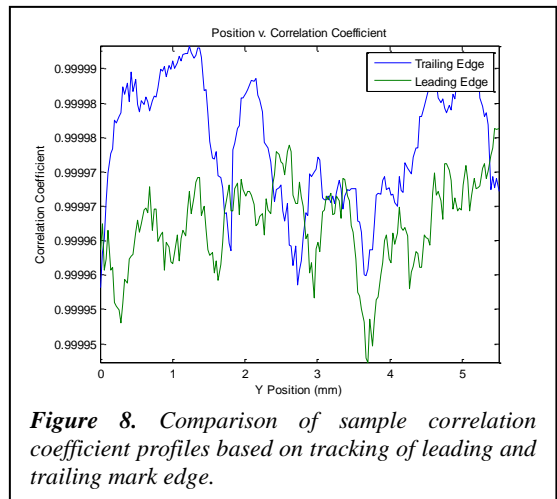


The marker displacement over time was also analyzed over the entire area of the flowstrip. A first degree polynomial fit was applied to the data (since it was assumed that the flow was in a nearly steady state),

with the slope of the fit line serving as a descriptor of overall velocity. The slope values across the flowstrip y-axis were typically lowest at the edges (~0.124 mm/s) and increased toward the center of the flowstrip (~0.127 mm/s). This difference of  $3.0 \times 10^{-3}$  mm/s equates to approximately 0.5 mm difference in displacement at the end of the 152 s trial, which agrees with the observed displacements seen in the final frame (refer to Figure 4 for a final frame sample). However, the slope profile differed in its curvature depending on which feature was tracked—the peak or trough, which correspond to the leading and trailing edge, respectively.



**Figure 10.** Comparison of sample line fit slope profiles based on tracking of leading and trailing mark edge.



**Figure 8.** Comparison of sample correlation coefficient profiles based on tracking of leading and trailing mark edge.

A representative pair of slope v. position plots is shown in Figure 10. These profile curvatures did match the band mark curvatures and were expected as the leading and trailing edges of the band marks exhibit different curvatures. These findings support the observations that the edge flow appears slower. The correlation coefficients between the data and fit line were also plotted (see Figure 11 for a sample plot). The high  $R^2$  values suggest a close correlation. The primary problem is that different flow velocity results are produced for

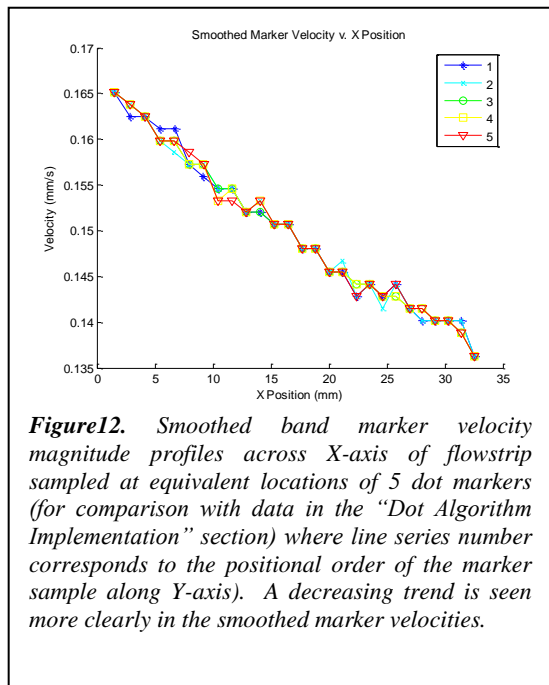
## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

the same trial depending on the feature being tracked, which relates to the difficulties of tracking the position of a dye flow marker. The velocity profiles were affected by the initial shape of the band marker; any initially jagged edge features were smoothed through interactions with the unmarked fluid regions, influencing the measured velocities. Figure 4 shows a comparison of band markers generated in different devices.

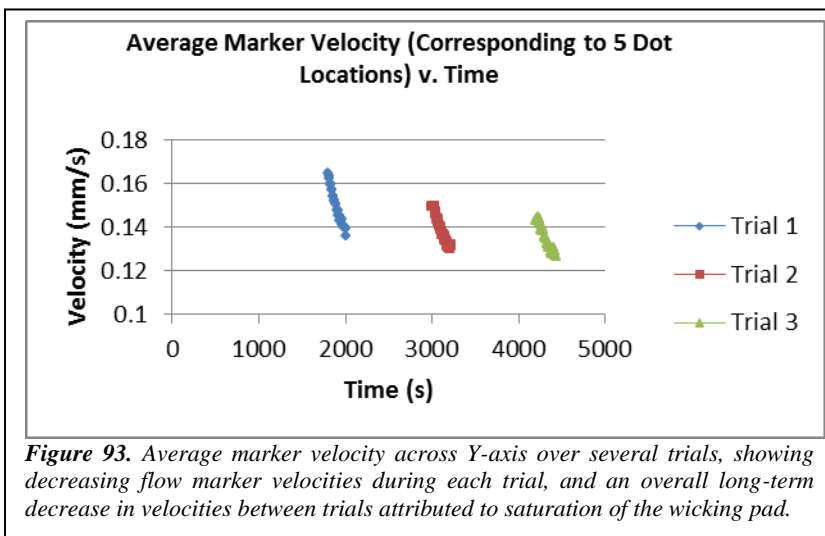
In a similar manner, the velocity profiles across the x-axis of the flowstrip were analyzed at certain positions along the y-axis of the flowstrip. The computed marker velocities decreased during each trial. A 3 point moving average filter was applied to a velocity profile at the midline of the flowstrip y-axis in hopes of reducing high frequency noise and elucidating any trends. The visual effect of zero start up transients was alleviated by symmetrically padding with the first and last data points. Figure12 shows the resulting smoothed velocity profile plot.

Again, similar results were witnessed with a more clearly decreasing velocity trend. The data was also analyzed for any long term trend. A sample plot of the combined velocity profiles across the x-axis of the flowstrip, averaged across the y-axis for three consecutive trials collected in 20 minute increments, is shown in Figure 13. In addition to the decreasing trend seen in the velocities during each trial, an overall long-term decreasing trend is also seen in the velocities between trials, as witnessed by the decrease in starting (and ending) velocities between trials.

This overall decrease in velocity between trials is attributed to the expected decrease in flow rate due to the saturation of the wicking pad, as also witnessed by the decrease in total marker displacement between trials of the same time length.



**Figure12.** Smoothed band marker velocity magnitude profiles across X-axis of flowstrip sampled at equivalent locations of 5 dot markers (for comparison with data in the “Dot Algorithm Implementation” section) where line series number corresponds to the positional order of the marker sample along Y-axis). A decreasing trend is seen more clearly in the smoothed marker velocities.



According to conservation of mass, the flow rate of an incompressible fluid should remain constant if no fluid is lost by evaporation. The velocity of the bulk flow should ideally remain constant if there is no mass gradient. However, the final average velocity measurement of every preceding trial is lower than the initial average velocity measurement of the subsequent trial. This phenomenon can be explained as either an actual flow velocity gradient in the flowstrip or an artifact that is induced by the electrodes and dye molecules, which is not indicative of the fluid behavior.

To determine if a velocity gradient exists across the x-axis length of the flowstrip, two marks may be generated simultaneously by placing a second working electrode upstream of first electrode near the delivery pad. If the gradient is present, the measured velocities of the marker closest to the wicking pad should be lower than those of the other marker. If the decreased velocity is an artifact from the dye, the velocities of both markers should match.

### *Aim II-c: Dot Algorithm Development*

Initially, it was envisioned that the dot marks would be tracked based on their intensity weighted centroids and that they would be correctly matched between frames based on morphological similarities. A basic summary of the steps in this algorithm is provided in Table 1. However, the method was ultimately discarded due to dot mismatch and poor dot isolation.

## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

*Table 1. List of steps summarizing centroid tracking algorithm.*

1. Rotate all frames to line up with the horizontal and crop flowstrip ROI
2. Convert all frames to grayscale and smooth with median filter
3. Subtract subsequent frame from initial frame to produce sharp trough (used to determine the relative positions of the flowmarkers and hence displacement)
4. Search down length of flowstrip to locate the position of the trough for every pixel across width of flowstrip
5. Repeat steps 3-4 for remainder of frames

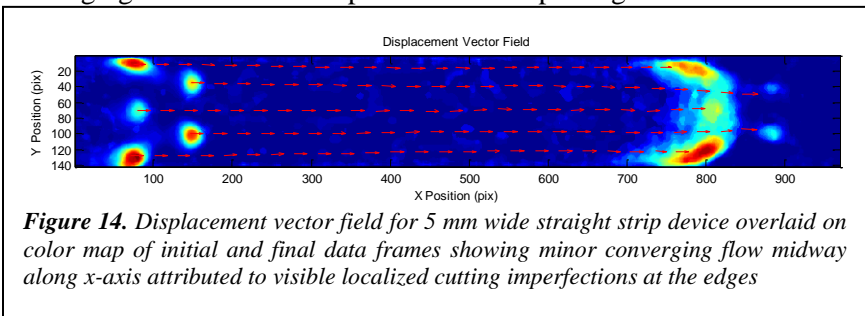
Another algorithm was designed for tracking the dot marks that would ideally reduce the effect of dot mismatch and fading. This method employed the two-dimensional cross-correlation operation often used in conventional PIV, but in a different manner. Rather than cross-correlating the displacement of windowed flow marker groupings, it cross-correlated the displacement of a single flow marker. It was believed that an updating cross-correlation template for all five dot markers would reduce dot mismatch and errors due to intensity fading, as changes in the markers would be reflected in the template. A basic summary of the steps in this algorithm is provided in Table 2.

*Table 2. List of steps summarizing template cross-correlation algorithm.*

1. Rotate all frames to line up with the horizontal and crop flowstrip ROI
2. Subtract background
3. Convert all frames to grayscale and smooth with median filter
4. Normalize frames
5. Threshold starting frame
6. Isolate marker regions and find centroids
7. Crop regions of interest out of starting frame around centroid locations (generate cross-correlation “templates”)
8. Cross-correlate each template with the following frame (“base”) and location of max correlation becomes new marker position
9. Update templates by cropping new base around computed marker positions
10. Constrain the subsequent cross-correlation bounds (“search window”) to the vicinity of the predicted mark position based on previous displacement
11. Repeat steps 8-10 for remainder of frames

*Aim II-d: Dot Algorithm Implementation and Data Analysis*

The cross-correlation algorithm was implemented on band data collected in straight flowstrip devices. The velocity directions were nearly all parallel following the ideal behavior of laminar flow in a channel of constant cross-section. Although most of the devices tested exhibited uniform direction displacement fields, some displayed minor non-uniformities. Figure 14 shows a displacement vector field indicating converging flow near the midpoint of flowstrip along the x-axis.



*Figure 14. Displacement vector field for 5 mm wide straight strip device overlaid on color map of initial and final data frames showing minor converging flow midway along x-axis attributed to visible localized cutting imperfections at the edges*

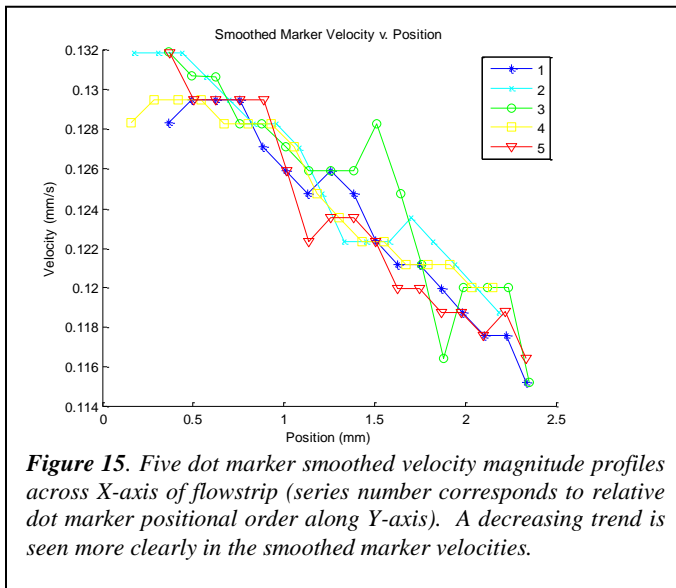
Upon close inspection of the flowstrip membrane, it was noted that there were cutting imperfections on either side near the center of the flowstrip, which caused the flowstrip to locally become narrower along

## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

the y-axis. This finding suggests the ability of the method to detect irregularities resulting from device construction.

The velocity magnitude profiles across the x-axis of the flowstrip were analyzed at the 5 dot positions along the y-axis of the flowstrip. Again, a 3 point moving average filter was applied to reduce high frequency noise. Figure 15 shows the resulting smoothed velocity profile plot. A decreasing trend appeared in the velocities during each trial for all 5 dot markers. The data was also analyzed for any long term trend. A sample plot of the combined velocity profiles across the x-axis of the flowstrip averaged across the y-axis for nine consecutive trials collected in 5 minute increments is shown in Figure 16.

The resulting profiles had a trend that was similar to that seen in the band marker data. This trend is not primarily caused by changes of the flow marker edges, as this algorithm was based on mark center detection rather than either edge.



In addition to the decreasing trend seen in the velocities during each trial, the average (or starting) values show a decreasing trend. Again, this overall decrease in velocity between trials is attributed to the expected decrease in flow rate due to the saturation of the wicking pad. Figure 17 shows the velocity profile plots for all 5 dot markers averaged across the x-axis. A slowing of roughly 0.025 mm/s between the beginning and end of the 45 minute course of the experiment was seen.

This difference represents less than 20 percent of the average velocity 10

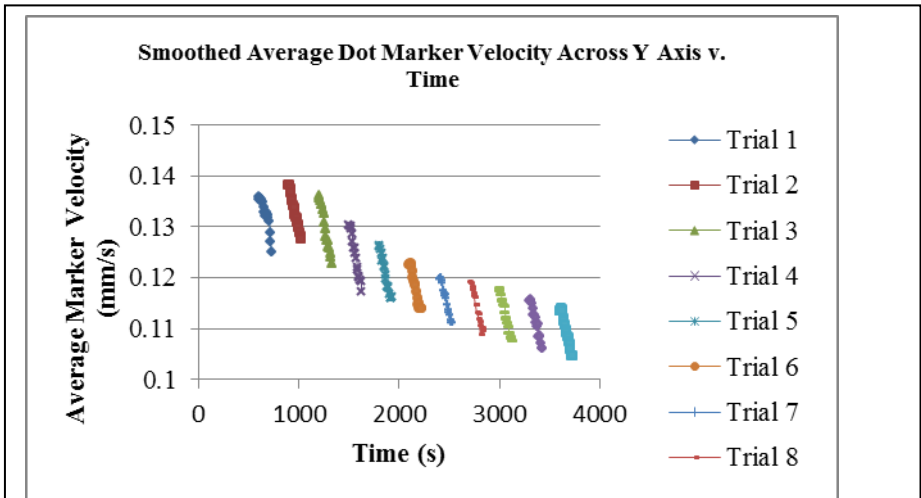


Figure 16. Smoothed average dot marker velocity across Y-axis over several trials showing decreasing flow marker velocities during each trial, and an overall long-term decrease in velocities between trials attributed to saturation of the wicking pad.

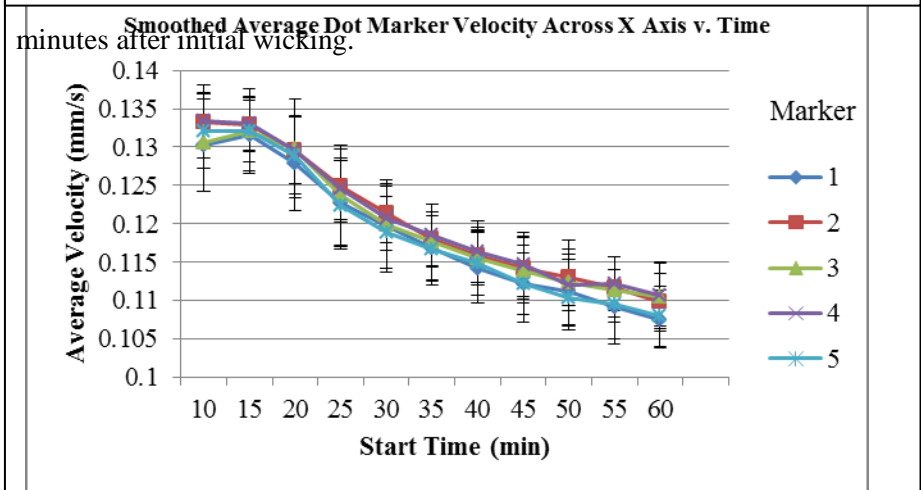


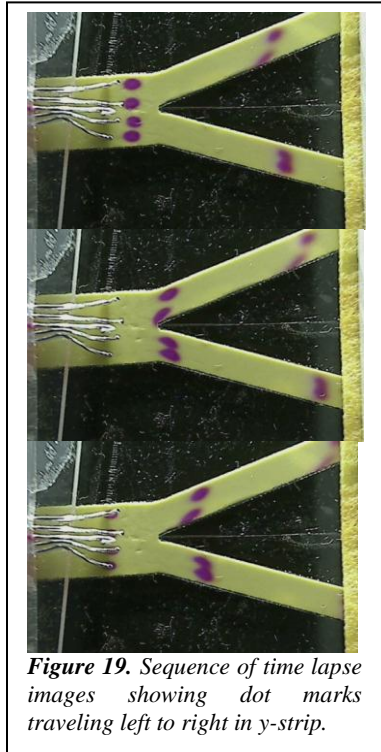
Figure 17. Smoothed average dot marker velocity across X-axis over several trials showing an overall long-term decrease in the average velocities for each trial.

Further, the average velocities for the outer dot marks (numbers 1 and 5) are lower than those for the three central marks. While, the uncertainties are high due to the decrease in velocity for each trial, the decreased average velocities of the marks near the edges agree with the trend of slower edge velocities observed in band mark data.

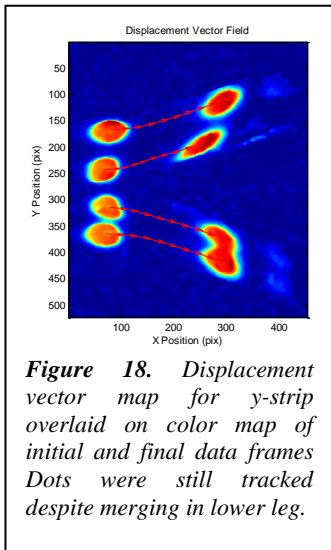


*Aim III-a: Y-strip*

The dot marker velocimetry tool was applied to measure flows in a y-shaped flowstrip with a bifurcation. Our research group demonstrated the potential use of this 2DPN geometry as a T-sensor, increasing the application relevance of this flow velocimetry tool [8]. The flow in the opposite direction (i.e. from one inlet into two outlets) had to be measured due to hardware limitations; a wider electrode array or a second array would be necessary to track flows from two inlets into one outlet, as the currently used array could not span the width of both inlets. Four dot markers were produced in a flowstrip with a 5 mm wide inlet and two 2.5 mm wide outlets (a representative sequence of frames is shown in Figure 19). This data was



*Figure 19. Sequence of time lapse images showing dot marks traveling left to right in y-strip.*



*Figure 18. Displacement vector map for y-strip overlaid on color map of initial and final data frames. Dots were still tracked despite merging in lower leg.*

analyzed using the cross-correlation

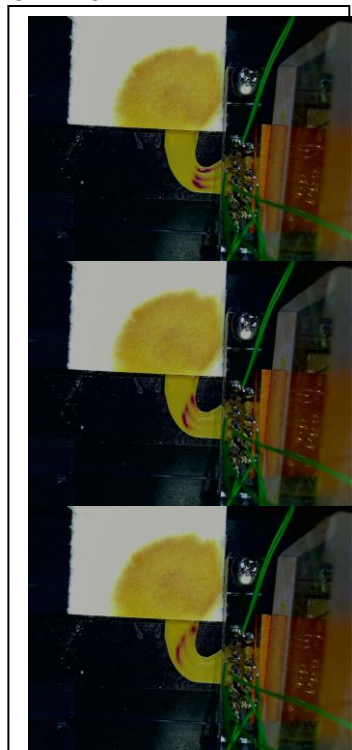
n algorithm. A representative displacement vector field is shown in Figure 18.

The computed positions matched the observed marker positions for the duration of the trial. Although the two markers at the lower right hand side of the frame (near the top of the y-axis limit) merged together after passing the bifurcation, the updating template allowed the cross-correlation to continue to distinguish the two dot positions

The average dot marker velocities in order of ascending position along the y-axis were:  $0.230 \pm 0.006$ ,  $0.192 \pm 0.029$ ,  $0.229 \pm 0.014$ ,  $0.237 \pm 0.008$  mm/s. These values are of the same order of magnitude as those measured in the longer straight strip devices and are expected to be slightly higher since the flowstrip length is shorter and flow rate is inversely proportional to travel length according to Darcy's law [9]. The second flow marker from the origin exhibited slower velocities as seen by the shorter total displacement seen in Figure 19. This can be explained as the marker traveled closer to the stagnation point at the bifurcation.

### *Aim III-b: Turn Flowstrip*

The dot marker velocimetry tool was applied to measure flows in a flowstrip with a right angle turn. Initially, a 90 degree turn was designed in a 5 mm wide flowstrip. When the five dot marker array was implemented, it was seen that the dots merged together in the turn. A wider flowstrip was necessary so a flowstrip was cut out manually with scissors as a prototype device. Again, the five dot markers merged due to the close proximity of the electrodes. In response, the two electrodes adjacent to the central electrode were disconnected, producing a total of three marks, now separated by a greater distance (a representative sequence of frames is shown in Figure 20). This data was analyzed using the cross-correlation algorithm. The resulting displacement vector field is shown in Figure 21. It was found that only the dot marker at the center and nearest to the outside edge of the turn could be tracked. The dot marker nearest to the inside edge of the turn was successfully tracked in the initial straight section preceding the turn, but was later lost. Upon close inspection, it was found that the template experienced a drift. As the dot marker became elongated, the leading end changed direction during the turn, while the trailing end lagged behind. The center of the template produced a



**Figure 10.** Sequence of time lapse images showing progression of dot marks around a turn.

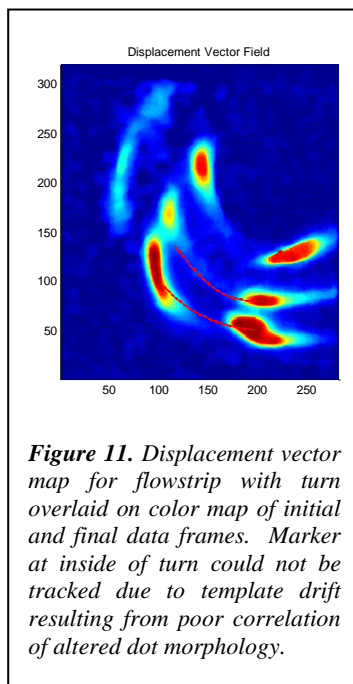
## Quantitative Measurement of Flow in Two-Dimensional Paper Networks

higher correlation with the trailing end of the dot than the leading end, and the computed dot position drifted closer toward the trailing end, eventually centering on the background and producing a stationary measurement. Although the other dot makers were still tracked, this effect was also seen to a lesser extent, resulting in computed dot positions toward the trailing end of the markers.

### Conclusions

In conclusion, all of the aims were met with success to certain extents. In Aim I, several electrode types and configurations were tested and two suitable methods were developed for generation of band and dot flow markers. In addition, hardware and software improvements were made, improving universality and overall ease of use. In Aim II, several velocimetry algorithms were designed and evaluated, and two suitable methods were selected. These methods were implemented in straight flowstrip devices and several trends were discovered. In Aim III, dot marker velocimetry was implemented in two basic 2DPN geometries—a bifurcating y-strip and a right angle turn. While the markers were successfully tracked in the y-strip, despite merging of markers, only two of the three markers were tracked in a turn.

Further improvements include an attempt to apply the Kanade-Lucas-Tomasi feature tracker, an algorithm used in machine vision applications that may be suitable for use with dot marker data [10], [11]. In addition the hypothesized velocity gradient should be investigated as described in the “Band Algorithm Implementation and Data Analysis” section.



*Figure 11. Displacement vector map for flowstrip with turn overlaid on color map of initial and final data frames. Marker at inside of turn could not be tracked due to template drift resulting from poor correlation of altered dot morphology.*

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### **Acknowledgements**

As the author, I would like to thank my principal advisor, Prof. Paul Yager, who provided guidance and many ideas throughout this project. I would also like to thank Mr. Peter Kauffman for providing practical advice with experiments and for providing several key hardware components as well as Dr. Elain Fu for our meetings and discussions. I thank Dr. Barry Lutz and Dr. Dean Stevens for their insightful suggestions for velocimetry algorithms, Dr. Chris Neils for his advice with Matlab, and Jen Osborn and Gina Fridley for laser operation guidance and general advice related to 2DPN devices. I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance received through the EIP Presidential Research Scholarship and am very grateful for the support. I thank the wonderful Ronald E. McNair Program staff, Dr. Gene Kim, Ms. Rosa Ramirez, Ms. Ashley McClure Loving, and Mr. Jorge Martinez for their enduring encouragement, support, and feedback, as well as my fellow scholars. This work is part of a larger project supported by an NIH Challenge Grant in Health and Science Research (RFA-OD-09-003) (No. 1RC1EB010593).

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# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

# Identifying Root Sources for the Detroit Public Schools Education Crisis: An Examination of the Evidence

Malaika Robinson

## Abstract

*Little attention has been given to historical factors that have manifested in what has been widely publicized as the Detroit education crisis. This research looks at three salient contributors to the inevitable collapse: historic fiscal underfunding, failure to address educational quality in Detroit's urban schools, and the national social issue of segregation, specifically how schools were left to address this essentially legal issue. In parsing through the roots of the Detroit Public Schools (DPS) education crisis, I provide a meta-analysis by examining the body of literature that documents the fiscal state of Detroit public schools in the 1940s and 1950s, community requests for higher quality education through the 1950s and into the 70s, and suburban educational growth in tandem with urban educational decay. This study includes the analysis of prominent Detroit historians, sociologists, and DPS publications that document the education struggle. Some consideration is given to how Civil Rights issues effected education in Detroit in the 1960s. Preliminary results show that long-term neglect of fundamental supports in education such as fiscal allocation, and educational standards have contributed to what is now manifested as crisis. The indicators are historically documented in Detroit and across the nation. It is the intent of this research to bring attention to the factors that contributed to the crisis in Detroit education, and to call policy makers, and all who work to improve education, to act to resolve these, and other historical indicators of educational crisis and collapse.*

## **Detroit Education Then and Now: What We Can Learn from the Crisis in the Motor City**

American history reflects social, political, and economic changes that are rife with implications for the fabric of American society. Woven into this fabric is the weft of education, which serves to bind and uphold our democratic society. National politics and policies influenced the way education was administered in many districts across America. Social issues were replicated in schools. Economic depression and prosperity set the priorities for education. These influences were mirrored in Detroit Public Schools from the early 1900s and beyond. Today, what is being called a crisis in American education, has taken shape in Detroit, which

remains true to form in mirroring national trends. The intent of this research is to illustrate the effects of national social, political, and economic trends on education in Detroit Public Schools from the 1930s to the 1960s. In tandem, this research intends to draw parallels in what has been learned from historical trends in addressing the education crisis in Detroit.

### **Detroit Public Schools (DPS) Early Foundations**

According to Jeffrey Mirel, the leading authority on Detroit education history, national economic depression sent thousands of white working youth into urban schools in the 1930s. The loss of jobs in Detroit, due to the national economic depression of the late 1920s through the early 30s, challenged educators to find ways to acclimate youth accustomed to working into the schooling environment. Youth unemployment, juvenile delinquency, and drop out rates were also issues educators were pressed to address during the depression years. The use of the general track was a way to absorb the growing numbers of unemployed youth, and to stifle the effects of the above issues created by the economic downturn. Historically public education began tracking in 1920 (Mirel, 1993). There were four tracks for Detroit high school students, college preparatory, technical, commercial, or general. Because these students were perceived as unable to complete the top three program tracks they were absorbed into the general track. The general track held more electives and was not as academically demanding. The theory behind relaxing the academic standards was to keep the students in school, addressing the drop out rate and juvenile delinquency, by offering course selections that would prove relevant to their lives. Approaching the mid 1920s educators began to notice the high failure rate in this program and scrambled to find a way to address this phenomenon. They decided to make it “easier for students stay in school and to graduate” by relaxing the standards further. Mirel makes it clear that educators had no intention of changing the set graduation requirements which consisted of three years of English and social studies, one year of science, health, math, and either fine or industrial arts or home economics. Instead they made it easier for students to meet these requirements through offering what is coined as practical and relevant topics into required courses. Some of the incorporated topics included traffic safety, Personal Standards for boys, and Homemaking for girls (Mirel, 1993). Because of sustained high unemployment rates, schools had to become more creative in retaining students, so increasingly educators began to subscribe to what is now widely known as, “meeting student needs” (Mirel 1993). Mirel also speaks about a



## Identifying Root Sources for the Detroit Public Schools Education Crisis: An Examination of the Evidence

sense of custodial obligation taken on by the schools to ensure students were not creating social problems and ultimately graduating. However, as we will subsequently see, social issues would manifest in schools just as political influence has set the agenda for many schools across America.

### *Political Influences*

The national political efforts in the 1940s were focused World War II. Detroit education was no exception and provides unambiguous examples of national political fervor and influence. Coming out of the depression in the 1940s, education in Detroit was seen as a model for democratic educational practices. High school programs offered many choices for students with ranging interests and abilities. Graduation rates began to soar in the 1930s due to the student needs model. World War II called for all Americans to lend aid to the nation while at war. Schools played an important role in this effort as well by providing pre-induction classes, and by shifting the focus from vocational, to commercial education. Junior and senior level courses had to have what was called pre-induction value. This meant that work in these courses prepared students for military enlistment, war industrial work, or civilian service. Teachers used creative ways to teach lessons in math and English writing courses by using implementations like calculating war bonds, and writing letters to GI's (Mirel 1993). The effects of the national war effort reinvigorated the economy in Detroit attracting many to jobs in the defense industry. The large influx of people created a population increase in the city with a demographic change. Once again, Detroit schools were faced with a swell in student enrollment, this time from African Americans. In 1940 there were 149,120 African Americans. By 1950 there were over 300,506 an increase of 7.4% over ten years (Mirel, 1993). The Detroit schools decided to adopt the same strategy from 1930, of absorbing the African American students into the general track. Mirel argues that the implications of tracking African American students into the general track has had lasting and profound effects that can be seen through the decades. It is here that national social issues take center stage in Detroit education.

### *African Americans in Detroit Public Schools*

Unfortunately, the 1930s solution of absorbing students into the general track programs was used to address the influx of African American students in Detroit urban schools in the 1940s (Mirel, 1993). After the war there were national debates about education reform. The prevailing thought on postwar curriculum was known as Life

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Adjustment, which theoretically, was aimed addressing the loss of enrollment from the war, and moving schools toward universal enrollment. Mirel expands here on the design of the curriculum and what it was to mean for students, “Proponents of the reform claimed that it would transform American education by universalizing high school attendance, reducing the dropout rate, respecting individual differences among students, providing a differentiated curriculum with course offerings that had immediate relevance to the lives of young people, promoting self-esteem and building character, acquainting students with their communities, and gradually engaging them with the wider world.” This curriculum plan was much like the one proposed in the 1930s, and had devastating effects on targeted African American students, and their achievement as time lapsed into the 50s. African American students were over-represented in the general track, and course offerings were documented as not having changed from 1945 until the mid 1960s. Criticism of the watered down Life Adjustment curriculum began in the late 1950s. This criticism was exacerbated with the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union in 1957, which set off a wave of conservative reform beginning with the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The act called for a return to basic skills and competencies in math, science, and foreign language and lasted until the 1960s.

The 1960s in American educational history is fraught with examples of national debates on politics, economics and social issues. The war on poverty is a clear example of the shift in national priorities effecting education. In the backdrop of the national debates on education in America, local struggles for political control of Detroit schools and educational funding would prove to be the proverbial hole at the bottom of the ship. Liberals and moderates favored increasing teacher salaries, and keeping educational programs like kindergarten, and vocational programs funded for students. On the other hand conservatives and businesses did not favor keeping many of the programs that did not focus on the “three R’s.” Voters held a stake in this struggle and at crucial times voted not give local education the support demanded by local millage proposals in light of an overall declining city economy. Adding to this, in subsequent years, property values declined which shrank the revenue that local schools could depend on. Stark demographic changes in Detroit schools, where Blacks became the majority, caused whites to vote against increased taxes to support schools. This can be seen in the 1968 election for the largest school tax increase in the history of the city where essentially, “Detroit’s white working class completely abandoned its political support for the public schools, a development that led to an unprecedented financial crisis for the school system” (Mirel, 313).

## Identifying Root Sources for the Detroit Public Schools Education Crisis: An Examination of the Evidence

White flight into the suburbs created embittered debates about educational funding disparities. While urban schools were clamoring for better curriculum, and learning environments as the city and schools deteriorated, new schools with quality curriculums were being funded and supported in white suburbs. In the 1950s there was ideological shift from educational equality to equal chance to go to college, which speaks to why parents in urban school centers demanded more rigorous curriculum from the late 1940s onward. Another ideological shift was from, “Freedom now” to, “Black Power” which challenged an already fledgling liberal school board in the 1960s (Mirel, 299). These demographic changes, civil unrest, the conditions of urban Detroit schools, and a declining economy created a toxic environment of what has been called by a group of National Education Association researchers “urban blight and suburban flight” (Mirel, 295). Detroit erupted on July 23, 1967, bringing the quiet internal struggle into the national foreground. In the aftermath of the Detroit riots the Detroit Free Press and the Urban League conducted a survey of blacks in the riot area which found that 22% of respondents believed that the failed schools was the greatest catalyst for the riots, and some 29% said schools had something to do with the riots (Mirel, 312). The year 1968 was indeed a sad one. Along with White withdraw of support from the public schools, Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. Was killed, and two months later American President John F. Kennedy was murdered. Desegregation efforts hurled the city into fierce debates about education and ideology on the stage of school board meetings, a prime example of school officials grappling with a national social issue.

The issues stated above went unresolved through the early ninety’s along with declining educational outcomes, and intensified social issues like decentralization and busing. Detroit schools began running at a deficit after 1966 when all the millage proposals were defeated until 1973. This vote saved the school system from bankruptcy, yet the school board issued 1200 pink slips firing all first and second year teachers to try to augment the insufficient funding for the district.

Several facets of this crisis have not been touched upon in this work such as rising resistance from Detroit high school students, resistance to busing, community control of schools, the Milliken Case and its implications, shifts in the politics reflected in the school boards, and historical deficit spending by the school board and its far reaching effects.

## **Detroit Public Schools Facing Change**

Today, emergency fiscal manager Robert Bobb, has inherited a school system that has failed to address its problems before they became critical. He has had to endure much of the resistance to change that was experienced by the school boards, parents, and students of fifty years ago. The number one goal for the EFM is to get Detroit Public Schools' deficit eliminated, thus the implementation of the deficit elimination plan. Mr. Bobb is charged with more than creating a balanced budget. He and his teams have to create an instrument that will address, eliminate, and prevent the type of crisis that Detroit school children, and parents are facing today. He is more than hatchet man, but has to be a visionary in leading DPS out of its financial tailspin. Media accounts of the situation relay information about schools shutting down, loss of teaching jobs, loss of staff positions, and an end to wasteful spending as ways to get the fiscal crisis under control. While these are viable options, keeping school academics at the core of education reform will help DPS reach the goal of providing a twenty-first century education for all of its' students.

When Emergency Financial Manager, Robert Bobb, was appointed in 2009 his priorities, according to his Reconstruction for Excellence Plan were to create a balanced budget for fiscal year 2009, and to produce a balanced budget for 2010. Next he proposed to develop a long-term financial plan to address the inherited legacy debt, which at the time was \$305 million. Through conducting an audit of the 2009 fiscal year budget that amount was reduced to \$219 million by the 2009 fiscal year end. Finally, and most essentially, was the proposed goal of restructuring the framework for excellence in education with a specific focus on the children of Detroit (Bobb, DPS-DEP).

Bobb's plan is ambitious and seeks to work immediately to address the culture of inefficiency, waste, and mismanagement from the leadership in the Detroit Public Schools. The plan is slated to cover a five-year span, with some components due to be operationalized in the next two years. Construction has begun on many of the proposed sites for remodeling, and rebuilding, thanks to \$500.5 million in stimulus dollars for capitol improvement passed by voters. The stimulus money will allow for the construction of seven new schools and the modernization of eleven school sites. Because school enrollment has declined to 74,000 by some reports, DPS is consolidating programs, moving others, and eliminating some altogether. The media has criticized the Debt Elimination Plan recently as it proposes to close an additional seventy schools, increase class sizes to 60 students at the high school level, and eliminate transportation to name a few of the controversial cuts effecting

## Identifying Root Sources for the Detroit Public Schools Education Crisis: An Examination of the Evidence

education. Bobb, in his testimony to the Joint House and Senate Education Committee on February 9, 2011, has assured them that he and his team are looking for other ways to address the effects of the DPS legacy debt. He emphasizes that these and other cuts are the only way to eliminate the debt in a short amount of time, and that he does not believe the plan is “viable” in its totality. The plan does not take into account that cutting services to students, and exasperating the educational environment with swelling class sizes will cause enrollment to decline, working against the Reconstruction Plan, which calls for making Detroit Public Schools the first choice of Detroit parents and children. Bobb’s appointment is scheduled to end on June 30, 2011, when the next Emergency Financial Manager will step in to oversee the implementation of the three-tiered plan.

Looking critically at the situations in Detroit and the situations of forty years ago, it is evident some things have not changed. Economically, the depression years created massive unemployment in the 1920s and 30s. The effects of global depression brought the prosperous manufacturing markets to a halt until World War II. Today, the loss of the auto industry is responsible for the loss of over 840,000 jobs in Michigan over the course of ten years. Detroit has seen the effects of the loss of several plants run by GM, Chrysler, and Ford. Unemployment rates were at 12.7% as of December 2010. The domino effect falls into the mortgage crisis, the construction slowdown, and the loss of tax revenue from declining property values which directly effects public education. (*See Appendix*)

Politically, the city of Detroit has had to deal with mayoral scandal and corruption. The fiscal mismanagement in the Detroit Public School leadership has led to the most drastic state department action for control of the fiscal situation. Robert Bobb expounds, “One of the major factors that led to the decision to appoint an emergency financial manager over the Detroit Public Schools was fact that the State of Michigan had designated DPS a —high risk grantee of federal dollars. To be clear, this is the most dramatic action that any state department of education can take on a local grantee. DPS was placed on —high risk because of a complete lack of policies and procedures, a lack of internal controls and because of a culture that failed to take its fiduciary responsibilities seriously.” To avoid a situation like in the case of GM, which has come out of bankruptcy with the US Government as a partner, the state of Michigan had to intervene. The lack of policies and procedures Bobb refers to come from over forty years of neglect, lack of foresight, and little oversight of a school system destined to implode.

## **The Effects of What Remains**

Socially, Detroit continues to be segregated. According to an article in USA Today the 2010 Census revealed that African Americans are still the most segregated minority. The issue of segregation in Detroit was never resolved to the level of what was witnessed in the Southern states through integration. In the South, courts stepped in to insure de-facto segregation could not survive, there were court ordered remedies for the social situation. Contrarily in Detroit, the courts dealt a blow to the African American community that has had lasting implications for the educational experiences of African American students in the Bradley v. Milliken decision of 1974. The divide between black and white in Detroit is evident in education where the experiences of black and white students are still separate, however, there is massive effort to bring DPS education into the twenty-first century. Although the issue of segregation has long since remained unresolved, the issue of educational attainment for all children has demanded that education officials focus on long term solutions. Beyond the complexities there are serious questions about the implications of an education system that turns out fewer than 10% college ready students (Wilkinson and Chambers, 2011).

The documentation of historical trends and events can serve as a guide to individuals, agencies and governments for future planning and success. Unfortunately, when the trends appear to be irresolvable, as in the case of segregation in Detroit urban schools, the lack of resolution can effect progress, thus leading to crisis. Systemic reform is controversial when it is steeped in the ideologies of a time long past, as can be seen through a closer examination of the Bradley v. Milliken case. (see Lindquist, 1975). Economist have argued that diversification of industry is key to the revival of the Motor City. History has shown that Detroit has been at the mercy of global market demand for the survival of its' manufacturing industry. The massive loss of industry created a domino effect leading to job and wage losses, loss of homes, declining property values and tax revenue, which directly effects the funding of education in Detroit. Politically, the lack of policies, procedures, and accountability practices led to a situation of fiscal irresponsibility, stemming from battles for control of schools as early as the 1920s and 30s. As the fight for control waged on, educational quality suffered and has reached beyond yesterday's control. I conclude that historical timing of social, political and economic events has situated Detroit in such a way as to complicate the means for complete resolution of its' issues, and ability to avoid the crisis in education witnessed today. What Detroit

Identifying Root Sources for the Detroit Public Schools  
Education Crisis: An Examination of the Evidence

leadership indicates of their learning from the past is that moving forward is the only option.

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## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Testimony of Robert C. Bobb, Emergency Financial Manager for the Detroit Public Schools, for the Joint House and Senate Education Committee. (Wednesday, February 9, 2011)  
<http://detroitk12.org/news/article/2210/>





# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my mentors, Dr. Gene Kim, and Dr. Manka Varghese, as guides through the process of conceiving a research idea to the birth of this publication. I would like to thank Ashley McClure, and Jorge Martinez for the countless hours of proofreading and editing of dozens of drafts from our McNair Scholars. You all make us look and sound excellent! Thank you to Rosa Ramirez for the things you do that no one knows about as the program coordinator. Finally, I thank my family and friends who listened to my ideas and encouraged me with scholarly conversation and pearls of wisdom.

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# **Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation: Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War**

Zachary Ramos Smith

## **Abstract**

*This investigation is intended to be a first step in the development of a new approach to answering the question: why did nearly 3,000 Americans volunteer for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, to fight in the Spanish Civil War, for the Spanish Republic, against the fascist supported military uprising? Why did they face death and brutality, in a war they could have easily avoided, to preserve a foreign government? The following paper is a case study that looks at what mobilized one Lincoln Brigade volunteer, Thane Summers, who did not have the kind of social experiences (race, class, and religious discrimination) scholars have associated with members of the Brigade and with why they volunteered. Instead, Thane was attracted to the cause because of his emotional investments in leftist politics. He came to associate leftist political activism with an alternative, and more affirming, set of emotional standards than the one he had previously internalized. This drew him to the left and invigorated his political commitments. To better understand his transformation - from bourgeois college student to ant-fascist soldier - I take a closer look at the emotional standards he rejected, and at the community in which he felt a misfit. I then discuss the attributes of the community he was drawn to, and its emotional standards, before looking at some of the personal difficulties Thane faced because of his transformation, and describing how his dual processes of political radicalization and "emotional liberation" unfolded.*

## **Introduction**

The worker is made a radical by actual economic conditions, but the young student with a more fortunate background is made radical by contact with conservatives.<sup>1</sup>

Thane Summers was something of an anomaly among the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Few of the 3,000 Americans who volunteered to fight fascism in the Spanish Civil War shared his

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<sup>1</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, Arthur, and Elizabeth, Feb. 28, 1936. Thane Summers Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, 4473-001.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

background. Thane was white, of native born parents, bourgeois, and college educated; all very unusual for a volunteer in the Lincoln Brigade.<sup>2</sup> From 1933-1936 he was an honors student in Philosophy at the University of Washington (UW) in his home town of Seattle, and he was Harvard bound, by all accounts, for his PhD. In short, he was exactly the kind of person one might expect to make no waves. All he had to do to achieve the kind of life most Americans could only dream of during the Depression was keep his head down, and perhaps hide out in an ivy league library for a while. Instead, Thane left school, joined the Communist Party at 23, joined the International Brigade at 24, and died at 25, in 1938, fighting to preserve the elected government of a distant foreign land.<sup>3</sup> A bizarre case, by most reckonings.

I would propose, however, that if Thane's case is bizarre, it is probably due to an inadequacy in our methods of reckoning, rather than to any extreme peculiarity on his part. Of the methods we have for understanding Lincoln Brigaders, one of the most generally insightful was devised by Peter N. Carroll in *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*. Carroll's primary assertion in this book is that the Lincolns have to be understood as people animated by powerful political convictions, informed by personal experience. Many had experience in domestic radical movements, and most had experienced discrimination; because they were Jewish, for example, or the children of Russian immigrants, or both, or black.<sup>4</sup> The experience of injustice - via discrimination - seems crucial to Carroll's recipe for the making of a brigader, because it generated anger which, in turn, generated political conviction. However, to identify social differentiation as an injustice, as wrong, requires a pointed deployment of emotion. Such an emotional reaction is not a given. As with any social arrangement, a hierarchy with racial delineations (and other mechanisms of exclusion) can be considered grossly unjust in one time and place while in another time and place it can be considered merely irksome, while in yet another it might be regarded as completely normal and justified. Thus in the face of Carroll's study, basic questions remain: why and how did Lincoln Brigaders come to deploy emotion as they did, so that it imbued their political commitments with intense personal meaning? Additionally, while a strength of Carroll's analysis is that it can be applied broadly, it is at the

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<sup>2</sup> For information on what was "usual," see Peter N. Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 15-19, 30-38.

<sup>3</sup> For dates of attendance at U.W. and approximate date of death, see "Ex-U.W. Man, Volunteer, Dies in Spain." *Seattle Daily Times*, June 21, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> Peter N. Carroll, 20-33, 15-19, 30-38.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

same time very exclusive. It can only make sense of subjects who shared experiences of social disenfranchisement. Therefore Carroll's methodological approach cannot speak to the mobilization of volunteers from more privileged backgrounds; in cases like Thane's, it retains very little power.<sup>5</sup> This paper, in contrast to *Odyssey*, will have a far more limited scope. I will ask how one brigadier, Thane, became mobilized for radicalism and the International Brigades. While I am interested in emotion, the experience of emotion will not be my focus. Rather, I will investigate how Thane constructed and managed emotion in his specific social and cultural context.

For my analysis I will borrow from William Reddy the term "emotional regime" to refer to a particular set of internalized, enforced conventions that govern emotional expression and emotional evaluation.<sup>6</sup> I will also adopt a related term, "emotional community," from Barbara Rosenwein. If the term emotional "regime" pertains directly to a set of conventions that regiment emotion within a specific group, then emotional "community" will refer to a people who share the same regime.<sup>7</sup> Thane came to reject the emotional regime of the American upper middle class, which he inherited from his family and his immediate community. He found this emotional regime deeply alienating, which led him to attempt to extricate himself from it and adopt, instead, the regime of a community of political radicals at UW.

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<sup>5</sup>An approach similar to Carroll's can also be found in scholarship of American Communism. For example: Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982). Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1983). Frasier M. Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States*, (London: Rutgers University Press, 1991). Scholarship of Communism and the Brigades tends to be related because the Comintern recruited for, organized, and administered to the International Brigades. Also, about two of every three volunteers for the Lincoln Brigade was a Party member. A tradition of scholarship counter to Carroll's is concerned more with how the Brigades and the American Communist Party were co-opted by Soviet foreign policy. This interest tends to steer author's like Harvey Klehr and Cecil Eby away from questions of why people became involved in the organizations, and how they maintained their commitment. See Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism*. (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Cecil Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: an Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 49 (2010): 239-245.

<sup>7</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 22-28.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Thane's transition was not a painless one. In consequence of his transformation, it became difficult for him to relate to people with whom he had longstanding connections. However, for all the difficulties of Thane's "regime change," he also reported some very positive results, including an expanded ability to express and explore emotions, which energized him. In political radicalism, Thane also found a hospitable cognitive framework for his emotions. This framework allowed him to use his emotions to make sense of the world in ways he had been denied before, resulting in an emotionally charged sense of justice which drove his radicalization, informed his sense of ethics, and inspired him to fight in Spain.

To investigate Thane's transformation I will rely heavily on a collection of letters he wrote during his radicalization and while in Spain, from 1935-1938. Of the roughly 200 pages archived, most were written to Sophie and Arthur Krauss, family friends of his parents' generation with whom Thane was very close. Sophie and Arthur were bourgeois, like Thane's family, if a bit wealthier. There are also letters to Thane's older sister Elizabeth - who was two years his elder - in the collection, as well as a few letters to his two younger sisters, Elane and Jenness, who were respectively six and nine years younger than Thane. There are no letters addressed to Thane's parents. His mother passed away a few years before the letters began, and Thane's relationship with his father was distant and turbulent, as we shall see in the next section.

### **The Old Regime: Conservatives, Reactionaries, and Dad**

Thane describes his 1933 arrival at UW as the moment he experienced a profound revelation. He discovered a worldview that contradicted the one he had accepted his entire life. This new worldview was that of the radical left. Thane saw radicals as centrally concerned with social justice and the general welfare of the people. Their core concerns seemed far more compatible with Thane's sensibilities and sensitivities than those of the petite bourgeoisie. He thought the bourgeoisie were concerned primarily with personal gain and material comfort. The distinction Thane drew between radical and bourgeois ideologies is explicated throughout his letters. Frequently and in various ways he tried to express why he believed radical thought offered a more ethically sound approach to life. In the subtext of his explanations, Thane also narrated the process of his radicalization, whereby he came to see the bourgeois and radical emotional regimes in very clearly defined terms, and ultimately to unequivocally identify with the radicals. As Thane worked through the reconstruction of his perceptions and

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

evaluations, it seems one way he made sense of his transformation was to describe it, in letters, to people he trusted.

The first step of Thane's radicalization is described in a letter to Arthur Krauss. Thane claimed he came to UW "ignorant of economics and social questions." Therefore he remained unperturbed when a group of students, who were staging a political demonstration on campus, assailed him with "radical arguments." Though Thane knew he was not equipped to argue with these students, he took for granted that his father or UW's economics professors would be able to provide answers to the arguments posed. This was not to be the case. Instead:

What kind of answer did I get? My questions were evaded, I got insults, threats of being taken out of school, fallacies. Unfortunately for their fallacies I had been studying logic. I still know pitifully little about economics, but that does not mean that the conservative can help me to his point of view by calling me names and giving me jingoistic phrases. It's not that they're [uninterested]; they seem to be interested enough to turn red with rage... This attitude of the conservatives is a strong factor in confirming youths in their radicalism.<sup>8</sup>

In other letters, Thane goes so far as to call this "attitude of the conservatives" the strongest factor confirming his radicalism.<sup>9</sup> What appeared to bother Thane most about the conservatives was that they assumed they had a right to treat certain people with great injustice, or with a total lack of consideration. In fact, when Thane tells the story of his first encounter with radicalism at UW, he prefaces the narrative by stating he intends to show "the injustice with which the conservatives have treated me." No other statement in his letters is phrased like this. As the only mention of an injustice personally suffered, this statement seems describe, for Thane, a definitive experience of injustice. He might have been able to stay "unimpassioned... about the hungry masses - since my belly is full, I can view them objectively," but it was beyond Thane to stay objective in the face of the conservatives' dismissive, insulting bullying. Thane's experience "embittered" him towards those he considered conservative.<sup>10</sup> Before he found anything right good in the radical worldview, it would thus seem Thane found something bad in the conservative worldview: they believed that they had the right to deploy

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<sup>8</sup> Thane Summers, to Arthur, June 1936.

<sup>9</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, Arthur, and Elizabeth, Feb 28, 1936.

<sup>10</sup> Thane Summers, to Arthur, June 1936.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

blunt force, to treat others in a degrading manner in the defense of social structures, cultural norms, and policy that was indefensible both rationally and ethically.

Significantly, Thane's father - Lane Summers - was among the conservatives whose behavior so offended Thane. The elder Summers was a prominent Seattle lawyer who specialized in admiralty and maritime law. After two years as a Deputy District Attorney for Seattle he began to work for a private firm, and by the time Thane was at UW, Lane was a partner in his own firm.<sup>11</sup> In private practice, Lane's clients included a number of shipping companies. Shippers figured prominently during the West Coast strikes of the 1930s, when they arrayed themselves against striking longshoremen and maritime workers. On numerous occasions, Lane's firm defended shippers, and sometimes stevedore companies, against the suits of workers injured while working aboard ships: the firm seemed to specialize in arguing that shipping companies were subject to very limited liability under the stipulations of maritime law.<sup>12</sup> In effect, it was Lane's business to protect the interests of the companies that fought against maritime workers in the labor struggles of the 1930s.

In addition to being connected to the region's economic elite by profession, Lane Summers also moved within the top tiers of the elite in his private life. He was a member of the Rainier Club, Seattle's first private club and one of its most exclusive, and the Seattle Tennis Club.<sup>13</sup> Private clubs were spaces in which captains of industry, members of government, and others of the professional classes came together to form social networks in luxurious settings over dinners and card games, lectures and sport. Exclusivity was assured in these organizations because their resident membership was limited, their fees were

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<sup>11</sup> "Lane Summers, 77," *Seattle Times*, Dec. 9, 1966.

<sup>12</sup> The following legal briefs are undated, and were prepared by Lane's Firm or Bogel, Merrit and Bogel, for whom Lane worked for before he was a partner. They all involve shipping companies that workers filed suit against: William Coutts and Mary A. Coutts vs Canadian Steamship Lines; Evelyn M. DeBuse et al. vs Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad; Henry C. Holmes vs Steamship "Thomas P. Beal" and Crowell and Thurlow Steamship Co.; Peter Larsen vs Northwestern Fisheries Co.; Walter E. Lorang vs Alaska Steamship Co., et al.; T.S. McEachern, T.S. vs Yamashita Kisen Kaisha; H.H. McLellan et ux. vs Alaska Steamship Co.; Robert Randall vs Osaka Shosen Kaisha, Inc.; Carl Sundquist vs Motorship "Frank Lynch"; John Strom vs Dollar Steamship Lines, Ltd.; Lane Summers Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle, 660.856.

<sup>13</sup> "Lane Summers, 77."



Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

prohibitive, and their bylaws restrictive (the Rainier Club's by-laws, for example, admitted only white men until 1978).<sup>14</sup> Thane would have had cause to view his father's clubs as "conservative" simply because their membership was elite, and hence had much to lose if U.S. society's wealth and status were spread more equitably. More significantly, however, the Rainier Club appears at this time to have been widely considered "the bastion of the conservative establishment" in Seattle. One reason may have been the presence, on the club's executive board, of Seattle Times publisher Colonel Clarence Blethen, an outspoken conservative who "made his reputation as an 'anti-Red' crusader following World War I."<sup>15</sup>

An important distinction should be made regarding the term "conservative" as it is used in Thane's letters. He usually employed a very narrow definition of the word, especially when he referred to his father or men of the same ilk. Thane, by calling Lane a conservative, was not just saying that his father wanted to "conserve" the extant social and political structures. Thane was rather declaring his father to be part of the reactionary right, a group that responded in anger and distain to demands, from progressives and labor groups, for U.S. society to be radically restructured and made more equitable. So when Thane refers to conservatives in his letters, he almost always means people like his father, who dismissed the grievances and claims of the poor and the working class, and who wanted the political maneuverings of radicals crushed. Thane regarded his father's behavior as part of a nascent fascist movement, which would preserve the traditional social elite by mobilizing the full violence of the state to crush all who would agitate for a more egalitarian and inclusive society.<sup>16</sup> If blacks, immigrants and Jews faced social disenfranchisement along racial, ethnic or religious lines, then it must be because there's something wrong with them, not with the society; if workers didn't like the terms of their employment, they could keep quiet about it and keep working; as for the unemployed, they would have to accept whatever measures the state and private institutions might doll out. In Thane's perception, these were the attitudes of conservatives, like his father, and also fascists.

The poor, the unemployed, and the discriminated against were not considered appropriate objects of empathy and compassion by

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<sup>14</sup> Celeste Louise Smith and Julie D Pheasant-Albright, *Private Clubs of Seattle*, (Charleston: Arcadia Pub., 2009), 7, 66.

<sup>15</sup> Walt Crowley and Ronald M Gould, *The Rainier Club, 1888-1988*, (Seattle: Crowley Associates, 1988), 35, 41.

<sup>16</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, Nov. 13, 1935.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

conservatives, according to Thane's letters. If his "conservatives" can be thought of as a distinct social unit governed by a particular set of enforced norms, then within conservative society to express emotional concern for the poor or unemployed broke the rules of emotional conduct. In theory developed in the history of emotions, every society or culture has a set of standards regarding emotional expression which govern how emotions are to be deployed and displayed. These standards are expected to be internalized by group members. William Reddy calls this framework of enforced rules an "emotional regime." In the conservative emotional regime discussed above, it was certainly not acceptable to deploy empathy and compassion to form solidarity with workers or the poor. On the other hand, it was acceptable to express compassion through some form of charity work. Lane, for example, worked for the Legal Services Bureau of the Social Welfare League. The Bureau connected people who needed, but could not afford, legal services with lawyers in Seattle who were willing to take cases pro bono.<sup>17</sup> In the conservative emotional regime, one was generally not allowed to imply, through expressions of compassion, that the social structure of the United States was in any way responsible for the suffering and degradation experienced by the poor. On the other hand, it was appropriate to express compassion by recognizing that the poor were dependent on the patronage of their betters to survive, and to provide such patronage as a duty.

Thane relates a story in a letter to Arthur and Sophie Krauss that illustrates his understanding of conservative notions of compassion. During a dinner with his father and a Mr. Mendese from New York, the conversation apparently turned to the subject of the poor.

He [Mr. Mendese] and dad were discussing how happy the poor are. In fact, said Mr. Mendese, they are happier than he could ever be. Furthermore, they went on, I was immoral in being interested in bettering their condition, because that was just pricking their bubble of blissful ignorance. And then, to top it off, they justified their position by Christianity.<sup>18</sup>

Thane does not elaborate on how his father and Mendese justified themselves with Christianity, but the fact that they invoked Christianity

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<sup>17</sup> Evelyn Gardner to Lane Summers, May 20, 1920. Judge George Donworth, to Lane Summers, April 28, 1920. Lane Summers Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington.

<sup>18</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, Arthur, and Elizabeth, Feb 28, 1936.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

in this context implies that they believed they had a better understanding of compassion and benevolence than did Thane. If Thane was expected to play by the rules of the conservative regime, as demonstrated here, then he would have had to stifle his impulses to openly identify the poor as victims of economic exploitation and social indifference, and Thane did appear to have such impulses, which will be discussed at length later.

In Seattle during the Depression, conditions of deep poverty were prevalent, as they were across the nation at the time. By 1933, Washington's unemployment reached 30%, well over the already staggering national average of 25%. In Seattle, that number was even higher. Washington's relatively high unemployment was partly due to its economy's dependence on the export of extracted resources. As markets for the state's resources contracted, industries suffered. Cheap grain from Argentina, for example, displaced Washington wheat in Europe, and lumber stopped flowing to Japan when that country ceased importation of U.S. timber products. Because there was less tonnage to export, the shipping industry too contracted dramatically. Those who faced unemployment in this terrain of disappearing jobs found themselves in dire straights, with almost no social safety net in place to sustain them before the Roosevelt administration began to implement New Deal programs. In Seattle and across the nation, shantytowns began to spring up, dubbed "Hoovervilles" by those who believed President Herbert Hoover's policies were responsible for conditions of poverty in the United States.<sup>19</sup>

Surrounded by the facts of Depression era life, a growing number of people began to reject explanations that the basic social and political structures of the United States were sound. Demands for changes to remedy the situation became numerous and heated. The unemployed began to demonstrate for unemployment insurance on a mass scale, and chapters of the Unemployed Citizens League sprung up around Seattle and across the country, demanding funds for relief programs, and forming networks of barter and exchange in an attempt to keep the unemployed fed and clothed.<sup>20</sup> Workers, whose livelihoods depended on the caprice of employers bent on extracting maximum profit, also began to organize, to use the weight of collective bargaining

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<sup>19</sup> James Gregory, "Economics and Poverty," *The Great Depression in Washington State*,

[https://depts.washington.edu/depress/economics\\_poverty.shtml](https://depts.washington.edu/depress/economics_poverty.shtml) (accessed March 10, 2011). Ronald Magden, *A History of Seattle Waterfront Workers, 1884-1934*, (Seattle: Washington Commission for Humanities, 1991), 188-189.

<sup>20</sup> James Gregory.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

and the weapon of the strike to win more rights and better pay. For example, in the West Coast Longshoremen's Strike of 1934, local Longshoremen's unions came together under the banner of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) to bargain for better wages, recognition of the ILA as the official representative of dock workers, and union control of hiring. When negotiations broke down and a strike was called for, every union in the shipping industry responded in support, including sailors, engineers, and cooks - from San Pedro, California to Alaska. For the first time on the West Coast, employers were not able to circumvent the demands of one group of workers by turning to the labor of another group.<sup>21</sup>

Lane Summers was a member of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce during the strike, an organization that liaised with the Washington Employers of Seattle (WES). Throughout the strike, the Chamber repeatedly stressed the need to immediately and unconditionally reopen Seattle's docks, in keeping with WES policy. Reopening the docks was given clear precedence over addressing the problems and demands of the workers.<sup>22</sup> While the Chamber of Commerce's policy was probably the result of a complex process, the general message it sent was that worker complaints were not legitimate enough to merit redress. Strikers were treated almost as if they were spoiled children, as if their demands were simply the manifestations of a misguided sense of entitlement.

Such an attitude would have been in keeping with Lane's sentiments. He seemed to believe that it was essential for one to earn one's position in the world through the proper channels, in order to prove oneself worthy of rights and privileges. This belief is apparent in Lane's attempts to instill proper values in Thane by sending him away from Seattle, beyond the "influence" of his mother and sisters, to work for the summer at the age of 15.<sup>23</sup> In the letters Lane sent to enquire about jobs

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<sup>21</sup> Ronald Magden, 190-216.

<sup>22</sup> Since its formation as the Puget Sound Shippers Association in 1907, the Washington Employers of Seattle had represented the consolidated interests of the region's leading shippers, stevedore companies and dock managers. During the 1934 strike, the WES liaison to the Chamber of Commerce was William Dawson, a charter member who had been on all of WES's previous policy committees. Magden, 59-60, 204-207. For Thane's election to the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, see Robert S Boyns, to Lane Summers. Lane Summers Papers.

<sup>23</sup> In the letters available, Lane tried to get his son hired by a lumber company, a stevedoring company, and on a farm. Lane Summers, to Thorp

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

for Thane, an element of his emotional regime is exposed, one that he deliberately tried to instill in his son. To Lane, men who did not establish their entitlement through the proper channels had no right to demand they be given things they never earned. From Lane's perspective, then, the activism of the longshoremen made them appropriate targets for derision and disdain, while men who worked to establish their quality, such as himself and, presumably, the people he associated with at the Rainier Club, were appropriate targets of admiration, praise, and respect. Thane seemed to internalize this attitude rather uncomfortably and, ultimately, unsuccessfully.

**The New Regime: Radicalism and Communism**

It is not difficult to imagine why Thane might have come to see Communism as the counterpoint to his father's emotional regime, and thus to the agenda of the conservatives who had so thoroughly offended him. During the time of Thane's radicalization, the Communist Party's priority was to address the social problems that reactionaries like Lane dismissed: the CPUSA (Communist Party of the USA) lent support to efforts of labor organizations like the ILU, instead of backing attempts to cripple, crush or disperse those organizations; and while the reactionaries would not budge from their assertion that society was structured as it should be, even in the face of the widespread suffering of the Depression, Communists proposed methods of interpretation and analysis that systematically identified the causes of economic and social inequality. What's more, they postulated ways to achieve an equitable society through political restructuring.<sup>24</sup>

Thane saw, married to all of Communism's assertions, which ran so counter to conservative ideas, standards of emotional conduct that ran entirely counter to those of his father's emotional regime, which Thane had, to a certain degree, internalized himself. In the American Communist emotional regime, workers did not make themselves targets of scorn when they made demands upon their employers. To Communists the great sin was exploitation, rather than the precocious assertion of rights. Accordingly, to Communists, it was appropriate to target outrage and anger at the economic elite, the power holders who mobilized their considerable resources to extract as much profit as they could from the labor of others. The Communist attitude towards the deployment of scorn must have resonated well with Thane, who claimed

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Babcock and Victor Owens, April 2, 1928. Lane Summers to Mrs. Margaret P.Bull.

<sup>24</sup> Harvey Klehr, xi-xii, 123-128, 167-170.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

to experience an uncontrollable sense of “embitterment” towards conservatives, an embitterment that he repeatedly credits with pushing him towards radicalism.

If the exploiting class was the correct target of scorn in the Communist emotional regime, then it almost automatically follows that the correct targets of compassion were the exploited, especially those who responded to their exploitation by mobilizing in opposition to it. During the mid to late 1930s in particular, the CPUSA was very amenable to most any organization that engaged in struggles against labor exploitation, poverty, and racism. Thane thus had contact with American Communists when the CPUSA was under orders (from Moscow) to work as closely as possible with other leftist groups to further the causes of those groups. In other times, the CPUSA would condemn these leftist organizations for the ways their agendas diverged from Communist doctrine.<sup>25</sup> In the mid 1930s, the Party was thus at its most inclusive point, emotionally speaking, regarding those who were appropriate targets of compassion, for whom one should feel such depths of empathy as to join them in struggles against their foes.

According to Lane Summers, the first indication his son gave of being interested in Communism was early in his studies at UW. Lane discovered that Thane had a list of twenty books that he could read for extra credit. Upon examining these books himself, Lane determined they were “radical in their essence and influence.” This story was related by Lane to the Joint Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in the Washington State Legislature in 1949, more than ten years after his son had died fighting in Spain.<sup>26</sup> This Committee’s job was to identify anyone who was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party, ostensibly because party members supported the overthrow of the U.S. government, and were thus a danger to the nation.<sup>27</sup> Lane told the committee Thane had been “indoctrinated” in a “Communitistic attitude” by four professors at the University of Washington: Ralph Gundlach, Hugh DeLacy, Melvin Rader, and Herbert Phillips. He claimed his son quoted these professors at home.<sup>28</sup> If Lane’s testimony is to be believed,

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<sup>25</sup> Harvey Klehr, 167-170.

<sup>26</sup> Washington State Legislature, Joint Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 2nd Report, (Olympia: The Committee, 1948), 299.

<sup>27</sup> Vern Countryman, *Un-American Activities in The State of Washington*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951) 1-3,10-12.

<sup>28</sup> Washington State Legislature, 2nd Report, 300.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

then Thane began to develop his conception of radicalism during his interactions with these four men.<sup>29</sup>

Gundlach and Phillips would eventually be dismissed from their posts at UW as a result of the "Canwell Committee" hearings.<sup>30</sup> Gundlach refused on principle to answer questions posed by the Canwell Committee (and the UW board of regents) as to whether he had ever been a member of the communist party. Later, the professor maintained he had never been a member. What he was, by his own account, was an activist. Gundlach described what he thought it meant to be an activist in a letter he wrote to the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), after his dismissal from UW:

I have been a joiner of social causes and have no apologies for so doing. Far from keeping my beliefs concealed and hidden, I joined and worked to encourage others... to assume some civic leadership. On the whole I think that the causes have been good ones. I have been selective, and my affiliations have focal centers.

And later in the same letter:

I joined these organizations as a citizen and as a psychologist with special knowledge. I joined them because I believed in the particular cause which each espoused. I have no doubt that in some of them there were Communists... I am not afraid to rub shoulders with whoever may be interested in the same efforts and goals, whatever may be his race, creed, sex, occupation or political affiliation.

In the picture Gundlach creates here, people involved in "liberal reform movements and civil rights activities," found themselves working alongside communist allies in the mid to late 1930s (exactly the time Thane's letters were written and his radicalization took place). Not because they sought to align themselves with Communism, but because the CPUSA had been directed to form a "Popular Front" with other left wing organizations. This order may well have been issued to fulfill nothing more than the immediate needs of Soviet foreign policy.

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<sup>29</sup> Ralph Gundlach to the American Association of University Professors, Feb. 1, 1949, Ralph Gundlach Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, 686-3.

<sup>30</sup> "Fired Faculty Men to Seek Professional Aid," *Seattle Times*, Jan 23, 1949.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Moscow was, at the time, seeking to woo Britain, France and the U.S., to make them allies against German aggression.<sup>31</sup> Regardless of what prompted the policy, however, the CPUSA undertook the program with genuine gusto, and threw their efforts into popular causes across the country, working in conjunction with activists like Gundlach for the same goals.<sup>32</sup> To understand what Thane saw as the Communist cause, then, it may be instructive to look at some of Gundlach's social and political goals, since Gundlach appears to have reached Thane early in his radicalization, at a time when the professor's goals and the goals of the CPUSA were more or less the in synch. In a letter to the AAUP, he lists his seven "major interests of the last twenty years."

- (1) to improve race relations
- (2) to protect consumers from false and misleading advertising and from economic exploitation
- (3) to foster the growth of democracy through a healthy trade union movement
- (4) to foster the growth of democracy through the protection of civil rights for all, including communists, aliens, trade union leaders, government employees, and teachers
- (5) to foster the growth of democracy through political reforms (such as the New Deal...)
- (6) to foster the growth of democracy through opposing the growth of fascism here and abroad and aiding the victims of fascism
- (7) to aid the growth of democracy by establishing the conditions for world peace<sup>33</sup>

If Ralph Gundlach truly made a profound impression on Thane, as Lane Summers thought he had, it was probably because Gundlach showed Thane an alternative way of perceiving the world, quite different from the view Thane had inherited, and showed him alternative ways of responding emotionally to his perceptions. Gundlach's sense of ethics was informed by a very different set of emotional standards than those Thane had lived with, and Thane came to associate these new standards with Communism. Not because Gundlach was a Communist, but because the Communists had come to share the professor's set of causes, and because they mobilized emotion in a similar way, with similar targets.

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<sup>31</sup> Harvey Klehr, *Heyday*, 167-170.

<sup>32</sup> Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?*, (Middletown: CT, Wesleyan Press, 1982). xxii, 9-12, 18-22.

<sup>33</sup> Ralph Gundlach, to AAUP.



## Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation: Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

Howard Costigan, another figure who influenced Thane's during his radicalization, had experiences with Communism similar to Gundlach's. However Costigan, the executive chairman of the Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF), decided he would join, rather than simply work alongside, the Communist Party in 1936, after local CPUSA representatives demonstrated to Costigan they shared his social and political agenda. He would later explain: "I didn't join the party in the true sense of the term. The party joined me... I was at no time asked to perform functions other than that which I would have performed in any instance, because I was completely supporting the W.C.F. policy and the W.C.F. policy became their policy"<sup>34</sup>

Costigan, a founding member of the WCF and its parent organization the Builder's Union Inc., was someone Thane quoted at home, according to his father.<sup>35</sup> These quotations were probably not the result of direct contact, but rather taken from Costigan's political commentaries, broadcast nightly on KPCB radio.<sup>36</sup> Thane likely had little contact with the WCF chairman while at UW. After quitting school in 1936, however, Thane worked closely with Costigan's organization, as a member of the Communist party. He may then have met and worked with the man whose rhetoric had previously influenced him. The WCF was, according to Costigan, "an organization of liberals, of labor, and of generally progressive groups that were supporting the Roosevelt administration." It was a formidable power in electoral politics, fielding numerous candidates for the Democratic ticket (especially at the state legislature level, where WCF candidates often won) and energetically campaigning for Democrats at all levels of government.<sup>37</sup> It is very likely that Thane worked in conjunction with the WCF in its campaign activities, because by 1936 he was, according to his father, "either a member of, or working for the Communist Party's campaign committee." Costigan and most of the WCF board were also Party members by 1936, and the CPUSA was closely tied to the WCF in electoral politics by this time. The Communists actually supported

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<sup>34</sup> The first quote is from Klehr, Heyday, 254. The second is from Washington State Legislature, Joint Fact Finding Committee on UnAmerican Activities 1st Report, (Olympia: The Committee, 1948), 360.

<sup>35</sup> Washington State Legislature, 2nd Report, 300.

<sup>36</sup> Gordon Black, "Who's Who," Communism in Washington State. [http://dept.washington.edu/labhist/cpproject/whos\\_whol.shtml](http://dept.washington.edu/labhist/cpproject/whos_whol.shtml). (accessed May 10, 2011).

<sup>37</sup> Harvey Klehr, Heyday, 253-256.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

Federation candidates openly and opted not to run Communists against them.

In addition to being active in electoral politics, Thane participated in strikes alongside Hugh DeLacy, who later became one of the Federation's most prominent members. DeLacy was an English Professor at UW, cited by Lane as one of those who indoctrinated his son. DeLacy was fired from UW in 1937 after he decided to campaign for Seattle City Council, but he won that council seat as a WCF candidate, and went on to be elected to the U.S. Congress in 1944, where he served one term. He was also president of the WCF from 1940 to 1945.<sup>38</sup> Lane reported that Thane and DeLacy participated together in a strike by workers of the King County Road Department, and picketed the Seattle Post Intelligencer.<sup>39</sup> As an academic, DeLacy, like Gundlach, was anything but cloistered. These two professors must have set a powerful example for Thane. They were unabashedly active in the community, engaging in political and social reform. The theme of the engaged scholar, not afraid to step out of his ivory tower, is recurrent in Thane's letters, always written about as an ideal he wished to embody.

While Lane's accusation, that Thane's professors indoctrinated him into Communism at UW, was a dubious one, it was not completely unfounded. What Thane found at UW was a network of people who allowed for the kind of emotional expression to which he was predisposed. Exposure to this alternative set off emotional standards - the radical emotional regime - presented Thane with an opportunity to shed his the conservative regime of his father, which he had internalized despite finding it alienating. Thane would become part of a new community that encouraged emotional expressions and evaluations the conservative model punished harshly. The affirmation Thane found in the radical emotional regime did not necessarily come from a community of Communists, but it did come from a community that Communists had integrated themselves into. The concern for humanity, for the downtrodden, the bullied and manipulated, the starving and devalued, the anger at those responsible for maintaining the system that perpetuated widespread suffering: these were the sentiments that drew Thane into radicalism, and they were the norms of emotional expression that appeared to be at the core of American Communism when Thane decided to join.

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<sup>38</sup> Daren Salter, "Who's Who," *Communism in Washington State*. [http://depts.washington.edu/labisdt/cpproject/who\\_who.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/labisdt/cpproject/who_who.shtml). (accessed March 10, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> Washington State Legislature, *2nd Edition*, 302-303.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

### **Having it Both Ways**

Thane may have jumped at the opportunity to escape from the conservative emotional regime of his father, but there was a broader category of conservatives Thane also belonged to, from whom he found it far more difficult to disassociate. This group of conservatives had a different, if related, set of emotional standards. A way to conceive of the relationship between these two conservative communities and their emotional regimes is offered by Barbara Rosenwein, who in *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, offers the term “emotional community” to refer to a group of people who share a common set of normative standards of emotional behavior, and who “have a common stake, interest, values and goals.” Rosenwein maintains that emotional communities are not monolithic. On the contrary, in any given time and place a number of communities will exist in the same general sphere, some overlapping where they share emotional norms, others not overlapping at all, but all with certain basic values common to the entire sphere. In Rosenwein’s model, people can belong to more than one of these groups, and can adapt “to different sorts of emotional conventions as they move from one group to another.”<sup>40</sup>

In Thane’s case, the specific emotional community of his father existed within a general conservative sphere. In this same sphere, but in a separate, partially overlapping community were people to whom Thane was very close - Sophie and Arthur Krauss, and Thane’s older sister Elizabeth. These people were conservative, in that they wished to conserve traditional social structures, but they also felt those structures caused a certain amount of unjust suffering, and concluded that some sort of reform was probably in order. For the sake of easy differentiation, from here forward I will refer to this group as the “bourgeois” emotional community, and the emotional strictures they lived under will be the “bourgeois” emotional regime.

While Thane was willing to face ostracism from his father, he seemed deeply attached to Sophie, Art, and Elizabeth, and desperate to maintain connections with them. Maintaining these connections, however, proved tricky and painful for Thane. In his efforts to preserve his relationships to people who continued to endorse the conventions of his old, “bourgeois regime,” Thane became quite frustrated. He found he was attempting to communicate with people who no longer spoke his language. That is to say that Thane’s new emotional life had imbued the world around him with new meanings, and had given rise to new

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<sup>40</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, 22-28.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

priorities. These new meanings and priorities were incomprehensible to his old connections, no matter how he tried to convey them. Still, Thane found it difficult to find substitutes for the intimacy of his old connections, so he persevered.

Sophie and Arthur Krauss were a married couple near in age to Thane's parents. In terms of social status, the Krausses were upper middle class, at the very least. From 1921, Arthur was the owner of Krauss Brother's Lumber Company. Just before he retired at the age of 55, in 1938, Arthur spent over two years living abroad with Sophie in Europe.<sup>41</sup> That Arthur had the means to retire as early as he did, during the Depression, and immediately after an extended European tour, would seem to imply he had done fairly well in the Lumber business. Sophie, for her part, was the founding member of the Arboretum Foundation, which funded and oversaw the creation of the University of Washington Arboretum, a massive project Sophie was very actively engaged in from 1934.<sup>42</sup> The Krausses were friends of the family and had known Thane's mother, Hazel, who died of chronic kidney failure in 1932, in Oak Park, Illinois, where she had moved with Thane and his three sisters after she and Lane divorced.<sup>43</sup> Thane only mentions his mother once in his letters, so it is difficult to know the extent of Hazel's relationship with the Krausses, and impossible to ascertain whether the strength of that relationship had anything to do with how close Thane appeared to be to

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<sup>41</sup> "Krauss Rites to be Tomorrow," *Seattle Times*, September 17, 1934. For the length of the Krauss' stay in Europe, see BOLA Architecture and Planning, and Karen Kiest Landscape Architects, *Washington Park Arboretum Historic Review*, (Seattle, BOLA Architecture and Planning, 2003), 63.

<sup>42</sup> "Mrs. Krauss, Arboretum Founder, Dies," *Seattle Times*, January 16, 1970. BOLA Architecture and Planning, 55-78.

<sup>43</sup> Information about the divorce of Hazel and Lane Summers, the children's residence in Oak Park, and Hazel's cause of death come from an interview with Professor Mark Jenkins of the University of Washington, who in turn had interviewed Hazel's daughters in connection to a play Jenkins wrote based on the life of Thane Summers. Mark Jenkins, in discussion with the author, March 2011. Hazel's date of death was obtained from Illinois State Archives, Illinois Statewide Death Index, 1916-1950,

<http://www.ilsos.gov/GenealogyMWeb/IDPHDeathSearchServlet> (accessed March 10, 2011). Regarding the friendship between the families - Lane Summers mentions staying in cabins on the Olympic Peninsula with the Krausses, in Lane Summers, to Mrs. AJ Singer, Aug. 29, 1922. The only time Thane mentions his mother in his letters, is when he makes an inside joke about something she did that betrayed that she was bored, an idiosyncrasy he expected the Krausses to be familiar with. Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, Dec. 3, 1935.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

them. What Thane's letters do make clear is that, to him, Sophie and Arthur were quasi-parental figures. Thane's relationship with the Krausses might have been especially important to him when he wrote his letters, because he had recently lost one parent, his mother, and was emotionally quite distant from his father.

The Krausses acted as benefactors to Thane, in addition to providing him with an emotional bond. Throughout his letters, Thane thanks them for the gifts of money they send to him and his sisters: for Christmas gifts, for theater and symphony tickets, and for other occasions not fully explained.<sup>44</sup> More substantially, the Krausses sent Thane clothes from Europe. This gift was received about the time Thane joined the Communist Party and began to work as an activist. In the letter he sent the Krausses to tell them he a member of the CPUSA, Thane jokingly mentions that they should not imagine him as a long haired rebel dressed in rags, because he dresses "like a captain of industry with those clothes you sent me."<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the most striking example of the Krauss' role as benefactors, however, is that they planned to help Thane through Harvard. It is not clear what this "help" would have entailed. The Krausses' intention to provide assistance does come up, though, in a letter to Arthur in which Thane explains he would never expect Arthur to "help" him through school if Arthur thought it would be unethical to do so. If Arthur supposed Thane would become a professor who would "influence people to a false view," then Thane understood that there were ethical grounds on which to withhold support.<sup>46</sup>

Throughout his letters to Sophie and Art, Thane demonstrates trust and intimacy. He confided in them, for example, that he had become a member of the Communist Party.<sup>47</sup> While in Spain, he wrote them several pages of humorous, detailed commentary regarding a very personal experience - dysentery.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, on three occasions he wrote to them about his girlfriend Naomi. In the first mention of Naomi, Thane promises to send Sophie and Arthur selected love letters from her, to get their opinion about how she really felt about him.<sup>49</sup> The second mention of Naomi tells of how she had talked to Thane about marriage. Though he loved her, Thane told the Krausses, he felt he could not marry

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<sup>44</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, Nov 13, 1935, Dec. 3, 1935, Dec, 23, 1935.

<sup>45</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, June 03, 1936.

<sup>46</sup> Thane Summers, to Arthur, June, 1936.

<sup>47</sup> For joining the communist party see Summers, 6/3/36.

<sup>48</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Art, Aug, 26, 1937.

<sup>49</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, Nov 13, 1935.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

her yet, and maybe never, because with a wife and child to consider he could not, when called upon, make sacrifices for the good of society. As Thane put it: "I doubt very much if Christ would have been the fearless revolutionist that he was if he had been concerned with the immediate happiness of some particular woman."<sup>50</sup> Also in this letter, Thane mentions that Elizabeth did not like Naomi's "lack of fine etiquette." This comment might lead one to believe that Naomi was from a less privileged background, and that may have been the case. When Thane knew her, however, it would seem Naomi was a woman of means, because she offered to send him through Harvard.<sup>51</sup> Through all of these developments in his relationship with Naomi, Thane turned to Sophie and Arthur as confidants.

When Thane began to identify himself as a radical, he began to develop new relationships with likeminded people. However, these new relationships, formed with people from within the radical emotional community, could not replace Thane's old connections. Thane expressed, throughout the last years of his life, how his longest standing relationships continued to have special value to him - relationships with people like his older sister, Elizabeth. Soon after he joined the Communist Party, Thane wrote to Sophie and Arthur, telling them of how impatient he was to see Elizabeth, who had been staying with the Krausses in Europe. "I have been going through so many fundamental changes in the last few months and she will be the first one close enough to me to talk to." From this statement there would appear to be things Thane could say to Elizabeth that he could not to others, or perhaps there was a kind of communication he shared with her that was satisfying in a way that it could not be with others. Whatever the case, Thane's statement implies that he considered his connection to Elizabeth different from, and somehow deeper than, any shared with his new compatriots. Later in the same letter he explained that he was "quite isolated" after he became a political activist. This might seem ironic since Thane had, at this point, moved out of his fathers house and moved in with Professor Ralph Gundlach, with whom ostensibly it should have been much easier for Thane to communicate.<sup>52</sup> "Ralph is a close friend of mine," Thane explained, but he doesn't know me: he simply knows a transitional and turbulent me." It seems Thane was willing to leave his old emotional

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<sup>50</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, Dec. 3, 1935.

<sup>51</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur, Feb 4, 1936.

<sup>52</sup> This was in the spring of 1936. Ralph Gundlach, to Dr. Sieg. Also, Lane Summers' testified that after Thane lived for a few months with Professor Gundlach, he stayed with another UW professor, Herbert Phillips for a few months as well. See Washington (State) and Albert Canwell.

## Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation: Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

regime behind, he still felt that he belonged to a community under its sway, and only people from that community knew the true him.<sup>53</sup>

Just how greatly Thane continued to value his old relationships is perhaps most strikingly demonstrated by gestures he made to Arthur and Sophie, in which he tried to ensure he didn't overstep his bounds and push them away with his social and political rhetoric. Early in his letters, Thane tried to offer them a way to approach his writing, "to keep from being completely bored" if they were not interested in the subject matter.<sup>54</sup> This offer conveys that he did not necessarily expect understanding, but found it important to maintain correspondence just the same. In a more dramatic statement reflecting the same sentiment, Thane wrote: "tell me if my economic problems bore you, because I won't discuss them with you if they do. I am realistic enough to admit that you might become fascists, and the fascists don't like to discuss such things." Here Thane indicates his desire to preserve his intimacy and emotional connection with his friends, even though he acknowledges that they may ultimately align themselves with his most reviled political enemy.<sup>55</sup> He seemed to believe, or at least dearly hope, that his personal connections could transcend any political or ideological distinctions. This is spelled out explicitly in Thane's reply to a letter from Sophie. "Your letter thrilled me," he wrote. "It gave me the feeling that even if, in the course of events, the world may be split into two armed camps, and even if we are in opposite camps, still our love can be greater than that."<sup>56</sup>

### **Emotional Liberty**

Thane's new political interests may not have always been the most welcome topics of discussion for his old connections. Thane was obviously sensitive to this, but he simply could not contain himself. In a letter to Sophie and Art, he wrote: "I imagine you hate to have me harping on this subject of economics all the time, but I was thinking the other day that the reason I enjoy writing now, while I used to hate it before, is because now I have something that seems to me significant."<sup>57</sup> This statement juxtaposes Thane's exuberant present and his past, when he found nothing to be of particular significance and tended to find communication uncomfortable. He credits this change to a burgeoning interest in economics, which leads one to ask: what exactly made

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<sup>53</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Art, June 3, 1936.

<sup>54</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Art, Nov. 16, 1935.

<sup>55</sup> Thane Summers, Nov. 15, 1935, Nov. 19, 1935, and Nov. 28, 1937.

<sup>56</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, Feb. 4, 1936.

<sup>57</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Arthur Krauss, Nov. 16, 1935.

economics so significant to Thane? How could his interest in it spur such a dramatic shift in attitude towards life and communication?

Thane found himself “harping” on economics in 1935 because to him, economics was ideologically connected to issues of inequality, exploitation, and human degradation, issues that had become emotionally resonant to Thane when he found himself in a group that allowed him to direct his feelings more freely. The economic and political model Thane was most attracted to was Communism, as he states in the earliest letters available.<sup>58</sup> Communism allowed Thane to mobilize feelings of outrage against things he reacted to with repugnance, and allowed him to identify with, through compassion, the victims of capitalism, the system his father unflinchingly continued to support, and the system Thane previously believed was the only tenable economic model. In short, what changed in Thane, after being exposed to radical economic thought was his ability to be emotionally involved in his life; his ability to use emotion to inform his evaluations of right and wrong.

The importance of emotional evaluation to Thane’s interpretations of the world is apparent in the arguments he made to Sophie and Art in defense of Communism and in condemnation of fascism. Thane argued that one might not see the difference in individual tactical moves made by Communist and fascist organizations, but when the “ends” of each ideology are considered, it should become clear that communism is more worthy of support on moral grounds. Thane tells us why he believes this moral superiority is the case in the same letter: Communism’s social aim is to take care of people, to alleviate the suffering and degradation of the traditionally disenfranchised; fascism’s aims, on the other hand, are to entrench the inhumanities of capitalism, to streamline capitalism’s machinations without challenging the privileged positions of the traditional elite.<sup>59</sup> Thane’s certainty of the moral superiority of Communism was not based on rationality, but on his emotional response to what he perceived to be Communism’s ultimate ends. Thane conceded that if rational considerations had predominantly informed his outlook he might, as a member of the “petty bourgeoisie,” have concluded that the preservation of capitalism was in his self-interest, even if capitalism had to be fortified by fascism to survive. Thane recognized that Sophie and Arthur, due to their social positions, shared this vested interest in the preservation of the capitalist system, and he tried to explain why they should, despite personal interest, support drastic economic restructuring.

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<sup>58</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Art, Nov 13, 1935.

<sup>59</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie and Art, Nov 13, 1935.



Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

They were not on board with him emotionally, however, so he had a frustrating time trying to explain to them why radical restructuring was the only ethical solution to the problems, political and economic, of the United States.<sup>60</sup>

In several instances, Thane expressed his belief that rationality alone cannot lead one to sound ethical conclusions. In fact, he found this idea so compelling that he wanted to use it as a central motif in the book he was writing while a student at UW.<sup>61</sup> "The purpose of the book," he wrote, "will be an attempt to develop the radical point of view from considerations of social ethics. Something which, so far as I know, hasn't been done adequately." It is telling that this exceedingly busy student, who as an undergraduate was a reader for Professor Herbert Phillips, felt he needed to make time to write a book on ethics. He admitted he was not producing an academic work, but rather something he had to get out of his system before he could give himself willingly to "purely academic differentiations."<sup>62</sup> In his plans for his book, Thane shows a predilection for using emotion to infuse foundational but abstract concepts of right and wrong with meaning and urgency. Part of the task Thane laid out for himself was to "show the implications of the true Christian ideals to the church goer." While he does not elaborate on what these ideals are, it seems likely he is talking about compassion and love, about concern for one's fellow man and the willingness to make sacrifices for the good of others, as these are qualities he endorses throughout his letters and qualities he associates with the radical left. It was important to Thane to show that radical politics was driven by compassion, "because the struggle is so often thought to be only economic, whereas the spiritual values involved are really of prime importance." Perhaps what he meant when he wrote that radical social ethics had not been "adequately" developed, then, was that its core "spiritual values" had not been properly explicated. While spiritual is not synonymous with emotional, it is a word that denotes the intangible, the inner, the transcendent. In the

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<sup>60</sup> Summers, Nov. 13, 1935 and Nov. 19, 1935. For Thane's declaration of his bourgeois background, see Summers, Feb. 28, 1936, and June 26, 1937.

<sup>61</sup> Thane appears to have completed a draft of this book. He writes his sister Elizabeth, in his last archived letter, that it's "swell" of her to type his book while he's away. Summers, to Elizabeth Summers, Jan. 18, 1938.

<sup>62</sup> Grading exams is mentioned twice in his letters, 36 final exams mentioned at one point. See Summers, Feb. 4, 1936 and March 5, 1936.

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

context of Thane's book, it seems a word chosen to discuss feeling more than rationality.<sup>63</sup>

Thane made two other statements that spoke directly to emotion as giving meaning to ideological conviction. The first was in response to a challenge Arthur posed to Thane during his first month in Spain. Arthur questioned what good Thane, or any individual, could do there. The implications seem to have been that individual efforts could do little in such a large struggle, so why, at great personal risk, partake in it? Thane responded:

Shall I play a small role in working for ends of world-wide significance, or shall I choose an important role in attaining insignificant ends? The determining factor is whether or not I am intellectually and emotionally socially conscious. (emphasis added)

In Thane's description, social consciousness has two essential components: the intellectual and the emotional. In his thinking, both must be present for full social commitment to arise. Without this full commitment, one would likely not be concerned enough with the well being of others to join the International Brigades. Without the emotional component of social consciousness, a person might be more likely to pursue goals of individual self satisfaction. For one to be spurred into action in the defense of "social interests" at the expense of "personal interests," one must be led by one's feelings to the realization that "a limited sense of self is not worth satisfying."<sup>64</sup>

The second statement Thane makes about emotion is not in regards to compassion, but instead is concerned with resentment and outrage, the emotions that really seem to have motivated him as a militant anti-fascist. "The positive arguments of socialists and communists," he wrote, "made me intellectually a radical, but left my emotions in a terrific conflict." It was indignation that tipped the scales for Thane. The dismissive, bullying behavior of reactionary conservatives "helped to resolve" his conflicting emotions, and pushed him fully into the radical camp.<sup>65</sup>

This section has shown Thane expressing emotions and conceptually exploring the world around him in ways that had been

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<sup>63</sup> Quotations about the book are extracted from Summers, to Sophie, Feb. 4, 1936.

<sup>64</sup> Thane Summers, to Art, June 26, 1937.

<sup>65</sup> Thane Summers, to Art, Sophie, and Elizabeth Summers, Feb. 28, 1936.

## Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation: Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

disallowed by his previous emotional communities. He found that a greater degree of emotional liberty was afforded him within the radical emotional regime, so that he was able to explore in directions he had long wanted to. The next section will show how the radical emotional community encouraged Thane to make cognitive connections between his emotions and the outside world, in ways the conservative and bourgeois regimes had stifled. This stifling had caused emotional suffering that alienated Thane from his surroundings, imparted a malaise that made him feel he was drifting, dissociated, through life. The shedding of his old emotional regime, in favor of a new one, therefore resulted in what Thane felt was full emotional liberation. When he achieved the liberty to integrate emotional experience into life in a way that affirmed his intuitive tendencies (or what he portrayed as his intuitive tendencies), a huge amount of energy arose in Thane, which inspired his activism and bolstered his political commitment.

### **Emotional Integration - Emotional Liberation**

Thanks to whatever God may be that I am no longer a Peer Gynt! I am not looking for my self or soul, and consequently my emotional conflicts are minimized. I no longer have to face the strange paradox of fearing to act ethically for fear my soul might become soiled. As I look back on it, it was the shedding of my soul that caused my despair [sic] at Cal-Tech. Now, if I have a soul at all, over and above the miserly thing I have outgrown, it is a soul that doesn't require me to remain pure by refraining from action...<sup>66</sup>

The "soul" that Thane refers to above does not at all appear to be the essence of his spiritual being. Instead, it is the carapace that crushed him into a distorted shape, something to be "outgrown" or "shed." It sounds as though Thane is using the word "soul" to describe an emotional regime, one that forced his nascent ethical sense into the background, where it operated below conscious level, disconnected from emotions that could have animated it but that were, in accordance with the requirements of the conservative and bourgeois regimes, suppressed. At Cal-Tech Thane, who just a few years later was a Harvard bound honor student at UW, failed so miserably that he dropped out after less

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<sup>66</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, 2/4/36. Peer Gynt is the main character of a Henrik Ibsen play by the same name. Gynt embodies a kind of perpetual selfishness by procrastination.

than a full academic year.<sup>67</sup> It seems at Cal-Tech Thane hit “rock bottom.” Judging from his debilitated state, one could postulate that he had followed the internalized strictures of the only emotional regimes he knew until the effort began to cripple him. Thane makes clear in his letters that, in the world that his father, Sophie and Arthur wanted him to join, standard practices caused great wrongs. The conventions of his emotional regime at Cal-Tech, however, did not allow him to cognitively process perceived wrongs as such, and did not allow him to acknowledge his own participation in the system that perpetrated those wrongs. The only conclusion Thane could have come to at the time, with the reasoning he allowed himself, was that there was something wrong with him, not with world as it was.<sup>68</sup>

Cal-Tech seems to be the point where it was no longer tenable for Thane to continue as he had. This may be what he meant when he wrote that it was the place he shed his soul. Before his melt down at Cal-Tech, Thane may have felt many things to be wrong but could not conceive of them as such. He could not use his emotions to make sense of his experience so had to find ways to manage his emotions that were in keeping with conventional behavior. This had been the norm for Thane, until at UW he made a discovery. There he realized the conventions he had uncomfortably molded himself to were not the universal truths of a monolithic society, but were rather the structures of a specific social group, and belonging to that group was not his only option.

The split between egoism and altruism, between the individual and their full capacity for ethical reasoning, was identified by Thane not only as a problem that had caused him great suffering, but also as a problem that many experienced: anyone from bourgeois or conservative emotional communities, for example. Thane spent a considerable portion of one letter describing how one group of people, who he called the “occultists,” managed this split. “Occultist” seems to be Thane’s way of referring to people who use spiritual ideas to reconcile their consciences with the immoral world around them, a tactic that Thane condemns as serving only to perpetuate mass victimization and allow for “evil” actions to go unchallenged. “To take concrete action,” he wrote of the occultists, “might offend someone; and that they must not do. So far as I can tell, all their love amounts to is a grin on their face, a sparkle in their eyes, and a good feeling in their viscera.” What Thane is identifying here is a spirituality that, instead of informing one’s ethical sense, is used as a

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<sup>67</sup> Thane Summers to Sophie, June 3, 1936.

<sup>68</sup> Thane does admit to having had “a very bad inferiority complex.” Thane Summers, to Jenness Summers, Oct 28, 1937.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

kind of opiate to deal with emotional reactions, against perceived “evil,” that must not be allowed expression. He gave a short list of rationalization techniques that occultists employ, beliefs that they hold, which allow evil to go unchecked. Two examples follow: (1) karma or divine punishment is used to justify the existence of poverty - it exists because people deserve to experience it, and (2) the belief that evil is but an appearance that in truth might be good, might be “the discord that heightens the greater harmony,” keeps people from being bothered by evil.

Talking about the coping mechanisms of occultists may have been Thane's way of talking about the mechanisms he once relied on. At one point, he did directly state that he had once practiced “occultist ethics.” Thane's discussion of occultism was thus probably a way for him to talk about the how he used to manage his emotional responses to fulfill the perceptual requirements of his old social unit.<sup>69</sup> Perception and behavior go hand in hand in Thane's description of occultism. By keeping one's perceptions in check, despite the contradictory information imparted by one's emotions, behavior is also kept in check. Thane recognized this phenomenon, and pointed out to Sophie how she had fallen prey to it in a letter to her.

Sophie had apparently expressed to Thane her contempt for Harry Bridges, a labor leader associated with Communism, who was involved in organizing the West Coast longshoremen's strikes of the 1930s.<sup>70</sup> Bridges' disruptive actions appear to have made Sophie suspicious of communism in general, though Thane argued the disruptions were justified given the context: Bridges was organizing for the “right to work decently” for the unemployed. Thane contrasted the actions of Bridges with those of President Herbert Hoover, a man Sophie approved of. Hoover, wrote Thane, stuffed the ballot boxes in South America and sent the marines there to enforce U.S. business interests. Thane clearly considered Hoover's actions immoral, but he also recognized that “custom condones men like Hoover, but not men like Bridges. It's so easy to let customary morality blur the facts!” Thane is again here explaining that when feeling and reason do not work together to inform ethical reasoning, rationality or emotion alone settle on erroneous, harmful ethical evaluations, and skewed perceptions of the world. In Sophie's case, emotion was uncritically guided by custom to form a moral sensibility that attached emotion (scorn, approval) to the

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<sup>69</sup> All quotations are from Summers, March 25, 1936. “Evil” was Thane's choice of words.

<sup>70</sup> Harvey Klehr, 125-127.

wrong targets. This led Sophie to condone actions that were flagrantly immoral, and to condemn actions that were ethically justified, by Thane's standards. Followed to its logical conclusion, this chain of reasoning would imply that Thane's old emotional regime compelled people to support unethical causes, and to condemn ethical ones.<sup>71</sup>

From his writings, it is clear that Thane was aware of a splitting, a dis-integration of self required by the society in which he grew up.<sup>72</sup> Thane identified this self-alienation as the source of his personal problems (such as self-doubt, or listlessness), and he thought reintegration, facilitated by participation in radical social movements, was the cure. "Solving social problems," he wrote, "automatically solves most of one's personal problems... granting... that most personal problems can be traced to this inner conflict between egoism and altruism."<sup>73</sup> Implied here is that involvement in radicalism allows for a fundamental reintegration of self. Active radicalism thus become a treatment for the malaise of alienation/dissociation, and all its attendant self-loathing. It energizes and affirms, as Thane made evident when he wrote: "it is a revelation to see the mental and spiritual integration that Communists get after they have been freed from the defeatism which is the inevitable result of the conservative's point of view."<sup>74</sup> Thane's belief that becoming a radical was responsible for his restoration is also evidenced in the prescription he gave his youngest sister, Jenness, to involve herself in "the movement" as a means of treating her "very bad inferiority complex" (a condition Thane states he once faced) and her hopelessness.<sup>75</sup> These recommendations to Jenness were part of a pattern in Thane's letters, which demonstrated that he very much correlated his entrance into radicalism, and into the radical emotional community, with a diminution of emotional suffering.

### Conclusion

When Thane arrived at UW, he seemed primed to become a part of a new emotional community, especially if we take seriously the somewhat dramatic and metaphorically loaded explanation he gives us of his Cal-Tech experience, and the "shedding of his soul." At UW, Thane's life changed dramatically because he discovered he was able to make sense of his world through the deployment of two different emotions.

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<sup>71</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, March 25, 1936.

<sup>72</sup> Thane certainly believed this to be the case. I am not arguing here Thane's beliefs should be taken as mirroring an objective reality.

<sup>73</sup> Thane Summers, to Art, June 26, 1937.

<sup>74</sup> Thane Summers, to Sophie, Art, and Elizabeth Summers, Feb 28, 1936.

<sup>75</sup> Thane Summers, to Elane, Sept. 2, 1937, and to Jenness Oct 28, 1937.

Radical Politics and Emotional Liberation:  
Thane Summers' Road to the Spanish Civil War

One, compassion, seemed to foster a sense of social obligation in him, a sense that there were problems he could not turn away from. The other was “embitterment,” or resentment and outrage. Thane wrote about his embitterment as a sudden, uncontrollable response, which is significant when one considers how descriptions his earlier life, when he did his best to never let an inappropriate emotional expression occur. By his own account, he had been keeping such emotional responses in check for most of his existence. The behavior that provoked his embitterment, too, would have been nothing new. It was Thane’s father, after all who stoked his ire by avoiding argument and going straight to verbal degradation. It seems very unlikely that this was the first time Thane had ever prompted a reaction like that from his father. Thane’s reaction would thus probably be best explained as a symptom of the early stages of his transition; he had already begun to break from the standards of his old emotional regime. When he began to react against conservatives, it showed he was already experiencing more emotional liberty, and using emotions to shape his perceptions in unprecedented ways.

The cultivation and targeting (applying to a target) of compassion and outrage were essential components in Thane’s choice to become an activist and a volunteer soldier in the Brigades. The two emotions worked as a push/pull. Thane experienced a desire to alleviate the suffering of people with whom it would have been irresponsible, according to standards of the conservative regime, to share solidarity. Thane also felt utter contempt for fascism, and this loathing was the strongest force that pushed Thane towards radicalization, by his account. Radical political thought and communist doctrine provided Thane with an intellectual framework in which to justify his emotional experiences, he was able allow a greater breadth of emotions to arise, gain expression, and be mobilized. These emotions imbued Thane’s conceptions of ethics and justice with spiritual meaning, which he placed at the heart of his radical politics.

The feedback loop between emotion and political activism remained a prominent feature of Thane’s life throughout the writing of his letters, according to accounts therein. The intensity and urgency of his politics only intensified over time, despite Thane’s regular interaction with a grey area, a place where it was not at all clear how he should apply his emotions. This grey area was his relationship with Arthur and Sophie. While there has been no detailed discussion of formal doctrine in this paper, it is almost certain that, as a Communist, Thane would have been confronted with very strong arguments for making the Krausses his enemy. Thane did not, however, follow any such directions, even though his relationship with them was compromised, the communications

## MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

strained, as is evident in one of the last letters Thane wrote to them before his death.

When I joined the communist party, it was with the realization that it would entail tasks of this sort [the war in Spain], so whatever sacrifices I might need to make, always think of me as making them as a matter of course. This would be the highest compliment you could pay me.<sup>76</sup>

Thane wrote this in response to an offer from Sophie and Arthur to get him out of Spain, should he decide to leave the Brigades. While he received their offer as a demonstration of love, one can detect in the above statement a subtle request, asking to be shown a different expression of love. Thane is requesting that his friends take seriously and respect his decisions, even if they can never understand those decisions.

The way that Thane constructed emotion might be very different from the way other Lincoln Brigaders did, so it would not, at this point, be appropriate to try to extrapolate Thane's experience to other brigaders. It would perhaps be fruitful in the future, however, investigate how other volunteers constructed emotion, particularly those with backgrounds similar to Thane's. After all, these brigaders cannot be very well understood by existing methodological approaches, which stress the importance, in the making of Lincoln volunteers, of direct experience of discrimination and disenfranchisement. In researching emotional construction among volunteers, however, one need not confine the research to brigaders like Thane, who were demographic anomalies. An investigation of emotional life, and the role of emotional regimes, can be applied to anyone who has experienced emotions. It can therefore be undertaken across all lines of race, class, ethnicity and religion. This is one advantage to be gained by examining the role of emotion in the process of mobilization.

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**Acknowledgements**

Thank you to the McNair Scholars Program and the Mary Gates foundation for funding this research, thus making it possible. I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Professor Glennys Young, for drawing my attention to Thane's letters, and for all of her guidance throughout this project, and to Professor Purnima Dhavan, who helped direct me towards a theoretical framework for my analysis. Both of you were invaluable as editors. I am also indebted to Professor Mark Jenkins, for helping me sort out Thane's life. Thank you also to my fellow classmates in HIST492, for patiently slogging through, and responding to, my very rough and frequently confusing drafts. Lastly, thank you to my wife, Aiko, for allowing me to dedicate vast amounts of time, throughout her pregnancy, to playing detective among old letters.

# MCNAIR SCHOLARS JOURNAL

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