

The McNair Scholars Journal

of the University of Washington



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



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University of Washington
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From the
Dean of the Graduate School

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

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

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

Suzanne T. Ortega
Vice Provost and Graduate Dean

From the
Vice President and Vice Provost for Diversity

Vice President and Vice Provost for Diversity

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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

From the
Director

I am very pleased to present the seventh edition of the University of Washington's McNair Scholars Journal to our reading audience. The collective excellence of these 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, and our graduate student staff, Eric, Rocio, and Zakiya, 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 seventh edition of the McNair Scholars Journal.

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

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.

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**Multicultural Marketing Influences among Non-Majority High
School Students**
VaLiesha Brown

Abstract

Since the 2000 U.S. Census numerated the growing percentage of minorities in the U.S, the efforts to appeal to non-majority customers through multicultural marketing have increased considerably. Non-majority communities, namely African Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans, are now targeted by large marketing campaigns largely due to the increased buying power of their communities. Multicultural marketing campaigns are designed to attract non-majority consumers and are often used on products that have a youth appeal or premise. This study seeks to further explore the relationship between multicultural marketing campaigns and the non-majority communities they target with respect to high school students from these communities.

The underlying question of this study is how multicultural marketing is implemented in contrast to how multicultural markets would prefer to be reached. The methodology focused on a diverse group of high school students learning about marketing techniques then creating their own multicultural campaign for a luxury sports utility vehicle. In small groups, students worked to identify an advertising slogan, their target audience, their multicultural advertising strategy, and the vehicle's current marketing situation. Their decisions were self recorded and then analyzed.

The researcher then selected trends and looked for similarities among student's decisions regarding target audiences and their assessment of the current marketing situation in an effort to understand the influence of current multicultural marketing efforts.

Introduction

This research explores how multicultural marketing campaigns are received by their intended markets. The research focuses on high school students because they are the up and coming generation of non-majority spenders. Their habits are likely to be influenced by marketing campaigns. Also, current non-majority high school students have more access to education and careers that will translate into higher disposable incomes in the near future. In essence, as the buying power of non-majority communities increases, the burden of successfully leveraging that buying power into a prosperous economic future will lay on these students. Current marketing campaigns have the clear advantage of

influencing these students' consumer behavior now and significantly impacting their later consumer behaviors.

This situation is of interest because the influence of the marketing campaigns hinges on whether or not they are successfully delivering their message, that they place a high value on non-majority communities and offer products that complement their needs. Specifically, the research question being asked is 'how multicultural marketing is implemented' in contrast to 'how multicultural markets would prefer to be reached'? Ethnically diverse high school students will be asked to create multicultural marketing campaigns for a product that is commonly advertised to non-majority communities. The differences between their campaigns and the presently used advertisements will be examined to determine answers to the research question at hand.

Literary Background

The initial interest in this topic rose from a consideration of increased buying power among non-majority populations. This information combined with the fundamentals of marketing, which entail that shopping patterns are influenced early by parents and advertisements led to the consideration of how current non-majority high school students will fare in the future when they have more disposable income and heavily ingrained ideas about products to influence their purchasing decisions. The total U.S. consumer buying power is projected to increase from \$8.6 trillion in 2004 to \$11.1 trillion in 2009³. The combined buying power of African, Asian, and Latino Americans will account for 14.1% of the nation's total increase in buying power in 2009.

Salesvantage.com is a multicultural marketing resource website that offers links to African American, gay/lesbian, Asian American, and Hispanic media services, marketing, and advertising agencies. One of the links from these guides is to Ebony Marketing Research¹. On this website, the changing header reads "who are they?" "What do they buy?", "where do they shop", while displaying people from various ethnic backgrounds. Ebony Marketing Research is an example of a firm that works with companies from beginning to end to select a group, plan out to gauge that group's interest, and execute a marketing plan. Gauging interest consists of qualitative and quantitative studies that include focus groups and surveys. The work of this company over the last twenty years is a clear indicator that multicultural marketing is relevant and lasting.

The existing work regarding multicultural marketing does not typically pertain to non-majority high school students. In general,

advertising to teens usually takes place through music, movies, and entertainment. The tactics to attract teens are considerably more advanced than past marketing strategies due to the ability of the youth market to conduct their own research via the internet and their short attention span². Companies have less time to sell their products to an informed audience. This research seeks to bridge the gap to figure out what non-majority teens are learning from commercials and how they feel that multicultural marketing should be conducted. It is predicted that because the teen market is so elusive, and little research has been done with non-majority high school students, this research will provide insight to a population segment that is rarely formally identified.

A last consideration for the background of this research was the type of product the students would have to sell. The automobile industry, particularly luxury sports utility vehicles, was chosen because of the likelihood of predisposal to SUVs and multicultural automobile campaigns. Most students would have some familiarity with automobile commercials featuring members of the non-majority community. Others would be familiar with the SUV. To challenge the students, they were asked to market the Lincoln Navigator, which most students are not familiar with as readily as the Cadillac Escalade, which was used as their competition SUV. Another reason for selecting the Lincoln Navigator is that its parent brand Ford has marketed to the non-majority community and has historically employed many from the non-majority community in various capacities. This was significant because it provided students with a product that had a history within the non-majority community and thus would be possible to market successfully.

Method/Approach/Design

After a one-hour overview of marketing, high school sophomores, juniors, and seniors were given the opportunity to create their own marketing plan for the Lincoln Navigator. For them, this experiment was a fun way of applying their newly learned marketing skills. Students were supplied with basic information regarding the Lincoln Navigator, a luxury sports utility vehicle, from Ford Motor Company, and a bit of information about its number one competitor, Cadillac's Escalade, and a brochure about the Navigator's features. Students were also provided with markers, access to a radio, and large flip charts to use in their final presentations. The goal of the task was to create a multicultural campaign and convey their ideas to the rest of the group in the best way they could develop. Students were divided into six groups and given approximately 60 minutes to complete a worksheet that represented the task of constructing a multicultural marketing campaign

for the Lincoln Navigator. The worksheets instructed the students to create an advertising slogan, select the target audience, develop an advertising strategy, and evaluate the current marketing situation.

Students were intentionally given a significant amount of creative freedom in this exercise because only four components of the worksheet were pertinent to the research: advertising slogan, the target audience, the advertising strategy, and the current marketing situation. While each component is relevant to the task of marketing, this research was intended to explore the relationship between current multicultural marketing campaigns and how young minority students would approach multicultural marketing efforts. The advertising slogan is an important component because it is a succinct means of reaching the target audience. It clearly tells what the marketer (or company) thinks of the segment it is trying to reach. The target audience component was an important means of gauging student perception of what segments within the multicultural market are or should be targeted. The last component, advertising strategy, was essential to contrast what is appropriate to young ethnic minorities and what is currently done in multicultural advertising campaigns. The current marketing situation component was also useful in gauging feelings and attitudes regarding how multicultural marketing is currently conducted.

Results

Group	Advertising Slogan	Target Audience	Current Situation	Advertising Strategy	General Observations	Common Themes
1	Different People, Same Drive	Asian women	Many AfrAms & Latinos in commercials, want to incorporate more Asian Americans	Show CEOs, musicians, scientists, lawyers, and doctors	Showed five different professional occupations featuring young Asian women; discussed lack of Asian American representation in mainstream marketing campaigns	Targeted Asian American segment, buying power
2	Navigator: Growing With You	African American men & women, ages 30-55	Escalade is popular with rappers, gang affiliated, younger segment	Young (30 yo) AfrAm women taking kids to school, kids grow up, car remains with family	Began with a focus on men, incorporated women; belief that current ads are stereotypical, wanted their advertising campaign to sustain generations of family	Targeted African American segment, buying power
3	Strong Car For A Strong Family	Middle class African American families	Commercials, billboards, magazines, newspapers, etc.; Escalade in music videos, more well known	Targeting values important to families: safety, durability, and affordability	Believed negative connotation of the competition	Targeted African American segment, buying power
4	Lincoln Navigator: Reach Higher	All races and ages	Current focus on looking good, "big ballin"	Showing girls, guys, families, and dates; going to dinner, shows, shopping, etc.	Showed a range of customers with different interests; younger people, educated, single life, family aspect	All races
5	For the Adventurer In You	Suburban minorities, ages 25-40	Trend is more business people with higher incomes	Young minority women takes kids to school then goes on a personal adventure in the woods before picking kids up from school	Acknowledge that current ads target white people, wanted to include middle class minorities	All races, buying power
6	N/A	African American males, 27+	N/A	Commercial/skit with two people of different ethnicities	Targeted mid-20s African American male for cool factor	Targeted African American segment

Figure 1. Four Criteria, Observations & Common Themes.

Data chart 1 reflects each group’s characterization of the four main components, general observations of each group’s marketing campaigns, and common themes. Group 1 utilized the slogan ‘Different People, Same Drive’ to attract Asian women to the Lincoln Navigator. Their commercial involved showing various professional careers so that people with different personalities could be attracted to the same vehicle. Group 2 titled their campaign “Navigator: Growing with You’ with the intention of creating a campaign that would progress with the customer. “Strong Car for a Strong Family” was the slogan of Group 3 who focused their advertisement on African American families to override the popular images of African Americans they identified with the Cadillac Escalade. Group 4’s “Lincoln Navigator: Reach Higher” campaign identified various people from different ethnic groups in social, group,

and family settings while pitting excellence as the ultimate goal. Group 5 targeted adventurous women across all races with their “For the Adventurer in You” slogan. Lastly, Group 6, had difficulty with the task. They were not able to come up with a slogan or assess their feelings about the current marketing situation. They initially identified an African American male target segment and their commercial featured two people driving in the Navigator.

Each group seemed to identify the lack of minority representation in commercials. However, their approaches to increase minority representation varied. Group 1 discussed the lack of Asian representation in place for Latino and African American advertisements. Group 2, 3, and 6 clearly targeted African Americans. This was interesting because the overall make-up of the students is not mainly African American. Groups 4 and 5 targeted all races and ages with marketing campaigns that incorporated multiculturalism instead of targeting an ethnic segment. Groups 1, 2, 3, and 5 stipulated some aspect of their marketing campaign on the increase of salaries, or buying power, within minority communities.

Discussion

The findings of this research, as represented in Figure 1, illustrate the core conflict with multicultural marketing. People are diverse and most of their needs, such as safety, are universal; on the other hand, people like to see representations of themselves, which is clear by some of the groups’ target audiences. However, in the U.S., discussions of diversity or multicultural acceptance often focus on a world that is only black and white. I believe this occurrence plagued the students and prevented them from thinking out of the box when deciding which audiences to target. As a result, students targeted African Americans, which they are accustomed to seeing in multicultural marketing campaigns, especially those selling vehicles such as the SUV they sold in their marketing campaigns.

These findings contradicted the researcher’s expectations in one aspect and fulfilled them in another. It was expected that students would target their own ethnic groups. In many groups, it can be argued that they did because there was at least one member of the targeted audience in the student group or the target group was all races. However, Group 6 targeted African American males, when there was not a single African American male in the group. This situation was highly significant because it suggests that students identify with commercials that target a non-majority group that does not directly include them.

The research question for this research was a strong starting off

point. It leaves open the possibilities for many more discussions and research ranging from the effects of increase buying power on non-majority communities, how said buying power is distributed within non-majority communities, to how Latino and Asian Americans respond to the emphasis on African Americans despite their growing populations. Specifically, the following future questions have been suggested by the researcher: How will current multicultural marketing campaigns effect the future purchasing decisions of current non majority high school students?; How prevalent are the preferences and concerns of these students among other age groups within their communities?; What are the ramifications of targeting the African American segment as other non majority segments grow faster and how do those populations respond to such actions? These questions are each interdisciplinary, and a greater understanding of each topic may allow for greater assistance in both marketing to non-majority communities and assisting these communities as their buying power steadily increases.

Conclusion

The findings of this study revealed three common themes: targeting the African American segment, targeting all races, and a discussion of buying power. It has been found that high school students from non majority communities recognize marketing campaigns that feature African Americans as multicultural. While less than 30% of the students involved were African American, half of the groups targeted the African American segment. Three groups addressed the lack of campaigns targeting other ethnicities within the non-majority community. All student groups attempted to appeal to their non-majority target audience by surpassing ethnic notions and utilizing American norms to market the SUV. The actions of these non-majority teens indicate a desire to be accurately reflected as Americans. The notion of Americanism for them includes a variety of ethnicities, including but not limited to their own. In closing, the research followed its intention and offered insight to the non-majority teenage market and allowed for the introduction of many new topics and questions.

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Mark Forehand, Business--Marketing

VaLiesha Brown
Business Administration
valieb@u.washington.edu

In the fall, I will be a Howard University 2010 JD candidate with an interest in pursuing a PhD in Public Policy or Ethnic Studies.

The Chicano Movement in The State of Washington: Political Activism in the Puget Sound and Yakima Valley Regions from the late 1960s to early 1980s.

Oscar Rosales Castañeda

Abstract

As in other places along the west coast, the Chicano movement had a strong presence in the state of Washington. The problems were similar in this state as people of Mexican American descent struggled through issues as they related to labor, access to higher education, and racial discrimination in the public sector. Similarly, political activism in the state spawned organizations such as the United Farm Workers Cooperative in the Yakima Valley, El Centro de La Raza in Seattle, as well as other groups at the Universities and community such as the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlán (MEChA) and the Brown Berets, who had a chapters in the Yakima Valley and at the University of Washington.

Given that the Latino communities in the northwest are removed from those in California and the rest of the southwest, the development of political movements here in Washington differ due to not only geographic isolation, but also influences from other communities. With this project I hope to shed light on the Chicano movement that developed here in the state of Washington and link the activist work that was done in both Seattle and the Yakima Valley.

The Chicano Youth Movement comes to the Northwest

Activism in Washington's Mexican-American community had its roots in two locales, the Yakima Valley and the Seattle area. This activity had a dualistic nature, with activism in the schools and in the *barrios*, and with the struggles in the urban as well as rural areas of the state. Though there is much debate as to when the Chicano Movement begins in the State of Washington, one thing for certain is the initiation of the Chicano Student Movement. In the late 1960s, Mexican-American youth inspired by the farmworkers' strike in California and the youth revolts of the time, used the label 'Chicano' to denote their cultural heritage, assert their youthful energy, and their militancy by appropriating a word that had a negative connotation and turning it into a politically charged term used for self-identification. Though there was activism at the individual level at Yakima Valley College and the University of Washington, the establishment of an organization didn't take place until the fall of 1968 when the first large group of Chicano students was recruited to the University of Washington in Seattle.

On May 20th 1968, the Black Student Union (BSU) occupied the offices of President Charles Odegaard at the University of Washington.¹ The group organized a four hour sit-in where they voiced their demands for making the University more relevant to people of color by improving the recruitment of minority students, doubling black enrollment, increasing funding for minority student programming, and creating black studies courses. This activity on behalf of the UW's BSU would lay the foundation for the recruitment of students from throughout the state.

According to Jeremy Simer, "one of the [BSU's] recruiting sites was the Yakima Valley, where recruiters talked with many Chicano youth. This connection between the BSU and Chicano students would later be strengthened by collaborative efforts on campus."² Of the 35 students that were recruited, most were from this area, which had the largest concentration of Latinos in Washington. At this time, the Yakima Valley had already seen the emergence of Chicano activism.

Inspired by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee's (UFWOC) grape boycott, two students from Yakima Valley College, Guadalupe Gamboa and Tomas Villanueva, had traveled down to Delano California and met with one of the key leaders, Cesar Chavez. Upon returning, Gamboa and Villanueva co-founded the United Farm Worker's Co-operative (UFWC) in 1967 in Toppenish, Washington.³ The UFW Co-op is credited as being the first activist Chicano organization in the state of Washington. The UFWC would solicit the assistance of the Washington American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in a project that would give legal aid to people of farm working background during the summer of 1968.⁴ The report that emerged from the project showed the harsh conditions many Chicanos found themselves in. As a

¹ Walt Crowley, *Rites of Passage: A Memoir of the Sixties in Seattle*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995, 255.

² Jeremy Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus: the new Chicano contingent and the grape boycott at the University of Washington, 1968-69." Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. 2004-2006
<http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/la_raza2.htm>

³ Jesus Lemos. "A History of the Chicano Political Involvement and the Organizational Efforts of the United Farm Workers Union in the Yakima Valley, Washington." Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1974, 54.

⁴ On request of the United Farm Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Washington goes to the Yakima Valley to help organize a legal assistance program. The report that emerges after the end of the project underlines the societal conditions present that maintained Chicanos in a state of subjugation

result of various lawsuits filed through the ACLU, Yakima County had to take measures to ensure that Chicanos are afforded voting rights and bilingual ballots as well as other considerations given to all people under the law.⁵ Though the group organized workers during the wildcat strikes in the Hop fields in Yakima County in 1970, the organization would not receive official recognition until the mid 1980's when it became the United Farm Workers of Washington State.

In addition to the UFW Co-op, there were other forms of activism in Eastern Washington. One was with the Cursillo Movement in the Yakima Valley. The Cursillo Movement was one that was organized through the Catholic Church. Though politically moderate, the purpose was to engage people in social action and encourage participation in church life. Another group, the Mexican American Federation (MAF), formed also in 1967, was also in a sense a new form of organization in the Mexican American community. In previous decades, most associations rooted within the Mexican American community were social and cultural in nature. MAF, which was organized in Yakima, Washington, would be one of the first to advocate for community development and political empowerment in the Yakima Valley.

The fall of 1968 was one characterized by social upheaval throughout the nation and the world. Universities at this time were hubs for political activity and discourse. Chicano students at UW, few as they were, would be influenced by much of this activity. There was already an understanding of the plight of farm workers as well as the interaction with the repressive, race prejudiced systems of power. Soon after having set foot on the UW Campus, the 35 Chicano students would move to form the first chapter of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) in the Northwest. Modeled after the group that was founded at the University of Southern California in 1967, UW UMAS worked to establish a Mexican American Studies class through the College of Arts & Sciences at UW and alongside other activist groups engaged in a campaign to halt the sale of non-union table grapes at the University of Washington.

The group first petitioned the dormitories to stop selling grapes in their eating facilities, and quickly secured agreement. But the effort to persuade the Husky Union Building (HUB) to cooperate proved more difficult. The grape boycott committee that lobbied the HUB would be chaired by UMAS, and supported by the BSU, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), individual members of the ASUW Board of Control and

⁵ Charles E. Ehlert, "Report of the Yakima Valley Project." Seattle, WA: American Civil Liberties Union, 1969.

the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), to name a few.⁶ On February 17, 1969 the UW Grape Boycott Committee was victorious as the HUB officially halted the sale of grapes.⁷ The result would make the University of Washington the first campus in the United States to remove grapes entirely from its eating facilities. Even more notable was the organization's skill at building coalitions among other undergraduate groups, as evidenced by the boycott committee.⁸ At the national level, the grape boycott organized by the UFWOC achieved success in 1970 when the union won a contract.

In addition to the boycott, UMAS also called a conference in Toppenish to generate support for the creation of Chicano youth groups at the high school and college levels and along with faculty from UW were able to create 'La Escuelita'⁹ in Granger in 1969 which also created the calmecac project (school in Nahuatl) which taught history and culture to youth in the Eastern Washington.

The student movement was also spreading. Following the lead of UW UMAS, Chicano students organized at Yakima Valley College to form a chapter of the Mexican American Student Association (MASA). Later that year in 1969, another MASA chapter would be established at Washington State University. Chicano youth having made their way to Pullman, Washington via the High School Equivalency Program that had brought them to WSU in 1967 organized to create the MASA chapter.

MASA, like UMAS, had its roots in southern California, originating out of East Los Angeles College. 1969 would be a watershed year in activism at the national level with the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference hosted by Corky Gonzalez's Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado. The conference would lay the framework for the youth-initiated Chicano Power Movement that sought a separate, third political space away from the white-dominated political mainstream and left which initially marginalized people of color. It was especially important for Chicanos to assert their own political power because of the political power dynamic left them having to rely on the dominant society. Another component was based on culture with cultural regeneration, the negation

⁶ John Greely, "Hub Board Recommends Stoppage of Grape Sales," University of Washington Daily (6 February 1969): 1.

⁷ Jeremy Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus" Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. 2004-2006 <http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/la_raza2.htm>

⁸ Simer, "La Raza" Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. 2004-2006 <http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/la_raza2.htm>

⁹Lemos. "History of the Chicano Political Involvement," 56-58.

of assimilation into dominant society, and Chicano self-determination.¹⁰ This paradigm in cultural thought that was heavily reliant on cultural nationalism would exist well into the late 70s before the concept of activism ‘sin fronteras’ (without borders), and Marxist critiques of empire transformed the Chicano left in the late 70s. This transformation took hold in the early 1990s with the Zapatista National Liberation Army’s (EZLN) revolution against neo-liberal economic doctrine at the international scale in Chiapas, Mexico on New Year’s Day 1994.¹¹

The Chicano Movement focused considerable attention on educational issues, especially access to higher education. Conscription and the Viet Nam war raised the stakes for young people. Access to higher education often times had literal life or death implications as Chicano youth were often conscripted and made to serve in the infantry. As a result of many of the concerns associated with higher education, the Chicano Council on Higher Education, formed after the Massive East Los Angeles High School Walkouts of 1968,¹² organized a conference at the University of California at Santa Barbara. The resulting document laid the framework for a master plan relating to curriculum, services, and access to higher education.¹³

The Conference also provided another outcome to the way students organized themselves. The delegates decided to merge the many activist organizations-UMAS, MASA, MASO, MASC, MAYO, among others-under the umbrella of El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de

¹⁰ The Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver would be instrumental in producing one of the key documents of the period, “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,” which rejects the earlier stance most Mexican-American organizations had and ushered in the Chicano Power Movement that sought to reclaim the indigenous Mesoamerican culture that had been lost to the Chicano. The document also has a strong cultural nationalist component with the advocating of control over the barrios.

¹¹ For more information of the EZLN, consult <http://www.ezln.org>

¹² On March 3, 1968, more than 1000 students aided by members of U.M.A.S and the Brown Berets, peacefully walked out of Abraham Lincoln High School in East Los Angeles, with Lincoln High Teacher, Sal Castro, joining the group of students, in protest of school conditions. The student strike known as the L.A. Blowouts would later have over 10,000 high school students walk out by the end of the week. To this day, the event still remains one of the largest student strikes at the high school level in the history of the United States.

¹³ The document that would result from the Conference at Santa Barbara would come to be known as “El Plan de Santa Barbara.” The document would be a blueprint for the implementation of Chicano Studies and EOP programs throughout the West Coast. It also outlined the role of the University in the community and in issues of social justice.

Aztlan (The Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan). M.E.Ch.A would quickly become the primary vehicle for student activism on campuses throughout the United States.

In the fall of 1969 UW UMAS officially adapted the name MEChA. This reflected a consciousness shift as well as a generational change as members rejected the term 'Mexican-American' in favor of the label 'Chicano.' Within the next two years, Yakima Valley College and Washington State University would follow suit. Throughout the 1970s many MEChA chapters would emerge in Washington State, including groups in the Columbia Basin, at Seattle Central Community College, Central Washington University, A.C. Davis High School in Yakima, and various other communities.¹⁴ Chicanos near the Spokane area waited until 1977 to organize at Eastern Washington University, and it wasn't until 1978 that the organization affiliated with MEChA.¹⁵

The Brown Berets

Activism in the community accompanied activism on the campuses and the Brown Berets emerged as an important organization linking students to communities and to young people who were not enrolled in college. Brown Beret chapters developed in two locales, Yakima and in Seattle.¹⁶ Originally from California, the Brown Berets gave a new and tougher look to the movement in the 1960s.

Organized as a youth organization, six young Chicanos formed the core of the Young Citizens for Community Action (YCCA) in May of 1966 in Los Angeles. Far from radical, the group participated with the Community Service Organization (CSO), where they met with political leaders "who schooled them in the ways of practical politics and community organizing and who also introduced them to the now famed Cesar Chavez."¹⁷ With financial help from Father John B. Luce, rector of

¹⁴In April of 1972, students organize the first statewide MEChA Conference in Washington at Yakima Valley College. The outcome of the conference then results in the creation of a statewide board authorized to inform and facilitate communication between all MEChA Chapters in Washington about activities at the state level.

¹⁵ Gilberto Garcia, "*Organizational Activity and Political Empowerment: Chicano Politics in the Pacific Northwest*," in *The Chicano experience in the Northwest*. Dubuque, IA.: Kendall/Hunt Publishing. Co., 1995, 75-80.

¹⁶ By 1970 The Seattle and Yakima Brown Beret Chapters would attract over 200 members.

¹⁷Ernesto, Chavez. "*Mi Raza Primero!*" *Nationalism, Identity and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement*" Berkeley, CA: UC Press, 2002, 44.

the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany in Lincoln Heights, the group opened 'La Piranya,' a coffeehouse which would serve as an office and meeting place where they hosted prominent civil rights speakers¹⁸ who spoke to increasing numbers of Chicano youths.

This activity attracted police who harassed young people at the coffeehouse on the grounds that the place attracted troublemakers. YCCA responded by organizing protest demonstrations at the nearby sheriff stations. Young leaders such as David Sanchez advocated a more militant stance against police abuse that was so prevalent in the Chicano community. In January of 1968, the group adopted a new image and uniform, becoming the Brown Berets. "Law enforcement abuses had transformed them from moderate reformers into visually distinctive and combative crusaders on behalf of justice for Chicanos."¹⁹ By 1969, *La Causa*, the Berets newspaper, reported that the Brown Berets had approximately twenty-eight chapters throughout the west coast and Midwest. Two of these chapters were in the State of Washington.²⁰

It is believed that the UW Brown Berets were originated in Granger, Washington, and were then transplanted to Seattle as students from the Yakima Valley were recruited to the University of Washington during this period. This organization was comprised mostly of motivated, militant university students and youth from Seattle's Chicano Community. Much like the groups in Southern California, the Brown Berets used much of the same tactics in organizing in the community. The symbolic use of the brown beret was a reflection of the times. Students and young people wishing to create change donned the headgear and military fatigues as a symbolic gesture that they would be willing to fight for their communities, bringing attention to the war at home in the *barrios* against racial discrimination, poverty and police brutality. To youth, the stance the Brown Berets took on said issues attracted them to the organization. Few groups would take such an active and confrontational stance against the oppressive institutions afflicting the Chicano community. However, the generational difference would be

¹⁸ Among those who would come speak to the youth were Reies Lopez Tijerina of New Mexico's Land Grant Movement, as well as leaders such as Hubert "Rap" Brown and Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, among others. Chavez, *Mi Raza Primero!* 45.

¹⁹ Chavez, *Mi Raza Primero*, 45.

²⁰ According to Ernesto Chavez' notes, In May 1969 the Beret newspaper *La Causa* reported that the organization had twenty-eight chapters in cities including San Antonio, Texas; Eugene, Oregon; Denver, Colorado; Detroit, Michigan; Seattle, Washington; and Albuquerque, New Mexico; along with many cities in California. (see *La Causa*, May 23, 1969) Chavez, 132.

important as to how people would see the image of the Brown Berets with older people in the community being more reluctant in supporting the organization. Needless to say, much like the Black Panthers, the Brown Berets raised a red flag in conservative sectors of the Anglo community and as it was later revealed, the Brown Berets were also infiltrated and destroyed from within by the COINTELPRO program.

According to Jesus Lemos, “in the winter of 1970, the Seattle chapter organized a ‘Food for Peace’ drive to gather food, clothing and money in order to make and distribute Christmas baskets to the Chicanos in the Yakima Valley who were in the most need.”²¹ The UW Chapter also engaged in other activities such as the creation of a legal defense fund for Chicano activists and active involvement in support of UFW activities such as the grape boycott and fundraising for the union by way of organizing collection drives and requesting funds from staff and faculty at the University.²²

The Chapter in the Yakima Valley would also emerge as a strong voice as activists agitated for an end to the Chicano oppression in Central Washington. “In the early part of 1970 they organized a five-mile march to the welfare office in Yakima to protest the abuse of the Chicanos who were often ridiculed and treated with great disrespect and insensitivity by the welfare authorities.”²³ Along with this activity, the Yakima Valley Chapter also played a supportive role with “La Escuelita” project in Granger and with involvement with other groups in El Año del Mexicano” which sought an increased political role for Chicanos in the Yakima Valley. However, the Yakima Valley Chapter had trouble maintaining consistent members. It became inactive a few weeks after the march on the welfare office in Yakima.²⁴

As time progressed, the Seattle Brown Berets would serve in the capacity of a subgroup under UW MEChA.²⁵ For the remainder of the group’s “official” existence, the Brown Berets would serve in a political capacity as the wing of the student movement most closely rooted in the

²¹ Lemos, 57.

²² Rogelio Riojas Interview, Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. 19 January 2006

Mike Castaneda, Francesca Barajas, and Trevor Griffey.

²³ Lemos, 58.

²⁴ In 1970 The Brown Beret Chapter in the in the Yakima Valley becomes inactive after a key leader loses credibility in the Chicano Community. Despite severing ties to the former leader, the group loses the community’s trust because of past ties to the disgraced former co-founder and disbands. Lemos, 61.

²⁵ Jesus Rodriguez, *MEChA Newsletter* University of Washington, 1981, p. 1-2, Jesus Rodriguez Papers, MEChA de UW Archives.

community. It also tried to launch the La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) in the State of Washington.²⁶ Originally from Texas, the La Raza Unida Party was an attempt made by student and community activists to take control of political institutions. The best example was in Cristal City Texas where members of the LRUP were elected into power in 1970. The efforts in organizing the LRUP were placed primarily in Yakima and Seattle as there was a drive to reach out to people on both sides of the Cascade Mountains. Despite this effort, La Raza Unida Party in Washington never grew past its embryonic stage and would fold before really taking off. In Seattle, the group provided the ‘muscle’ during many of the occupations that MEChA would be involved in at the UW campus and along with another subgroup, Las Chicanas, would also be an integral part of the contingent that would occupy the old Beacon Hill school in October of 1972 along with community members who created El Centro de La Raza.²⁷

Creation of El Centro de La Raza

El Centro de La Raza was established during this period of increased political activity in the early 1970s. The takeover of the Beacon Hill school was in response to the canceling of the English as a Second Language program for the Chicano community at South Seattle Community College. Students and community members affected by the sudden closing of the ESL program were instrumental in the planning of takeover of the building on October 12, 1972. The takeover lasted several months as negotiations took place with the Seattle City Council and the Seattle school district, all while people occupied the building and made due without water or electricity in the building throughout the duration of the fight. The struggle for the right to use the building proved difficult. The importance of the establishment of a center was important to the community, as exemplified with the occupation of the Seattle city council chambers. Though the creation of the center was spearheaded by people in the Latino community, the alliances across racial lines were instrumental in keeping up the fight with the Seattle City Council. After

²⁶ Jesus Rodriguez Interview, Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. 3 March 2006

Roberto Alvizo and Cristal Barragan.

²⁷ On October 11, 1972 El Centro de La Raza is founded in Seattle by activists and Beacon Hill community members who occupy an abandoned school. The participants refuse to leave the building until the Seattle School District leases them the space for the creation of a multi-purpose, progressive community organization.

much debate, the city of Seattle finally conceded and allowed the use of the property for the creation of El Centro de La Raza in 1973.

At a time when there was no distinct Chicano “barrio” in Seattle, the creation of a center that housed many of the services that Chicanos lacked was a necessity. El Centro would serve as not only a community center, but also as a civil rights organization that developed progressive coalitions with activist groups rooted in other ethnic communities. In fact, El Centro worked extensively with the Native American community whose occupation of Fort Lawton in Seattle in 1970 provided a model for what was then the occupation of the Beacon Hill school two years later. These alliances would continue throughout the 1970s and to the present day.

Much of the social justice work done by El Centro is outlined in its mission statement and “includes ensuring access to services and advocating on behalf of people regardless of race, color, creed, national origin, gender, level of income, age, ability and sexual orientation.”²⁸ In later years the organization was also involved in issues of labor, with participation in aiding with farmworker organizing in the state of Washington and in supporting much of the work being done by Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and the United Farm Workers Union. Also, there was solidarity work done with international struggles, most notably in Central and South America throughout the 1970s, and again in keeping communication with the Sandinista government in Nicaragua later in the 1980s. The effort that initially created El Centro de La Raza was the result of a community coming together to forge space for furthering the cause social justice within the Chicano/Latino community in Seattle.²⁹ This served as one of the first major attempts in the Seattle area to create community institutions to better conditions for the people.

Building Community Institutions

Though there were organizations such as “Active Mexicano”³⁰ that emerged in the late 1960’s, there were few that endured past the early 1980’s. The acute isolation for many Chicanos from other cultural urban centers in the southwest made the interaction between students at the UW and the Chicano community of Seattle even more noteworthy. In fact, the impetus of the Chicano student movement at the University of

²⁸ For additional information see El Centro De La Raza’s website, <<http://www.elcentrodelaraza.org/>>

²⁹ <<http://www.elcentrodelaraza.org/>>

³⁰ In 1969, Active Mexicano is established in Seattle. The organization worked toward providing individuals social services including job placement and legal assistance.

Washington would help forge a new era in the development of the arts and literature not only in Seattle, but throughout the northwest. This energy would emerge through the efforts of staff & faculty, as well as UW MEChA, which is the oldest student-initiated activist organization in the Northwest.

At the community level, the creation of community health centers such as SEAMAR³¹ and Consejo³² in 1978 was sparked by former student activists. The two centers would serve the Western Washington Latino community, expanding to other low-income communities as well. SEAMAR would emulate the farmworker's clinic in the Yakima Valley by offering holistic medical services, while Consejo focused primarily on mental health and chemical dependency. These institutions would be vital in providing access to health care for the Chicano and Latino Immigrant communities.

In Seattle, the late 1970s would have the establishment of a chapter of the Center for Autonomous Social Action (CASA).³³ CASA, which was originally from Los Angeles in 1968, was a group that blended cultural nationalism with Marxist-Leninist thought. The organization started as another mutual help organization that organized around ridding the local barrios of illegal drugs. The progression of the group would make it the first Chicano Marxist organization that was organized by lower and working-class Chicanos. As the group developed, it would start organizing workers regardless of legal status and forged coalitions with Mexican socialists and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. This turn toward a more internationalist ideology was a

³¹ SEAMAR Community Health Centers, <<http://www.seamar.org/>>

³² Consejo Counseling and Referral Services, <<http://www.consejo-wa.org/Anniversary.htm>>

³³ In 1968 Soledad Alatorre and Bert Corona set up the Center for Autonomous Social Action-General Brotherhood of Workers (CASA-HGT). The group is one of the first to spearhead a move toward organizing both legal and undocumented workers under the banner of 'sin fronteras' or 'without borders.' In 1973 CASA's ideology takes a turn farther toward the left, making it the first Marxist-Leninist Organization based inside the Chicano Community. The student element comprised of a group of students from Los Angeles and Orange County form El Comité Estudiantil del Pueblo. The group, made up primarily of Chicano Marxists, sought "anti-imperialist solidarity with national and international student struggles, university reform, self-determination against the 'imperial system,' and student-worker unity." The group would later merge with CASA. The organization would reach all throughout the west coast, with chapters as far away as Chicago, Illinois, and as far north as Seattle, Washington (Also see, Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos. Fifth ED.* New York, N.Y.: Pearson Longman, 2004, p. 353)

reflection of the changing demographics in the 1970s and as a response to a renewed anti-immigrant backlash. At the National level, the harsh anti-immigrant policies brought forth by the Carter Administration, as well as the patrolling of the southern border by the Ku Klux Klan prompted many Chicano activists to take action by organizing opposition to the nativist sentiment echoed by the right wing in the late 1970s. The activity during the late 1970s would also filter into the solidarity work done with Central and South American communities³⁴ during the CIA-backed proxy wars in the western hemisphere.

In the Yakima Valley the contributions of community activists would result in the creation of Radio KDNA³⁵ in 1979. KDNA would be the first radio station that dedicated its entire programming to the Spanish-speaking population in Eastern Washington. To this day, the station is still nationally recognized for the progressive programming that serves to educate people on various issues concerning health, labor, and culture. Much like the organizations that were created in Seattle during the late 1970s, Radio KDNA has been instrumental in advocating for the rights of workers regardless of legal status.

Chicano Cultural Awakening

The UW MEChA chapter was one of the most influential organizations pushing the Chicano youth movement in the Pacific Northwest. Efforts on behalf of the organization have been many and include a multifaceted focus on social, cultural, educational and political activity at the University of Washington. The cultural promotions of MEChA have included Teatro Campesino, Chicano/Latino graduation, Christmas “posadas,” Cinco de Mayo celebrations and dances to meet the social needs of students³⁶ who were away from their respective communities. Students have also been at the center of the creation of a Chicano Studies Program, the formation of El Centro de Estudios Chicanos at the University of Washington.

The events included that had been put together in the past have been lecture and film series, rap sessions, food and clothing drives, dances with Little Joe, Eligio Salinas, Los Lobos and many Latino festivities and workshops. National leaders have also been invited to the

³⁴ In 1983 El Centro de La Raza would send a delegation and a crew from KING-TV on a fact-finding mission to Nicaragua. The Sandinista government would host the delegation for a week as the group talked to people in the towns affected by attacks by counterrevolutionary groups.

³⁵ Radio KDNA online, <<http://www.radiokdna.org/>>

³⁶ La Historia de MEChA, Internal Document for MEChA Executive Board, 1987, MEChA de UW Archives.

UW campus to talk to students about issues taking place at the National level. Such speakers include people such as Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers of California, Reies Lopez Tijerina of the Alianza Federal de Mercedes in New Mexico, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzalez of the Crusade for Justice in Colorado,³⁷ Patricia Vasquez of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)³⁸, and various other guests ranging from artists and poets, to leaders of the La Raza Unida Party.³⁹

According to Jesus Rodriguez in the few years after the organization was established, “MEChA became more diversified and developed subgroups to deal with specific problems in health, women’s issues, community concerns, graduate students and so forth.”⁴⁰ In effect, MEChA would serve as the umbrella organization that would house such groups as **Las Chicanas**, the **Brown Berets**, the **National Chicano Health Association**, the **Chicano Graduate and Professional Student Association**, as well as other such entities that focused primarily as cultural organizations that would have wide reach throughout the Pacific Northwest.

The Puget Sound would give rise to a dance troupe called Los Bailadores de Bronce⁴¹ (The Bronze Dancers), who would soon develop into a group based in the community. Established primarily by faculty and staff from the University of Washington in 1972, the group would evolve to include community members. The purpose was to share Mexican dance, music, and cultural traditions with the community. As

³⁷ The Crusade for Justice was a community organization founded by Gonzalez in Denver, Colorado in 1966. The organization operated a school, a curio shop, a bookstore and a social center. It was most notable for introducing the Chicano urban struggle and incorporating youth into the emergent Chicano Movement.

³⁸ In 1968 the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) was organized in San Antonio, Texas. It was modeled after the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

³⁹ La Raza Unida Party’s platform touched on economic development, the system of justice in the United States, the role of women, immigration, the selective service system, international affairs, natural resources, transportation, health, welfare, and housing among others (see Carlos Muñoz. *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*. New York, N.Y.: Verso, 1989. p. 99-126).

⁴⁰ Jesus Rodriguez, MEChA Newsletter University of Washington, 1981, p. 1-2, Jesus Rodriguez Papers, MEChA de UW Archives.

⁴¹ The Bailadores de Bronce is one of the few groups founded during the early 1970’s that is still in existence. The group still performs at various events throughout the Puget Sound region in Western Washington (Also, see <http://www.bailadoresdebronce.org/>).

the years progressed, the dance group would perform all over the West Coast and would establish itself as one of the oldest groups of its kind in the Northwest. This group would aid in further cultural development, much like various other initiatives undertaken during this period.

El Teatro del Piojo would be another of the key entities that would develop under MEChA. Established in 1970, the theatre collective was a group that would reflect the Chicano reality most students encountered growing up in rural Central Washington. Inspired by El Teatro Campesino⁴² which formed in 1965, the UW group would be the first so called 'guerrilla theatre' group in the Northwest. Many of the short skits, or 'actos' were emblematic of this period of the movement which emphasized the struggle in the fields as well as the experiences of alienation through interaction with the dominant power structure. Throughout its existence from 1970 to 1979, the group would perform all over the West Coast and would be a member organization of Teatros Nacionales de Aztlan or TENAZ (National Theatre [Collectives] of Aztlan). El Teatro del Piojo would later spawn a more traditional acting troupe known as el Teatro Quetzalcoatl, formed in 1975, that would perform politically charged plays. Often referred to as the 'voice' of MEChA, as related by former student activist Jesus Rodriguez,⁴³ the theatre collective would be influential in the emergence of the new Chicano identity here in the Northwest.

The journal *Metamorfosis*, produced out of El Centro de Estudios Chicanos at the University of Washington, would be one of the most influential journals writing about Chicano/Latino arts and culture in the Northwest. At the time the journal was created, the movement at the national level was beginning to wane, which was evident with much of the activity starting to die down. Though it only lasted from 1977 to 1984, the journal would be instrumental in articulating Chicano/Latino culture in the Northwest. This is very important when considering the relative isolation of Seattle from the Chicano cultural hubs of the southwest. During the formative period of Chicano scholarly work in the northwest, it would leave a mark that coupled with the muralist art movement, influenced the discourse on Chicano/Latino identity in the State of Washington.

⁴² Initiated as a farmworker group, El Teatro Campesino, established by Luis Valdez, publicized the struggle of the farmworkers and Chicanos in one-act plays. The collective would also be instrumental in helping establish other theatre groups.

⁴³ Jesus Rodriguez Interview. 3 March 2006.

The Fight for Chicano Studies

The struggles students faced throughout the struggle were present in many areas. In effect, the student movement went through many phases when dealing with the University. Though the time period was one of profound change on many campuses throughout the country, the academic world would take a much slower pace. This is seen on the University of Washington campus as the institution's norms made it difficult to seek immediate changes. One of the many debated issues would be the recruitment of faculty of color.

At UW, this would be seen in March of 1972. Students organized a moratorium to stress the importance of hiring Chicano/a Faculty at the UW.⁴⁴ Since the arrival of Chicanos to the UW Campus, the recruitment of Chicanos at every level from Grad Students, to staff and faculty, was at the center of many of the students' demands. This battle between students and university administration would only intensify throughout the 1970's and early 1980's. At times, frustration at the slow pace of change would lead to various protests, the occupation of buildings, and the filing of complaints to state agencies dealing with civil rights.⁴⁵

On May 2, 1974, forty students, led by UW MEChA, occupied the Office of the Chair of the Psychology Department at UW.⁴⁶ The sit-in was in response to inaction by the Psychology Department in providing equal representation of Chicanos at the administrative, faculty, staff and graduate student levels. As the month progressed, activity would intensify as information about hiring practices came out. On the 13th of that same month, between 75-100 students occupied the office of the Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences.⁴⁷ The protest was a result of the college's failure to hire Dr. Carlos Muñoz as a new professor at UW and the university's inability to recruit Chicano faculty. The resulting trashing of the office was a direct response of the frustration many students felt. The Muñoz issue would be one that would be bitterly debated throughout the rest of this period. According to Dr. Erasmo Gamboa, "that incident is telling of the difficulty and the problems in working within the University for change. The University departments, faculty are not

⁴⁴ "[Chicanos ask for moratorium support](#)," U of W Daily. 3 Mar. 1972

⁴⁵ Rodriguez, MEChA Newsletter University of Washington, 1981, p. 1-2, Jesus Rodriguez Papers, MEChA de UW Archives.

⁴⁶ [Chicano students demand representation, occupy psych office](#), U of W Daily 3 May 1974.

⁴⁷ [Dean Beckmann's office trashed during sit-in \(for Carlos Munoz\)](#) U of W Daily 14 May 1974

always accepting of change”⁴⁸ As it would result, Dr. Muñoz would eventually join the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, becoming a world-class scholar and one of the most influential Chicano Political Scientists.

The decision to not hire Muñoz was still fresh on the minds of many as the '74-'75 Academic year started. Many of the same issues still debated, spring would be a time of crisis as support from staff for the students led to the firing of the head of the Chicano division of the Educational Opportunity Program. The UW fired two Chicano administrators for their participation in activities protesting the UW's hiring practices on May 6, 1975.⁴⁹ As the week progressed, Chicano Staff and Faculty resigned in solidarity, leaving the Chicano Studies Program with an uncertain future.⁵⁰ MEChA would lead the way in responding with a resolution condemning the action. A week later, nearly 2000 students converged on the administration building at the University of Washington.⁵¹ UW MEChA and the ASUW called for a two-day boycott of classes⁵² to protest the hiring practices of the University's affirmative action program. As with previous actions, this cause would be met with support from various student groups who joined the class boycott in solidarity.

Over the summer, the President of the University made an official apology and started dialogue with faculty that had resigned. The end result would have many of the staff and faculty rescind their letters of resignation,⁵³ and getting their positions back. This would put MEChA at odds with faculty as students felt as though they were marginalized during these talks with the primary issue not being addressed. This animosity would further take shape toward the latter part of the decade. This would be seen with the proposed changes to the EOP Programs that would be suggested.

1978 would see the emergence of what students deemed the transformation of the EOP programs. The reorganization of EOP would be met by resistance as students felt as though their voice was being silenced and that the high administration at the Office of Minority

⁴⁸Erasmus Gamboa Interview, courtesy of the Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. 1 November

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⁴⁹[UW fires two Chicano administrators](#) U of W Daily 7 May 1975

⁵⁰[20 Chicanos resign in wake of firings](#) U of W Daily 8 May 1975

⁵¹[Huge crowd attends demonstration against UW hiring practices](#) U of W Daily 14 May 1975

⁵²[ASUW calls for strike in support of Chicanos](#) U of W Daily 9 May 1975

⁵³[Chicanos plan summer talks with University](#) U of W Daily 23 July 1975

Affairs were taking decisions without consulting students who would be affected by the changes being proposed. UW MEChA occupied the Chicano Division of the Educational Opportunity Program and organized a 'sick-out' with counselors to protest the reorganization of the EOP program at UW.⁵⁴ The struggle would expand the next two years, culminating in the occupation of Schmitz Hall, the center of bureaucracy at the University of Washington.

Twenty Asian and Chicano EOP students occupied the offices of EOP Vice-President Herman Lujan on May 21st, 1980,⁵⁵ demanding an end to the new restrictive admissions practices and his resignation. Throughout the week's protests, over 78 students, staff and community members were arrested. Though the assault on academic programs would continue, students were still at the center of the opposition. This was especially the case throughout the early part of the decade with budget cuts to programs and increases in tuition making it more difficult for students, especially students of color to attain a university education.

The 1980's signaled the end of many of the initiatives pushed by the student movement. There would also be a shift as cultural nationalism was no longer the force it was in the late 1960's. The internal fighting also signaled the fissures present between various sectors of the student group that included cultural nationalists, Chicano Marxists, as well as students who advocated for a moderate stance and the conversion of the group into a 'social' organization. This process would also play out with various MEChA Chapters in the southwest as well.

Conclusion

Almost four decades later the Chicano Movement still has a visible impact. As a result of activism at the grassroots level, there was a change as to how people now talk about race, which is a lasting effect of the broader Civil Rights Movements. The most visible results are still primarily within academia with various student centers at college campuses all over the country as well as the establishment of Chicano Studies Departments, Research Centers, Academic Journals, and so on.

The literary and art movements have also left an indelible mark on the Chicano/Latino community. The production of art centered on issues such as racism, human rights, and equal access to education and employment are still being produced today. The discourse has also

⁵⁴ The Daily Jalapeño, EOP Take-Over Edition, UW MEChA Newsletter, 21 May 1980, MEChA de UW Archives.

⁵⁵ The Daily Jalapeño, 21 May 1980, MEChA de UW Archives.

expanded on issues of class, gender, nationality, and cultural identity.⁵⁶ Though there are few direct links to the original art and literary movements of the late 1960s, activist youth organizations are still around on many campuses, such as M.E.Ch.A, which still organize around educational equity and issues of social justice in Chicano/Latino communities all across the United States.

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⁵⁶ *The Philosophy of M.E.Ch.A.*, last revised at 1999 National MEChA Conference in Phoenix, Arizona.

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Oscar Rosales Castañeda
Department of American Ethnic Studies
oscarr@u.washington.edu

My research interests include Chicano History in the Pacific Northwest, political social movements, muralist and political art, popular education, immigration, Latin American History, international political economy

and critical theory. I will begin my graduate work fall semester of 2006 for a Master of Arts program in Borderland Studies with the Chicana/o Studies Department at San Diego State University. Upon completion, I hope to enter the PhD Program in Chicana/o Studies at either UC Santa Barbara or UCLA.

Photostability of Organic Molecules on Mars

Ellen Harju

Abstract

It is unclear whether or not Mars possesses indigenous organic molecules; however, meteorites deliver a significant organic load to the Martian surface on an annual basis. The Viking mission did not detect organic molecules on Mars and it is still unclear why it did not. It is thought that organic molecules may be photolytically degraded on the Martian surface to carbon dioxide and other oxidized products. Benner et al. have proposed a mechanism for how organic molecules, including polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs), may be oxidized on Mars based on experiments conducted in Earth conditions. In this reaction pathway aromatic rings become benzenecarboxylic acids. We have irradiated the polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons phenanthrene and pyrene with a deep ultraviolet laser induced native fluorescence instrument to determine if any molecular changes occur under this light source. We are interested in whether these molecules follow the oxidation pathway proposed by Benner et al. Preliminary results indicate that phenanthrene has photolytically degraded under the ultraviolet light, while pyrene did not.

Introduction

No one knows for sure if life ever existed on Mars. There has been in the past and is currently much discussion on this issue. The Mars Exploration Rover Opportunity recently found evidence of water on the surface of Mars, which would be an important ingredient for life as we know it¹. On Earth life is carbon based so looking for carbon on Mars could provide clues about life that may have once lived there or possibly currently lives there. Even though it is unknown if there is or ever was life on Mars, it is known that carbon is delivered to Mars via meteorites and cosmic dust^{2,3}. The Viking mission to Mars, which was launched in 1975, did not detect organic molecules on Mars⁴. Even if there is no life on Mars it seems that the carbon delivered by meteorites and cosmic dust should have been detected.

Different hypotheses have been created to explain the apparent lack of organic molecules. Professor Stephen Benner, from the University of Florida, and his colleagues proposed one explanation where molecules are transformed into different molecules through a process called photolytic degradation⁴. In this process ultraviolet light causes water molecules to break apart to form molecules called peroxides. The peroxides react with organic molecules to form new

molecules. This paper focuses on a group of molecules known as polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, which consist of rings of carbon atoms, which are delivered to Mars. If the reaction pathway proposed by Benner is correct, these molecules would become molecules called benzenecarboxylic acids. These benzenecarboxylic acids would be difficult for the instruments on the Viking spacecrafts to detect.

In this experiment two polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, phenanthrene and pyrene, were exposed to ultraviolet light. The purpose of this experiment was to determine if the structures of these molecules changed when they were exposed to ultraviolet light. The light source was a deep ultraviolet fluorescence instrument that contains a 248 nanometer laser. When organic molecules are exposed to the laser light they will sometimes absorb a packet of light called a photon. This will cause the molecule to gain energy. The molecule cannot maintain this higher energy level so the molecule will release the photon to return to a lower energy state. The fluorescence instrument also contains sensors to measure the photons released by molecules. This makes it possible to observe changes in the structure of the molecule.

Discussion

Pyrene did not appear to change significantly upon being exposed to the laser light. This suggests that the light from the instrument alone is not sufficient to change the structure of pyrene or similar molecules. Pyrene did not follow the reaction pathway proposed by Benner, but this was not completely unexpected. The wavelength of light used was not expected to have enough energy to break apart water molecules to form peroxides which would change the molecular structure of pyrene⁵.

Phenanthrene initially appeared to degrade under the laser light. Changes were observed in the photons being released from the molecule. There may be several explanations for this. One possibility is that the phenanthrene molecules sublimed, or turned to gas, during the experiment. Another possibility is that the molecules were degraded by the fluorescent lights in the laboratory. This experiment was conducted during an unusually humid summer. Water molecules from the air may have adsorbed on the quartz disk holding the phenanthrene. If this happened it would be possible for the phenanthrene to dissolve in and then evaporate with the water. Further experiments using phenanthrene should make the mechanism more clear. These results could help us understand whether phenanthrene would be expected to be stable in the Martian environment.

Methods

Each of the target analytes, phenanthrene and pyrene, were dissolved in hexane (separately). Both 10 mM and 5 mM solutions were prepared. Approximately 20 uL of each of these solutions were spin coated onto a quartz disk at 1000 rpm for approximately 20 seconds. The homogeneity and thickness of the coating was then measured via optical absorbance of the disks using a Shimadzu spectrophotometer—this is necessary to ensure that equivalent cross-sections of analyte were irradiated with ultra-violet (UV) light during the experiment. The samples were irradiated with a 248 nm laser that also serves as an excitation source for the fluorescence analytical probe. The analytes were irradiated by 100 counts three times every ten minutes for one hour.

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Reproducing Racial and Gendered Nationalisms in Nora Okja Keller's *Comfort Woman*

Anne Kim

Abstract

“A man dressed in a Japanese policeman’s uniform approached us. Suddenly he seized me with force, put me on a truck, and drove off to Taegu City. My little brother could not explain this kidnapping to my family. No one in my family knew what happened to me afterwards. When the truck arrived at a strange place in Taegu, I saw about ten young Korean girls like me who had already been forced to go there” – Kim Bun-sun, former Korean comfort woman. (Schellstede 21).

*The issue of Korean comfort women has sparked significant and often contentious attention among academics, activists and politicians during the past decade.¹ Largely unknown to the public until the early 1990s, scholars have in the past several years taken multiple perspectives ranging from understanding the issue as a violation of human rights to one of exploitation of women’s bodies to an issue of unpaid reparations. Nora Okja Keller’s novel, *Comfort Woman*, inserts itself in this wide-ranging discussion. The text traces the experiences of Akiko, a Korean immigrant to the U.S., from her experience as a comfort woman, to her marriage to a white American missionary, to her later lapses between “reality” and the spirit world. In doing so, the text*

¹ The term “comfort woman” is a euphemism referring to women who were used as sex slaves by Japanese soldiers during World War II. Indeed, this term can work to conceal the violence that these women endured and many scholars and activists have raised this issue (Yoshiaki 39). However, this term is widely used in English language academic, activist and journalistic writing on the topic. It connotes a particular historical, geographic and colonial experience that other terms fail to indicate. Furthermore, alternative terms such as “military sex slaves” could also be argued to be problematic in stripping women of agency. Thus, although aware of the problems with this term, I will use the term “comfort women” to indicate the particular historic and colonial experience.

*traces Akiko's life from Korea to the mainland U.S. to Hawaii.*² *In Hawaii, Akiko raises her mixed-race daughter, Beccah, who also tells her own story. I read Comfort Woman as a meditation upon the exclusions of nationalism that result from its intersecting racialized and gendered forms. I refer to racial and gendered nationalism as a phenomenon in which the nation is imagined to be of a particular race and/or gender, and thus exclusionary to those thought to be outside the national community.*³ *I will argue that Comfort Woman reveals the ways in which nations can be racist through its representation of Japanese imperial nationalism.*⁴ *The text shows that female reproduction in this context is abused to enforce boundaries of the imagined Japanese racial nation.*⁵ *Also, the text shows the ways in which nations can be sexist through an exploration of a masculinist Korean nationalism.*⁶ *When the nation is constructed as an exclusively masculine formation, women are excluded from direct participation in anti-colonial struggle and relegated as merely bodies that reproduce male nationalists. Furthermore, the text more forcefully explores the intersection of race and gender in its meditation on the U.S. nation. The U.S. is figured in the text as a multiracial nation that presents itself as a liberal society whose drive toward racial equality is in the process of being realized. Yet, the legacy of a historical imagining of the U.S. nation as exclusively white and in need of masculine domination haunts the nation. As a result, women of color do not fit into this lingering construction of the*

² Akiko is referred through the majority of the text by the Japanese name she adopts as a comfort woman. Only after her history as a comfort woman is revealed to her daughter is Akiko referred to in the text by her given Korean name, Soon Hyo. In order to maintain consistency, I will refer to this character as Akiko.

³ In thinking about racial nationalism, I use Michael Omi and Howard Winant's notion of a racial formation as a social process in which racial categories (represented by human bodies and organized through social structures) are constructed and change over time (Omi and Winant 56). Gender is also social constructed (Butler 2).

⁴ Critical race theorists Michael Omi and Howard Winant define racism as a project that "creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race." (Omi and Winant 71).

⁵ Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias refer to boundaries of ethnic/national groups in their theorization of the intersection between women, nation-formations and states (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 8).

⁶ Caroline Ramazanoglu, a feminist scholar, describes sexism as the ways in which women are oppressed within various social structures and constructions such as sexuality, male violence to women, and the lack of recognition of women's work (Ramazanoglu 64 – 77).

*U.S. as white and male-centered.*⁷ *In contesting such violent exclusions within nationalisms, the text theorizes the possibility of reproducing a new nation that is racially-and gender-inclusive. Yet, the text fails to completely deconstruct racial and gendered nationalisms. At times it reinforces problematic ideas that are fundamental to thinking about racial and gendered nationalisms, such as the idea that there exists a relationship between the nation and women's bodies and the idea that national identity is a "blood" identity.*

Background

Before proceeding, a brief history of Korean comfort women is necessary. Comfort women were women recruited by the Japanese military during the Pacific Wars (1932 – 45) to be sex slaves for Japanese soldiers (Soh 16, Min 938). The Japanese imperial government was looking for sexual services for its soldiers and also wanted to protect soldiers from venereal disease (Tanaka 31). Institutionalized military comfort stations – military brothels – were thought to decrease the chance of soldiers contracting venereal diseases, such as syphilis, which could weaken the troops and “could potentially create massive public health problems back in Japan once the war was over” (Tanaka 30). About 200,000 women from Japan's colonies – predominantly single women from Korea, but also from the Philippines, China and other Asian countries – were coerced, tricked or forced to work in military comfort stations located throughout Japan's territories. They were often kept in bondage for years (Min 938, 940). Women, usually between the ages of 15 and 19, were often offered work in the Women's Voluntary Service Corps to make products for the imperial government's war efforts (Yang 62, Hicks 53). Instead of working in factories, women were forced into sex slavery for Japanese soldiers. At the end of World War II, many Korean comfort women returned to Korea. When they returned home, many could not live with their families because of a sense of shame and continued to feel the effects of their experiences as comfort women through physical and mental ailments (Min 941). Their stories were not exposed to the general public until the early 1990s.

Korean women were chosen by the Japanese military to be sexual slaves because they were both women and colonized peoples.

⁷ Of course, Korean nationalism is not *only* sexist. Neither is Japanese nationalism *only* racist. In reality, race and gender intersect in myriad ways within these forms of nationalism. Yet, the text tends to foreground particular elements – race, gender or both -- as lenses to explore nationalism in each geographic location.

Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910 and was a Japanese colony until the end of World War II (Hicks 16). The comfort women constituted one of the myriad ways in which Koreans were used to support Japan's war efforts. Other jobs included: military draftees, manual laborers, and producers of food such as rice (Min 943). The role of colonialism in the comfort woman issue is evident by the fact that although Japanese women worked in the sex industry servicing the Japanese military prior to the war, very few Japanese women were employed in the institutionalized military sex system. Japanese military leaders did not think that Japanese women should work in such a capacity, as their constructed role in the nation "was to bear and bring up good Japanese children, who would grow up to be loyal subjects of the Emperor rather than being the means for men to satisfy their sexual urges" (Tanaka 32). In fact, during the Pacific War, when Korean and other colonial women were forced into sex slavery, Japanese women participated in presenting their children in healthy baby contests (Tanaka 31). Japanese women, as privileged members of the empire, were viewed as mothers to be revered for their contributions to national production. In contrast, Korean women, as "inferior" colonial subjects, were viewed and used as bodies for Japanese men to fulfill their sexual needs.

Comfort Woman

Inspired by testimonies of former Korean comfort women, Nora Okja Keller's Comfort Woman provides a fictional account of the life of one former comfort woman (Lee 145). The text slowly unravels the story of Soon Hyo Kim through the perspectives of both herself and her daughter, Beccah. Soon Hyo's parents, poor Korean farmers, die when she is young. The youngest of three girls, she is later sold to the Japanese military by her oldest sister. Soldiers take her to a comfort station where she works as a domestic servant for the comfort women there. After the death of a comfort woman named Akiko 40 (originally Induk), Soon Hyo is forced into sex work for Japanese soldiers. In taking the place of Akiko 40 as a comfort woman, Soon Hyo adopts her name. Soon Hyo, now Akiko, escapes from the comfort station after a forced abortion. A former shaman later takes Akiko to a Christian missionary in Pyongyang. She marries and has the child of the white American missionary pastor, Rick Bradley, who takes her to the U.S. After her husband's death, Akiko attempts to return to Korea with her daughter and travels as far as Hawaii before becoming broke. Her financial situation forces Akiko to work as a cook. She later enrolls Beccah in school after realizing that their stay in Hawaii might be longer than expected. Two spirits haunt Akiko: the ghost of Induk, who

protects her, and Saja, the death soldier. Caught between the spirit world and the “real world,” Akiko often appears insane to her daughter, who assumes the role of the mother in the relationship. Beccah takes care of both herself and Akiko when Akiko is consumed by trances. Ironically, these trances become a form of financial empowerment. They make Akiko well-known throughout the local community as a shaman who can speak to the dead. She makes a living by acting as a conduit to the spirit world for new immigrants. Only upon her mother’s death does Beccah discover Akiko’s true history as a comfort woman and subsequently embraces the shamanistic rituals her mother taught her throughout her childhood.

Many literary critics have explored the novel through a range of lenses, including that of colonialism, mother-daughter relationships, and the novel’s relationship to other works of Asian American literature. Literary critics such as Jodi Kim, Samina Najmi, and Beth Vanrheenen have explored in their readings themes such as U.S. racial identity and what Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias term as the intersection of women-and-nation. Vanrheenen argues that the text raises questions about identity and the struggle that people of ethnic identities face “in becoming Americans are created by pre-existing ideas about nationhood” (Vanrheenen 13). *Comfort Woman*, according to Vanrheenen, belongs to the gothic genre, which allows the text to express the traumatic experience of minorities in the U.S. (Vanrheenen 16). Similarly, Najmi writes that the novel turns the bildungsroman genre on its head by “gendering and ‘Asianizing’” Beccah’s story (Najmi 210). She writes that nations in the text are figured as women’s bodies and that violence against women is understood by its perpetrators as violence against the nation (Najmi 221). By fusing the war narrative with the bildungsroman, the text, according to Najmi redefines “nationalism as love of land and love of other Korean women” (Najmi 221). Thus, the text is understood as a piece of decolonizing literature that redefines nationalism (which has historically resulted in colonizing Korean women) as a sense of love for land and women. Building upon this body of critical work, I will read *Comfort Woman* in order to foreground the intersection of not only gender, nation, and race, but also *reproduction*. I will argue that Keller’s text is not only a meditation on the ways in which nationalisms can be both racist and sexist, but also explores the ways in which the idea of reproduction (its prevention and enforcement) is used by nations to enforce its racial and gendered boundaries. By imagining a new nation, the text takes a step forward in turning the notion of reproduction on its head by using the concept as a tool for women’s empowerment. Yet, the ways in which the text continues to create a link between national

reproduction and women's bodies and assumes that national identity is created through blood fails to fully undo notions fundamental to the racial and gendered nationalisms that this new nationalism critiques.

Reproducing the Racial and Gendered Nation

In analyzing Comfort Woman and its theorization of racial and gendered nationalism, I draw from a rich body of theoretical work on race, gender, nation, reproduction and its intersection. It is both useful and necessary to outline the body of work that both informs this paper.

First, it must be noted that the nation, like race and gender, is socially constructed. Benedict Anderson, a political scientist, defines the nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 6). There is nothing natural or biological about nations or nationality. Rather, people gain a sense of common national identity or belonging through cultural productions such as poetry, songs (such as the national anthem), the pledge of allegiance, and I would add, such spectacles as the Olympics (Anderson 145). Also, a sense of a shared identity among a group of people is created through the idea that they share a common language and racial identity (Balibar 96).⁸

A sense of national identity, however, is never gender-neutral. Feminist theorists Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias argue that gender plays a significant role in constructing nationalism. In doing so, they explore the relationship between women, nations and the states that enforce these national identities. They write that the central “dimensions of the relationships between collectivities and the state are constituted around the roles of women” (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1). Women are often seen in national discourse as follows: as biological reproducers of ethnic groups; as reproducers of the boundaries of these identities; as conduits for cultural transmission; as symbols of the nation; and as participants in “national, economic, political and military struggles” (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 7). In other words, women are made into both objects and agents of nationalism. Their relationship with nationalism ranges from being active participants of national struggle to having their bodies figured as symbols for the nation. Feminist theorists Chandra Talpade Mohanty and M. Jacqui Alexander write that such figurations of women's bodies as symbols and reproducers of the nation is not limited to nationalist discourse, but extends to ways in which labor, culture and

⁸ I define race using Howard Omi and Michael Winant's definition, of race as a “concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (Omi and Winant 55).

religion are imagined. They write that women's bodies are used within various discourses, including that of "global workers and sexual laborers; within religious fundamentalisms, as repositories of sin and transgression; within specifically nationalist discourses, as guardians of culture and respectability or criminalized as prostitutes and lesbians; and within state discourses of the original nuclear family, as wives and mothers." (Alexander and Mohanty xxiii). In order to unpack these widespread problems, a project of mapping feminist genealogies, or "an interested, conscious thinking and rethinking of history and historicity, a rethinking which has women's autonomy and self-determination at its core," is needed (Alexander and Mohanty xvi).

Race also plays an important and interconnected role in constructing nationalism. Therefore, nationalism must be thought about through an *intersection* of race with gender. In her discussion of South African white colonial nationalism, McClintock argues that for male nationalists, "women serve as the visible markers of national homogeneity" (McClintock 365). According to this gender logic, women's bodies are not only imagined as the symbol for nation, but also as physical manifestations of the dominant race. Women's bodies are seen as the space in which the racial identity of a nation is maintained and contested. Furthermore, the family trope as a representation of the nation works to naturalize racial hierarchies through the already naturalized gendered hierarchy of the family (McClintock 357). If wives and children are viewed as inferior to husbands and fathers, then the colonial subject's disenfranchised position is seen as a natural occurrence within a national family in which the imperial nation is figured as the head of the household and colonial subjects are figured as women and children. Thus, race and gender intersect in constructions of nationalism.

One can dissect the ways in which notions of race and gender are inextricably tied both to each other and to nationalism by examining theories of reproduction. Alys Eve Weinbaum, a feminist literary critic and theorist, argues that within transatlantic modern thought, theorizations of race and nation are inextricably intertwined with ideas of reproduction. Although she writes about the transatlantic, one can expand the framework she uses to understand reproduction and its link to race-nation-gender globally. She writes, "the interconnected ideologies of racism, nationalism, and imperialism rest on the notion that race can be reproduced, and on attendant beliefs in the reproducibility of racial formations (including nations) and of social systems hierarchically organized according to notions of inherent superiority, inferiority, and degeneration" (Weinbaum 4). In other words, notions of women's biological reproduction are inextricably bound with notions of racial

formation, national formation and imperialism. Race and nation are thought to be biologically reproduced in transatlantic modern thought. Thus, ideologies of racism and nationalism work through each other because “ideas of reproductive genealogical connection secure notions of belonging in those contexts in which the nation is conceived of as racially homogenous” (Weinbaum 8). Due to the way in which race and nation are conceived, one’s feeling of belonging to a nation inevitably coincides with a feeling of belonging to a homogenous race. Genealogy is, therefore, a “concept that conjoins notions of racial ‘purity,’ familial, and national belonging” (Weinbaum 8). In analyzing Comfort Woman, I draw upon the ideas of these theorists, particularly Weinbaum’s theorization of the relationship between race, nation, gender and reproduction.

Racialized Nations: Japanese Colonialism/Nationalism

These theories provide tools to analyze Keller’s text as a meditation on reproduction of racial and gendered nationalism. It is clear that the text foregrounds the idea of woman-as-nation that Anthias and Yuval-Davis and others theorize. Literary critics such as Samina Najmi write that the notion of woman-as-nation is seen when Akiko experiences the Japanese invasion “of Korea as an invasion of her self, literalized in the invasion of her body by countless soldiers. Korea is represented as a feminized body with head, feet and navel – a body later cut callously in two, and one with the abused bodies of thousands of Korean women forced into Japanese recreation camps” (Keller 221). It is clear that the woman’s body is aligned in the text with the national body. Thus, rape of the woman’s body can be interpreted as an act of violence against the nation to which the woman symbolizes.

As a symbol for the nation, the female body then becomes the site on which a nation’s imagined racial identity is expressed. The text explores the ways in which nations are thought to be constituted by a particular race through its representation of the Japanese military. The Japanese military can be read as a representation of the Japanese nation because “there is a widespread assumption that a state’s military is the most genuinely ‘national’ of all its institutions” (Enloe, Police, Military 67). Furthermore, the military, as a powerful institution within the nation, can actively participate in creating the racial identity that the state perceives a nation to be (Enloe, Police, Military 14). If the military is generally thought to be the pinnacle of nationalistic institutions and one that shapes a nation’s racialization, then in this context the military can be understood as a representation of the nation itself. The ways in which the nation is imagined to be a particular race can be seen when the

Japanese military doctor discusses the differences in sexual “morality” between Korean and Japanese women while performing an abortion on Akiko. The doctor, “spoke of evolutionary differences between the races, biological quirks that made the women of one race so pure and the women of another race so promiscuous. Base, really, almost like animals, he said.... Perhaps it is the differences in geography that make the women of our two countries so morally incompatible” (Keller 22). Japanese women – as symbols of the Japanese nation – are figured by the doctor as racially distinct from Korean women – symbols of the Korean nation. This racial difference between the nations is expressed by the doctor as correlated to differences in the women’s sexual morality. The doctor assumes that Korean women are sexually promiscuous and that Japanese women are sexually “pure.” The doctor imagines both the Japanese and Korean nations as raced formations.⁹ Furthermore, the doctor views the mixing of these nations as a threat to Japan’s racial purity. This can be seen in the following passage: “At the camps, both the women and the doctors always talked about the monsters born from the Japanese soldiers’ mixing their blood with ours” (Keller 154). Such imaginings of monsters born from the mixing of Japanese and Korean blood shows that nations are thought to be distinct racial formations in need of preservation.

The text further reveals that such racialization of nations is violently enforced through policing of women’s bodies and reproduction. The ways in which the military shapes the nation’s ethnic identity in *Comfort Woman* is most clearly seen when Akiko recounts an incident in the comfort station when a Japanese officer shot a pregnant comfort woman and a comfort woman infected with syphilis: “One of the women, named Haruko, her wide, hopeful face distorted by blisters, and another woman – not infected but grossly pregnant – staggered against the doorframe” (Keller 147). After shooting the women, the officer gave orders to burn the “sick house” in which the women were staying, “and while it burned, smoke and ash soaking the camps with the smell of roasting meat, he whistled the ‘*Kimogayo*,’ his national anthem” (Keller 147). By killing the women, the officer engages in acts of both gendered

⁹ According to Michael Weiner, who writes about theorizations of race in imperial Japan, the idea that Japanese peoples share a unique blood different from those of other Asian identities originated in the pre-modern period and has continued through the contemporary post-war period (Weiner 8). The effects of such thought can be seen in the fact that Koreans, viewed by the Japanese as a separate and inferior race, were systematically discriminated during the Second World War when Koreans migrated to the colonial center for purposes of labor (Weiner 200, 208).

and racial violence. Both of the women are seen as threats to the reproduction of a pure and healthy Japanese nation. The syphilitic women could have given Japanese men the disease, possibly making them impotent, and the pregnant woman could have birthed a mixed-race child, which violated the assumed purity of the Japanese racial nation. The officer's act of singing the Japanese national anthem as he watches the bodies burn makes explicit the nationalistic sentiment of the violence. With this in mind, the fact that a military doctor conducts the abortion on Akiko's mixed race baby is quite important. The military is attempting to maintain the imagined purity of the racial nation.

The text also reveals that ideas regarding the colonized woman's sexual morality in combination with notions of reproduction are used to justify such acts of racial national violence. This can be seen when the Japanese military doctor says while aborting Akiko's unborn child, "Rats, too, will keep doing it until they die, refusing food and water as long as they have a supply of willing partners. The doctor chuckled and probed, digging and piercing, as he lectured" (Keller 23). Describing Korean women as not only animalistic and "programmed" for sex, but also ravenously desiring sex allows the doctor to figure Korean women as inherently sexually devious due to their race.¹⁰ Saidiya Hartman offers a useful framework for analysis here. In discussing sexual violence against black slave women in the U.S. during the nineteenth century, Hartman argues that the rape of black women, as slaves, was not recognized or punished by the law, because, "not only was rape simply unimaginable because of purported black lasciviousness, but also its repression was essential to the displacement of white culpability that characterized both the recognition of black humanity in slave law and the designation of the black subject as the ordinary locus of transgression and offense" (Hartman 80). Although the historical and legal context of Hartman's analysis does not directly apply to the comfort woman issue, the idea of constructing desire as a racialized phenomenon that works to justify domination is useful in the context of this novel. As desiring objects, Korean women, by definition could not be raped – they were imagined to participate in their own sexual domination. In short, such constructions of lascivious sexuality work to justify not only sexual violence in slavery, but also colonial racial violence. Notice that the doctor's discussion of the lascivious and endless sexual desire of Korean

¹⁰ Sandra Si Yun Oh, a literary critic, writes that this passage reveals the social construction of race to the American reader who might have naturalized the Western idea that all Asians are racially homogenous by showing that within Asia, different nations are thought to be also racially different (Oh 107).

women is immediately followed by a description of the doctor “digging and piercing” Akiko. The act of violently preventing Japanese and Korean races from mixing is seen by the doctor to be justified because the assumed sexual lasciviousness of Korean women. Their sexual desire makes them both impossible to rape and creates the idea that it is necessary to prevent Korean women from reproducing their sexually deviant race into the Japanese racial nation. Thus, the text clearly reveals that racial nationalisms try to enforce the imagined racial boundaries of the nation and also attempt to justify such racial and gendered violence through the sphere of physical reproduction.

Gendered Nations: Korean Nationalism

Race is not the only way in which “outsiders” of the nation are violently excluded. Through its representation of Korean nationalism, *Comfort Woman* reveals that when nations are reproduced as masculine formations, they can be quite exclusionary toward women. Within such masculine nationalism, women cannot directly participate in anti-colonial national resistance. The only space in which women are allowed to participate is in acting out the role of a physical reproducer of the nation.

Feminist scholars of Korean nationalism commonly cite the ways in which Korean nationalism privileges and foregrounds male identity. Hyunah Yang, a scholar of the comfort woman issue, describes Korean nationalism through the concept of the *minjok*, or the idea that Koreans are “people who belong to a common ethnic group, such that all Koreans are assumed to constitute one homogenous Self. Invocation of this national self affirms unified identity based on an unchangeable essence that is transmitted through blood and homogenous culture” (Yang 128). Yet, like other forms of nationalism, this idea of the *minjok* rises from “masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope” (Enloe, *Bananas* 44). As a primarily male-centered form of resistance, such nationalisms have historically excluded women from direct participation and leadership.

Keller’s text allegorizes this exclusion of women from direct participation in anti-colonial national struggle through the story of Akiko’s mother’s first love. When she is a young college student, Akiko’s mother (whose name is unknown to Akiko) participates in a protest against Japanese occupation of Korea with her boyfriend. The rally is interrupted by the Japanese military, who kill thousands of participants to suppress the protest, including Akiko mother’s boyfriend. Akiko’s mother, thought to be dead by her village, somehow returns to her home and wakes up to hear her mother mourning her death. Her mother proceeds to feign her daughter’s death in order to protect her

from retaliation against surviving protesters by the Japanese military. In reality, Akiko's mother is sent to another village to marry a stranger (Keller 175 – 9). This story provides a ground to theorize women's desire to participate in a nation that is gender inclusive. First, the attempt by Akiko's mother to participate in anti-colonial nationalism is told in the context of a love story. At the rally, she steals "glances at lovers stealing kisses behind their flags. Maybe she thought her own boyfriend would try to kiss her that day" (Keller 176). The flags, common symbols or markers of the nation, are juxtaposed with lovers kissing, expressions of desire. Also, she goes to the rally not only to protest Japanese occupation of Korea, but to meet her boyfriend (Keller 176). The desire to participate in nationalism, seen through the rally and flags, is told simultaneously as a story of love. The fact that the story of Akiko's mother's participation in nationalism is also a romance reflects a trope that many nationalist novels have historically used to express hopes for national unity. Doris Sommer, who writes about nationalism in Latin American romance novels, argues that ideas of love and marriage were used by nationalist novelists as metonyms for national consolidation (Sommer 24). Stories of love and marriage were used to express a desire for national unity. Using this theoretical tool, Akiko's mother's desire for her boyfriend can be read as a hope to fully participate in the Korean nation. Sexual desire in this context is imbricated with nationalist desire. For example, she wonders whether her boyfriend will kiss her and wears her "hair carefully braided and tied with a red bow" to catch his eye at the nationalist rally (Keller 176). Akiko's mother actively desires a romantic relationship with her boyfriend. She hopes that her boyfriend will notice her attractive "red bow" and return her desire, allowing them to consolidate a unified nation in which both men and women can participate.

Yet, the masculinization of nationalism results in the woman's ultimate exclusion from the nation. The masculinization of the nation is made clear when Akiko's great-grandmother attempts to prevent her granddaughter from participating in the rally, warning her to watch out for the boyfriend and describing him as a "no-good, do-nothing-but-yell boy! He'll ruin your chances of a decent match!" (Keller 176). Akiko's great-grandmother views the rally, or the expression of anti-colonial nationalism, as one and the same as the boy Akiko's mother attempts to meet. Despite the involvement of women in the rally, the great-grandmother identifies this expression of nationalism as an exclusively masculine formation. This masculine nationalism, furthermore, threatens the possibility of Akiko's mother forging a truly unified nation, or a "decent match." Thus, despite Akiko's mother's desire to participate in a

nation in which both men and women are allowed to be active agents, her desire for mutual affection, and thus national unity, is not returned.

Women's exclusion from masculine nationalism is made clear in the text through the dissolution of the relationship. National unity is interrupted by the chaos caused by the Japanese military. The bodies of Akiko's mother and her boyfriend crash into each other; they "stumbled against each other and, their bodies careening out of control, pushed into and over others" (Keller 177). The two bodies cannot unite into one national body, and instead crash into each other, resulting in the physical death of the boyfriend and the near death of Akiko's mother. Something about this masculine nationalism does not work, for Akiko's mother cannot successfully participate.¹¹ The attempt to forge a unified nationalism within this masculine nation results in the physical death of the boy. Yet, it also results in displacing the woman from the nationalist struggle – she can no longer participate in expressions of nationalism without the threat of death from Japanese soldiers.

The text makes clear that within this masculine nationalism, the only space in which women can participate is by physically reproducing the masculine nation. Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi, who write about the comfort woman issue, write that, "the unifying impulse of the masculine nationalist discourse homogenizes the nation and normalizes women and women's chastity so that they properly belong to the patriarchal order" (Choi and Kim 5). Women are not figured as active agents within masculinist nationalism. Rather, they are figured as bearers of chastity, or the pride of a nation – a nation designed for men. The novel theorizes such sentiments when it describes Akiko's mother being whisked away from her home to marry another man, an occasion in which "she had time only to listen to her future parent's lecture: Marriage is not about love but about duty. About having sons. About keeping the family name. My mother bowed twice to her new in-laws and was married by morning. My mother never heard her name again" (Keller 180).

To escape death from Japanese colonialists, Akiko's mother enters a marriage in which reproduction, not love, is the purpose. In other words, she eventually accepts that her role within the marriage – and the nation – is to reproduce the lineage of masculine national

¹¹ The exclusion of women from the nation can be seen in the contemporary comfort woman issue in that the issue has largely been ignored by both the Japanese and Korean nations until recently because the issue is not positive for Japan's image in the international community and because Korea seeks to normalize relations with Japan (Kim 74). This ultimately results in endangering "the physical and discursive bodies of Korean women" (Kim 74).

genealogy by having sons. Akiko's mother is only allowed to participate in the nation as a physical reproducer of the nation. Jodi Kim writes that the Korean state "treats female devotion to the nation with ambivalence unless it is expressed through the filter of the family... public displays of female patriotism, then, have not been greeted with unequivocal approval in traditional Korean society, where the most patriotic thing a woman can do is to give birth or be the wife of a great patriot" (Kim 65). In addition, anti-colonial nationalism "idealizes the self-sacrificing woman who is devoted to the national liberation struggle: mothers as asexual vessels of fertility dedicated to revolutionary husbands and sons" (Choi and Kim 4). In other words, the participation of women in anti-colonial masculine nationalism is often limited to the support and reproduction of male nationalists rather than through their own political participation. Returning to the text, Akiko's mother survives within the masculine nation by displacing her desire to participate in a romantic relationship and enters a marriage in which desire is clearly absent. Without such desire, she is stripped of agency, become a figure that only reproduces the nation rather acting as a member of the national polity who participates in national struggle. This forced erasure of women's agency from the nation can be seen when, after her marriage, Akiko's mother "never heard her name again" (Keller 180). In the same way in which Akiko loses her Korean name in becoming a comfort woman under Japanese colonialism, Akiko's mother also loses her identity in order to survive within masculine Korean nationalism. The Korean woman is colonized by both the Japanese military and by Korean male nationalists. This erasure of Akiko's mother's name and her simultaneous entrance into a purely domestic and reproductive marriage shows the exclusion of Korean women as active agents from the masculine Korean nation. Thus, the text reveals that masculine nationalism, like racial nationalism, violently excludes seeming "outsiders," or women, by limiting their participation in the nation to that of physical reproducers of the masculine nation.

Multiracial Nationalism: The U.S.

As the text has made clear, nationalism can be both racist and sexist and uses ideas of female reproduction to maintain the boundaries of the racial and gendered nation. Although race and gender indeed intersect within nationalism and has been shown to do so in the text's exploration of Japanese and Korean nationalism, the text even more forcefully foregrounds the intersection among race, gender, nation and reproduction in its meditation on U.S. nationalism.

The location from which Comfort Woman is told, Hawaii, brings

to the fore a particular imagination of the U.S. nation: the idea that the U.S., a multicultural society, is on its way to solving racial inequalities and becoming “unified” without actually addressing structural racism. Critical race theorists Michael Omi and Howard Winant discuss the neoliberal idea of multiculturalism as a perspective on U.S. racial politics that argues that “addressing social policy or political discourse overtly to matters of race simply serves to distract, or even hinder, the kinds of reforms which could most directly benefit racially defined minorities. To focus too much attention on race tends to fuel demagoguery and separatism” (Omi and Winant 148). Within this framework, racial problems are solved by not talking about structural racism but by emphasizing a harmonious multicultural national unity (Omi and Winant 148). Multicultural identities are embraced but structural racism itself is ignored. Within this framework, Hawaii can be viewed as a model that attempts to show the success of multiculturalism. The general public, including tourists and mainstream academics, view Hawai’i as a “laboratory of race relations’ where peoples of sharply differing traditions are able to live together in harmony with one another, where diverse ‘races’ have ‘fused’ through intermarriage” (Edles 40). This image of a harmonious, diverse Hawai’i shows the possibility of creating an equalized multiethnic America in which past racial problems are erased without actually addressing structural racism. In other words, a harmonious, diverse Hawai’i in which Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, whites, and indigenous Hawaiians are viewed to have somehow put aside their racial and cultural differences and forged a “salad bar” of cultures that are not only embraced, but also treated equally (Mufti and Shohat 5).¹² The “salad bar,” rather than the undoing of deeply-embedded racism within social and economic structures, is seen as the goal of national unity. Thus indigenous peoples’ desires for autonomy, racism among Asian Americans and the history of colonialism on the island are ignored within the multicultural imagination of Hawai’i (Trask 2). As an extension, the U.S. is simply imagined as a mixture of ethnicities moving forward toward national unity and equality.

Within the text, the unique racial demographics of Hawaii represent Hawaii as a location in which Beccah and Akiko have the highest chance of national inclusion. Asian Americans not only constitute the majority in Hawaii, but also hold significant political and

¹² It should also be noted that Hawaii is also a location for American imperialism, annexed by the U.S. in 1898 (Fujikane xvi). Although Japanese, Korean and Chinese immigrants went to Hawaii primarily as sugarcane laborers, or “coolies,” Japanese Americans have become powerful actors in Hawaii’s political, economic and social institutions (Fujikane xvi).

economic power (Tamura 57).¹³ Thus, if the possibility of Beccah and Akiko's inclusion within the U.S. exists, it would be in the Asian America of Hawaii.

Yet, the text clearly critiques the idea that the U.S. is a mixture of races moving toward equality by figuring Akiko's racial exclusion. A close reading of the text reveals that the historical construction of the U.S. nation as an exclusively white nation whose femininity is in need of protection continues to have contemporary effects and thus fails to incorporate the diversity of races within the nation. Beth Vanrheenan, who reads Comfort Woman as a gothic novel, points to the politics of Keller's text when she writes that it replaces "the concept of 'the melting pot' with the concept of the 'mosaic.'" That is, in the past twenty-five years the norm of assimilation as the ideal has been superseded by an ideal in which some sort of continued relationship with the home culture is desired" (Vanrheenan 13). Yet, I will argue that Comfort Woman unravels the notion of "the mosaic" as well. On her way to her makeshift wedding to Rick Bradley and her simultaneous baptism, Akiko says she "wore a thin white gown that one of the missionary ladies had given me, because, she said, I was going to be reborn in the Spirit and because I was to be married. Two of the greatest events in a Christian woman's life. I tried to push the dress away, but she said, Don't both to thank me; it must be a dream come true" (Keller 103). Ann Stoler provides a theory useful for reading this passage in her discussion of white women and sexuality in the colonial context. She writes that within European settler colonialism, white women were figured within the European social imaginary as being the literal bodies that controlled a nation's racial boundaries. White women were thought to be nonsexual beings whose sexual purity (and subsequently the national racial purity) needed to be protected from black men in order to preserve the "purity" of the white imperialists (Stoler 362).¹⁴ The desexualization of white women and their roles as boundaries of the nation can be seen by the

¹³ People of Asian decent constitute more than 41 percent of the population, followed by 24.3 white persons, almost 2 percent African Americans, and more than 20 percent of people who reported two or more races (U.S. Census).

¹⁴ Such theorizations of the racial nation within European colonial discourse are similar to the theorization of women's chastity within Korean nationalism. Hyunah Yang writes, that within Korean nationalism, "a married woman's sexuality belongs to her husband, whether he is alive or dead; an unmarried woman's sexuality belongs to her future husband; and in general Korean women's sexuality belongs to Korean men. This notion has already alienated women's sexuality from herself by endorsing its belongingness to man and nation" (Yang 131).

naturalization of women as domestic agents of nurturers of the racial nation. Such an ideology was normalized in European culture through practices such as domestic work and child rearing, which “in late nineteenth-century Britain was hailed as a national, imperial and racial duty, as it was in Holland, the United States, and Germany at the same time” (Stoler 363). Similarly in the U.S., lynching of black men by white men was often justified through the idea that they were protecting white women, and subsequently the white nation, from sexual and racial violation (Ware 172).¹⁵ Preservation of the “whiteness” of the U.S. was also attempted through eugenic projects and discriminatory laws such as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act in which Asians were prevented from physically entering the U.S. (Ordover xvi). Anne McClintock provides a similar argument that “discoveries” of new lands by imperial powers were articulated through the myth of the virgin, or empty land. She writes, “Within patriarchal narratives, to be a virgin is to be empty of desire and void of sexual agency, passively awaiting the thrusting, male insemination of history, language and reason” (McClintock 30). Despite the fact that the U.S. is multiracial, it has been historically imagined as a white nation whose whiteness was feminized, made virgin and thus figured as needing masculine protection. With this historical context in mind, the white wedding dress in the text represents this sexualized imagination of the white nation. The white wedding dress is commonly known to symbolize virginity. In combination with its literal whiteness, the wedding dress can be read as the historical construction of the U.S. nation as a white virginal woman. Furthermore, the fact that the dress is present in the setting of a wedding and baptism – both events that symbolize an individual’s rebirth; as a part of a couple and as a Christian, respectively – indicates that the notion of the white nation is being reproduced.

The historical racial construction of the U.S., which continues to be reproduced, results in preventing all those who live in the U.S. to actually participate in the nation. Thus, multiculturalism will fail to realize racial equality unless the historical construction of the U.S. as a white nation and its structural legacies are explicitly addressed. Although Akiko is indeed entering a multiracial nation when she marries Rick Bradley and arrives in the U.S., the legacy of the historical construction of the U.S. as a white nation remains. This can be seen by the fact that the missionary forces Akiko to wear the white wedding dress, which

¹⁵ Preservation of the “whiteness” of the U.S. was attempted not only through lynching, but also through eugenic projects and discriminatory laws such as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Ordover xvi).

represents the idea of an exclusively white nation whose feminine purity is imagined to be in need of masculine protection. Yet, such a construction of the U.S. does not fit Akiko. Akiko recounts that the dress “kept sliding off my shoulders and dragging through the dust as we walked. Hold it up, the missionary lady kept whispering to me as she eyed the hem of what I think were her cast-off underclothes. You’re getting it dirty” (Keller 103). The dress fails to fit Akiko not simply because it is too big or “cast-off underclothes,” but more importantly, Akiko is not the sexually pure white woman that the dress represents. She does not fit into this historical image of the U.S. which continues to be placed upon the nation’s diverse members. The dress falls off Akiko’s shoulders and drags as “the white cloth, the color of purity and death, soaked up the earth” (Keller 103). The dress gets dirty because of the earth of Korea – her racial identity. Akiko’s act of coloring the white wedding dress can be read as an assertion that whiteness is clearly not the only racial identity with which Americans identify. By failing to fit into the white wedding dress and later changing the color of the dress, Akiko reveals that the historical idea of U.S. as a white nation continues to have effects, excluding people of color. Thus, an entirely new dress needs to be made – one that actually fits – in order for Akiko to participate in the U.S. nation. In other words, the historical racial construction of the nation needs to be addressed, deconstructed and rebuilt – something multiculturalism fails to do.

The intersection of racism and sexism in the U.S. can be seen in the ways in which the text figures the U.S. nation as similar to both the Japanese and Korean nations. After she begins living with the missionaries, Akiko aligns sounds of the missionaries with sounds of the comfort station. She recounts, “When the congregation stood, opening and riffling through their black books, I heard the shrieking of bullets ricocheting at the feet of women the soldiers were momentarily bored with” (Keller 70). The racialized and gendered violence of the systematic rape of Korean women by Japanese soldiers is seen in the missionaries’ domination of the Korean orphans. Also, Manshin Ahjima, a former shaman who takes Akiko to the mission, at one point becomes consumed by spirits and explains: “Damn jealous, those men. The Satan General and the Jesus God fight over me, she said.... I am the arena of their power contest. And in the battle to possess me, neither has any pity for me” (Keller 59). The Satan General, or Saja, who represents Japanese imperial nationalism, is figured as similar to the Jesus God. The Jesus God, a significant element of the Christianity that is the dominant religion in the U.S., represents the U.S. Both use women’s bodies as sites for masculinist struggle. In doing so, both erase women’s

agency as ultimately transactions “between men, where women are the currency used in the exchange” (Nagel 181). Patricia Chu adds that, “The missionaries’ insistence that Akiko adapt to their language, their religion, and their domestic regimes is portrayed as evidence of the treatment of her as a colonial ‘subject (a person to be remodeled in their own likeness), a person less disposable than a ‘comfort woman,’ but still one who may justly be compelled to disown her previous self in favor of a new identity as a convert” (Chu 69). The U.S. is figured as articulating the same domination that the Japanese military exerted upon Korean comfort women. Indeed, the erasure of individual identity is seen in the comfort women’s experience of being given Japanese names under Japanese colonialism, in the Korean women’s loss of names when participating in the masculine Korean nation, and in the Korean women being renamed “Mary” and “Akiko Bradley” by the American missionaries (Chu 69). By repeatedly aligning the U.S. nation with both the racism of Japanese nationalism and the sexism of Korean nationalism, the text reveals the intersecting racism and sexism of the U.S.

Despite such experiences of exclusion, Akiko hopes that her daughter will be included due to her mixed race identity. This reveals a hope that because the U.S. is multiracial, it will somehow be inclusive of people whose individual heritage embodies multiple identities.¹⁶ Beccah is clearly figured in the text as a person whose multi-racialness marks her “Americanness.” Akiko describes her daughter as a “half-white and half-Korean child. She would be called *tweggi* in the village where I was born, but here she will be American” (Keller 15). Beccah would have been ostracized from the Korean village – and the larger national village as well – as a *tweggi*, or pig, because she is not a “pure” Korean. Yet, in the U.S., this mixed race identity is thought to constitute the grounds for Beccah’s inclusion. In a sense, Beccah represents the multiracial diversity of the U.S. Akiko describes her daughter, “She watches me with eyes that have not found their true color, changing from blue to gray, brown to green, with the light” (Keller 62). Beccah appears to represent the entire landscape of multiracial America. Her eye color shifts along the spectrum of colors – from brown to blue to green. This can also be seen at Beccah’s 100 day celebration, when Akiko describes that the guests “take pictures of my Beccah-chan, a tiny face lost in voluminous clouds of color” (Keller 119). Beccah’s face is aligned with many “clouds of color,” like the multi-colored racial

¹⁶ Vanrheenen similarly writes that Akiko has ‘no face and no place’ in America, yet she hopes Beccah will belong (Vanrheenen 117).

landscape of the U.S. nation. Thus, Akiko imagines that by being racially mixed, Beccah can participate in the multiracial U.S. nation. However, Akiko's hope for Beccah's inclusion collide with the reality that even within Hawaii, Beccah does not "fit." Despite Akiko's hopes, others see Beccah as a racial/national Other. Beccah is taunted by her schoolmates who call her "nothing but a stink Yobo-shit" (Keller 30). Beccah is not viewed as American, but explicitly marked by her peers as Korean. "Yobo" is a term used in Hawaii to refer to Koreans (Oshiro 4/27/2003). Thus, Beccah is seen as an outsider. The text makes clear that the notion of the U.S. as an inclusive multiracial nation is indeed just a notion, not a reality.

Beccah's inability to participate in national reproduction also reveals the way in which, despite claims that the U.S. is a multiracial nation moving toward equality and national unity, the U.S. in fact continues to be imagined as exclusively white. This shows that the possibility of Beccah's inclusion into the U.S is no greater than it is for her mother. After her mother's death, Beccah walks to a canal that she frequented as a child and notices dates on the ground. She recalls that she had discovered that "Foodland sold pitted dates in large plastic tubs.... I opened the tub in the car, ripping the seal with my teeth, but when I popped a date in my mouth I was disappointed. The fruit was too sweet, too thick in my mouth, and I missed being able to suck on the seed" (Keller 50). The dates from Foodland – a symbol for mainstream America – do not satisfy Beccah. Not only is the seed, or the possibility of its reproduction absent, but as with Akiko and the dress, something does not fit.

This "something" within Keller's text is, again, the legacy of a U.S. nation historically imaged as exclusively white. Beccah notices at the canal (a location for childbirth in a woman's body) a pile of seeds partially buried in the mud (Keller 50). Beccah then observes that next to this pile of seeds "was a once-white satin shoe, the kind girls wore to their wedding or to the prom. And next to the shoe, draped limply among twigs and mush, a condom. I'd seen all these things in the canal before, along with arms and heads of Barbie dolls, beer bottles and soda cans, shit, newspaper boats..." (Keller 50). The seeds are a symbol for the inception of Beccah's reproduction of the nation. Beccah is described by her mother as a lily (Keller 116). These seeds, therefore, can be read as the seeds that Beccah is both made by and produces. Also, these fig seeds are the ones missing from mainstream America. Yet, instead of being incorporated into the national body of the U.S., Beccah's seeds are partially covered by mud, and thus threatened with the possibility of disappearing into the river without reproducing

anything. The reason for the seed's inability to reproduce can be understood by analyzing the items next to the seed. The seed sits next to the satin shoe, the condom and the arms and heads of Barbie dolls. The condom prevents physical reproduction. Yet, something else also prevents national reproduction. Beccah cannot reproduce a mixed race identity in the U.S. because the nation, while *presenting* an image of itself as inclusive of the racial diversity that exists (as with the idea that Hawaii is a microcosm of race relations in the U.S), is in reality exclusionary to people of color. This can be seen by the quintessential image of U.S. femininity – blond, white Barbie. Like the wedding dress, Barbie is a symbol for an imagination of a feminized white U.S. racial nation that has been historically enforced by hypermasculinized racial violence (Ware 172).¹⁷ Beccah does not fit this limited image of the U.S. as exclusively white. Thus her reproduction of a mixed race identity is thwarted (as seen by the condom). The only way in which Beccah can be included in the nation and reproduce her racial identity is by deconstructing this image of the U.S. nation. Thus, the Barbie lays broken apart on the bank. Replacing the Barbie is the “once-white satin shoe.” By explicitly not being white and not marked in the text as a particular color, the shoe, like Akiko's earth-soaked wedding dress, also represents a multiracial national body. Just as her mother resists the construction of an exclusively white nation by revealing its multiraciality, Beccah also marks the racial diversity of the U.S. The shoe, not the Barbie, sits at the end of genealogy of her seed. This construction of an inclusive multiracial and hybrid U.S. nation is one in which Beccah fits and one that creates the possibility in which Beccah might reproduce her racial identity. Therefore, Keller's text reveals both the exclusion of Beccah from an imagined white U.S. nation and the possibility of a racially inclusive U.S. nation. Yet, this racially inclusive U.S. nation can only exist, according to the text, through the deconstruction of the idea that the U.S. is exclusively white.

Yet, the intersecting racism and sexism of the U.S. nation results in Beccah also being excluded from the nation due to her gender. She cannot sing the Hawaiian state anthem during a May Day audition. Despite extensive practice of “Hawai’I Pono’I,” Beccah's performance is painfully disastrous. She recounts, “I had practiced – in the bathtub, walking to school – until I knew I was good, until I made myself cry. But that day, some devil-thing with the voice of a big, old-age frog took

¹⁷ Vron Ware discusses the construction of white American femininity and its intersection with violent attempts to maintain the “purity” of white America in [Beyond the Pale](#).

possession of my throat, and ‘Hawai’I Pono’I’ lurched unreliably “‘Hawai’I Pono’iiii, Nana I Kou mo’I... uh... la la la Lani e Kamehameha e... mmm hmm hmmm” (Keller 29). Beccah attempts inclusion into a part of the U.S. nation by singing its state song. Yet, her voice is off key and she does not remember the anthem’s words. The lyrics of the song, written by King David Kalakua are translated as: “‘Hawaii’s own true sons, be loyal to your chief. Your country’s liege and lord, the Alii.¹⁸ Father above us all, Kamehameha, who guarded in the war with his ihe” (50states.com).¹⁹ The failure of participation is due to the nation’s hypermasculinity. For instance, the Hawaiian state is figured in the song to be headed by a chief and father who lead the soldiers with his spear (50states.com). In other words, Hawaii is made for its sons, not its daughters. Beccah cannot fit into this masculine national imaginary and thus literally cannot sing the song of national inclusion. This, in combination with the idea that the U.S. has historically and continues to be imagined as a feminized white nation in need of masculine protection, reveals that the text theorizes both the racism and sexism of the U.S nation. As a result, women of color, such as Akiko and Beccah, do not fit into the nation.

Reproducing a New Nation

In resisting the often intersecting racism and sexism that the text maps out within the various forms of nationalism, Comfort Woman imagines a new nation that is racially and gender inclusive. The text creates a community of women who express nationalism through shamanism. This new nation attempts to be racially-inclusive by including people of mixed race, such as Beccah, and also resists masculine domination of the nation by figuring reproduction of the new nation as an act that does not need the participation of men.

The new nation is born in the text with the physical death of Induk, a comfort woman who expresses a feminist nationalism. The night before her death, Induk resists rape and colonial domination by talking “loud and nonstop.” In both her native language and in Japanese, “she denounced the soldiers, yelling at them to stop their invasion of her country and her body. Even as they mounted her, she shouted: I am Korea, I am a woman, I am alive. I am seventeen, I had a family just like you do, I am a daughter, I am a sister” (Keller 20). Induk turns the notion of woman-as-nation on its head to resist colonialism and sexual

¹⁸ Sovereign (50states.com)

¹⁹ Spear (50states.com)

domination.²⁰ In resisting her enslavement as a colonial sex worker, she points to her body as a symbol for the nation and subsequently, the invasion of her body as the invasion of Korea. Najmi writes that Induk represents a feminist nationalism because she reclaims “her Korean name and ancestry, the woman chants her mother’s recipes, recasting patriotism as generational and cultural continuity among women. Indeed, ‘patriotism’ seems a misnomer here, since her love for Korea is more properly called ‘matriotism’ – love for a maternalized Korea...” (Najmi 222). Language and cultural productions such as recipes are part of a national project, one that Induk frames as belonging to women through talk of daughters, sisters and women. The re-figuration of the national home as a feminized space marks a new nationalism. In response to such resistance, Japanese soldiers kill Induk, bringing her back to the camp “skewered from her vagina to her mouth, like a pig ready for roasting” (Keller 20). Induk is physically silenced, yet she haunts Akiko throughout her life, from her escape from the comfort station to her marriage with Rick Bradley to her life in Hawaii. Thus, Induk can be read as a national figure who resists racial, gendered and other forms of domination (Chu 70).

The new nation that Induk births includes people previously excluded from racialized and gendered nations, including comfort women, colonized peoples, and women under patriarchal systems.²¹ Akiko, after her abortion and escape from the comfort station, recounts seeing “Induk beckoning before me. At times, her form would blur until it doubled, then quadrupled, and she would become Induk and my mother, and in turn my mother’s mother and an old woman dressed in the formal top’o of the olden days. I realized I was walking with my ancestors” (Keller 53). In this dream, Induk reproduces women in Akiko’s family, tracing a genealogy of women for the new nation. This genealogy constructs, through the notion of the family and an implied racial homogeneity, a sense of national belonging (Weinbaum 8). Yet, this genealogy of women continues beyond Akiko’s immediate family to various comfort women including: “Induk, Miyoko. Kimiko. Hanako. Akiko. Soon Hi. Soon Mi. Soon Ja. Soon Hyo” (Keller 192). This community of women – women both excluded from and violated by

²⁰ Patti Duncan writes that when women represent their bodies as Korea’s ‘national body’ they can see themselves as national subjects (Duncan 179).

²¹ Najmi similarly writes that the novel remolds nationalism as a “love of a feminized homeland” from its original construction as a militaristic and power-driven masculinist phenomenon to one in which the nation is understood as a love for land and the women who live in it (Najmi 221, 228).

racial and gendered nationalism – creates its own nation. This can be seen when Akiko, after seeing the image of Induk reproducing her mother, says, “I tried running to my mother, but she shook her head and remained just outside my reach. It was then that I noticed that she held a small book, no bigger than the palm of my hand, which I recognized as the Ch’onja-chaek, the most basic school primer” (Keller 54). The school primer, a book that teaches students the Korean language, shows that the mother is teaching a form of nationalism. Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism has been taught through “cultural systems” such as books and newspapers (Anderson 33). Therefore, the schoolbook, as both a print medium and a cultural production, can be read as one significant way in which national identity is taught. The community of women is teaching Akiko a new nationalism.

The feminist sentiments of this new nation can be seen in Akiko’s use of shamanism to communicate with Induk. Historically, Korean shamans, or *mudang*, were primarily women revered for their religious powers (Hogarth 51). In recent years, shamanism has been associated with Korean nationalism, and is often seen as a form of resistance to Japanese religious colonialism (Hogarth 61). Shamanism is not only inclusive of but also largely dominated by women. Chen reads the use of shamanism in the novel as a way in which Akiko resists colonialism and asserts Korean nationalism. While Induk resisted Japanese colonialism by literally denouncing it to the Japanese military, Akiko chooses to articulate a gendered act of national resistance through shamanism (Chen 139). The anti-colonial and anti-sexist resistance that shamanism expresses in the text is made evident when Beccah describes Saja, the spirit that haunts her mother. Saja, she recounts her mother saying, “was neither old nor ugly, but young and handsome, a dark soldier, alluring and virile” (Keller 46). Saja, as a virile soldier, can be read as a spiritual embodiment of the Japanese soldiers who visited comfort stations. Within her shamanist trances, Akiko fights Saja, resisting the racial exclusion of the Japanese nation. In this new nation, women are agents of anti-colonial resistance. Akiko’s daughter later adopts these practices and thus continues the lineage of this new feminist nation.

This new nation also expresses resistance toward masculine domination by deconstructing the family trope and representing women’s sexuality as operating amongst themselves. Akiko describes Induk as having “long strips of hair coming undone from the married woman’s bun at the back of her neck” (Keller 36). The married woman’s bun represents a woman’s participation in the heterosexual nuclear family with a father, mother and children. As McClintock writes, this family

trope is problematic in that it serves as a way for nations to naturalize both racial and gender hierarchies (McClintock 357). If the unraveling bun indicates the unraveling of the family trope, then the new nation can be read as resisting hierarchically racialized and gendered nationalisms. Resistance toward masculine domination in the new nation can also be seen by the fact that marriage and sexuality occur among women. While preparing Akiko's body, Auntie Reno teases Beccah for her resistance to her matchmaking: "Yeah, yeah, I know," Reno said. 'You not interested.' She sighed. 'Too bad you one mahu'" (Keller 206). Beccah is teased for being "mahu," or lesbian, because she does not conform to gendered family norms. She does not seek a husband and participates in non-reproductive sexual relationships (her affair with Stanley). Ultimately, Beccah "marries" her mother by sifting through rings in her mother's jewelry box, until she finds one that she had "especially pined for as a girl – the braided gold band studded with pearls that my mother called 'ocean tears' – and slipped it onto my wedding finger" (Keller 211). Beccah therefore engages in producing a family, or nation, that does not depend on masculine leadership, but one in which women can carve their own space. The politics of such woman-centered sexuality is explicated by M. Jacqui Alexander, who writes about the intersection between sexuality and nationalism in the Bahamas. According to Alexander, erotic autonomy, or women's sexuality absent of men "signals danger to the heterosexual family and to the nation. And because loyalty to the nation as citizen is perennially colonized within reproduction and heterosexuality, erotic autonomy brings with it the potential of undoing the nation entirely, a possible charge of irresponsible citizenship or no citizenship at all" (Alexander 63). These sexual relationships in the text in which men are absent reveal the new nation's resistance toward male-dominated nationalisms by displacing men from sexual space, a space often used as a form of racial and gendered domination, such as the state-sponsored rape of colonial Korean women.

Not only sexuality, but also reproduction in the new nation is figured in the text to be woman-centered, again resisting male domination of the nation. The text resists the relegated position women embody in the masculine nation and allows members to express agency and empowerment in national reproduction. At the end of the novel, Beccah dreams that she swims for hours and years and begins to drown, finding her mother pulling her legs. She says,

I yielded. I opened my mouth to drown, expecting to suck in heavy water, but instead I breathed in air, clear and blue. Instead of ocean I swam through sky, higher and higher, until,

dizzy with the freedom of light and air, I looked down to see a thin blue river of light spiraling down to earth, where I lay sleeping in bed, coiled tight around a small seed planted by my mother waiting to be born (Keller 213).

Beth Vanrheenen interprets this scene as a scene of re-birth for Beccah in coming to full selfhood upon realizing her mother's history. She writes, "Beccah has finally bonded with her mother. In finally making a spiritual journey with her mother, she receives more than understanding, she achieves a oneness that they never had in life.... Beccah can be 'born.' She can achieve a self" (Keller 112). Yet, this scene can also be read as a scene of reproduction in a stronger sense. After performing shamanism-related rituals such as preparing her mother's body and tasting her mother's ashes, Beccah dreams of "sleeping in bed, coiled tight around a small seed planted by my mother waiting to be born" (Keller 213). Beccah is inseminated by her mother. Unlike the scenes in which Akiko and Beccah cannot reproduce either literally or symbolically, Akiko continues a nation in which both can participate. This act of incestuous insemination cuts masculinity out of the family/nation, resisting masculine nationalism by limiting reproduction as an act among mothers and daughters.

Akiko's entrance into this new nation reveals that the new nation is also imagined to be racially inclusive. Akiko enters the new nation when she is nearly dead from the abortion forced upon her at the comfort station. At this time, her mixed-race baby has been literally stripped from her body under Japanese colonialism – an act I have read as one in which the Japanese nation is attempting to enforce its imagined racial boundaries. By participating in the new female nation, Akiko's lost child is symbolically recreated. She recounts: "I lay by the river, already feeling the running water erode the layers of my skin, washing me away, but Induk filled my belly and forced me to my hands and knees. She led me to the double rainbow where virgins climb to heaven and told me to climb. Below me, a river of human-faced flowers stretched so wide and bright I could not keep my eyes open" (Keller 38).²² Induk fills Akiko's belly – replacing the baby that was stripped from her by the Japanese military – making possible the birth of a mixed-race baby. Within this new nation, various racial identities are reproduced, and therefore, included. This is also shown by the fact that Beccah embodies the new nation after her mother dies. Her mother asks her to "*lead the parade of the dead. Lead the Ch'ulssang with the rope of your light*" (Keller 197).

²² This passage can also be read as a one in which Akiko is made a virgin again, healing the trauma she experienced as a sex slave.

The fact that a mixed race woman participates in the new nation (by performing shamanistic rituals for the dead women of the nation), shows that this new nation is imagined to be racially-inclusive.

Within this new nationalism, national boundaries are transcended by participants. For example, at the end of the novel, Beccah, while scattering her mother's ashes in a river, says: "You will always be with me, even when your spirit finds its way home. To Korea. To Sulsulham. And across the river of Heaven to the Seven Sisters" (Keller 212). Korea is only one link in a chain of destinations to which her mother's spirit will travel. The Korean nation, in other words, is simply a path to heaven and the Seven Sisters, which transcend national boundaries. Also, Beccah is described by her mother as a lily that blooms in the boundary between the U.S. and Korea (Keller 116). Beccah, who participates in the new nation, is herself figured as a woman who is neither bound to the geographic lines of the U.S. or Korea.

Yet, this theorization of a new nation, regardless of intent, at times reinforces an essentialist understanding of nationalism as a "blood" identity literally reproduced by women. This is made clear in Akiko's recorded message to Beccah when she tells her daughter: "*Beccah-chan, lead the parade of the dead.... I have tried to release you, but in the end I cannot do it and tie you to me, so that we will carry each other always. Your blood in mine*" (Keller 197). Akiko is directing Beccah to participate in the new nation by leading "the parade of the dead," or participating in shamanistic ritual. The biological connection of "blood" is assumed to not only connect Akiko and Beccah, but to make inevitable that they would participate in this new nationalism. The only way in which Akiko could stop Beccah's participation in this new nationalism would be to undo their blood connection, something that she cannot do. In other words, "blood" is imagined to not only connect Akiko and Beccah to each other, but also to the new nation.

While the particular form of nationalism that the text maps out as an alternative to other exclusionary forms is imagined in the spirit and dream worlds and is therefore, highly symbolic, it is important to note that these symbols have meaning in literature. In what she calls "cultural haunting," Kathleen Brogan analyzes ghosts in American ethnic literature as "an emblem of historical loss as well as a vehicle of historical recovery.... They figure prominently wherever people must reconceive a fragmented, partially obliterated history, looking to a new imagined past to redefine themselves for the future" (Brogan 164). Thus, the spirit world is a space in which Akiko not only grapples with her past experience with racial and gendered nationalisms, but also imagines a form of nationalism in which such exclusion does not occur. While

indeed this new nation only exists in a spirit world, its imagined nature does not erase it of legitimacy. In the same way that fiction represents issues in the “real world,” the ghost and spirit world in which the new nation operates in the text also express “real” issues.

Thus, it is important to note that the new nation imagined in the text, while resisting racial and gendered nationalisms, foregrounds the female body in scenes of national reproduction. In doing so, the text fails to fully deconstruct fundamental notions of national reproduction as connected to women’s bodies, raising the question of whether the text successfully completes its project of resisting racial and gendered nationalisms. The connection between women’s bodies and national reproduction can be first seen when Akiko is re-born into the new nation. Akiko describes lying near the stream, her “discarded” body empty. She dreams of Induk, saying “she looked like my mother, standing there next to the river with her arms outstretched.... Here, baby here, Induk said, her voice creaking like a hundred thousand frogs. She shuffled closer, hands cupping her breasts, which turned into an offering of freshly unearthed ginseng” (Keller 36). Akiko is made a member of (or reproduced – brought back to life from death) the new nation by being birthed in the imaginary world by Induk’s body. Induk is described as a maternal figure, taking care of Akiko as if she were a newborn baby. She feeds Akiko with the ginseng of her breasts, giving her new life, filling her “discarded body.” Similarly, the text ends with a scene in which her mother inseminates Beccah in a dream. Beccah is able to continue the legacy of the new nation by carrying a child of the new nation. By describing the production of the new nation through women’s bodies, the text does not break apart the assumed link between national production and women’s physical reproduction that is imagined by racial and masculine nationalisms and is critiqued throughout the text.

Also, the text situates the body as an important space for expressing participation in the new nation. In doing so, the text again links the female body and the nation. When sprinkling her mother’s ashes in the river, Beccah recounts, “I held my fingers under the slow fall of ash, sifting, letting it coat my hand. I touched my fingers to my lips. ‘Your body in mine,’ I told my mother” (Keller 212).²³ Beccah consumes her mother’s body as a symbolic act of national expression. By consuming her mother’s body, Beccah keeps a piece of her mother physically with her while allowing her spirit to go to her new national “home.” She tells her mother’s ashes: “You will always be with me,

²³ Najmi reads this scene as one in which the text reshapes the sense of home to be one which is rooted in a community of women and land (Najmi 221).

even when your spirit finds its way home. To Korea, to Sulsulham. And across the river of heaven to the Seven Sisters” (Keller 212). As previously explained, the Seven Sisters can be read as a heavenly location that transcends the nation. Yet, it can also be interpreted as the ending location of the genealogy of the new nation, for the Seven Sisters can be read as both her own familial sisters and the comfort women.

Thus, it is through the symbolic act of consuming the body that a member of the new nation is allowed to go to the national “home.” Also, Beccah gets her first glimpse of the new nation when she is able to have a child. This can be seen when Beccah says she sees in a dream-like state induced by the pain of her first menstrual cycle, a person who she describes as looking like her mother, “then I realized it was myself. ‘My name is Induk,’ the woman said through my lips. I looked into the face that was once my own and wondered who she saw, who stood in my place looking at the body that Induk now claimed” (Keller 188). This scene mimics the scene of doubling in which Akiko identifies the feminine national genealogy after her escape from the comfort station. Induk figuratively enters Beccah’s body in Beccah’s first encounter with the new nation. Thus, the text positions the body as an important site for participating in the new nation. Although the imagination of the new nation indeed uses notions of reproduction to resist racial and gendered nationalism, it nevertheless also reinforces an idea fundamental to racial and gendered nationalisms -- that the female body plays an important role in both producing and participating in the nation.

Furthermore, Beccah’s full inclusion into this new nationalism only occurs after Beccah begins to understand and adopt particularly Korean acts of national resistance. Sungran Cho nods to this idea when she writes, “Beccah finds herself, her identity when she finds her own mother’s hidden identity after her mother’s death. Understanding her mother’s life and answering her call is the road to understanding her own self” (Cho 104). Yet, this self is a particularly Korean self. For example, while preparing her mother’s body for her funeral, guided by directions her mother left her, Beccah says, “I floated whole hibiscus into the bowl and tore the delicate flesh of the white ginger and ‘uki ‘uki, sprinkling them into the water as well. ‘Mugunghwa for courage and independence, Omoni. And for Korea. I remember. I remember. Ginger and lily for purity and rebirth” (Keller 208). Akiko participates in the racially and gender inclusive new nation by fulfilling the Korean cultural rituals her mother requests. She uses the Mugunghwa, Korea’s national flower. She says she remembers Korea, while using ginger, a plant commonly used in Korean cultural productions such as cooking. Furthermore, by using the ginger, she symbolically enables her mother to

be born again. Of course, culture cannot be completely collapsed with race or nation. Yet, the text's attempt to produce a racially-inclusive nation through particularly Korean cultural forms raises the question of the limits of this brand of nationalism. Can the new nation be thoroughly racially-inclusive if entry into the new nation is made possible within the text through enactment of cultural traditions of Korea, a country that imagines itself to be one of the most culturally and racially-homogenous in the world?

Again, it must be noted that in the new nation, these scenes of reproduction and national participation occur within the spheres of shamanism and dreams. As a result, these theorizations of the female body can only be understood as figurative, rather than literal, representations. Yet, rather than entirely de-legitimizing the problems that these scenes of national reproduction and participation raise, the fact that these scenes of reproduction and national participation occur within mystical and dream-like space shows that these scenes are quite significant to thinking about the new nation. If shamanism is, as previously noted, the primary vehicle in which the new nationalism expresses its resistance to masculine colonial nationalism, then these dreamlike scenes should be taken seriously. Beccah participates in the nation by conducting the shamanistic ritual of preparing her mother's body. She reproduces the nation within a mystical dream in which she carries her mother's seed. Akiko is "born" into the nation within a dream in which she sees visions of Induk. If shamanism is figured as a necessary component of national production and participation, then one must ask whether this cultural form is assumed within the text to be a natural element of national identity. Therefore, although the text imagines a new nation that is racially and gender inclusive, one must be aware of the ways in which the reproduction of and participation in this new nation is figured as being linked to women's bodies. The fact that this link between the nation and women's bodies continues to be made within the new nation points to the ultimate failure of the text to completely deconstruct racial and gendered nationalisms.

Conclusion

Comfort Woman, through meditations on nationalism in Korea, Japan and the U.S., provides a basis for which nationalism can be theorized as racist and sexist. The text's exploration of Korean nationalism foregrounds the ways in which nationalism can become dominated by a masculine perspective, relegating women to be viewed as simply biological reproducers of the nation. In mapping out nationalism in Japan, specifically the Japanese imperial military, the text allows one

to unpack the ways in which nations can be imagined as raced. The text also reveals the ways in which such racialized bodies are sexualized for the national purpose of enforcing racial boundaries and articulating colonial domination. The text's exploration of the multi-racial U.S. nation criticizes the notion that the U.S. can simply ignore race in its strive toward racial equality and reveals the ways in which the nation is actually imagined to be white and feminized. As a result, the text's meditation on the U.S. foregrounds the intersection of race and gender in national production and shows its effects of excluding women of color in multiple ways. As a resolution to the problems of nationalism, the text then imagines a new nation that is both gender and racially-inclusive. Yet, the text fails to completely unravel racialized and gendered nationalisms. It continues to imagine national identity as a blood identity and figures women's bodies as linked to the nation -- notions fundamental to racial and gendered nationalisms.

Analyzing the comfort woman issue in terms of reproducing racial and gendered nationalisms opens up a space to think about the issue as part of global structural phenomena, including sexism, racism and colonialism. By allowing the reader to mark the various locations in which Akiko experiences the similar oppressive structures throughout her life, the reader is given the opportunity to see these global problems as ones that transcend space and time. As a result, one sees Akiko's story as a symptom of a larger problem that continues today. Between 600,000 and 800,000 people are estimated to be trafficked, or forced into labor, across international borders each year (State Department). A significant portion of these trafficked persons are sex slaves who have been coerced, tricked and sold into their positions just like Akiko. The state may not be directly recruiting women for sex work in a wartime situation, yet, the experiences of trafficked persons are not much different from that of Akiko. An examination of Comfort Woman through a race-nation-gender-reproduction perspective allows one to take a step in making this contemporary connection.

As a novel, Comfort Woman also allows readers to think about the comfort woman issue in a way that personal testimony cannot do. Former comfort woman, Kim Bun-sun tells her story of being taken to a comfort station in the epigraph of this paper. Like many other former comfort women, she ends her story lamenting the long-term physical, psychological, social and economic effects that her experience as a comfort woman had in her life. She writes, "I now have just two sisters who are still alive. I communicate with them once in a while. Other than that, I have no one. No children. I am in poor health. I live alone and will die alone" (Schellstede 23). Indeed, this is a very powerful

statement. It explicitly mourns a loss of agency, ability to have a family, and be part of a larger community. Yet, the novel form, by representing such a story in more complex and symbolic ways allows the reader to think about the issue as not simply one that affects individual women, but one that allows readers to situate the issue within social structures. Furthermore, as an English-language American novel, the text begs the question of who the U.S.'s comfort women are.

The novel form also produces a bind. The danger of thinking about the comfort woman issue within the novel form is that one might begin to understand the issue *only* as part of broader social structures and global phenomenon. Of course, within novels, the meanings of fictional characters must be drawn out by the reader, but it is easy to forget that in the case of comfort women, the fictionalized characters represent real women living real lives. As Kim Sun-bun's story reveals, comfort women suffered immeasurably and continue to do so today. Readers of the text must not lose sight of this reality.

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Post-Franco Spain: A Study of Amnesty Laws in a Transitional Government

Deidre Lockman

Abstract

This paper will examine how a transitional government deals with the legacies left by the incumbent dictatorial regime and its impact on the process of democratic reconstruction.

Do spheres of influence change dramatically when an authoritarian regime transitions, without major conflict, to democracy? In the case of Spain did the Falange (nationalist political party that Franco endorsed during his tenure as dictator), National Army, and Catholic Church cease to be of importance or did these organizations allow for cosmetic changes to take place while still holding power? This is an important question because during the late twentieth century many previously authoritarian regimes transitioned to democracy without major conflict: South Africa, neighboring Portugal, and Greece. And with the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Eastern European countries were simply forced to transition. I used two hypotheses to examine power relations and the paper represents an ongoing debate between two rivaling paradigms. Hypothesis A, based on Marxist Theory, contends, that the main components of Franco's regime (the Falange, National Army and the Catholic Church) played a major role in the transitional government and were able to maintain substantial power after the transition to democracy. While hypothesis B, based on Cultural Theory, argues that the remnants of Franco's regime (the Falange, National Army and the Catholic Church) lost their grip on power and ceased to play a role in the Spanish government after Spain's transition to democracy because of cultural changes that occurred in Spain during the entirety of Franco's regime.

Introduction

Historical Background

Generalissimo Francisco Franco was the Caudillo (ruler appointed by God) of Spain from 1939 to 1975. In 1969 Prince Juan Carlos of Spain was named Franco's heir apparent. Six years later, 1975, Franco died and King Juan Carlos I immediately moved Spain on a path towards democracy. The political environment during this transitional period differed greatly from the beginning of Franco's regime. Paul

Preston effectively summarizes the political and social climate during Franco's regime.

In many respects, it could be argued that the Spanish Civil War was fought in response to the Republic's challenge to the existing order of landed property. The victorious Franco regime was, in this sense, the arm of the landed property. Throughout the 1940s, its primitive and retrograde political structures adequately served the needs of the agrarian establishment. In addition, they inadvertently created the sort of labor relations, which made Spain attractive to foreign investors. By the time of the tourist boom, which began in the late 1950s, and of the European prosperity, which was attracting Spanish migrant workers, Franco was presiding over a very different country from the war torn, semi-medieval one that he had conquered in 1939. Indeed within a decade, Spain was to undergo even more spectacular change, which was to push her in the major industrial league.¹

Spain changed with the rest of Western Europe. A plethora of books exist which detail why Franco's regime died with him. This paper will not address why the regime collapsed since this issue has already been heavily debated amongst scholars for decades. Rather I will examine how a transitional government deals with the legacies left by the incumbent dictatorial regime and its impact on the process of democratic reconstruction². The Law of Political Reform paved the way for a period of consensus unlike anything seen previously in Spanish history—a relatively peaceful, quiescent period of moderation and reform, which resulted in the first democratic elections of June 1977, and the successful drafting of the 1978 Constitution³.

¹ Paul Preston, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol . 446, *The Uneasy Boundary: Church and State*. (Nov., 1979), p. 181.

² Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi, *Spain: Dictatorship and Democracy*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1981.

³ Laura Desfor Edles. *Symbol and the Ritual in the New Spain*. Cambridge University Press. 1998.

Dilemma and Hypotheses

Do spheres of influence change dramatically when an authoritarian regime transitions, without major conflict, to democracy? In the case of Spain did The Falange (nationalist political party that Franco endorsed during his tenure as dictator), National Army, and Catholic Church cease to be of importance or did these organizations allow for cosmetic changes to take place while still holding power? This is an important question because during the late twentieth century many previously authoritarian regimes transitioned to democracy without major conflict: South Africa, neighboring Portugal, and Greece. And with the collapse of the Soviet Union many Eastern European countries were simply forced to transition.

Hypothesis A (based on Marxist Theory): That the main components of Franco's regime (the Falange, National Army and the Catholic Church) played a major role in the transition government and were able to maintain substantial power after the transition to democracy. Moreover, the transition to democracy was a calculated choice made by Francoists in order to consolidate power. Proof of the political and economic elite's maintenance of power is in the amnesty laws placed during transition to democracy to protect Franco-era war criminals. Changes during Spain's transition to democracy were formalities and did not lead to substantial modification in the forms or in the repressive characteristics of the regime. Further evidence of this power can be seen in the current struggle in Spain concerning a possible national reconciliation tribunal⁴.

Hypothesis B (based on Cultural Theory): The remnants of Franco's regime (The Falange, National Army and the Catholic Church) lost their grip on power and ceased to play a role in the Spanish government after Spain's transition to democracy. This occurred because of drastic economic changes during the 1960's and 70's, which created space for a cultural shift in paradigm; that the dividedness and brutality of the Spanish civil war must be overcome. Thus, Spanish society as a whole changed, including the elite. In addition, the distinction between the elite and non-elite is imprecise, which makes arguments that stem from 'Hypothesis A' difficult to prove.

Theoretical Background

Marxist theory contends that power relations did not change drastically when Spain transitioned from an authoritarian regime to a

⁴ The Economist, *Painful Memories: The Spanish Civil War*, December 23, 2006.

democratic one. From a legal perspective Marxism asserts that liberal legality stems from the bourgeois political tactic to eliminate working class social consciousness by obscuring it. The economic and political elite that were in power during Franco's regime made a premeditated choice to transition to democracy with the intention that their power be less threatened. Rights granted to citizens in a democracy, from a Marxist perspective, give people a deceptive feeling of importance. So the elite made cosmetic changes, which fit into the new paradigm of democracy in Spain. However, legal rights newly afforded to citizens distract them from social class politics and power struggles. In this paper I will primarily be using Michel Foucault's neo-Marxist work "Power and Subjection" as theoretical support for 'hypothesis a'.

In order to best control the masses the elite must also direct the regime of truth. "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth...we are also subjected to truth in the sense in which it is truth that makes the laws, that produces the true discourse that, at least partially decides, transmits and itself extends upon the effect of power"⁵. Government must have a monopoly on 'truth creation' in order to best manipulate their citizens. Furthermore, rights ought to be examined in terms of the subjugation they create. In the assessment of power relations and law we ought to look at the extreme points of power "because it is less legal in character"⁶. One last point to note is that law itself conceals the mechanisms, which dominate us. Michel Foucault describes this best:

The theory of sovereignty and the organization of a legal code centered upon it, have allowed a system of right to be superimposed upon the mechanisms of discipline in such a way as to conceal its actual procedures, the element of domination inherent in its techniques, and to guarantee to everyone, by virtue of the sovereignty of the state, the exercise of his proper sovereign rights.⁷

The procedures and purpose of law serve the interest of the bourgeoisie. A few examples of this disciplinary power can be seen in surveillance, the medicalization of madness and sexuality, and delinquency⁸. Traits

⁵ Michel Foucault, *Power and Subjection*, in Steven Lukes (ed). *Power* (NY: New York University Press, 1986), pp. 229-242.

⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁷ Ibid 4 and 5.

⁸ Ibid 4, 5, and 6.

like homosexuality, delinquency and ‘insanity’ do not fit into the bourgeois framework, and people who have these qualities are penalized. Surveillance becomes necessary to enforce legal codes. Most of the time surveillance occurs on a personal level where we check ourselves and those around us in order to make sure they conform.

Conversely, from a Cultural perspective, which is used to support my ‘hypothesis b’, questions the innate assumptions of the Marxist approach. “The distinction between elites and non-elites is inherently blurred. It is not just that elites need legitimacy in order to attain and maintain power; both elites and non-elites are part and parcel of the same historical reality and drama”⁹. The economic boom in Spain, which began in the 1960’s, significantly affected this drama¹⁰. This played a pivotal role in the cultural shifts that led to the idea that democracy was inevitable in Spain.

The Spanish civil war was the national drama ever present in the public mind, and the pacts have been part of the symbolic ceremony, which has nullified that experience, and anti-civil war, pro-class reconciliation ceremony. The political class and the social leaders have been the main agents and officiators at this ceremony with the country acting as spectator, chorus, and accompaniment.¹¹

Political and economic elites did not create the rhetoric of consensus. Rather, they reflected cultural sentiment on a whole. Political actors use cultural symbols to “construct the political environment in which democratic values and institutions can operate”¹². Therefore the success of the Spanish transition can be attributed to the democratic and reconciliatory symbolic framework, according to ‘hypothesis b’.

⁹ Laura Desfor Edles, Rethinking democratic transition: A Culturalist critique of the Spanish Case, Theory and Society, Vol. 23, No. 3. (Jun., 1995), pp. 355-384.

¹⁰ Beate Kohler, Political Forces in Spain, Greece, and Portugal, Butterworth Scientific,

¹¹ Victor Perez-Diaz, The Return of Civil Society, Cambridge, Harvard University press, 1993, p. 234.

¹² Carolyn P. Boyd, In Review of, Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain, by Laura Desfor Edles, The American Historical Review, Vol. 104, No. 5. Dec., 1999.

Main Findings

The Spanish Civil War was very much rooted in social class conflict¹³. The differences between Franco's Spain in 1939 and Spain in the 1960's are radical. Beate Kohler in Political Forces in Spain, Greece and Portugal succinctly describes these changes

When Franco died at the end of 1975, many fundamental changes had already taken place in Spain that put the future of the authoritarian regime in doubt. The economic miracle of the 1960's, brought about by the U-turn in Franco's economic policy at the end of the 1950's (the internationalization of trade and money markets, the growth of tourism to Spain and the emigration of Spanish workers to other parts of Europe) had put an end to Spain's former isolation from Western Europe development... The striking and undeniable imbalance between social development and the political constitution strengthened the demand for an adjustment from the 'official Spain' towards 'social reality'¹⁴.

This passage delineates how economic stability and growth created space for reform within the Franco regime. It was also in the best interest of the Francoists to support such an opening of borders because the ideological climate in the late 1930s compared to the 1960s and 70s was drastically different. The currents of fascist nationalism were no longer accepted in western European discourse, which meant that if Spain were to integrate itself with the rest of Western Europe it would have to change. The evidence presented below supports 'hypothesis a' and contends that not only did 'revolution come from above'¹⁵ but transition was allowed to occur because the political elite needed to take measures to protect Franco-era war criminals by granting amnesty.

Façade Transitional Democracy

Once transition began, King Juan Carlos I kept Prime Minister Arias (who was appointed by Franco). This was seen as a huge disappointment for Spain because it gave the appearance that Francoist policies and ideas may still have an affect on the new political make up

¹³ Ibid, 1.

¹⁴ Ibid, 9.

¹⁵ Shlomo Ben Ami, La Revolución desde arriba: Espana 1936-1979, Rio Piedras Ediciones, 1980.

of Spain. Arias had a tumultuous tenure as Prime Minister because reformists and hardliners disliked his political ambiguity. Eventually, Arias was asked to resign but his presence in the democratic government is very important because it supports ‘hypothesis a’, that even though Spain became a democracy, power did not shift dramatically during transition and in fact democratic change came from above¹⁶. It is important to note that when Arias was ultimately asked to resign, it was King Juan Carlos I who asked him to. This is curious because King Juan Carlos I was the heir of Franco’s regime but no one asked him to resign as sovereign, which greatly supports the idea that the transitional government began as a farce and made superficial changes in order to appease the public.

However, during the transition to democracy, Francoist law was often referenced to while legitimizing reform. Changes to constitutional texts were made while Franco was still alive. But the aim “was to convince international opinion that Spain was actually moving towards some kind of democratic system. In the years before Franco’s death, these tests gave rise to a sterile and scholastic literature in which their exegetes speculated on their potential for real democratization¹⁷.” Even during Franco’s regime, cosmetic modifications were made to give the appearance of democratic change.

During transition the Spanish government made gradual and often very hesitant¹⁸ concessions to the democratic opposition. “The legalization of the political parties and trade unions made extremely slow progress: the path from silent toleration to official approval of political activities and finally to the legal recognition of political organizations and freedom of their activating took nearly 1.5 years”¹⁹. The transitional period is marked from Franco’s death in 1975 to 1978 when the first elections occurred. It also ought to be noted that Franco died in the month of November of 1975. Thus the transitional government was very much controlled for the majority of time by the Francoist regime.

Economic Growth as Indicator of Cultural and Political Change

At the beginning of this paper I quoted Paul Preston. He contends that Franco and his regime were like the right arm of the landed

¹⁶ John F. Coverdale. Spain from Dictatorship to Democracy. International Affairs. Royal Institute for International Affairs. 1977.

¹⁷ Ibid, 9.

¹⁸ Ibid, 7.

¹⁹ Ibid, 9.

property owners²⁰. Francisco Franco is quoted as saying that the real aristocracy of Spain was in fact the technocrats and businessmen rather than the historic nobility. He appointed much of the current nobility in Spain since they made up part of the bourgeoisie²¹. However, Franco was dictator of a country that experienced massive economic and social changes. By the time Franco had died, fascist and Catholic ideology, which was used to support his authoritarian rule, had become obsolete. With the end of WWII, Italy and Germany no longer were ideological allies. The second Vatican council met in between this time and made Catholicism more accessible to the populous by having mass in native languages. Catholicism could no longer be manipulated to serve the purposes of a leader, like Franco.

More important, the international economic trade system put pressure on Spain to democratize because of the need to liberalize markets. “Franco’s system had been able to gain stability in the 1960s by improving the living standard of the majority, but inflation and rising unemployment had removed one of the regime’s most important props”, [that it had brought economic prosperity]²². An economic comparison between the 1950s, 60s and 70s greatly clarifies the aforementioned comments. In the 1950s half of the population in Spain worked in agriculture. By 1966 only 32% of the population worked in agriculture and by 1977, 20.7%. With the decline of workers in farming, employment in the service industry rose to 41.9% by 1977, while employment in manufacturing remained constant at 37.7% in 1977. During this two and a half decade period, skilled and technical labor significantly increased. Rapid economic growth developed because of extensive changeover to new technology. Francoists were almost obsessed with modernization and further pushed liberalization in order to achieve it²³.

The Role of Mutual Amnesty

Amnesty is a total pardon or a non-recollection of the crime-- it is as if it had never been committed. In terms of the role of mutual amnesty²⁴ in Spain’s transition to democracy I still firmly hold that the amnesty, with the farce of being mutual, was meant to protect war

²⁰ Ibid, 1.

²¹ Ibid, 7.

²² Ibid, 9.

²³ Ibid, 9.

²⁴ Yoss Shain and Juan Linz. Between States: Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

criminals. It was hardly mutual because by the time Spain transitioned to democracy, the political opposition had either died off, been killed in the early years of Franco's regime, or had been pardoned through a series of decrees fulfilled by Franco over his 40 year long dictatorship. The policy of forgetting created a system in Spain where any acknowledgement of past crimes was seen as a threat. Spanish demonstrations for amnesty were most fervent in the Basque region, but only because that region had the most people incarcerated. Amnesty was manipulated to protect the political elite. But it was given a façade of protecting non-Francoists.

Repressive Francoist Policies after Franco

Even after Franco died, repressive structures that supported the dictatorship remained intact and continued during the transition to democracy. The case of Francisco Tellez Luna, which was brought to Court in 1977, details his arrest and torture during the transition to democracy. The Civil Guard in Spain arrested him and he was brutally tortured to the point that shackles and handcuffs could no longer fit around his wrists and ankles. He was arrested for supposedly subversive political activities of which he was later declared innocent. The men that tortured Tellez-Luna stayed in their positions and were later granted amnesty. Such occurrences were not uncommon throughout Spain during the time of transition and mutual amnesty. Some notorious torturers came to take positions of great importance within the new Democratic Spain. Currently the Spanish government praises Melitón Manzananas, a collaborator with the German Gestapo and infamous torturer in Euskadi (Basque Region); however, the Basque terrorist group ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) later assassinated him. Ultimately it is the victims of Franco's Spain that have to deal with the repercussions of torture and violence²⁵.

Findings that support a cultural approach

During Franco's regime there was a campaign that noted "Twenty-five Years of Peace." This was an attempt to forget the crimes that were committed during the Civil War and the beginning of Franco's regime and that it was a "shameful episode" of "collective insanity"²⁶. "Semiofficial histories departed from the unsophisticated apologies of previous works and began integrating Republican viewpoints into their texts. Their conclusions--"we were all to blame" and "never again"--

²⁵ Contra Franco. Ediciones Cedral. 2006.

²⁶ Paloma Aguilar. Memory and Amnesia. Bergham Books, New York. 2002. p. 65,

became the "slogans on which the consensus-based memory of the Transition would finally be built"²⁷. Thus collaboration between Francoist and Republican ideology ultimately led to resolution.

A true reconciliation might have led to questioning the necessity and the legitimacy of the war and thereby undermined the foundation of the regime's legitimacy. Thus, the Valley of the Fallen--the major monument bequeathed by the regime--relegated the Republican war dead to second-class status. However, as Spanish society became more similar to those in the nations of northwestern Europe, this type of discrimination and repression was considered increasingly inadmissible. The kind of despotism necessary to support Franco's government was no longer tolerable in the post WWII climate of Western Europe.

Another Culturalist, Desfor-Edles, contends that rather than a pact being conceived between the elite and the people, a period of Spanish consensus was achieved with four core symbols: a new beginning, Civil War, national reconciliation/forgiveness, and democracy²⁸. These symbols were not conceived by the political elite but were a reflection of the culture as a whole because of changes that occurred during Franco's regime brought on by economic advancement and adjustments in ideology. In due course, peaceful elections in 1977 further symbolized democracy and separation from the Franco regime.

The problem with cultural theory in general is that cultures are not monolithic and do not act as one cohesive unit. While a nation as a whole may be experiencing a series of events, the experience varies from person to person and so do the interpretations people have of events. However, the most persuasive argument from the cultural perspective is that defining who the elite are in a country is imprecise and unclear because all the members of society are part of the same narrative. The impact of this argument on this paper as a whole is that the definition of who the elite are may in fact be blurred. Foucault would contend that law conceals power relations, which is dominated by the bourgeoisie. Since Marxism contends that the root of conflict stems from social class conflict then we look to the economic and political elite. Bourgeois legal framework, itself, hazes the makes up of the elite, which is not an issue because the impact of social class conflict is still apparent in the case of Spain.

In addition, I think it to be presumptuous to argue that the majority of Spaniards did not want to discuss war crimes that occurred during the Civil War and during the Franco regime. As I have argued

²⁷ Ibid, 22, p. 70.

²⁸ Ibid, 3, p. 140.

earlier in this paper, the use of the mutual amnesty law was implemented to protect the incumbent dictatorial regime. With this in mind, it becomes difficult to agree with the cultural perspective that there was a consensus in Spain to reconcile on a national level. This becomes even more evident when looking at current events in Spain.

The latest attempt to resolve was taken by Socialist Prime Minister Zapatero²⁹. The proposal was to make a reconciliation committee that would only acknowledge the victims of the crimes and not the perpetrators. But even the recognition of the victims poses a threat to the people who make up the remnants of Franco's regime. Would it be viable to forget about the atrocities that occurred during the Spanish Civil War and during the early years of Franco's regime?

Additionally, the plethora of books and film about the Spanish Civil War and Franco's regime seem to point to the fact that there are attempts to reconcile with the past outside of the framework of government. Even with the calls from the center parties that recognition of crimes could destabilize Spain and the progress she has made, left leaning political parties seem to believe that Zapatero is not doing enough and that more must be done to redress the crimes committed. The existence of this discourse points to an ultimate resolution that Spain must make at some point in the near future.

Conclusion

There are two explanations that have been debated in this paper concerning the role of amnesty during the transition to democracy in Spain from 1975 to 1978. The use of mutual amnesty serves as a mechanism to examine power relations in a transitional setting. Marxist theory contends that the structures of power did not change drastically during Spain's shift to democracy. In fact, the change to democracy came from the Francoist regime itself as an effort to secure power. Conversely, cultural theory suggests that examining power structures is imprecise because it is difficult to determine who forms the elite and who does not. Cultural changes in Spain, which stemmed from the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and the early years of Franco's regime, put Spain on a path towards reconciliation, which in turn led to mutual amnesty.

Potential theoretical contribution for understanding law and power

Power does not shift quickly. The role of the monarchy (and aristocracy) in Spain as the economic and political elite has slightly

²⁹ Ibid, 3.

shifted but still holds power. But the current issues in Spain concerning the removal of amnesty laws, war crime tribunals, and national reconciliation is evidence that the same elite that had control during the end of Franco's regime still maintain some control. Discussion of war crime tribunals has risen because the socialist party is in control of the Spanish Parliament. If amnesty laws had not been promised when King Juan Carlos I transitioned Spain towards democracy then we might have seen a different Spain come into fruition than we see today. Thus the protection of the economic and political elite is crucial when peacefully transitioning a government to democracy.

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Deidre Evelia Lockman
Jackson School of International Studies
LaDeidre@u.washington.edu

Deidre would like to pursue a Ph.D. in Political Science and concentrate in Comparative Politics and/or International Political Economy.

Failed Expectations: Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Unemployment Crisis

Fidel Mahangel

Abstract

The unemployment crisis in South Africa has reached an all time high; almost 40 percent of the workforce is without regular employment (broad definition). With the election of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, South Africa's first black governing party, it was expected that unemployment and poverty rates would be swiftly addressed and reduced by now. After the abolition of apartheid in 1991 and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, South Africa was on the verge of a cultural revolution. However, almost 12 years later, the ANC's plan to create jobs has not fully come to pass. In fact, the unemployment rates have nearly doubled in the post-apartheid era. South Africa is still recovering from the legacy of apartheid because economic loss created by the international isolation of the country has prevented it from properly progressing. The country's wealth remains unequally distributed along racial lines and only a small percentage of blacks are financially successful by first-world standards. South Africa is an irregular case in the sense that it is well-developed and economically growing, but at the same time has very high and rising unemployment rates.

Introduction

The unemployment crisis in South Africa has reached an all time high; almost 40 percent of the workforce is without regular employment (broad definition). This is devastating to the majority black population of South Africa as the overall population growth increases while employment opportunities fade away. One would expect that a relatively well-developed and economically growing country would have low unemployment rates, but this is not the case in South Africa. Since the recent abolition of apartheid, a system of ethnic division, South Africa has seen some economic progress. However, unemployment conditions have not been combated, which makes South Africa an anomaly. The history of South Africa, which includes a painful system of oppression, has essentially set up the present conditions of the country; the removal of this system has negatively affected the development of employment opportunities, contrary to expectations that it would bring positive change.

After the abolition of apartheid in 1991, and the release of Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison, South Africa was on the verge of a cultural revolution. Also, since the election of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, South Africa's first black government, unemployment and poverty rates were expected to have been addressed and reduced by now. The country had its first non-racial elections on April 26-28, 1994, putting Nelson Mandela into office as the first black President of South Africa. This marked the beginning of a "New South Africa," as Mandela terms it.

The tragic legacy of apartheid is apparent in South Africa's high unemployment rates, poverty, crime, political corruption, and HIV/AIDS levels. In a speech to the people of Cape Town on May 9, 1994, Nelson Mandela addressed these issues in his inauguration as the president of South Africa. With an emphasis on job creation, he stated:

The people of South Africa have spoken in these elections. They want change! And change is what they will get. Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans. We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people. By encouraging investors and the democratic state to support job creating projects in which manufacturing will play a central role we will try to change our country from a net exporter of raw materials to one that exports finished products through beneficiation.¹

The positive outlook of South Africa was apparent in this quote; however, the issues of concern are not simple issues to tackle. Twelve years later, the ambitious plan to create jobs and alleviate poverty has largely failed. In fact, during post-apartheid, these numbers have nearly doubled in the last decade, reaching an all time high of approximately 40 percent. The increase in unemployment since 1994 suggests that the end of apartheid has in fact prohibited job prospects. It is due to this legacy that black South Africans lack the skills and education necessary for future employment in the post-apartheid era.

The serious situation of the unemployment crisis remains an anomaly, as South Africa is a relatively modern and prosperous country. According to the Bureau of African Affairs in the U.S. Department of State, South Africa possesses many characteristics indicative of a highly developed economy. Its productive and industrialized market includes a

¹ The Department of Information and Publicity, Johannesburg.

division of labor between formal and informal sectors, with a strong and developed formal sector based on mining, manufacturing, and agriculture. South Africa's economy is the most advanced and developed in the continent of Africa, with efficient roads and telephone access. In addition, despite the fact that corruption levels are high in South Africa, the degree of corruption is relatively lower compared to other African countries.²

South Africa is a middle-income country with an abundant supply of natural resources. Its economic development is concentrated around four geographic areas: Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Pretoria-Johannesburg. However, outside of these four areas, extreme poverty exists along with other problems. Moreover, the country is still recovering from the legacy of apartheid as the economic loss created by the international isolation of the country has prevented South Africa from developing at a normal pace. The country's wealth remains unequally distributed along racial lines and only a small percentage of blacks, known as the black elite, are doing well. The country's past is essentially haunting the present and future ambitions of the people. In order to understand the complexity of South Africa's current social and political environment, specifically regarding unemployment, one must study the history of the country.

History

The complex history of South Africa is an important factor in the understanding of why this case of unemployment is such an anomaly. After winning the general election in 1948 (made up of an all white voter population), the National Party introduced the policy of apartheid, which essentially means "separateness." The implementation of this system of social control was used to enforce racial separation and uphold white domination through a series of oppressive laws. The informal activities of black South Africans were suppressed through restrictive legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, harsh licensing, strict zoning regulations, and effective detection and prosecution of offenders.³ In addition, South Africa's Population Registration Act, the basis of apartheid, required that the race of every South African be registered at birth.⁴ Essentially, from

² Sebastian Mallaby, After Apartheid (New York: Times, 1992) 42.

³ Geeta G. Kingdon, John Knight, Unemployment in South Africa: the nature of the beast. (University of Oxford, 2001) 8.

⁴ Mallaby, 5.

the time of one's birth in South Africa, his future and position within society is already determined according to the apartheid system.

The policy of apartheid divided the country into socially constructed racial categories. According to the Statistics South Africa 2001 census, there are four dominant racial categories: African/Black (75%), White (14%), Colored (mixed race, 9%), and Indian/Asian (3%). Looking at this racial distribution, it is interesting to note that although black South Africans make up the majority of the population, they are disproportionately affected by unemployment. This is important when looking at the effects of apartheid on the black population. This oppressive system left black South Africans poorly educated and unskilled; therefore, it would be logical to suggest that black South Africans suffered the greatest in respect to unemployment.

The effects of the strict laws under the oppressive regime sparked international controversy in the late 20th century as anti-apartheid movements protested the restrictions this system placed on the majority black population. International exposure of South Africa's situation resulted in sanctions and divestment abroad. Domestically, this was not a period of peaceful protest. Strikes, riots, terrorism, and violent resistance featured heavily within this volatile time in South African history. The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) were the two main black organizations leading the anti-apartheid movement. These forceful movements were eventually banned by the National Party government in the 1960s.

The protests of these groups and others eventually proved beneficial when the National Party lifted the ban on the ANC, the PAC, and other anti-apartheid groups in 1990. This was also the time when Nelson Mandela, condemned to a life sentence for terrorism, was released after 27 years in prison. Mandela was considered a threat to the National Party due to his anti-apartheid stance, but by then, the National Party realized the social situation in South Africa would only worsen if change did not occur. Thus, in 1991 the Group Areas Act, Land Acts, and the Population Registration Act-the pillars of apartheid-were abolished. Furthermore, in 1993, a new constitution was created and one year later the country held its first non-racial elections. Nelson Mandela was voted into the presidency on May 10, 1994, and became the first black president of South Africa.

South Africa was now in the hands of a black government (ANC), which was elected by the people (majority black), and there was hope for a "New South Africa." The ANC government focused its energy on social issues that were essentially ignored during apartheid, such as unemployment, housing shortages, and crime. Committed to

restructuring the South African economy the government had to implement several programs and policies, such as the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR),⁵ and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). The start of democracy in the “New South Africa” seemed like it was headed in the right direction with the implementation of these policies. The ANC stated, “We are already setting our economy on a growth path for the first time in 10 years...If we fail, we betray our mission and continue the damage apartheid has done to the whole region.”⁶ Although there has been economic progress, the damage of apartheid cannot be easily reversed with only initiating policies, and the unemployment rates are an example of this.

Since 1994, the government’s policies and ambitious plans were not enough to combat the unemployment problem. Thabo Mbeki succeeded Mandela as president in June 1999, and like his predecessor, he promised to rectify the unemployment issue. Despite some positive changes since the ANC government took power, the overall situation is apparently worsening for the black citizens of South Africa. In fact, in a 2002 opinion poll the majority of black people in South Africa believe they would have been better off under apartheid than they are now.⁷ This is unexpected considering how inherently racist the apartheid structure was and how much damage it did to the people of South Africa physically, mentally, and emotionally. Black South Africans assumed that the abolition of the apartheid system would solve all their problems, but this was not the case. Even though South Africa is the richest African nation, the majority of the resources and wealth have continued to benefit the select few who are already rich and powerful after the system was dismantled. Taking a look at the previous work published on this topic would help us place the issue in a context of other work done by researchers.

Literature Review

The literature available on the unemployment crisis in South Africa has certain trends depending on what time period it is written. Following the research through pre- and post-apartheid periods, views of unemployment and the economic state of South Africa have logically evolved over time. There are three main categories that perspectives of

⁵ GEAR was introduced in 1996.

⁶ Notes for Election Speech on Jobs, April 1994.

⁷ The Trumpet, August 7, 2006.

the unemployment situation can be placed into: the apartheid period, the transitional period, and recent post-apartheid outlooks.

One argument from the early nineties provides some information on the effect of apartheid on economic growth. In the article, *Did the Apartheid Economy Fail?* Terence Moll defines a failing economy as one that grows at a slower rate than its suggested potential. The analysis begins in 1948, essentially the beginning of apartheid, in order to prove whether the economy grew during the apartheid period. The basis of the claim that the apartheid economy failed was due to the slow performance rate of the economy during that time. According to this argument, the South African economy remained in a prolonged economic slump since the 1940's, and the inefficient use of black workers prevented the country from growing economically. In relation to other similar developing countries, South Africa's economic growth rate since 1948 performed at the average level (Moll, 1991). However, Moll's findings are inconsistent with the amount of resources and potential South Africa has to offer. Since Moll's findings were during the apartheid period, his analysis does not consider the condition of South Africa post-apartheid, which is economically well-developed.

The remaining literature that was reviewed agrees that South Africa still has the potential to turn the economy into a thriving one. The literature reviewed during South Africa's transitional period, away from apartheid (early nineties), tended to focus on the tremendous amount of potential that the South African economy possessed and its importance to the rest of the continent. The only problem was that the majority of the population needed to be a part of the economic growth (Cole, 1994). The literature during this period emphasizes the role of investment. Investment is the primary means of creating jobs along with help from the skilled white workforce (Mallaby, 1992). The way in which South Africa should develop, however, is in question; the universal remedy for instability within any country is not democratization (Cole, 1994). Economic instability worsened, however, towards the last days of apartheid. The ANC's goal was to make the country ungovernable in order for white South Africans to give up control. This worked, as increased riots all over the country and rising unemployment rates damaged the economy. (Mallaby, 1992).

Although recent literature on the analysis of South Africa's unemployment issue is more critical of future prospects, there is an optimistic perspective of what needs to be done. In this period, the focus remains on improving the low-level of investment. In addition, the literature acknowledges that there are numerous barriers when entering into the formal labor market, which have ultimately forced the majority

black South Africans into the informal sector. The lack of skills and poor education from the exclusion of blacks during apartheid has presently left them with nothing to fall back on (May, 2000). A different focus among the contemporary literature is the idea that unemployed people do not choose to be unemployed. This view suggests that unemployment is not voluntary, due to barriers that prevent access into even the informal sector. Support for this view would maintain that the unemployed are generally worse off than the informally employed in respect to income, expenditure, and well-being (Kingdon and Knight, 2001).

Although the literature emphasizes valuable points, it tends to focus on a narrow time frame and few have considered a comprehensive analysis of unemployment. Moreover, previous literature simply defines unemployment without going in depth with reasons to support this alarming rate. However, the literature reviewed provides a strong foundation and beginning for further research on this topic. This research paper acknowledges these inconsistencies and provides multiple factors that can help understand the continual presence of unemployment, which is just one avenue among many others.

Methods and Data

In order to put the South African case in context, I have examined employment in South Africa in pre-and post-apartheid periods. After researching census information on South Africa, I created a graph with my findings from the census information that looks at development (per capita GDP) and unemployment to observe the trends of employment rates and perhaps the future economic development of South Africa. The graph will be used to place South Africa among two other countries, U.S., and Brazil, to see whether the findings support the idea that there is, in fact, a deviation in South Africa, in contrast from what is expected out of a developing country. I used the government site, *Statistics South Africa*, to gain this information. As additional sources, I incorporated information from knowledgeable speakers on the topic of unemployment during my one-month visit to Cape Town. This includes speakers like Peter Dwyer, who is involved with the “Right to Work” campaign through the Alternative Information and Development Center (AIDC), and Michael Milazi, an analyst at the Department of Treasury in South Africa. In order to gain an enhanced perspective of unemployment rates, the understanding of two existing definitions of unemployment will promote clarity of the issues surrounding this problem.

There are narrow and broad categories of unemployment that this study focuses on. A narrow definition of unemployment consists of all unemployed people who have been actively searching for work in the

recent past (four weeks), otherwise known as “searching unemployed.”⁸ On the other hand, the broad definition of unemployment encompasses all unemployed people who want jobs, but who have not necessarily been actively searching. Thus, the broad category includes both searching and non-searching unemployed. Depending on which definition of unemployment is used, rates will be dramatically different in comparison, for example, the 1994 Broad definition at 31.5 compared to the 1994 Narrow definition 20.0. (Kingdon and Knight Table 1.) There is a huge gap between these rates, which makes it important to specify which definition is being used.

However, it is important to note that the overall unemployment rates for both the narrow and broad categories have increased since 1994. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the underreporting of unemployment levels for blacks during apartheid, and the common use of defining the unemployed with a narrow definition. Due to this, I have chosen to examine unemployment through the broad definition in order to gain a more accurate perspective of unemployment conditions.⁹

In addition, I have compared the economy of Brazil to South Africa in order to emphasize the deviation of South Africa from the normal unemployment levels of a well-developed economy. I specifically chose Brazil for my comparison as it is also one of the most unequal societies in the world. Its similar economic structure and diverse cultures has allowed the comparison to be effective (See Figure 3 for comparison).

Results and Discussion

The social and economic inequalities forged by the apartheid regime have continued to plague the country during the rule of the ANC. The new government has tried to address some of the issues faced by South Africa but it remains an uneasy task. Specifically, the unemployment crisis is difficult to explain simply because several factors are involved. The driving force, however, is the lasting racial structures of apartheid, which have left the majority black population untrained

⁸ Kingdon and Knight.

⁹ Note that the official Statistical agency (Statistics South Africa) adopted the narrow concept as its official definition of unemployment in 1998.

with few or no skills, and poorly educated.¹⁰ In response, programs like the Reconstruction and Development Program were created in order to serve those who were negatively affected by the oppressive system. Unfortunately, these policies have not been entirely successful. Often incorporated into the policies is the need for investment in the South African country and people. Due to the slow growth of investment into the market since the abolition of apartheid, job creation has also been a slow process. Interestingly enough, the growth of the population since the late eighties has rapidly increased. This growth-spurt may be contributing to the crisis because with such a large population, the amount of jobs available cannot measure up. As a result, the situation has forced many South Africans to work in the unreliable and unsafe parameters of the informal sector.

Skills and Education

Apartheid was in place to keep those of color in an inferior position to white South Africans, which limited the amount of education and skills they received. Literacy, education, and skills are critical for opportunities in the formal sector, but many South Africans did not receive a proper education during apartheid, which affects them now as unemployment rates are as high as 40 percent. The rate is up to 50 percent among the black population who are officially unemployed.¹¹

These rates are the outcome of the system of apartheid; in 1994, 64.4 percent of the black population was illiterate. This is interesting because the highest number of illiterates fall into the generation schooled by apartheid, those between the ages of 16 and 34.¹² The apartheid system did not do much to equip black South Africans for the labor market, which is why the majority of them have gone into the informal sector, and have now suffered greatly due to this lack of training. A staggering 40 percent of companies do not provide any structured training, while the remaining only offer initial induction or informal training. In fact, "South Africa has been rated as having one of the poorest human resource development indices in the world, in terms of both the degree of skills in the workforce and the amount of resources

¹⁰ Pauline H. Baker, Alex Boraine, and Warren Krafchik, South Africa and the World Economy in the 1990's. (Cape Town: David Philip, 1993) 108.

¹¹ South Africa Human Development Report 2003.

¹² Ken Cole, Sustainable Development for a Democratic South Africa (London: Earthscan, 1994) 164.

being spent on industry training.”¹³ According to this statement, South Africa is not investing resources into its people; additionally, progress in the unemployment issue will not be solved unless training and time are spent on educating the people of South Africa.

Although there has been some employment creation since 1991, they are not jobs that the unemployed can necessarily fill due to the mismatching of skills. The skills needed for the sectors that are expanding are not the skills that the unemployed poor have to offer.¹⁴ In addition, the flight of skilled and educated people during apartheid has added to the limited pool of skilled individuals that otherwise would have been useful to the growth of the economy. Thus, inadequate basic education and the exclusion of blacks from training institutions has created an economy in which the majority population is reliant on alternative or informal means of survival, which are unstable and perhaps dangerous. In order to deal with these inequalities, the ANC implemented various programs and policies which attempted to increase employment opportunities.

Policy Trends

The end of apartheid left the economic structure of South Africa in serious condition, which made it difficult for the ANC to start off strong. In response to this, the new government felt they needed new policies to encourage growth and progress. The three main policies that the ANC implemented are the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE).

As the first socio-economic policy implemented by the new government in 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) addressed inequalities that stemmed from apartheid. This program focused on building up the economy by dealing with issues such as violence, lack of housing, unemployment, inadequate education, and health care. Understanding that the structure of the economy was based on racist ideals, the RDP sought to combat this through reconstruction. Thus, the program emphasized training, affirmative action, developing small and medium businesses, and improving the overall condition of black South Africans. This “people-friendly” program had the right intentions but was short-lived. “The Reconstruction and Development Programme which attempted to redress the socio economic effects of

¹³ Julian May, Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: Meeting the Challenge (Cape Town: David Philip, 2000) 92.

¹⁴ Human Development Report 2003.

apartheid did not have the cash to make more than a marginal difference.”¹⁵ Thus, with most of its targets unmet, in its place was the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996.

The GEAR strategy recognized weaknesses in the economy that were preventing growth and employment opportunities.¹⁶ Specifically, GEAR set deficit targets for the government to follow in order to limit the amount the ANC borrows.¹⁷ In addition, the policy set goals of achieving annual real GDP growth of 6% by the year 2000 while increasing job creation to 400,000 each year. GEAR focused on increasing investment and the demand for labor which saw some job opportunities but these gains were much too small to combat unemployment of approximately 30 percent at that time. This new policy was supposed to encourage investment but instead economic growth targets were not achieved mainly due to the lack of investment, or more specifically, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The GEAR strategy sadly failed in its promise to create job-opportunities and redistribution of resources to the poor via the private sector. The reason why this program and other redistribution programs have failed to help those who are unemployed is because the ANC focused on job creation for the black elite instead of the unemployed. Although the strategy was meant to be in place for four years, this did not occur due to the stock market crash in 1998. As a result, the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) commission was formed.

Like the others, the current BEE commission was formed to address and combat the inequalities created from apartheid. This policy focused on giving previously disadvantaged groups opportunities, such as ownership of businesses, skills, and Employment Equity (a type of affirmative action). Since the majority of economic control was still in the hands of the white minority, BEE was in place to spread the wealth and control of the economy to the larger non-white, non-elite population, in order to reflect the demographic make-up of South Africa, which, primarily consists of black South Africans. In order to put this goal into action, BEE required businesses to fulfill a quota of black employment. Although the efforts of the BEE have allowed some black South Africans to succeed, it largely benefited only a small percent, creating a black elite or black middle-class. In response to the many criticisms of this policy, specifically the narrow targets of the BEE, the ANC developed Broad

¹⁵ Robert Ross, A Concise History of South Africa (United Kingdom: Cambridge UP, 1999) 199.

¹⁶ May, 58

¹⁷ Notes from Michael Milazi lecture in Cape Town, August 31, 2005.

Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), in order to distribute the wealth on a larger and broader scale. This policy is fairly new and still in progress for the outcomes to be clearly defined.

Investment

A common theme that the policies emphasized was the importance of investment to job creation. However, this was also necessary during apartheid; investors enabled stability within the economy by creating employment opportunities. During the apartheid period, investors were able to predict the social climate of South Africa on a long-term basis, and, given the generally favorable outlook on stability, investment tended to grow. It was not until the last years of apartheid, between 1984 and 1990, that investment started to decline. Nearly four hundred foreign companies left the country and disinvested in the economy.¹⁸ The flight of investors in response to international condemnation of apartheid left the country in critical condition. In order for South Africa to grow economically, foreign investment and aid is essential. Any fast growing economy, like South Africa, requires high levels of investment.¹⁹ However, very few long-term investments are being made. For every rand that comes in as capital, 80 percent leaves, which ultimately destabilizes the economy.²⁰ The slow rate of investment into the economy is largely due to high crime and the people's lack of skills. This remains true today, and investors are needed in South Africa to build factories, and most importantly, create jobs, because the government is not taking the initiative to do this.²¹ According to Peter Dwyer from the Right to Work Campaign in South Africa, the government has not taken responsibility of creating jobs since the ANC has left this task to the business industry and investors. The problem with this is that businesses are not creating jobs and investors are not investing, which keeps the unemployment crisis at a formidable force.

Population

One area of growth which has not experienced a lot of setbacks is the growth of the population since the early nineties. This is amazing considering the extensive restrictions placed on the population of non-white ethnic groups during apartheid. Although reasons for the population increase have not largely been studied, I suggest it is due to

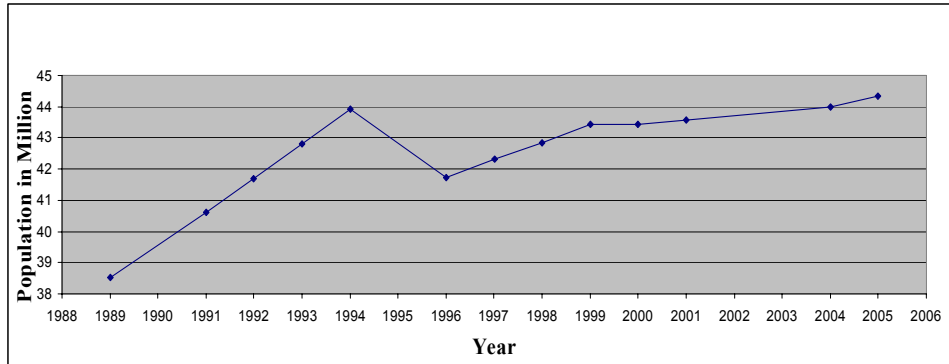
¹⁸ Mallaby, 43.

¹⁹ May, 54.

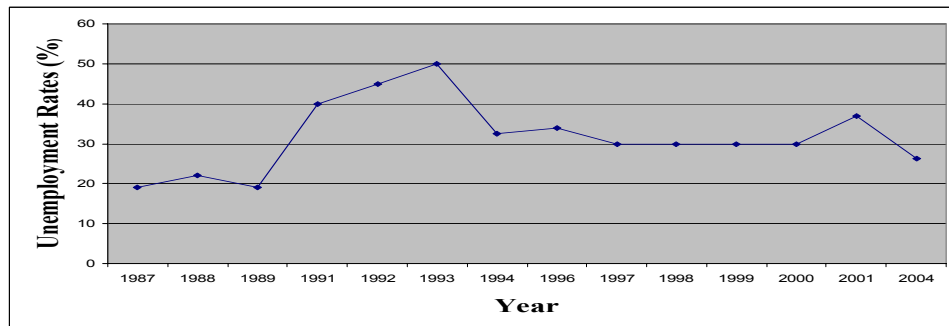
²⁰ Notes from Peter Dwyer lecture in Cape Town, September 8, 2005.

²¹ Mallaby, 51.

the lifting of apartheid restrictions which promoted families to have more children. The World Factbook census statistics on South Africa from 1982 to 2006 enabled me to compare population rates and unemployment rates over two decades. The two graphs in Figures 1 and 2, show that the rates of both population and unemployment dramatically increased during the period of government transition and the end of apartheid, 1991-1994. Thus, the end of apartheid seemed to have caused instability within the economy.



Source: CIA World Factbook
 Figure 1: Population Growth in South Africa.



Source: CIA World Factbook
 Figure 2: Unemployment Rates in South Africa.

The result of this instability created serious implications for the people of South Africa. One way South Africans deal with this issue is by working

in the informal sector, which often means partaking in criminal acts in order to make a living.²²

Informal Sector

The inability of individuals to take part in the formal sector because of lack of skills has forced them to seek work in the informal sector which has been a huge issue since 1994. In Ken Cole's book, *Sustainable Development for a Democratic South Africa*, he states, "...with private sector enterprises now shedding jobs virtually across the board, the proportion of the labor force without formal sector employment is fast approaching 50 per cent."²³ In South Africa, the informal sector consists of self-employed, retail, service oriented, and street selling positions. Although the informal sector market provides some form of income, it still does not enable people to survive above poverty.²⁴ Informal employment is an insecure way of life as there are no formal rules or benefits. Specifically, no health benefits or social security makes the future of those in this sector uncertain and dangerous. However, even formally employed individuals still struggle with underemployment, and inadequate or low-quality employment.²⁵ Unemployment and underemployment are two factors that continue to prohibit the South African economy from future growth. The rates of poverty, even amongst those employed in the formal sector, are much higher than would be expected from South Africa's international wage ranking. Closely tied to the unemployment issue is the issue of poverty, and with 50 percent of black South Africans under the poverty line, informal work and often times formal work is not alleviating the issue.

Lastly, in order to put the South African case in context, we need to compare it to other countries. I have created a graph with my findings from the census information on development (per capita GDP) and unemployment. This graph is used to compare South Africa to other countries, such as the United States and Brazil, in order to support the assertion of its deviation from what is expected of a relatively well-developed country. I chose to use the United States as the control variable to be an example of what you would expect from a well-developed, high-income country.

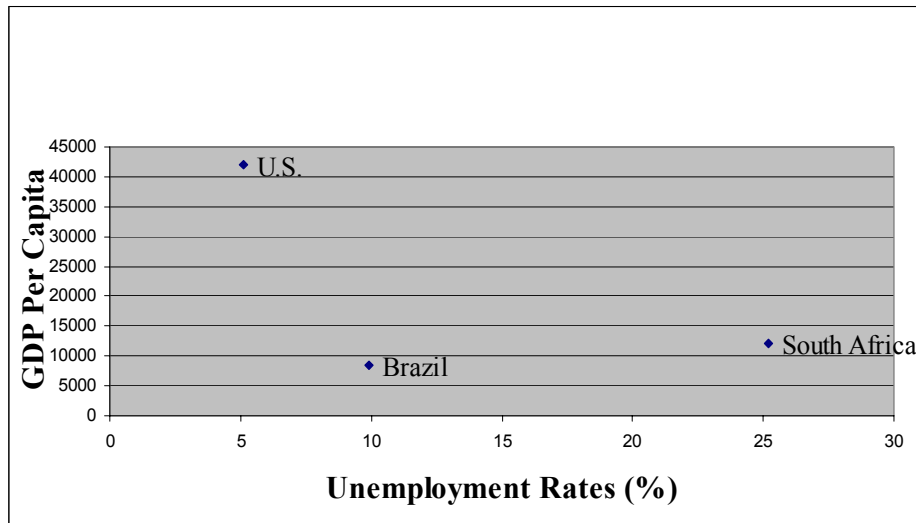
²² Peter Dwyer lecture, September 8, 2005.

²³ Cole, 15-16.

²⁴ May, 81.

²⁵ Human Development Report, 2003.

On the other hand, I chose Brazil as the country which would be most suitable to compare to South Africa. Both have high degrees of economic inequality in relationship to other countries. Sebastian Mallaby also compares these two countries in the book, *After Apartheid: The Future of South Africa*, he states, “In Brazil nearly half the farmland in Brazil is owned by 1 percent of farmers, a distribution roughly comparable to South Africa, where apartheid awarded the white minority 86 percent of the land. Other forms of wealth in Brazil are distributed unfairly; the top tenth of the populations in Brazil hogs 51 percent of it, compared with 50 percent in South Africa.”²⁶ These inequities previously discussed are what continue to divide each country on the basis of race and class.



Source: CIA World Factbook

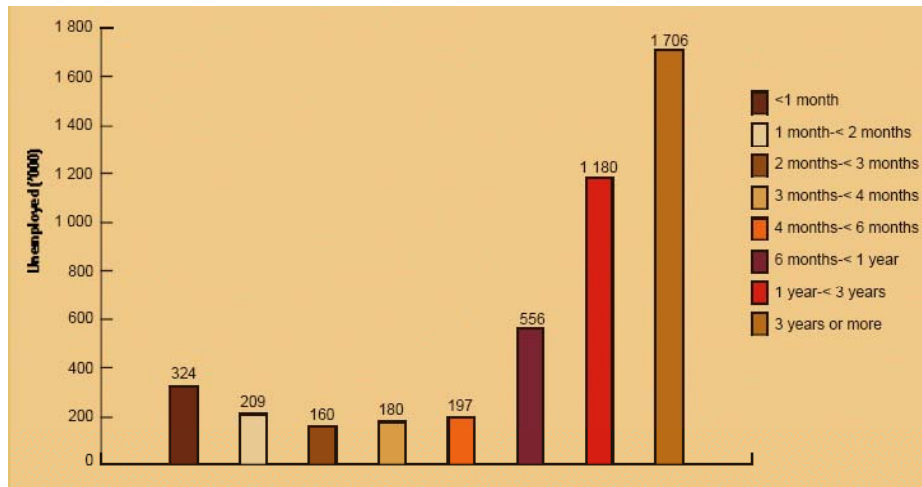
Figure 3: Unemployment Rate and GDP Per-Capita Comparison, 2005.

Like South Africa, Brazil is classed as a middle-income country in the World Bank’s league tables. Both countries have informal shack settlements throughout the countries, such as, Rio and Durban, which are basically violent slums. Additionally, similar to South Africa, Brazil is also the dominant economic power in its immediate region. Among other similar characteristics, these two very culturally diverse countries both transitioned from an authoritarian government into a chaotic democracy.

²⁶ Mallaby, 222.

According to Figure 3, the discrepancy between South Africa and Brazil show that under relatively similar conditions, South Africa's unemployment rates are what obviously separates the two economies. With very close GDP per capita rates, \$8,400 for Brazil and \$12,000 for South Africa, the difference in unemployment must be due to an outside factor. The research and graphs show that because South Africa is an anomaly, it can be concluded that apartheid is the determining factor that separates South Africa from other well-developed countries, specifically the effects of apartheid on the present economy. Not only has unemployment continued to be an issue in South Africa, but it has not been dealt with effectively since the fall of the National Party system.

Particularly, the long-term duration of unemployment is very problematic to the South African labor market. Out of the 4.6 million unemployed, 1.7 million people have been jobless for at least three years and only 324,000 have been unemployed for less than one month (See Figure 4).²⁷ With the majority of those unemployed on a long-term basis, it is obvious that there are many barriers to employment and unemployment is not easy to overcome, especially in South Africa.



Source: Labor Market Review 2004, Stats SA

Figure 4: Unemployed by duration of unemployment

Conclusion

In relation to the rest of the world, South Africa has one of the highest rates of unemployment. Out of 196 countries, South Africa

²⁷ Labor Market Review, 2004

ranked 162 for unemployment rates, while Brazil placed 107; the higher the ranking the higher the unemployment rates are in that country.²⁸ This is a staggering number for any country, especially South Africa, because it is inconsistent with the economic growth and progress that the country experienced post-apartheid. The unemployment crisis mainly affects black South Africans and with 50 percent of this population below the poverty line, the need to focus on this issue is great. Thus, the promise of Mandela and Mbeki to stimulate further economic growth and provide a better life for South Africans has not been entirely fulfilled.

The direct correlation of unemployment rates to the fall of the apartheid regime is what sets South Africa apart from any other country. The legacy of this system continues to persist as it laid the foundation of the current conditions in South Africa. The increase in unemployment rates during South Africa's transitional period is likely a result of companies and investors pulling out of South Africa after the end of apartheid. Although there has been some job creation since this period, black South Africans often do not have the required skills and education to fill them. Unless the economy is altered to include the majority population, the unemployment crisis will persist. The need for South Africa to make increased international integration of work through globalization is necessary. In addition, supporting investment and developing production capabilities will also be necessary in seeing growth in the economy and reduction in unemployment rates.

This research has largely focused on black South Africans as they have been the primary population affected by unemployment. The barriers to employment due to inequality and discrimination continue to lower the chances of non-white South Africans from finding employment. However, further research should be conducted as there was an underestimation of unemployed black South Africans during apartheid. This may alter the findings of unemployment, specifically, the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid. Yet, the dire living conditions of this population remain constant as they are largely affected by poverty and forced into informal sector positions. Another factor which may affect future unemployment rates is the growing number of HIV/AIDS cases among the adult-working population in South Africa. Essentially, as the most productive sector, the rate of unemployment will decrease significantly due to HIV/AIDS.

Solutions to this large crisis are not simple and cannot be narrowly defined. However, certain steps must take place in order to see the rates of unemployment decrease in the future. Among other areas in

²⁸ CIA World Factbook, estimates for 2004.

need of change, three areas seem to be critical; protection for informal workers, better education and training programs, and improved ways of attracting investment all must be considered. In addition, without a change in the racist ideologies of South Africans, the transition towards inclusiveness of all its citizens will take longer to achieve. This topic of unemployment and economics is universal and can be applied to other countries all over the world. If we can recognize the factors of unemployment by looking at South Africa as an example, we can then apply the findings to other countries that are devastated by unemployment.

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Fidel Mahangel
Department of Sociology and American Ethnic Studies
fidelzm@gmail.com

I am interested in further researching various topics dealing with the African continent, because there is where my passion lies. As my next educational step, I intend to pursue a doctorate in Public and International Affairs.

Effects of Athletic Participation on Juvenile Delinquency

Nicole V. Savini

Abstract

With so many children participating in athletics it is becoming more important to define the role of sports in academics and overall development. This study examines the extent to which athletic participation affects a student's propensity toward deviance. Specifically, this current inquiry seeks insight into whether interscholastic sports decreases juvenile delinquency among youth participants. For the purposes of this study, I use data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health to test the effects of sports involvement on delinquency among youth in grades 7 through 12. Further examination of these domains will help to define the role of sports in society and whether athletics can be used as a preventative measure in the with regards to delinquency. In this secondary analysis, I measure the effects of sports participation relative to other known predictors of crime to find the extent to which athletics determines delinquent or non-delinquent behavior.

Introduction

Interscholastic athletics are a socialization tool in the development of children and adolescents (Schafer, Walter & Phillips 1971; Seefeldt, Ewing & Walk 1991; Seefeldt 1996; Ewing, M. E., Gano-Overway, L. A., Branta, C. F., & Seefeldt 2002; Sadik & Kim 2006). Socialization is the interactive process through which our identities, beliefs and behaviors are shaped. The claim here is that sports teaches youth participants how to adhere to rules and norms of society. Sports in particular introduce the concept of teamwork, enforce levels of sportsmanship and instill qualities and characteristics such as dedication, commitment, perseverance and endurance that can be applied elsewhere in life. Participation in athletics is most likely to produce positive effects when the following occur:

- New non-sport identities are formed
- Knowledge is gained about the world beyond sports
- Experiences go beyond sports
- New relationships are formed that go beyond sports
- Lessons learned in sports are applied to situations outside of sports
- Participants are seen by others as total human beings, not just athletes

- General competence and responsibility are learned

Ewing et. al. (2002) note that sport involvement also increases fitness, health, well-being and self-esteem; athletics fosters the formation and growth of social competence, physical competence and moral development.

The case for sports as a means of crime prevention is created through understanding the cognitive and social benefits of athletics. It is precisely these benefits that help produce individuals that act within the boundaries and norms, rules and regulations of society. The major focus of attention is on the link between attachment and the adequacy of socialization (the internalization of norms) (Hirschi 1969).” It is then necessary to realize the extent to which athletics, in these terms, increases the ability to execute socialization and internalization.

Theoretical Background

Social control theories explain deviance by specifying what causes people to obey the law.

Leighninger and Popple (1996) offer this summation of social control theory:

“People who commit crimes have basically the same values as everyone else. Primarily among these values is an emphasis on achievement and success. According to this theory, the avenues for the achievement of success are greatly restricted for people in the lower class. Thus, they are faced with a cruel dilemma; either they abandon the major American values of success and prosperity or they abandon another--obedience of the law ([Leighninger & Popple 1996](#)).”

In relation to the premise of this research, the study of the effects of sports on delinquency is also examining the extent to which sport acts as an equalizer. This is to say that although the participants in this study come from various backgrounds, sports can be used as a tool to achieve success regardless of one’s socioeconomic status. For this study, parent employment was the indicator of economic status and was measured relative to sport participation.

Additionally, strain theorists assume that all people are moral and desire to conform to society. Desire to keep the norms of the institution are then internalized and individuals will obey the law regardless of possible benefits gained from deviant or delinquent behavior. This is due primarily to the sense of moral obligation

individuals feel to the social order (Hirschi 1969). Thus conformity and the attribution of value to the expectations of others cause individuals to abide by the regulations set by society. When crime and delinquency occur, given the theoretical assumptions, there must be immense pressure derived from a legitimate desire that outweighs obligation and conformity (Hirschi 1969). This is the explanation of deviance as outlined by social control theory. The premise that athletic involvement reduces deviance among youth is validated in this theory.

Sport as a body, an institution within society, is a structure that promotes conformity to social norms. As youth participants engage in athletic activity, conformity to team values and acceptable societal norms decrease the likelihood of delinquent behavior while increasing accountability. Interscholastic athletics may be described as a part of a body, in which case the body is the school. Schools are institutions that, in keeping with strain theory, create conformity to societal values. With that said, the interest of this study is in realizing to what extent sports strengthens conformity to social values and whether this reduces delinquency within schools.

Delinquency

Again I reference the theoretical foundations of social control theory to explain delinquency in terms of attachment and bonding. To understand this in greater detail, I rely on Hirschi's (1979) explanation of child parent attachment:

Although denied in some theories and ignored in others, the fact that delinquents are less likely than non-delinquents to be closely tied to their parents is one of the best findings of delinquent research...It is in control theory that attachment to parents becomes a central variable, and many of the variations in explanations of this relation may be found within the control theory tradition. As is well known, the emotional bond between the parent and the child presumably provides the bridge across which pass parental ideals or expectations. If the child is alienated from the parent, he will not learn or will have no feeling for moral rules, he will not develop an adequate conscience or superego.

Hirschi sums up the value of bond and attachment. While the focus is on a parent child relationship, the basic model can be applied to school and other institutions as well. Using the school as an example, if the student is alienated from the school, he/she will not learn. The

student will have no feeling for rules instituted by the school and development of conscience is stifled. Attachment is the “bridge” that connects the child to the school. Without such bridges, the individual will not adhere to social norms for the lack of this invisible infrastructure will hinder socialization and processes by which such occurs. Attachment and commitment to school, parents and involvement in extracurricular activities enable closer examination of this factor.

Methods

To test my hypothesis, I used the National Longitudinal study of Adolescent Health data set, also known as Add Health, to conduct a secondary analysis. Add Health consists of a nationally representative study of youth grades 7-12 and is designed to examine how social contexts (such as families, friends, peers, schools, neighborhoods, and communities) influence teens’ health and risk behaviors. Researchers examine how adolescent experiences and environments influence what happens during the transition to adulthood and explore the early causes of behavioral and disease processes that lead to adult chronic disease. In the process, the study also collects information on delinquency and violence, including individual, family, peer, and community influences on delinquency, violence and risk factors.

The survey was conducted in two phases: an in-school survey and an in-home interview with the student and the student’s parent. In the first phase, approximately 90,000 students in grades 7 through 12 at 145 schools across the U.S. answered the questionnaire in one 45-60 minute class. These surveys addressed information about the students themselves and other aspects of their lives, including their health, friendships, self-esteem, and expectations for the future. Before students could participate, parents had to give their permission through procedures approved by each school. In some schools, parents volunteered their time to help administer the questionnaire. Add Health followed up by conducting an in-home interview with the students one year later. For this research project, I use only the Wave I in-school questionnaire responses.

Since it is difficult to isolate sports participation from other factors both in school and at home, I chose to perform a logistic regression using SPSS software in attempts to control for other variables that may otherwise lead to inaccurate results. This model compares the effects of sports relative to other factors that are often predictors for delinquency. The logistic regression, by design, yields a comparison between the chosen variables and the extent to which these factors increase or decrease the likelihood of delinquency. Logistic regressions

are binary analyses. Given this characteristic, it was necessary to recode the data to fit within this configuration.

Measures

The factors of race, self-esteem, and school commitment, level of perceived safety both at school and in respective neighborhoods, parent attachment, education and employment as well as participation in athletic and non-athletic clubs were the covariates of the analysis. The dependent variable was delinquency. For the purposes of this study, delinquency is defined as smoking, getting drunk, skipping school without an excuse more than three times a week in the last year and engaging in physical fighting more than 3 times in the last twelve months. Delinquency was determined by recoding each variable response as 1 = yes 0 = no. The question concerning the individuals' involvement in the above delinquent activities required the students to provide the approximate rate of participation in each act on a scale of 0 (representative of never participating in the acts) to 6 (engaging in the act nearly everyday in the past twelve months). I recoded responses of 0 and 1 as 0 and 2-6 as 1. A score of 99 was recorded for those with multiple responses. List wise deletion was performed for the missing information while scores of 99 were coded as system missing.

Race was counted in three categories of Black, White and Hispanic. Only the Hispanic category required recoding as it had "I don't know" as a response option marked with a value of 8. The other responses were yes = 1 and no = 0. Self esteem variable for this study required a recode of responses to the following statements question 62: I have a lot of good qualities; I have a lot to be proud of; I feel socially accepted; I feel loved and wanted. The scale ranged from 1 -5 and a response of 7 as multiple responses. For these statements, 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = disagree and 5 = strongly disagree. To make this fit the binary structure of the analysis, I computed the sum of the responses and established a scale for this variable. Sums equaling 4-9 were counted as medium to high self esteem and 10-18 counted as little to no self-esteem. Similar procedures were performed for the other factors measured in this study. School commitment examined responses from question 48: In general, how hard do you try to do your school work well. Responses ranged from 1, try very hard to 4, I never try. A response of 9 was recorded in the database as multiple responses. Computations of 1-2 were recoded as 1 and 3-4 as 0. The level of school and neighborhood safety was determined by students' response to how well they agreed with the statement in question 62: I feel safe in my neighborhood; I feel safe in my school. In

both cases, 1 and 2 were counted as 1 (they felt safe) and 3-6 were counted as 0 (they did not feel safe in these environments).

Parent attachment was a combined measure of survey questions 16 and 22: How much do you think your mother cares about you? How much do you think your father cares about you? This particular question was aimed at determining the students' attachment based on their individual perceptions of the extent to which they believed their parents cared about them. The use of these variables to calculate a new variable of parent attachment is logical based on the idea that these perceptions are crucial determinants of reciprocity. If the child feels cared for, the attachment will be strong. Oppositely, if a child feels neglected or uncared for, the attachment is weakened. On a scale of 1 to 5, students indicated they felt that their parent didn't care at all, cared a little, some, quite a bit or very much. A mark of 7 was chosen by those who qualified for a legitimate skip, while a mark of 9 was recorded for those who reported multiple responses. Sums of both parents were recoded as follows: 2-5=1 and 6-10=0.

As for parent employment, the question asked whether a parent worked for pay or was employed. The response options for this question were 0=no, 1=yes, 7=legitimate skip and 8=don't know. Recodes for this variable were done after the computations for both mother and father were recorded as 2=1 while scores of 7, 8, 9, 15 and 16=0.

Participation in non-athletic clubs organizations was an important variable to include. By making this distinction, I was able to examine the effects of participation in different types of extracurricular activities and observe exactly how both athletic and other clubs and organizations influence behavior relative to one another. The variable athlete was a computation of participation in any of the 13 sports listed, including an "other sport" category. Results of the computation were recoded into the new variable as 0=0, 1-13=1. All other responses were counted system missing. Computation of students involved in non-sport clubs and organizations were calculated in the same way. Note that this recoded variable did not account for overlap and athletes who were involved in other non-sport activities were included in both counts. Finally, the analysis examined male and female students separately.

Results

Of the female students surveyed, 55.6% reported participating in athletics. In the crosstabulation in figure 2, those that were involved in sports and were also delinquent accounted for 33.7%. On the other hand, 35.9% of non-athletes were found delinquent. The 2.2% difference

between the two was not found to be a significant difference relative to other factors in the logistic regression.

Figure 1 displays the result of the logistic regression. Of the 15 variables measured, only 3 were of statistical significance. Parent employment, relative to other factors, proved to lessen the likelihood of delinquency by -.917. The most significant factor in predicting delinquency among female students was commitment to school with a statistical significance of .000 and a beta value of -1.106. Finally, school attachment was also a key factor with a beta value of -.626 and a significance of .001. Participation in sports was not statistically significant in determining whether female students engaged in delinquent behavior.

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a)						
White	.382	.274	1.941	1	.164	1.465
Black	-.228	.301	.570	1	.450	.796
Hispanic	.354	.338	1.099	1	.294	1.425
Athlete	.145	.157	.859	1	.354	1.156
Self esteem	-.289	.190	2.318	1	.128	.749
Two Parent Home	.649	.998	.422	1	.516	1.913
Mother's Involvement	-.986	.854	1.334	1	.248	.373
Father's Involvement	-1.285	.948	1.836	1	.175	.277
** Parent Employment	-.917	.349	6.908	1	.009	.400
Parents Education	-.262	.157	2.783	1	.095	.769
Non-Athletic Clubs and Activities	-.102	.172	.355	1	.552	.903
*** Commitment to School	-1.106	.301	13.510	1	.000	.331
Safety at School	-.193	.185	1.094	1	.296	.824
Safety in Neighborhood	.164	.217	.571	1	.450	1.178
*** School Attachment	-.621	.181	11.825	1	.001	.537
Constant	3.209	.930	11.919	1	.001	24.765

***p< .001, **p< .01, *p< .05

Figure 1. Logistic Regression of Female Students.

		Delinquency		Total
		No	Yes	
Athletic Participation	No	474	266	740
	Yes	657	335	992
Total		1131	601	1732

Delinquency includes smoking, drinking, skipping school and physical fighting.

Figure 2. Crosstabulation of Female Delinquency and Sport Participation.

For the male participants in the survey, 48.1% of non-athletes and 47.9% of athletes were delinquent. In both cases for female and male students, delinquency appears to be roughly the same among athletes and non-athletes. In the case of male students, the logistic regression yielded 3 categories that were statistically significant in predicting delinquency.

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a)	White	.899	.334	7.231	1	.007	2.456
	Black	.497	.375	1.759	1	.185	1.644
	Hispanic	.577	.395	2.132	1	.144	1.780
	Athlete	.127	.199	.409	1	.523	1.136
	Self esteem	.202	.236	.730	1	.393	1.224
	Two Parent Home	-.217	.960	.051	1	.821	.805
	Mother's Involvement	-.888	.624	2.023	1	.155	.412
	Father's Involvement	.296	.866	.117	1	.732	1.345
	Parent Employment	-.102	.527	.038	1	.846	.903
	Parents Education	-.337	.183	3.409	1	.065	.714
	Non-Athletic Clubs and Activities	-.216	.178	1.475	1	.225	.806
***	Commitment to School	-1.095	.270	16.392	1	.000	.335
	Safety at School	-.064	.221	.085	1	.771	.938
*	Safety in Neighborhood	-.669	.259	6.679	1	.010	.512
***	School Attachment	-.725	.213	11.598	1	.001	.484
	Constant	1.892	.770	6.032	1	.014	6.633

***p< .001, **p< .01, *p< .05

Figure 3. Logistic Regression of Male Students

		<i>Delinquency</i>		Total
		No	Yes	
Athletic Participation	No	224	208	432
	Yes	422	389	811
Total		646	597	1243

Delinquency includes smoking, drinking, skipping school and physical fighting

Figure 4. Crosstabulation of Male Delinquency and Sport Participation.

Commitment and attachment to school proved to be the most significant factors with p values of .000 and .001. School attachment had a beta value of -.725 while commitment to school yielded a beta value of -1.095. Finally, safety in the neighborhood yielded a beta value of -.669 with a significance value of .010. Again, athletic participation lacks statistical significance relative to other factors measured in this study to show that sports decreases delinquency.

Discussion

The results indicate that sports participation does not impact a student’s inclination toward delinquent behavior. Instead, the most important factors in decreasing delinquency among youth are school attachment, commitment to school, parent employment (among female students) and safety in neighborhoods (among males). To this end, the first two variables are demonstrating the validity in social control theory.

Commitment to school most impacted delinquency among both male and female students. From Merton’s perspective of social control, the aim is to synchronize what one wants to be with what he can be (Hirschi 1979). Absence of academic goals or the means to attain them result in higher delinquency. The greater the commitment is to school, the less likely a student is to engage in deviant activity.

The second most critical factor in predicting delinquency is school attachment. Given that school commitment has to do with effort and educational success, school attachment measures the belongingness to the institution. This has to do with whether the student feels accepted and included in the school setting and not so much the intellectual ability or disability. It must be noted, however, that Hirschi (1979) found this to be a link on a causal chain in which intellectual incompetence incites social incompetence which result in low levels of school attachment. The

end result in this analysis brings us to the conclusion that with greater school attachment, a student is less likely to deviate from the norm.

Finally, safety in any surrounding cannot be undervalued or depreciated. Research reveals that threats to the physical well-being of individual results in violent behavior as a means of defense (Coakley 2002). While certain sports may foster an environment of violence and hostility as a means to dominate and gain an upper hand on an opponent, philosophies of nonviolence have been implemented in sport as well. Much of this has to do with the coaching and the role of nurturing this mentality on the practice field (Coakley 2002, Ewing et. al. 2002) Back to the notion of safety, if a student feels safe, that individual will be less likely to participate in delinquent activity (Ewing et. al. 2002). However, students who feel unsafe in their environments are more likely to respond in violent ways and this cause is apparent in this study. Fostering communities of safety are critical factors in the development and socialization of children.

Conclusion

The data indicated that commitment to school as well as attachment to school had the greatest impact on youth delinquency. In addition to these variables, only parent employment and neighborhood safety were established as strong predictors of delinquency. Sports participation was not supported in the research as a cause of decreased juvenile delinquency. In spite of the results, there must be continued examination in this area and in this particular focus.

Endnote

1. Merton presents five modes of adapting to strain caused by the restricted access to socially approved goals and means. He did not mean that everyone who was denied access to society's goals became deviant. Rather the response, or modes of adaptation, depends on the individual's attitudes toward cultural goals and the institutional means to attain them. Conformity is the most common mode of adaptation. Individuals accept both the goals as well as the prescribed means for achieving those goals. Conformists will accept, though not always achieve, the goals of society and the means approved for achieving them. Individuals who adapt through innovation accept societal goals but have few legitimate means to achieve those goals, thus they innovate (design) their own means to get ahead. The means to get ahead may be through robbery, embezzlement or other such criminal acts. In ritualism, the third adaptation, individuals abandon the goals they once believed to be within

their reach and dedicate themselves to their current lifestyle. They play by the rules and have a daily safe routine. Retreatism is the adaptation of those who give up not only the goals but also the means. They often retreat into the world of alcoholism and drug addiction. They escape into a non-productive, non-striving lifestyle. The final adaptation, rebellion, occurs when the cultural goals and the legitimate means are rejected. Individuals create their own goals and their own means, by protest or revolutionary activity.

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Appendix

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
AGE	4733	10.00	19.00	14.8709	1.72925
HISPANIC ORIGIN	4474	.00	8.00	.7101	2.07360
BLACK	4751	.00	1.00	.2648	.44127
WHITE	4751	.00	1.00	.6037	.48919
LIVES WITH BOTH PARENTS	4550	.00	2.00	1.6967	.53282
LIVES WITH BIOLOGICAL MOTHER	4615	.00	1.00	.9324	.25110
LIVES WITH BIOLOGICAL FATHER	4595	.00	1.00	.7619	.42596
PARENT EDUCATION	3166	1.00	10.00	5.3367	2.03710
FATHER'S EDUCATION	3367	1.00	10.00	5.3995	2.39229
LIVES WITH BOTH PARENTS	3294	.00	1.00	.8937	.30821
SCHOOL ATTACHMENT	4293	1.00	5.00	2.4260	1.18764
PLAYS SPORT	4751	.00	13.00	1.2096	1.43631
NON ATHLETIC CLUBS & ACTIVITIES	4751	.00	1.00	.5561	.49690
COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL	4558	.00	1.00	.8927	.30951
SELF ESTEEM	4262	1.00	5.00	2.1664	1.12252

FEELS SAFE AT SCHOOL	4258	1.00	5.00	2.2287	1.07059
FEELS SAFE IN NEIGHBORHOOD	4248	1.00	5.00	1.9831	1.04601
Valid N (listwise)	2717				

Figure A1. Descriptive Statistics.

Effects of Athletic Participation on Juvenile Delinquency

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
AGE	4733	10.00	19.00	14.8709	1.72925
HISPANIC ORIGIN	4474	.00	8.00	.7101	2.07360
BLACK	4751	.00	1.00	.2648	.44127
WHITE	4751	.00	1.00	.6037	.48919
LIVES WITH BOTH PARENTS	4550	.00	2.00	1.6967	.53282
LIVES WITH BICOLOGICAL MOTHER	4615	.00	1.00	.9324	.25110
LIVES WITH BICOLOGICAL FATHER	4595	.00	1.00	.7619	.42596
PARENT EDUCATION	3166	1.00	10.00	5.3367	2.03710
MOTHER'S EDUCATION	4148	1.00	10.00	5.2271	2.29404
FATHER'S EDUCATION	3367	1.00	10.00	5.3995	2.39229
PARENT ATTACHMENT	3294	.00	1.00	.8937	.30821
SCHOOL ATTACHMENT	4293	1.00	5.00	2.4260	1.18764
SPORTS INVOLVEMENT	4751	.00	13.00	1.2096	1.43631
NO ATHLETIC CLUBS & ACTIVITIES	4751	.00	1.00	.5561	.49690
COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL	4558	.00	1.00	.8927	.30951
SELF ESTEEM	4262	1.00	5.00	2.1664	1.12252
SAFETY AT SCHOOL	4258	1.00	5.00	2.2287	1.07059
SAFETY IN NEIGHBORHOOD	4248	1.00	5.00	1.9831	1.04601
Valid N (listwise)	2717				

Figure 2A. Frequencies.

The Spatial Distribution of Hermit Crab Symbionts

Sharon VillageCenter

Abstract

Many crustaceans form symbiotic relationships with other species. In this study I looked at the organisms that coexist with four species of hermit crab from the Bering Sea, Pagurus aleuticus, P. brandti, P. rathbuni, and P. trigonocheirus. In total, six different phyla were identified, including Crustacea, Cnidaria, Porifera, Bryozoa, Annelida and Urochordata. Together, polychaete worms and amphipods accounted for associations with 114 of 168 (68%) of the pagurids collected. At least 5 genera of amphipods (Erichthonius, Gnathopleustes, Isaea, Megamora, and Podocerosi, as well as a small number that could not be identified) were found living within the shells of the hermit crabs. Although only one species of polychaete worm, Eunoe depressa, was identified, it was present in a large number of the samples. Worms and amphipods rarely shared the same host; this negative correlation was previously unknown and the cause is still undetermined. Sampling also revealed an interesting trend in depth distribution between P. trigonocheirus and P. brandti. It was found that P. brandti inhabited depths below 100m, while P. trigonocheirus was only found in depths ranging from 45m-60m.

Introduction

Hermit crabs that inhabit the deeper waters of the Eastern Bering Sea are typically living on soft substrates of sand or mud. It is this environmental factor that is most likely responsible for the many different associations found with hermit crabs. The snail shells inhabited by hermit crabs provide a suitable hard substrate for sessile animals to attach, while at the same time providing shelter for smaller creatures such as amphipods and annelid worms (Reiss et al. 2003; Williams and McDermott 2004).

Associations with hermit crabs can generally be categorized as either facultative or obligate. Facultative symbionts are those typically attached to rocks or other objects that are merely taking advantage of a hard substrate (the hermit's shell) to which they can anchor themselves. However, if the animal associating with the hermit crab is dependant on the crab (e.g., being protected from predators or getting food from the hermit) it is termed an obligate symbiont.

Very little is known about the symbionts associated with hermit crabs in the North Pacific and Bering Sea, with the only previous study (Hoberg et al. 1982) reporting low numbers and diversity of associated organisms. In this study I looked specifically at presumed obligate symbionts. These are the animals that were found inside the gastropod shell, but not parasitic within the hermit crabs themselves. They appear to have been living in close association with the hermit crabs, most likely utilizing the shells for protection from predators. It is also possible they were obtaining food directly from the hermit crab, or feeding on particulate matter that was produced from the hermit crabs feeding method. This study focuses mainly on polychaete worms and amphipods due to the large number of hermit crabs that harbored one or both of them.

Methods and Materials

Data was collected during NOAA's Annual Groundfish Survey, July 2005, via bottom trawl. Specimens of four different species of hermit crab were collected. Five individuals of one species were collected from each haul. Only hermit crabs that were inside gastropod shells were selected for this study. Hermit species were chosen at random. Samples were collected from various depths, temperatures, and substrates near the central part of the Bering Sea (Fig 1).

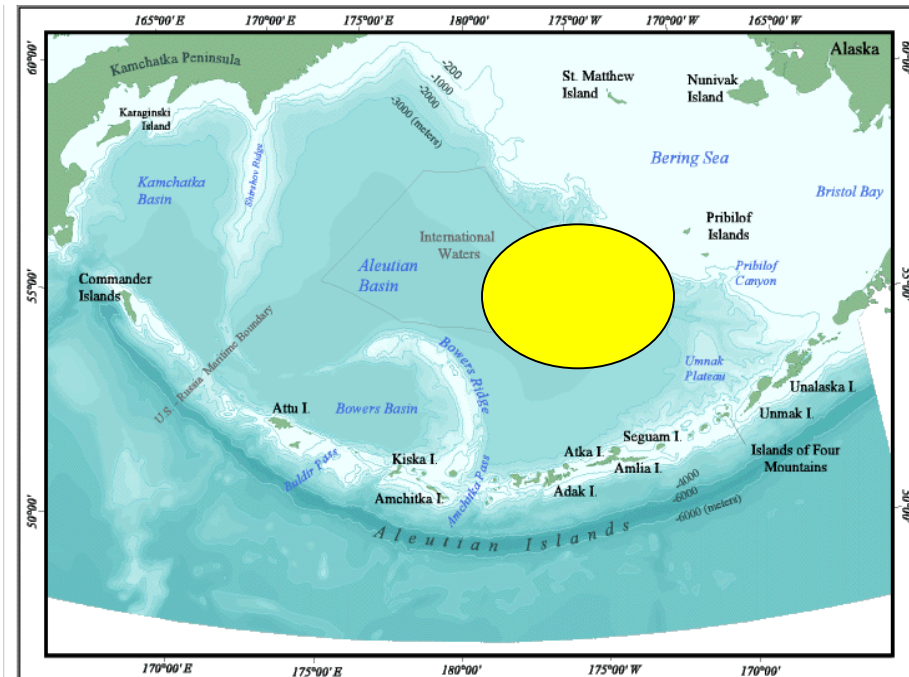


Figure 1. Map of Bering Sea and with the collection site in yellow.

They were then frozen and shipped via air back to the lab for analysis. Total sample size was 168 crabs.

The crabs were allowed to thaw at room temperature before inspections began. Once thawed, crabs were removed from the snail shells and examined for any external symbionts, then dissected in an effort to locate any internal symbionts. The snail shells were then examined and all symbiotic organisms were recorded by taxa and preserved in 10% Formalin for later identification.

Symbionts were transferred from 10% Formalin to 70% ethanol for identification in the lab. Symbionts were identified to genus and, when possible, species.

Once identified, symbiont and host data were organized into a spreadsheet. Haul data were incorporated and used to determine prevalence of particular host species with regard to temperature, depth, and symbiotic species. The data were plotted using MS Excel and analyzed to determine any patterns that might exist.

Results

Of the 168 crabs sampled, 89% of them contained symbionts.

One crab harbored a parasite, a rhizocephalan barnacle. The most common symbiont was the polychaete worm, *Eunoe depressa*, which was present with 59% of the crabs. The next most common type was amphipods, which were present with 21% of the crabs. Of the 79 crabs with polychaete worms, only 11 had amphipods present as well.

There were at least 5 genera of amphipods represented: *Erichthonius*, *Gnathopleustes*, *Isaea*, *Megamora*, and *Podoceropsis* (Fig.2).

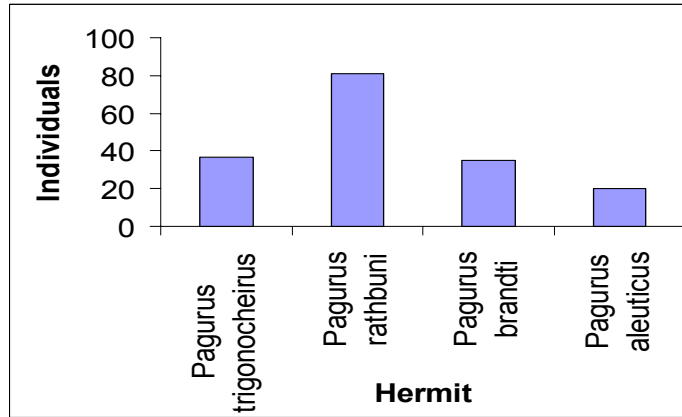


Figure 2. Hermit Crab totals by species.

The most common amphipods were *Isaea* and *Podoceropsis*. *Isaea* was almost exclusive to *P.trigonocheirus* while *Gnathopleustes* was present in three of the four host species (Fig.3).

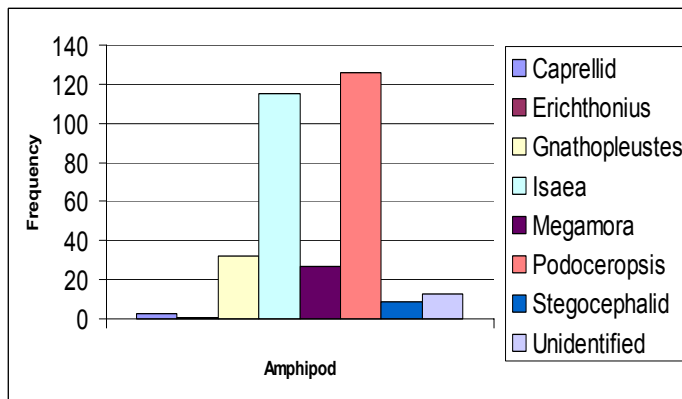


Figure 3. Frequency of amphipod species present.

P.trigonocheirus had the highest number of amphipods present as well as the lowest number of polychaete worms, with only 7 worms present of the 41 specimen collected. Amphipods were found with polychaete worms in *P.aleuticus* and *P.trigonocheirus* only.

P.brandti and *P.trigonocheirus* both appeared to exhibit a depth or temperature preference, with *P.trigonocheirus* in much shallower waters generally ranging from 50-60m and -1.4C to 0C, while *P.brandti* was found to inhabit waters ranging from 130-160m and 2.5C to 4.1C.

Discussion

The most diverse group of hermit crab symbionts found were amphipods, and many hosts had more than one species of amphipod. This is in sharp contrast to the results of Hoberg et al (1982) who found only one individual of any species present with a single host. In some cases I found 20 or more individuals of one or more species of amphipod present with a single host. *P. trigonocheirus* was especially prone to having large numbers of symbiotic amphipods, while its nearly identical relative, *P. brandti*, had very few.

Despite this abundance and diversity of amphipods, they rarely co-occurred with another common symbiont, the scale worm *Eunoe*. Amphipods were present with polychaete worms in only 6.5% of the samples (Fig. 5; 6.).

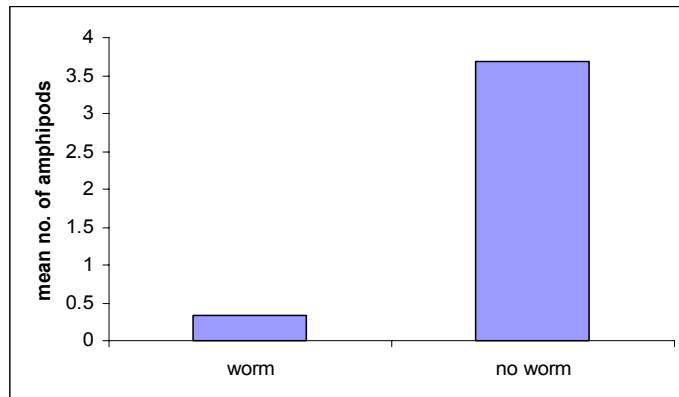


Figure 5. Mean amphipod frequency in the presence and absence of polychaete worm.

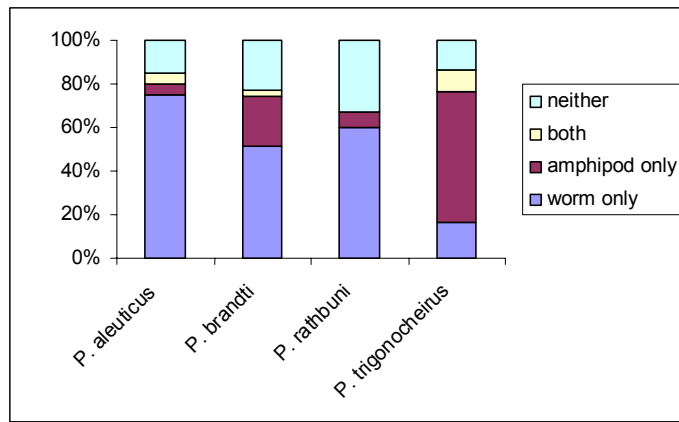


Figure 6. Co-habitation of amphipod and polychaete worm across host species.

Of the total number of crabs with symbionts, 68 had polychaetes present and amphipods absent and 35 had only amphipods present. This trend was observed at various depths and it appeared to be continuous across all host species, which suggests these animals do not regularly co-exist. It would be interesting to determine the relationship between these two symbionts. It is possible there is competition for food and/or space that results in the exclusion of one in the presence of another, but it's unclear as to which species is dominant.

Another new finding was the apparent habitat difference between two of the species of hermits. Despite a relatively small sample size, there did appear to be a depth or temperature selection occurring among *P. trigonocheirus* and *P. brandti*—it is unclear which is the determining factor at this point. This was due to species misidentification at the time of collection. Because of their strikingly similar outward appearance, *P. trigonocheirus* and *P. brandti* are often misidentified (McLaughlin 1974, Ivanov 1979). The minute differences between them require the use of a dissecting scope to detect. It was because of this confusion and the lack of foreknowledge on the part of the collector that all *P. trigonocheirus* and *P. brandti* samples were collected as *P. trigonocheirus*. Upon analysis, I found that *P. trigonocheirus* was only present in shallow, colder water, while *P. brandti* was only present in the deeper, warmer water. Further sampling is necessary to determine whether the two species are indeed segregated by depth and/or temperature, and to ensure that the differences found were not an artifact of the small sample sizes.

In conclusion, previous research describes hermit crab symbionts as typically only single inhabitants and those hermit crabs with multiple inhabitants were always the same species (Hoberg et al 1982). This study found not only multiple symbionts present with a single hermit crab, but also that the multiple inhabitants were not always of the same species. In addition, there appeared to be a negative relationship between the presence of the two most abundant symbionts: the scale worm and amphipods. When both species were present, the scale worm present was generally much smaller than the scale worms found in the absence of amphipods.

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Sharon VillageCenter
School of Aquatic and Fishery Sciences
smv2@u.washington.edu

My research interest lies in the field of fisheries with a focus on genetics. I intend to attend Washington State University in the fall of 2006 to pursue a Master's of Zoology.

Visualization of TextRunner Data with Prefuse

Bryan Hickerson

Abstract

As the mass of electronic data, on the web and otherwise, explodes, it has become increasingly difficult for users to extract new and interesting information from these resources. Data mining attempts to use computer science techniques to do just that. TextRunner is one such tool that is able to discover relationships between objects without user assistance. Relational data is often graphical in nature and benefits from a visual representation. Prefuse is one such toolkit for achieving this. However, displaying such data in a usable and readable manner poses unique challenges that remain to be solved in future research.

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Bryan Hickerson
Computer Science and Engineering
bryanjh@gmail.com

I am interested in data mining and computational biology related research. In Fall 2007, I will begin the PhD program in Computer Science at Georgia Institute of Technology.

Ethnic Identity and Development among Youth in Foster Care: Select findings from the Casey Field Office Mental Health Study

Chereese Phillips

Abstract

The objective of this research is to understand the ethnic identity of youth in foster care. Due to the transitory nature of foster care and limited resources, few investigational studies have been conducted. To date few studies have been conducted to examine the ethnic identity development of youth in foster care. This gap in our knowledge is extremely significant because children of color have unique racial socialization needs.

188 14-17-year-old adolescents currently in foster care participated in a 90 minute in-person interview which included four sections: mental health, spirituality, ethnic identity, and sexual orientation/ gender identity. The survey utilized questions from an existing measure of youth ethnic identity, the "Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure," and other questions designed to address the influence of foster care on ethnic identity, its development, and experiences of discrimination and violence in foster families. Preliminary results are reported here.

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**Easy Arithmetic: A Software Program to Teach Young Children
Simple Arithmetic on Tablet PC Pen-Based Computers**
Anthony Vigil

Abstract

We have developed a program for the Tablet PC designed to teach Addition and Subtraction to children in a way that will not discourage them and will give them a positive opinion about Mathematics. This program, titled "Easy Arithmetic," allows children to learn addition and subtraction at their own pace, choosing to see the relation between single-digit addition or subtraction and how these relate to the columns of numbers in multiple-digit addition or subtraction. The goals of this program are to teach mathematics through pen-based input into a Tablet PC in a way that is fun and natural for children.

