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Portland State University

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Exploring Transformation:

An Analysis of Culture, Identity & Borderlands

2013 McNair Scholars Online Journal

The Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program at Portland State University (PSU) works with motivated and talented undergraduates who want to pursue PhDs. It introduces juniors and seniors who are first-generation and low-income, and/or members of under-represented groups to academic research and to effective strategies for getting into and graduating from PhD programs.

The McNair Scholars Program has academic-year activities and a full-time summer research internship. Scholars take academic and skills-building seminars and workshops during the year, and each scholar works closely with a faculty mentor on original research in the summer. Scholars present their research findings at the McNair Summer Symposium and at other conferences, and are encouraged to publish their papers in the McNair Journal and other scholarly publications.

The Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program was established in 1986 by the U.S. Department of Education and named in honor of Challenger Space Shuttle astronaut Dr. Ronald E. McNair. The program, which is in its seventh year on campus, is funded by a $924,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Education and institutional cost-share funds.

The McNair Scholars Program's student-centered approach relies heavily on faculty and university commitment. Activities and opportunities provided by the program focus on building a positive academic community for the scholars while they are undergraduates at PSU.

Ronald E. McNair

Ronald Erwin McNair was born October 21, 1950 in Lake City, South Carolina. While in junior high school, Dr. McNair was inspired to work hard and persevere in his studies by his family and by a teacher who recognized his scientific potential and believed in him. Dr. McNair graduated as valedictorian from Carver High School in 1967. In 1971, he graduated magna cum laude and received a Bachelor of Science degree in Physics from North Carolina A&T State University (Greensboro). Dr. McNair then enrolled in the prestigious Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1976, at the age of 26, he earned his Ph.D. in laser physics. His dissertation was titled, "Energy Absorption and Vibrational Heating in Molecules Following Intense Laser Excitation." Dr. McNair was presented an honorary doctorate of Laws from North Carolina A&T State University in 1978, an honorary doctorate of Science from Morris College in 1980, and an honorary doctorate of science from the University of South Carolina in 1984.

While working as a staff physicist with Hughes Research Laboratory, Dr. McNair soon became a recognized expert in laser physics. His many distinctions include being a Presidential Scholar (1971-74), a Ford Foundation Fellow (1971-74), a National Fellowship Fund Fellow (1974-75), and a NATO Fellow (1975). He was also a sixth degree black belt in karate and an accomplished saxophonist. Because of his many accomplishments, he was selected by NASA for the space shuttle program in 1978. His first space shuttle mission launched successfully from Kennedy Space Center on February 3, 1984. Dr. Ronald E. McNair was the second African American to fly in space. Two years later he was selected to serve as mission specialist aboard the ill-fated U.S. Challenger space shuttle. He was killed instantly when the Challenger exploded one minute, thirteen seconds after it was launched. Dr. McNair was posthumously awarded the Congressional Space Medal of Honor.

After his death in the Challenger Space Shuttle accident on January 28, 1986, members of Congress provided funding for the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program. Their goal was to encourage low-income and first-generation college students, and students from historically underrepresented ethnic groups to expand their educational opportunities by enrolling in a Ph.D. program and ultimately pursue an academic career. This program is dedicated to the high standards of achievement inspired by Dr. McNair's life.

Source: mcnairscholars.com

> "In 1976, at the age of 26, he earned his Ph.D. in laser physics."

Table of Contents

E MAU ANA KA HAʻAHEO: A CASE STUDY ON KE KULA
KAIAPUNI ʻO ʻĀNUENUE

By: Zachary Kealohalaulā Wong
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Samuel Henry Ed.D

The Portland State Scholars 2012

Dylan Clark

Major: Anthropology

Mentor: Dr. E. Kofi Agorsah

Project Title: "Industrial and Environmental Pressures Affecting Fante-Speaking Artisanal Fishers of West Africa"

William Cohoon

Major: History, International Studies

Mentor: Dr. Friedrich Schuler

Project Title: "Constructing the Norte Grande: Chilean Infrastructure in the Northern Border region"

Bruce Evans

Major: Political Science

Mentor: Dr. Richard Clucas

Project Title: "An examination of the reasoning behind funding levels of homeless services with a cost-benefit analyisis perspective"

Wenona Kimbro

Major: Applied Linguistics

Mentor: Dr. Kimberly Brown

Project Title: "He's Just a Man: Power Imbalance Between Female and Male Characters in American Sitcoms"

Ryan Marquez

Major: Philosophy

Mentor: Dr. Avram Hiller

Project Title: "Against Metaphysical Semanticism

Krystine McCants

Majors: Economics

Mentors: Dr. Sarah Tinkler and Dr. James Wood

Project Title: "Racial Identity, Gender, and Discipline Outcomes in Parkrose School District"

Jess Millar

Major: Micro/Molecular Biology, Health Studies, Science (Biology & Mathematics)

Mentor: Dr. Daniel Ballhorn

Project Title: "Effects of Light Limitation on Plant-Microbe Interaction"

Faiza Mohamed

Major: Social Work

Mentor: Dr. E. Kofi Agorsah

Project Title: "National VS. Clan Identity in the Somali Diaspora"

SAMIRA MOHAMED

MAJOR: SOCIAL WORK, PUBLIC HEALTH

MENTOR: DR. JAMES NASH

PROJECT TITLE: "THE IMPACT OF PARENTAL DIAGNOSTICS OF PTSD ON THE SOMALI FAMILY"

JEREMY MULLIN

MAJOR: ART HISTORY

MENTOR: DR. JESSE LOCKER

PROJECT TITLE: "THE LAOCOÖN'S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE"

THEDA ORLANDO

MAJOR: PSYCHOLOGY, FRENCH

MENTOR: DR. MARCIA KLOTZ

PROJECT TITLE: "DISAVOWED POWER: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL RISK TO 13-14 YEAR OLD ADOLESCENTS REPORTING ADULT-CHILD SEX TO LAW ENFORCEMENT"

DENAE OVERMAN

MAJOR: LIBERAL STUDIES

MENTOR: DR. CANDYCE REYNOLDS

PROJECT TITLE: "AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUPPORTS AND SERVICES FOR ADD/ADHD STUDENTS"

CRISTINA RESTAD

MAJOR: SOCIOLOGY

MENTOR: DR. PETER COLLIER

PROJECT TITLE: "BEYOND THE MCNAIR PROGRAM: GRADUATE STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF HOW PROGRAM PARTICIPATION IMPACTS THEIR EXPECTATIONS IN GRADUATE SCHOOL"

LARRITA RIGGS

MAJOR: CHILD & FAMILY STUDIES

MENTOR: DR. ALMA TRINIDAD

PROJECT TITLE: "EXCHANGING EXPERIENCES: GENERATIONAL AND CULTURAL CHALLENGES FOR DINE YOUNG ADULTS AND ELDERS ON THE NAVAJO RESERVATION"

Jennifer Robe

Majors: Black Studies, Social Sciences

Mentor: Dr. Ann Mussey

Project Title: "Mixed-Race Studies: Misstep or next step for Ethnic Studies in a blending nation?"

Michael Rick Rollins

Major: Molecular Biology

Mentors: Dr. Harini Sampath

Project Title: "Metabolic Effects of Human NEIL1 Transgenes Within Both NEIL1 Wildtype and Knockout Mice"

Alexandra Simpson

Major: Environmental Sciences

Mentor: Dr. Sarah Eppley

Project Title: "The Effects of Light on Eelglass (Zostera marina) Growth Rates in Sequim Bay"

Rose Sorfa

Major: Applied Linguistics, Spanish

Mentor: Dr. Keith Walters

Project Title: "Gender queer performers: Social Commentary and critique of traditional gender norms through performance art"

Karen Tapia Gonzalez

Major: Community Health Education

Mentor: Dr. Margaret Neal

Project Title: "Social Factors that Contribute to Major Health Outcomes with Affect Healthy Aging of Older Adults in Nicaragua"

Daylis Torres Delgado

Major: Communtiy Health Education

Mentor: Dr. Richard Lockwood

Project Title: "The Consequences of the Collapse of the Soviet Union and the U.S. Embargo on Food Supply and Food Production in Cuba"

Vinh Tran

Major: Political Science

Mentor: Dr. Chia-Yin-Hsu

Project Title: "The Buriat Intelligentsia: 1930s-1950s"

Nickolus Walters

Major: Sociology

Mentor: Dr. Melissa Thompson

Project Title: "What does it mean to be trans in prison?"

Nicole Williams

Major: Criminology

Mentor: Dr. Kim Williams

Project Title: "Redefining Progress: The Long-Term impacts of Incarceration in Oregon on African-American Women"

2011 Scholar

Zachary Wong

Major: Community Development

Mentor: Dr. Samuel Henry

Project Title: "E Mau Ana Ka Ha'aheo: A case study on Ke Kula Kaiapuni"O 'Ānuenue" ◉

Editorial Board

Industrial and Environmental Pressures Affecting Fante-Speaking Artisanal Fishers of Anomabo, Ghana: A Case Study

Dylan Clark

Faculty Mentor:
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Industrial and Environmental Pressures Affecting Fante-Speaking Artisanal Fishers of Anomabo, Ghana: A Case Study

By: Dylan Clark
Faculty Mentor: Dr. E. Kofi Agorsah

Abstract:

A great deal of literature exists regarding the global fisheries crisis. However, the human element has been largely overlooked. This study seeks to understand the relationship that traditional Fante-speaking peoples have with oceanic resources. Interviews with artisanal fishers, trades-women, and influential elders from the coastal village of Anomabo in the Central Region of Ghana were conducted over a six-week period. Interviews revealed the degree to which artisanal fishers compete with industrial fleets (both domestic and foreign), the nutritional and economic importance of the artisanal industry as well as the cultural practices embedded within maritime subsistence activities. Industrial fisheries threaten global marine stocks, and with them, the survival of cultures tied to the sea. This study suggests a necessity for swift policy change in order to ensure the health of West African marine stocks, and to protect the nutritional, economic, and cultural basis of Fante-speaking communities.

Introduction:

People have been fishing the rivers and lagoons of Ghana since long before Europeans documented these practices in the fifteenth century. However, Robin Law (1989) has suggested that marine fishing and coastal trade by sea developed after the arrival of European traders. Due to the lack of natural harbors in West Africa, Europeans hired fishermen as so-called "canoe men" to transport people and goods from their ships across rough surf to the beaches and vice versa. The coastal populations already had dugout canoes, but since these canoes had to be modified in order to get them across the surf, Law (1989) supposed that canoes were not used for seafaring earlier. Regardless of when the local populations took to the sea, they soon mastered maritime subsistence and continue fishing to this day.

Daily life in the Fante-speaking village of Anomabo, Ghana revolves around the artisanal fishery. Early every morning, in the grey of pre-dawn light, the seafaring men of Anomabo gather to brave the ocean and land the catch. Many of the men have worked on boats from the time they were young boys and have only known the life of a fisher. Education is a luxury and few of the men ever attended school. An unforgiving ocean was their classroom and their kin with whom they fish were their teachers. In their youth they gained detailed knowledge of the sea: a tint of red to the water means herring are below; a flock of gathering seagulls signifies rich waters. They learned how to read the weather and endure storms that cannot be avoided. As boys they developed balance on canoes perpetually bullied about by tumultuous waves. They learned the different types of nets to use throughout the season and where to go in order to find the richest stocks. Few of the men can recall their age for certainty, but all remember fishing as soon as they were old enough to be of use. They are men forged by the adversity of their environment.

Fante fishermen are proud of their maritime prowess, but their life is not one that they truly want for themselves or their sons. Jorion (1988) wrote that "no one ever becomes a full-time maritime fisherman other than under duress"(p. 12. Fishing is hard and unpredictable. One season the fishers may catch enough to get by; another season they may not. But their

options are limited. From an early age these men mastered the seas, but their skills are restricted to riding raging waters and harvesting fish. Few fishermen can read and even fewer can speak English. They were the children of fishers, most of them too poor to attend school – so they took to the sea. Evidence from Ghanaian living-standards surveys, which employ expenditure level data, consistently categorize the coastal fishing communities as among the poorest in the country (Marquette et al., 2002). It is likely that the sons and nephews of the fishers will join them on the boats one day, just as they joined their fathers and uncles before them. This is the nature of life for Anomabo fishermen. Hard men lead hard lives in order to make it in an unforgiving world. Despite these hardships, the Fante have survived and thrived by exploiting variably abundant marine resources.

The marine ecosystem of the Gulf of Guinea, within which coastal Ghana falls (the area between Cote d'Ivoire and the Republic of Benin in West Africa), is characterized by seasonal upwelling (Fig. 1). During certain periods of the year, sea-surface temperatures in the Gulf fall, triggering upwelling toward the surface of cold nutrient-rich water. During this upwelling, the production of phytoplankton and zooplankton rise considerably, creating greater seasonal availability of fish during the upwelling period (Marquette et al., 2002). Coastal communities which exploit and depend on this ecosystem have developed a tradition of strategic migration in order to maintain their resilience to this cycle (Perry & Sumaila, 2004). Fante artisanal fishers migrate to productive areas in order to best exploit seasonal stocks and unsaturated markets. The search for prosperous waters has resulted in the distribution of Fante communities throughout West Africa (Njock & Westlund, 2010).

Figure 1.

Fishing is a community effort among the Fante of Anomabo. During the abundant "major" season one can easily observe the various roles that serve to support the artisanal fishers. Trades-women barter for their share at the beach market. Ocean front shacks of motor repairmen bustle with activity. Aged net-makers, once fishermen themselves, toil with broken bodies to make and repair nets. Chainsaws roar and axes hack as canoe craftsmen work tirelessly from dawn until dusk; carving out massive canoes from primeval trees. Canoes are expensive and few fishers have the means to purchase their own craft. Instead, a canoe owner provides the equipment and boat, and in return receives two-thirds of the profits. The canoe owners can be male or female and many prosperous trades-women

invest in canoes. Female fish traders are well known innovators, entrepreneurs, and capitalists in Ghana's artisanal fishing industry (Walker, 2001). Throughout the abundant months of the major fishing season the community experiences growth. More shops open and houses can expand. In the words of one old fisherman, "without fishing, there would be no Anomabo". Anomabo waxes and wanes with the abundance of fish. And if marine stocks were to wane into oblivion so too would the Fante.

This study seeks to illuminate certain untold truths regarding the artisanal fishers of Ghana. The industrial fishing industry is operating at an unsustainable level. The Gross malpractice of commercial fisheries not only threatens West African fish stocks, but also the people who depend on said resources. The Fante-speaking people of Anomabo represent a microcosm of a larger culture. This culture will suffer tremendously if international fisheries do not pursue more enlightened practices.

Background:

Fante long-distance and long-term fisheries migration to countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria have been well documented for over 200 years (Marquette et al., 2002). In 1721, chronicler William Bosman writes that there were thousands of Fante fishermen who, in addition to fishing, used their canoes in trade along the coast (Christensen, 1977). Between the late 1700s and mid-1800s, the Fante introduced sea-fishing to other coastal populations (i.e. Ga-Adangbe and Anlo-Ewe), who were mainly farmers supplementing their diet with fish from lagoons and rivers (Lawson & Kwei, 1974). In the twentieth century, mechanized shipping routes distributed Fante fishers extensively; migrants reaching as far as Mauritania to the north and Congo to the south in order to fish areas with under-exploited marine resources and exploit markets unsaturated with fish (Delauney, 1991; Boujou, 2000).

Among Fante fishers, seasonal migration to a large extent is resource driven, while long-term and circular migration tends to be less dependent on resources than on economic and political conditions (Overa, 2001). Fante fishermen and fish traders migrate to maximize profits. The primary goal is to invest these savings in their home town to enhance the well-being of their *ebusua* (matrilineage) as well as their own personal prestige. As a result, most of the *ebusua fie* (lineage or family houses) in Fante villages have been built in a gradual process over several years – by networks of oscillating family members periodically returning from one or several migrant destinations, usually retiring after long careers in the house they have helped to build (Overa, 1998). At certain stages of one's life, migration can be seen as a rite of passage to becoming a professional fisherman. (Overa, 2001). Extensive migration has distributed Fante-speaking people throughout West Africa, but a strong bond to ones ancestral home and clan (*ebusua*) persists. Migrant fishermen and traders often have their personal name and the name of their home tattooed on their forearm or underarm in order to ensure they are returned home in case they die or fall sick while away (Overa, 2001). Irrespective of spatial distribution, migrant Fante communities maintain their identity and sustain their fishing culture.

The economic benefits and extent of Fante-speaking Ghanaian migration began to deteriorate with the advent of industrial fishing in West Africa. The first Ghanaian industrial fishing trawlers were acquired about five decades ago, principally for fishing in productive, if distant waters of countries such as Angola and Mauritania. Domestic Ghanaian fisheries enjoyed a brief period of success in distant waters before global political factors resulted in their collapse. Ghanaian vessels were excluded from foreign waters, and forced to begin operating domestically when, in the mid-1970s, countries claimed 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) (Koranteng & Pauly, 2004). Major Ghanaian fishing companies such as Mankoadze Fisheries, Ocean Fisheries, Commodore, Obuorwe and Obedru, which

flourished throughout West Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, either ceased operation or transitioned to importation and retail (Atta-Mills et al., 2004). In contrast to the collapse of domestic Ghanaian fisheries, foreign fleets have consistently expanded.

Ever increasing global demand for seafood products has stimulated the growth of foreign fisheries efforts throughout West Africa. In the past 50 years, the Gulf of Guinea's commercial marine fish landings (catches) increased from approximately 600,000 tons of fish extracted in 1950 to more than 4.5 million tons caught in 2000, by fleets as far away as China and Japan (FAO, 2000). European Union (EU) fleets are the largest presence in West Africa and operate within the EEZ of several West African nations. Reports indicate that authorized EU vessels in 1996 took a record 4.5 million tons (Kaczynski & Fluharty, 2002). Despite such massive and arguably unsustainable landings, many European fisheries would be unprofitable if not for EU subsidies which cover up to 80% of the costs of long-distance fishing (Acheampong, 1997). These subsidies enable more foreign fleets to operate in West African waters and forces artisanal fishers to compete with considerable commercial efforts. The consequences of such massive fishing levels has been a reduction in harvest landings for local fishing communities (Atta-Mills et al., 2004), and depleted commercial harvests among foreign fleets (Alder & Sumaila, 2004). Marine resources are dwindling on a global scale and the phenomenon has been quantified through trophic level analysis (Pauly et al., 2005).

In marine ecosystems, the mean trophic level of fish communities in a given ecosystem decreases when fishing activities are intense (Christensen, 1998; Pinnehar et al., 2002). Trophic levels (TL) are determined by the degree to which an organism feeds on producers (e.g. Skipjack Tuna has a TL of 4.3, while phytoplankton has a TL of 1). Important to note is that in the sea, high TL organisms tend to be larger (typically three to four times in terms of body length) than their prey (Ursin, 1973), and need more time to reach maturity and reproduce (Denney et al., 2002). This makes high TL organisms very susceptible to overfishing (Sadovy & Cheung, 2003). Declining catch trophic levels are symptomatic of so-called "fishing down the marine food web" and describe the situation where top predators and other larger species are overfished, resulting in fishers shifting their efforts to smaller and more abundant species to maintain catch levels (Pauly & Watson, 2003). Valtysson and Pauly (2003) conclude that, given the current technical ability to catch whatever marine species are abundant within an ecosystem, and the fact that large fishes are usually more valuable than smaller fishes, increased landings of fishes with lower TL imply a reduction of the abundance of the higher TL species. Or phrased differently, non-sustainable fishing should manifest itself, at the ecosystem level, in a gradual shift of mean TL towards lower values.

On a global scale, the rate of TL decline has mostly increased since the 1950s, with the strongest rate of decline in the 1980s. Global fisheries were operating, on average, at a TL of 3.37 in the early 1950s; now their mean TL is 3.29, but was as low as 3.25 in 1983 (Pauly et al., 2005). Trophic level analysis has also been applied at the regional level in West Africa. Results from a study concerning the demersal fish community in Senegal and Guinea displayed a decline in the mean trophic level, correlated in time with a well-known increase in fisheries efforts (Laurens et al., 2004). Extensive research and strong lines of evidence provided by the researchers above conclude that the global fisheries crisis is a reality.

The ecological impact of increased catches over the past 50 years has not been offset by significant economic gains in West Africa. Kaczynski and Fluharty (2002) found that very little of the observed landed values (usually less than 10%) actually remained in West Africa. The little that remained did not trickle down to coastal communities to provide direct

or indirect employment, increase overall economic growth, or social benefits as a result of fish processing and storage facilities. Many fishers in Ghana have actually become poorer as the landed values from their fisheries have increased (Atta-Mills et al., 2004)

Although foreign fishing fleets have been able to feed the demand for marine resources in many regions of the world, western African countries with significant fish resources such as Senegal, Morocco and Guinea have felt the impact through depleted fish stocks, struggling domestic fishing industries, fleet overcapacity, inadequate subsidies, inequitable access, and struggling artisanal fleets (Iheduru, 1995; Kaczynski & Fluharty, 2002). Countries with comparatively low resources such as Ghana and Nigeria have dealt with declining fisheries and higher priced, lower quality, or less desirable imported fish (Atta-Mills et al., 2004). Ghana's fishing industry has been particularly impacted by international fisheries pressure. In 1992, there were more than 500,000 Ghanaian fishers employed, representing 2.5% of the population or 20% of the total labor force (IOC, 1997). By 1997, only 400,000 fishermen were active in the industry (FAO, 1998). It appears that foreign fleets extract the majority of marine resources and West African fisheries suffer the consequences.

Despite dwindling stocks, artisanal Fante fish landings have remained relatively stable over the past twenty years. In fact, artisanal catches have increased overall, even though the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has long considered Eastern Central Atlantic fisheries to be fully or overexploited (FAO, 1997). Ghanaian canoe fishers have adopted a variety of strategies to compensate for diminishing fish stocks. Fante fishers have adapted by "fishing harder", such as exploring other areas (deeper waters and further offshore), migrating to distant fishing grounds, and supplementing the main catch with alternative species. Alternative species often include demersal fishes; however, this may no longer be as option as demersal populations go into decline (Koranteng, 2001). The mainstay sardine catch (*Sardinella aurita*) has also been supplemented by anchovies, mackerel, and a second species of sardine (*Sardinella or S. maderensis*). Another reason for the landings stability is an increased use of small mesh-size nets, dynamite, and poisons. The use of dynamite in Ghana's fishing sector is thought to be ubiquitous, but concentrated mainly during the bumper or "minor" fishing season (Awity et al., 1996). Laws against dynamiting, and other harmful practices, have proven ineffectual against local fishers. It would appear that Fante fishers are incapable or unwilling to transition to other sectors, even in the context of deteriorating resource availability, and will employ any means available in order to survive.

Villages lining the west coast of Africa rely on fishing both financially and nutritionally. Ghanaians derive 68% of their animal protein from fish, and of this, 90% comes from artisanal marine capture fisheries (FAO, 1998). Observations of the economic, nutritional, and social impacts of commercial fishing suggest a trend of environmental exploitation without consideration for the local populous (Atta-Mills et al., 2004). Declining stocks, as well as declining trophic levels, endanger the food security of people who rely directly on these stocks for subsistence and the generation of income (Alder & Sumaila, 2004). The livelihood of Fante people is inextricably tied to fishing, and as fish populations plummet, malnutrition en masse and economic fallout loom.

Materials and Methods:

Personal interviews, accompanied by an interpreter, of 16 artisanal fishers, 15 trades-women, and 10 elders from the village of Anomabo, Ghana were conducted over the course of six weeks. Survey questions were constructed in advance for both fishers and traders respectively. Open ended interviews were administered to elders allowing for a narrative flow to the dialogue. Participant elders were presented with aromatic schnapps, a traditional

gift for chiefs, as a show of cultural understanding and respect. All participants were compensated with 2 GH☐ (~$ 1 US).

Ghanaian culture defines the activity of getting into a canoe and fishing as a strictly male domain. Because of Ghanaian cultural norms, all participant fishers were fisher-*men*. The participants ranged in age from 18–65 (though many of the men were unsure of their exact age), and each individual reported supporting, on average, eight individuals (Table 1). All the men interviewed are full-time fishers with no other substantial source of income, reportedly beginning their fishing careers between the ages of 7–9.

Artisanal target species were recorded by their local Fante designation. Locally targeted species were indentified in order to determine the competition status among commercial and artisanal fishers. The harvest seasonality of artisanal fishermen was recorded in order to determine variability in the fisheries competition status throughout the year. Fishing capabilities were recorded regarding netting types, locations, and technologies (preservation, motors, etc.).

Fish-trading and retail is considered an exclusively female domain. Because of Ghanaian social norms, all participants were trades-*women*. The participants ranged in age from 20–70 years of age and each individual supported, on average, nine individuals (see Table 1). All participants interviewed were primarily involved in the fish trade, though many had secondary sources of income that provided support throughout a period known as the "lean" season.

Traders reported the preferred town and suppliers of fish. Participants provided the cost of fish at the time of purchase. From the reports a clear understanding is gained of where the fish trade begins both geographically and economically. Trades-women reported information on the extent of the trade network and the inflation of prices as the fish traveled. Questions regarding the extent of the trade network as well as the inflation of prices were intended to reveal the availability and value of artisanal fisheries products at distant markets. The reported costs associated with transportation and processing of products, and information on the final price of the fish, reveal the financial gains of coastal fish-traders.

Participant elders include chief fishermen (*apofohene*), fish-trader chiefs (*konkohene*), and family elders (*nananom*). Qualitative ethnographic observations and narratives of religious traditions, myths, and festivals were recorded with the intent of revealing the cultural significance of maritime subsistence.

Table 1. Demographics of participants in the present study.

Occupation	*N*	Mean Age	Median Age	Age Range	Mean Support	Median Support
Fisherman	16	28	32	18–65	8	8
Tradeswoman	15	34	45	20–70	9	7

Results:

Target Species and the Industrial Impact: Data collected in this study revealed that every artisanal target species is either commercially targeted or a major registered by-catch (Table 2). By-catch species can be dramatically impacted by fisheries efforts. In The Gulf of Guinea, demersal resources (a typical by-catch) declined 50% between 1991 and 1995, with some species, such as croakers, threadfins, and sickle fish, considered to be overexploited (FAO, 1997). In the absence of by-catch limitations, shrimper-trawlers can use nets with authorized mesh size for shrimp (25 mm) rather than finfish (65 mm) and

take whatever enters their nets. The by-catch proportion harvested by industrial shrimp trawlers can be as high as 90% (Kaczynski & Fluharty, 2002). Fante names of artisanally landed fishes were translated into scientific nomenclature and examined alongside commercial fisheries data. Translations and commercial data were provided by the Ghanaian Fisheries Ministry of Cape Coast.

Table 2. Artisanal Target Species and Commercial Harvest Status.

Fante Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Status
1–10 N.M.			
Ebue	–	*Brachydeuterus auritus*	By-catch
Nkanfona	–	*Illisha africana*	By-catch
Niantimera	–	*Drepane africana*	By-catch
Ebueakowa	–	*Brachydeuterus auritus* subsp.	By-catch
Silver fish	Silver fish	Trichiuridae	By-catch
Ekan	–	*Pseudotolithus senegalensis*	Target
Edue	–	Sphyraena	Target
Small Herring	Small Herring	*Sardinella auritus*	Target
Soul	Soul	*Cynoglossus monodiae*	Target
Shrimp	Shrimp	Palaemonidae	Target
Crab	Crab	*Callinectes amnicola*	By-catch
Lobster	Spiny Lobster	Palinuridae	Target
Akasaankasa	–	Polynumidae	Target
10–40 N.M			
Large Herring	Large Herring	*Sardinella auritus*	Target
Red Fish	–	*Pagrus aurigae*	Target
Edei	Yellow-fin tuna	*Thunnus albacares*	Target
Ibur	–	*Thunnus* sp.	Target
Wodziyede	–	*Thunnus* sp.	Target
Epae	Mackeral	Carangidae	Target
Tunner	Skipjack tuna	*Katsuwonus pelamis*	Target
Saffor	–	*Scomberomorus tritor*	Target
Mackeral	–	*Scomber japonicus, Scombeomorus tritor*	Target
50+ N.M.			
Shark	–	*Sphyrna zygaena*	By-catch
Dolphin	–		Not Targeted
Non-specific			
Safur	Mackeral	*Scombeomorus* sp.	Target
Ebur	Mackeral	*Scombeomorus* sp.	Target
Wodziyede	Mackeral	*Scombeomorus* sp.	Target
Assisi	–	Hemiramphidae	By-catch
Amoni	Anchovy	Engraulidae	Target*

N.M. = Nautical Mile Zone
* Bait for Tuna Companies

No foreign commercial fisheries are officially allowed to operate in Ghana due to Fisheries Act 625 (2002) which excludes foreigners from operating fishing vessels in Ghanaian waters. However, Act 625 allows for joint ventures in tuna fisheries; thus, foreign fleets exist in the local tuna industry, mainly comprising of Korean co-operatives. Industrial trawlers are allowed to go into high purchase arrangements with foreigners to acquire vessels and also employ non-Ghanaians. This arrangement has allowed many Chinese entrepreneurs into the sector with minimal integration into the domestic economy. The Chinese industrial trawlers target small pelagics, mainly *Sardinella* spp., and several demersal species, mainly Sparidae, Haemulidae, Lutjanidae, Polynemidae and Serranidae.

The operation territory of Ghanaian artisanal fisheries overlap that of commercial fleets. With the exception of fishing for tuna, which occurs from near-shore to the high-seas, all

important fisheries in Ghana take place within the coastal zone (Koranteng, 1998). Artisanal fishers have unlimited access to waters along the Ghanaian coast. Industrial fleets are excluded between the coastline and the 30-meter isobath or 6 nautical miles offshore, whichever is further. This is intended to reserve resources for artisanal fishers and the coastal populations. However, the reserve zone is not respected by many commercial trawlers. It was reported by local fishers, and substantiated with personal observation, that industrial trawlers regularly trespass near shore after dark (when their call signs cannot be seen and subsequently reported).

Seasonality and Competition Variability: Seasonal variability in fisheries resources along the coast of Ghana are dominated by upwelling, which has two peaks: December to February (the "minor" season) and July to September (the "major" season) (Cury & Roy, 2002). Fante artisanal fishers are heavily dependant on migratory herring (*Sardinella aurita*), the availability of which is dictated by the nutrient rich upwelling currents.

Herring stocks reach Ghanaian waters in late June and commence the major fishing season. Competition between artisanal and commercial fisheries is at its lowest point throughout the major season due to the high availability of *Sardinella* and the low commercial value of herring. Though herring is a major registered by-catch of tuna fleets and the target species of industrial trawlers, the impact on artisanal fishers is reportedly inconsequential. The increased abundance in resources does not completely alleviate tensions. Canoe fishers report issues of frequent illegal near-shore trespassing by commercial tuna vessels, which pursue stocks feeding on herring. The tuna vessels reportedly destroy artisanal netting and scatter fish.

The "minor" fishing season in December–January is associated with relatively abundant anchovy stocks. Followed by the "lean" season in February through May; characterized by the extended absence of abundant migratory resources. During the lean season competition between artisanal and commercial fishers is at its highest. The target species of local canoe fishers and foreign fleets alike are large tuna and demersal species. Tuna remain in Ghana year round, but are only targeted by artisanal fishers in the absence of preferred migratory herring and anchovy stocks. Tuna tend to remain far offshore, thus making it difficult for canoe fishermen who lack strong motors or onboard preservation to target tuna stocks. Because of rocky substrates, trawling below 75 m depth is unsafe, increasing the difficultly involved in targeting demersal species in Ghana (Koranteng, 1984). It is reported that average artisanal landings can fall from 200 pans of fish in the major season to 2 pans in the lean season (Nicholas, 1999).

Table 3. Seasonal Variability in the Artisanal Target Species

Fishing season	Months	Target species
Lean	February–May	Tuna and demersal species
Major	June–September	Herring
–	October–November	Tuna and demersal species
Minor	December–January	Anchovy

Fante Fishing Technology: Artisanal Fante fishers take to the seas in canoes that range in size from 12 to 15 feet in length, and four to eight feet in width. The canoe base is carved from a single tree, usually a soft timber known as *wawa*, with raised planking added to the sides (Marquette et al., 2002). At the beginning of the "major" season, the village of Anomabo is filled with the roar of chainsaws tearing into wood and the methodical "*thwack-thwack-thwack*" of carvers shaping canoe hulls. After the base is finished, wooden planking is added to the hull of the canoe; raising its sides and making it sea worthy. The canoes capsize easily and the side planking leaks and splits when battered by the fury of open seas.

Despite obvious disadvantages the canoe form persists. The design is simple, cheap, and easily repairable. Once manufactured, fishing crews can easily maintain a craft for years.

In 1959, Ghana's Ministry of Agriculture began experimenting with attaching outboard motors to traditional fishing canoes, and a government loan scheme was introduced to enable fishermen to finance new motors (Kwei, 1961). The governments motor-loan scheme ended swiftly in economic disaster and was not reinstated (Christensen, 1977). Today, even in the absence government subsidies, most canoes are equipped with outboard motors. The price of the engine, as well as the cost gasoline and regular maintenance, represents a tremendous investment However, the technology enables fishers to go further out to sea and land greater harvests- rendering engines a necessity. Fishers reported almost exclusively the use of a small 40hp Yamaha model. The model is reportedly selected for its reliability, fuel efficiency, and mechanical simplicity.

With the advent of outboard motors within the artisanal industry, canoes grew from an average of 25 to 40 feet in length, and nylon purse seine nets were adopted. These nets can reach lengths of over 400 yards and have a mesh size of .75 inches, compared to the formerly popular gill nets, which were made of cotton and had a mesh size of 1 to 1.75 inches. Purse-seines capture all types of fishes, regardless of size and species. Improvements in technology resulted in tremendous artisanal catch increases, and then, decreases as stocks deteriorated (Koranteng, 1989).

Common Artisanal Harvest Strategies/Nets and Target Catch:
- Adii Net- Herring
- Ahwea Net- non-specific
- Wakye Net- Herring, Tuna, Mackerel (dolphin as a common by-catch)
- Tenga Net- Red fish
- Abbo Net- Crabs and shrimp
- Libia (straight cast during daylight) Net– Herring
- Sieve (circle cast w/lighting system) Net– Herring
- Asabil Net- Cassava fish
- Mpaku Net- large tuna (sharks as a common by-catch)
- Hooking- non-specific
- Land Trawling (fishers drop a net at sea, with lines left on shore, and a large group hauls in the catch from on land) - non-specific
- Lighting systems- this method is designed to capture herring. The fishers go out at night and shine lights into the water. The fishers report that the herring appear as "diamonds" in the water. Once spotted, the fishers encircled the schooled fishes (which are attracted to the light) with netting and haul in the catch. Lighting systems have only emerged in the last five years.
- Dynamiting- typically only utilized in the "minor" season. Dynamiting is highly frowned upon and typically only used in the "minor" fishing season.

A coat of paint is typically all that preserves the valuable canoe base against deterioration. Because the wood is untreated, canoes must be removed from the water to dry and make repairs. In order to land canoes, Fante fishers rely on simple log-rollers and collective physical power. The fishermen ride surf as far onto shore as possible. From there, most of the crew takes hold of ropes running from the bow of the craft while a few fishers push from the stern. A chant is called out by the captain as the fishers ready themselves. "*AHHHH-HOE-BRA, ah- hoe-bra, AHHHH-HOE-BRA, ah-hoe-bra, AHHHH-HOE-BRA, ah-hoe-bra*" – meaning: "COME HERE! Come here". It is said that the chant grants the men mystical strength as they repeat this chant which recalls the ancestral warrior solidarity known as *Asafo*. The spiritual value of the chant is immeasurable, but the rhythm of the song

undeniably brings the fishers strength into sync and makes landing the massive canoe that much easier. While out at sea, the same kind of chanting is used to draw up nets laden with fish from the depths. Where a wench and engine are used on industrial craft, the artisanal fishers rely on ancestral chants and raw physical power.

Fishers prefer to land at their home village where friends and kin eagerly await the catch. Other factors also draw fishers to a given port. Traders will not buy spoiled fish, and distance combined with lack of preservation technology severely limits the mobility of canoe fishers. Due to the absence of onboard preservation fishers rarely stay out more than 24 hours, and usually return to the nearest port available. Most canoes are equipped, at best, with buoyant metal lockers that ensure the haul is not lost in the likely event of capsize. Fish-lockers can be filled with ice, but the nearest ice factory to Anomabo is 40km away and the cost is an unwelcome expense. The locker is typically filled, and occasionally refilled, with cool sea water to preserve the catch. The capabilities of canoe fishers stand in stark contrast to industrial fleets, which possess advanced onboard processing and storage facilities.

Women and the Artisanal Fish Trade Network: The morning hush begins to dissolve as the beach comes alive. The ocean breeze is heavy with the scent of fresh fish and the rich sound of deep voiced fishers chanting. Children brawl and play, fishers chant, and traders barter for their share of fish alongside countless interlopers. The growing crowd is a churning mass of sound, color, and chaos. The scene looks somewhere between a riot and a party. This is the beach fish market of Anomabo, and this is where the artisanal fish trade begins.

The women prefer to buy from close kin or fishers from their resident village. Often, a fish-trader will buy exclusively from her husband in order to ensure the least possible overhead and a steady income for the family. When trades-women lack fishers as close kin they will strive to buy directly from fishermen. The moment fish leave the boat, the price rises and the potential profits dwindle. Trades-women are well versed in their profession and always seek the best possible price.

A trader will typically buy fish by the "pan". Pans are large metal basins that are filled to the brim with fish. Traders will then either sell the fish fresh in town or to nearby interior villages. Fresh fish can fetch a decent price in the protein deficient back country. But, isolated villages inland are hidden in dense forest and can be found only by traveling on unkempt, extremely crude, dirt roads. It is difficult to transport fresh fish to isolated villages and the impoverished population can purchase only limited amounts. Such factors make it easier for trades-women to preserve and transport fish to large markets.

The preservation method of choice is smoking. Other methods include salting and drying. Salting is not commonly used do to the high price of salt, and drying is made difficult by insects. Additionally, smoking is said to enhance the flavor of fish and make the product more desirable. Once processed, fish are transported to distant markets where they can fetch a much higher price. A basin of fresh fish can be purchased and processed for 100–120GH☐ and sold for 150–190GH☐, depending on the market. The Anomabo traders reported trading to markets as far away as Ho to the West, Akrodi to the east, and Kumasi to the North (Fig. 2).
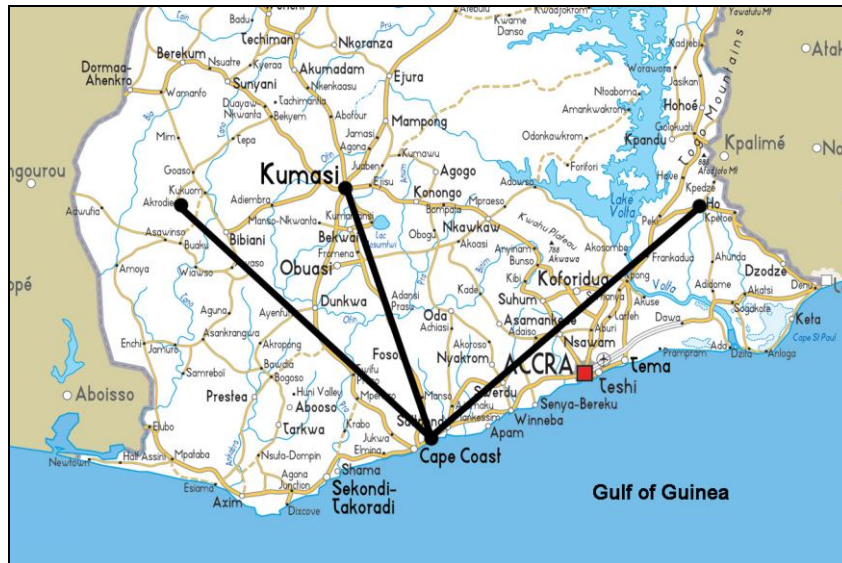
Figure 2.

Throughout the lean season many of the women turn to alternative sources of income. The sell of rubber-wares, soap, cooking utensils, etc. provides income during tough times. The traders reported that a pan of fish, which could be bought for 100GH☐ in the major season, will cost in excess of 200GH☐ in the lean season. The extent of the fish trade network is reportedly reduced during the lean season in order to cut costs and keep prices down. Protein is a precious and rare commodity inland, but the price of fish cannot be excessive if trades-women intend to sell.

The nutritional importance of the Fante trade network cannot be overstressed. Fish is the primary source of animal protein in West Africa, with *per capita* consumption of approximately 22 kg annually (FAO, 2004). As stated earlier, the artisanal industry is responsible for 90% of Ghanaian marine landings (FAO, 1998), and this study revealed that fishers sell almost exclusively to local traders. It can therefore be assumed that Fante fish-traders play a pivotal roll in providing protein to a broad expanse of populations inland.

The Opening of the River: Half-ruined colonial structures rise up from a verdant beachfront alongside brick buildings, tin shacks, and endless rows of fishing canoes. The streets are dusted in red earth, crisscrossing the town in a seemingly directionless jumble. As the equatorial sun rises in the sky it bakes the earth and the air grows thick with the smell of refuse and fish. This is the town of Elmina; named so after the great castle erected by the Portuguese more than 500 years ago. Elmina is a city with rich history and old traditions.

On this day the streets are packed with excited masses. Music, dancing, and drink fill the crowd as people celebrate. It is the beginning of *BaKatue*, "the opening of the river", a festival which marks the beginning of the major fishing season. Fante fishers are known today for their maritime prowess, but the name *BaKatue* resonates from an earlier time when canoe fishers depended on rivers and estuaries.

A gentle muddy river flows through Elmina and serves as a port to countless fishers. Along its banks, brightly painted fishing canoes are crammed side by side as far as the eye can see. It is in this over-crowded estuary, on this particular day, that local fishers gather

throughout the morning to dip bundles of herbs into the river as it meanders out to sea. It is a tradition said to make the waters fertile and bring luck to the ceremony to come.

Excitement shudders through the crowd as fishers ready the net and the time for ceremony draws near. The net will be cast three times into the estuary, and if fish are caught, the season will be a good one. Cheers erupt from the crowd as the net is cast into the water. A momentary hush falls over the masses as they draw back the net, but it returns empty. A second time the net is cast, accompanied by the roar of the crowd, and it too returns empty. A third time the net soars out over the waters and a third time the net returns empty. It is an unfortunate outcome, but not unexpected. Most years the net returns empty, but that does not stop fishers from honoring the river with herbs or crowds from gathering to witness the casting.

After the casting of the net it is time for chiefs to make their entrance. The local royalty makes their way into town in a long procession. First to arrive on foot are fishing chiefs (*apofohene*) and fish-trading chiefs (*konkohene*), clad in their finest robes and jewelry. Next to come are regional chiefs (*omanhene*) atop palanquins and accompanied by drummers. The palanquins are heavy, ornately decorated platforms that are shaded with silken parcels. The large palanquins are carried on the shoulders of a dozen or more people while the chiefs wave to the passing crowd. A troop of drummers follow close behind their respective chief, playing energetic rhythms. The large, egg-shaped drums (known as talking drums) are carried atop the heads of carriers while players follow behind with drum-sticks that have the appearance of wooden pick-axes. Even at a distance the beat of the drums is deafening. The *omanhene* are seated atop their palanquins with stern expressions, brandishing ceremonial golden machetes and moving their arms about to the drummers beat in a kind of bladed dance. The regional chiefs emanate stoic pride as crowds look in awe at their golden jewelry, beautiful crowns, and royal grandeur.

Last to make an entrance is the paramount chief (*nana omanhene*). His palanquin and robes are pure white in honor of the regional paramount god, *Nana Benya*. The chief is accompanied by the largest group of drummers, who dance and play with energy as sweat pours from their skin. The paramount chief stands atop his palanquin looking fierce as his attendants carry him about. *Nana omanhene* raises his fists to the heavens and the crowd cheers. This is *BaKatue*, the opening of the river – the official beginning of the major fishing season.

Nana Abonoma: Waves ebb and flow across great fangs of stone as though the coast is gnawing upon the sea. Heavy surf crashes against a large, black boulder that rises from the waters a short distance from shore. The currents that run along the coast of Anomabo are quick and the surf is fierce, but the great ebony rock is never fully swallowed by the tumultuous seas. The boulder breaks the surf and serves as a natural harbor for fishers talented enough to navigate between jagged stones reaching up from the depths.

Every morning, just before sun rise, a chant pierces the still of the morning air as fishers go out to sea:

"*Nana Abonoma myereka*"
"*Ma yenya nam*"
"*Ma yenkum nam bebae*"

The fishers stand in line with one another atop their canoe and pay respect to the ebony giant that guards the coast and stills the waters within. They clap their hands and jump in unison as they pass by the great, black stone. They pay respect to the entity that provides

fish and safety from the raging sea. They give respect to the stone where gods reside. Again, the fishers sing with deep beautiful voices as one, calling out to the gods in prayerful respect:

"Nana Abonoma myereka" – Elder Abonoma, we are going
"Ma yenya nam" – Help us catch
"Ma yenkum nam bebae" – Help us catch plenty

It is known among the fishers that it is necessary to pay homage to the gods of the ocean. The high seas are dangerous and the catch is far from certain. For generations *Nana Abonoma* has stood watch over the village; granting blessings to fishermen. The town once called itself by the same name, but as colonial powers took hold of the coast and corrupted true names, the village of Abonoma became the village of Anomabo. Today Anomabo still carries its colonial name, but the fishers have not forgotten their ancestral god or the true name of their village. The very existence of Anomabo hinges upon the bounty provided by the ocean. It is no wonder that the local god of the sea is still remembered. Even as many old ways are lost to modernity, they remain faithful children of *Nana Abonoma*.

It is from the ocean that the Fante people survive. And so long as there are fish in the sea, Fante fishers will brave the surf to catch them. And so long as mighty fishers ride out bravely to the horizon, there will surely be those who pay respect to *Nana Abonoma*: the god of the sea.

Tuesday: It is quiet. The waves crash and the cock crows, but no chants are carried along on the cool morning breeze. The usual clamor that the beach market brings is quelled by silence. Where are the fishers and their baskets of fish? Where are the trades-women bartering for their share of the catch? Save for a few huddled clusters of fishers repairing their nets and mending canoes, the usually frenzied beach is empty and calm. Elsewhere in the village business goes about as normal. Canoes take shape, repairmen mend engines, and shop-keepers hawk their wares.

It is the tradition of honoring Tuesday which silences the beaches for a day. It is said that on Tuesday that the gods replenish the sea. Once a week, fishermen remain on shore and allow the ancestors to nurse the ocean back to health. It is known among the seafaring men of Anomabo that to venture out to sea on Tuesday is disrespectful to the gracious entities which provide rich seas. It is far too risky to brave the unpredictable ocean without the gods. And only the most stubborn or desperate of fishers take to the surf on Tuesday.

Come Sunday morning many fishers will find their way into a Christian church, but more often than not, they will be at sea. Christianity is the dominant religion, but the old gods of the sea are best respected by those who brave raging waters. No other profession observes Tuesday as a sacred day. It is a tradition observed solely by the Fante fishers.

Discussion:

This study suggests that Fante-speaking people of West Africa are highly dependent on ocean resources as the basis of their nutrition, economy, and cultural identity. West African fish stocks are overexploited by industrial fisheries (Pauly et al., 2005) which, as this study has shown, directly compete with artisanal fishers. Under such circumstances, there appears to be good reason to recognize the right of groups to guard themselves against the intrusions of the outside world and to determine their own destiny (Kukathas, 1992). Granting those who live from the sea the legal right to defend their resources also grants them the right to defend their culture. The only ethical option available to the West African

fisheries situation is to empower artisanal fishers against the current trend of irresponsible exploitation.

In 1996, community-based fisheries management was introduced in both inland and marine fisheries in Ghana. Moree was the first coastal village where a Community Based Fishery Management Committee (CBFMC) was introduced. The CBFMC programmed in Moree achieved some results in improving beach hygiene and regulating dynamite fishing (Koranteng, 2000). But the current system offers few avenues for dialogue with higher-up government entities, and the CBFMC has virtually no power to advance its own agenda. If user groups are not legally empowered, their negotiating position versus that of the government is consequently comparatively low, or as Chirwa (1997) points out: "The local user communities are the recipients rather than the initiators of decisions. They, themselves, are managed, together with their resources"(pp. 23). It can be argued that this type of co-management cannot be viewed as co-management in a strict sense, as in reality it is simply "top-down" management.

Fishers do not easily accept the command and control that impersonal government intrusion brings. This lack of acceptance is exacerbated when what they are being told does not make sense in terms of the way they see problems, know their industry, and have learned to understand nature. This is the problem that co-management is uniquely suited to address. Co-management is not so much about the rules *per se* as it is about the communicative and collaborative process through which rules are formed: who participates, how debates are structured, how knowledge is employed, how conflicts of interest are addressed, and how agreements are reached (Jentoft et al., 1998). A collaborative system which includes user populations have the potential of managing resources and empowering artisanal fishers. If local people are granted the means and authority to manage their resources, they will do so for the benefit of the community.

Examples of successful co-management support the notion that people linked by a strong sense of place, culture, community, and cause can self-regulate resources for the long-term good of the collective (Jentoft et al., 1998). In the Chile (as well as in the Cook Islands and Alaska), artisanal fisheries and local cooperatives have been granted ownership of the foreshore and intertidal areas, allowing them to exclude other fishermen and optimally harvest the resources they manage in an ecologically sustainable fashion (Castilla et al., 1998). Resources held by users in common can be withheld by other members through a group decision and can thus be employed as a sanction against users who break the rules. A modern example of this is the local fisheries of Japan (Jentoft et al., 1998). Co-management can be a powerful and successful mechanism for the preservation of ocean resources and fishing communities if provided with sufficient government support.

In most cases studied (Jentoft et al., 1998), co-management arrangements have been established in response to resource depletion. Under such circumstances it would seem critically important that governments should not leave their local partners with management responsibilities that they are incapable of shouldering, be it for reasons of lack of knowledge or lack of resources. Indigenous knowledge among fishers is often related to the fish resources and is concentrated on aspects that are relevant to fish capture, and does not to any large extent comprise the biology of the resources (i.e. spawning grounds, nurseries, etc.). This is why collaboration involving both artisanal fishing communities and government bureaucracy is absolutely necessary. Governments must provide accurate ecological information in order for local populations to make educated decisions regarding resource management.

Given the nature of the problems and the mobility of both resources and fishermen, this work must not only be encouraged within Ghana, but also extended to West Africa as a whole (Campredon & Cuq, 2001). The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) could serve as a powerful medium for regional co-management implementation. However, such regional cooperation is likely to face opposition. Budget deficits, growing debt, and difficulties in developing exports of agricultural commodities or manufactured products are forcing some West African governments to consider fishery license fees as the only reliable and quick source of hard currency revenues (Kaczynski & Looney, 2000). For example, 27% of Mauritania's state budget is funded by fishing access fees (UNEP, 2002). It is a daunting prospect to empower the many West African coastal communities. But given the scale and precarious nature of the situation, if we are to preserve ocean resources and the people who rely upon them, change must be large in scope.

Conclusion:

Competition among artisanal and commercial fisheries increases the stress placed on the environment and threatens marine stocks that coastal populations rely upon. Given the "fishing down the food web" phenomena and related trends, it appears rather urgent to action is needed to implement the reforms long proposed by fisheries scientists and economists: radically reduce fishing capacity (Mace, 1997). Notably, one solution is to abolish government subsidies that keep otherwise unprofitable fisheries afloat (Munro & Sumaila, 2002), and strictly enforce various equipment restrictions (Chuenpagdee et al., 2003). Additionally, there must be reserve areas set aside in order to promote the overall health of West African marine ecosystems.

Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) will have a key role to play in integrated coastal zone management (ICZM) in several respects. First, they are needed to maintain healthy population levels of vulnerable species from overfishing so that they can subsequently help population levels outside the protected area to recover (Roberts, 1995). To this end, MPAs should not be considered as isolated units but rather as part of a whole within which they are complementary to other areas of the coastal zone (Campredon & Cuq, 2001). "No-take" marine reserves will have to be instituted, not as scattered and small concessions to appease conservationist pressure, but as a legitimate and obvious management tool (Pauly et al., 2005).

Such measures may not permit an increase in future landings, that is, to continue meeting an ever-increasing human demand (Pauly et al., 2003). Rather, these measures may allow us to sustain what we have, and that which we are in the process of losing (Dulvy et al., 2003). Unsustainable industrial fishing is the primary factor behind the intensification of food security issues that reduced *per capita* fish supplies in developing countries creates (Garcia & de Leiva Moreno, 2003). The preservation of marine stocks is therefore not only a question of environmental conservation but also social welfare. If the formation of marine policy is to be successful it must take into consideration the human element.

Natural scientists often prefer to ignore the politics of human societies. While this attitude is by no means universal, it does tend to appear in the policy recommendations of natural scientists. They frequently ignore important determinants of human behavior, such as the political forces that influence what and how people learn, the political forces that influence what events are or are not considered crises, and what things are and are not considered to be property. Such blind spots may cause scientists to provide advice or formulate policy that is either grossly inadequate, or open to disastrous misuse (Ludwig et al., 1993; Gunderson, 1999). Those who live from the sea are most vulnerable to the ramifications of the global fisheries crisis. Therefore, local resource users should be involved in regulatory decision

making, implementation, and enforcement (Jentoft et al., 1998). A collaborative co-management approach will enable the creation of policy that accounts for the needs of coastal populations while still promoting the health of marine ecosystems.

Co-management must be enacted on a regional scale in order to ensure the promotion of viable fish stocks and the survival of traditional fishing cultures. ECOWAS could be a powerful mechanism for the implementation of co-management on a massive scale. However, regional cooperation is likely to face opposition as many nations have grown dependent on fisheries revenues. The road toward sustainability is not without hurdles, but if traditional fishing cultures are to survive, change must be enacted – and quickly.

"If one thinks that coastal communities are doomed and that it is just a matter of time before the traditional culture of fishing is history, co-management seems hardly worth the effort" (Jentoft et al., 1998 pp. 12). But if ethics holds any sway in modern fisheries policy, there must be change. Current practices of irresponsible and unsustainable fishing are destroying marine stocks (Pauly et al., 2005). And as fish stocks decline, traditional fishing people, such as the Fante, are presented with a situation in which the basis of their diet, economy, and culture is threatened by industrial efforts.

If commercial fisheries maintain this course and marine resources crumble under the strain of industry, Fante fishing traditions will pass away into the analogues of history. Change is the only ethical option available to humanity at this juncture. Without well-informed and dramatic policy change, we will witness the destruction of marine resources and subsequently the annihilation of traditional fishing peoples in West Africa.

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**Constructing the Norte Grande:
Chilean Infrastructure in the Northern Border Region, 1915-1929**

by
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Table of Contents

Maps, Photos, and Tables

Introduction

The norte grande (Fig. 1), the far north, is comprised of the provinces of Antofagasta and Tarapacá. Acquired after the War of the Pacific, 1878 to 1883, this region increased Chile by almost a third,[1] and possessed valuable mineral resources, such as sodium nitrate and guano. With these resources at Chile's disposal the government realized the norte grande, despite several decades of Great Britain's entrepreneurship, possessed limited infrastructure. This included, but was not limited to, the ports of Antofagasta and Arica not being up-to-date with improved technology to handle modern cargo loads, as well as Chile not being able to respond militarily to potential hostilities with Bolivia and Peru, attributed to the Tacna-Arica dispute.

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[1] Brian Loveman, *Chile; The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism,* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 147.

Figure 1: Norte Grande and Norte Chico[2]

To address these problems Presidents Arturo Allesandri Palma and Carlos Ibañez del Campo began constructing public works projects in the territory. Many of the infrastructure projects in the norte grande began during the presidency of Arturo Alessandri, where he requested "legislation passed by the parliament on labor …. public works …. military and tax reform."[1] But as Fredrick M. Nunn has demonstrated, in his seminal work Chilean Politics 1920-1931; The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces, Alessandri encountered many difficulties in this desire to improve the wellbeing of Chileans. This in part is due to the increased use of synthetic nitrates, invented by Germany during World War I, which contributed to inconsistent nitrate production during the 1920s. This created a huge burden on the Chilean state to fund these projects, as a large portion of tax revenue came from nitrate. President Allesandri was unable to see most of these works to their completion due to the complicated relationship between the president and the congress, all of which contributed to a coup in 1925.

Yet literature on the norte grande emphasizes not only the political turmoil in the Chilean government, but also the tenuous relationship with Peru, and Bolivia. For instance, the works of William Jefferson Davis, the Tacna and Arica: an Account of the Chile-Peru Boundary Dispute and the Arbritrations by the United States, and William E. Skuban's Lines in the Sand: Nationalism and Identity on the Peruvian-Chilean Frontier highlight the relationship between these three countries. In addition to these collected works, several pieces address the nitrate industry and its subsequent development, however, the importance is placed on the numerous railways in the territory, such as Harlod Blakemore's From the Pacific to La Paz: the Antofagasta (Chili) and Bolivia Railway Company, 1888-1988. Although Brian Loveman's Struggle in the Countryside Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973 at times discusses the "expansion of road networks," but Loveman uses this to depict the movement of rural laborers to and from various locations in Chile.[3] However, this article incorporates previously underutilized documents from the National Archives in Washington D.C. to demonstrate the processes and progression of construction in the cities of Antofagasta and Arica.

Upgrading the Port Works of Antofagasta and Arica

When Chile acquired the provinces of Tarapacá and Antofagasta they inherited not only valuable nitrate resources, but also ports that had been part of the nitrate industry for several decades prior to the War of the Pacific. Thus, as a subsequent result, the enhancement of port works became evident to the state. According to Consul Stewart E. McMillin prior to 1910 "no port construction, in the proper sense of the word, was carried out in Chile." Despite such a sentiment, the Port of Antofagasta moved a net registered tonnage of close to 7.1 million through 3,209 ships

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[2] Ibid, 18.
[3] Brian Loveman, Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 189.

in 1911. For a comparison the well-known port of Valparaíso handled a net registered tonnage of 5.06 million, while working with only 2,491 vessels. The Chilean state decided on the ports of Valparaiso, Antofagasta, and Arica as the final order of importance. Valparaiso garnered more attention from the government due to proximity to Santiago, and the high price of improvements, a result of the engineers' anticipated difficulties in construction.[4]

Nonetheless, such optimism led the city of Antofagasta to procure a £200,000 loan from England prior to the outbreak of World War I. The municipality used the loan from Great Britain to fund a variety of projects in the city. These tasks included tree planting, "construction of a model market," a "crematory furnace for garbage," "modern means for the removal of garbage," and new buildings for public service workers at Mejillones. However, the administrators of Antofagasta allocated £136,000 alone on "pavement of the streets (Fig. 2 & 3)."

Figure 2: Photo Antofagasta Dirt Streets[5]

Figure 3: Photo Antofagasta Paved Streets

The streets located closest to the docks, and railroads, used "hard stone blocks," due to the high degree of traffic in the area. Such an improvement should not be underestimated when compared with the industrialized nations of the United States or Great Britain. With paved streets, this permitted year round use by the population of the city, not to mention the ability to provide improved transportation to the region in addition to moving heavy goods and people within the city. This is demonstrated by the construction of sidewalks in the city, which was included in the cost for the street paving, as well as a proposed electric streetcar system.[1] These various developments would contribute to increasing the movability people to better aid the further enhancement of the port stipulated by the Commission of Ports in 1911.

Subsequently, in 1916, an additional bill for the improvement of port works in Antofagasta received approval by the Chilean government. The decree

stipulated contracts for the enhancement of the harbor should come from public proposals over the next eighteen month, were to include the maximum price with a cap of £1.7 million, and contractors would be paid with government bonds. This condition emphasized the funds were to be used solely for construction purposes, "federal inspections, and the expenses in Article 5." The costs alluded to included three hundred gold pesos of eighteen pence that were to be used "in the preliminary expenses of the construction of the port and of the railway branch which will unite it with the Longitudinal Railway." Furthermore, in Article 4 of the mandate, the president of Chile stated that private or municipal ownership of lands, and materials needed for the development of the port according to the approved plan were declared for public use. Ultimately, the Chilean president had the final word in the conservation of harbors, and other mandates pertaining to the wellbeing of the port.[6]

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[4] National Archives of the United States (NAUS), RG59, Internal Affairs of Chile (M5144), reel 15, 825.1561/3, "Chilean Port Improvement Works," Consul Stewart E. McMillin to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, August 21-25, 1924.

[5] Juan Panades Vargas, Floreal Recabbren Rojas, Antonio Obilinovic Arrate, and Alfonso Calderon Squadritto. *Antofagasta: Una Historia en Imágenes,* (Antofagasta: Universidad de Chile, 1979). Figure 1 is a picture from 1914 and was found on page 22, while Figure 2 was taken in 1926 and can be located on page 21.

However, construction on the breakwater in Antofagasta did not begin until after World War I in 1919. Vice Consul Ben C. Matthews reported in 1922 that roughly 450 workers throughout the city were employed on various projects to enhance the port city. In addition to this, workers had begun the process of making "huge cement blocks which [were] used with rock in constructing the jetty." The electrically run Goliath Crane (Fig. 4) had a capability to lift approximately sixty tons and was used to move the blocks for the jetty, of which there were 250 yards constructed. This crane moved the blocks to the barges, which in turn transported them and dumped the blocks on the breakwater.[7] Baburizza Lagarrigue y Cia of Playa Blanca, Antofagasta received the bid to manage the construction process, and was "the first port development company organized in Chile."[8] The company oversaw the completion of the wharf for the lighters and barges outside of the breakwater, while the dock inside of the mole was close to being finished.[9]
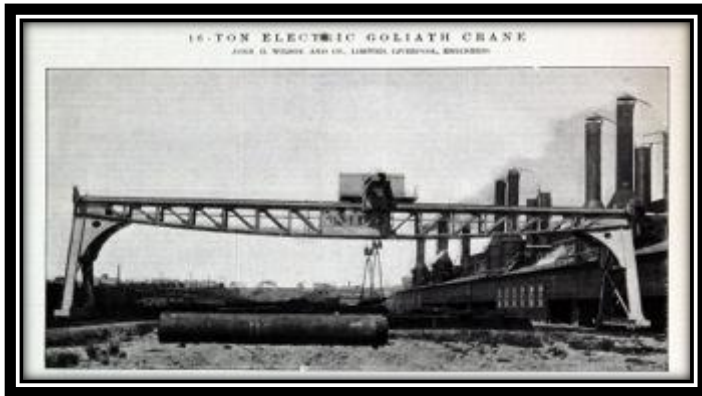
Figure 4: Goliath Crane[10]

In addition to the tonnage of freight moved in 1911, Antofagasta's location made this desirable port for development, attributed to the bay being in a crescent moon like shape, which according to the report from Consul Stewart McMillin would allow future construction at the fraction of the current price. Eduardo Reyes Cox, working for Baburizza Lagrrigue y Cia, continued the construction of port works at Antofagasta, with an estimated time of completion of 1925,

where the mole would measure 4,816 feet at cost of $8.2 million, with the prospect of second mole at 1,640 feet. Further concepts proposed 7,545 feet of "landing piers for steamers," wharf space at almost 9.2 million cubic feet, and railways connecting to warehouses, which were projected to be completed by the end of 1927. The approximated capacity of the wharf presented the following: protected water surface of 30 hectares (74.13 acres), an accompanying land surface, of 40 hectares (98.84 acres), and an annual port movement 7.6 million registered net tons.

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[6] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.156/33, "Approval of Law Providing for the Construction of Port Works at Antofagasta," Consul Thomas W. Voetter to Index Bureau Department of State, September 8, 1916.

[7] Ibid, 825.156/38, "Port Works at Antofagasta, Chile," Vice Consul Ben C. Matthews to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, June 23, 1922.

[8] Ibid, 825.1561/3, "Chilean Port Improvement Works," Consul Stewart E. McMillin to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, August 21-25, 1924.

[9] Ibid, 825.156/38, "Port Works at Antofagasta, Chile," Vice Consul Ben C. Matthews to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, June 23, 1922.

[10] Pictures from a reputable website, or archives, at this appoint appear scarce. To better provide the reader with the differences and preferences of the workers at the docks, it is essential to provide the visual support of the contrasts. Accessed June 20, 2012. http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/John_H._Wilson_and_Co.

Figure 5: American Brown Hoist Crane[11]

Figure 6: English Wilson Crane[12]

By November 7 approximately 659 feet of the breakwater and underwater foundation were finished. This was mostly accomplished through an investment of £600,000. The investment included the purchase of ten cranes with capabilities to lift up to fifteen tons to a maximum height of close to twenty feet. Of the ten, four were Brown Hoist type of cranes(Fig. 5) from the United States and the remaining were Wilson (Fig. 6) cranes originating from England. The head foreman declared the Brown Hoist "to be superior to the English 'Wilson' cranes." This is attributed to the fuel efficiency of the American made crane.

Furthermore, machinery from the United States consisted of rock drills, crane compressors, and tools. The new equipment was to also be used in the rock quarry located on the periphery of the Antofagasta, and had "a producing capacity of 2,500 to 3,000 tons of rock daily." These materials were transferred through the city by seven English locomotives, and two hundred cars. Five hundred men worked at the time of the report. The workers housing had been completed, which included a school, theater, and medical service. These materials were

transferred through the city by seven English locomotives, and two hundred cars. Five hundred men worked at the time of the report. The workers housing had been completed, which included a school, theater, and medical service. Such services were free to all workers, and their families.[13] In 1923, the Chilean Minister in London reported that a loan of £500,000 through the Anglo-South American Bank Limited had been procured to continue work on the port. The loan was designated to complete the breakwater and to begin construction on the new pier, of which "£100,000" was "immediately available."[14]

Although construction in Antofagasta steadily progressed, Consul Stewart E. McMillin reported that there was "urgent" sense to construct the jetty. Antofagasta's location "protected it on the north," but because the harbor is "open on the south and west" winds from these directions created a variety of challenges, such as stronger currents. These annoyances made "the anchorage ground unfavorable." Thus making a structure for docking safely became evident. Furthermore, the rocky bottom of the port and depth, at times approaching thirty meters, illustrates the trials engineers faced. In addition to these depths of water, the engineers had to take into consideration waves that at times measure up to "6 meters in height." Despite these issues, the proposed blue print included

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[11] Library of Congress, Digital Photo Files, Accessed June 20,2012. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/det.4a24767/.

[12] Accessed June 20, 2012. http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/John_H._Wilson_and_Co.

[13] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.156/40, "The Port Works of Antofagasta, Chile," Consul Class 6 Stewart E. McMillin to Index Bureau Department of State, November and December 1922.

[14] Ibid, 825.156/47, "The Port Works of Antofagasta, Chile," Consul Stewart E. McMillin to Division of Latin American Affairs State Department of State, November 10, 1923.

a jetty measuring 1450 meters in length that would "close the port on the south and west." The first 240 meters of the newly constructed jetty consisted of "rock-fill type protected by 60-ton blocks placed one upon the other." Due to the fluctuation in the bay, the pouring of concrete proved difficult. This contributed to the engineers for the upper part of the jetty to notch the blocks "so as to give the jetty more coalescence."[15]

Despite the complications with construction, and the anxieties that arose, the port works development at Antofagasta was sustained during the year 1924. This timeframe saw the foundation of the work contract extended from 307.28 to 726.80 meters, with roughly and additional 725.08 meters to be constructed for the mole to be completed. By the end of the year approximately 3,817 sixty-ton cement blocks were built for the extension of the mole. At this point the rock quarry produced 548,000 tons of rock with a total to date of 2,143,000 tons. However, a strong tidal wave struck the mole in June, causing damage in the first section. By the end of year, workers finished the repairs and conducted further enhancements to various structures at an additional cost of 115,000 pesos. Port Commission approved widening the project as outlined by the Direccion Fiscal, thus providing "1,440 meters of boat landings and a mole which is to close the bay on the north, leaving only and entrance of 175 meters."[16]

On January 15, 1927 Baburizza Lagarrigue and Company received a disbursement of 68,067,900 pesos, or $8,168,148, for finishing the long breakwater that measured 1,209 meters. In order to accommodate the new equipment for port operations, the construction of the new port works necessitated "a great deal of filling in order to provide space for the operation of machinery, sidings and other port devices." Thus providing an area of 31.5 hectares protected from ocean, and another 31 hectares of land was reclaimed from the sea. The geography and geology of the coast created difficulties, as the "shore line is entirely of a hard granite formation, of volcanic origin; at no place could a shovel
be used."

Subsequently, in order to provide an adequate depth for the ships to dock, the contractors blasted the shoreline. El Melon, near Valparaiso, provided concrete for the breakwater, and rock quarried from an area just south of Antofagasta was used to construct the large blocks for the construction
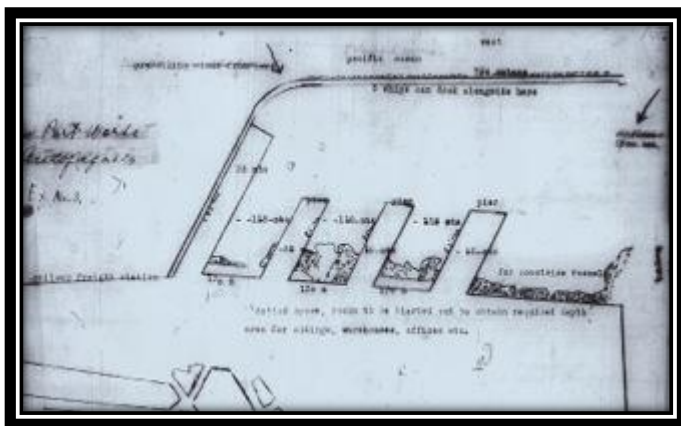
of the breakwater. At this time the ships "tied up inside the breakwater, especially passenger vessels, as the sea is too rough to permit safe landing from the harbor." Although typical, losses of "heavy cargoes," which the barges and lighters controlled, occurred. The terms for another contract called for the construction of an additional breakwater at an estimated 90,867,328,80 pesos, or $10,904,079.48. The proposed date of completion was 1929. Furthermore, the contract called for the construction of "three piers (Fig. 7),

Figure 7: Blue Print of Antofagasta Piers

deepening of the water near shoreline, customs stations, and other-port equipment, such as cranes (Fig. 8)." According to Consul George D. Hopper these enhancements made "Antofagasta … the only well protected harbor for large vessels at any port from Guayaquil [Ecuador] to Buenos

[15] Ibid, 825.156/3, "Chilean Port Improvement Works," Consul Stewart E. McMillin to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, August 21-25, 1924.
[16] Ibid, 825.156/52, "Advance in Construction of the Antofagasta Port Works for the year 1924," Consul Stewart E. McMillian to the Department of State, January 24, 1925.

Aires."[17] Although not mentioned as frequently in the various diplomatic exchanges, the Port of Arica received a similar upgrade in port works.

The Port of Arica was highlighted in the Commission of Ports report in 1911. The commission, as previously mentioned, placed Arica third on the list of important ports to the future of Chile, behind Valparaiso and Antofagasta. This sentiment is attributed to the movement of material goods in the port, which amounted to a net registered tonnage of close to 3.6 million, about half of the materials Antofagasta handled that year. In addition to the transferring of cargo, 1,456 ships moved through the port of Arica at the

Figure 8: Photo of Antofagasta Ships and Cranes[18]

time of the commission's report. The hope of the Commission of Ports was that with the proposed improvements to the port, Arica would move 450,000 tons of cargo annually.[19]

Yet, a proposal for the enhancement of the docks at Arica was not noted until 1921, when Consul Homer Brett reported the Chilean government appropriated 1.7 million pesos for the construction of a new dock at Arica. The agreement was to be completed by the Ministero de Obraras Publico, led by Señor Don Guillermo Aguero, "without the intervention of a contractor." The old piers in the port of Arica were to be the models for the new blueprints for the construction of the new docks. In addition to the improvement of the docks, three to four new cranes were required to accommodate such construction. It was estimated that the lifting capacity should be between twenty-five and fifty tons.[20]

Discussions on the development of the port had occurred for numerous years, yet never moved beyond the proposal stage. Despite the appropriation of funds for the building of the new pier in 1921, construction did not begin until 1922, when the engineers arrived. The Philip Holzman construction firm received the bid for building of the pier, who provided "the engineers, mechanics, and skilled artisans, while the other work will be preformed by Chilean laborers, and altogether about four hundred men will be employed." It is unclear at this point whether or not Señor Guero oversaw any construction of the port. Nonetheless, completion of the dock was estimated at two years, at cost of 3.05 million pesos and 200,000 gold pesos of eighteen pence. The proposal stated an "irregular triangle protruding into the sea" that "will cover 17,280 square meters of ground." The shoreline was to be the primary foundation for the port.[21]

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[17] Ibid, 825.1561/4, "New Port Works at Antofagasta, Chile," Consul George D. Hopper to Index Bureau Department of State, June 14, 1927.
[18] Isaac Arce Ramírez, *Narraciones Históricas de Antofagasta,* (Antofagasta, 1930), 469. This picture is of the almost completed work at the time, early 1929.
[19] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.1561/3, "Chilean Port Improvement Works," Consul Stewart E. McMillin to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, August 21-25, 1924.
[20] Ibid, 825.1561, "New Pier at Arica, Chile," Consul Homer Brett to State Department January 21, 1921.
[21] Ibid, 825.1561/2, "Harbor Improvement at Arica, Chile," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to State Department, March 30, 1922.

The port works project in Arica (Fig. 9) concluded in July 1925 at an estimated cost of $367,000 after almost three years of construction. This cost did not include the price of recently ordered equipment from Germany, which consisted of new electric cranes. While the port waited for the arrival of the improved cranes, to maintain the work at the docks three steam powered cranes were used. The Compania General de Construcciones at this point was responsible for the construction of a reinforced concrete building that contained the office of the captain of the port, located

Figure 9: Port of Arica and "Irregular Triangle"[22]

at the entrance of the old pier, and rooms for luggage storage and inspection of passenger luggage at a cost of 452,000 pesos.

During this timeframe the enhancement of the streets occurred in the port city through the Anglo-Chilean Asphalt Company located in Santiago. The terms of the agreement called for "15,000 square meters of asphalted concrete pavement." Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow reported the roads within Arica were "very narrow quite a number can be thus improved." In addition to the paving of streets in the city, concrete sidewalks were to be constructed as well. Prior to 1925, "an appreciable number of streets have been supplied with concrete sidewalks … that had none previously."[23] As with Antofagasta, the improvement of streets within the city of Arica afforded manufacturers the ability to transport materials with greater ease throughout the city. These improvements at the ports of Arica and Antofagasta were additionally supported by connecting the cities with a series of highways in each of their respective provinces, thus further explaining the improvement of streets within the cities and the improvement of ports.

The Expansion of Highways in the Norte Grande

As demonstrated by the improvement of streets within in the cities of Arica and Antofagasta, the Chilean state recognized the need to enhance and expand the highway system in the country to better connect the region to the metro pole. In the province of Antofagasta construction of the roads in the region were temporarily suspended, attributed to insufficient funds that could be appropriated by the Chilean government. Although, engineer Señor Juan Carabantes San Roman reported to Vice Consul Ben C. Matthews the Department of Antofagasta collected $558,940.20 in new taxes. Matthews expressed the belief that as a result of the newly acquired funds from taxes, "work on the new highways in this province [Antofagasta] will be renewed at an early date." The primary concern was to continue the process of building the highway from Antofagasta to Hauytiquina, roughly two hundred miles away, near the border of Argentina. At the time of the report, roughly 50 miles had been built, connecting Antofagasta and "the station of Cuevitas, near Baqedano, and about the same distance had been finished from Calama to San Pedro de Atacama." This new highway proved of significant importance in conjunction with the

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[22] Accessed June 20, 2012. http://www.mscchile.com/our_facilities/ports_arica.html. Although a contemporary picture, it provides the reader with the "irregular triangle protruding into the sea" that Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow reported in 1922.
[23] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.15/9 "Improvements in the Province of Tacna," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, April 26, 1926.

proposed Antofagasta to Salta, Argentina railway.[24]

On August 1, 1922 with a median of 45 workmen the neighboring department of Tocopilla began construction of after several delays. This part of the thoroughfare traversed along the coast of Chile, a rocky region that caused development to be gradual and costly. The department worked with a budget of almost 118,000 pesos and had used 23,020.19 pesos, which left the department with a balance of 94,068.88. By the end of 1922, funding for the highway in Antofagasta and the cities of Tocopilla and Taltal once again became severely limited. Appropriations for the construction of the highway in Antofagasta amounted to 493,669.57 pesos, however, the department in the city received only 276,850.15. Roughly fifty employees continued to work on the international highway that was to connect the city of Antofagasta with Hauytiquina.

Although construction was maintained on the highway to Argentina, work on the additional highways in the province had come to a halt. This is attributed to the there "not being sufficient funds in the Treasury to meet appropriations." In Taltal, the department employed about twenty persons where construction was more laborious than the section in Tocopilla, due to "the rock obstructions." There was an appropriation of 56,137.56 pesos for the construction of the road. Only 8,302.20 pesos were spent on construction up to this point, but as the Fiscal Treasury possessed a deficit the balance was not available for use. Señor Juan Carabantes San Roman, the engineer in charge, declared a stoppage of work would be the next step if additional funds could not be procured.[25] These issues with funding for public work projects coincide with one of several downturns in nitrate production. The economic downturn is illustrated by the lack of revenue generated by taxes received from nitrate (Fig. 10). The disbursement and lack of funds in the province of Antofagasta created several issues with the development of roads within the region, but Arica's roads appeared to receive the necessary funds for construction.

NITRATE INDUSTRY TAXES, 1880–1930 (MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS)	
Year	Nitrate and Iodine Taxes
1880	0.8
1885	5.2
1890	12.6
1895	16.1
1900	18.1
1905	20.7
1910	29.3
1915	24.7
1918	40.0
1919	10.0
1920	27.6
1921	11.8
1922	12.9
1923	26.2
1924	27.1
1925	30.5
1926	21.5
1927	28.6
1928	35.3
1929	36.3
1930	21.0

Figure 10: Table of Nitrate Industry Taxes[26]

In Arica, engineers from Franke Julian & Cia oversaw the construction of a road under the slogan "Only Chilean Labor and Material." In spite of the arduous task of constructing the road through the mountains, the lack of rain fall in the region provided a safe working environment, as the engineers did not have to face the task of taking "provisions against mountain streams, floods, landslides, or other similar dangers incident to ordinary building in mountainous regions." Frequent blasting was required for the construction of the motorway, but due to the highly abundant cheap labor the firm did not purchase contemporary machinery for the movement of debris. In addition to their wages of five pesos a day, the workers were provided a "camp at Quilla and Palquilla … in which no one is made to feel the want of medicines and food nor

[24] Ibid, 825.154/4, "Highway Construction," Vice Consul Ben C. Matthews to Department of State, May 30, 1922.
[25] Ibid, 825.154/6, "Highway Construction in Province of Antofagasta (Chile)," Consul Stewart E. McMillen to Department of State, February 9, 1923.
[26] Carmen Cariola, and Osvaldo Sunkel, "The Growth of the Nitrate Industry and Socioeconomic Change in Chile, 1880-1930," in The Latin American Economies, ed. by Roberto Cortés and Shane J. Hunt (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1985), 202.

is there any reason for the workmen to make the slightest complaint."[27] The road designed was 66 miles long and twenty feet wide to replace the highly dangerous footpath from Tacna to Tarata. However, the road was designed for "two wheeled carts," but with the capabilities of supporting military movement, thus making the northern region of Tacna "accessible to artillery."

Furthermore, the aim of the government appeared to be to employ many of the newly laid off nitrate workers from the south, where at this point four hundred had employment. An additional six hundred workers were to arrive at the beginning of May, as result of the decrease of production in the nitrate fields and increase layoffs (Fig. 11).

Year	Workers Employed	Year	Workers Employed
1895	22,485	1923	41,099
1896	19,345	1924	59,649
1897	16,727	1925	60,785
1898	15,955	1926	38,118
1907	39,653	1927	35,788
1908	40,825	1928	59,963
1909	37,792	1929	58,493
1912	47,800	1930	44,464
1913	53,161	1931	
1914	43,979	1932	8,535
1915	45,506	1933	8,486
1916	53,470	1934	14,133
1917	56,378		
1918	56,981		
1919	44,498		
1920	23,542		
1921	33,876		
1922	25,462		

Figure 11: Table of Workers Employed in Nitrate[28]

Additionally, the Chilean government at this time decided not to purchase expensive machinery for the development of the new road, attributed the abundance of cheap labor. Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow reported that engineers from Franke Julian y Cia proposed a budget of three million pesos for construction of the thoroughfare, this included the transferring of labor from Southern Chile "by steamer" estimated at 120,000 pesos, or 120 pesos per person.

An estimated time of completion was one year from the time of the report, approximately 1923.[29] Government officials not only concerned themselves with connecting the norte grande through roads and highways, but also connecting the region to Santiago.

In response to a recently returned delegation from the Highway Congress in the United States, the First National Highway Congress was held from April 12 to the 19, 1925 in Santiago. The congress was comprised of the automobile associations from Valparaiso and Santiago, in addition to the Chilean Federation of Highway Education, who supported the idea of a National Road system that was maintained and improved by the government. The commission strongly desired the acceptance of such a proposal for a national highway as quickly as possible, and that the procurement of funding should commence soon. Subsequently, the committee believed a request of a loan in the amount 150,000,000 Chilean paper pesos for 3,400 kilometers of road to be built within ten years, and "at the commencement of this plan a longitudinal road from La Serena, in the Coquimbo Province, to Puerto Montt, in the Llanquihue Province, and such others would united this main road with the large maritime cities [Arica and Antofagasta for instance] would be considered a national road."

To ensure the appropriate funding necessary for this endeavor it was proposed that finance for 50 percent of the cost should be through taxes "to be arranged for annually in the budget until the amortization be completed, the balance to be financed by new and special taxes to fall upon those most directly benefited by the highways." Additionally, an increase on import duties was suggested

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[27] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.154/9, "Completion of Road from Tacna to Tarata, Province of Tacna," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, December 1, 1923.
[28] Loveman, *Chile; The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism,* 170.
[29] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.154/2, "Construction of a Public Road Tacna to Tarata, Chile," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, March 24, 1922.

for the second half of the expenses, as well as new taxes on other sources such as; "petroleum, gasoline, tires and automobile spare parts, vehicles, minerals and ores exported, tolls on bridges and roads, each kilogram of animals killed in slaughter houses, on properties (government and private)." However, General Consul C.F. Deichman was skeptical about the ability of country to carry out the plan, due to the financial situation of country, although Deichman believed the completion of a national highway "would be of considerable benefit to the country." Consul Deichman further stated that the Chilean government had "already a heavy burden of taxation on commerce and with recently heavy increased rates on business of various kinds it seems that the burden of raising enough revenue to care of the additional loan of 150,000,000 pesos would not be justifiable for some time to come, notwithstanding the need of good roads in Chile."[30]

Additional diplomatic reports at this time to the United States, as far as the author is able to ascertain at this point, do not indicate whether or not the congress in Chile carried out the plans to enhance and construct the additional highways. But what is certain is that the government continued to receive requests for such action. For instance in 1927, the Chilean government received an appeal for the appropriation of 27,000,000 pesos for the improvement of "the most important roads leading into the capital." This was submitted due to most highways being impassible at certain points of the year and many needed repair, however, funding was limited at this point. Yet the desire to continue the building of roads in Chile is evident, and Consul Collier stated "the development of the country and stimulation of home industries that the this important question must be one of the first to be taken into consideration."[31] In addition to the abovementioned request, an additional plea was made in December of 1927 for an increase in funding. These movements were directed "to stimulate national products," due to "various agricultural and industrial organizations [that] have positioned to hasten the construction of better roads, thus lowering the cost of transportation.[32]

The Implications of Development in the Norte Grande

The geography of the norte grande presents "few opportunities for port development," as "for hundreds of monotonous miles, the Coast Range forms a barren wall between 3000 feet and 6000 feet, plunging steeply into the Pacific."[33] In addition to this, the region is so barren there are "weather stations that have never recorded rainfall," and "includes a desert more barren than the Sahara.[34] As result, these geographical obstacles left the area with minimal infrastructure, and limited agricultural resources and ultimately necessitated large public work projects to ensure "a supply of consumer goods for the population of the Norte Grande, a desert region in which agricultural development was almost nonexistent." To do so, construction of this infrastructure required the movement of population to ensure the development of roads, and processing nitrates.[35] Thus transporting materials to and from the norte grande through the enhancement of the ports Arica and Antofagasta, and roads can be seen as a means to connect irrigated valleys to the city centers to encourage additional development of the region.

Although Chile had possessed Tarapacá and Antofagasta since 1883, it was not until September 1910 that the Chilean government enacted a law creating the "Commission of

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[30] Ibid, 825.154/10, "Certain Recommendations of the First National Highway Congress," Consul-General C.F. Deichman to Department of State, May 12, 1925.
[31] Ibid, 825.154/16, "Improvement in the highways throughout Chile," Collier to Index Bureau, September 10, 1927.
[32] Ibid, 825.154/17, "Minister of Fomento has asked the Minister of Treasury for additional funds for road construction," Collier to Index Bureau, December 12, 1927.
[33] J. Valerie Fifer, "A Desert Frontier in Transition," *the Geographical Journal,* vol. 130, no. 4 (December 1964): 507, accessed June 16, 2012, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1792262.
[34] Loveman, *Chile; The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, 19.
[35] Cariola and Sunkel, "The Growth of the Nitrate Industry," 140.

Ports," and "authorized it to study a general plan of port development." By 1911, the commission reported the movement of cargo tonnage at each port in Chile. The ports of Antofagasta, Arica, and Iquique placed first, fourth, and sixth in net registered tonnage. Additionally, the Commission of Ports stated that the ports of Arica and Antofagasta were of "continental importance, inasmuch each of them is the terminus of an international railway," and "each of these ports is the outlet of a very important zone of attraction which assures it a great future development."[36] Yet, the need to improve the ports of the norte grande was evident due to methods of handling modern ships, transporting cargo to the docks, and the roads that connected the various towns in the region. If Chile wanted to maximize the potential growth of the region, which coincided with the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, it would be essential to improve their means of transporting goods in the ports to contribute to lower shipping costs.

The port of Antofagasta received special attention from the government as the harbor presented a valuable opportunity to develop "accommodations and facilities second to none on the Pacific Coast of South America," as the bay was "in a great half circle." This desirable combination afforded the possibility that "with protection from the weather the works might be enlarged and extended almost indefinitely at comparatively small cost, once the now contemplated works are completed."[37] Furthermore, Antofagasta possessed two international railways with Bolivia, one to
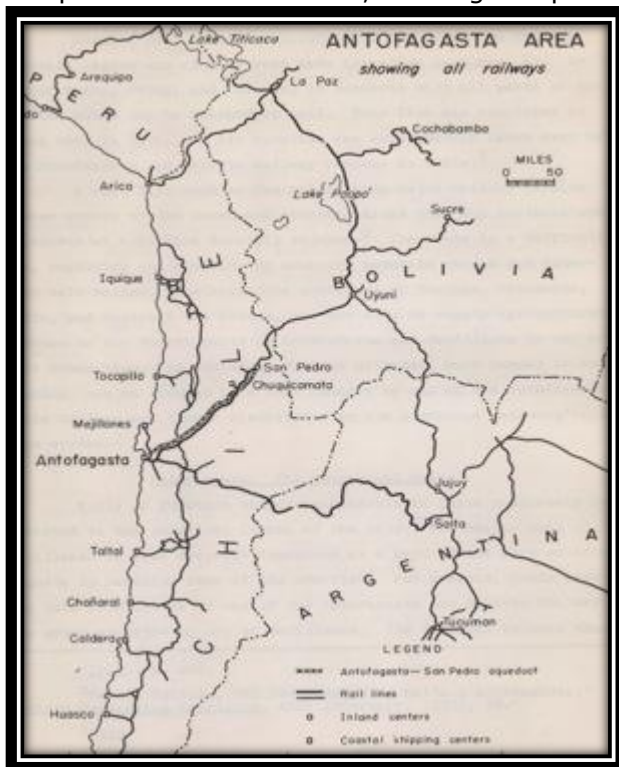
Oruro and La Paz. The proposal of a railroad to Salta, Argentina, further enhanced the prestige of the port (Fig. 12). Intercontinental trade proved to be the determining factor in renovating Antofagasta, and Arica. The port works of Arica additionally proved important to the plans of the Chilean administration due to the Arica to La Paz Railway that provided Bolivia with one of two ways of accessing the Pacific Ocean, the other being Antofagasta. Despite the Commission of Ports report in 1911 stating the importance of Arica to the Chilean state, work on the port was not noted by the United States until 1922. This account illustrated the need to streamline the port works, when Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow reported on how materials were transferred to and from the vessels. For instance barges and lighters were filled with the cargo to be transported from the ships, anchored in the bay, to the docks.

Figure 12: Map of International Railways[38]

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[36] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.156/3, "Chilean Port Improvement Works," Consul Stewart E. McMillen to Department of State, August 21-25, 1924.

[37] Ibid, 825.156/40, "The Port Works of Antofagasta, Chile," Consul of Class 6 Stewart E. McMillin to Department of State, November and December, 1922.

[38] William Joseph Smole, "The Functions and the Functional Organization of the Ports of Rosario, Argentina and Antofagasta, Chile," (master's thesis, the University of Chicago, 1955), 57. The Antofagasta to Salta Railroad was not completed until 1948.

Subsequently a crane moved the cargo from the barges, or lighters, onto the trains for shipping (Fig. 13).

In addition to the "old fashioned dock facilities" one could find at the piers four cranes each with a limited capacity. As result of the limited lifting abilities of the cranes, cargo frequently stayed on the barges and lighters for several days. To improve the transfer of materials the Department of Railroads ordered; "two three ton, two five ton, and one twenty five tone, electric cranes."

Figure 13: Photo of Barges and Cranes[39]

In addition to the new cranes the construction of a new pier was commissioned, as at this point of the three piers one was completely out of commission and the other two were so insecure vessels could not dock on them during any inclement weather. With the older cranes, and only two moderately functional piers, the Port of Arica moved approximately 130,000 metric tons on average per year. With the suggested upgrades by the Commission of Ports it was estimated that there would be an increase to 215,000 tons of cargo a year. Besides the transferring of cargo by lighters and barges, the low movement of materials can be attributed to the low number of freight cars of the Arica to La Paz Railway Company, who proposed additional cars to be built upon completion of the pier. The improved port facilities included "a naval station and a large basin for merchant vessels."[40]

To further demonstrate the necessity to remodel the ports of Chile, Consul Homer Brett also emphasized the state of the port of Iquique, who transported material in a similar manner to Arica and Antofagasta. This was attributed to the lack of depth in the port that caused ships to dock further out in the bay where roughly 350 lighters and barges with "an average capacity of 35 tons each" transferred materials from the vessels to their respective piers. Each pier had multiple steam cranes, with lifting capabilities of five tons, and connected with railways leading to the various warehouses, as well as the mainline of Nitrate Railways Ltd. The railroad connected with "all the 86 nitrate plants of the interior." The improvements at the port in Iquique not only stemmed from the need to maximize the movement of cargo, but to increase the importation of goods. Iquique relied on a variety of imports from various sections of Chile. This is illustrated by the surrounding landscape that is "absolutely desert and produces nothing for the sustenance of animal life. Fruits and vegetables are brought from Tacna and in less quantity from Pica; flour, forage and meat animals from Southern Chile." Importation of rations limited a buildup of supplies and was "never large enough to supply the town for more than three weeks if communication were interrupted."[41] Upgrading Chilean ports proved to be a difficult task, and took a number of years to occur, attributed to a variety of factors, such as nitrate tax revenue and political issues, as previously mentioned.

At the beginning of 1926, Consul von Tresckow reported on the "unusual number of improvements" in the province of Tacna. Von Tresckow informed the Department of State of the completion of the new pier at Arica occurred in July of 1925. In addition to the finished pier, the report states the construction of a new tourist hotel for the Arica to La Paz Railway by the construction firm Franke,

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[39] Vargas, et. al, *Una Historia en Imágenes,* (Antofagasta: Universidad de Chile, 1979), 95.
[40] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.1561/2, "Harbor Improvement at Arica, Chile," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to State Department, March 30, 1922.
[41] Ibid, "Report On Harbor Facilities at Iquique Chile," Consul Homer Brett to Department of State, August 22, 1922.

Julian & Cia, "as Arica lack[ed] good hotel accommodations."[42] The Franke Julian & Cia frequently worked with the Chilean government and possessed offices in Santiago, Valparaiso, Tacna and Arica. This Chilean company greatly "benefited from contracts from the Chilean state to build roads, public buildings, irrigation systems and so on."[43] In addition to the tourist hotel in Arica, which provided "modern equipment with spacious lounging and social rooms," the firm constructed a large frame hotel for 250 guests for plebiscitary voters inside the recently reinforced Velasquez Barracks for the artillery regiment. The hotel was completed in time for the Tacna-Arica arbitration commission composed of the Chileans and Americans. Besides the hotel in the barracks, the renovation of the residence for the governor of Arica, as well as the dwellings "to be occupied by General Pershing and the principal American and Chilean plebiscitary officials" were finished at this time.

Government involvement in Arica included the purchase of the light company in Arica in the middle of 1925 for one million pesos, which was previously owned by Alumbrado Electrico de Arica. Subsequently the Chilean government renovated and improved the establishment, as two months prior to the plebiscite the plant broke down. Since that time the government ran the light company "in conjunction with the railroad shops of the government owned Arica – La Paz Railway." The railway company owned the newly constructed pier that used electric cranes so the "idea of assuming charge of the city lighting seems very feasible." In spite of the substantial growth during this period the other town of the province, Tacna, saw little improvement. Franke Julian & Co. built a new frame hotel for 500 guests for the Chilean voters during plebiscite, despite the fact that Tacna experienced a 50 percent decrease in population; originally 20,000 had resided in the city. In addition to these improvements in the region, a new radio station was built by an English-American firm in 1925 and was deemed "a great importance for the district." The structure was built quickly for the plebiscite period August 2, 1925 and had a capability of reaching Santiago.[44] Despite the lack of development in the city of Tacna, this did not undermine its role in the advancement of the region, as the Chilean government attempted to bring the small villages of the Arica-Tacna area within closer proximity to the state.

The city of Tacna is located approximately forty miles away from the Port of Arica by railroad in the Province of Tacna. Roughly thirty miles northeast "in a direct line" of the city situated in an irrigated valley one could find the town of Tarata, which was only accessible by "a pack mule trail." This "trail" traversed 56 kilometers and could only accommodate "two wheeled wagons." Yet the importance of the new road, as dictated by Consul Egmont C. Von Tresckow, "will be … practicable for autos."[45] Tarata's population consisted of approximately 1,100 inhabitants, who were all considered farmers. The town could be found in a rural setting that covered an area of 6,032 square kilometers and located high in the mountains, estimated to be located at 3,052 meters above sea level. Thus, Tarata found itself surrounded by mountains ranging "from 4,200 to 5,500 meters above sea level and encircling the former department in the shape of horseshoe whose open ends face the Northwest mountain chains of only 2,500 to 3,500 meters above the sea."

Several factors contributed to the construction of the road in the region. First one must take into consideration not only the poor accessibility to Tacna, but that the town of Tarata was within eight kilometers of the Sama River, the border with Peru (Fig. 14). The local inhabitants, rather than

[42] Ibid, 825.15/9 "Improvements in the Province of Tacna," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Index Bureau Department of State, April 26, 1926.
[43] William E. Skuban, *Lines in the Sand; Nationalism and Identity on the Peruvian-Chilean Frontier* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 272FN.
[44] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.15/9 "Improvements in the Province of Tacna," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, April 26, 1926.
[45] Ibid, 825.154/2, "Construction of Public Road Tacna to Tarata, Chile," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, March 24, 1922.

traverse the dangerous path to Tacna, where many fell to their death, traded in large part with Peruvians. The road would then enable these precious commodities to be sent to the center of the province of Tacna for trade with Chileans, and to stimulate agricultural development in the territory. The sentiment by von Tresckow revolved around the idea that if Tarata began to send produce to Tacna, then with the increased demand in city center the farmers of Tarata would increase the productivity of their region.[46] This is imperative "since the Norte Grande possessed practically no agricultural resources, and nearly all the inhabitants lived in villages or smaller localities with no possibilities for producing their own food, the whole population depended almost entirely on supplies from outside."[47]

Figure 14: Map of Peru and Bolivia, Sama River[48]

In addition to the road to Tarata, the Chilean government agreed to terms with the Franke Julian y Cia to construct a road to the town of Putre. Similar to Tarata, the people of Putre traveled along a "mountain trail … at great danger to life and limb, so that the produce of the irrigated land around Putre cannot be marketed." It was suggested that the road would benefit the locals greatly. The new proposal proposed the "new mule trail" would measure three meters wide. Construction was to be conducted by roughly one hundred men

from the southern nitrate region in 1923.[49] The newly designed road for Putre could plausibly accommodate an automobile. One should take this into consideration as in Tarata "the [new] road will also serve as a military highway as it renders the Tarata section accessible to artillery and wagon trains or trucks."

Consul von Tresckow reported on December 1, 1923 the completion of the new road from Tacna to Tarata, which covered a distance of slightly over one hundred kilometers and was conducted by Franke Julian & Cia. The Intendente (governor) of the province, the governor of the Department of Arica, and other civil officials inaugurated the road with a march by the provincial brigade garrisoned at Tacna. Despite the steep grades the march by brigade from Tacna to Tarueache, 70 km from Tacna, without incident. This is of importance as two points were known for their danger, and this was at the highest points at 25 and 60 km posts. However, due Chief Engineer Don Eleodor Ramos' familiarity with the region it enabled him to devise a more than appropriate plan to ensure a safe route. Following the ceremonial opening of the new road, trucks, autos, and artillery arrived in Tarata, this was the first time the town had seen mechanized vehicles. According to Consul von Tresckow, the Aymara Indians "regarded them with awe and apprehension." Additionally, the new road "was to be solely for equestrians and pack mules," but the Chilean government altered the plans for the region. In addition to the military and for the purposes agricultural development of Tacna, the road provided the opportunity to connect "Taratanians into

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[46] Ibid, 825.154/9, "Completion of Road from Tacna to Tarata, Province of Tacna," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, December 1, 1923.

[47] Cariola and Sunkel, "The Growth of the Nitrate Industry," 151.

[48] Fifer, "A Desert Frontier in Transition," 508. This map helps to demonstrate the location of the Sama River in regard to Tacna, thus providing an approximation of the town Tarata. The map illustrates contemporary boundaries, as prior to the Treaty of Lima of 1929 Chile considered the Sama River to be the boundary as puportedly dictated by the Treaty of Ancón of 1883.

[49] NAUS, RG59, M5144, reel 15, 825.154/3, "Construction Work in Tacna Province," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Division of Latin American Affairs Department of State, May 24, 1922.

closer touch with the outside world."[50]

Conclusion

This narrative provides the details on the material aspect of the enhancement of ports and construction of roads in the norte grande. Primarily, this is the perspective of the United States on the increased advancement of infrastructure in northern Chile. But to better comprehend the magnitude of "large capital investment; the displacement of a considerable number of people; the building of broad infrastructure of railroads, telegraph services, and urban and port facilities; the expansion of housing in the nitrate area and on the coast,"[51] we must take into consideration the viewpoints of Bolivia and Peru to the modernization of region. Due to the limited resources in the United States, and time constraints, it was highly implausible to provide the stance of said countries, as well as the many laborers who contributed to the expansion of ports and roads. As I move forward in my research during my PhD, access to additional resources in the National Archives in Chile, Bolivia, and Peru will only enhance the human aspect and political implications of this piece, while at the same time demonstrating the impact of the mass movement people and its subsequent influence on the customs and cultures of the inhabitants of the area.

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[50] Ibid, 825.154/9, "Completion of Road from Tacna to Tarata, Province of Tacna," Consul Egmont C. von Tresckow to Department of State, December 1, 1923. Consul Tresckow does not refer to the Aymara directly, however, in William E. Skuban's work, the author highlights that the people of the Tacna area are Aymara.
[51] Cariola and Sunkel, "The Growth of the Nitrate Industry," 140.

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He's Just a Man: Power imbalance between female and male characters in American sitcoms

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ABSTRACT:

This paper describes the occurrence and context of dismissive, condescending, and infantilizing linguistic behavior as used by female characters toward male characters in stable heterosexual partnerships portrayed in American entertainment television. This study is based on grounded theory, in that the initial interpretive framework for the analysis stemmed from preliminary data gathered in the study; this working framework directed the analytical approach during subsequent data processing, and was then further developed in response to the overall findings. The methodology used in this study is discourse analysis, an applied linguistic method of studying small units of spoken and written language, such as sentences or individual words, within the larger context of a conversation. In the sample examined in this study, a conversation comprises an exchange of pre-written conversational dialogue in a televised scene. This study examines sitcom interactions between fictional spouses to determine how frequently and in what contexts power-imbalanced exchanges occur. For the purpose of exploring possible ways in which relational power imbalances have been absorbed into American popular culture, the discourse data is drawn from three American sitcoms broadcast during prime time from open-access channels: *Modern Family*, *How I Met Your Mother*, and *Rules of Engagement*. Such interactions within this data sample are individually coded, and discussion of the findings focuses on the extent to which they reinforce gender stereotypes which rely on power imbalance.

I. INTRODUCTION

The initial idea for this project took shape around a series of cursory observations I made while recreationally watching sitcom reruns on television in 2010—a seemingly innocuous beginning to a formal study of gender interaction in entertainment media. As a person who rarely watches television, the behavior I began to notice struck me as remarkably negative, and I wondered if these were just random occurrences or if they might follow some sort of pattern. The impetus for organizing that curiosity into a more formal linguistic inquiry, and indeed the primary motivation for my commitment to this project, stems from a desire to contribute new knowledge that may aid in the ongoing effort to improve gender relations and establish new relational paradigms based on genuine equality.

In this study, the skill set and academic perspective I bring to bear on my research question primarily stem from an evolving interest in critical applied linguistics, a subdiscipline which is by its very nature interdisciplinary. This approach to analyzing language takes the basic tenets of applied linguistics beyond the descriptive study of language use, to the level of identifying elements that are socially problematic and examining possible alternatives that would mediate the resulting social problems. More specifically, the analytical approach utilized in this study is that of critical discourse analysis as described by Van Dijk (2001):

> Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (p. 352)

In this study of gender interaction, I have chosen to focus on female linguistic behaviors popularized in entertainment media, through which women are characterized as establishing power over men—*characterized* being the operative word. In this context, I would argue that the kinds of behaviors examined in this study are not only ineffective at redressing gender inequality, but in fact reinforce women's disempowerment while at the same time hurting their partners. Generally speaking, people initiate romantic relationships with the goal of maintaining happiness and emotional safety, for themselves if not also for their partners. The underlying question, then, is

concerned with what we as viewers are taking in, and how television images may be informing our beliefs about appropriate ways of relating to people we love.

As a woman who has come of age in an era during which the conversation around feminism has taken many different turns simultaneously, I find the question of how men and women are to engage in healthy intimacy with each other to be a complicated one in spite of all the discussion, both popular and academic. Given my objectives as a critical researcher, it is both appropriate and necessary to acknowledge that I am included in the group whose behavior I am examining. In the above-referenced article, Van Dijk (2001) characterizes this kind of "explicit awareness of [one's] role in society" as being "crucial for critical discourse analysts" (p. 352). Accordingly, I should also acknowledge that my social role is less conventionally heteronormative than those presented in this sample. While my personal history with intimate relationships does include heterosexual marriage, it also includes significant non-marital romantic relationships with both women and men, and many friendships with individuals who identify as transgender or genderqueer. The issues of equality and respect that lie at the heart of this project are important to everyone at every point on the gender and sexuality continuum; however, due to its limitations on time and funding, this project focuses solely on heterosexual relationships as depicted in a modest sample of popular entertainment media.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

As observed by Mille and McIlvenny (2000), "It has often been pointed out that traditional linguistics has usually been conducted by men, for men, and about men, with men's language practices as the invisible norm by which we measure language use"—a practice which has often led to the implication that women's language choices, rather than men's, ought to change (p. 20-21).

While this analysis is focused on female linguistic behaviors, its element of cultural critique necessitates that I acknowledge this male-normative tradition in linguistic research. Again, concerns around women's self-empowerment are essential to this study; although it is true that my explicit position is to recommend alternative behaviors, I am not pointing to male behavior as a source of such alternatives. While it is common, and appropriately so, for both popular and academic texts to problematize men's double-standards and disrespectful behavior toward women, there is less formal discussion around similar treatment of men by women, and how this may at times contribute to women's difficulties in achieving true gender equality.

When introducing such a topic, it becomes particularly important to acknowledge the frequency with which women are blamed for the very behaviors used to deprive them of dignity and well-being. Whether or not women's responses of pain and frustration ever actually culminate in problematic behavior, those responses are often characterized as the cause of subsequent (or even the initial) abuse and disempowerment. This pattern of deflection and blaming is starkly exemplified in a 2009 study of Japanese television advice programs. In the transcribed conversations, female adultery is unilaterally condemned, while male adultery is expressed linguistically in terms of illness, minimizing men's responsibility for their own behavior and instead focusing on the behavior of their female partners (Saft & Ohara, 2009).

Nevertheless, without dismissing the impact of such insults to intelligence and dignity, I would assert that it is in a woman's best interest to be aware of the kind of power she is gaining or maintaining, and to be able to judge whether it is a positive form of personal power or merely the kind of hierarchal power that comes at another's expense. While one might argue that any method of reclaiming power is positive when one is at a disadvantage, Glick et al. (2004) report that their "16-nation study involving 8,360 participants revealed that hostile and benevolent [sexist] attitudes toward men, assessed by the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (P Glick & S. T. Fiske, 1996), were… negatively correlated with gender equality in cross-national comparisons" (p. 713).

In keeping with Mille and McIlvenny's (2000) statement about how studies of men's linguistic behavior have become the standard for comparison, a media study based on social role theory describes how "gender stereotypes posit that men represent the ideal or norm against which women are judged" (Lauzen, Dozier, & Horan, 2008, p. 201). Thus, women engaging in hostile or sexist discourse strategies could potentially be seen as engaging in a kind of role-reversal, in which they adopt stereotypically male strategies for establishing and maintaining power over others. However, as feminist psychiatrist Jean Baker Miller (2003) points out, situational reversals in power dynamics between individuals do nothing to change the broader institutional structures that create and maintain inequality (p. 147).

As sociolinguist Deborah Tannen (1994) states in the very first sentence of her book *Gender & Discourse*, "[e]ntering the arena of research on gender is like stepping into a maelstrom" (p. 3). As she goes on to elaborate, questions of gender "touch people where they live," and in finding answers, the corresponding academic dialogue crosses disciplines in such a way that the discussion itself becomes "a kind of cross-cultural communication" (p. 3).

Accordingly, I have approached this project with a sense of realism about the number of academic disciplines that intersect in a critical analysis that is not only concerned with language use, but also with gender relations and the role of media. If Tannen's assessment of the nature of this discussion is taken to heart, what is needed first and foremost in communicating cross-culturally is commonality of language. To begin establishing this commonality, I will first clarify my use of the word *equality*. By this, I am referring to the human rights principle of *substantive equality* (equality of results) established by the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), described in further detail by Facio and Morgan (2009, p. 2). Also, for the purpose of clarifying the foundational objective of this paper, I will offer the reader some insight into my decision to use the words *patriarchy* and *patriarchal* rather than *tradition* or *traditional* in my analysis of gender roles and gendered behavior. This choice was guided by my growing familiarity with the work of radical feminist writer bell hooks, whose assessment of the power dynamics at play in patriarchal structures is deeply relevant to this study.

Indeed, hooks (2004) addresses the difference between these two language choices quite directly, critiquing the work of numerous writers who explore the crisis of masculinity experienced by boys and men through the more socially palatable descriptor of *tradition*, while leaving the structural influence of patriarchal values largely unexamined (p. 36-41). Interestingly, hooks discusses this trend most thoroughly in the work of writers she admires. In her final example, the work of therapist Terrence Real, she is more explicit about why his language choice is problematic: "Again, Real uses the word 'traditional' rather than 'patriarchal.' Yet traditions are rarely hard to change. What has been all but impossible to change is widespread cultural patriarchal propaganda" (p. 41).

At this point, the question that may naturally arise is how this discussion becomes relevant to a study of female linguistic behavior. What is significant in the above critique is that, not only does patriarchal structure go deeper than tradition, it is primarily concerned with ways of maintaining power over others. Thus, in essence, the possession of patriarchal power is necessarily dependent upon disempowerment of others. As hooks (2000) puts it, "[t]he privilege of power is at the heart of patriarchal thinking," and she describes a pattern of power struggle in which love cannot flourish, in which males and females in relationship are more concerned with being "powerful, in control, on top—being right" (p. 152). It is this desire for control that comes to the forefront of relational behavior when these power dynamics are at play. In her discussion, hooks goes on to characterize these dynamics in the sense of partners being forced to choose between the options of "one-up and one-down," with partners locked in a "struggle for domination" (p. 153). It is this struggle that I refer to in my use of the term *power imbalance*. The state of having power over another is necessarily dependent on the other person being in the "one-down" position, a relational dynamic in which mutual empowerment and genuine equality become impossible.

This study's findings demonstrate some ways in which language can be used to establish power in individual relationships with others. However, even when this effort is situationally successful, it remains relevant to keep in mind the broader structural dynamics of patriarchy and how this system continues to maintain women's "one-down" to men's "one-up" position in the larger structural scheme of social status and power. Within the context of heterosexual partnership, the need for women and men to act in solidarity and move away from this "dominator model" is one that hooks (2004) brings to the forefront of her cultural critique:

> We need to highlight the role women play in perpetuating and sustaining patriarchal culture so that we will recognize patriarchy as a system women and men support equally, even if men receive more rewards from that system. Dismantling and changing patriarchal culture is work that men and women must do together. (p. 24)

This visionary feminist goal of solidarity and mutuality is foundational to this study. However, even as I claim this, I also offer the awareness that focusing exclusively on these dynamics within heterosexual relationships may inadvertently serve to reinforce the dominant paradigm of the gender binary and the attending notion of sex differences as being "opposite." In her study of "Sex and Gender Differences in Variation," Penelope Eckert (1989) discusses the difference between the easily-definable categories of sex and the more complex social construction of gender, pointing out the tendency of past sociolinguistic research to present sex as a pair of oppositional categories (p. 250-251). Although Eckert's study is concerned with sound change rather than word choice or attitudinal stance, suggesting different implications for that area of research, her challenge to the notion of male-female sex differences as "opposite" is an equally relevant consideration for critical discourse analysis. Specifically, she points out that "[w]henever one sees sex differences in language, there is nothing to suggest that it is not power that is at issue rather than gender per se" (p. 256). In essence, the notion of gender opposites is a paradigm that both depends on and serves to reinforce patriarchal gender stereotypes. In this context, acting to obtain power from within an oppositional relational model is arguably more likely to reinforce inequality than to eradicate it.

While both the motivations and the effects surrounding power-imbalanced discourse strategies are bound to differ depending on who is using them, in the context of intimacy, the effects are in all cases likely to be negative and to cause some degree of distress to the target. This is the primary social issue with which this study engages, using discourse analysis to examine these patterns of disrespect and distress. As Pennycook (2001, p. 798) points out, "over-emphasis on discourse" is a potential weakness of this approach, one which I will attempt to minimize through qualitative discussion of the context surrounding quantified aspects of the discourse.

In order to lay the groundwork for a proper description of the immediate context, I must first draw upon the broader context of how sitcoms characterize people according to patriarchal roles of gender and class. Sociologist Richard Butsch (2011) provides a detailed analytical overview of this media tradition in his 2005 article, "Five Decades and Three Hundred Sitcoms About Class and Gender." In it, he paints a compelling picture of the ways that working-class men's masculinity has historically been undermined in sitcoms, through depictions which were largely dependent on their wives appearing more intelligent, competent, and socially appropriate. Together, these depictions served to reinforce the patriarchal superiority of upper and middle class men by distorting and trivializing the struggles of real working-class men. "Failing as men confirmed the appropriateness of their class status," Butsch says of these characters, "especially when compared to the middle-class TV husbands of the time" (p. 463).

What becomes particularly interesting, then, is that all three men appearing in this study are not only middle class, but arguably *upper* middle class. Each has a four-year college degree, a professional job, and an attractive home in an expensive neighborhood. Nevertheless, two out of

the three, Phil and Jeff, bear a striking resemblance to the above-described depictions of working-class men. Phil is presented as a well-meaning, emasculated bumbler who never gets around to fixing anything, and Jeff frequently appears crude, romantically hopeless, and lacking in material taste. While Butsch (2011) acknowledges that sitcom characterizations have shifted over the past few decades, he maintains that middle class male sitcom characters tend to be depicted as professionally successful, and with their masculinity intact (p. 475). This is a mold into which Phil, particularly in Season 2, does not fit. For me, the question that immediately arises is, what aspect of patriarchal structure is this devalued middle class status serving to uphold? As Mille and McIlvenny (2008) put it, "the basic social roles assigned to female and male characters by storytellers are tremendously important contributors to the construction and maintenance of gender stereotypes," and "contribute to viewer expectations and beliefs about gender" (p. 201-202). This is a topic I will revisit in the discussion section.

For the purposes of this paper, I find it useful to bear in mind the assignment process for these social roles, and to maintain a sense of curiosity as to how writers, directors, and producers may use their creative and institutional power to deliver these particular characterizations. The behaviors analyzed in this study, while on the surface appearing to place the female character in a position of greater power, in fact do nothing to genuinely challenge or dismantle patriarchal male privilege, and instead serve only to compromise the quality of the relationship. I assert that such an outcome is not in any way beneficial to women. Whether or not these portrayals are of any benefit to men is a matter of perspective, as further described in the conclusions section. However, the primary concern of this paper is empowerment of women, which calls for a challenge to the manner in which they are depicted in popular media, particularly in this sample.

III. METHODOLOGY

The data described in this study are drawn from a total of six episodes from the 2010-2011 season, and were collected with the goal of determining how frequently and in what contexts power-imbalanced exchanges would occur, specifically within the primary categories of Dismissive, Condescending, and Infantilizing language used by the female characters. In order to simplify the content for the purposes of comparison through discourse analysis, the sitcoms were chosen according to the following criteria: sitcoms broadcast from open-access networks, airing an active season following a full 2010-2011 season, with ensemble casts representing at least one stable heterosexual partnership. I found just three sitcoms that matched all of these criteria: *Modern Family*, *How I Met Your Mother*, and *Rules of Engagement*.

As mentioned in the introduction, the quantitative portion of the study examines selected portions of the dialogue using discourse analysis, which is an applied linguistic method of studying "how sentences in spoken and written language form larger meaningful units such as paragraphs, conversations, interviews, etc" (Richards, Platt, & Weber, 1985, p. 84). The selected portions of dialogue focus largely on interactions between the following characters: Phil and Claire Dunphy (*Modern Family*), Lily Aldrin and Marshall Eriksen (*How I Met Your Mother*), and Jeff and Audrey Bingham (*Rules of Engagement*). For the purpose of maintaining consistency when drawing comparisons across the entire sample, all figures in the tables presenting quantitative data consist exclusively of coded interactions from these three relationships. In examples where the surrounding context of each sitcom warrants more complex discussion, the qualitative analysis expands from this foundation of interactional coding and examines the relational dynamics from a broader perspective.

The initial step in data-gathering consisted of watching the full 2010-2011 season of each program, with the assumption that each would contain episodes representing a relational power imbalance in which the female character seems to hold greater power. When this hypothesis proved to be correct, two episodes (21-22 minutes each) were selected from each program, in which the same

two characters interacted consistently, and which contained female linguistic behavior appearing to represent power imbalance. Drawing from this sample of six episodes (Bays & Thomas, 2010a; Bays & Thomas, 2010b; Hertz & Haukom, 2010; Levitan, 2010; Wass, 2011; Wrubel, 2010), the raw data consist of self-produced transcriptions, representing verbal and non-verbal communication within each scene in which the partnered characters exchange spoken dialogue.

While I did consider searching for existing transcripts and subsequently editing for discrepancies between those texts and the actual spoken dialogue, it turned out to be much more fruitful to start from scratch, transcribe the dialogue as I initially heard it, check and refine each transcription, then cross-check any remaining ambiguities against closed captions or scripts provided online. This allowed for interaction with the spoken dialogue in a detailed way, including the occasional puzzling over what exactly was said by a character. Each of the six transcriptions represents approximately four hours of work, including three full viewings of each episode and multiple detailed viewings to check for completeness, accuracy, and the inclusion of information related to situational context that would assist in coding. Given the number of times it became necessary to go back over each interaction to make sure all the verbal and non-verbal communication was correctly and completely represented, this encouraged me to record the use of haptics (defined here as environmental or prop-related interactions that influence a characters' actions and/or another characters' reactions to them) and subtleties in non-verbal communication that likely would have been overlooked in fewer or more passive viewings.

In keeping with this experience of being immersed in the content and to some degree reaching an "interpretive rendering from the inside" (Charmaz, 2004, p. 980), the gradually unfolding process for gathering and interpreting this data evolved through the tenets of grounded theory as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Additionally, it addressed the need for balance between naturalistic inquiry and trustworthiness criteria (Guba, 1981, p. 79) by defining some aspects of the research objectives and methods ahead of time (the three primary categories and the goals of establishing both their frequency and context), and allowing others to emerge through active engagement with the data. Apart from the aspects described ahead of time, the research question was continually refined during the course of data gathering, and expanded to match what was actually in the sample rather than what was expected. The coding system was developed as an outgrowth of prior undergraduate work in discourse analysis, with the particulars of code generation, data reduction, and data organization primarily informed by guidance from faculty mentors and by Miles & Huberman (1984, p. 58-70). After the main coding categories were derived from the three primary behavior types presented in the initial research question (Dismissive, Condescending, and Infantilizing), each subsequent element of the coding system presented in Table 1 was drawn from the preliminary findings. The initial step in preparing this coding system consisted of transcribing a single episode from each sitcom, according to the above-described process.

After the initial data was collected and a foundational outline of dialogue coding categories was created (see Table 1), I produced the remaining transcripts and used these data to inform the final changes to the dialogue coding system (see Appendix A). In order to ensure the creation of sufficient categories for coding, I created several drafts of the coding schema, consulting my mentors at various steps for guidance on how to establish complete, fully operationalized definitions and how to properly address trustworthiness criteria. In order to establish face validity, I consulted three experienced linguistic professionals in the development of the final coding system, expanding my outline from the basic coding categories shown in Table 1 to the three-page system of operationalized definitions and detailed criteria shown in Appendix A.

Once the coding system was finalized, the next task was to identify which portions of the sample warranted quantitative analysis. The first step in preparing the transcripts for coding was to highlight portions of the communication by the female character that appeared to represent an attempt to gain, regain, or maintain an advantageous power position through one of the three

behaviors represented in Table 1. I used criteria consisting of three primary coding categories (Dismissive, Condescending, and Infantilizing), and each primary category contains four subcategories describing aspects of the context and manner of delivery, as described in Table 1. Each of these compound codes was assigned to items in the highlighted sample according to the detailed definitions presented in the final dialogue coding system presented in Appendix A.

In choosing the preliminary definitions presented in Table 1, the goal was to approximate the kinds of folk definitions that an average viewer might bring to her private viewing experience. Thus, the primary source became the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter referred to as OED), with primary category definitions limited to the elements of each OED definition which appeared to best represent negative interpersonal relations within an intimate partnership. Conversely, for the purpose of creating an operationalized coding system that could be used by subsequent coders, the expanded definitions found in Appendix A were drawn from the sample data itself. These specific distinctions were added with the intention of making the initial definitions more concrete and differentiating intuitive or personalized definitions (including my own) from those that could remain consistent and generalizable across the entire sample.

Table 1: Dialogue Coding Categories

DISMISSIVE
dismiss – pertinent OED definitions:
4. To deprive or disappoint *of* or *from* some advantage
6. To discard, reject: *esp.*(as Latin *dimittere*) to put away, repudiate (a wife).
      (*repudiate*):   1a. To cast off, disown (a person or thing previously claimed as
                  one's own or associated with oneself)
                  1b. Of a man: to divorce, dismiss, or reject (a wife or bride)

DISM-DIR   Dismissive discourse spoken directly to the target
DISM-IND1   Dismissive discourse spoken as an aside in target's presence
DISM-IND2a   Dismissive discourse spoken to a second person in target's presence
DISM-IND2b   Dismissive discourse spoken to a second person in target's absence

CONDESCENDING
condescend (OED):
I. To come down voluntarily.
      1. To come down, go down, descend.
      2. To come or bend down, so far as a particular action is concerned, from one's position of
         dignity or pride; to stoop voluntarily and graciously; to deign:
            a. *to do* something.
            b. *to* a course or action.

COND-DIR   Condescending discourse spoken directly to the target
COND-IND1   Condescending discourse spoken as an aside in target's presence
COND-IND2a   Condescending discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's presence
COND-IND2b   Condescending discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's absence

INFANTILIZING
infantilize (OED):
            trans. To treat (a person) inappropriately or condescendingly like an infant
                or young child; *spec*. to encourage infantile behaviour in (a person)
                by doing this.

INF-DIR   Infantilizing discourse spoken directly to the target
INF-IND1   Infantilizing discourse spoken as an aside in target's presence
INF-IND2a   Infantilizing discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's presence
INF-IND2b   Infantilizing discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's absence

Expanding on the above categories, the further-specified definitions in Appendix A were designed to enable a second coder to code some of my data. In fact, I had originally planned to have a second coder code at least ten percent of the sample data so that I could assess the reliability of the coding system. However, upon comparing the results of this co-coded subsample (which was attempted after only a short training and practice session), there were some inconsistencies between coders. It was clear that extensive coder training and greater familiarity with the coding criteria would be necessary for increased reliability. Since the amount of time required was beyond the scope of this study, I ultimately decided to forgo the intercoder reliability check. However, this is an important area for future work, so I have included the initial results and a discussion of them in Appendix B. Despite the discrepancies discussed there, my own coding was based on a detailed familiarity with the episodes and context that was inaccessible to the second coder. Additionally, my repeated coding of the data was instructive in the sense that it allowed me to continually evaluate the differences between my intuitive notions about the category terms and the actual criteria that had evolved from the episodes themselves. This repeated process of careful comparison provided some insight to the interpretive challenges potentially experienced by the co-coder, and enabled me to maintain consistency within my own coding.

Given the variety of opinions across and within disciplines in which discourse analysis is practiced, there appears to be no definitive answer as to when coding is appropriate and useful, and when it merely turns human interactions into numerical abstractions. As pointed out by Mille & McIlvenny (2000), academics in both the fields of sociolinguistics and gender studies "have increasingly argued the importance of context, of situated interactions over abstractions; they have demonstrated the need for multidimensional and dynamic instead of unidimensional and unidirectional analyses" (p. 2). With that in mind, this paper presents the coding results largely as a starting point for the qualitative discussion, inviting the reader to use them not only as a referent for understanding behavioral occurrences across the entire sample, but also as a representation of the perspectives and approach utilized by the researcher in the qualitative discussion.

IV. FINDINGS

As shown in Table 2, the results across the entire sample showed the greatest number of items in the Condescending category, followed by Dismissive and then Infantilizing. The favored delivery method was Direct (spoken directly to target), followed by Indirect 1 (spoken as an aside in target's presence).

Table 2: Occurrence of power-imbalanced behaviors across sample
(Percentages rounded to nearest whole percentage point.)

_____

By type:
Total behaviors	**109**	
Dismissive	46	(42%)
Condescending	59	(54%)
Infantilizing	4	(4%)

_____

By delivery:
Total behaviors	**109**	
-Direct	92	(84%)
-Indirect 1	13	(12%)
-Indirect 2a	1	(1%)
-Indirect 2b	3	(3%)

_____

Table 3: Distribution of delivery type within behavior category

(Percentages rounded to nearest whole percentage point.)

Total behaviors	109	% of category	% of total
Dismissive	46		
-Direct	36	78%	**33%**
-Indirect 1	9	20%	**8%**
-Indirect 2a	1	2%	**1%**
-Indirect 2b	0	0	**0**
Condescending	59		
-Direct	53	90%	**49%**
-Indirect 1	4	7%	**4%**
-Indirect 2a	0	0	**0**
-Indirect 2b	2	3%	**2%**
Infantilizing	4		
-Direct	3	75%	**3%**
-Indirect 1	0	0	**0**
-Indirect 2a	0	0	**0**
-Indirect 2b	1	25%	**1%**

When comparing the sitcoms to each other (see Tables 4 and 5), the category ranking is the same, but there was quite a disparity between characters in terms of frequency. Audrey from *Rules of Engagement* ranks highest by a considerable margin, contributing 51% of the items in the entire data sample. *Modern Family's* Claire comes in second with 35%, and Lily from *How I Met Your Mother* ranks last, with only 14%. Given that each of the episodes differs in running time by less than one minute, this is a rather remarkable difference. In more specific terms, Audrey engages most frequently in Condescending behavior, closely followed by Dismissive, and occasionally engages in Infantilizing behavior. Claire also employs Condescending behavior most often, but Dismissive follows by a wider margin, and Infantilizing behavior is last but constitutes a slightly higher percentage of her overall behavior than it does for Audrey. Lily also employs Condescending behavior most often, followed by Dismissive, but does not engage in any Infantilizing behavior.

Table 4: Occurrences within primary behavior categories by sitcom

(Percentages rounded to nearest whole percentage point.)

Total behaviors:	109	
Rules of Engagement:	56 (51%)	Distinct features
Dismissive	25 (45%)	- disowning
Condescending	29 (52%)	- sexual rejection
Infantilizing	2 (4%)	- IND2b appears
Modern Family:	38 (35%)	
Dismissive	15 (39%)	- no sexual rejection
Condescending	21 (55%)	in sample
Infantilizing	2 (5%)	- no IND2 in sample
How I Met Your Mother:	15 (14%)	
Dismissive	6 (40%)	- sexual rejection
Condescending	9 (60%)	- no IND2 in sample
Infantilizing	0	- no INF in sample

Table 5: Occurrences within primary behavior categories by sitcom and delivery type
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Behavior Category & Delivery Type	*Rules of Engagement*		*Modern Family*		*How I Met Your Mother*	
Total behaviors		**56**		**38**		**15**
Dismissive		25 (45%)		15 (39%)		6 (40%)
-Direct	(8, 9)	17	(9, 4)	13	(4, 2)	6
-Indirect 1	(3, 4)	7	(1, 1)	2		0
-Indirect 2a	(1, 0)	1		0		0
-Indirect 2b		0		0		0
Condescending		29 (52%)		21 (55%)		9 (60%)
-Direct	(8, 19)	27	(9, 8)	17	(6, 3)	9
-Indirect 1		0	(2, 2)	4		0
-Indirect 2a		0		0		0
-Indirect 2b	(0, 2)	2		0		0
Infantilizing		2 (4%)		2 (5%)		0 (0)
-Direct	(1, 0)	1	(0, 2)	2		0
-Indirect 1		0		0		0
-Indirect 2a		0		0		0
-Indirect 2b	(0, 1)	1		0		0

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(Percentages rounded to nearest whole percentage point. Numerals separated by commas inside parentheses
 represent the number of items found for that sitcom in the first and second episodes in the sample.)

Table 5 shows the breakdown of specific behaviors and the manner of delivery within each sitcom. As shown here and also in Table 3, Direct delivery is strongly preferred, followed in almost all cases by Indirect 1 (spoken as an aside in target's presence). The rather marked exception to this pattern is an exchange between Audrey and her co-workers in *Rules of Engagement*, so different from the other items in the sample that at first I overlooked it. It constitutes a particularly interesting portion of these results, containing the only three occurrences of the Indirect 2b (spoken to a third party in target's absence) manner of delivery, as well as the only instance of indirect Infantilizing.

V. DISCUSSION

Taking a closer look at some specifics, it becomes relevant once again to revisit the underlying beliefs about power that seem foundational to the presentation of these behaviors as normative. In the conclusion of the study by Glick et al. (2004), the authors state,

> these attitudes hold little promise for greater equality so long as the basis for
> hostility toward men is the belief that they will inevitably and naturally retain greater
> status and power and the basis for benevolence toward women is paternalistic
> solicitude toward the supposedly weaker sex. (p. 727)

When examining a scene between Phil and Claire Dunphy of *Modern Family* in the episode titled, "Unplugged," these assumptions about power become especially salient. The scene opens as follows:

> (Claire brings a plate of pancakes from the kitchen to the table, where the rest of the
> Dunphy family is seated, awaiting the food.)

Claire: 'K… (puts a pancake on Hailey's plate). Here you go...

(All other family members are seated at the table, using electronic gadgets.)

Claire: Guys, breakfast. Guys? (No response) Phil. (Smacks Phil on the forehead with open hand.) Hello.

Phil: (gradually looking up from his laptop) To-otally with you. Kids, put your dishes in the dishwasher.

Claire: OK, no. That's it. Everybody, gadgets down, now!

Hailey: Why are you freaking out?

Claire: Because you're all so involved with your little gizmos, nobody is even talking. Families are supposed to talk.

(Turns to Phil) And what are you doing that's so important?

<div align="right">(Levitan, 2010)</div>

In the non-verbal portion of her first exchange with Phil (coded as INF-DIR—Infantilizing, issued Directly to target), Claire smacks Phil on the forehead with an open hand to get his attention. She then proceeds to issue a directive to the entire family, ascribing a status to Phil that is equal to that of the children, who are also sitting at the breakfast table. This status is made explicit when she asks him, "And what are you doing that's so important?" She seems to be implying that his behavior is inappropriate and subject to interrogation—more specifically, that he must answer to her in defense of it.

There are several assumptions about power underlying this exchange, the most obvious one involving notions of physical power. The assumption here is that Claire's physical strength, at least in comparison to Phil's, is insufficient to cause him significant physical pain. However, if the roles were reversed, and Phil were to strike Claire in a similar manner, this behavior would seem highly inappropriate and unacceptable, regardless of her reaction. In the context of the above-referenced conclusion by Glick et al. (2004), what at first glance appears to be a power play by Claire (ostensibly a harmless one, given Phil's lack of pain reaction) is in fact merely a reinforcement of the patriarchal notion of the "weaker sex." If, on the other hand, the physical strike had elicited a visible pain response from Phil, this behavior would directly challenge gender-based notions of physical power, and, in so doing, would likely appear more inappropriate (as well as disconcerting) to the viewer. In this sense, it is the very contextual element that appears to depict Claire as being in control that in fact underscores her presumed lack of physical power.

The patriarchal notions embedded in the verbal elements of this exchange are more subtle. In addressing Phil within a group directive that also includes the children—"That's it. Everybody, gadgets down, now!"—Claire engages in Infantilizing behavior, apparently relegating Phil's familial status to that of a child. The presentation of this behavior as normative and inoffensive depends on the viewer's assumption that Claire (as a stay-at-home mom) is powerless to undermine the primary source of Phil's patriarchal power, which is his role as the family breadwinner. However, if Phil were to issue the same directive to Claire, this behavior would suddenly seem harsh and inappropriately parental, due to the imbalance of economic and social (read, *structural*) power.

This notion of a double-standard can be similarly applied to Claire's final question, "And what are you doing that's so important?" Were Phil to address Claire with the same question, the implied

subordination would stand out in stark relief because of his access to male privilege, both in terms of structural social power and his more direct power over Claire's financial well-being. This reversal, in turn, calls into question what is being accomplished by Claire's attempt to dominate Phil through language, and whether or not the power she seems to establish over him in the moment is real or illusory.

This brings us back to Butsch's (2011) description of working-class distortions presented through sitcoms in order to reinforce class privilege. In the scope of the above-described situation, I begin to wonder what aspect of patriarchal structure Phil's devalued upper middle class status is serving to uphold, and can only conclude that its job is to covertly perpetuate gender inequality by obscuring male privilege. The image it seems to present is that upper middle class White women have achieved a level of social power that is equal to or even greater than that of their husbands, even in families in which the division of labor is so clearly delineated by gender. Yet, closer examination exposes this as an illusion. As Eckert (1989) points out, "[w]hen social scientists say that women are more status conscious than men… they are stumbling on the fact that, deprived of power, women must satisfy themselves with status" (p. 256). However diminished Phil may appear to be in direct interaction with Claire, the institutional privileges that give him greater social status and power under patriarchy remain unchanged. Claire's effort to diminish his status in the immediate situation has an effect that, however successful, is limited to the family unit and does nothing to equalize the broader structural imbalance of material and social power. All that has shifted is the expectation that the viewing audience will condone Claire's controlling behavior, accepting these temporary gains in status as a reasonable substitute for genuine empowerment.

Nevertheless, observing Phil's lack of assertiveness and confidence over the course of the season raises the question of possible consequences to the relationship. Considering that Claire's depicted status as the smarter and more competent spouse necessarily depends on Phil's depiction as a bumbling dad might prompt one to question how this relationship could possibly be construed to represent gender equality. At the same time, there are a great many indications that Claire loves and values Phil, such as hand-holding, kissing, expressing empathy, and offering comfort. Also, especially in comparison with the sample episodes from the other two sitcoms, a noteworthy element of this relationship is the complete absence of sexual rejection within the sample.

In *Rules of Engagement*, a casual viewing of the sample episodes offers a superficial impression of egalitarianism, due in large part to the glib one-liners that the principal characters frequently exchange. However, the dynamic of these exchanges is generally oppositional, and is largely based on gendered stereotypes. Audrey's character reflects notions of women as being impulsive, indecisive, and irrational, while Jeff's version of maleness is characterized as boorish, sex-obsessed, and insensitive. More importantly with regard to the discourse, Jeff rarely gets the last word and is frequently the target of ridicule and rejection. However, many of the ways in which Audrey appears to be exerting greater power in the relationship are in fact based on a subtly-embedded yet deeply disempowering subtext, which suggests that women cannot expect to be satisfied and fulfilled in a typical marriage. Consequently, her situational power over Jeff is maintained through the destructive and ever-present threat of her eventually becoming dissatisfied enough to leave him.

In the episode "Handy Man," Audrey engages in disowning language within the first few minutes ("…just do it cause I asked you to, and I'm your wife—for now"). This behavioral choice is one I would naturally expect to see challenged if Jeff had expressed a similar sentiment toward Audrey, for reasons similar to the above-described power imbalance between Phil and Claire. Instead, Jeff expresses interest in sex, which Audrey declines due to her plans to go out with a group of female friends. However, instead of expressing her disinterest respectfully, she ridicules him—first for expressing interest in sex at an inopportune time, and then for his way of expressing it:

Audrey:	(laughs) Great read on the situation, honey. (Pats him on the chest.) I gotta go.
Jeff:	Augh… come on, you said you didn't even want to go to this thing, stay home. We'll go a few rounds.
Audrey:	Oh, Mr. Shakespeare. You and your love sonnets.
Jeff:	It's part your fault for getting all dolled up and looking so hot.
Audrey:	(Tone softens) Mm… that was really sweet.
Jeff:	(smiles) Not as sweet as—
Audrey:	(Tone rises) No, no, let-lemme leave on that one. (Exits, goes down in the elevator, stumbles on the way into the lobby.)

<div align="right">(Hertz & Haukom, 2010)</div>

When Audrey returns a few minutes later due to a broken shoe, she in turn expresses interest in sex, which Jeff declines, admitting that he has masturbated during the few minutes she was out. Audrey responds in the following manner, again expressing disapproval of Jeff's behavior:

Audrey:	(smiling) Seriously?
Jeff:	Yeah.
Audrey:	(laughing slightly) In the time it took me to take the elevator to the lobby and back?
Jeff:	Yeah.
Audrey:	That was maybe three minutes.

<div align="right">(Hertz & Haukom, 2010)</div>

A noteworthy element of this scene is the fact that Jeff's reason for declining sex is challenged and scrutinized, while Audrey's is not. The initial impression might be that Audrey has the right to expect sexual gratification when she initiates sex, but Jeff does not. However, a closer look at the overall context of this episode yields a somewhat different picture.

While on the surface Audrey may seem to have greater power in this scene, the sexual frustration thread that continues throughout the episode is seemingly based on a two-part assumption: first, that a married woman is dependent upon her husband for pleasure, and, secondly, that once he has satisfied his own immediate sexual needs, he will be either unable or unwilling to satisfy hers. In this catch-22 scenario, the logical conclusion is that Audrey can expect to go unsatisfied much of the time, which is exactly what happens in this episode. However, instead of being assertive and asking for her needs to be met, in the moment Audrey expresses only disapproval and bewilderment, then later issues an Infantilizing comment to a co-worker in Jeff's absence, commenting that she ought to give him "sandpaper mittens" (Hertz & Haukom, 2010), the implication being that they would serve as punishment for (or perhaps prevention of) masturbation. The remaining exchanges between Audrey and Jeff revolve around mismatches in

timing or interest, in which Jeff gets sexual gratification and Audrey is deprived of it—even after they finally manage to engage in mutual sex.

When Jeff acknowledges that the long-awaited encounter was over "a little… quicker .. than maybe I would have liked, or .. perhaps .. *you* would have liked," Audrey initially denies her lack of satisfaction: "Come on, Jeff, it was great." When Jeff presses the issue, offering to "take [Audrey] for another spin," she laughs slightly, then indicates that she has already pleasured herself to make up for the unsatisfying sexual encounter (Hertz & Haukom, 2010). While this could be interpreted as an indication that Audrey is finally asserting her power, that interpretation seems questionable in context. Audrey's manner of delivery (in communicating the fact that she has masturbated) closely mimics Jeff's earlier manner of expressing the same message, which seems to give her version a vengeful spin. In this light, her choice to masturbate could appear to be less about her own pleasure than about proving a point to Jeff. Either way, the resulting impression still reinforces the message that Audrey cannot reasonably expect a mutually fulfilling sexual encounter with her husband. Past this point, any effort to determine the relationship between this message and Audrey's repeated sexual rejection of Jeff becomes something of a chicken-egg question, which could be fully explored only in a thorough study of all seasons of this show.

In *How I Met Your Mother*, Lily engages in power-imbalanced behaviors far less frequently than Audrey does, but sexual dynamics and rejection still play a prominent role. Despite the relatively small number of highlighted behaviors, with only a minority of those being assigned specifically to the Dismissive category based on overt sexual rejection, many of these behaviors involve Lily issuing criticism of Marshall, relating either to sexual need or sexual expression. In one such example, when Marshall is expressing the difficulty of going without sex or masturbation for two weeks, Lily replies, "I have read .. eleven books on conception. I .. have cut out alcohol, caffeine, and sugar…. but .. [gestures outward with hands] good for you for not playing with yourself!" (Bays & Thomas, 2010b). Several others occur within scenes in which Marshall's sexual gratification is being somehow denied or delayed, as illustrated in the following exchange, in which Lily uses sexual manipulation in an effort to get Marshall to establish better boundaries with his father and maintain privacy around their attempts to conceive a child.

> Lily: So, call him [Marshall's father] and tell him we decided not to have a baby.
>
> Marshall: (Eyes wide, exhaling in abrupt wheezing laughter) Ho-hoho… Okay, so you just… You want me to give my dad a stroke?
>
> Lily: (Mimicking Marshall's laugh) Ho-ho .. ho—Only if you want to give *this* (gesturing toward her body) a stroke!

> (Bays & Thomas, 2010b)

In another instance, a peripheral detail of Marshall's sexual expression is criticized: "Oh, baby. No, no .. not the slipper socks with the rubber soles! I work so hard to-to set the mood, a-and when I see those, I feel the egg go (makes slurping sound)… right back up my Fallopian tube" (Bays & Thomas, 2010a).

Again, on the surface, these behaviors might appear to be an expression of greater power on Lily's part, at least until one considers a possible assumption contained within these behavioral choices. For instance, Marshall's reaction to Lily's cleavage moments after the "stroke" comment suggests the notion that her body holds a great deal of power over his desire: "Aughh! I can't think straight! .. Why do you have to wear that shirt?" (Bays & Thomas, 2010b). Thus, the situational influence of this assumed power is clear; however, the frequency with which Lily attempts to exert this power in the broader context of the season would suggest that sexual attractiveness is her

primary source of power. More to the point, this constitutes an indirect and relatively fragile form of power, as it is necessarily dependent on Marshall's response. This dependence places Lily in a position that is camouflaged as dominating, yet is actually still subordinate.

What becomes most salient about this is that, in terms of Lily's needs and desires being met, Marshall does not seem any more responsive to these manipulative behaviors than he is to simple requests. In fact, he often intuits her needs and perspectives. Within the above-described episode, Marshall comes to the conclusion on his own that his father may be too "enthusiastic" about the details of other people's lives (Bays & Thomas, 2010b). Within this sample, there does not appear to be any reward for Lily's sexual rejection of Marshall, which highlights the possibility that her behavior is merely a reflection of ambivalent stereotypes about female sexual power. Indeed, after Marshall's epiphany, without any assurance that he will do what she has asked, Lily takes Marshall's hand and leads him upstairs toward their apartment, suggesting that they will have sex after all. Here, as in most of the other scenarios in which conflict arises between Marshall and Lily, the problem is resolved within a single episode rather than being part of an ongoing thread of tension within the relationship, in contrast to the other two sitcoms.

In considering the gendered stereotypes that appear to be reflected in these examples, the element of authorship and gender representation within production teams naturally comes up. Although past studies have been unable to track a strong correlation between female decision-makers in television and the ways in which women are portrayed, some connection between the presence of female executive producers and "powerful language" used by women has been suggested (Scharrer, 2001, p. 25). While this study does focus on female language use and notions of power, the way in which the language was analyzed does not allow for any direct comparisons with Scharrer's assertion. However, when considering the relative presence or absence of power-imbalanced behaviors, an interesting picture emerges. The credits for both *Rules of Engagement* and *Modern Family* list exclusively male directors, primary writers, and executive producers. By contrast, the two episodes from *How I Met Your Mother*, although written by a male team, have a female director, who is also one of the executive producers. While this sample is far too narrow to warrant any broader generalizations about the greater population of sitcoms, both presence and ascending power position of female production team members appear to have a negative correlation with the frequency of power-imbalanced female behavior in the sample episodes.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

While both the introduction and discussion of this paper have examined in detail the detriment to women constituted by the promotion of these behaviors, a question still remains: What's in it for the guys? In terms of serving the personal needs and desires of the husbands depicted in these episodes, the answer appears to be, *nothing*. Neither the needs of women nor men are being met or even mediated by these behaviors. The sole benefit produced by these behaviors appears to be ideological, which merely points out the fallacy of the ideology in question. These behaviors, which both depend on and reinforce patriarchal stereotypes, serve only to maintain the power imbalance that supports male privilege, rather than increasing female power and encouraging egalitarian relationships.

In pursuit of answers to these questions, I found the approach of grounded theory to be highly effective in determining the best way to interact with the data. It enabled me to create a coding system that was appropriate to the actual content of the episodes, creating a strong quantitative foundation to support a structured and meaningful qualitative analysis. The subtle messages embedded in these sample episodes suggest a pattern of relational imprinting that warrants deeper examination in future language research. Despite the narrow scope of this particular study, its contribution to the broader conversation around gender and language is perhaps best measured by

how its findings suggest possible directions for future researchers who are concerned with using applied linguistics in mediating social problems, as well as by the way it has galvanized my commitment to those common goals.

VII. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As previously mentioned, by virtue of its time and funding constraints, the scope of this research project is quite narrow. Specifically, it is limited to six American sitcom episodes, to three heterosexual relationships, and to female behavior. Additionally, my own inexperience as a researcher is in many ways a limitation; however, the experience gained over the course of this project has provided invaluable insight into improving the design and scope of future research endeavors, and additionally demonstrated the need for similar research to continue.

The potential choices for future expansion of this study could go in several directions, including reality television and commercials. If further inquiry into the quantitative analysis is desired, I feel that the most efficient way to build on this research in the immediate future would be to refine and build upon the existing database with further analysis and comparison with an additional sample, which could be accomplished with a modest amount of time and additional funding. In the first phase, I would propose revisiting the initial data sample to improve intercoder reliability, then performing a similar analysis of male characters' behavior within the same sample. As in this study, an analysis based on grounded theory would necessitate the data itself dictating the specific coding categories for male behavior. However, as a first step toward a compelling comparison with this study, I feel it would be useful to initially code the male behavior with the same coding system used to analyze the female behavior. After this initial comparison was complete, a new coding system would be created from the male behavior, and ultimately applied to the female behavior as well to complete both sides of the comparison.

On a much broader level, once the coding process was refined, it could be valuable to assess the potential progress within media depictions of relationships by comparing this database with three of the older shows that initially prompted my interest in this topic: *Everybody Loves Raymond*, *King of Queens*, and *Malcolm in the Middle*. On the other hand, even at this level, the data sample would remain very limited in terms of racial and cultural representation, as the vast majority of characters in all six of the shows are White. That alone should suggest that the patriarchal underpinnings of these depictions are upholding more than just gender privilege, and prompt further research into the underrepresentation of people of color in domestic comedy. For a researcher with a strong background in ethnic studies or racial theory, comparisons between shows depicting families among varying racial strata might be more appropriate. Ultimately, I would suggest adding survey data, and possibly some personal interview data, to assess the quality of interaction viewers have with these programs, and the ways in which they do or do not identify with these on-screen depictions of relational power imbalance.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix A

Dialogue Coding System

Category 1:   DISMISSIVE

dismiss (v.) – pertinent OED definitions:
4. To deprive or disappoint *of* or *from* some advantage
6. To discard, reject: *esp.*(as Latin *dimittere*) to put away, repudiate (a wife).
("Dismiss," 2012)

-repudiate (v.):1a. To cast off, disown (a person or thing previously claimed as one's own or associated with oneself)
1b. Of a man: to divorce, dismiss, or reject (a wife or bride)
("Repudiate," 2012)

Operationalized Definition:
   Any language which appears to express <u>any</u> **or** <u>all</u> of the following intentions on the part of the speaker:

> • *expressing disinterest* in the target's opinions, questions, needs, or desires
>   (target's desires may be for certain experiences, behaviors, or things)
> • *ignoring* the target's opinions, questions, needs, or desires
> • *sexual rejection* of the target by the speaker
> • *disowning* of the target as spouse in the moment of the utterance
> • *replacing* the target's suggestions, opinions, or desires with those of the speaker without negotiating this exchange of power

   (**All 3 categories** may include the following characteristics)
   • intention indicated by either verbal or nonverbal aspects of communication
   • any change in or combination of word choice, enunciation, pitch, tone, or nonverbal communication that is distinct from the speaker's normal communication, or changes the meaning of the language used
   • a directly observable contrast between what the speaker says and what the speaker illustrates non-verbally

Codes in this category:

DISM-DIR   Dismissive discourse spoken directly to the target
DISM-IND1   Dismissive discourse spoken as an aside in target's presence
DISM-IND2a   Dismissive discourse spoken to a second person in target's presence
DISM-IND2b   Dismissive discourse spoken to a second person in target's absence

Appendix A (cont.)

Category 2: CONDESCENDING

condescend (v.) – pertinent OED definitions:
I. To come down voluntarily.
      1. To come down, go down, descend.
      2. To come or bend down, so far as a particular action is concerned, from one's
         position of dignity or pride; to stoop voluntarily and graciously; to deign:
            c. *to do* something.
            d. *to* a course or action.   ("Condescend," 2012)

Operationalized Definition:
    Any language which appears to express <u>any</u> **or** <u>all</u> of the following intentions on the part of the
    speaker:

> •   directly or indirectly *ascribing a status* to the target as lower than that of the speaker
> •   *criticizing the target* in terms of immediate behavior, habitual behavior, appearance, or
>   speech, with the implication that it is inferior to that of the speaker
> •   any condescending behavior which demonstrates power imbalance that *normally occurs*
>   *between two adults*

    (**All 3 categories** may include the following characteristics)
•   intention indicated by either verbal or nonverbal aspects of communication
•   any change in or combination of word choice, enunciation, pitch, tone, or nonverbal
    communication that is distinct from the speaker's normal communication, or changes the
    meaning of the language used
•   a directly observable contrast between what the speaker says and what the speaker
    illustrates non-verbally

Codes in this category:

COND-DIR   Condescending discourse spoken directly to the target
COND-IND1   Condescending discourse spoken as an aside in target's presence
COND-IND2a Condescending discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's
              presence
COND-IND2b Condescending discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's
              absence

Appendix A (cont.)

Category 3: INFANTILIZING

infantilize(v.) – pertinent OED definitions:
      trans. To treat (a person) inappropriately or condescendingly like an infant
           or young child; *spec.* to encourage infantile behaviour in (a person)
           by doing this.   ("Infantilize," 2012)

Operationalized Definition:
    Any language which appears to express <u>any</u> **or** <u>all</u> of the following intentions on the part of the speaker:

> - directly or indirectly *ascribing a status* to the target as lower than that of the speaker
> - *criticizing the target*'s immediate behavior, habitual behavior, appearance, or speech, with the implication that it is inferior to that of the speaker
> - any condescending behavior which demonstrates only those types of power imbalance that *would normally occur between an adult and a child*
> - encouragement of the target to behave like a child, or to embrace, submit to, or allow the experience of *relating to the speaker as if the target were a child*

    (**All 3 categories** may include the following characteristics)
- intention indicated by either verbal or nonverbal aspects of communication
- any change in or combination of word choice, enunciation, pitch, tone, or nonverbal communication that is distinct from the speaker's normal communication, or changes the meaning of the language used
- a directly observable contrast between what the speaker says and what the speaker illustrates non-verbally

Codes in this category:

INF-DIR   Infantilizing discourse spoken directly to the target
INF-IND1   Infantilizing discourse spoken as an aside in target's presence
INF-IND2a Infantilizing discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's
                presence
INF-IND2b Infantilizing discourse spoken to a second person or group in target's
                absence

Preliminary Intercoder Reliability Discussion

As mentioned in the Methodology section, Tables 6 and 7 represent a remarkable disparity between the primary and second coders' application of the coding system. Thus, my effort to establish reliability through the inclusion of a second coder was unsuccessful. However, while there is little agreement across primary behavior categories, there is a high level of agreement across subcategories. In fact, only one item was subcategorized by the second coder under a different manner of delivery, and given the strict definitions of those subcategories, it appears to be a simple error. Additionally, all of the second coder's comments were related to rationale in choosing a certain category, or referred to ambiguity in interpretation of specific items. None of the coded items was argued as being anything other than an attempt to gain or maintain power, despite disagreement about the best single-word label for each behavior. This in itself is intriguing, and suggests that, while quantitative data may useful in identifying patterns when subjected to more rigorous tests of reliability, the inclusion of qualitative analysis is essential to understanding the power dynamics in this particular sample.

Table 6: Intercoder results for "Handy Man" episode, by category

(Percentages rounded to nearest whole percentage point.)

	Coder 1	Coder 2
Total behaviors coded:	**32**	**32**
Dismissive	13 (41%)	14 (44%)
Direct	9	11
Indirect 1	4	3
Indirect 2a	0	0
Indirect 2b	0	0
Condescending	19 (59%)	12 (38%)
Direct	19	12
Indirect 1	0	0
Indirect 2a	0	0
Indirect 2b	0	0
Infantilizing	0 (0)	6 (19%)
Direct	0	6
Indirect 1	0	1
Indirect 2a	0	0
Indirect 2b	0	0

Appendix B (cont.)

Table 7: Intercoder agreement for "Handy Man" episode

	Items by Coder 1	Items coded identically	Agreement
Total:	32	18	**56%**
Dismissive	13	9	45%
Direct	9	7	80%
Indirect 1	4	2	50%
Indirect 2a	0	0	(100%)
Indirect 2b	0	0	(100%)
Condescending	19	9	47%
Direct	19	9	47%
Indirect 1	0	0	(100%)
Indirect 2a	0	0	(100%)
Indirect 2b	0	0	(100%)
Infantilizing	0	6	0
Direct	0	6	0
Indirect 1	0	1	0
Indirect 2a	0	0	(100%)
Indirect 2b	0	0	(100%)

(Percentages rounded to nearest whole point. Items in parentheses show agreement
  in cases where both coders chose not to designate any items to a category.)

While there is a limit to how much generalization can be drawn from such marked disagreement between coders, it is interesting that the Infantilizing category had essentially zero agreement when it actually contained co-coded items (figures marked at 100% in parentheses merely reflect agreement where both coders chose not to categorize any items). However, the three items in this episode that I initially overlooked due to their unusual situational context are not represented here, since it was no longer possible to co-code them when the error was discovered. Thus, since the sole purpose of these tables is intercoder comparison, the three instances of Indirect 2b delivery mentioned at the end of the findings section (including one in the Infantilizing category) have been omitted here. Though agreement between coders on manner of delivery is high, as mentioned above, it is impossible to say whether or not co-coding of the missing items might have slightly improved agreement in the Infantilizing category. This category was defined with the intention of specifically limiting it to behavior dynamics that could not be categorized as resembling anything other than adult-to-child types of power imbalance. However, it would appear based on the above results that the particulars of how adult-child interaction looks and sounds may be quite different for different people.

In assessing the problems I encountered, I see some possible solutions that would be practical in a study with a broader scope and timeline. After being confronted with initially unreliable intercoder results, I would have considered the results from that first effort to be a pilot sample, and excluded them altogether. I would have subsequently retrained the coder, using sample episodes from a different sitcom to allow for a second effort at both practice coding and formal coding comparison, repeating this process as needed until the results reached an acceptable level of reliability, and refining the coding system as needed to achieve this goal.

Against Metametaphysical Semanticism

by
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1. Meta-What?

Philosophers in recent years have been engaged in discussions regarding "meta-metaphysics", an alleged higher-order discipline, which, like "meta-epistemology" or "meta-ethics" seeks to analyze the inner workings and disputes within its object discipline. These areas have aimed at examining our understanding of knowledge and morality respectively, with meta-ethics being a study of the metaphysical and epistemological foundations of ethics, and meta-epistemology focusing on the limitations and aims of epistemology. Meta-metaphysics is also a study of the roots of its object discipline, and in practice this has been the epistemological and semantic foundations of metaphysics.

It will always be an open question which core assumptions from the object discipline are maintained in the formation of the meta-discipline and in the case of meta-metaphysics, this question is highly non-trivial. Much of the contemporary literature in meta-metaphysics has been devoted to *deflationist* arguments, which seek to undermine the legitimacy of metaphysics as a philosophical discipline. In this paper I will give a brief overview of meta-metaphysics and give an account of why the various philosophers believe such a field exists, or ought to exist. Then, I will discuss one particular approach in meta-metaphysical analysis as described by Eli Hirsch called s*emanticism* and how it purports to resolve the problems within traditional metaphysics. Finally, I will make the case that Hirsch's account utilizes first-order metaphysical assumptions in its argumentation and thus undermines its legitimacy as being part of an independent philosophical field.

2. The Need for Meta-Metaphysics

The idea of a meta-metaphysics can be seen largely as a response to first-order metaphysical disputes. For the purposes of this paper, I'll only be focusing on two of them. The first of these is the debate over *composition,* or whether or not particular aggregations of objects can collectively compose further objects. In this case, Theodore Sider believes that arrangements of automotive components such as engines, brake pads, gas cylinders and such can be said to collectively form a new thing called a "car", whereas Peter van Inwagen does not. [1] The positions in question here are reasonably straightforward, roughly corresponding to "affirmative" and "negative." Call the one who affirms the existence of cars a compositional *believer* and the one who denies it a compositional *nihilist*. A compositional believer will appeal to our commonsense intuitions about ontology in their diagnosis of the case of composition. Popular arguments in favor of compositional belief include the observation that we speak as though there are composite objects such as cars and refer to many objects as being "parts" of some greater whole.

A compositional nihilist may instead appeal to our intuitions regarding ontological parsimony and argue that it seems inconsistent to claim that certain configurations of objects result in composition, while other very similar ones do not. Additionally, even if one were to assume that composition *does,* in fact, occur in these specific circumstances, it would still be very difficult to make any direct inferences about the phenomenon of composition itself. Rather than attempt to resolve these complicated issues, the nihilist will instead opt to dismiss composition entirely and state that while there may be "automotive parts arranged car-wise" there are no separate objects called "cars." The other general metaphysical dispute I will invoke concerns *persistence* or whether individual objects can be said to exist through time. As with the dispute over composition, this debate also has two positions, *endurantism* and *perdurantism*. An endurantist will accept our ordinary intuitions about persistence and may argue that we refer to things as though they do persist through time and also predicate our entire systems of inheritance on the existence of unitary, enduring objects.

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[1] For the purposes of this illustration, let us assume that car parts are mereologically basic. .

Rather than countenance a single persisting object, a perdurantist will talk of objects being composed of a succession of *temporal parts* with each part existing at a given moment in time. Though this may not seem like an obvious move to make initially; the postulation of *perdurant objects* does help to deflect certain worries about identity, such as why one might still refer to a particular animal as *their* pet despite it having gradually replaced all of its constituent cells since the time of its birth. In such a case, "their pet" would not refer to their animal at a particular moment in time, but the totality of all of its temporal parts.

While this discussion has been restricted to only two examples, the above illustrations may still seem a trifle odd to those who are unfamiliar with them. These are long-standing debates which still have no consensus on how to resolve them. Given this, it may be appropriate to step back and ask precisely what is at stake here. Is either side correct? Beyond this, there is another interesting point to consider: does either discussion even *have* a right answer? These sorts of concerns form the backbone of meta-metaphysics.

3. Meta-Metaphysical Analysis

So how might one approach the issue of meta-metaphysics? One of the more common approaches is called *deflationism* and uses these sorts of epistemic stalemates present in traditional metaphysics as evidence that there is something wrong with the discipline as a whole. Much of the remainder of this paper will be an analysis of one specific argument of this persuasion authored by Eli Hirsch. First, however, it will be helpful to get a general feel for the current landscape in deflationist meta-metaphysics.

According to Karen Bennett, the most common anti-metaphysical sentiments can be boiled down into three relatively succinct positions: *epistemicism*, *semanticism*, and *anti-realism*.[2] The epistemicist will argue that although metaphysical disputes may have definite answers and that these answers may even be non-trivial, there is little reason to privilege any one viewpoint over another. The reasoning for this position follows trends discussed earlier, such as the competing sides each making equally plausible intuitive steps and accounting for failures made by the other. While worth mentioning and perhaps even promising to the surveying meta-metaphysician, this position will not be the main focus of my argument.

While epistemicism grants, more or less, complete legitimacy to the debates conducted on metaphysical issues thus far (they are just inconclusive), semanticism takes the more radical viewpoint that while the basic issues discussed under the umbrella of metaphysics may have determinate answers, the apparent disagreements between parties have been largely disagreement over language use rather than genuine metaphysical dispute. In other words, both parties agree on what the world is like, they merely differ on how it should be described. A fairly intuitive way to defend this view is to take a particular metaphysical dispute such as persistence and assess the conditions under which propositions from either side could come out true. For example, for the endurantist proposition "John is sitting in that chair" one would presumably check the physical space specified as being the referent of "that chair" and verify that the person seated there was the man called "John". However, if we were to verify the *perdurantist* proposition "a temporal part of John is sitting in that chair" the same truth-conditions would apply.[3] For a pair of apparently opposing positions to share truth-conditions ought to make an onlooker suspicious of there being a genuine distinction between them.

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[2] See Bennett, Karen "Composition, Colocation and Metaontology" (2005) pgs 39-42

[3] Endurant and perdurant objects have no sensible properties to distinguish one from the other

The third, and perhaps most radical of the deflationist arguments to be addressed here is anti-realism, which, unlike epistemicism and semanticism which both generally assume that metaphysical questions do have legitimate answers, contends that issues previously discussed lack determinate truth-values. While no definitive version of anti-realism exists, a species put forward by David Chalmers posits that truth-values to common metaphysical issues such as ontology are contextually-determined rather than being fixed and awaiting discovery.[4] As an example, consider what might happen to the truth-value of the proposition "numbers exist" if it were uttered by a mathematician as opposed to a professional wrestler. It would seem that the answers to some questions are *internal* to the particular domains of discourse under which they are posed, and thus that it might be improper to ask what their answer is in some sort of absolute sense.

So far we have looked at two different first-order metaphysical disputes, the seeming interminability of which have helped motivate higher-order meta-metaphysical discussions. We have also seen three permutations of these discussions, epistemicism, semanticism, and anti-realism and noted how they account for the lack of consensus among the philosophical community. For the remainder of this paper, I will be focusing on Hirsch's particular brand of deflationist meta-metaphysics and attempt to clarify why it cannot rightly be considered a separate endeavor from the first-order disputes it is attempting to be dismissive of.

4. The Idea of a "Verbal Dispute"

Much of what is intended by Hirsch's semanticist argument hinges on the idea of there being such things as "verbal disputes" over metaphysical issues, but what is intended by this? Consider a potential metaphysical dispute over whether a glass is a cup, an example which Hirsch uses.[5] It seems obvious that such a dispute would be, in some sense, a matter of mere word usage as there is nothing that necessitates that we call one by a particular name and not the other, but this is not the same thing as saying that there could not be, in principle, a right or wrong answer. For example, an individual assenting to the proposition "a glass is a cup" would face considerable resistance from their linguistic community, which would presumably agree that a glass is not a cup. So, in this instance, verbal dispute does not guarantee the absence of a determinate answer.

However, if we are to imagine a separate linguistic community supporting the claim that a glass is a cup, the dispute becomes far less cut-and-dry. In this scenario, is it possible that an entire linguistic community could be making some sort of verbal mistake? To deal with disputes such as this, Hirsch introduces what he calls "interpretive charity" which is essentially a philosophical benefit of the doubt; when interpreting the assertions of another individual during a dispute, one ought not to assume the other party is making egregious metaphysical errors, such as obvious perceptual mistakes or blatant logical inconsistencies.[6] For example, when applied to the dispute over whether a glass is a cup, it would seem uncharitable to assume that a believer in glass-cups retained the standard definition of "cup", as this would imply the belief that a drinking vessel made of glass was a drinking vessel not made of glass. Rather, it seems more reasonable that those participating in the debate simply mean different things by the words "glass" and "cup" with the believer in glass-cups possessing a broader definition of "cup" that includes vessels made of glass. Thus, instead of substantive metaphysical disputes forming over the ontologies of given objects, we merely have "alternative languages" or different ways of accounting for the same phenomena.[7]

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[4] See Chalmers, David "Ontological Anti-Realism" (2007) pgs 105-114

[5] See Hirsch, Eli "Physical-Object Ontology, Verbal Disputes, and Common Sense" (2005) pg. 69

[6] See Hirsch, Eli "Ontology and Alternative Languages" (2005) pgs. 238-244

[7] See Hirsch, Eli "Ontology and Alternative Languages" (2005) pg 233

So how do these alternative languages relate to the metaphysical viewpoints discussed earlier? According to Hirsch, disputes such as those over persistence and composition can *also* be regarded as disputes between languages with endurantists and perdurantists speaking their own variants of English (call them E-English and P-English for shorthand) and the compositional believers and nihilists doing the same (B-English and N-English). As evidence for this, Hirsch suggests that, as one is often able to do with natural languages, one could theoretically translate between metaphysical languages. For example, in attempting to bridge the gulf between speakers of B-English and N-English, who would disagree over the truth-value of the sentence "there is a table over there", one could describe the contentious issue in a metaphysically neutral language such that both sides *would* agree. In this specific example, although there is disagreement over whether there is anything in a particular spatiotemporal region that meets the standards for tablehood, both parties should agree that there is at least matter of a particular sort arranged in a particular way in that same region.[8] If it can be established that the senses of both parties report the same phenomenological data, then it would seem that the only possible disagreement could be over how they choose to describe what they see.

As presented, the notion of verbal dispute seems to be largely a matter of categorization; one linguistic community chooses to refer to a particular object by one name and another by an alternate name. While this offers up some idea of what a genuine verbal dispute might look like, it seems obvious that this cannot be the only qualification. To examine this a bit more closely, let us imagine another potential dispute over whether a whale is a fish, another example which Hirsch explicitly uses.[9] Again, we would have two separate linguistic communities each holding a different belief over the ontological status of a given entity, but is this issue a matter of mere linguistic choice? It seems not, for terms such as "whale" and "fish" are not mere verbal tags for inanimate objects as "glass" and "cup" are, but labels for naturally-occurring entities with long evolutionary heritages and distinguishing anatomical characteristics.[10] Thus, to call a whale a type of fish is actually to make a mistaken categorization and, consequently, this dispute cannot be considered verbal.[11] However, if we were to imagine a community aware of the physical differences between whales and what are traditionally referred to as fish that still chose to designate whales as fish, stating that, to them, "fish" simply means a creature of a certain shape that lives underwater, then the dispute *would* be verbal; both sides simply mean different things by the words that they use and are, again, simply speaking different languages.

So what can be said definitively about what qualifies a verbal dispute? As articulated above, a dispute can only be considered verbal if it occurs between two alternate languages, with the word "language" here standing for any number of adequate ways of reporting the same fundamental facts. When applying the principle of charity, this brings interpretation into the fold with Hirsch himself stating that a dispute may be considered merely verbal if each side can plausibly interpret the other as speaking the truth in their own language. In other words, if we are able to conclude that both sides agree on the fundamental facts of a given issue and/or are able to articulate their view in terms that the opposing viewpoint would agree with, we can then conclude that the dispute is merely a matter of words.

5. Are the Disputes Over Composition and Persistence Verbal?

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[8] An alternate explanation has been that disputants disagree over the quantifier "there is", but this seems much more plausible. See Sider, Theodore "Ontological Realism" (2009) pg 388
[8]

[9] See Hirsch, Eli "Physical Object Ontology, Verbal Disputes, and Common Sense" (2005) pg 74

[10] Saul Kripke would refer to these terms as designating "natural kinds"

[11] See Hirsch, Eli "Physical Object Ontology, Verbal Disputes, and Common Sense" (2005) pgs 74

With Hirsch's view on the table, a more careful analysis of the semanticist position can be made, as well as its relationship to the rest of first-order metaphysics. Firstly, it should be asked whether Hirsch's account of metaphysical dispute is adequate. As so described, Hirsch's claim that many ontological disputes are merely matters of choosing languages implies a sort of "all is said and done" stage of the sort described by David Lewis in which all salient points both for and against a particular position have been evaluated, thus allowing any third-party onlooker the option of merely weighing the relevant arguments against one another and picking their poison accordingly.[12] For example, according to Hirsch, the decision over whether to be a compositional believer or nihilist can only be reasonably made if one is aware of the various philosophical lineages of those positions.[13] Similar to how one cannot make a reasonable judgment over whether a whale is a type of fish without doing the requisite research on the biology of whales and historical use of the word "fish", one cannot rightly take a stand on the question of composition without having done the metaphysics involved in such a dispute and acquainted oneself with the relevant literature. This viewpoint itself implies a controversial view of metaphysics in the sense that it portrays first-order metaphysical labor as a largely complete endeavor with the majority of the remaining work simply being a rational consideration of one's options.

So is this an accurate representation of the interactions present in the literature? It is not; those actually engaged in metaphysical disputes do not regard their opponents as simply speaking unusual languages. Rather, they view them as having made actual, substantive *metaphysical* errors. Consider the dispute over composition and the two potential alternative languages that could be spoken by the disputants, B-English and N-English. While a speaker of B-English will assent to the proposition "if there are simples arranged tablewise, then there is a table" a speaker of N-English will not. Assuming that both parties are well-aware of the subtleties of the opposing positions, there could presumably be a point at which both B-English and N-English speakers acknowledge that they are each using separate languages to account for the same phenomena, i.e. "by my standards, if there are simples arranged tablewise, then there is a table, but by your standards if there are simples arranged tablewise, there is not a table", but would this admission resolve all apparent disagreement? It doesn't seem so, for a reasonable follow-up question could ask what, irrespective of standards, actually *is* the case. In other words, even though it is accepted by both parties that, according to the standards of a B-English speaker, when simples are arranged tablewise there will be a table, whether or not simples arranged tablewise *actually* compose a table will remain an open question.[14] Similarly, though speakers of P-English and E-English will agree that temporal parts exist under the standards of P-English and do not exist under E-English, there will still be no consensus on whether they *do* exist in any objective way. Given that one of the central goals of ontology is to separate what actually exists from what does not, it seems that even with Hirsch's argument in place, there will still be some deeper metaphysical worries which will go unaddressed.

One may (perhaps reasonably) claim that I am simply affirming here what Hirsch himself would deny, and that there *is* no further fact over whether simples arranged tablewise compose a table apart from the languages spoken by those involved in the dispute. However, Hirsch explicitly separates himself from his Carnapian roots by describing himself as an ontological *realist* and thus admits of a reality independent of description.[15]

While the above critique may not seem decisive on its own, it does lead into deeper, more complicated matters, namely that Hirsch may be mischaracterizing metaphysics. By likening the

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[12] See Lewis, David *Philosophical Papers, Volume 1* (1983) pg. x

[13] See Hirsch, Eli "Physical-Object Ontology, Verbal Disputes, and Common Sense" (2005) pgs 73-85

[14] See Chalmers, David "Ontological Anti-Realism" (2005) pg. 90

[15] See Hirsch, Eli "Ontology and Alternative Languages" (2005) pg. 231

disputes over composition and persistence to verbal or semantic disagreements, Hirsch is tacitly assuming that we learn metaphysical viewpoints in the same manner that we learn languages: as part of separate linguistic communities who simply come up with different ways of saying the same things. However, even from a cursory analysis one can find that this is not the case. Consider the response one might give if asked why they chose to call a particular eating utensil a "knife" compared to why they chose to subscribe to a particular metaphysical position, such as endurantism or perdurantism. While in the former case one is likely to reply that they were simply raised to refer to the specified utensil as a knife and continued to do so over the years for the sake of effective communication, the latter is the result of careful philosophical reflection and argumentation. What follows from this? The most direct implication seems to be that mature and nuanced metaphysical theories are not the sorts of things that one simply acquires out of custom, but are instead something that results from rational consideration and an evaluation of their relative strengths and weaknesses. If this were not the case, the fact of there being such contentious metaphysical disputes to begin with would be much more difficult to explain.

Hirsch's own notion of interpretive charity can be brought in here to help illustrate this divide; when comparing the languages of different cultures, we generally assume that those doing the speaking have good reasons for communicating as they do and are perfectly capable of describing the environment in their own respective ways. We assume this because we are able to observe the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors in these cultures and how they map onto the world around them. Thus, differences in word usages and general distinctions between objects can typically be resolved as simply being alternate descriptions of the same empirical phenomena. Metaphysical positions do not work like this; they are competing hypotheses of what the world is *actually* like rather than simply being different ways of talking about it. As such, charity cannot resolve all apparent conflicts between metaphysical languages as metaphysical languages typically posit entities over and above what is empirically obvious or otherwise a matter of basic perception.

This leads to a third and final criticism of Hirsch, which is as much a critique of deflationist meta-metaphysics in general as it is Hirsch particularly. As previously noted, one of Hirsch's criteria for classifying a dispute as being merely verbal is that the positions (languages) in question be intertranslatable i.e. that they could each be expressed in a common, metaphysically neutral language which either disputant could agree with. However, for this to be adequate grounds for dismissing an active dispute, each individual discussion would need to be self-contained and thus not connected to any other potential philosophical viewpoints the disputants might have. The problem here, of course, is that metaphysics seldom works this way; metaphysical viewpoints themselves are developed by individual metaphysicians and often for the purpose of forming more complete and consistent worldviews. As articulated by David Lewis, "One comes to philosophy already endowed with a stock of opinions. It is not the business of philosophy either to undermine or to justify these preexisting opinions, to any great extent, but only to try to discover ways of expanding them into an orderly system."[16] Thus, when evaluating metaphysical viewpoints, one is not faced with isolated aspects of metaphysics, but a series of tightly-woven, interconnected webs. Take, for example, the earlier disputes over composition and persistence: while each issue has two opposing viewpoints, the grounds for which one might find either side appealing in each discussion are quite similar (parsimony in the case of the compositional nihilist or endurantist, and preservation of commonsense intuitions in the case of the compositional believer or perdurantist).[17] While this may not seem like a particularly pressing issue on first glance, the upshot is that finding

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[16] Lewis, David *Counterfactuals* (1973) pg. 88

[17] Karen Bennett designates such arguments as being a matter of "low ontology" versus "high ontology", implying that there may actually be a smaller number of compound arguments active in first-order metaphysics, rather than a large number of basic arguments.

grounds for dismissing a single viewpoint or dispute without disturbing any of its ancillary positions becomes increasingly difficult.

Take, as an example, the relationship between perduratism, modality, and properties espoused by Lewis as part of his counterpart theory; according to him, individuals do not wholly exist at any one point in time, which connects to his belief that individuals can exist in multiple possible worlds, which, in turn, connects to his belief that properties can be shared by individuals across possible worlds.[18] In this case, the positions themselves and justifications that support them are all interconnected, casting doubt on the practicality of targeting disputes concerning a single one of them, and greater doubt on the likelihood that disputes between Lewis's view and other contenders would be "merely verbal" by Hirsch's lights. In such a scenario, one would not only need to translate between the basic metaphysical languages, such as E-English and P-English, but between the complete, holistic languages of which they are a part. To Hirsch's credit, though such a move may still be theoretically possible, the scope of his argument clearly is not tailored for work on such a large scale, and thus verbal dispute between holistic metaphysical systems seems unlikely.

6. Consequences for Semanticism

In review, there seem to be at least three major problems with Hirsch's semanticism:

1) Intertranslatability does not guarantee dissolution of all disagreement.
2) Metaphysics does not work like ordinary language, and thus metaphysical disputes appear to be more than mere linguistic choice.
3) Metaphysical viewpoints are often intimately related to one another as parts of larger philosophical wordviews, so individual disputes cannot easily be isolated for dismissal.

While each of these points can been seen as standard objections to a particular philosophical argument, they are also responses to specific metaphysical assumptions Hirsch uses as part of his overall position. For example, objection 2 is really a denial of the assumption that metaphysical viewpoints are learned like natural languages and objection 3 denies the assumption that particular disputes can be rejected irrespective of context or knowledge of where they fall within the worldviews of those who espouse them. Each of these is, in fact, a metaphysical or "world" claim at the first-order level, which is interesting as Hirsch's argument is framed as a second-order or "meta-metaphysical" view. Even with these things considered, the simple observation that first-order assumptions are utilized is not enough to draw any immediate conclusions about the meta-view. What is, however, is one further implication made by Hirsch's argument that results from the objections listed above.

In order for Hirsch's semanticism to work, both parties would need to agree on all fundamental facts of a given issue before choosing which metaphysical viewpoint to subscribe to. However, according to Karen Bennett, to simply assume that both parties agree on all facts isn't actually to make a neutral claim about the disputes in question, but to choose one side by default.[19] For example, although a compositional believer would agree that simples arranged tablewise compose a table and a compositional nihilist would not, to assume that both sides agree on the fundamentals (in this case, that there are only simples arranged tablewise) and merely choose different ways to describe the end product rather than actually having differing opinions on what is *metaphysically* the case is to assume compositional nihilism. Similarly, to say that endurantists and perdurantists agree that there "is matter arranged a certain way in that chair" and reduce the disagreement to language use rather than whether that "matter" is a single persisting object or

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[18] See Lewis, *On the Plurality of Worlds* (1986)

[19] See Bennett, Karen "Composition, Colocation, and Metaontology" (2005) pg. 54

single time slice of that object is to assume endurantism (saying that there is something in that chair without specifying that it is a part of something else denies perdurantism).

The implications of this are two-fold: firstly, if Hirsch is actually assuming the side of the compositional nihilists or endurantists, then that alone should suggest that these disputes aren't actually verbal; there is something which is metaphysically the case, or at the very least, something which Hirsch *believes* is metaphysically the case.[20] Secondly, if Hirsch is taking a stand on which side of these disputes is the correct (or more reasonable) one, then he's making a first-order metaphysical claim and thus his breed of semanticism isn't even a meta-metaphysical enterprise.

It may be argued that there aren't any strong reasons to object to the use of first-order methods and assumptions when forming a meta-discipline, but Hirsch isn't simply running neutral commentary on these first-order disputes. Rather, he's taking a deflationary stance attempting to make the case that such disputes should be dismissed as lacking substantive metaphysical disagreement.[21] To take a dismissive stance against metaphysics while simultaneously adopting many of the same tools and methods within traditional metaphysics *does* seem to represent a conflict of interests and, for the purposes that Hirsch intends, undermines the spirit of his argument.

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[20] These would qualify as positions in "low-ontology" according to Bennett.

[21] Both Karen Bennett and Peter Van Inwagen argue that first-order ontology should form the basis of meta-ontology.

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Mexico, Drug Trafficking Organizations, Realism, and Human Security

by
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Before traveling to Mexico, citizens of the United States are advised to check travel warnings for the country. Violence due to the war on drugs is causing people to be weary of visiting ruins from complex pre-Colombian cultures and enjoying the rich tourist industry Mexico provides. In place of cultural and economic highlights, it is now heavily associated with drug trafficking organizations and the violence associated with them. Much of this is due to the war on drugs, declared by President Felipe Calderon in 2006, which escalated the conflict between the state and the drug traffickers and drew increasing worldwide media attention to the issue. In light of these facts, we must question the strategy and effectiveness of Calderon's campaign and its effect on the global community's perceptions of the country. The theories of Realism and Human Security both offer insight on how Mexico is attempting to regain complete sovereignty over the nation and how the drug trafficking organizations are viewed on both national and international stages.

One of the major causes of the drug problem is the border Mexico shares with the United States. The border is both advantageous and detrimental; while it allows Mexico to receive aid and trade with the current world power, it is also a magnet for drug trafficking. While it allows for Mexico to receive aid and trade with the current world power, it is also a magnet for drug trafficking. Smuggling drugs across the United States – Mexico border is not a recent phenomenon. Illegal drug trades began during the United States' Civil War (1861-1865) when opiates came into popular use; since the war "…farmers in northwest Mexico had grown the opium poppies that satisfied part of this demand" (González, 72). The drug trade became big business during Prohibition (1917-1933) and it was at this time that smoking cannabis leaves was introduced by seasonal migrant farmers. Even later, Mexico also exported cocaine during the 1950's and 1960's to New York and Hollywood during the height of on-set filming (González, 72), during this time, however, Mexico's drug trade never made headlines as the drug traffickers kept their business low-key.

It wasn't until the advent of the Colombian drug trade in Central America that Mexico saw the rise of powerful cartels and a new and prominent position in the international drug trade. In the 1980's and 1990's the Cali and Medellín cartels of Colombia were the most feared and powerful in the world. Many of their routes were from Colombia through the Gulf of Mexico to Florida; Mexico was virtually nonexistent in the cocaine trade between Colombia and the United States. The drug trade from the 1940's to 1990's was relatively unknown to the public since the "…Mexican government…pursued what analysts have dubbed a 'live and let live' approach. This system [was] characterized by a working relationship between some Mexican authorities and drug lords" (González, 73). However, the lax relationship changed in 1984 when the Colombia-Florida route was shut down by the United States. Colombia then turned to Mexico to begin smuggling cocaine across the border. Within a few years, 80-90 percent of cocaine smuggled into the United States was through Mexico. As Colombia's drug trafficking organizations began to lose power due to military reinforcement from the United States, Mexico's largest drug trafficking organizations - the Gulf, Sinaloa, Juárez, and Tijuana, began their rise to power (Bonner, 35). The countries were beginning to see a shift in power between producers and distributers which would quickly put Mexico on the map of powerful drug trading countries.

The 1990's also introduced the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). NAFTA, which was implemented on January 1st, 1994, "…required the phasing out over 15 years of import tariffs and quotas that have partially shielded Mexican producers from competition from cheaper US food and feed grain. Tariffs on maize and beans, the country's most important staples, were scheduled for elimination by 2008" (McAfee, 150). Maize, which is one of Mexico's most predominate crops, was affected extensively; by 2004 NAFTA "…had driven 1.2 million farmers off the land" (Ross, 47) and Mexico "now imports 22% of its corn…from US growers" (47). These changes in economic policy were ironically almost directly responsible for massive growth of the cartels. Because NAFTA changed trade policies and phased out tariffs, many farms – which supported 13.7% of the work force at the time – became nonviable. Many people turned to the illegal drug trade in order to maintain financial stability and put food on the table. The government did little to prevent the

cartels' growth; "…the major trafficking organizations began reaping enormous profits from the cocaine trade. Mexico's one-party political system, which was dominated by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) for 70 years, permitted these major drug trafficking organizations to increase their influence and power" (Bonner, 35). Despite NAFTA's goal to improve the standard of living across all three nations, in reality its displacement of farmers and growing unemployment in the agricultural sector coincided with the growth of the drug cartels to make Mexico a center of illegal activity and increasing violence.

The Mexican government was forced to take action against the powerful, dangerous drug trafficking organizations it had inadvertently helped to create. In 2000, the National Action Party (PAN) took power from the PRI when Vincente Fox assumed office. Fox and his administration slowly shifted and reformed the relationship between government and drug trafficking organizations as he moved forces into Nuevo Laredo to combat the Zetas and Gulf organizations, who threatened to take over the city (Bonner, 35). With violence escalating "…Fox implemented an operation involving 1,500 federal police officers in Mexico-US border cities. In this context, the conflict intensified and started mutating into the bloody spectacle that Mexicans witness today" (González, 73). The next large step in Mexico's war on drug trafficking organizations came in December 2006, when Felipe Calderón was elected to office. Shortly after assuming the presidency he controversially began to use the military in the war on drugs which included "…a series of large-scale operations that by the end of 2008 had involved close to 40,000 troops and 5,000 federal police" (74). These actions were the first large-scale actions against the drug trafficking organizations.

The effects of these operations have been mixed. Violence escalated after 2006, "…an average of 10,000 organized crime related murders per year will have taken place in each year of [Calderón's] term if current projections hold" (Beittel, 1). Analysts say the violence signifies progress as the government's actions are "destabilizing the drug trafficking organizations and denying them access to areas in which they used to operate with complete impunity" (Bonner, 35). Increased pressure from the Mexican military has driven armed conflicts with cartels out of periodically violent regions into new areas. This is one of the reasons why many argue the drug trafficking organizations are winning the psychological war with increased violence (González, 75), despite quantitative evidence of the government's progress. For example, as of March 2012, "…Mexico had succeeded in capturing or killing 22 out of 37 of Mexico's most wanted drug traffickers identified by the Mexican government" (Beittel, 1). The level of violence in the country and the danger to Mexican citizens is such that an explanation of the military campaign that has escalated conflict is necessary in order for one to understand and support the war on drugs.

One way to justify the war on drugs in Mexico is by viewing it through the lens of Realism. Those who call themselves Realists generally "…view security as the key issue in international affairs. They often share a pessimistic view of both human nature and inevitability of war" (Smallman & Brown, 40). This may lead one to believe the Fox and Calderón are realists given that they started using military force in order to protect the security of the nation in a seemingly pessimistic manner against powerful drug trafficking organizations in an inevitable power struggle for the control of the nation. Realism supports Mexico's military campaign since states are morally obligated to protect their citizens from harm, including domestic threats. According to this philosophy, the Mexican government and administration was provoked by the drug trafficking organizations' violence and rise to power. In order to protect themselves, they were forced to deploy the military as a power play.

However, Realism is also "…a philosophy that puts national interests ahead of moral concerns" (Wolfowitz). In this case, the use of the military to attempt to evict the drug trafficking organizations from the country was the logical thing to do, despite moral concerns as evidenced by possible human rights violations. Furthermore, Realists argue that using the state military was necessary not only in Mexico, but in any nation "…undergoing bloody internal struggles in which the

objective is to gain control of whatever national machinery there is…" (Jervis, 981 - 982). For Mexico, control consisted of using the military in a strategic campaign to regain control of Mexico's security, economy, and to rid the country of corrupt administration and governance.

The military strategy that a Realist would approve of is providing results. Since Realist authors argue that "…globalization [has] not fundamentally changed security issues and that states remained the key actors in security affairs" (Smallman & Brown, 49) then the military's progress as they take action through permission and guidance of the state is to be expected. The strength of Realism can be witnessed across the United States – Mexico border where both countries are witnessing a decrease in violence and crime. The United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) recently reported that crime rates across the border have decreased from 2004 to 2011. From state to state, "Arizona saw the most significant decline, of 33 percent over the seven-year time period. Other decreases were seen in Texas (30 percent), California (26 percent), and New Mexico (eight percent from 2005 onward)" (Cawley). In the country of Mexico, Ciudad Juárez is transforming into the poster child of military and police force success. The border city was one of the greatest areas of drug violence, "[w]ith 3,097 homicides in 2010, Juárez was not only one of the most violent cities in the world, but its murder rate alone was on par with violence in Afghanistan, a country with an intense insurgency and counterinsurgency campaign" (Felbab-Brown, 8). The drug violence was clearly taking control of the city.

Ciudad Juárez once claimed the title of murder capital of the world but due to military strategy the city has recently seen a steep decline of homicide and other crimes such as extortion, carjackings, kidnapping, and theft. The declines began in March 2011 when Julian Leyzaola, a lieutenant colonel who came out of retirement, assumed the position of police chief in Ciudad Juárez and began using a confrontational method in which his police force arrested people involved in suspicious activities. While many criticize this method for infringing on human rights, Ciudad Juárez has moved from its peak of nearly 10 homicides a day in January 2011 (269 homicides total for the month) to only 26 homicides in January 2013 (Dudley). As the chief example, the Realist strategy of protecting a city with military force is proving successful with as Ciudad Juárez's declining murder rates show.

Furthermore, the Mexican public approves of the military strategy. According to Pew Research Center, "[i]n 2012, 80% in Mexico polled supported using the Mexican army to fight in the drug war" (Kohut, 1). Furthermore, 47% of Mexicans polled in 2012 believed the campaign against the drug trafficking organizations were making progress - a 2% increase from 2011. Concern for drug violence dropped from 77% to 75% over the same year (Kohut). These statistics convincingly demonstrate that the Mexican public believes the military strategy deployed by Calderón in 2006 is making progress – even if it has taken the majority of five years for progress to be noticeable.

On the other hand, Realism contains several weaknesses when applied to the war on drug trafficking organizations as well. Bonner, the Administrator of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration from 1990 to 1993 and Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection from 2001 to 2005, wrote "…the military is taking the lead in the war against the drug trafficking organizations. They are doing so out of sheer necessity, but it is a stopgap solution. The country desperately needs to reform and overhaul its hundreds of separate state and municipal police forces" (Bonner, 35). The reformation that Bonner calls for is primarily due to corruption and human rights violations concerning the military strategies and methods combating the drug trafficking organizations. Applying what some may consider an outdated philosophy to a changing, globalizing world will not battle the drug trafficking organizations properly. Mary Kaldor, a professor of Global Governance at the London School of Economics and Co-Director of LSE Global Governance states:

> Many people live in very insecure situations. They are insecure because they might
> be in the middle of a conflict, because of human rights violation, because of violent
> crime like drugs in Mexico City. I think the real problem today that there are large

parts of the world that are deeply, deeply insecure and yet our security capabilities which are based on military forces, conventional military forces, are completely ill adapted for dealing with these situations. (Kaldor)

The ability of Mexican citizens to feel safe in the current state of Mexico is impossible with a war on drugs occurring in their backyards.

One of the insecurities Kaldor refers to here is the human rights violations committed by military forces. For example, while Ciudad Juárez is a prime example of why Realism tactics are working to defeat the drug trafficking organizations, it is also a prime example of why Realism is outdated. A case study in Ciudad Juárez reveals human rights infractions in the story of Victor Ramon Longoria Carillo. Victor was an "identified suspect" who was said to be previously involved with a carjacking and containing illegal guns in the house. Police entered his house without a warrant, beat him while putting a bag over his head, and finally brought him to the police station where the beatings continued. However, the location of Victor's house was not near the carjacking and no illegal firearms were found (Dudley). Along with human rights, Victor's legal rights were broken as well; His house was searched and he was seized without warrant. On this topic, Kaldor states that military force is not using their power and privilege in the right method. Instead, the military should be "…about protecting people and protecting the law. At this moment, there's a huge problem in that military forces think they're fighting enemies when "actually, their job is protecting people and enforcing the law. We tend to focus on threats that involve enemies…this way on focusing on terrorism makes it worst. It doesn't help us" (Kaldor). The military needs to focus on the security of the country, which includes civilians that would otherwise have no protection from violence caused by turf wars amongst the drug trafficking organizations and other violence that has risen along with the war on drugs. The security of individuals includes an "…estimated 22,000 drug-related murders [that] have occurred since Calderón took office, with nearly 9,000 in 2009 alone" (Bonner, 35). The Realist-proposed military solution may prevent civilians from believing that reclaiming sovereignty of their country from the cartels is an achievable prospect. The war on drugs has resulted in increased casualties among citizens, including violations of their human and legal rights making citizens doubt progress and future success.

While Realism defends Mexico's military campaign against drug trafficking organizations problem, it also does not take into account the fact that the drug trafficking organizations are spreading their reign across the Mexican borders. While drug trafficking and smuggling over the Mexican – United States border has been part of the organizations business for nearly a century, Mexican drug trafficking organizations' routes expanding overseas is a new occurrence. For example, there was a recent discovery of the trade route from Mexico through the United States to Australia. A convicted man that was working for the Sinaloa cartel "…said that his organization would move millions of dollars from Australia to the US, use the funds to buy cocaine, then move it back to Australia. Individual A was later arrested by authorities and agreed to become an informant. He collaborated in the capture last year of Chicago-based Sinaloa Cartel collaborator, Jose Mares Barregan" (Pachico). This case contains the collaboration of three nations; Mexico as the providing country, Chicago serving as the transportation point, and Australia as the buyer. The evidence clearly points to the drug trafficking organizations being more than nation-state issues within the borders of Mexico. Furthermore,

The Illinois case serves as further indication of the increased role that Mexican cartels are playing in the international transshipment and distribution of cocaine. Mexico groups like the Sinaloa Cartel have now replaced Colombian criminal syndicates as the primary global distributors of cocaine, while the Colombian role now mainly consists of selling product to the Mexican groups. (Pachico)

With Colombia now replaced by Mexico, other nations receiving drugs from the Mexican cartels need to be involved in the fight on drugs as well – which

Where Realism seems to falter in justifying the military approach in human violation rights and not accounting for drug trafficking organizations expanding over the border, Human Security presents its strengths through accounting for protecting individuals in all aspects of the war on drugs. The Human Security theory can account for drug trafficking organizations expanding over the border and making contacts within other nations, including the United States, in order to make their transactions more efficient. The theory of Human Security "…relocates the referent of security away from the state and toward 'people' or 'individuals'" (Gómez, 385). In other words, the priority is no longer that of protecting the state from outside threats but instead it "…[stretches] both vertically and horizontally to include actors and threats that had been partially ignored by traditional approaches to the study of security" (385).

When analyzing the concepts of Human Security, the United Nation's Trust Fund for Human Security sets further standards in defining the theory and what it intends to accomplish. The fund requires that projects receiving money for projects must be people-centered and security issues must focus on populations that are endangered. This concept consists of people stating their security needs and being active in identifying their issues and adapting Human Security to the specific identified issue. Overall, the United Nation's Trust Fund for Human Security defined Human Security as "protection from above and empowerment from below" (389). Because Human Security prioritizes the desires of a population as problems are identified, it is more apt in handling the ideological framework of how to contain the Mexican drug trafficking organizations when it comes to their expansion across borders. Since the theory has the premise of shifting "…the security discussion away from an exclusive focus on states and toward the welfare of individual human beings" (Furtado, 405), individuals outside of Mexico and outside of the drug trafficking organizations are being affected by the criminal activity; it is not exclusive to those involved via the state, military, and drug trafficking organizations.

Mexico's relations with other nations, particularly the United States, are being greatly affected by the war on drugs. Since the United States is offering aid and assistance in the war, Mexico cannot consider itself the sole actor. According to Human Security, Mexico must consider how to better utilize their military campaign since "…the internal makeup of states has a huge effect on their external behavior" (Wolfowitz). Beittel notes that Mexicans are not the only ones who have been affected by the violence in Mexico seeing as

> U.S. citizens have also been victims of the security crisis in Mexico. In March 2010, three individuals connected to the U.S. consulate in Ciudad Juárez, two of them U.S. citizens, were killed by a gang working for one of the major DTOs operating in that city. In February 2011, two U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents were shot, one fatally, allegedly by Los Zetas, one of Mexico's most violent DTOs. In the U.S. Congress, these events have raised concerns about the stability of a strategic partner and neighbor. Congress is also concerned about the possibility of "spillover" violence along the U.S. border and further inland. (Beittel, Summary)

In other words, Mexico needs to focus on individual security since those who are being targeted are not only those involved in the war against drug trafficking organizations, but citizens from multiple nations as well. Further evidence supporting Human Security is observable in the unnecessary occupational hazards journalist face while working in Mexico. While the military may be attempting to eradicate and remove the drug trafficking organizations, they forget to protect those who need it most. Through the "[v]iolent crimes targeting journalists, and high levels of impunity for perpetrators of those crimes […]Mexico [is] ranked among the most dangerous places in the world to work as a journalist" (Beittel, 24). The violence against journalists goes as far as murder which "…often causes journalists to self-censor their work and news outlets to stop publishing or broadcasting stories on violent crime" (24). An approach that followed the guidelines of Human Security by protecting the individual, specifically in this case the journalist, would prevent these needless deaths and perhaps provide more accurate information about the drug cartels in the media. Protecting journalists through the Human Security theory's perspective could lead to more

information about drug trafficking organizations' patterns and whereabouts. In turn, the military could use the uncensored information to aid in drug eradication and to capture kingpins.

However, Human Security's views on violence among non-combatant populations – such as journalists and citizens – are not supported by statistics on the violence in Mexico. According to Kaldor the "…nation states are losing their monopoly of legitimate violence…[Those who believe in Human Security] don't think it can be reconstructed any long on a national basis. It has to be reconstructed at a global basis. That's why global governance is so critical" (Kaldor). Kaldor continues to argue that the only legitimate source of violence today is only that which is approved by the United Nations, as it represents the international community. Since the violence caused by the military involvement was not approved by the United Nations, one can begin to see a crack in the Human Security theory. Violence is one of the key issues that Human Security does not address, as "[t]he Mexican authorities maintained in July 2010 that more than 90% of the casualties (those who have died since President Calderón's crackdown in December 2006) were individuals involved with or linked in some way to the criminal activities of the DTOs" (Beittel, 22). The violence does affect those outside of the drug trade, such as journalists, civilians caught in the cross fire, and the occasional tourist. However, Mexico stands firm in the statement that the violence is primarily within the drug trafficking organizations or against the military and government, which is evidenced by statistics. Therefore the issue should be kept in a Realist stance and Mexico should continue to use their military campaign against the drug trafficking organizations.

Human security also does not account for the argument that Mexico's drug trafficking organizations should be solved by Mexico itself. As a Realist would argue, nation-states find themselves in the position of politicking to make alliances and power balances in order to survive. Although they may appear to be acting out of moral and ethical concerns, they are acting out of national interests – doing otherwise would be unrealistic (Smallman & Brown, 40). Although alliances are needed between nation-states are required in today's vastly globalized world, "…international politics becomes a survival system in which each state has the burden of looking after its own security and well-being. Even more than in the case of the individual, the ultimate value for the state is unprotected by legal institutions hence, the state must look for its own devices – war diplomacy, military alliances etc. – to protect itself" (Spegle, 86). In other words, while legal institutions may provide structure and guidelines, it is still a system of anarchy and the state must continue to be vigilant in protecting its own citizens.

Human Security does not account for the desire of aid from the United States. With the drug trafficking organizations' main customer base in the United States, it only seems logical that the United States would be involved in fighting the war against drugs in Mexico. Nonetheless, instead of fighting the war on the United States' side of the border by curbing drug use, cracking down on people buying from the drug trafficking organizations, and finding more collaborates such as Jose Mares Barregan in Chicago, the United States is offering aid by entering into Mexico for training purposes and supplying guns to military forces. As for bringing this alliance into the country itself, many Mexicans are unsure. Surveys from the PEW research center reveal mixed feelings of the United States entering into Mexico which would make it a true transnational security issue. The polls reveal that

> [i]n order to combat the drug cartels, three-quarters of Mexicans would support the U.S. training Mexican police and military personnel. About six-in-ten (61%) would also approve of the U.S. providing money and weapons to the country's police and military. However, there is much less enthusiasm for deploying U.S. troops within Mexico's borders. Only a third would welcome such a move, while a 59% majority would oppose it. (Beittel, 3)

As stated in the poll, Human Security does not take into account the collective feeling of Mexican citizens. While Mexico more than welcomes aid from the United States, having troops and military presence from the bordering nation is not favorable. This does not allow the Human Security to expand beyond borders or to rely on global governance in order to force aid into Mexico. While Human Security may account for the drug trafficking organizations expanding over borders, it does not take into account the sovereignty Mexico wants to keep for itself.

Mexico may still have a long path ahead of it in order to contain and defeat the drug trafficking organizations. With a long history of smuggling drugs across the United States –Mexico border, Mexico needs to evaluate its strategies for national security. According to Realism, the military involvement may be proving to reduce violence, such as in Ciudad Juárez. However, the military tactic supported by Realism does not account for the drug trafficking organizations' expansion across borders nor does it address human rights issues that may be infringed in some of the military's "no tolerance" policy. Human Security, on the other hand, makes the drug trafficking organizations an issue that needs to be addressed by multiple nations that are buyers and suppliers, not just Mexico. It also takes into account those who are affected by the drug trafficking organizations, such as citizens and journalist, outside of the military, government, and crime organization war. Nonetheless, neither Realism nor Human Security theory are able to account for and justify solutions that encompass protection of citizens while simultaneously making progress in decentralizing the rising power and influence of the drug trafficking organizations. If Mexico can combine tactics involving both theories - a military presence to reduce violence and take away the power from the drug trafficking organizations while protecting citizens in an individual manner while enlisting other affected countries in the war - it may have a chance of regaining complete control over the nation-state.

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Beyond the Program Year: Graduates Students' Understanding of How McNair Scholars Program Participation Impacts Their Experiences in Graduate School

by
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ABSTRACT

The Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program's goal is to introduce first-generation, low-income, under-represented group college students to effective strategies for succeeding in graduate programs. One way to explore program effectiveness beyond graduate admission is to ask the McNair graduates themselves. This interview study explores McNair graduates understandings of issues they face in adjusting to graduate school and how McNair participation prepared them for addressing these issues. Typically McNair program evaluations emphasize the collection and analysis of quantitative data – e.g. academic performance and degree attainment; however, little qualitative research has been conducted on graduate's perceptions of the impact of program participation on graduate school adjustment and success. Using Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, along with Sociology-based ideas of role-as-resource and role mastery, this study will explore students' perceptions of the McNair program's effectiveness in regards to helping them understand the "graduate student" role and to use that role to succeed in graduate school.

INTRODUCTION

Background

The McNair Scholars Program, a U.S. Department of Education TRIO Program, is funded at 194 institutions across the United States and Puerto Rico. Last year, total funding reached over $46 million—of which, Portland State University received approximately $224,000. The program accepts first-generation and low-income, or underrepresented group undergraduate students who have demonstrated academic potential. The goal of the McNair Scholars Program is to provide disadvantaged college students with effective preparation for doctoral study to ultimately pursue an academic career. The intent is that professors from diverse backgrounds will change traditional perspectives on college campuses and will contribute to the success of future students from underrepresented groups.

Students are prepared through program elements such as involvement in research and other scholarly activities, summer internships, tutoring, academic counseling, and activities designed to assist students in securing admission and financial aid for graduate programs; optional program elements include educational and counseling services designed to increase student financial and economic literacy, mentoring programs with faculty members, and exposure to cultural events and programs not generally available to disadvantaged students (US Department of Education, 2012).

The Problem

First-generation students are less likely than their traditional peers to pursue advanced degrees. Recent studies suggest that a student's enrollment in a doctoral or any graduate program is profoundly influenced by her or his parents' education, even after attainment of a bachelor's degree (NCES, 2012). Students whose parents received advanced degrees are three times more likely to enroll in a doctoral degree program than those students whose parents received high school diplomas or equivalent (7.3% compared to 2.2%), and almost 15% more likely to be enrolled in any graduate program (see Chart 1).

Chart 1: Graduate Enrollment 10 years after BA/BS, by Highest Education Level of Either Parent (%)
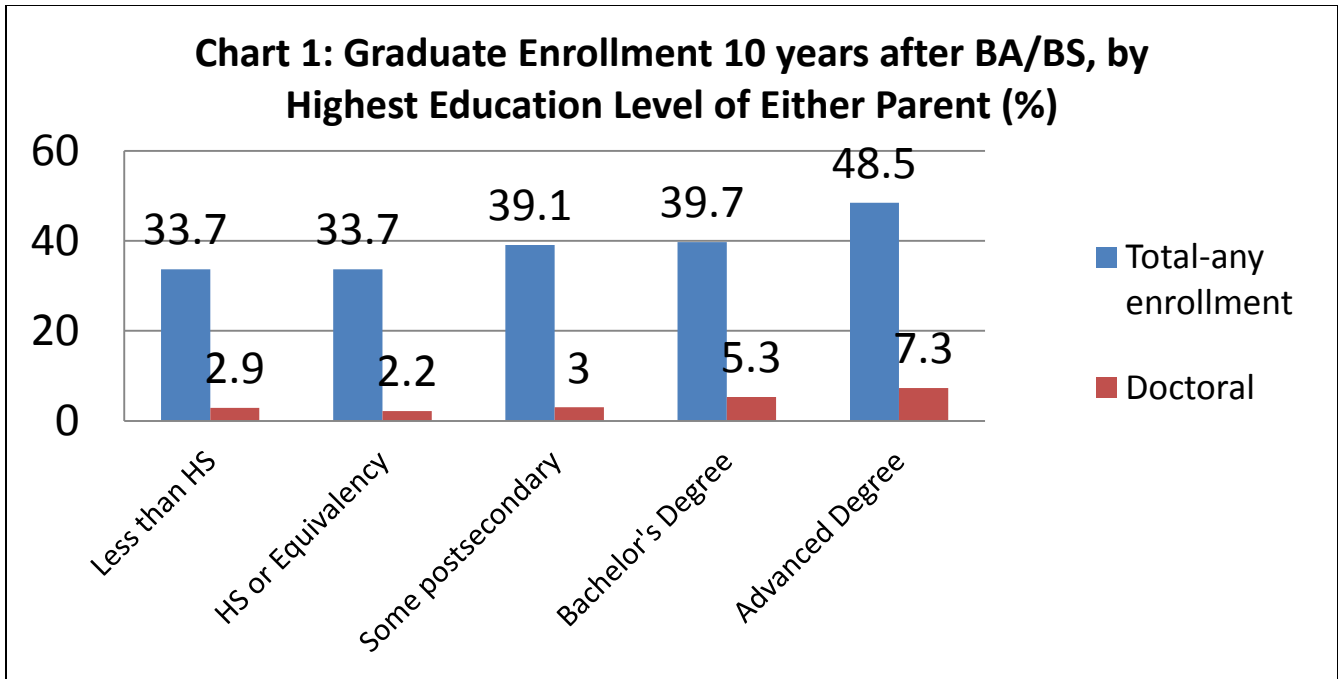
Source: NCES. 2007. "*The Path Through Graduate School: A Longitudinal Examination 10 Years After Bachelor's Degree* "

There are a number of recent studies on the impact of the McNair Program on students at the undergraduate level (Beal 2007, Derk 2007, Greene 2007, Ishiyama 2002, and Lam 2003); most are from schools of education and are focused on practical solutions for factors of the program that require improvement. Some (Beal particularly) adopt Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction to better understand the disadvantage that McNair students face; however, the results are analyzed through education theory. This study will add to the current understanding of the effectiveness of the McNair Program by employing a theoretical model from sociology that can explain identity acquisition through role-as-resource theory.

The majority of subjects studied in research on the McNair Program have been students at the undergraduate level, with little regard to their current academic standing. Greene (2007), who conducted a survey of McNair alumni perceptions of the program's effectiveness, specifically calls for further study on McNair alumni. There are several suggestions about the nature of future study, including that these studies:

- Be qualitative in nature, in order to elicit more in-depth responses from respondents.
- Include alumni in graduate school to see if perceptions change from the undergraduate level.
- Examine the careers of alumni after earning a doctoral degree to see if they are increasing diversity in faculty of higher education, to determine whether the McNair Program is meeting its ultimate goals of increasing representation of disadvantaged populations in academia.

This study, then, will increase the limited qualitative research on this subject, as well as addressing students who are currently enrolled in graduate programs.

Research Questions

This study will address the following question:

How do graduate students from the PSU McNair Scholar Program understand how their McNair experiences have impacted their first-year graduate school experience?

More specifically:

- In what ways has program participation influenced these students' understanding of professor expectations of graduate students?

This question addresses students' knowledge of role standard (Callero, 1994), meaning that students understand what the role of graduate student is.

- In what ways has program participation influenced these students' understanding of how to enact the role of graduate student to meet professor expectations?

This question addresses students' differentiated role mastery (Collier & Morgan, 2007), meaning that the student begins to understand that it's possible to enact different versions of a single role. For example, two professors may have vastly different expectations regarding how a graduate student should behave. Students who recognize this difference and can enact different versions of the role of graduate student are at an advantage compared to those who do not.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study investigates the ways that the McNair Program transmits cultural capital to students who generally enter college with less than their traditional peers. Cultural capital is a concept introduced by Pierre Bourdieu that describes intellectual assets that promote social mobility. Dumais (2002) describes this as ways of acting and understanding that are consistent with dominant culture. One reason that first-generation students are less likely to enroll in graduate programs is that there has been little to no transmission of cultural capital from parent to child. This could include advice about which classes to take, the most effective ways to interact with professors, how to navigate college and financial systems, etc. Parents who did not attend college would not be able to provide this cultural capital to their children. This is where the McNair Program attempts to intervene with first-generation, low income, and underrepresented students, all of whom lack the cultural capital necessary to succeed in college.

The McNair Program attempts to import cultural capital to students who would not otherwise have it. In this way students learn what it means to be a 'scholar' and often a 'graduate student.' This is a role that they have not previously been exposed to—McNair attempts to equip students with knowledge of this role to help them succeed at the graduate level. The benefits of providing this type of knowledge can be best understood through the concept of role as resource: people first understand a role through imitating examples they have seen of a role—or "role playing". The individual will then begin to identify themselves through this role and adapt that role to fit their needs and characteristics; in other words, they will begin to use their understanding of this role as a resource—or "role using" (Callero, 1994). This new role is a resource used not only so the individual has a new way of defining their social self but also has new ways of thinking and acting that were not previously available to them. Finally, the individual can use this role to achieve political ends. Students with less cultural capital are role-playing, students who have already had examples (implicit and explicit) of what it means to be a college student are working on their role-using, as well as the more advanced differentiated role mastery—their understanding that different versions of the same role will benefit them in different situations (Collier, 2001). This again puts McNair-eligible students at a grave disadvantage, and this is another way that the Program attempts to import cultural capital: by providing students a script for the role of 'graduate student' by giving them a new definition of themselves as 'Scholars', showing them new ways of thinking

and acting like a graduate student, and sharing the ways that being a McNair Scholar can aide them in becoming a graduate student.

In the last five years, numerous Master's theses and Doctoral dissertations have been presented exploring the impacts of the McNair Scholar Program on Scholars from their own perspectives—none of which focused on Scholars after completion of the McNair Programs or on into their graduate programs. Kathleen Greene (2007) conducted interviews of McNair Scholars at Kansas Universities to explore their perceptions of the effectiveness of the program. Ramona Beal (2007) conducted interviews and observations of McNair Scholars' evolving identity of "Scholar" throughout the program. None of these studies address Scholar perceptions **after they have begun graduate school**. Greene explicitly states that this type of research is missing in our understanding of the effectiveness of the program and highly recommends further exploration.

METHODOLOGY

Using a Qualitative Approach

This study is qualitative; interviews were conducted on a purposive sample of first-year graduate students who were alumni of the PSU McNair Program between 2007 and 2011 (the most recent complete funding cycle for the PSU McNair Program). Using the guidelines provided by Michael Quinn Patton (1987) regarding depth interviewing, a standardized open-ended interview was conducted with those Scholars who were available and willing to participate.

A qualitative study of this nature is useful for understanding the lived experience of participants through their own experiences. Hearing participants' experiences in their own words is important for understanding their unique understandings of the expectations of graduate students and effective ways of enacting that role. Each Scholar's personal story is thoroughly explored through in-depth interviews.

Setting

Portland State University (PSU) is a large, urban, public university. Approximately 21,000 undergraduates were enrolled at PSU, about 21% were considered minorities (PSU Institutional Portfolio Campus Profile, 2011). According to the 2010 SINQ Prior Learning Survey, administered in Sophomore Inquiry (PSU's General Education Program) courses, about 47% of sophomores were first-generation in 2010.

Participants

The participants in this study were students of Portland State University who participated in the McNair Scholars Program between 2007 and 2011 and who had completed one year of graduate study at the time of the interview, regardless of when they completed the program. In order to be eligible for the McNair Program, students must be either a first-generation college student and low-income or from a underrepresented minority group. All were required to attend PSU full-time, hold a cumulative GPA of 3.0 or higher, and be US citizens or permanent residents.

Recruitment

The PSU McNair Program database was used to contact 107 students who participated in the program between 2007 and 2011 via email (see Appendix # for email invitation to participate). Of those 107 emails sent, 92 successfully reached the students (15 emails were rejected because the accounts listed were disabled). Of those contacted, four interviews have been completed at this

time. When students replied to the invitation emails, interviews were scheduled at the time and place of their choosing. Out-of state students were interviewed via Skype or phone.

Data Analysis

Thematic content analysis was conducted on transcriptions of all interviews conducted. Responses were coded, and then clustered by type. Recurring themes were then identified from those clustered responses.

RESULTS

Issues Encountered in Graduate School and Strategies for Resolution

This section will discuss issues students encountered during their first year of graduate school. Students' strategies for resolving these issues, as well as their understanding of strategies that may have been more effective than those they employed will also be explored. Linking strategies to issues can help us understand ways that students learned to resolve challenges they faced understanding and enacting the role of graduate student. Students were asked "What issues have you encountered in the first year of your program?" followed by "How have you dealt with this issue?" and "Would you do things differently now?" Four themes emerged from the discussion of issues: *adjusting to new environments, developing new relationships with faculty, understanding the current program, and lifestyle challenges.*

Adjusting to a New Environment

One theme discussed by several students was *adjusting to a new environment*. This included issues associated with different aspects of becoming comfortable with a new situation—adjusting to a new city, to a new lab in the department, and to the culture of the new location.

ADJUSTING TO A NEW CITY

One of the practical challenges of adjusting to a new city was the cost. One student explained, *"the first thing to overcome obviously was moving to a city that was, to me, probably twice as expensive as Portland. Rent is just really expensive; food, transportation, it's just all of it."* Interestingly, this student did not discuss strategies she used for dealing with this challenge. Low-income students may not have any strategies for coping with financial challenges and may not have the skills necessary for financial planning, such as experience maintaining a budget. This type of skill set, as well as the knowledge that relocating for school can be extremely costly, is something that first-generation students have likely not received from their parents.

ADJUSTING TO A NEW LAB

Navigating a lab that was set up in ways that were different from the labs at Portland State was another challenge. One student stated that she never overcame this challenge:

> *"It was weird because I never really got past it… there were post-docs in the lab but they were in a different room. And though that really shouldn't have been a big issue, it was that geographical issue. We didn't have lab meetings and there wasn't a kind of collaborative spirit; it made it really hard for me to find someone to, you know, teach me something. In the program that I'm in I don't take classes. I can take classes if I want to, but it's very much the approach that you learn while you're in the lab. You learn from… working on projects and picking up the skills you need and it just seemed like I didn't really have access to pick up those skills there."*

6

This student felt she was unable to develop an effective strategy for navigating a new lab. Because the student perceived that she wasn't learning anything in this setting, whether or not her perception was correct, it is clear that she had little understanding of what it meant to be a graduate student in this new setting.

ADJUSTING TO A NEW CULTURE

Adjusting to the culture of a new location was challenging for some students. One student noted, *"I was on the East Coast so there was like this huge cultural difference, like the cultural difference among faculty I thought was really strange."* This cultural adjustment was more than just geographic for her:

> *"Most of the cultural differences were mostly class differences. Because I come from lower class, lower middle class, and then I'm going to school with all these people who don't think twice about paying a fifty thousand dollar tuition a year you know, they're not even taking out loans, some of them."*

When discussing the strategies she used in addressing this issue, this student explained that she simply *"got used to things"* and that she *"sat back and waited until everything really just clicked and I came up with a good group of people."* Thinking back and considering alternative approaches, she said that she would not have done anything differently because *"I learned a lot from being in a different culture… about networking and just being exposed to a different kind of people."* This understanding of the ways that being exposed to students from upper class families helped her in regard to establishing an appropriate support networks suggests that she learned ways of acting and understanding that were consistent with the dominant culture at her new school. Though she did not explicitly link this approach to a specific McNair experience, this student's choice of strategy demonstrates that she possessed the level of cultural capital she needed to better associate with her more affluent peers. Even more importantly, her reflection on why she did not try an alternative approach demonstrates that she understood the effectiveness of her choice.

After examining the strategies employed (or not employed) by students adjusting to new environments, it is clear that some students had a better understanding of the role of graduate student in these environments than others. None of the students who discussed adjusting to a new environment as a challenge in their first year discussed any strategies other than those they used initially; this suggests that these students had not yet developed differentiated role mastery. They were not able to envision enacting any other versions of the role of graduate student that may have been more effective in resolving that issue.

Developing Relationships with Faculty

A second theme that emerged when students discussed issues they encountered was *developing new relationships with graduate school faculty*. Students cited faculty using different mentoring approaches from those they had grown accustomed to at the undergraduate level, challenges communicating with new advisors, and not feeling comfortable reaching out for help.

FACULTY USING DIFFERENT MENTORING APPROACHES

The same student who had challenges navigating a new lab also had trouble with the mentoring styles of the faculty in that lab:

> *"It seemed to be a different mentoring style where it wasn't so much a kind of a scaffolding approach found in PhD programs or just a more academic setting. In*

those settings they say 'Oh here's an intermediary person that you can work with that can, you know, give you a new set of tools that you can then go on and use for your project.' Whereas [those in my graduate program] were like, 'okay, here's your desk, figure out your project' and it was a big surprise."

This student also noted that she never overcame this challenge. Her immediate strategy was to confront her mentors about this issue, an approach that met with little success.   Her long-term strategy was to avoid those mentors whose approaches she'd had trouble with in the future. While this employment of various strategies shows her willingness to think strategically and try to enact different versions of the graduate student role, none of those strategies proved effective. This student felt that this issue had not been resolved during her first year. Her surprise that she encountered this situation also should be noted. Clearly, her expectations of what being a graduate student entailed did not match the reality of the program she entered. This variance between student expectations and actual experiences in their graduate programs arose at some point for every student interviewed in this study.

COMMUNICATING WITH NEW ADVISORS

A second issue that arose with students in developing relationships with graduate faculty was communicating with advisors about their work. This student explains that the lack of contact with her advisor was a constant challenge for her:

"There have been some issues when it would have been really great to get his feedback sooner than in a couple weeks. I haven't really talked to him in almost like a month and a half because he's been travelling and away and he's really bad with email."

This student's initial strategy for addressing this issue was to try and set up weekly meetings with this advisor, which "*happened for two weeks and then dropped off.*" This student did not explicitly discuss considering any alternative strategies for dealing with this lack of communication, though later in the interview she noted an alternative approach—that she sometimes is able to direct her questions to a second advisor. She is still dealing with this issue.

NOT FEELING COMFORTABLE REACHING OUT FOR HELP

In a broader sense, the theme *developing relationships with faculty* also included the issue students experienced with feeling unable to ask for help from faculty. One student noted that this challenge directly related to her first-generation status:

"I think that as a first-generation college student I have kind of gone through life knowing that the only person that I can count on is myself and the only way that I'm ever going to get anything done is if I just go and do it and figure it out on my own. And I'm realizing that no, the faculty and administration in the department, they want us to succeed and graduate and get jobs. So they are really there for us and they have ways of supporting us and assisting us and helping us to figure things out, but it's just not really in my nature to reach out."

Not only did this student understand that being first-generation contributed to her 'preferred strategy' that she must do everything on her own, she also understood that not every student feels this way:

"I was talking to a friend of mine the other day and she was mentioning 'Yeah you know I'm thinking about applying to this internship and I just popped into the office

and knocked on my advisor's door and had a little conversation with her, blah blah blah' and I'm like, I would never think to just like drop in on my advisor."

Though she may not yet have enacted a different, likely more successful, version of the role of graduate student (one who would feel comfortable asking for help), the fact that she understands this option exists shows a deeper understanding of that role. When asked if she would have done things differently, she simply stated that she will *"work harder on that next year"* and that she understood that she should be the one to pursue that help in the future.

Understanding the Current Program

A third theme reflected issues students had with understanding their new programs in the first year of graduate school. Much of the discussion centered on *being in a newly developed program* and *encountering a program that vastly differed from students' expectations.*

BEING IN A NEWLY DEVELOPED PROGRAM

A student who was in a newly formed dual PhD-Masters program had troubles with administrative as well as social aspects of the program. Administrative issues had to do with a lack of established procedure for dual-enrolled students:

> *"We get forgotten about a lot because we're on two different listservs. So there [are] totally two different programs. So when I have to sign up for my PhD classes I have to hound the registration people and be like 'you need to allow me access' they're like 'oh we forgot about you' or when I have to do my Masters registration I have to go track those people down and say 'you need to give me access,' they're like 'oh yeah we forgot about you'."*

This student used two strategies for dealing with these challenges: 1. to be mindful that the program is new, and 2. to remind administration that she's in a dual program. She noted that she was unable to find any more effective alternative approaches.

In addition to administrative challenges involved with a new program, this student had challenges feeling disconnected from those students who were in cohorts in one of the two programs, but not in both. This led to feelings of alienation and boredom:

> *"I mean we all like respect each other and we all like each other but they all left this year with some really close friendships and I kinda left with none… because my program is very different. My first year I'm with all PhD students, my second year I drop down to being with Master's students. So my cohort changes. I'm not even with them next year, which is another reason I felt really disconnected. I'm in limbo. And the Master's students don't really like me either because I'm not really a Master's student."*

She stated that the most effective strategy she had employed to deal with this challenge was to spend time with those few students who were in her dual-enrolled cohort. When asked how she may have handled things differently, she very much looked forward to increasing her workload and becoming more involved in the program by taking an internship during her second year. Because of the newness of her graduate program, this student did not know what to expect in the program and had little preparation for dealing with both the procedures and the people in her program. This student was dealing with trying to learn a very specific definition of what it means to be a graduate student in a brand new program. By gravitating toward those students who were expected to enact

this same role, she was able to feel more connected. This is evidence that her chosen strategy proved effective.

ENCOUNTERING A PROGRAM THAT VASTLY DIFFERED FROM THE STUDENT'S EXPECTATIONS

A second sub-theme had to do with students' expectations not matching the realities of the graduate program. One student stated that she was shocked that the faculty in her program did not fit her idea of what graduate faculty to should be:

> *"I had this perception of grad school that I would have all these instructors that had their Ph.D.s. and were very knowledgeable of the field and then in this program there was a lot of instructors that didn't even have their Masters [but] that had worked in the field for years and years and years and years … so I feel like that was a challenge to try to overcome my perceptions of who I thought an instructor should be and who the instructors actually were."*

This student's expectations of her graduate program were very different from the program itself. She went on to explain that the entire program was far 'less academic' than she had expected after her experiences in the McNair program. This discrepancy suggests that graduate programs are far more diverse than what Scholars come to expect in the program. This lack of understanding may not be limited to McNair students, but could be true of graduate students in general. The diversity of experiences in this limited sample suggests that graduate programs vary greatly and that students may not be prepared to handle this wide range of experiences.

Lifestyle Challenges

The fourth theme discussed by students was lifestyle challenges. These challenges included *time management*, *the need to modify study habits*, and *conflicts in personal relationships* during their first year.

TIME MANAGEMENT

When discussing the sub-theme of time management, students seemed to gain more understanding of this challenge through hindsight. One student reflected, *"I am not quite as organized or on top of things as I thought I was. You know because you compare yourself to other people and so that's one big thing."* The fact that this student was comparing herself to her peers shows that she recognized that her current time management strategy was not particularly effective.

> *"That's kind of my plan for the summer is to like go back through my calendar, go back through my files; go back through and try to figure out a different system for you know keeping things organized, keeping myself together, keeping myself on schedule, setting aside time that I need for school, work, applying for jobs, for a social life, for my marriage, for staying on top of the house."*

The fact that she is aware of different approaches to time management while considering which approach might work best for her shows that she is adjusting her understanding of the issue with regard to what is required to effectively enact the role of graduate student in her program.

NEED TO MODIFY STUDY HABITS

The need to modify earlier study habits became clearer to students over the first year of graduate school. One student noted that during her first year, she had done much of her homework on her

couch, and she didn't feel that this was a good strategy for effective studying. She recognized the increased pressure of graduate study compared to what she needed to do in order to succeed as an undergraduate. Her revised strategy for the upcoming year was to set aside a more formal space to study and to "*shut the world out and just get it done.*" By reflecting on the limited effectiveness of her initial strategy and developing an alternative approach, this student is adjusting her ideas of what it takes to successfully enact the role of graduate student.

CONFLICTS IN PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Another sub-theme students discussed involved conflict in personal relationships. One student discussed balancing the demands of her program and purchasing a house with her new husband while maintaining that relationship. Another student described ending an engagement and moving during her first year in the program. Her chosen strategy for dealing with this challenge was to throw herself into her schoolwork. She explained "*that was my getaway, was doing homework.*" She found this strategy effective both for succeeding in her program and for handling these major changes in her life.

Summary

While students attempted to address some of the issues that arose in their first years in graduate school, they found few strategies that were effective in dealing with these issues and had even more difficulty envisioning alternative strategies that may have been more successful. When discussing both strategies employed and alternative approaches that may have been more effective, students primarily focused on vague goals for future actions (e.g. "I will deal with that next year" or "I should try harder in the future"), this suggests that even with additional cultural capital acquired from their McNair experiences, students were struggling to develop effective strategies for resolving issues encountered in the role of graduate student at the end of their first year.

McNair Preparation for Graduate Study

This section will discuss the ways that students felt their experiences in the McNair Program prepared them for their first year of graduate study. Exploring student understanding of specific ways they were prepared demonstrates students' understanding of the skills and knowledge needed to effectively enact the role of graduate student as well as the ways that the Program helped them to develop them. Students were asked "In what ways did the McNair Program prepare you for graduate study?" Students listed all the ways they felt McNair had prepared them, and then were prompted with a list of the stated goals of the program: applying for and getting into graduate programs, conducting research, working with faculty, and presenting. Often, students felt that they would not have been admitted into their graduate programs had they not participated in the McNair Program. Six themes emerged from discussion of the ways students felt prepared by their McNair experience: *applying for programs and resources, acquiring a background in research, working with faculty, making presentations, writing research papers,* and *learning what it means to be a graduate student.*

Applying for Programs and Resources

First generation college students are not exposed to information about applying to college in their homes and are not socialized to feel comfortable doing so "and so do not have a natural 'feel' for the college application and enrollment process" (Dumais, 2010). One of the ways that the McNair Program prepared students for graduate school was by requiring them to apply for acceptance into the program itself. This was often the first application experience that several of these students had in college.

GAINING EXPERIENCE APPLYING FOR GRADUATE PROGRAMS

Students felt that the process of applying to the McNair Program was "training wheels for the application process". One student describes the confidence she gained from that experience and how it helped her with future applications:

> "I mean the first thing that you do is you apply to the McNair program. You have to get your letters of recommendation you know, you have to get your stuff. And like that application is nowhere near as complicated as your grad school application but just like going through it, it's just like this kind of safe spot to try."

This is the first task required by the program that demonstrates to students what it takes to be a graduate student and allows them to actually go through this process themselves.

FEELING WORTHY AND ENTITLED TO APPLY FOR RESOURCES

Pierre Bourdieu uses the concept of *habitus* to describe a person's subjective understanding of how the world is socially "put together" and what is possible for someone like her/him."(Dumais, 2010). First-generation students are not socialized by their parents to feel comfortable completing tasks associated with graduate school, including completing applications. Bourdieu also referred to habitus as a person's 'feel for the game' of life (Dumais, 2010). These students' experiences in the McNair Program transformed their habitus. Specific McNair activities, such as applying for programs and resources, helped students feel they were worthy of attending graduate school. They began to feel entitled to the resources available to them through the program. Students discussed gaining confidence and increased motivation to apply for resources after successfully applying to and being accepted the program.

A student explained that her lack of experience completing applications made her feel that she was not qualified to do so:

> "Because I never thought 'oh I could get into programs like this' so I think just applying to McNair, just filling out the application process I think that was like the first academic thing that I had applied for or done."

This student felt that her experience applying to McNair made her feel that she could get into academic programs and went on to apply to and be accepted in a doctoral program. Another student described the same feelings when applying for McNair:

> I think it's given me the confidence to just reach out and try for those things. And just realize that it's okay if you don't get it but you're never going to get it if you don't try to get it… I think there was a fear before like, 'oh well I would never qualify for that sort of thing' but how are you going to know that unless you try for it?"

This student experienced a change in her habitus that allowed her to see herself as a candidate who may be deserving of the resources available to her.

DISCOVERING THAT THE EFFORT OF APPLYING FOR RESOURCES AND PROGRAMS IS WORTH THE BENEFITS

Because their parents have never had experience applying for scholarships, first-generation students have likely never been told that the effort involved in the application process is worth the reward of getting that scholarship. One student described having attended college on student loans for three years until being accepted into the McNair Program and, after being accepted, applying for scholarships because her view of the effort and benefits involved had changed.

> *"That was the first experience I'd had where it was like 'oh, if I just put in a little extra effort, and apply for this thing' then when I got accepted in it is was like 'oh that's pretty awesome, I want to try that again. I'm going to apply for scholarships now because I had this positive experience of you know trying to prove myself as a worthy student and being rewarded for it. And there are other people out in this world that think that I'm smart and think that I'm worth investing in or whatever.'"*

Before this student's McNair experience, her understanding of "what's possible for someone like me" did not include the view that she belonged at college. She did not see herself as worthy and therefore had not attempted to gain the resources that were always available. After McNair, she is actively seeking scholarships because she knows she's a worthy student.

Acquiring a Background in Research

EXPOSURE TO BOTH QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODS

Several of the students interviewed had not conducted research before their McNair projects. Part of the McNair seminar at PSU includes a brief overview of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Students felt that exposure to both methods, combined with learning more extensively about the method they chose in their project, was very helpful in preparing them for graduate school. Students described this exposure to different methodologies as "great" and "so, so helpful." One student felt that using quantitative methods in her project made her quantitative methods class in graduate school easier, *"I learned a lot about quantitative analysis so when I got to grad school the quanititative class was really easy for me."* Another student felt that using qualitative methods in her project gave her an advantage over her peers in her graduate qualitative methods class (see below).

SEEING LITTLE VALUE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT

One student initially stated that she did not feel that the experience she gained from the project was useful to her because her research methods did not match those of her faculty mentor.

> *"The research project that I did for McNair was frankly kind of a mess… My mentor was great. I love him for that. He's one of my favorite teachers but as far as like doing the kind of research that I wanted to be doing, it just wasn't the right fit. And, my project was just not.. it just wasn't well thought out, it wasn't well organized, like my data collection was just kind of shotty. And I just didn't really get the positive value from doing research that a lot of students do get."*

However later in the same interview, this student went on to describe feeling more prepared for a methods class in graduate school than her peers because she had been exposed to qualitative methods in her McNair project.

> *"I think that because I had done kind of qualitative analysis in the McNair program before this class, I had a little bit of an edge on some of the other students that I was working with because I had just had a little bit of exposure at least with the terms."*

It is interesting that this student did not recognize that this exposure to research may be the reason that she now understands the quality of her methods was low in her project, and she does not connect her success in that methods class to 'getting the positive value from doing research' in the McNair program. She does not seem to have gained the ability to use negative experiences, or academic mistakes, as a way of adjusting her understanding of what it means to be a researcher.

13

Working With Faculty

When asked if they felt that their experience in the McNair Program prepared them for working with faculty, all of the students interviewed responded that it had prepared them in different ways for the interactions they had with faculty in their graduate programs.

PREPARATION FOR WORKING WITH ACADEMICS

One student felt that both the positive and negative interactions she had with her mentor helped to prepare her to work with academics in her graduate program. When asked if she felt McNair had prepared her for working with faculty, she responded:

> *"Maybe not in the way that they thought, but it definitely prepared me for working with academics. I had a really rocky relationship with my advisor at first. It was a clash of personalities is what it was, but we got over it and it was a fruitful… research project after that. That was really good exposure to navigating working with your mentor."*

Interestingly, she seems to have assumed that the goal of the McNair Program in preparing her for working with academics was only geared toward positive interactions. However, she was able to use this experience as a way of understanding the different interactions she had with faculty in her graduate program and she felt she was able to navigate those relationships more successfully.

BECOMING COMPETITIVE APPLYING TO GRADUATE PROGRAMS

The same student who felt the Program prepared her for working with academics felt that conducting her research project with a faculty mentor helped her to be more competitive in the graduate programs she applied to. She actually felt that this was the most valuable type of preparation she gained in the McNair Program:

> *"The biggest part is that it allowed me to work with someone, an advisor, to conduct a project. And that's really what the people who interviewed me in all the graduate programs were looking for, for someone who was able to do that."*

It is possible that, not only were the interviewers looking for a student who had conducted research with a faculty member, they were also looking for a student who displayed confidence in working in that capacity—this student obviously felt that it made her a stronger candidate.

NETWORKING OPPORTUNITIES

Students spoke of the networking opportunities they had in the McNair Program to work with their mentors, as well as learning how to communicate with faculty in the graduate programs they applied to. One student felt that the most important aspect of having a faculty mentor was building that relationship, something she had not done with faculty before participating in the McNair Program.

> *"And you know, even though I'd talked to some instructors, I never had a mentor… I still talk to him and we go out to coffee and you know [the McNair Program encourages] really building those relationships and showing the importance of that mentorship and that encouragement. I thought that was a brilliant aspect of the program."*

Many of the first-generation and low-income students in the McNair Program have likely never had the opportunity to build these kinds of academic mentoring relationships with faculty is the past. Before participating in the McNair program these students may not have thought this type of mentoring relationship was even possible.

LEARNING THERE IS MORE THAN ONE PATH THROUGH ACADEMIA

In addition to working closely with a mentor on an original research project, during the seminar students hear guest speakers, often first-generation or minority faculty members, discuss their individual careers in academia. Students felt that this exposure helped them to envision their own possible paths to becoming faculty. Again, the McNair Program was able to adjust the habitus of students who had not previously seen themselves as academics, as well as providing students with individual accounts of what being a graduate student and eventually a faculty member looks like, a perspective they have probably not seen before. This student found benefits in addition to her relationship with her mentor: *"Even the faculty talks were really helpful actually, when faculty members would come in and share their stories of how they navigated graduate school and after graduate school."*

Making Presentations

Presenting their projects in the McNair Program helped these students to understand one aspect of what being a graduate student looks like, since they witnessed each others' presentations, as well as what it feels like, as they presented their own research.

INITIAL, LASTING FEAR AND EVENTUAL IMPROVEMENT PRESENTING

A theme discussed by several students was the ways that their McNair participation helped them to feel more comfortable making presentations. Students referred to their experiences presenting their research projects in the McNair Program as *"really helpful"* and *"really good, really great preparation".* One student explained that she had very little presenting experience before participating in the program and that presenting multiple times was valuable to her. *"I didn't talk. I hate presenting. I had to give at least two, maybe three [presentations] in front of an audience.. no maybe four. And that was really helpful."* Not all of the students had completely overcome their fear of public speaking in graduate school, but still felt that presenting their McNair projects helped to prepare them. This student admitted, *"it still terrifies me, but it's like a manageable fear now."*

MORE PREPARED FOR PRESENTING OFTEN IN CURRENT GRADUATE PROGRAM

Presenting is often a part of graduate programs. One student explained, "*We have to present multiple times for every single class, every single term."* Presenting is something that several students who were interviewed had never done as undergraduates. They explained that they often were required to present in their first year of graduate school and that the previous experience was helpful to them:

> *"Yeah even just you know in front of small groups or conferences, the more presenting that I've done the easier it's become. And it was definitely the most terrifying thing while I was in the McNair program but it's nice to have gotten that out of the way so at least it's not as terrifying now that I'm in this [graduate] program."*

PRESENTING MATERIAL THE STUDENT IS INVESTED IN

It was not just experience presenting any material that was helpful, this student explains that presenting her McNair project was more impactful than other presenting she had done as an undergraduate because it was material that she was really interested and invested in:

> *"Doing the presentations for McNair was really, it was good because I feel like all of my other presentations for my undergrad, it was just like busy work and it wasn't really anything that meant anything to me. So it wasn't really that great of practice because, you know, part of the fear of going up and presenting is in real life, if you're presenting you're going to be talking about something that you really care about. Like that's the reason they're asking you to talk about it because they know you really care about it or you really know about it. So I think McNair was the first time I had the experience to go up there and like really talk about something I was really passionate about, which was terrifying but it was a great experience and it has definitely carried through to grad school."*

Writing Research Papers

MCNAIR PAPER WAS THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY FOR WRITING RESEARCH AS AN UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT

Students had often not had any other opportunities to write a research paper in their undergraduate study. One student noted, *"I feel like it was a positive experience. Definitely with some of the courses in my undergraduate degree… I didn't have a lot of opportunity to do those research papers."* Another student felt that writing a research paper helped her manage her expectations for writing in graduate school and said, *"And the writing process and the preparation for academia, you know what to expect, what not to expect."*

FORMATTING A PAPER

Without being prompted, one student listed particular ways that writing the final paper for her McNair project helped to prepare her for writing in graduate school, particularly in comparison to her peers. She explained, that one way she felt prepared was "drilling in APA format," and explained, *"Because a lot of people who go to grad school take time off. So when they come back it's like 'APA, what?', 'I have to cite what?', 'I have to write a 30 page paper what?' So for me it was like, I just wrote a huge paper"*

BUILDING A LITERATURE REVIEW

The same student who felt prepared formatting her papers explained that writing her McNair paper *"taught me how to just do a lit review with ease."* This student entered her graduate program immediately following her completion of the McNair project and felt the recent experience helped her to build literature reviews. She explained, *"I finished summer and then went right into grad school so it was easy I was like okay I can do this. I've done lit reviews all summer, I can do this."*

WRITING METHODS AND DISCUSSION SECTIONS

This student explained that her graduate program demanded writing multiple papers and that having written methods and discussion sections in her McNair paper helped her to feel more prepared for writing those sections during her graduate study:

> *"It taught me how to do my methods section and my discussion section, because in grad school you write a crazy amount of papers and you have to do a lot of like mock papers or fake study papers so it was like 'I've already done this' so it was awesome."*

This student felt that having experienced the self-disciplined and time management required for writing a paper like her McNair paper prepared her to use those strategies writing papers in her graduate program:

> *"Being able to waste my summer.. well not waste but sit in a house when its sunny outside really.. well it got me ready to sit in my house all year long writing papers. Like time management, that was huge."*

Learning What It Means To Be A Graduate Student

A theme that emerged, one that students were not specifically prompted to discuss, was the ways that their McNair experiences showed them *"what it takes to be a grad student."* Students directly addressed the ways their McNair experiences taught them what the role of graduate student looks like and successful ways for enacting that role. Students felt that learning what it took to be a successful McNair Scholar directly translated to understanding what it took to be a graduate student in their first year. Specifically, they felt the experience showed them the type of student you must be to succeed, as well as what is expected of a graduate student.

This student explained that her current program is very competitive and that her experience in the McNair Program prepared her for the heightened standards:

> *"Like I said my program is really, really competitive and I think that the preparation that the McNair gave to us and just that exposure of like this is what it takes to be a grad student. You have to work hard, you have to make it perfect, you have to do it right."*

At another point in the interview, the same student reiterated the ways that the program prepared her to understand the type of student it takes to succeed in graduate school:

> *"You just need to yeah, learn how to follow directions, learn how to show up, learn how to be accountable and like be responsible for yourself and like, I feel like [the McNair Program] takes the semi-serious undergrad and turns them into a serious grad school candidate."*

As students discussed when they were asked about issues they had encountered in their graduate programs, a common challenge was understanding their current program. A part of this confusion stemmed from not knowing the expectations of the program. This student explained that McNair gave her some practice with what she called *"extracting vague expectations"* of her assignments in her graduate program*:*

> *"I mean you really have to learn how to sit with the assignment and kinda go through it and pull out.. you know 'so this data point is going to be related to this section here, and this section down here, and kinda this section over here, but then this section is gonna be more dependent on this section and then these two data points, I'm gonna have to pull these together to meet this criteria.' Its just like, understanding and pulling all of those different pieces together…"*

She went on to explain the practice that she got doing this in the McNair program. One of the assignments in the seminar is for students to develop a personal education plan. The instructions for this assignment are somewhat open-ended, instructing students to simply map their potential path through graduate school. This student uses that assignment as an example of

the ways that assignments in the McNair Program are designed similarly to the assignments she completed in her graduate program:

> *"I mean you're welcome to ask questions of course but it's one of those things, and I feel like the McNair Program was similar. You know, thinking about the education plan for instance: like there were not a lot of details about like 'here is how you come up with an education plan' you know it's just like 'okay we just want you to map this out—go do it" and I think that's like a lot of, at least the assignments in my program, are like. [They say] 'Just figure it out, you're smart'."*

For the students interviewed in this study, participating in the McNair Program at PSU profoundly impacted their habitus. They came to see themselves as legitimate graduate students. These students also were able to recognize and articulate both the direct and indirect ways that the McNair Program prepared them for graduate study. They discussed how the Program worked to show participants what being a successful graduate student looks like in a variety of ways: by exposing them to faculty, through mentorship, research, and seminar talks and by allowing students to observe each other through the process of research and presentation. The McNair Program also provided participants with the chance to practice some of the key steps in becoming a successful graduate student, from the application process to conducting research, writing papers and then presenting that research.

Feelings and Advice About the McNair Program

It is important to understand students' overall feelings about the program, in addition to how they understand specific issues, strategies for addressing those issues, and particular forms of preparation from the McNair Program. Therefore, this section is divided into four distinct narratives, representing each student's unique journey from how they thought of themselves as undergraduate students before participating in the program, to their feelings about the McNair program experience, and finally their feelings about their current graduate programs. Each student's narrative finishes with two important pieces of advice: recommendations for the McNair program, and advice for future McNair scholars.

Through the Program, McNair Scholars experienced changes in their habitus as well as gaining practical skills for navigating graduate school. Their feelings about their experiences in the Program can help us understand changes in the ways they viewed themselves as students and how that accumulation of skills occurred. This information also may be helpful to the McNair program by demonstrating the kinds of experiences that Scholars are taking away from their participation in the program.

The experiences of students are diverse; each student approached the program with different understandings of what a graduate student is and different ideas about where she or he belonged in academia. Each experienced the program differently, and went on to enroll in very different graduate programs. It is important to note that all students interviewed expressed gratitude to some aspect of the program. While some students had mixed feelings about participating in the program, none of them expressed entirely negative views. It is helpful to remember that the program is a journey for each student.

Interview 1: Collaborative Learning

This student's experiences and opinions seemed to stem from her priorities of learning, specifically learning in collaborative environments. This had been a priority for her as a student prior to the program and continued to be important as she moved into her graduate experience. She didn't see

much of a difference between herself as an undergraduate before the program and herself as a graduate student in her current program. She explained that, even before joining the McNair program, she had always enjoyed research and had been looking for an opportunity to do her own project:

> *"I started doing research in my first year at PSU through different programs where I worked and then I was always very interested in having research experience. And so even before the McNair program, I was in my second lab. And I thought that it would be great to join the McNair program to also do some research with someone at PSU, hopefully in my major. So I guess my whole student… undergraduate experience was focused on research and preparing me for graduate school but, I mean I hadn't really had the chance because I had always been a research assistant, to conduct my own project. So I guess not much has changed, I love doing my own projects."*

Overall, this student felt positively about her experience in the McNair Program. She felt grateful to the program for providing her a research opportunity she would not have had otherwise, but she did feel at times that the program did not meet her high expectations when it came to these collaborative learning opportunities and intimate learning communities. Even when she recalled this disappointment, she was adamant that her overall feelings of the program be portrayed in a positive way. This is what she had to say:

> *"I mean I think it was a good experience. I felt disconnected a lot at the time in the program. I mean I think it was an excellent program. I think it was a wonderful opportunity that, because of how PSU is set up, I wouldn't have obtained otherwise… I guess the way that its set up conveys that there is intimacy within the group, between the students, between the graduate teachers who are also part of the program… so that was kind of the spirit.. it seems like that should have been there but I just never really felt it completely... And I still kind of feel it now. Just the fact that even though I've talked with people in the program about where I am now, they still don't have my correct program on the website. So it makes me think 'how important am I?' It just seems like there is a mismatch between what it seems to convey the program is doing and how intimate it is and actually how involved it really is with the students. It obviously set really high expectations and I can't imagine everything always meeting the mark but I did feel like it would have been nicer to have a more realistic outline or just at times it just felt fake sometimes.. somethings. Again, I don't want that to be my overarching feeling about McNair that just happened sometimes… I just want to make sure that you don't think it's all fake or something."*

This student went on to enroll in a doctoral program; she spent some time in one lab, and then moved to a different lab. Her experiences in these two labs, even within the same program, were very different. In one lab, she was disappointed that the experience did not live up to her expectations and said *"I felt like I wasn't really receiving a good training. It was just kind of an environment that I didn't like."* But, when she moved to the second lab, she was more pleased, *"I absolutely love it. It's a very different experience. It's much more collaborative and there's a lot more scientific vetting. Like it really seems like everyone wants to produce the best science."*

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MCNAIR PROGRAM

This student's recommendation for the McNair Program was to provide scholars with more information about collaborative research opportunities with other institutions (such as the collaborations between Portland State University and Oregon Health Sciences University). She explained that she had participated in this type of program and she felt this collaborative research

conducted in labs outside of the labs at PSU allowed her to be competitive when applying to graduate programs. However, she felt that many McNair Scholars had not been aware of these collaborative opportunities.

ADVICE FOR FUTURE MCNAIR SCHOLARS

This student's advice to future scholars is to use the project to for their greatest advantage. There were multiple reasons for giving this particular advice. She explained that Scholars will have many opportunities to learn that they would not have otherwise, so they should embrace those opportunities. She also matter-of-factly explained that if these students are considering applying to graduate school, they should know whether they like to do research because, she proclaimed, *"that's what grad school is".* The final reason this student gave for this advice is that completing this project, and speaking confidently about it during graduate school interviews, will make future Scholars more competitive in graduate programs.

Interview 2: Relationships

This student discussed the drastic changes that occurred in herself as a student from the time before she began participating in the McNair program up until the time she began attending graduate school. She seemed to focus the most on the relationships she developed in the Program and the ways those relationships helped her in her journey. As an undergraduate, this student hadn't considered graduate school until just before applying to the McNair Program, when her views on her education shifted:

> *"I think really the change happened right before when I was deciding to go into McNair. When I started out in college I really had no expectations. I was just like "oh I'm just going to have fun" So when I was.. around the time I was thinking of what program I was going to do[for my second major] the McNair program came up around the same time and I don't know if it was just because of that shift or because of the McNair program as well, but I really started to take school more seriously. I really saw that things like going to class everyday and that you know you are paying for these credits and this experience. And finding the pleasure and the joy in just studying something that you're passionate about, something you're serious about. It gave me a bit more direction and made me more serious about my studies. I had thought 'maybe [grad school] is something I'll do' but that's pretty much it. 'Maybe when I'm done having fun if it fits into my schedule'. But as far as like what I would do or where I would go or how I would go about doing this or what I need to apply, I knew nothing."*

As an undergraduate before joining McNair, even after she had decided to take her studies more seriously, this student did not feel that she had the practical knowledge about deciding on a graduate program or what would be required to apply to that program. She noted that this was one way that the McNair Program gave her the tools to be accepted into a program and to succeed there.

This student described participating in the McNair Program as *"a very positive experience."* She went on to explain that the most impactful part of the experience for her was developing and maintaining a relationship with her faculty mentor:

> *"Even though I'd talked to some instructors, I never had a mentor and it was something that they ask you to do and my mentor today I still talk to him and we go out to coffee and you know really building those relationships and showing the*

importance of that mentorship and that encouragement. I thought that was a brilliant aspect of the program."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MCNAIR PROGRAM

This student's advice to the program was that they provide more information about choosing a program that fits the individual Scholar's interests. She was in a one year graduate program and she doesn't feel that she's using her experiences from that program in her current job at all. She wishes she would have spent more time considering which program would work best for her.

ADVICE FOR FUTURE MCNAIR SCHOLARS

Her advice to future McNair Scholars was to understand that the faculty connections are a valuable resource and to take advantage of them. She spoke fondly of the fact that she and her McNair mentor still meet for coffee and keep in close contact. She reflected that not all Scholars in her cohort seemed to focus much on their relationships with their mentors or on the guest lecturers who spoke throughout the seminar. She explained that these relationships are important for support as well as for networking opportunities.

Interview 3: Practical Skills and Applications

This student seemed to focus on the practical skills she acquired in the McNair Program and applications of those skills. She had mixed feelings about her experiences in the McNair Program and negative feelings about her current graduate program, a dual Masters and PhD program. Like the student in interview 1, this student felt that she had not changed much as a student from an undergraduate before joining the McNair program, through the McNair experience, and now in her current program. She explained, *"I was the same [as I am now]. Overachiever—doing too much, liked to look good on an application. McNair was another thing to add to the CV (curricular vita)."*

This student was very clear that she was grateful for the opportunity to complete a research project in the McNair Program. She explained, "*I think doing the actual project made grad school so much easier, I was so much more prepared."* She appreciated the exposure to research methods and working with her mentor. However, she said she had mixed feelings about the program because she had already been accepted to graduate school by the time the McNair Program started, so she felt that the graduate preparation, specifically during Spring term, when the program was 'a waste' of time for her:

> *"Spring term was really boring because I already went through the graduate application process so I feel like I wasted a whole lot of my time going to classes. But summer I got a lot out of it because doing my final paper really set me up to excel in my grad program. Yeah so spring term sucked. But winter term was good because you're learning about qualitative and quantitative and figuring out your research question. And then summer was awesome. I worked a lot with my advisor and I learned a lot."*

It's interesting that this student didn't relate experiencing any of the cohort effect or sense of community that some of the other students mentioned. She also did not seem to find much value in the spring term classes that did not directly relate to conducting her individual project. While one of the stated goals of the McNair Program is to give students "a place" in academia and to expose them to research from many disciplines, this student did not seem to feel that some of these non-project related presentations were of much help to her in her graduate program.

The student noted that these feelings continued into her current graduate program. She mentioned that she did not feel challenged enough in the first year of her program, though the other students in her cohort don't agree:

> "For me it was really easy... I've always been kind of a smarty pants I guess you could say so I thought it would be a challenge, which is why I applied to do my masters and Ph.D at the same time, you know for a double load. And I'm bored. My personal life was more challenging than my academic life… I was just absolutely not challenged at all. According to my cohort it was very difficult so I'm just weird."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MCNAIR PROGRAM

This student's advice to the program was to spend less in-class time on guest speakers in spring term and more time to focus on research—this could be a call for that sense of community that it doesn't really seem like she gained in her time in the McNair Program. Specifically, she recommended allowing for time during each weekly seminar for reflections and updates regarding Scholars' projects, to check in with other students to discuss ideas and research strategies.

ADVICE FOR FUTURE MCNAIR SCHOLARS

This student's advice to future scholars was to treat the research project like it's a real Masters thesis. She emphasized, *"Don't treat the final paper as just any paper!"* She stressed multiple times throughout the interview the ways that taking the McNair research project seriously helped her with her work during her first year of graduate school.

Interview 4: Academics

This student's narrative focused on how the McNair Program helped in both finding her place in academia and working with academics. As an undergraduate, before participating in the McNair Program, this student, had not really considered graduate school, much like the student in interview 2. She also had mixed feelings about the program and about conducting research because of a negative experience with her project. Though she reported feeling intimidated and overwhelmed during her first year of graduate school, her overall feelings about her graduate program were positive.

> "I kind of always had gone about school thinking like 'I just need to go and get this done and the only person that's going to help me get it done is myself'…And I had never applied for any scholarships or any other special programs or like trying to do anything above and beyond getting my degree done because I think I just didn't realize that the stuff that was out there was for students like me. I kind of thought like 'I just need to go through the hoops and get it done and get out of school and get a job.'"

This is another student who felt grateful to the program. She explained, *"I have mixed feelings about it. I know that if I had not gone through that experience um I would not have gotten into my grad program."* She explained that her mixed feelings had to do with her research project. She did not feel satisfied with her choice in mentor or in her finished project. She felt that this experience changed her perception of academia:

> "I think my idealized notion of what an academic does and who an academic is was just kind of a dream. Like, a romanticized version of ivory towers and corduroy jackets with elbow patches and you know pipes and libraries. So I think it was good that my project wasn't very successful because it made me realize actually 'no', what

I really want to be doing is I want to be out in the world and I want to have my feet on the ground and I want to be engaged with the community and have like on the ground.. I want to contribute to change on the ground. I don't want to contribute to change on the books or in the libraries. So in that way it was great because you know I mean if you learn that you don't want to do something, it's just as good as learning that you do want to do something. You narrow your path."

This student has a very specific view of academia because of her experience in a single research project. Though conducting further research, possibly with a different faculty member, might possibly change her views of research, at the present time she has decided that she simply did not understand what conducting research "looked like," and has decided it is not the route she would like to take in her career.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MCNAIR PROGRAM

This student's advice to the program is to have a mentor matching system or database. While she was aware that McNair staff and graduate students are helpful to students struggling to find a mentor, she felt that a more formal system would be helpful. She suggested that the Program maintain a list of previous mentors and the types of projects students had done with them.

ADVICE FOR FUTURE MCNAIR SCHOLARS

This student's advice to future McNair Scholars is that they choose their mentors wisely and take advantage of, as well as honor that relationship. Specifically, she advised choosing a mentor based on the type of research they do, both in methodology and subject matter (to be sure it aligns with the research design the student has in mind). She went on to list the specific benefits the Scholar stands to gain from a mentor such as getting recommendations into the programs best-suited for the student and gaining more network opportunities.

Summary

By exploring the ways the students understood their feelings about the program and the advice they would give to the Program as well as to future Scholars, we can begin to understand the ways that participation in the program impacted their experiences in graduate school. Each student experienced the McNair Program and their graduate program very differently. It is clear from the different themes that emerged from each of the interviews conducted that students focused on different aspects of the McNair Program and spent their first year of graduate school in vastly different programs.

CONCLUSION

Students faced a variety of challenges in their first year of graduate school. These issues included adjusting to new environments, developing relationships, understanding the graduate program, and making lifestyle changes. These issues all require understanding and making adjustments to be resolved. Even with the additional cultural capital students received from the McNair Program, strategies for resolution of these issues were often vague and unsuccessful. The McNair Program was able to prepare students for graduate study in practical ways, as well as helping them to change their habitus and view themselves as scholars and graduate students, providing them with a better understanding of the role of graduate student as well as the confidence and ability to enact that role successfully.

Self-selection of McNair alumni should be considered in these findings. It could be the case that students who chose not to respond to the email request for participation had a far different

experience in the McNair Program and in their graduate programs. Also, not all McNair Scholars go on to graduate school. It is likely that students who did not apply or who were not accepted to graduate programs would also have very different feelings about their experiences in the program.

Academic context should also be considered. PSU is a large urban campus, the students are generally older than traditional students and far more are transfer students. It is likely that a McNair Program participant from a more traditional campus would have a different experience than at PSU. McNair Programs also vary by funding and institution. The 2007-2011 funding cycle consisted of a three-term seminar and research project. Some Programs are one term long, while others are as long as two years. Because of differences in length and design of the program, it is possible that scholars will have vastly different experiences in different programs.

The limited sample size (four interviews) is also a challenge to understanding the ways that the McNair Program imports cultural capital to students. Because the McNair Program is interdisciplinary, it is important to understand the experiences of students from different fields. By interviewing more students, who are in a variety of different graduate programs, and who conducted their McNair Program research in many different fields, future study will provide a more complete picture of the effectiveness of the program in facilitating the completion of advanced degrees by first-generation, low-income and underrepresented group students.

It is clear from the interviews conducted that the McNair Program was successful in importing cultural capital to disadvantaged students in meaningful ways. Each of these students had a unique journey from undergraduate to graduate school. The McNair Program often helped to facilitate this transition, both by providing Scholars with the practical skills they need to navigate graduate school, and by providing students an avenue to change their habitus—to understand themselves as Scholars and as graduate students.

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Appendix 1: Introductory Email

Cristina Restad   Department of Sociology, PSU

1721 SW Broadway #217 Portland, OR 97207

Phone: 503-381-3058   Email: cristina.restad@gmail.com

Dear McNair Scholar,

You are invited to participate in a McNair Research Project study examining your experiences in your graduate program. This study will be conducted by undergraduate student Cristina Restad, with Dr. Peter Collier as faculty mentor. The purpose of this study is to explore the impacts of McNair Program participation on students during their first year of graduate study. We are particularly interested in the ways that these students understand what a successful graduate student is and how to be successful in graduate school. Your participation will contribute to our understanding and reporting of the ways that the McNair Program prepares students for graduate study as well as ways the program can improve that preparation in the future. This project may be expanded into a Master's Thesis in the future and your input will provide a foundational understanding of the first-year graduate experience of McNair Scholars.

The interview should take approximately one hour. Please review the Informed Consent form attached to this email at your earliest convenience. You will be asked for your consent before the interview is conducted. As the Informed Consent Form explains, these interviews will be tape-recorded unless you decline.

If you are interested in participating and are *in or recently completed your first year of graduate study*, please contact Cristina Restad at 503-381-3058 or via email at cristina.restad@gmail.com at your earliest convenience to set up an interview.

Best Regards,

Cristina Restad

Appendix 2: Informed Consent and Authorization to Record Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a McNair Research Project study examining your experiences in your graduate program. This study will be conducted by undergraduate student Cristina Restad, with Dr. Peter Collier as faculty mentor. The purpose of this study is to explore the impacts of McNair Program participation on students during their first year of graduate study. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you participated in the McNair Scholars Program at Portland State University.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to participate in an interview about your current experience in graduate school as well as your past experience in the McNair Program. The interview takes about an hour to complete. You have the option of not responding to any question that you feel uncomfortable in answering.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be linked to you or identify you will be kept confidential. This information will be kept confidential by the use of a numerical identification coding scheme. Your name will only be used on the Consent forms. All other documentation will be coded with a numerical code. The only copy of the key will remain in the possession of the principal investigator. Any published or discussed data will be either presented in a group format or will utilize the numerical code system. Because the sample size is small and restricted to PSU, there is potential loss of confidentiality with some staff and McNair Scholars in your cohort due to your specific responses in the interview. Cohorts will not be requested or documented at any point during this study. The researcher will attempt to minimize any potential identification by generalizing accounts.

Participation in the research project is voluntary. If you do decide not to participate you can stop at any time. The primary purpose of this research is to increase knowledge that may help other students and McNair staff in the future.

If you have concerns or problems about your participation in this study or your rights as a research subject, please contact the Human Subjects Research Review Committee at Research and Strategic Partnerships, Market Center Building, 6th floor, 1600 SW 4th Ave, Portland OR 97201, 503-725-4288. If you have questions about the study itself, contact Cristina Restad, 503-381-3058 or Dr. Peter Collier, 217-O Cramer Hall, 503-725-3961.

Informed Consent and Authorization to Record (Cont.)

_____

Printed Name

_____

Signature   Date

By signing above, I consent to be interviewed as a participant in this study.

The researcher will use a recording device in order to tape record the full interview between the participant and the researcher. Your signature on the line below gives your consent to having this interview tape-recorded. Please note that you may still participate in the study without being tape-recorded.

_____

Signature

If you would like to receive a final copy of the study, please list the email or postal mailing address below where you would like a copy of the final study sent.

_____

Email or Postal Mailing Address

My sincere thanks,

Cristina Restad

McNair Scholar's Program, 2012 Cohort

student interview #:

Appendix 3: Interview Guide

Follow-up/probe questions will be used for clarification and elaboration.

1.   What was your major at the time of your McNair experience?

2.   What graduate program are you in now?

3.   Tell me about why you enrolled in your graduate program.

4.   How do you feel about your graduate experience so far?

5.   What issues have you encountered in the first year of your program? (list)

probes: tell me a little bit more? What do you mean when you say…

• for each issue: How did you deal with this issues? how did you resolve this problem; what did you do? Is this still an issue? Would you have done things differently then knowing what you know now?

6.   What are the expectations in your current program if you want to be viewed as a 'good graduate student'?

• make list (and for each point – ask for elaboration: tell me a little bit more about X; what do you mean when you say X, could you give me an example of X

7.   Tell me a little bit about yourself as a college student before you were selected for the McNair Program.

 Probe: Had you considered going to graduate school? (if so) what kind of program?

8.   How do you feel about your McNair experience?

9.   In what ways did the McNair Program prepared you for graduate

study?

List: probe: Thinking back on your 1st year grad experiences, can you tell me a story about how this preparation helped in your current grad program?

(Uncued responses, followed by cued responses)

(probes if not specifically mentioned)

• getting in / filling out the forms

• conducting research

• working with faculty in grad student role / equal partner in research

• presenting at professional meetings

• is there anything else?

10.   If you could give one piece of advice to a new McNair Scholar about how best to use the program to prepare for graduate study, what would you tell her?

Probe: you spoke a bit about X, could you tell me more about X

11.   If you could make one recommendation to the McNair Program about how to better prepare students for graduate school, what would you tell them?

Probe: tell me more about X

Mixed-Race Studies;
Misstep or the next step for Ethnic Studies in a blending nation?

by
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Dr. Ann Mussey PhD

Abstract

In January of 2011, the New York Times reported that 2010 U.S. Census data shows that younger generations are self-reporting their racial identity as multiracial or mixed-race in higher numbers than ever before[1]. Classes in higher education that engage with race and ethnicity, often but not always as part of Ethnic Studies programs in universities, discuss and critique the categorizations of race and ethnicity. However, there is a social, political and economic power and privilege that groups have in being recognized as part of a categorized racial and/or ethnic group that mixed-race or multiracial identified individuals do not have when their identity is underrepresented or unrepresented. There is a very small number (under ten) universities in the U.S. that offer courses or programs that focus their study on a mixed-race identity. The potential problem in this change is a growing mixed-race identified population is the possibility that a growing number of students in classes that will not find a curriculum that centers on their racial experiences. That is the question I will address - are the racial experiences and understandings of mixed-race identified people being addressed in classes that engage with and critique race? I survey a small sample of students currently enrolled in classes which engage with race and ethnicity at Oregon universities about their racial experiences to find out if they see mixed-race studies as having a place in the future of "Ethnic Studies" classes in higher education.

Introduction

Race is not as simple as checking a box or a category on a form. Race is an identity, a lifetime of experiences; it is complex, fluid and a piece of one's self that holds many contradictions. I am writing from the standpoint that racism is real, and I will not be constructing an argument which seeks to support nor challenge the existence of institutional racism in the United States and globally. However, in the pursuit of knowledge, which is ideally a fundamental piece of higher education, it is my intention to analyze the examination of race in university classrooms where the curriculum centers upon the discussion and critique of race and ethnicity. In this essay I will first explain how racial categorizations came into use, the history that surrounds those parameters of race, the institutional inequity that has accompanied racial categorizations and the fluctuation of those categories up until the present time. I argue that racial categorizations do not accurately document racial identities and experiences and also that higher education is the platform by which we can effectively critique ongoing racial and ethnic categorization. Ideally it is also a place where space is created for students to learn and explain their own racial experiences and histories.

Despite the ambiguity of racial and ethnic identifications (which I discuss in detail later on) many academic programs have been set up to teach the experiences and histories of groups of people, such as Black and African-American Studies, Chicano/Latino Studies, Native and Indigenous Nations Studies, Asian Studies etc. Currently there are some (very few) universities that are beginning to include classes on Mixed-Race Studies as well. My field research is a survey with 49 students in Oregon universities currently enrolled in classes that critically engage with the subject of race and ethnicity.

What I explore in my research is if students view these classes (where curriculum centers on a mixed-race or multiracial identity) as having a place in higher education and whether or not the study would be helpful or counterproductive in the debate around the usefulness of racial and ethnic categorizations. Radical political, racially-based movements of the 1950s through the 1970s fought to create visibility of racial groups in efforts to discuss the very real oppression and racial

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[1] Saulny, Susan. "Black? White? Asian? More young americans choose all of the above." *The New York Times. Jan 29, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/30/us/30mixed.html?_r=3&ref=raceremixed&*

inequality they were experiencing because of their race. One of the things they shared was a demand for the right to an education that taught their own racial histories and experiences.

In her book *Ethnic Options,* Mary Waters argues that ethnic categories do not encompass the experience of ethnicity and ethnic identity for all people. From her own research into census data on self-reported ancestry, she writes:

> One thing that became clear from the data was that there was an awful lot of flux going on among these later-generation Americans – intermarriage was high, parents were not giving the same ancestry for their children as for themselves, and re-interview studies indicated that some people were changing their minds about their ancestry from survey to survey.[2]

I agree with Waters assertions although my research examines those who are not necessarily able to categorize their identity and experiences in a nation where we are still required to categorize ourselves. In looking at the experiences of mixed-race and multiracial identified people and the experience of occupying that middle-place between categorizations. I will argue later on that people do experience privilege by having a place in the categorization of race. If we were to agree with Waters' argument that categorizations of ancestry do not work, then we are ignoring the experience of gaining privilege and access to communities and resources through "passing" and/or being able to choose a category to fit into. As Margaret Hunter writes in "The Beauty Queue: Advantages of Light Skin," "In the United States, color, more than any other physical characteristic, signifies race. But "color" is also an attribute of individuals – human skin tone varies within and across 'race' categories."[3] What Hunter is arguing is that beauty, privilege and power are associated with light skin even within communities of color, and color creates a rift within communities based on a narrative which effectively oppresses all people of color. Skin color has the ability to determine if an individual experiences empowerment and/or ostracism within their own community as well as within the narrative of the dominant (in this case White) group. The issue of race difference and color difference are inextricably linked to systemic inequality. Although being able to "pass" as part of a marginalized community may allow for a person to have visibility, "passing" as part of the dominant community associates one with the position of the oppressor. This position of negotiating ones identity in order to gain or lose visibility and access to resources is an experience that some mixed-race people encounter; which are unique experiences that differ from being part of a recognized racial group.

The question I asked in my field research is - do mixed-race students feel that their experiences are being adequately engaged with in their education – I explore their responses for an answer to whether or not mixed-race studies, a study based on a new racial category *can* and whether or not they *should* have a place in the future of higher education.

Part I

A Failing Definition of Terms; "Race," "Ethnic," and "Ethnicity"

In this paper it is important to note that I use both "race" and "ethnicity" and often discuss them in a similar context. These are two different terms applying to two different forms of categorization, where "race" is typically used to refer to the physical features of an individual (such as hair type, skin color, eye color, bone structure) while ethnicity is typically used to indicate one's culture,

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[2] Waters, Mary C.. Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. xii

[3] Hunter, Margaret L. "The Beauty Queue: Advantaged of Light Skin" *Race In An Era of Change: A Reader.* Dalmage, Heather and Katz Rothman, Barbara. New York. Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. 83

history, region, beliefs, language and sometimes nationality. Though nationality is a separate identity categorization, ethnicity is sometimes used to indicate nationality. The reason I say that these are "typical" uses of the terms is because there are *not stable or consistent definitions of either "race" or "ethnicity."*

Here is a diagram of the definitions of "race" as written by the Oxford Dictionary, Merriam-Webster Dictionary and from Dictionary.com. They have been given a standard format but the text is copied directly from each source as printed. The bold sections of text on the charts will be discussed later on.

Oxford English Dictionary[4]	Merriam-Webster Dictionary[5]	Dictionary.com[6]
race2 (second definition)	race3(third definition)	race2 (second definition)
Noun	Noun	Noun
each of the major divisions of humankind, having distinct physical characteristics: people of all races, colors, and creeds	*a breeding stock of animals*	*group of persons related by common descent or heredity.*
a group of people sharing the same culture, history, language, etc.; an ethnic group: we Scots were a bloodthirsty race then	*a family, tribe, people, or nation belonging to the same stock*	*a population so related.*
the fact or condition of belonging to a racial division or group; the qualities or characteristics associated with this: people of mixed race	*a **class or kind of people unified by shared interests, habits, or characteristics***	***Anthropology a. any of the traditional divisions of humankind,** the commonest being the caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negro, **characterized by supposedly distinctive and universal physical characteristics**: no longer in technical use.*
a group or set of people or things with a common feature or features: some male firefighters still regarded women as a race apart	*an actually or potentially interbreeding group within a species; also **: a taxonomic category (as a subspecies) representing such a group*	*b. **an arbitrary classification of modern humans,** sometimes, especially formerly, based on any or a combination of various physical characteristics, as skin color, facial form, or eye shape, and now frequently based on such genetic markers as blood groups.*
***Biology** a population within a species that is distinct in some way, especially a subspecies: people have killed so many tigers that two races are probably extinct*	*a **category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits***	*c. a human population partially isolated reproductively from other populations, whose members share a greater degree of physical and genetic similarity with one another than with other humans.*
(in nontechnical use) each of the major divisions of living creatures: a member of the human race the race of birds	*obsolete **:** inherited temperament or disposition*	*a group of tribes or peoples forming an ethnic stock: the Slavic race.*
literary a group of people descended from a common ancestor: a prince of the race of Solomon	*distinctive flavor, taste, or strength*	***any people united by common history, language, cultural traits, etc.: the Dutch race.***
archaic ancestry: two coursers of ethereal race	***Medical Definition 1** a: an actually or potentially interbreeding group within a species; also **:** a taxonomic category (as a subspecies) representing such a group, b: breed*	
	Medical Definition 2: a category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits	
Origin	**Origin**	**Origin**
early 16th century** (denoting a group with common features): via French from Italian **razza, of unknown ultimate origin	*Middle French, generation, from Old Italian **razza. First Known Use: 1580***	***1490–1500**; < French < Italian **razza, of obscure origin***

These are the following definitions of "ethnicity" and of "ethnic."

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[4] "race". Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford University Press. 24 September 2012 http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/race--2

[5] "race" Merriam-Webster Dictionaries. April 2008. Merriam-Webster Dictionaries. 11th ed. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/race

[6] "race." *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, Inc. 30 Sep. 2012. <Dictionary.com http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/race>.

Oxford English Dictionary[7]	Merriam-Webster Dictionary[8]	Dictionary.com[9]
Ethnicity	*Ethnicity*	*Ethnicity*
Noun	*Noun*	*Noun*
the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition: *the interrelationship between gender, ethnicity, and class*	*ethnic quality or affiliation: students of diverse ethnicities*	***ethnic traits, background, allegiance or association***.
	a particular ethnic affiliation or group: students of diverse ethnicities	*an ethnic group: Representatives of several ethnicities were present*
Origin	**Origin**	**Origin**
(information not provided)	***First known use – 1950***	***1765-75***, *for earlier sense: ethnic + -ity*

Oxford English Dictionary[10]	Merriam-Webster Dictionary[11]	Dictionary.com[12]
Ethnic	**Ethnic**	**Ethnic**
Adjective	Adjective	Adjective
of or relating to a population subgroup (within a larger or dominant national or cultural group) with a common national or cultural tradition: leaders of ethnic communities	***Heathen***	***pertaining to or characteristic of a people, especially a group (ethnic group) sharing a common and distinctive culture, religion, language***, *or the like*
of or relating to national and cultural origins: *two playwrights of different ethnic origins*	*of or relating **to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background**: ethnic minorities*	***referring to the origin, classification, characteristics***, *etc., of such groups*
denoting origin by birth or descent rather than by present nationality: *ethnic Albanians in Kosovo*	*being a member of a specified ethnic group <an ethnic German>*	*being a member of an ethnic group, especially of a group that is a minority within a larger society: ethnic Chinese in San Francisco*
characteristic of or belonging to a non-Western cultural tradition: *ethnic dishes*	*of, relating to, or characteristic of ethnics: ethnic neighborhoods, ethnic foods*	*of, pertaining to, or characteristic of members of such a group*
archaic neither Christian nor Jewish; pagan or heathen.		***belonging to or deriving from the cultural, racial, religious or linguistic traditions of a people or country***: *ethnic dances*
		Obsolete. Pagan; heathen.
Origin	**Origin**	**Origin**
late Middle English (denoting a person not of the Christian or Jewish faith): via ecclesiastical Latin from Greek ethnikos 'heathen', from ethnos 'nation'. ***Current senses date from the 19th century***	*(information not provided)*	***1325-75;*** *Middle English ethnik heathen < Late Latin ethnicus < Greek ethnikos*

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[7] "ethnicity" Oxford Dictionaries. 2010.
[8] "ethnicity" Merriam-Webster Dictionaries. 2008.
[9] "ethnicity" Dictionary.com. 2012.
[10] "ethnic" Oxford Dictionaries. 2010.
[11] "ethnic" Merriam-Webster Dictonaries. 2008.
[12] "ethnic" Dictionary.com. 2012.

The definitions, sources of definitions, and origins all vary from dictionary to dictionary, where both race and ethnicity are defined as culture, language, region, interests, descent and nationality, as well as through shared physical traits. In light of these definitions, race and ethnicity intersect, and these examples demonstrate how race and ethnicity are identified and discussed using a common language. Without endorsing the interchange between using "race" and "ethnicity" I use both identity categories in context to illustrate how they are discussed in referenced texts, as well as by how respondents who took part in my research study self-identified in their own words.

It is also notable that both Oxford Dictionaries and Merriam-Webster Dictionaries rely on medical definitions of race while Dictionary.com uses anthropological definitions of race, all with ambiguous origins. In this paper I will discuss why medical definitions as well as sociological and anthropological sources have been used to identify race. While "ethnicity" is defined centrally as the noun of the adjective "ethnic," both definitions are provided and "ethnic" is defined by Merriam-Webster in one way as "heathen" while Oxford identifies ethnic as characteristic of belonging to non-Western cultural tradition. What is evident in these definitions is an evocation of distaste, as well as an implicit statement that Western tradition is not "ethnic." This effectively normalizes Western traditions as the standard by which "other" traditions are categorized as "ethnic," *and* the Oxford Dictionary touts itself as "the world's most trusted dictionaries." These definitions serve to support Mary Waters' argument, that for Americans who identify and can pass as white, having an ethnic identity is a personal choice, an option that does not affect every-day life; choosing not to have an ethnic identity simply makes one "more American." She argues that the accompanying effect of ethnic options on race relations in the U.S. is that an ethnic identity does interfere in all areas of daily life for people who are visibly identifiable as non-white.[13] Her belief then, is that ethnic identification has a negative outcome exclusively for people of color, despite the fact that people of all ethnic identities are nationally required to identify their racial and ethnic identities.

The way in which the United States has sought to numerically tabulate and categorize people by manufactured identity categories, such as race or ethnicity, is through self-reported census data collected every ten years, beginning in 1790. However, the racial composition of the United States has obviously changed over time and the details of changing racial formation can only be explained through its historical context and significance.

A Brief History and Purpose of Racial Categorization in the U.S.

There is no way to write a brief history of race in the United States that is all-encompassing of the experiences of all people, except to explain the origins of racial categorizations and some of the major social phenomena which determined the lives of people based on their racial identities. Racial formation and identity have taken many shapes in the history of the United States; all of which carry a unique purpose as well as a unique history. As mentioned earlier, the way in which people document racial composition and change in United States is through census data collected every decade from 1790 up until the most recent 2010 census.

However, what is not so explicitly written in the history of the United States is that in 1790 (14 years after the U.S. declared itself an independent nation) "English-stock Americans" counted for only 49.2% of the total population (3,172,444 in 1790) of the United States. And Blacks were the second largest identifiable group, comprising 19.3% of the population. In fact, Blacks were 2.7 times as numerous as the second largest White population – the Germans. This means that there were more Africans than Europeans in America during the colonial period. And 92% of Blacks were

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[13] Waters, Mary C.. Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. 147, 156

slaves. [14] It is also necessary to take into consideration that at the time of the first census report, slaves were taxable property, and the census is self-reported data; thus the likelihood of under-reported slave populations to save taxation is very high. Slavery was legal in the Western Hemisphere for 396 years from 1492 to 1888 where Brazil was the last country to abolish legal slavery. And as Joane Nagel writes in her book *Race, Ethnicity and Sexuality*,

> No territory was more likely to be seen as a barren of civilization and empty of civilized peoples than the 'Dark Continent" of Africa. Europeans casual musings about exploiting and Africans were not new notions for the New World. When Columbus boarded the Santa Maria and set sail west, the Europeans he left behind had been exploiting and enslaving Africans for at least a century, and much longer if the Greeks and Romans are taken into account, since both of these European-based empires were built on the backs of slave labor and stolen land. [15]

Nagel also points out that Europeans also transported beliefs with them about native and tribal peoples as they voyaged from the "Old World" into the "New World." And the Old World "primitives" included groups such as the Irish, Sicilians, and the Samis. [16] It also can absolutely not be overlooked that indigenous peoples who were native to these newly colonized areas also faced enslavement, genocide and forcible removal from their lands. Bartolomé da Las Casas, a Spanish bishop and mentor to Columbus is a lesser-known personality than Columbus, but his influence on the slave trade cannot be overlooked. Las Casas was a prominent figure in the council of the Indes, and it was he who suggested to the council the replacement of African slaves for those of the indigenous people. The need for replacement was due to the fact that the illnesses brought from Europe to newly colonized areas had wiped out a majority of the native populations. This is what is written in *The History of the Indes:*

> Before the invention of mills here, a few residents who had acquired money by means of Indian sweat, seeing their Indians die rapidly, asked for license to import black slaves. Some even promised Clergyman Casas, to free their Indians in exchange for a dozen Negroes. At that time the clergyman enjoyed the favor of the King and was in charge of promoting the Indian cause; thus he procured black slaves in exchange for Indian freedom…[following the transportation of Black slaves] Yet the Indians were not freed nor were their burdens alleviated, and Casas would do nothing for them. [17]

The point then in this context, is that people have been enslaved in the United States since its inception (before the United States went from a collection of colonies to an independent nation) and those enslaved were done so on the basis of their physical appearance, culture, and their place of origin. These are the very traits that are currently used to designate race and ethnicity.

But it is a grave misconception to say that it was only people with dark skin who were used for slave labor in colonial times. Irish, Italian and Jewish Americans were also designated as part of a lesser class but not by their distinguishable physical traits, rather by their place of origin, religion and cultural difference from the dominant class. This is why the authors of two volumes of *Racial Formation in the United States,* Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue that the "ethnicity based paradigm" played a defining role in racial formation in the United States. [18] They write that the

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[14] Archdeacon, Thomas J. *Becoming American An Ethnic History.* New York. The Free Press. Macmillan Inc.1983. pp. 24
[15] Nagel, Joane. "Sex and Race: The Color of Sex in America" *Race, Ethnicity and Sexuality.* New York. Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. 91.
[16] Nagel 91
[17] Collard, Andree. *The History of the Indes.* New York & London. Harper & Row Publishers. 1971. Pp. 257-258
[18] Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1986). *Racial formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1980s* (p. 201). Routledge & Kegan Paul. Pp. 23

ethnicity paradigm does acknowledge Black "uniqueness" because of their experience of institutionalized discrimination rooted in slavery; however, the Irish exemplify an ethnicity-based paradigm of racialization. It is true that the Irish were indentured servants, different than the designation of slave; however, what is often overlooked is that the Irish who immigrated to the United States were in fact slaves to the British before their forcible removal from Europe. [19] Although the Irish fit into the current understanding of "whiteness," their rejection from the dominant class in the early United States was based rather on their ethnic group – specifically their religion, customs and country of origin. However, there is no way of equalizing or comparing the experiences of people who are enslaved and oppressed based on their ethnic designation to those of African and Indigenous origins. This is only to explain the history of racial formation in the United States and to articulate that many groups experienced oppression based on loosely-defined categorizations of people.

Omi and Winant elaborate on the historical flexibility of other racial categorizations as well. They write,

> Consider the US Census. The racial categories used in census enumeration have varied widely from decade to decade. Groups such as Japanese-Americans have moved from categories such as 'non-white,' 'Oriental,' or simply 'Other' to recent inclusion as a specific 'ethnic; group under the broader category of 'Asian and Pacific Islanders.' The variation both reflects and in turn shapes racial understanding and dynamics. It establishes often contradictory parameters of racial identity into which both individuals and groups must fit.[20]

Omi and Winant also explain that this way of categorizing people by "ethnicity" is much more recent, coming about during the mid-1900s which they call the "ethnicity-based paradigm," and they also claim that this has become the dominant paradigm. They argue that the ethnicity-based paradigm, as all paradigms of racial categorization, arose as a response to the changing social and political views that reflected their respecting time periods.[21] These changes that they refer to are the social and political transformation from viewing race as biological (which arose from "scientific" attempts to prove racial superiority of whites) to viewing it in sociological terms. They explain

> The ethnicity-based paradigm arose in the 1920s and 1930s as an explicit challenge to the prevailing racial views of the period. The pre-existing biological paradigm had evolved since the downfall of racial slavery to explain racial inferiority as part of a natural order of humankind. Whites were considered the superior race; white skin was the norm while other colors were exotic mutations which had to be explained, Race was equated with distinct hereditary characteristics. Differences in intelligence, temperament, and sexuality (among other traits) were deemed to be racial in character. Racial intermixture was seen as a sin against nature which would lead to the creation of 'biological throwbacks.' These were some of the assumptions in social Darwinist, Spencerist and eugenicist thinking about race and race relations. But by the early decades of the twentieth century biologism was losing coherence.[22]

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[19] McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *The Irish position in British and in republican North America* Montreal. M. Longmore and Co. Printing House. 1866. Pp. 11

[20] Omi and Winant pp. 3

[21] Omi and Winant pp. 14-15
[22] Omi and Winant 14-15

In this statement, they mention the medical colonization of race that sociologists were attempting to move away from in this more ethnicity-based method of racial reorganization. W.E.B. Dubois eloquently describes the experience of Black slaves during the Reconstruction Period following the theoretical end (I say theoretical because there are many accounts of peonage that lawmakers were/are aware of which continue into the late 20th century) to legal slavery in the United States. Dubois writes, "[T]he slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again towards slavery."[23] During the time of legal slavery, there were a set of laws called the "Slave Codes" which regulated the behavior and treatment of slaves. Immediately following the emancipation proclamation, former slave states passed legislation of a revision of the Slave Codes called the Black Codes. And as Angela Davis writes in *Are Prisons Obsolete?*

> The new Black Codes proscribed a range of actions – such as vagrancy, absence of work, breach of job contracts, the possession of firearms and insulting gestures or acts – that were criminalized only when the person was Black….Particularly in the United States, race has always played a central role in construction presumptions of criminality.[24]

The official Black Codes were established in former slave states, but a national system of legal segregation also emerged during the reconstruction period which is most commonly referred to as the Jim Crow era, based upon a popular minstrel show performer at the time who used the character name "Jim Crow." Michelle Alexander, the author of *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness,* calls this era the beginning of "a new racial caste system."[25] The Black Codes and Jim Crow were both legal forms of discrimination, although Black-Americans were also subject to extralegal subjugation such as lynching and terrorization by white hate-groups like the Klu Klux Klan, who especially targeted Blacks among others. And Jim Crow laws persisted for approximately one hundred years after legal slavery ended in the United States. One way legal segregation was justified for such a lengthy period of time was through popularized Social Darwinist approaches to "science" such as the eugenics initiative.

The eugenics program and the scientific colonization of race started to gain momentum in the late 1800s. These were new methods of justifying the mistreatment and dehumanization of the "undesirable" divisions of the population, Blacks in particular. During this period we started to see some new ideologies on race begin to surface. Before this time, white superiority was just assumed but during this time period "researchers" attempted to "prove" the physical evolutionary superiority of white Europeans. There is very little (if any) productive information worth noting that surfaced from Francis Galton's (a British researcher who pioneered the eugenic initiative) research and eugenics program. The purpose of the research was to "encompass the social uses to which knowledge of heredity could be put in order to achieve the goal of 'better breeding.'"[26] Researchers attempted to biologically define race and to scientifically prove the superiority of whites, but in the end they were unable to find any evidence that race is in any way biological. This proved to be a catalyst for sociologists' efforts to promote the notion that race is actually a social-constructed idea. Unfortunately the eugenics program cannot be either diminished or disregarded, as their research gained immense support and some of the literature it produced was quite influential to the past and present national consciousness on race. Here is an example of some of the eugenics literature included in a college textbook which was used for a "Western Civilization" course taught in the early 1900s.

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[23] Du Bois, W.E.B. *Black Reconstruction in America*. New York. Free Press. 1999.

[24] Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York. Seven Stories Press. 2003. Pp. 28
[25] Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* New York & London. The New Press. 2010. Pp. 20
[26] Stepan, Nancy. *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. Ithaca, NY. Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp.1

The Ancient Greeks and Romans belonged to the Caucasian race. Among the individuals of this race we fins the most perfect types of beauty, strength, physical and intellectual power, and of harmonious proportion of all parts which make up a human being. The typical Caucasian, then, may be considered the typical man, and all others as departures from this type…In intelligence and civilization the Caucasian race takes the lead.[27]

The term "Caucasian" surfaced from the eugenics research and it still remains in use as a method of identifying one's race as white. But if we skip a little further ahead, this is what the same textbook has to say about the "negro" race.

Members of the Ethiopian or negro race are known by their dark skin, varying from a jet black to brown or dusky, their short woolly hair, prominent jaws, thick lips, retreating foreheads, head full back of the ears, broad flat note, generally ungainly form…In average mental power it takes the lowest rank…The negroes of Africa have from nature no feeling which transcends the childish level[28]

And finally, this is what it has to say about the purity of the "Caucasian" race:

To illustrate, the greatest civilization has been among the European or Caucasian race. This race is noted for its intellectual and physical superiority, as well as for its restless and aggressive energy. Let a branch of this race be given the same physical surroundings as a branch of one of the other races, and the result in the course of time as far as rapid advancement is concerned, will be largely in its favor.[29]

In this final example, we can see that scientists at this time were so convinced by the superiority of whites ("Caucasians") that they believed even a mixture of their genetics with any other race would ensure their advancement over those without such coveted genetics. Blacks fall at the bottom of the list of all desired characteristics. As is obvious by this text, the "research findings" of eugenics were more or less a collective list of observations based on an already racially biased standpoint. Taking into consideration that this was a textbook used in a science class in American universities, from this we can easily determine that contrary to popular belief, neither history nor science are objective studies, particularly when conclusions are extrapolated from the eugenics 'research.'

The point of relaying these pivotal historical events is not to illustrate the entire unfolding of American history, but rather to give some context into the formation of the current ethnicity-based discourse on race. From the building of the nation upon slave labor to Affirmative Action debates in the 1980s and 1990s, and even in the debates of the current 2012 Presidential election – race is an issue that stirs debate, and it is a reflection of Americas racial past. From its inception the United States have always maintained notions of race which determined the conditions which people lived under, based on their differences from the dominant class. So when we look at a process like the census data collection taken every ten years it is important to know how those numbers were collected and used for national interests.

Needless to say, the process by which census data is collected has changed during the dramatic transformation of the United States from 1790 until the present time. For the past four decades (from 1970 – present) the Interagency Committee for the Review of the Racial and Ethnic Standards, a division of the Whitehouse Office of Management & Budget is responsible for the

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[27] Lind M.D., G. Dallas. *The Marvelous Story of Man*. Thompson & Thomas. 1900. Pp. 138,139
[28] Lind pp.144, 277
[29] Lind pp. 474

revisions made to racial and ethnic categorizations on the U.S. census.[30] For example, the primary revision made between the previous 2000 census categorizations and the 2010 census is with the category of "Hispanic or Latino" people. "Hispanic or Latino" is an ethnic category because it indicates specifically place of origin (the place of origin is also non-specific as they include most of the Latin American and South American nations and sometimes Spain) and the 2000 census treated it as an ethnic category where a person who identified ethically as "Hispanic or Latino" could identify as any race from the following racial categories: White, Black or African-American, Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, and Some Other Race. The 2000 census reported that a majority of those who identified as "Hispanic or Latino" also identified as White or Some Other Race.[31] In the 2010 census a revision was made. It reads:

> "Definition of Hispanic or Latino Origin Used in the 2010 Census - 'Hispanic or Latino refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race."[32]

Later on in the census report, it is explained in more detail:

> People of Hispanic origin may be any race. For the 2010 Census, a new instruction was added immediately preceding the questions on Hispanic origin and race, which was not used in Census 2000. The instruction stated that 'For☐this census, Hispanic origins are not races' because in the federal statistical system, Hispanic origin is considered to be a separate concept from race. However, this did not preclude individuals from self- identifying their race as "Latino," "Mexican," "Puerto Rican," "Salvadoran," or other national origins or ethnicities; in fact, many did so. If the response provided to the race question could not be classified in one or more of the five OMB race groups, it was generally classified in the category Some Other Race. Therefore, responses to the question on race that reflect a Hispanic origin were classified in the Some Other Race category.[33]

The result from this 2010 revision is that "Hispanic and Latino" are reported together, *but as a separate race category from all other groups*, titled in the report "Hispanic or Latino Origin and Race." Hispanic and Latino individuals (as characterized by the given description) could report their individual racial identity from the provided six racial categories, but only in reference to their Hispanic or Latino identity. This way, their racial identity was not reported with the rest of the racial data as it had been previously in the 2000 census. Changes like these theoretically help to report data trends more accurately, but they can also profoundly influence statistical data reflecting the total population. This is especially important considering the "Hispanic and Latino" population is the second (the first being White Alone) largest population of 50,477,594 from the total population of 308,745,538 and also accounting for over half of the total population growth between 2000 and 2010. An interesting fact to note in revisions like this between 2000 and 2010, is the population growth of self-reported "White non-Hispanic" people declined by 5% and in the footnote accompanying this statistic reads:

> The observed changes in race and Hispanic origin counts between Census 2000

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[30] Office of Management and Budget http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg_1997standards

[31] Estimates projections, P., Modified, T., Summary, R., States, U., Rico, P., Bureau, T. C., & Program, P. E. (2010). MODIFIED RACE SUMMARY FILE METHODOLOGY, 2 http://www.census.gov/popest/research/modified.html

[32] Estimates projections, P., Modified, T., Summary, R., States, U., Rico, P., Bureau, T. C., & Program, P. E. (2010). MODIFIED RACE SUMMARY FILE METHODOLOGY, 2 http://www.census.gov/popest/research/modified.html pp 2
[33] MODIFIED RACE SUMMARY FILE METHODOLOGY, 2-4

and the 2010 Census could be attributed to a number of factors. Demographic change since 2000, which includes births and deaths in a geographic area and migration in and out of a geographic area, will have an impact on the resulting 2010 Census counts. *Additionally, some changes in the race and Hispanic origin questions' wording and format since Census 2000 could have influenced reporting patterns in the 2010 Census.*[34]

The report itself claims inconsistencies in the data, yet we rely on it as the most accurate measurement of the nation's demographics. The fact that "Hispanic or Latino" is identified by the census regulations as an *ethnic* category, but *racial* data from "Hispanic or Latino" folks are reported in a completely separate data set from the racial data of the total population cannot be taken lightly. These revisions to racial and ethnic categorizations that are done before each U.S. census, demonstrate the fluidity of identity that cannot be so easily recorded by checking a box. If revisions are made to racial and ethnic categories each time there is a census collected, then there are going to be different results each time. The census report has the ability to alter data outcomes based on revisions in order to reach a desired outcome. In *Race and Immigration*, Gerald Jaynes hypothesizes that definitions of race can be changed in order to maintain the Black/White Paradigm even as racial mixing and integration persists.[35] If Hispanic or Latino people can independently self-determine their race, then if categories like "light-skinned Latino" and "dark-skinned Latino" are constructed, then this maintains a continuum based on Black-White dichotomous perceptions of race.

The Black Panther Party, the Present, and the Ongoing Resistance to Mixed-Race Categories

Being a part of two or more "racial groups" is not a new identity, however the recognition of a racial identity as "mixed race" is still under debate. In 2012 the ability for an individual to mark their identity as "mixed race" without further explanation is extremely limited as is often ambiguous. It occupies a "middle place" within the current categorizations and understandings of race that exist. Mixed-race or multi-racial comes with a follow-up question that aims to answer one thing - what mix? Mixed-race does not immediately provide a visual understanding of what a person looks like and what traits we can associate them with, in contrast to a more "fixed" racial group. Are you part Black? White? Latino/Chicano? East Asian? South Asian? Indigenous? What are you? The preoccupation of "what mix" is not a benign question because it effectively categorizes one more narrowly as part of an oppressed or dominant racial group. The question seeks to determine ultimately the color of one's skin. Going back to Hunter's argument, even within communities of color skin-tone determines the level of acceptance and empowerment and because of the link between skin-color and power. The question of "what mix"" is pressed to find out whether a mixed person is a part of what community and whether or not they are gaining power from their position of ambiguity.

The requisite of knowing "what mix" is laden within a torrential history where physical traits determine one's ability to prosper or endure in what bell hooks commonly refers to as "a white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy." In a society where there is such an emphasis on *knowing* one's specific racial makeup due to a long history of racial oppression in the United States, ambiguity means invisibility. Those who are marginalized by their race or ethnicity have limited resources and racial/ethnic solidarity is one of the ways that social organizations have come together to serve the needs of their people. Omi and Winant discuss the importance of radical social movements in the changing national views on race when the ethnicity paradigm (which they call the dominant paradigm of ethnicity and the centerpiece of liberal racial politics) was introduced in the mid-

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[34] MODIFIED RACE SUMMARY FILE METHODOLOGY pp 5

[35] Jaynes 4

1900s. Radical social movements of the time used the ethnicity paradigm to demand further restructuring – "one which would recognize the pervasiveness of racial oppression not only in 'normal politics' but in the organizing of the labor market, in the geography of living space, and in the forms of cultural life."[36] During this period of transformation the Black Power movement, a movement that mobilized around these new definitions of race, came into being. The face of this movement, the Black Panther Party (originally the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense) formed with the agenda of creating a community where the needs of specifically Black communities could be met. When Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale formed the organization together in 1966 they created a "Ten Point Program" (later named the Ten Point Platform) which articulated what the party called for. They demanded ten things,

1. "We want freedom. We want the power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our white community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American history. We want the education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from the military service.
7. We want an immediate end to the [emphasized] Police Brutality and Murder of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in a court by a jury of their peer group -- people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United-Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as our national destiny."[37]

As Mumia Abu-Jamal writes in *We Want Freedom,* "the [Ten-Point] program, while central to the Party, was not the ideology of the Party; it was more of an organizing tool. It was a way of getting folks to think about change, and it proposed solutions to problems faced by Black folks around the nation."[38] The significance of this platform and social organization cannot be overstated, especially considering the deliberate attempt to bury and disregard the party as radical, violent and unimportant. The Panther platform was dangerous because it negated the ideological power of the United States government. As evidenced by the *Marvelous Story of Man* textbook, students in public schools are taught ideas that do not threaten the fabric of U.S. institutions, thus there is no standard of teaching about the Panthers in U.S. public schools.

Although what is critical to note with the example of the Black Panthers, is that Black folks were able to come together based on their identity as a Black individual. The party did not consist solely of Black identified people, however it was their intention to change the social conditions facing oppressed communities starting with the Black community. Some of the survival programs started by the Black Panther Party were the free breakfast program, the free clothing and shoes program, the free ambulance program, sickle-cell anemia testing, police-alert patrols, the Panther newsletter (*The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service)*, Seniors Against a Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) and a free pest control program. The programs were categorized into four social policy

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[36] Omi and Winant 139

[37] Abu-Jamal, Mumia. We Want Freedom. Cambridge, Massachusetts: South-End Press, 2004. (97-100)

[38] Abu-Jamal 101

areas: human sustenance, health, education and criminal justice. [39] These programs were extremely successful while the party was active. In Lee Lew-Lee's documentary "All Power to the People," Emory Douglas explains that Jessie Andrew, the former Treasurer of the state of California said that the Black Panther Party was feeding more hungry children every day than the United States government in their free-breakfast program.[40]

Many of the programs that exist today, still exist because of the work that the panthers were doing. As Mumia Abu-Jamal writes, "Organizations such as the Black Panther Party, which have appreciable impacts on community consciousness and political development, do not simply fade into the ether. Throughout African-American history, we have seen the demise of one group presage the rise and development of another."[41] A number of local radical and revolutionary formations following the Panthers took the baton and continued the race that the Panthers began. In Philadelphia, ex-Panther members formed the Black United Liberation Front that continued many of the Panther survival programs (including the free-breakfast program) in the local area. The New African Vanguard Movement began in Los Angeles in 1994, which is an organization founded by the collective leadership of some former Panthers and many others that uses an updated version of the original Panther platform (the "Eight Point Platform") and is still active.[42] The Panther legacy takes many forms but their transformative revolutionary message has stayed strong through the people.

The Panthers were specifically set up to fight for the rights of Black folks; however, they expanded their outreach and partnerships to several other growing organizations under the same Panther ideology, "All Power to All People." At the time of his death at age 21, Fred Hampton the leader of the Chicago chapter of the party was putting together what was called the Rainbow Coalition which was a declaration of the Black Panther Party's partnership with other social organizations forming at that time. It was meant to assemble all movements fighting for the rights of their people, including the Young Patriots, the Chicano Brown Berets, the Puerto Rican Young Lords, the American Indian Movement, the Red-Guard, everyone. It was the "multi-ethnic" political partnership that Huey Newton later on extended to partnership with the Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation movements as the first major social organization to partner with the Gay Liberation movement. [43] The alignment (not merging because they retained their individuality) of these organizations was done with the purpose of gaining rights for all oppressed people of every color. In "Brown Power to Brown People: Radical Ethnic Nationalism, the Black Panthers and Latino Radicalism, 1967-1973" Jefferey Ogbar writes,

> In many instances it was Latinos who proved to be the Panthers' most intimate allies. By 1967 the Brown Berets had become the first major organization to model itself after the BPP, emerging as a self-described 'shock troops' for a burgeoning Chicano movement...People of Mexican descent in the United States, like many other people of color, had sought to approximate the cultural standards of white

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[39] Abron, JoNina M.. ""Serving the People": The Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party."
    The Black Panther Party Reconsidered. 1st ed. Charles E. Jones. 1st ed. Baltimore, Maryland: Black Classic Press, 2005. 179.

[40] Lew-Lee, Lee, dir. *All Power to the People!*. Dir. Emory Douglas. Santa Monica Video Inc., 1996. Film. 23 Sep 2012.
    http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iWJmnFNF8no.

[41] Abu-Jamal 233
[42] Abu-Jamal 234, 235

[43] Hilliard, David, and Donald Weise. *The Huey P. Newton Reader*. 1st ed. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002. 157-160.
    Print.

Americans, despite the overt hostility they endured at the hands of those whites. From the European standard of beauty to the pride that people took to proclaiming European ancestry (or the denial of Indian or African ancestry), Mexican people experiences the psychological effects of racism, again as had black people"[44]

He was careful to note that Mexican-Americans, or "bronze" people experience racism as people of color in the United States. The Brown Berets even drafted "eight points of attention" which copied verbatim the [Panther] Party's eight points.[45] The partnership between the Panthers and the Brown Berets predominately took place with the west coast chapters in California, and on the east coast, Ogbar writes that "none had more intimate ties with the Black Panther Party or the Black Power movement than the largely Puerto Rican Young Lords Organization.[46] Organizing and political movements for Black and Brown people happened together during the Black Power movement.

To attest for the American Indian Movement Leonard Paltier, an active member of AIM during in the 1960s and 1970s explained "Well of course we had our own programs you know, the American Indian Movement, and we started but we patterned them after the Black Panthers organizations. We had free breakfasts, we built schools, we had our own clinics, and we went into of course communication. A lot of the things the panthers did, we patterned our ideas off of them."[47] Even more specifically, Dan Berger writes in "The Struggle is for Land" that AIM started a twenty point program that stressed land, resources and self-determination, which was more or less their own version of the Panther platform tailored to the needs of Indigenous communities living in the United States.[48] The Black Panthers were dedicated to the empowerment of all people and they forged these alliances with the Brown Berets, the Young Lords, the American Indian Movement and many more organizations, and their stance was reflected in their party slogan: "We say All Power to All the People – Black Power to Black people, and Brown Power to Brown people, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow people. We say White Power to White people"[49]

So again, what is the significance of the Black Panther Party and their allegiance to organizations that fought against oppression of their people? They *all* had a racial or ethnic identity at the core of their ideological actions. All of these organizations shared in the Panther beliefs and every single one of them called for a change in the institutional, political and socioeconomic structure nationally and globally – for *their people*. I argue that mixed-race people of color (and light-skinned people) were certainly involved in some, but more than likely all of these organizations at some level – but there is no mention in the Panther scriptures about a mixed identity or a partial Black identity. One would have had to choose their ethnicity, their race accordingly to be a part of these communities as they experienced the same struggles, just as Assata Shakur, Elaine Brown, Kathleen Cleaver, Afeni Shakur among many other women leaders of the Black Panther Party explained that they were all put in the place (internally and externally) where they had to choose which was more important – being Black or being a woman.[50][51] The Black Panther Party at the height of its membership was by majority women members[52], yet the alliance between the Panthers and the

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[44] Ogbar, Jeffrey O.G.. "Brown Power to Brown People: Radical Ethnic Nationalism, the Black Panthers, and Latino Radicalism, 1967-1973." *In Search of the Black Panther Party*. Ed. Lazero, Jama. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006. 253, 260

[45] Ogbar 257

[46] Ogbar 262

[47] Lew-Lee "All Power to the People"

[48] Berger, Dan. "The Struggle Is for Land!" *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism* 1st ed. New Brunswick, NJ and London. Rutgers University Press. 62

[49] Jones, Charles E. and Jeffries, Judson L. *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered* 1st ed. Baltimore, Maryland. Black Classic Press 2005. 3

[50] Gay, Jasmine. *Afeni Shakur: Evolution of a Revolutionary.* New York. Atria Books. 2004. Pp.49

[51] Shakur, Assata. *Assata: An Autobiography.* Chicago. Lawrence Hill Books. 2001. Pp.54

[52] Jones and Jefferies 45

Women's Liberation Movement (predominately composed of White women) came much later in the party's history. Mixed-race people, if they are aware of their multi-racial ancestry, have a need to choose what part of themselves they identify with to the world. This loss of association with a movement they believed in is what was at stake for mixed-race people who were involved with social organizations like the Black Panthers.

In my research study I asked the participants (all students) what was at stake when a person identifies as mixed-race rather than as a part of a more fixed racial group. There were some commonalities in their responses. Some answered that a mixed-race identity is "too confusing" and/or "non-specific," that it "challenges the power of the Black/White dichotomy" (which I'll admit, I was impressed with as a response) and several wrote that they "may be seen as less-than by other minority groups." The most intriguing response to this question came from one participant who answered "it represents a future of mixed-race individuals and the world is moving too slowly in their understanding of race."

I would like to pose three primary forms of resistance to mixed-race categories that persist in higher education which I will argue is an explanation as to why mixed-race studies is not widely accepted. The first is that simply adding another recognized category of Mixed-Race or studies on this identity to universities does not help the critique or deconstruct identity categorizations that are rooted in a history of racial apartheid. The second is that the recognition of a multicultural or multiracial identity does not benefit the Black community as Blackness is constructed uniquely by the One-Drop Rule. And thirdly, adding Mixed-Race Studies to colleges and universities may further challenge the survival of struggling Ethnic Studies departments and programs.

Given the present discourse we have on race in this country, the resistance to adding another recognized identity of mixed race comes both (historically) from proponents of a racial hierarchy where whites maintain superiority, as well as by people of color who actively fight against racial inequality. The United States' discourse on race has been shaped profoundly by its history of political regulation of sexuality in efforts to prevent racial mixing – I'm speaking of course, of miscegenation laws. Paul Finkelman writes about this policing of sexuality that took some of its earlier forms in the state of Virginia, where he extends his focus. As he writes,

> Virginia's early laws criminalizing interracial marriages proved to be the most durable legacy of the colonial response to race. The anti-miscegenation laws of 1865-70 that otherwise created a fundamentally new racial order, and even the Brown revolution of 1954. They remained on the books in Virginia and elsewhere in the South until 1967. At one time or another, at least thirty-eight states prohibited racially mixed-marriages, not only between whites and blacks, but also among others…As late as World War II, thirty-one states still forbid racially mixed-marriages. In 1956, the Supreme Court refused to rule on the constitutionality of miscegenation laws, in a decision constitutional law professors have difficulty explaining by any theory of law. Sixteen states still had such laws on their books, in 1967, when the Supreme Court found them unconstitutional in Loving v Virginia."[53]

The criminalization of interracial sex was in place to prevent racial mixing that ultimately, as Finkelman describes, "stemmed from the creation of slavery. "[54] But miscegenation laws were not ruled unconstitutional until over one hundred years after legal slavery ended in the United States. A mixed-race person in the context of this history was viewed as a product of sexual transgression rooted in the fear of Black and White interracial sexual relationships. But as Ranier Spencer argues

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[53] Finkelman, Paul, Crimes of Love, Misdemeanors of Passion: The Regulation of Race and Sex in the Colonial South (1997). THE DEVIL'S LANE: SEX AND RACE IN THE EARLY SOUTH, pp. 132-133
[54] Finkelman 126

in *Reproducing Race: The Paradox of Generation Mix* some view a mixed-race identity as a bridge of multiculturalism to deconstruct the Black White dichotomy. However, as he writes,

> As is the case with so much of multiracial ideology, the claim of racial bridging is merely stated without the least bit of critical backing, while no one inside the movement, and precious few outside it, care to point out the inconsistency. It is no more than an unproven desire, a case of wishful thinking, based on a supposed alterity of multiracial people that harks back to the marginal man.[55]

The "marginal man" that Spencer refers to was a fictional archetype character created by Sociologist Robert Ezra Parks that was meant to embody a person whose occupied two opposing racial or ethnic groups.[56] So Ranier critiques the viability of this ideology of mixed-race people being a "bridge" or a carrier of racial understanding. By adding another category of race, we are unable to break down the current constructions of race as we are still lacking the objectivity or neutrality to do so in our discourse on race.

This brings me to my second point, that recognition of a mixed-race or multiracial identity does nothing to aid, and is potentially damaging to Black-Americans, as Blackness has a unique construction. Blackness has historically been constructed as having a part of African-American ancestry, regardless of physical traits – hence, the one-drop rule. This ideology was constructed during slavery times where a person had to be able to name your 64 (sometimes 128) most recent relatives and prove that none of them were Black in order to be exempt from slavery. A mixed-race identity has nothing to do with the Black/White dichotomy, or Black/White Paradigm as Gerald Jaynes calls it[57] as it is about people who occupy the middle place of race; but at the same time, a mixed-race identity has everything to do with Blackness as mixed-race positionality means – where does this individual fall in the measure of race between whiteness and blackness? As Omar Ricks writes in *Playing Games With Race,*

> Even if multiracialism shifts us from the one-drop rule to a more graduated *mestizaje* model of racialization, this changes nothing for black people because blackness is still located at the 'undesirable' end of the continuum—or, more accurately, hierarchy. In my view, it is necessary that we first understand the stability of that unethical structural relation before we can say that multiracialism challenges racism by injecting into the racist structure a "more fluid" sense of identity. Ranier Spencer's 2009 *Chronicle of Higher Education* article, "Mixed Race Chic" (Spencer, 2009, May 19), for example, asked, 'how can multiracial identity deconstruct race when it needs the system of racial categorization to even announce itself?' Posing this question as a statement would be to say that one needs for there to be a structure of race in order to call oneself multiracial. Small wonder, then, that so many celebrations of multiracial identity sound antiblack. They are…[58]

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[55] Spencer, Rainier. *Reproducing Race: The Paradox of Generation Mix.* Boulder, Colorado. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010. Pp 207

[56] Park, Ezra Robert. 1927. Mixed-Race Studies: Marginal Man http://www.mixedracestudies.org/wordpress/?

[57] Jaynes, G. D. (2000). *Immigration and Race: New Challenges for American Democracy* (p. 327). Yale University Press. Pp 13

[58] Ricks, Omar. "Playing Games with Race," *The Feminist Wire*, June 3, 2011. http://www.thefeministwire.com/2011/06/03/playing-games-with-race/

Ricks' gives some insight into the belief that we are unable to move towards a new consciousness on race, a "mestizaje"[59] (a name given by Gloria Anzaldua that I will discuss in detail later on) without relying on ideas from our racial past. Namely, that we cannot create a new identity category without relying on the rhetoric of previously constructed racial categorizations of race. Ethnic Studies programs may also experience this same challenge when they attempt to critique constructions of race and ethnicity as departments like Black or African-American Studies, Chicano/Latino Studies, Asian Studies, Native and Indigenous Nations Studies, which are sometimes often independent of the meta-department classification of Ethnic Studies – maintain their position through an implicit validation of racial and ethnic categorizations.

Which brings me to the third form of resistance to mixed-race categories that I identified earlier - that adding another study or department to, or independent of Ethnic Studies departments could potentially further challenge these departments struggling to survive in the current political and economic climate. In a racially-charged decision made by lawmakers in January of 2012, the state of Arizona put a ban on teaching ethnic studies in public schools. An article featured in the LA Times summarized this action with "the state enacted to protect the reputation of the White majority."[60] This is not a small action taken in a controlled environment as similar legislation has begun in the state of Utah. Is this type of action representative of the attitudes of the entire nation? Absolutely not. But it illustrates a viable force pushing to silence those who teach the histories of people with a history of racial and ethnic oppression.

We can recall that the fifth point of the Black Panther Party's Ten-Point Platform is the right to education, specifically, "we want the education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society." Consequently, how does one receive an education that teaches their true history and their role in society if their history has not yet been written or recognized? Despite all of the resistance to recognizing mixed-race as a valid identity, there are many who still believe that mixed-race is an identity, a space in-which people live; Gloria Anzaldúa is at the forefront of this ideology.

Gloria Anzaldúa & Moving Towards A New Consciousness

As is illustrated by the Black Panthers, even within movements fighting for social equality, there are people who are further marginalized by identity-based movements. Queer and trans, working-class people of color for example, live within the point of intersection where they experience oppression based on their sexuality, class, gender and racial identities. In her book *Borderlands/La Frontera,* Gloria Anzaldúa calls intersecting identity the experience of "la mestiza" which derives from an Aztec word meaning "torn between ways" where la mestiza lives in the place of the Borderlands.[61] The "Borderlands" is not easily defined as she means it in many contexts, both literal and experiential. This may also mean the experience of literally crossing borders from nation to nation, from culture to culture, from one language to one or many languages. La mestiza also experiences an inner war of cultural and spiritual values in "the coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference…la mestiza faces the dilemma of the mixed breed"[62] For Anzaldúa, this is exhausting way one lives when they occupy the place of the

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[59] Anzaldua, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera.*1st ed. San Francisco. Spinsters|Aunt Lute, 1987. Pp77

[60] Rodriguez, Gregory. LA Times. Feb. 20,2012. http://articles.latimes.com/2012/feb/20/opinion/la-oe-rodriguez-ethnic-studies-20120220

[61] Anzaldua, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera.*1st ed. San Francisco. Spinsters|Aunt Lute, 1987.

[62] Anzaldúa 78

Borderlands, because they are trapped between the rigid boundaries of dominant stance and counterstance where they must constantly negotiate their own beliefs, particularly in opposition to the dominant (Western) culture. "Subconsciously" she says, "we see an attack on ourselves and our beliefs as a threat and we attempt to block with a counterstance," but that counterstance is not enough because it reduces la mestiza to violence and it is not a way of life. The step towards a new consciousness (the consciousness of the mestizaje) towards liberation for la mestiza is "the step towards action rather than reaction."[63]

What Anzaldúa argues is that we must move towards a new consciousness, one that has a tolerance for ambiguity in order for the individual who lives in the Borderlands, and for all of us to have liberation from conflict and violence in our identities. We are not yet in this place of consciousness, which is perhaps what has fueled my research.

Part II

Research Study Methodology

My research study utilizes a Mixed-Methodology where I use a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data. The population group that I sampled are students currently enrolled in classes or majors that focus on the study of race and ethnicity in Oregon Universities. The sample size is of course relatively small where I gathered data from 49 participants in a survey where I asked them a couple yes/no questions and several write-in response questions about their racial and/or ethnic identity and how well they felt that their class is engaging with their own personal experiences. The way that possible survey participants were chosen was by class, where the instructor was contacted with details about the research project and I was allowed to visit one or more of their classrooms to ask if they would like to take part in the survey. It was then passed around along with an informed consent form which included my contact information, and they were given 5-10 minutes to respond before the completed surveys were collected.

The yes/no questions included whether or not they have ever identified as mixed-race or multiracial, and whether or not they would be interested in taking a class whose focus is on Mixed-Race Studies. When I asked students how they name their racial and/or ethnic identity I intentionally left a blank space for them to write in how they identify as well as asking them if they name their race and/or ethnicity differently depending on who is asking the question, with a space to explain if necessary. The participants were asked what they feel is the purpose of classes that engage with race and ethnicity and how well they feel that the purpose they identified is being fulfilled.

Data Analysis: I. Quantitative

To recall a previously mentioned point, the 2010 the U.S. Census Bureau report included six "fixed" racial categories for respondents to choose from, which included White, Black or African-American, American Indian and Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, with a non-specified race option meaning "Some Other Race." All of those who reported as Some Other Race were evaluated and organized into 31 modified race groups. My research findings illustrate the complexity of racial identification when people who self-report their race are not put into "modified categories."[64] The first observation to note is that out of 49 participants, there are 26 different ways respondents named or identified their race and/or ethnicity.

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[63] Anzaldúa 77-78

[64] Estimates projections, P., Modified, T., Summary, R., States, U., Rico, P., Bureau, T. C., & Program, P. E. (2010). MODIFIED RACE SUMMARY FILE METHODOLOGY, 1–4.

Of the respondents, only 21 percent reported that they have identified as mixed-race or multiracial before which would seem relatively insignificant if not for the fact that the U.S. Census Bureau reported only 2.9% of the U.S. population as identifying as part of two or more racial groups. A total of 32 or 65% of participants identified themselves as being part of one group, thus 35% reported being a part of two or more racial or ethnic groups. 15 out of the 32 who identified as part of one group named themselves as white, Caucasian or Euro-American.

Perhaps the most surprising of all findings is that 78% of respondents said "Yes" to the question – would you be interested in taking a class whose focus is on the study of a mixed-race or multiracial identity? If 21% reported as identifying as mixed-race or multiracial before and 78% reported they would be interested in taking a class on mixed-race identity, there appears to be a significant interest in mixed-race studies even in this time where higher education is becoming less and less affordable for students.

Data Analysis: Qualitative

As a researcher, one has to search for the implicit question within the question, and on the subject of race, I believe that qualitative analysis is essential in analyzing discourse within a few handwritten words on a page. I intentionally asked participants to name their race and/or ethnicity knowing full well that race and ethnicity are two different pieces of one's identity. The purpose is to see if participants would name race and ethnicity in a singular way, identify them separately or explain that race and ethnicity are two different identities that are often blurred together. Of course, this can also indicate that a participant identifies with the culture associated with a racial group they identify with.

The fact that 15 out of 49 total participants identified as white while later on articulating that they often would identify differently as Irish, Italian, Portuguese, English, Romanian or simply as European American agrees with Mary Waters argument in "Optional Ethnicities." She writes "For white students, the ethnicity they claim is more often than not a symbolic one."[65] She asserts that these "optional ethnicities" for whites carry with them, an erasure of an oppressed history for non-whites.

Were there a significant number of students surveyed that identified as mixed-race alone? No, there was only one. However, a trend that surfaced in my data analysis is that all but one of the students who said they would be interested in taking a class on mixed-race studies had different responses as to why they would be interested in the subject. This makes it very difficult to organize into thematic responses, but I can give some of the consistencies in the responses: they had a partner of a different racial identity or a mixed-race child, it was something they hadn't learned about before in an academic setting and would be interested, that it's important to understand different identities and experiences, and two respondents said it would help them better understand the different parts of themselves.

The research question that guided this entire study was – are the racial experiences and understandings of mixed-race identified people being addressed in classes that engage with and critique race? Based on the responses I got from the students I surveyed, I believe the answer to

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[65] Waters, Mary C.. "Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only?" In Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in America, edited by Sylvia Pedraza and Ruben Rumbaut, 444-454. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press, 1996. Pp 205.

this question is no, they are not. But is the inclusion of mixed-race studies into higher education the next step towards engagement with all students' racial and ethnic experiences? That is yet to be determined.

Conclusion/Further Questions

Through this research process my question has changed shape. Given that the students in this study overwhelmingly answered yes, they would be interested in taking a class on mixed-race studies, then my question as I move forward is – why *haven't* more universities experimented with bringing mixed-race studies into their curriculum that engages with race and ethnicity?

What does it mean for a person who speaks one language, only knows one nation of residence who occupies the spiritual and psychological borderlands that Anzaldúa writes of? A person who identifies as multi-racial without a pre-constructed ethnicity then only has a word, a notion of where they belong amidst a nation reliant on choices and dichotomous structures of choosing. The evidence shows that our national consciousness is not yet that of la mestiza as Gloria Anzaldúa defines it, since we are still required to negotiate and categorize our identify ourselves amongst a list of unclear choices. As a mixed-race, queer person of color born in this nation, the child of two orphaned parents, one a first-generation immigrant – my race and my ethnicity is a place where I have only borrowed language to explain where I fit.

In 1986 Omi and Winant concluded, "For now, racial dynamics are adrift in the unsettling waters of an overall crisis in US politics and culture."[66] I argue that we are still occupying this place of crisis, and if we are not yet in the place of higher consciousness, then we must learn to create change within the boundaries of the society in which we live.

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[66] Omi and Winant 144

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E Mau Ana Ka Haʻaheo: A Case Study on Ke Kula Kaiapuni ʻO ʻĀnuenue

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Abstract

After the illegal overthrow of Queen Lili□uokalani in 1893, □Ōlelo Hawai□i, the language of the Ka-naka Maoli, was considered a political and cultural threat to the new Republic of Hawai□i. In 1896, Sanford B. Dole signed Act 57 into law, mandating that the "English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction at all public and private schools" (Benham and Heck, 1998). Without the legal right to teach □Ōlelo Hawai□i in schools or use it in government, new generations no longer learned the language as their grandparents once did, and therefore the number of native speakers dramatically decreased. In 1978, □Ōlelo Hawai□i began to make its way back to the people when the State of Hawai□i added □Ōlelo Hawai□i as an official language of the state. My research follows the journey of the language, from the ban to the eventual reincarnation, while providing a case study and program evaluation of one of the most successful programs in Hawai□i, in terms of lan-guage and cultural revitalization. The two goals for this study are: (1) to contribute to the im-provement and understanding of the history and future of □Ōlelo Hawai□i; and (2) to provide an example of a successful program which can be used by other Indigenous cultures as a model for the possible development of an immersion institution.

Perspective

The author of this paper, Zachary Kealohalaulā Wong, was born and raised on the island of O□ahu in Kalama Valley. Although not a fluent native speaker, Zachary was raised within the Kanaka Maoli culture with traditional Kanaka Maoli values.

Introduction

As has been seen with other Indigenous cultures, the people of Hawai□i, the Kanaka Maoli, were devastated by contact with outsiders of western culture, resulting in a great deal of cultural loss. This external interference resulted in sickness, forced assimilation, and the eventual overthrow of the monarchy of Hawai□i.

Ka Papahana Kaiapuni, a Department of Education State of Hawai□i public school language immer-sion program, was the focus of this study and is just one example of the cultural revitalization and the resurgence of language initiatives in Hawai□i today. The Kanaka Maoli faced, and continue to face, social, economic, and political injustices similar to those experienced by other Indigenous populations after western colonization. The Kanaka Maoli culture, its morality, and its values were demeaned through the imposition of Christianity by Western missionaries and the Western values of foreigners coming to and settling in the islands (Warner, 1990). Hence, my work examines the use of language immersion as a mechanism to preserve culture and stem this loss. As an Indigen-ous researcher, I have unique insight, access, and acceptance within the community, which allows me to understand and portray the importance of cultural preservation through language immersion in a unique way.

History of □Ōlelo Hawai□i

□Ōlelo Hawai□i has had a rocky history. After Captain James Cook arrived in 1778, many Euro-peans duplicated his voyage, including missionaries. Beginning in 1820, missionaries arrived to "ci-vilize" the Kanaka Maoli by teaching them to read and write (Fischer, 1997). □Ōlelo Hawai□i was specifically an oral language, which meant, missionaries, in order to fulfill their missions, had to help construct a physical language (one that can be written). What resulted was a 12-letter alpha-bet, consisting of a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p, and w. Because of this change, many of the original words were misconstrued for others, changing the Hawaiian language forever (Fischer, 1997).

Just a few decades later, the Kanaka Maoli were considered some of the most literate people on earth, and by the mid-to-late 1800s, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi became the language used in the courts, the school system, the legislature, and in government offices (Fisher, 1997). Additionally, numerous publications were produced in the Hawaiian language, such as newspapers and books. By the 1850s, it was reported that all Kanaka Maoli adults were able to read and write in their native language (Kloss, 1977).

The printing press played a large role in the education and proselytization of the Kanaka Maoli. Such technology allowed books and newspapers written in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi to circulate throughout the islands. The first printed work was the Bible, which assisted missionaries in setting the stage for further means of "civilizing", or converting, the people of Hawaiʻi. The number of Kanaka Maoli publishers, writers, and editors greatly increased. Due to this, western values, religious beliefs, and perspectives were soon being adopted. It was not until 1861 with the establishment of an independent native press through Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika and Ka Nupepa Kuokoa that the printed discourse began to widen when Indigenous perspectives were being printed (Nogelmeier, 2003; Chapin, 1996).

In 1893 the monarchy of Hawaiʻi was overthrown by the United States Government and in 1896, the new government of Hawaiʻi signed Act 57 into law, mandating that the "English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction at all public and private schools" (Benham & Heck, 1998). Corporal punishment was used if children spoke ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000).

What was once a thriving written and oral language was now on a rapid decline. However, in the early 1960s and 1970s, a resurgence of pride in the Hawaiian culture and language, known as the Hawaiian Renaissance, pervaded the land, coinciding with Indigenous and ethnic minority movements throughout the country (Yamauchi and Luning, 2010). In 1978, as a result of this resurgence, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi was added as an official language of the State of Hawaiʻi alongside English.

ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi Today

Despite ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻiʻs earlier repression, the language is beginning to thrive again. Today, it is difficult to identify the number of speakers because national data sources do not account for degrees of fluency, and the sample sizes of local data usually prevent generalizable results (see figure 1) (Ng-Osorio and Ledward, 2011). However, it is safe to say that the number of speakers of ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi has significantly increased from decades past.

Figure 1. Questions from U.S. Census on Language Use

Immersion Programs

One way the language of the Kanaka Maoli is making its way back to the people is through immersion programs. ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi Immersion programs originally started with preschool, but it currently encompasses K-12. An estimated 2,000 learners participate in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi language immersion programs each year (Kawaiʻaeʻa, 2007; Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawaiʻi, 2008).

Figure 2. Islands of Hawaiʻi

Hawaiʻi, located approximately 1,400 miles southwest from the coast of California (Figure 2), presently has 21 immersion programs across the state: four on

Hawai□i Island, four on the island of Maui, two on the island of Moloka□i, six on the island of O□ahu, four on the island of Kaua□i, and one on the island of Ni□ihau.

Defining Immersion

In total immersion, all education is delivered in the target immersion language, including subjects like reading and language arts. In partial immersion, education is delivered in English at least half of the school day. Partial Immersion is a method that requires that language arts and reading are always taught in English.

□Aha Pūnana Leo (□APL)

□Aha Pūnana Leo is a non-profit educational organization dedicated to preserving the language of the Kanaka Maoli, through Pūnana Leo, the organizations language programs. At Pūnana Leo, three and four year old preschool students are immersed in a total-immersion environment where the language is spoken fluently. At this time, there are eleven language school clusters in the □APL system, across five islands of Hawai□i.

The goals of Pūnana Leo are to

(1) Create a supportive environment where students and their families develop the ability to communicate effectively in the Hawaiian language, understand and appreciate Hawaiian culture and values and participate confidently in contemporary Hawaiian society, and

(2) Execute a program that ensures kindergarten readiness in areas of age-appropriate social, intellectual, and perceptual motor skills. (□Aha Pūnana Leo, retrieved 2011).

Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai□i

Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai□i is a K-12 program, organized through the Hawai□i Department of Education, and is a site-limited program. Ka Papahana Kaiapuni focuses on cultural revitalization, not just language revitalization. This program delivers academics through □Ōlelo Hawai□i, but bases the education on "Kanaka Maoli cultural practices, paying close attention to the values of community, family, as well as the education the students are receiving" (Yamauchi and Luning, 2010). English instruction begins in grade five and continues through grade twelve. Currently, there are nineteen sites throughout the islands of Hawai□i, with an enrollment exceeding 1500.

Ka Papahana Kaiapuni is an institution that teaches through the medium of □Ōlelo Hawai□i, and is considered a total immersion program, from grades K-4. Once English is introduced in grade five for one-hour a day, it is considered partial-immersion.

The goals of Ka Papahana Kaiapuni are to

(1) Provide students opportunities to achieve a high level of proficiency in comprehension and communication in the Hawaiian language (in various settings).

(2) Enable students to develop a strong foundation of Hawaiian culture and values.

(3) Empower students to become individuals who are responsible and caring members of our community.

(4) Enable students to acquire knowledge and skills in all content areas of the curriculum consistent with the basic philosophy of Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawaii, General Learner Outcomes (GLOs) and the Hawaii Content and Performance Standards II (HCPSII) of the Department of Education. (Ka Papahana Kaiapuni, retrieved 2011)

Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani College of Hawaiian Language

Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani is a school established through legislation on the University of Hawaiʻi Hilo campus. Housed under Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani are: Hale Kumaʻo Center for Hawaiian Language and Culture (the research division for the college), Hawaiian Medium Laboritory Schools, and the Hawaiian Studies Program.

Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani offers a Bachelor of Arts degree in Hawaiian Studies, a minor in Hawaiian Studies, and two certificates in Hawaiian Language and in Basic Hawaiian Culture. The college also offers undergraduate degrees in Linguistics. Graduate degrees include a Masters of Arts in Indigenous Language and Culture Education, a Masters of Arts in Hawaiian Language and Literature, and a Ph.D in Indigenous Language and Culture Revitalization.

The legislation that established Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani provided space for laboratory school programs. The lab schools work in conjunction with the college as well as ʻAha Pūnana Leo. Here, classes are taught in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, but the focus is on college preparation, environmental and health studies, sustainable agriculture, and teacher training.

Hawaiʻinuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge

Hawaiʻinuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge was established on May 16th, 2007 when the Board of Regents at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa voted to establish the college. Hawaiʻinueākea is comprised of Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies, the Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, and Ka Papa Loʻi ʻO Kānewai Cultural Garden.

Hawaiʻinuiākea offers Bachelor of Arts degrees in Hawaiian and Hawaiian Studies, as well Minors in Hawaiian Language and in Immersion Education. Masters degrees include a Masters of Arts in Hawaiian Language and in Hawaiian Studies. Both the BA and MA programs, as part of Hawaiʻinuaākea, include one of five areas of concentration:

(1) Halau o Laka: Native Hawaiian Visual Culture

(2) Kukulu Aupuni: Envisoning the Nation

(2) Kumu Kahiki: Comparative Polynesian and Indigenous Studies

(4) Malama ʻAina: Hawaiian Perspectives on Resource Management

(5) Moʻolelo ʻOiwi: Native History and Literature.

Ke Kula Kaiapuni ʻO ʻĀnuenue

Ke Kula Kaiapuni ʻO ʻĀnuenue, is a school within the Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawaiʻi program, and is at the center of this study. Ke Kula Kaiapuni ʻO ʻĀnuenue (ʻĀnuenue) is nestled in the quiet valley of Palolo in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. ʻĀnuenue was established in 1995 and is one of a few programs that are self-contained, meaning the school has its own campus. Many of the programs

part of the Ka Papahana Kaiapuni system operate as a "campus within a campus", using facilities of pre-existing public Hawai□i State Department of Education institutions.

Subject Areas

Some subject areas are taught in □Ōlelo Hawai□i or from an Indigenous perspective. For example, the social studies curriculum at □Ānuenue is taught through an Indigenous perspective using translated materials and traditional literary sources. Field trips are often offered in conjunction with social Studies to enhance and augment student learning. Currently, Mathematics resources and teaching materials are in the process of being translated.

Hawaiian Language Arts is much like English Language arts, in that it strives to develop proficiency in the use of □Ōlelo Hawai□i. Language Arts classes also work to provide experiences for students to develop skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in □Ōlelo Hawai□i.

Athletics

One aspect of □Ānuenue that receives a lot of outside attention is the athletics program, but more specifically football. With the majority of the high school population being female, specifically 65%, most football players, because of the lack of players, have had to learn to play both offensive and defensive plays, and face being switched around from one side to the other during games each week.

"Our football team, we have 23 athletes suited up, so our challenge is always to be having enough athletes here to complete. So what we're trying to do is create a pack" (Wengler, 2011).

In addition, Head coach Tim Kealohamakua Wengler says, "one of the main goals of our program is to take the Hawaiian language and expand it. So that it is not just a language of the classroom but we are expanding the language through football and trying to educate the community out there that our language is not something of just a classroom, or a dying language, [but] that it is a growing language and it can be used, in not just the classroom but out in the community, in football, in basketball, in volleyball, it can also be used at the beach, or wherever we might be. The main goal is to preserve and keep the language alive in all aspects of our life. If I can use football as a tool and as a method to take this language further, that's what our main goal is to do" (Wengler, 2011).

One of the easiest ways to recognize the team is the use of □Ōlelo Hawai□i on the field. All their calls, plays, and directions are called out in □Ōlelo Hawai□i, which is not only a means to keep the language alive, but a strategic use of the language as well.

School Completion

□Ānuenue is a small school with roughly 100 students in grades 9-12. A great benefit of the small class sizes is the individual attention. The student:teacher ratio of the school, according to the Hawai□i State Department of Education 2009-2010 School and Improvement Report, is 14:1. □Ānuenue also has seen a 0.0% drop out rate in the 2009-2010 school year.

Method Of Study

The data for this study was gathered using online survey questions in addition to personal interviews. A unique survey was created for each of the four populations interviewed: Administra-

tion/Faculty/Staff, Current or Recent Students, Family Members of Current or Recent Students, and Community Members.

Purpose of Study

This study was designed to look at the journey of ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi and determine how current immersion initiatives work towards language and cultural revitalization. This study also examines Ke Kula Kaiapuni ʻO ʻĀnuenue, a program that is generally perceived as successfully renewing language and cultural practices. The purpose of this research is to assist in the further development of language and cultural revitalization in Hawaiʻi. Additionally, the researcher hopes to provide a general scope into the current work of the Kanaka Maoli, allowing other Indigenous populations a unique perspective of language and cultural revitalization efforts.

Participants

There are four types of participants in this study: Administration/Faculty/Staff, Current or Recent Students, Family Members of Current or Recent Students, and Community Members.

Administration/Faculty/Staff

The researcher asked four individuals to give their insights about the program. The ages of the participants ranged from 41-43, with self-reported races of Kanaka Maoli, Native American, Chinese, Caucasian, and Puerto Rican.

Current or Recent Students

The researcher asked eight individuals to give their insights about the program. The ages of the participants ranged from 16-23, with self-reported races of Kanaka Maoli, Chinese, Japanese, Caucasian, Samoan, Filipino, Mexican, Maori, Tahitian, and Native American.

Family Members of Current or Recent Students

The researcher asked four individuals to give their insights about the program. The ages of the participants ranged from 27-55, with self-reported races of Kanaka Maoli, Caucasian, and Chinese.

Community Members

The researcher asked four individuals to give their insights about the program. The ages of the participants ranged from 40-53, with self-reported races of Kanaka Maoli, Chinese, Portuguese, and Caucasian.

Procedure

Participants were recruited using a snowball method of recruitment. Initial contacts were recruited by prior professional and personal connections the researcher had with faculty and staff at ʻĀnuenue, key community members, and parents of currently enrolled students. Each of the initial contacts were asked to provide the names of at least three others whose insights would be of value to this study, until the target numbers were reached.

Survey length depended on category. Each survey, depending on depth and breadth of the responses provided, greatly varied in time-to-completion amongst categories. Surveys generally lasted between 30-65 minutes. The number of questions asked also depended on category, ranging

from 16-22 questions. Question topics ranged from day-to-day activities, to the resources provided to program graduates (see Appendices A-D for a complete list of questions).

Prospective participants were contacted through email or by phone, and provided with a link to more information. An offer was extended to meet in person at the institution or mutually agreed upon location. The link took prospective participants to Qualtrics.com, a survey-generating website. The page provided further explanation of the study and instructions for the survey. Prospective participants were only allowed to take the survey if they first agreed to the terms of the interview process, and granted consent for the researcher to use their responses in my study. The instructions stated that if a questions evoked any uneasy feelings, the participant could skip the question or stop the survey altogether, with no harm or damage to their relationship to the researcher or institution.

Data Analysis

Data from the completed surveys was organized by category (Administration/Faculty/Staff, Current or Recent Students, Parents of Current or Recent Students, and Community Members). Reported names were changed to pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participant, and prevent any responses being tracked to the original participant.

The researcher used a constant comparative method of data analysis, whereby main themes and sub-themes were noted as they emerged in the data, using open coding (Creswell, 1998). Once all interview responses were coded, a second round of axial coding was completed to determine connections between themes, and to finalize the theme categories (Strauss and Glaser, 1967).

Results

Five dominant themes emerged: quality education, English education, strengths and suggestions for improvement, continuing education, and implementation suggestions.

Quality of Education

According to the results of this study, Students seemed to agree that the quality of education they are receiving or have received from ʻĀnuenue adequately prepares them for the future in the community or in postsecondary education.

Kaʻimi, a recent graduate of ʻĀnuenue, feels that the immersion programs across the state are all unique, in that all the programs, though housed under one department in the Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, address different needs of the community. "I believe that every school teaches differently. I am a part-time teacher at [another immersion program], and the way they work with the students is different from [the way] ʻĀnuenue or Nanakuli works with their students. For me, I think the education I received might not be the same as a student from Kamakau or Nawahi [other immersion programs], but I continue to go to school and I am doing completely fine."

Christopher, a recent graduate of ʻĀnuenue stated, "I feel that I know math and can read and write just as fine as people from other schools, but our school goes about teaching those things differently. We also gain extra knowledge in areas that most students in other schools have no idea about."

Kaimanu, an alumni of the program and a parent of a current student at ʻĀnuenue feels that the education delivered, and gained through the program to be superior than that of non-immersion programs. "I personally feel my education at ʻĀnuenue was better than the cookie cutter education other schools offer. I was given the benefit of bypassing so many of the lies found in more western prescribed educations, most nota-

bly the factual history of our island nation, and the truth that Hawai'i isn't even a state. As far as learning about Hawai'i goes, this means ʻĀnuenue is superior to any school I know of, both here in Hawai'i and especially abroad. The most obvious benefit of all, [is] learning to speak my own language. The US, like any empire, began its attempt to destroy us by trying to eliminate our culture, starting with our language. Is it not among the most important things any Hawaiian can do for their child, to put them in a school in their own language?"

Measuring how successful a program is, proves difficult. At one end, many of the participants interviewed through this study are pleased with the education that is delivered through this pro-gram. At the other end, the data provided by the Hawaiʻi De-partment of Education seem to state that the school is delivering a below-average education.

Keoni, a recent graduate, has a more critical approach than his peers, "I think that the Hawaiian language and culture is crucial to Native Hawaiians, however, we do live in an English speaking and writing society. It is only to our advantage that English, in terms of writing and reading, be increased or improved at ʻĀnuenue, in conjunction with the Hawaiian language."

Figure 3. Results of subject scores at ʻĀnuenue. 2010.

For a quantitative evaluation of ʻĀnuenueʻs results, the School Status and Improvement Report, provided by the Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, provides useful data. In the 2009-2010 year, ʻĀnuenueʻs results, in comparison to the rest of the public institutions in the state, are quite varied, with the overall state statistics ahead of ʻĀnuenueʻs statistics (see figure 3).

Kaleo, an administrator of Ke Kula Kaiapuni Hawaiʻi, stated, "ʻĀnuenue follows and adheres to the same state protocols set forth for all Hawaii public schools. In addition to that, ʻĀnuenue is also supported by the Hawaiian Education Programs Section, Hawaiian Language Immersion Programs (a state office of DOE)."

Even though ʻĀnuenue adheres to the standards of the Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, general statistics between non-immersion public institutions of education and ʻĀnuenue are hardly comparable. Curriculum, although held to the same standards and evaluation, are clearly different. How can we account for the extra time spent within the curriculum of heightened ethnic studies of immersion schools, that non-immersion institutions leave out? A more accurate system would add a third bar, allowing for the analysis between other K-12 immersion institutions across the state and ʻĀnuenue. Perhaps a disadvantage of a state-run immersion program is the responsibility of equal evaluation. It is clear that immersion and non-immersion students receive contradistinctive educations, so a distinct set of evaluations must be produced to help immersion institutions better evaluate their performances.
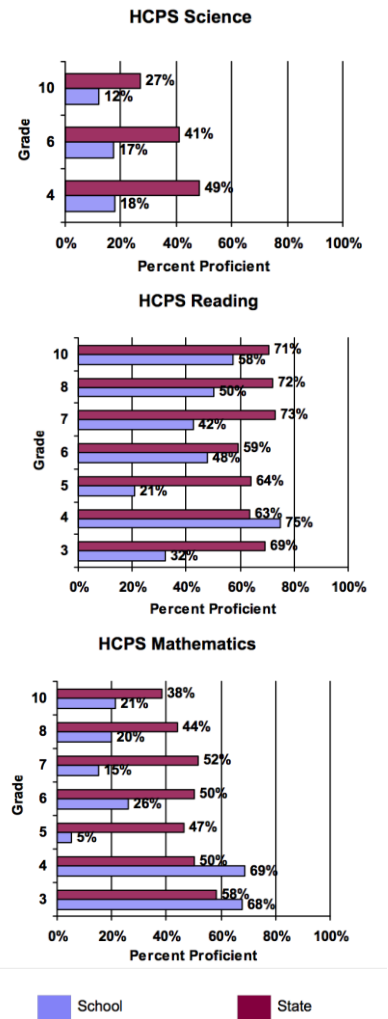
English Education in Immersion Institutions

A common concern for non-immersion and immersion families alike, according to Kimo, a past faculty member at ʻĀnuenue, is the fear of inadequate English education and preparation for immersion-students. As student Keoni mentioned above, even though the Islands of Hawaiʻi have their own distinct language, English is the most spoken language in the islands, making Hawaiʻi a predominantly English-speaking state.

The concern is most definitely a common one, however, Kaleo, an administrator of Ke Kula Kaiapuni Hawaiʻi, stated, "[this issue is] a misconception and lack of understanding in language acquisition regarding second language learning. Data shows that learning a second language does NOT take away from ones first language. In fact, it builds cognitive capacity and increases brain modalities and functionality."

Kimo, a past faculty member at ʻĀnuenue, added, "Perhaps... but then again their exposure/experiences in Hawaiian literature, poetry, thought, philosophy are greatly enhanced creating a richer linguistic environment than that found in English-only schools."

Kaimanu, an alumni and parent of a student who currently attends ʻĀnuenue, stated, "I think if...parents are as concerned with their child's education... they should make sure to do their part. Take your children to the bookstore and buy them a book they like, or cultivate an interest in poetry perhaps. I think school is totally unnecessary for learning English, as there is absolutely no shortage of resources for learning English."

It seems that a great strategy for an immersion-parent is to ensure their child gains experience using English at home and out of school. Children are sent to an immersion-school to gain experiences and knowledge of a target language, thus the primary language of the school day should not be English. As Kaimanu stated, there are no shortages of resources for the English language, and it is all around children in the hours they are not attending school.

Strengths and Suggestions for Improvement

ʻĀnuenue prides itself on the reputation it has throughout the language and cultural revitalization community. Each participant was asked how he or she perceives the strengths of ʻĀnuenue, and what suggestions he or she could offer in terms of general improvement.

Kaʻimi, a recent graduate stated, "I think our schools greatest strength lies in its Hawaiian roots, much like all of us. I would like to see our school improve its facilities, but of course without funding this is difficult, if not impossible. [I] donated my Dadʻs drums, [but this] does not make a music program. Our school needs money and deserves it."

Keoni agreed, but expanded upon Kaʻimiʻs view, "A major strength they have is teaching the students what they can do with the knowledge they are given; and also working as a family. When grandparents' day comes around, you see everyone doing their part. The elementary usually prepares the laulau and desert, [the] middle school prepares the poi, salad and a main dish, [and the] high school prepares the tents, tables, and chairs. The boys take care of the 'imu and when the pig is done, the girls shred the meat. Then they cut all the vegetables for stew and lomi salmon. Everyone works together. I think the only thing that they could better is, communication."

Communication came up several times throughout the interview responses, including information about how the institution shares their successes with the community. Kaimanu, a parent of a current student, stated, "[the] school needs to have a better website that can be accessible and be

filled with information about the school. [The] information is very outdated. Student work can also be showcased on the website."

Sylvia, a parent of a recent graduate mentioned, "[The] strengths are: an extremely high level of teachers, a sense of 'ohana [family] amongst the students and staff, memorization skills are ingrained in the students due to 'oli, chants, etc. I feel my child had a unique and unparalleled school experience from Papa Mala'o to Senior year. Our experience with Ānuenue has been a very positive one. My wish would be more Board of Education/ Department of Education support for these very important and special immersion programs."

In terms of education, Kimberly added, "We learn how to work with our hands- we make projects, and work outside. Public speaking is also highly encouraged, so I am not afraid of getting up in front of a crowd to talk. Our teachers are all incredibly smart and are always willing to help us out if we need it. The only thing I could say is that I wish our school offered more courses like calculus and AP classes so we could get college credit."

Ānuenue stands on a solid foundation for which the institution is built upon. Kanaka Maoli values are very much alive at the institution; however, most of the identified areas of improvement seem to be derived from the annual operating budget of the institution. What strategies can we employ to bring light to the outstanding cultural revitalization efforts happening within the campus at Ānuenue? How can we measure the success of the institution?

Continuing Education

Many of the students mentioned higher education, in one aspect or another. Many students expressed an anxiety about pursuing higher education outside of Hawai'i due to a fear of losing the language they so preciously maintained and learned throughout their lives. Keoni expressed his feelings towards this issue, "I am looking at Colorado State, Colorado Springs, Waikato in Aotearoa, or possibly [institutions in] Australia. If not then I would like to attend UH Mānoa. Of course I will continue to speak [Ōlelo Hawai'i]. That's actually one of the things that was holding me back. I wanted to go to the mainland or out of the country, but being raised in a Hawaiian speaking 'ohana & learning since I was born, going on to Punana Leo, then Kaiapuni all my life, I didn't just want to forget it and leave it here and have nothing to do with it. But i started to think that [if] I go to the mainland to experience that, and come home and continue. I'm always coming back anyway, & will never live on the mainland for any other reason, so I will continue up there by Skyping [video chatting] and calling friends and family, then when I graduate I'm going to come home & get my masters in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i."

Keala added to this by stating, "Yes I plan on going to college. This is something I have actually been struggling with quite a bit. I want to go to Louisiana State University because they have an excellent weightlifting team and I would be considered a collegiate athlete. If I choose to stay at UH, I will continue to be without a team and will not be excused from school if I go to national and international meets. I want to stay, though, because I feel like I have spent my entire life learning to speak Hawaiian and it could all go away very quickly should I choose to move away. If I do leave, I will call friends and keep a daily journal in Hawaiian."

Recently graduated students explained how they attended college, but mentioned opportunities to speak Ōlelo Hawai'i are few. "I did attend college. I got my BS/BA in Business from Hawaii Pacific University (HPU). I also got my MBA from HPU, and I am currently working on my J.D. from the William S. Richardson School of Law at UH Mānoa. I occasionally speak Hawaiian if I run in to my old classmates, but those instances are few."

Others plan on contributing to the language revitalization community, "I am currently a student at Leeward Community College. I am pursuing my degree in teaching. I plan on being a Hawaiian language teacher at the elementary that I attended which is Ke Kula Kaiapuni 'o Nanakuli. If I don't teach at Nanakuli I would like to teach at Ke Kula Kaiapuni 'o Waiau. I want to work with elementary students."

Concerns for further developing proficiency in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi outside of the state, are a legitimate concern. With Hawaiʻi being the only place in the world to learn and be immersed in the language of our Kanaka Maoli ancestors, leaving Hawaiʻi seems almost counterintuitive to what program participants have been working on all their lives: language and cultural revitalization. Will there ever be adequate resources available to those wishing to pursue education outside Hawaiʻi?

Suggestions for Implementation

Several participants offered suggestions, as well as cautions to those interested in starting a program for their community.

Kathy, a community activist, suggested, "1) Find dedicated families, teachers, and administrators that will be a part of the program no matter what. 2) It's not only about speaking the language and translating books and other curriculum. Write books that are culturally appropriate. 3) Culture is a big part of a school like this."

Isis, a community member, suggested, "I would recommend a language immersion institution in an instant, it instills the pride of culture, language and a sense of place for the Indigenous. It is a nourishing environment that develops and propagates Indigenous peoples, and builds on their self-esteem as a people. It is equally important for the community to benefit from the leadership of the host peoples."

Kaimanu, a parent of a current student, suggested, "1) Have a mission statement. 2) Have strong and committed teachers/administrators. 3) Keep them, the student body, and the parents accountable."

Kaleo, an administrator of the program, suggested, "language learning and literacy [are] high priorities; secure and maintain a culturally responsive environment that provides for a language rich environment; [engage in] parent and community education and support; create a support network for culture and language learning."

Paulette, an administrator and DOE employee suggests, "everyone involved needs to spend as much time with native speakers as possible and really learn to get inside the mind set of the language. There are many 'Hawaiian language people' who English informs/influences the way they speak Hawaiian so much that the thought patterns are distinctly English with a Hawaiian veneer; this is a disservice to the language and unique world that it offers. Second, act sooner than later... languages die very quickly and once knowledge is lost many times it is impossible to retrieve... it needs to be a community wide effort to truly support the movement... it's not enough for educators or linguists to make this happen... it needs to have broad grass roots support."

Conclusion

Throughout this study, we learned that Hawaiʻi has many language and culture revitalization efforts happening concurrently. For each program, there is a tremendous diversity of opinions, attitudes, perspectives, and strategies on how language revitalization should, and can be attained. Re-

gardless of rigor, results, or attempts, each of the programs in Hawai□i becomes effective when one more child or individual becomes comfortable in their own language.

What was once a declining language is now beginning to thrive once again and the resurgence of pride and responsibility to our people is what created these immersion programs. These same qualities are what we need to instill in our young people to ensure that our language and culture is further developed, and other efforts are put in place to ensure our place in the world does not diminish.

Limitations

The research for this paper was done over the course of 36 days, and in most cases, the interviews were gathered through online submission. Due to this approach, even where there were follow-up interactions, much of the passion in the initial answers seemed diminished, diluted, or less prevalent. In my experience, when working with Indigenous communities, sitting down and communicating seems to be much less invasive, and lends itself to a more participant-oriented process.

It is imperative, when working and collaborating with Indigenous peoples to engage in indigenous methodologies when collecting data and contacting prospective participants. These methods encompass: meeting face-to-face as much as possible, to determine whether a connection is made; ensuring that it is okay to ask questions, if you are not already invited to do so; being explicit of feelings that may be evoked if participating within a particular study, among other things.

The researcher attempted to connect with participants using these methods, to ensure that the research practices never got in the way of, or silenced, the studied individual experiences. As it turns out, one of the biggest challenges of the employment of Indigenous methodologies is the length of time it takes to effectively employ it. Because of the time constraints of this study, the research process did not lend itself to incorporating Indigenous methods in its full form, but where possible, they were incorporated.

Further Research Opportunities

This paper helps to bridge the gap in scholarly work regarding Kanaka Maoli language and culture revitalization. However, the researcher would like to see this study repeated with other immersion programs in the state that are part of the Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai□i system. It would also be enlightening to do a comparison study of the various Kaiapuni programs to see how similar or dissimilar they are from each other. Several times in the research, the comparisons with other programs arose, but since many participants do not have equal experience and/or information on more than one program, the comments and opinions were biased towards the program they attended, or knew the most.

Another area of expansion is the research and/or development of a standardized system to adequately evaluate the education being delivered to our children, so we can start to see tangible results, and move forward with determining the future of these special programs.

A'ohe hana nui ke alu 'ia.
No task is too big, when shared by all.

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Appendix A
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Interview Questions for Current and Recent Students

1. What is your full name?

2. What is your email address?

3. What is your age?

4. What is your race? If you belong to more than one, please list them.

5. If more than one, which race do you most identify with?

6. What is your relationship with the school?

7. What are your expectations for your school?

8. How do you feel your education compares to other students from other immersion schools?

9. How do you feel your education compares to other students from other non-immersion schools?

10. What kind of other programs would you like to see in your school? (i.e. music, theater, etc.).

11. A major concern by non-immersion families is that if they enroll their students in immersion programs, their student's English education dwindles. What are your thoughts on this?

12. Have you thought about attending college? If so, what are your plans? If you decide to attend a mainland school, will you continue to speak Hawaiian? If so, how?

13. Has the school changed your family in any way? If so, how?

14. What are the school's strengths? What do you wish they would do better?

15. What resources are available to you as a student of this school?

16. What resources are available to you as a graduate from this school?

17. Tell me about your use of the Hawaiian Language in your day-to-day life. Do you use it at home? Only at school?

18. Has your studies in the Hawaiian Language helped you to understand the Hawaiian culture? If so, how?

Interview Questions for Community Members

1. What is your full name?

2. What is your email address?

3. What is your age?

4. What is your race? If you belong to more than one, please list them.

5. If more than one, which race do you most identify with?

6. What is your relationship with the school?

7. How long have you known about the work of the school? How have you and your family been involved with the school?

8. What are your expectations from the school? What are the community's expectations?

9. What do you see as the school□s strengths? What do you wish they would do better? What do you wish they would do differently?

10. How does the school incorporate community members?

11. How, if at all, does the school let the community members know about its successes?

12. What should other members of the community know about the successes of the school?

13. How, if at all, important is it for the school to involve the community? Why?

14. What three (or more) suggestions would you give another Indigenous community who wish to start a school like this for themselves?

15. What three (or more) cautions would you give another Indigenous community who wish to start a school like this for themselves?

16. How, if at all, does □Ānuenue fit into culture revitalization?

Appendix D
Interview Questions for Parents of Current or Recent Students

1. What is your full name?

2. What is your email address?

3. What is your age?

4. What is your race? If you belong to more than one, please list them.

5. If more than one, which race do you most identify with?

6. What is your relationship with the school?

7. How long have you known about the work of the school?

8. What are your expectations from the school? What are the community□s expectations?

9. What are the reasons you chose to send your child to a Hawaiian Immersion Institution?

10. What are the school's strengths? What do you wish they would do better?

11. A major concern by non-immersion families is that if they enroll their students in immersion programs, their student's English education dwindles. What are your thoughts on this?

12. How does the school keep track of their successes? How does it let parents and other community members know about its successes?

13. What should other members of the community know about the success of the school?

14. What is it like having a child in the school?

15. What type of environment does the school foster?

16. Would you suggest other parents enroll their children in the school? If so, why?

17. Has the school changed your family in any way? If so, how?

18. What three suggestions would you give to another Indigenous community who wish to start a school like this for themselves?

19. What advice would you give to other parents interested in sending their children to an immersion school?

20. Have you learned the Hawaiian language? Is it a primary language in your household? Has that changed from before?

21. What are the benefits of sending your child to an immersion school?

22. How, if at all, does □Ānuenue fit into cultural revitalization?

Appendix E
Interview Questions for Administration/Faculty/Staff

1. What is your full name?

2. What is your email address?

3. What is your age?

4. What is your race? If you belong to more than one, please list them.

5. If more than one, which race do you most identify with?

6. What is your relationship with the school?

7. What are your expectations for your school? What are the community's expectations?

8. How long have you known about the work of the school? How have you or your family been involved with the school?

9. What are the school□s strengths? What do you wish they woulf do better?

10. How does the school keep track of their successes? How does it let parents and other community members know about their successes?

11. A major concern by non-immersion families (families that don't send their children to immersion schools) is that they enroll their students in immersion programs, their student's English education dwindles. What are your thoughts on this?

12. What should members of the community know about the successes of the school?

13. What are some of the problems □Ānuenue faced (and continues to face) in being an immersion school? From the state/community/participants?

14. How have you found the availability of educations resources (like curriculum, texts, etc.) for student? How about teachers? What adaptations have you had to make, if any?

15. How does the community value □Ānuenue? How do you know?

16. What is the relationship like between □Ānuenue, the state, and the DOE?

17. What three (or more) suggestions would you give to another Indigenous community who wish to start a school like this for themselves?

18. What three (or more) cautions would you give to another Indigenous community who wish to start a school like this for themselves?

19. What is a day like for an immersion student at □Ānuenue?

20. How, if at all, does □Ānuenue fit into culture revitalization?