

2018

Undergraduate Review, Vol. 14, 2017/2018

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Recommended Citation

(2018). Undergraduate Review, Vol. 14, 2017/2018. *Undergraduate Review*, 14.
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The Undergraduate Review

A JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH AND CREATIVE WORK



THE UNDERGRADUATE REVIEW

Volume XIV 2018

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ABOUT THE COVER

“54 Years at 33 Belleview”

Emma Johansen-Hewitt

Mentor: Prof. Amy Lovera

This series of the same photograph in various stages of “washing away” is part of a body of work that explores the concept of memory and the inevitable failures of memory that occur over decades, through the lens of my great-grandmother’s experience.

As my great-grandmother prepared to move out of her home at 33 Belleview Avenue and into an assisted-living facility last summer, I spent Friday afternoons and weekends at her house, helping her sort through her photographic archive and 54 years’ worth of memories.

This photograph of my great-grandfather and his squadron in World War II hung in my great-grandmother’s dining room, against her bright floral purple wallpaper, for decades. It had become as much a part of the house as the wallpaper itself.

My Adrian Tinsley Program (ATP) project as a whole focused on the notion of memory and how we relate to our memories over time. I printed many of my great-grandmother’s photographs onto silk and aluminum and explored different ways to manipulate the mediums in order to investigate concepts of memory, permanence, and impermanence.

I used a digital pigment ink transfer process first to transfer this photograph of my great-grandfather onto aluminum, and then manipulated the images in different ways to fade and destroy the image. In one plate, I washed the pigment off of the aluminum, leaving a faded imprint of the image. In the other two plates, I experimented with oxidizing the aluminum, before and after the pigment was applied to the aluminum, in order to age and destroy the images. By printing the photograph onto the aluminum, I created a permanent object and then challenged its permanence.

Working with historic, personal-archive photographs allowed me as an artist to present my family’s personal stories in ways that may be universally understood, as we all grapple with the fading and loss of memory.

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Exploring Form and Meaning in Agha Shahid Ali's Ghazal "Tonight"

MICHAEL BAGLEY

The formal qualities of poetry often reflect the time and culture in which the poem is written. Blank verse not only reflects a natural cadence of the English language, but also enables, to some degree, the "freethinking tendencies" that defined many poets' relationship with God and institutional religion throughout in the 17th century (Gerber 249). The Japanese haiku, in which form and theme are intrinsically connected, reflects the Japanese ideology of the interconnectedness of nature. Agha Shahid Ali, a Kashmiri poet who writes exclusively in English, often uses form to complicate this notion. Ali was born into a wealthy Muslim household in Kashmir. He attended an Irish Catholic school and a Hindu University. His parents were religiously tolerant and provided Ali with the space and encouragement to pursue his poetic aspirations from a young age (Benvenuto 262). The conflicts between the religious and cultural tolerance within in his household, and the religious and cultural conflicts that have plagued Kashmir's history are a source of tension throughout much of Ali's poetry. Specifically, in his poem "Tonight," Ali uses form and allusions to express the complexities of cultural, religious, and national identities of people from conflicted societies like Kashmir.

Ali's poem "Tonight" employs a traditional Arabic form of poetry called the ghazal. Ghazals are relatively short poems comprised of a series of stanzas of closed couplets. One word—called the *radif*—is repeated at the end of the first two lines, and in every other line after that. In many cases, as is the case with "Tonight," the penultimate word in each couplet rhymes. Each stanza should also express a complete idea or emotion that can be understood outside of the context of the poem as a whole.

Harvard professor and literary critic Stephen Burt asserts that each couplet should seem to be a separate poem (234). The final couplet of the poem should reference a significant name, often the poet's own name. Ghazals usually employ secular erotic themes that metaphorically relate the adored to God. While the form of the ghazal is highly structured and easily identifiable, the meaning, Ali insists, ought to be difficult to work through (Burt 235). The ghazal form in Ali's poem, "Tonight," however, does more than simply provide structure. The ghazal form represents the foundation on which all other meaning is built.

The form in the poem "Tonight" is significant because it combines traditional Arabic poetic form with modern English language. Ali's choice to use the ghazal form expresses a desire to maintain some connection to Arabic tradition, while his choice to write in English expresses a desire to form a connection to the Western world. Furthermore, he chooses to write in a very accessible syntax. Aside from the second stanza, the language throughout the poem reads very similarly to prose or dialogue, reflecting his likely desire to be read and understood by an English-speaking audience. The refrain in a ghazal, literary critic David Ward argues, is "the seed from which the poem grows" (64). The word *tonight*, therefore, is doubly significant in terms of both form and meaning. Formally, it determines the iambic meter for the rest of the poem. Thematically, *tonight* influences the immediate and ephemeral themes and allusions throughout the poem. It is significant that Ali uses the most common metric foot in the English language in a traditionally Arabic poetic form. His poem represents the bridging of classical elements from both Arabic and Western traditions, expressing a desire to connect his speaker's Islamic roots with a Western audience.

The ghazal provides a form that enables the speaker to shift rapidly and fluidly between moods. In the first three stanzas of "Tonight," the speaker expresses three distinctly different moods. In the first stanza, the speaker expresses a feeling of abandonment. The subject of his attention—possibly a reference

to a lover, a God, or perhaps his home country, Kashmir—bars him from experiencing rapture. The mood is dismal and void of pleasure. In the second stanza, the speaker conveys a sense of hope. The speaker believes that “Fabrics” and “Trinkets” can make one beautiful, despite the absence of rapture in the first stanza, inspiring optimism (l. 3-4). The Emily Dickinson poem Ali quotes, “I am ashamed—I hide,” echoes this spirit of optimism. The speaker in Dickinson’s poem overcomes her material deficiencies with spiritual pride. By the end of Dickinson’s poem, the speaker is ashamed no longer, but rather “too proud—for Pride” (l. 26). In Ali’s third stanza, the speaker conveys desperation as he “beg[s] for haven” (5). In rapid succession, the speaker conveys three different moods, and the ghazal enables the poet to do this because of the separated closed couplet form. In “Tonight,” the swift changes in mood allow Ali to communicate the inner turmoil of his speaker. The speaker’s decision to rapidly shift between themes in “Tonight” also represents his inability to communicate a cohesive national, religious, or cultural identity.

In the sixth stanza, “Mughal ceilings” is a complex allusion, referencing art, empire, and Agha Ali’s own poetry (l. 11). The art from the Mughal Empire, including the “ceilings” referenced by Ali’s speaker, alludes to a problematic history in Southeast Asia. Early in the twentieth century, Mughal art was considered separately from Indian art, as “Islamic art,” despite having a historical geographic connection to Kashmir (Singh 1045). Furthermore, the founder of the Mughal empire, Akbar, while Muslim himself, included “Hindus, Jains, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians” in his court (Department of Islamic Art). Thus, surrounded by stanzas about the exclusivity of religion, is a stanza about being cast “under [the] spell” of art from an empire that was both inclusive of various faiths, and later rejected on the basis of faith (l. 12). “Under your spell” also recalls the first line, which inquires about the followers of an ambiguous subject. In the sixth stanza, the speaker affirms he is still seeking a new muse after being abandoned in the first stanza. Furthermore, that “mirrored convexities” that “multiply” the speaker reflect the ghazal form,

reflecting the fragments of poetry that seem to multiply the speaker. Both the poem and the Mughal ceilings are at once the recognition of both spiritual inquiry and the struggle of accepting multiple identities in Kashmir.

The first and twelfth stanza are intentionally ambiguous and can be read in a variety of ways, further complicating the poem. It allows the reader to connect the fragmented themes throughout the poem to in at least two distinct ways. The “who” in the first stanza, as previously highlighted, is ambiguous. If the reader assumes that it is God who has abandoned the speaker, then the poem reads as a blasphemous rant against a God who would leave his devoted followers lonely. In this reading, the twelfth stanza assumes that the speaker’s “rivals for [God’s] love” would be sacrilegious temptations, attempting to lure the speaker away from God. The speaker confirms this reading, having already made blasphemous remarks throughout the poem. The speaker wants the reader to understand the importance of “idols” in “[converting] the infidel” (9-10); the “priest in saffron” alludes to a Hindu priest (16); “Damn you, Elijah, I’ll bless Jezebel tonight” damns a biblical prophet in favor of a sinful heathen queen; and in the last line, he claims that “God sobs in [his] arms”. All of these allusions to religion represent blasphemous notions.

The reader can also interpret the ambiguous subject of the first and twelfth stanzas as a lover. In this reading, the religious references throughout the poem are not references to the Judeo-Christian or Islamic God, but are rather symbolic of the unexplainable essence of mankind’s consciousness, which allows one to interpret love, pride, and anger as well as other human emotions. The loneliness motif used throughout the stanzas becomes more prominent. “God’s vintage loneliness has turned to vinegar— / All the archangels ... fell tonight” does not reference God’s lonely status as the one supreme being in Judeo-Christian or Islamic culture, but rather man’s anguish turned to bitterness in the process of falling out of love (or rather, the subject of the speaker’s love falling out of love with him) (7-8). Thus, when the “doors

of Hell” are “left open—for God,” the speaker is expressing his descent into despair (14). The eighth stanza equates the speaker’s loss of love to the destruction of an entire religion; no “statues” or “priests” remain (15-16). The lover has left and there is no evidence of there ever having been love except for the wreckage of the speaker’s “heart’s veined temple” (15). That this seemingly religious poem can be read through a romantic lens complicates the traditional notion of a ghazal, which often uses erotic love as an expression of religious devotion (Burt 235).

The speaker further demonstrates the complications of his cultural identity by using Western literary allusions. Perhaps the most biographically relevant literary reference in Ali’s poem, “Tonight,” quoted in the epigraph, is Laurence Hope’s poem, “Kashmiri Song”. Like Ali, Hope (a pseudonym for Adela Nicolson) experienced the world through a transcultural lens. Though she was British, she considered India her home (“Adela Florence Cory Nicolson”). “Kashmiri Song,” like “Tonight” plays with a strange association between secular and pious love. The two poems share, almost exactly, the first stanza. While Laurence’s speaker is almost certainly referring to a lover, and not God, she uses religious allusions to express this love. Like Ali’s speaker, Laurence’s speaker is distressed over the loss of a seemingly necessary connection. Laurence’s speaker suggests she would rather die than say “farewell” to her lover (l. 12). This is also alluded to in Ali’s poem in the twelfth stanza, when the speaker chides his lover and expresses that “this is no farewell” (l. 24). The allusions to “Kashmiri Song” reaffirm the possibility of the romantic reading of “Tonight,” and attribute to the complicated cultural perspectives in the poem.

As previously explained, the quoted Emily Dickinson poem in the second stanza demonstrates a unique mood not expressed anywhere else in the poem, “Tonight”. However, it also represents a much more interesting complication of the speaker’s cultural identity. Ali chose to quote one of the most widely read American poets, one who has a tendency to criticize organized

Christianity in her poetry. Not only is the speaker in “Tonight” conflicted between Arabic and Western literary traditions, but also he is inspired by a Western woman who questions the credibility of institutionalized religion. Furthermore, the speaker inverts the order of the quotations from Dickinson’s poem, and in doing so, also inverts the meaning in some ways. Where Dickinson’s poem, as previously suggested, represents spiritual pride overcoming material depravity, Ali’s quote suggests the overcoming of spiritual depravity through material beauty. It is also not insignificant that Dickinson references Ali’s home country (Cashmere is an archaic spelling for Kashmir). Dickinson wants to take something from Kashmir to her own home in an effort to make herself beautiful, and Ali wants to take something from America to don beauty on his ghazal.

The final line of the poem makes another important literary allusion. “Call Me Ishmael” (l. 26) is the first line in Herman Melville’s novel, *Moby Dick*. Ishmael, the protagonist in *Moby Dick* (though some might argue that Ishmael is a bystander to Captain Ahab’s story), is a merchant sailor who, having no money or home ashore, takes to the sea and embarks on a whaling tour. Immediately, the similarities between Ishmael and the speaker in “Tonight” become apparent. Both feel outcast in their own land and are desperately searching for a purpose and a community. Ishmael looks to the sea for answers, while the speaker in “Tonight” looks to the “Mughal ceilings” above (l. 11). Melville’s novel is also notable in its wavering temperament toward morality and Christianity, and its use of religious allegory.

The allusion to Ishmael in the final stanza is also significant for its implication in both Christianity and Islam. In the Old Testament, Ishmael represents the son of Abraham, exiled from his family. While God blesses the firstborn son, it is his brother, Isaac, who is revered by Christians as inheriting Abraham’s legacy. Ishmael, however, is revered in Islam, as he is often cited as the ancestor of the prophet Mohammed. Burt suggests that this allusion encourages a reading in which Ali’s speaker “affirms himself decidedly with Islamic tradition” (239). The stanza

understood as a whole, however, does not allow for such a simple reading. The first line of the stanza alludes to Job 1:15-1:19 (Burt 239). Ali embeds himself in place of the messenger bringing news to Job. While Job is also in the Quran, the almost direct quote from the King James translation of the Old Testament about religious devotion in desperate times would seem to place Ali's speaker decidedly with Judeo-Christian tradition. However, Ali's speaker uses the two contrasting religious allusions to surround the blasphemous notion that God would sob in the arms of a messenger. Rather than inheriting one religious doctrine over another, the speaker in the final stanza exemplifies the religious turmoil that makes up the subject of much of the poem. He is claiming the role of the messenger, the blasphemer, the devout, the migrant, the exiled, and the forefather at the same time.

Agha Shahid Ali's poem, "Tonight" is exemplary in its ability to use form to convey meaning. Furthermore, Ali's mastery of using multifaceted allusions enhances the formal qualities of the poem, namely the poet's ability to use the ghazal form to swiftly change the themes and tone of the poem. As Ali states, "One should at any time be able to pluck a couplet like a stone from a necklace, and it should continue to shine in that vivid isolation . . ." (*Ravishing* 2-3). That this essay attempts to string a common thread through the multiple layers of meaning throughout the couplets is a reflection of the human characteristic to identify patterns and grant them meaning, and should not take away the ghazal's intention for the reader to understand each couplet as being complete in meaning in and out of the context of the poem as a whole. "Tonight" could easily be read in a manner in which none of the questions in the first stanza are answered. Too often in poetry, readers look for answers to the conflicts posed in the poem. In "Tonight," the speaker(s) in the poem experience(s) deep internal turmoil, and the first stanza misleads the reader into expecting an answer. Ali provides no answers. He simply acknowledges that a question is worth asking, that his struggles are worth writing, and that some reader might find it worth reading that struggling with religious and cultural identity is not unusual. In United States in the 21st

century, a time and place in which immigration and religion are so connected to one's political identity, it is important to find literature that illustrates the complexities of identity for immigrants, culturally diverse people, and religious minorities. It demonstrates that no one is defined simply by his or her religious, cultural, or national identity. These identities play important roles for Americans, but, ultimately, they are rich complex aspects of individuals. Rather than leading us to answer our questions, these complexities lead us only to question of ourselves: *Who are you now?*

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About the Author

Michael Bagley is a senior majoring in English and Secondary Education. His research for this project was completed under the mentorship of Dr. Susan Levasseur (English) in the Fall of 2017. For his honors thesis, he is investigating the effects and best practices of using multicultural literature in the high school classroom. Much of his work at BSU is related to poetry and the cultural lens through which literature is written and read. After graduating, Michael plans to teach high school English.

How Twitter Has Changed the Way Advertisers Communicate

CODY BAKER

Abstract

Since its inception in 2006 Twitter has become one of the most prevalent social media platforms, with over 330 million active users and over 500 million “tweets” sent daily (Aslam, 2018). This research project will conduct a content analysis of specific tweets from the Wendy’s corporation official Twitter account in addition to qualitatively evaluating scholarly articles on the topic of social media, marketing, and online communication. The key focus is how Twitter creates what is referred to as a “dialogic loop,” a pattern that only develops in online communication. This paper will highlight how Twitter has changed the way advertisers utilize social media to promote their organization’s goals. Wendy’s establishes dialogic loops primarily by using retweets and humor to connect with individuals, by engaging with other organizations positively and negatively, and by utilizing a character spokesperson.

Introduction

Initially developed and launched in 2006 by creators Jack Dorsey, Evan Williams, Noah Glass, and Biz Stone, Twitter originated as a phone application (app) and website for users to create and share messages known as “tweets.” These were originally based on the 140-character short messaging service (SMS) text limit (although the limit was doubled to 280 characters in 2017) and came to be known as “micro-blogging.” Twitter’s unique attributes allow its users to communicate with one another in an asynchronous dialogic loop, where any user is capable of interacting with another by using various hyperlinks (the # hashtag or the @ symbol to attach a

person’s username and include them in a tweet), and permit its users to perpetuate communication regardless of location, time, or access to a desktop computer.

Another key aspect of Twitter’s success is the concept of the “retweet,” which allows a user to quote a fellow user’s tweet verbatim and post it to their account while still attributing credit to the original poster: “Rather than being neutral, the power of Twitter and other social media is that they are designed to provoke and call forth regular updates from their users” (Murthy, 2013, p. 25). Twitter’s provocation comes in the form of the questions users see when they begin to write a new tweet, and that question is, “What’s happening?” Users are challenged to succinctly answer this question in 280-characters or less, which has resulted in the growth of Twitter as an answer to the seemingly limitless capabilities to communicate that have developed alongside the internet: “Twitter is closer to the Global Village than the Internet was envisioned to be. If something happens in the world—regardless of whether it is banal or profound—someone will tweet about it” (Murthy, p. 20) Twitter’s accessibility, format, app-specific features, global reach, and interconnectivity within the app have allowed it to not only change its users’ communication but altered the landscape of global communication as well. Such innovation has allowed companies to expand on the areas most important to them, and for any organization one of the most important areas is marketing. Twitter has allowed organizations to change their marketing strategies to interact and communicate directly with their consumers and affords them the capabilities to adopt an entirely new identity and change their perception in the eyes of their consumers. One of the most significant changes to the world of marketing include the development of the use of dialogic loops. “Loop” refers to the back-and-forth dialogue that develops in interpersonal communication and appears in online communication as interactions, comments, and chats. In online communication, dialogic loops help to promote an organization’s message and Twitter’s unique app-specific features are helping facilitate this type of communication. Through the use of retweets, @-replies, and

the usage of Twitter as a way to seem more personal and relate to people on a deeper level, organizations are finding success in these new marketing strategies, and their success is the study of this research project.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to better understand how Twitter has changed the way advertisers communicate with the public and the ways that they utilize Twitter's unique features to facilitate this process. This research will examine communication on Twitter in the theoretical context of a semiotic cultural study, focusing on dialogic loops as the mode of communication. In addition to a semiotic analysis, this study will use a content analysis of different tweets from the Wendy's Twitter account that most accurately depict these growing traits in online marketing.

Thesis

The thesis for this project is that Twitter's success as a communication platform is based on its unique ability to create an asynchronous dialogic loop that allows feedback from the public to advertisers, which facilitates the communication process and allows organizations to directly interact with their customers. The key aspects of creating the dialogic loop in Wendy's advertising campaign are the use of retweets, humor, interactions, a character spokes-person, and communication with other organizations.

Research Methodology

This research is based on a qualitative content analysis of scholarly articles and text books, as well as a semiotic content analysis of specific tweets from the Wendy's Twitter page that most strongly exemplify the ways in which Wendy's has used Twitter to successfully market itself. Tweets that best exemplify the use of Twitter's features as well as creating a dialogic loop will also be examined. While Twitter is used by a wide variety of organizations, focusing on an organization that has had success with advertising

and communication on Twitter will best exemplify the way that communication takes place on Twitter and how advertisers use it to their benefit. While the numbers of favorites and retweets are constantly in flux on social media, the number reported at the time of writing will be used for the sake of this research project. In order to gain the most comprehensive understanding of why specific tweets are so successful, the most well-known and popular tweets and interactions from Wendy's will be studied. By studying examples of Wendy's most popular tweets (in terms of retweets, responses, and favorites) this will provide the most relevant samples possible and will demonstrate the effectiveness of the Wendy's advertising campaign in using dialogic loops in online communication.

Research Questions

This research will seek the answers to the following research questions:

1. How does Wendy's use Twitter to create a dialogic loop with their consumers/customers?
2. What specific ways are dialogic loops created through the use of Twitter and its app-specific features (pop culture references, humor, sarcasm, conversation, connectivity, interactions)?

Limitations

Many of Wendy's tweets have been the subject of analysis by online news organizations in terms of their popularity; however, they have not been studied in the context proposed in this research project. By analyzing these tweets within the context of dialogic loops their messages take on a new meaning and highlight specific attributes of online communication. This analysis goes beyond the cursory observations of online articles; however, the success of these tweets in terms of creating a dialogue has already been established thanks to their coverage by news organizations and online magazines. Additionally, the most severe physical limitation

to this study is that it is impossible to examine every tweet that Wendy's has tweeted, especially in regard to its success as a marketing strategy. While it is limiting to only be able to study a finite number of tweets, the advantage of studying prior work will allow for pertinent examples of tweets to be used to best support the evidence given. Although it is unfortunate not to be able to study every tweet available, this allows for more focus to be on the most relevant information and prevents irrelevant tweets and misleading information from affecting the study. To further reduce the impact of this limitation, the most retweeted and well-known examples of Wendy's are readily available online as well as on Twitter due to the ability for accounts to "pin" their most successful or important tweets at the top of their feed for ease of access.

While many other companies utilize Twitter for a portion of their advertising needs, Wendy's has been selected as the subject of this research due to its level of success in the arena of online marketing. Wendy's has found a niche in the advertising world through the way that its advertising department has used Twitter to create conversation about their profile and more importantly about their company. The inimitable success of Wendy's Twitter account has put the company at the forefront of social media marketing and has produced a wave of imitators, which further emphasizes how influential Wendy's has been in this area.

Definitions

The following operational terms and their definitions were taken from Dhiraj Murthy's book, *Twitter: Digital Media and Society*:

- Messages on Twitter; tweets are restricted to 140 (280) characters and are usually publicly visible to anyone regardless of whether they have a Twitter account or not.
- **Tweeter:** a Twitter user.
- **Timeline:** a list of all tweets which are displayed in real time; one's own timeline displays one's tweets as well as tweets by others.
- **At-mention:** Abbreviated as @, a means for users to direct tweets to specific user(s); discussions on Twitter often leverage at-mentions in order for speaker and recipient to be easily identifiable.
- **Follow/Follower:** one who has elected to "subscribe" to the tweets of another user to be displayed on their timeline.
- **Hashtag:** subject identifiers within tweets; by using # before any text, a user can identify their tweet with a larger conversation.
- **Retweet:** the act of forwarding tweets written by others; a retweet (often abbreviated as RT) is viewable by one's own followers. (Murthy, p. 3)

Theoretical Framework

Establishing a dialogue is an integral aspect of effective communication and dialogues are separate from other types of communication such as conversations, lectures, or discussions. A dialogue is defined in the *Oxford Dictionary* as a "conversation between two or more people as a feature of a book, play, or movie" or "a discussion between two or more people or groups, especially one directed toward exploration of a particular subject or resolution of a problem." This definition implies that a dialogue has a purpose and is meant to solve a problem or move people toward resolving an issue. While conversations are more casual, and lectures are typically one-way communication, dialogues actively move the communication one way or the other. When the dialogue is reciprocated among individuals and becomes a continuous cycle rather than a sporadic exchange then a dialogic loop is created (see figure 1). On Twitter, dialogic loops take shape through the interactions between users and their tweets, retweets, hashtags, and faves.

This research into dialogic loops is based on a semiotic cultural study using the theoretical framework of dialogic loops.

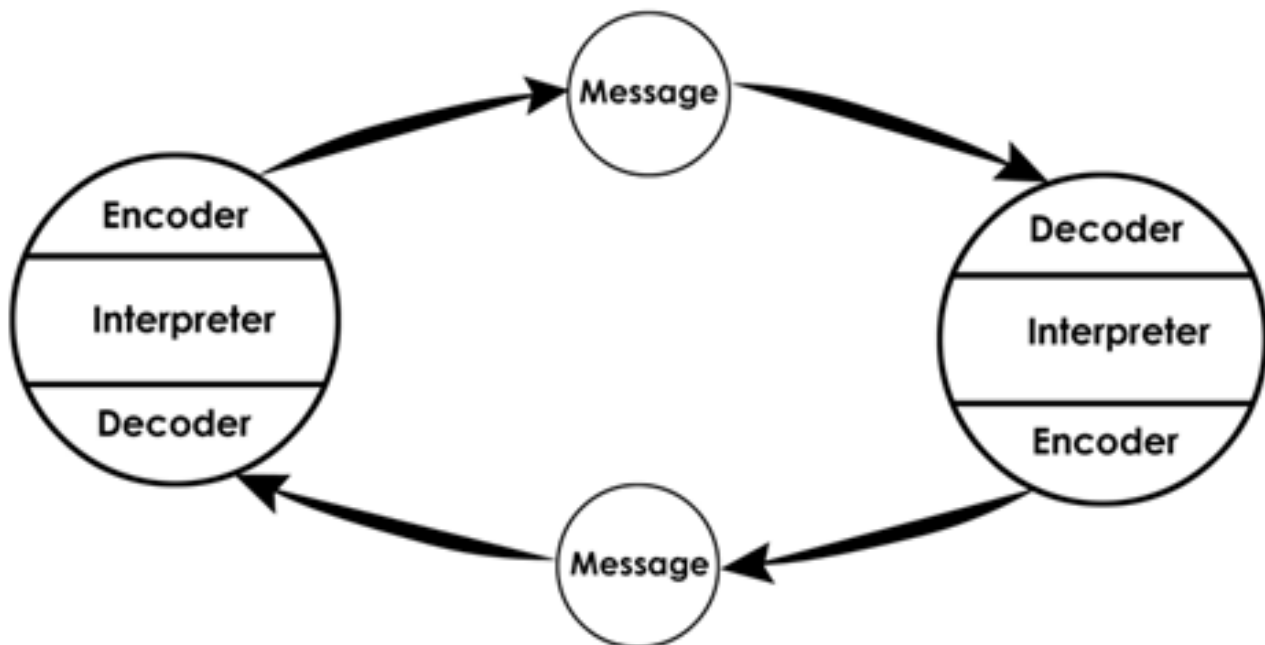
Semiotics focuses on understanding the meaning of symbols and signs in communication which include not only the literal symbols of Twitter such as hashtags and “@” symbols but also the way that a Tweet between two users has come to symbolize one-on-one communication and what that means for private users, as well as marketers and advertisers. Due to the immersive nature of media and technology in today’s culture, communication is taking form in unseen ways, and framing interactions within the parameters of the appropriate terminology is extremely important for accuracy. By using dialogic loops to frame the research and interactions studied, this research will accurately depict the correlation between Twitter’s effect on communication online and how advertisers utilize it to create the effect needed to engage consumers in a dialogic loop.

Literature Review:

Social media has become an increasingly important component of human communication, and one of the most-rapidly expanding areas of social media is the micro-blogging site Twitter. Twitter follows a platform based on the short message

service (SMS) 140-character limit and allows for “a potentially limitless audience” (Scott, 2015, p. 11) due to the capability of retweeting, where users can, in essence, resubmit another user’s tweet to their own profile for their followers to see. As Twitter’s influence has grown, the need to understand its impact has become more important to communication researchers, and one of the areas where Twitter has had the most impact is how advertisers use Twitter to create a dialogic loop with consumers, and how the varying symbols of Twitter such as the hashtag, @ symbol, and a tweet itself have come to represent communication. Twitter has also offered advertisers a way to use humor and interactions with other organizations and accounts as a tactic to seem more genuine and relatable. This research will further the knowledge and understanding of how social media impacts communication, and how platforms such as Twitter change the way we communicate as well as the way language is used and continues to develop.

Figure 1. Osgood-Schramm Model of Communication
(*Communication Theory*, 2018)



Twitter's heightened connectivity and the level of interaction it offers allows users to communicate amongst one another at rates never before conceived and has fundamentally changed how people converse online. Twitter's more prevalent contributions to the online discourse are the hashtag and the retweet. Hashtags, which "function primarily as metadata tags facilitating the retrieval of content from the site" (Scott, 2014, p. 1) were initially designed from a user suggestion to string tweets pertaining to the same or similar topics together using the hashtag as a hyperlink. Since its inception, the hashtag has grown in use, having been adopted by Facebook as well as Instagram due to its effectiveness in linking topics. However, it has also altered how users communicate on Twitter, considering the shortened format provided by the site. "The length restriction and the need to abbreviate and omit elements of the messages mean that tweeters have to depend on (their) readers to be able to reconstruct the full intended message from the non-standard abbreviated forms... the hashtag has been appropriated by users of Twitter as one way to manage the interaction while maintain the option of using an informal, casual, and conversational style" (Scott, p. 9-10).

With the advent of the hashtag facilitating linking ideas and easing the contextual burden of a shortened communication format, the concept of the retweet has become crucial to allowing users to create a dialogic loop in keeping with more traditional conversational norms. "Dialogue is differentiated from both monologue and propaganda...the absence of a dialogic loop would render the Internet 'nothing more than a new mono-logic communication medium'" (Lee & Won, 2017, p. 423). Without the feedback and ability to converse amongst its users, Twitter, as well as the internet overall, would cease to have a dialogue and would instead be a series of individual monologues by every user: "therefore, while facilitating unilateral dissemination of information, retweeting serves important conversational and relational functions such as recognizing other Twitter users and supporting their ideas" (Lim & Lee-Won, p. 423). This strategy is utilized by organizations across the spectrum: "creating and sustaining a presence on social

media platforms has become a standard communication strategy among both for-profit and non-profit organizations in their efforts to reach out to and communicate with their current and potential stakeholders and the general public" (Lim & Lee-Won, p. 422). By utilizing the dialogic capabilities of Twitter, organizations are able to increase their presence for consumers as well as bring in new customers. "Twitter users' exposure to brand tweets led to 2.7 times increase in their intention to purchase products from the brand, and 5.2 times increase in purchase intention when Twitter users were exposed to both brand tweet and celebrity (or "influencer") tweets mentioning the brands" (Lim & Lee-Won, p. 423). Twitter-based communication offers organizations a way to make "a person feel as if he/she were 'with' the communication partner, engaging in a direct, face-to-face conversation" (Lim & Lee-Won, p. 424). This ability to emulate a more interpersonal conversation using retweets has allowed organizations to increase their social presence and has changed how people and organizations communicate online by letting the organizations control the rules for the conversation. With control of these rules, organizations are able to shift the perspective of how potential consumers view their advertising strategy. Using humor and pop-culture references (such as memes, celebrity appearances, and sketches) as well as popular slang, professionally-run Twitter accounts appear as if a single-person is tweeting to the thousands of followers and connecting and interacting with their audience on an intimate level.

In conclusion, when communicating through Twitter, organizations are able to pick and choose what to edit it as well as whom they reply to, ignore, and block. Establishing a presence on Twitter by creating a dialogue with consumers allows organizations to not only engage with customers on a more personal level, it allows those organizations to present the entirety of their brand as a representation of what the organization stands for. By utilizing the different features of Twitter effectively, such as the hashtag and retweet, advertisers can create the necessary channels of communication and effectively promote their brand as well as create an identity for their organization.

Analysis (Creating a Dialogue through Retweets, Humor, and Working with other Organizations)

The most popular tweets the Wendy's Twitter page has produced involve either promotions, dialogic communication with consumers, or marketing through humor, all of which help to establish the Wendy's brand and identity. These are additionally served by the spokes-character Wendy's image, which conducts a version of "guerilla" marketing. Some of the most prevalent examples are the "Free Nuggets For a Year" tweets, Wendy's "roasting" of other brands and individuals on Twitter, and the use of the imagery of "Wendy" as a mascot.

In 2017 Twitter user Carter Wilkerson (@carterjwm) posted a tweet to the Wendy's account which stated, "Yo @Wendy's, how many retweets for a year of free chicken nuggets?" to which Wendy's responded "18 million." The tweet was retweeted over 3,470,000 times and became the most retweeted tweet of all time (Guinness, 2017). The tweet also became an overnight sensation, being featured on news programs, late night talk shows, and a multitude of websites, while simultaneously providing free coverage for the Wendy's franchise. By doing this, Wendy's took advantage of some of the principle aspects of creating a dialogic loop, mainly; "ease of interface" (Seltzer, Rybalko, p. 337, 2010), which took place through the simple task of retweeting; "generation of return visits" (Seltzer, Rybalko, p. 337), which occurred when people continued to discuss the tweet or check to see how many retweets it had gotten; and "providing useful information to a variety of publics" (Seltzer, Rybalko, p. 337), which happened when Wendy's gave the tweet so much attention and merit that it became a national topic of discussion for a number of different media outlets. All of this resulted in positive publicity and favorable opinions of Wendy's for their tongue-in-cheek method of using Twitter.

Using Twitter to allow a user to feel that they are part of a dialogue allows the effects of their online communication to be seen tangibly and demonstrates how a dialogic loop operates to immerse the user in the digital world. This serves to create a

stronger bond between the user and the organization which ensures continued interaction and promotion of the organization's message. However, when Wendy's set the amounts of retweets required to receive a reward (chicken nuggets), they set the rules and tone of the conversation, which demonstrates the effect that dialogic loops can have on online communication. While Wilkerson approached Wendy's with a question, Wendy's response challenged Wilkerson to accomplish an unrealistic task. This challenge motivated Wilkerson to meet Wendy's demands, which, in turn, resulted in Wilkerson promoting his, and, subsequently, Wendy's, requests as well as their image and product. By challenging Wilkerson to accomplish a difficult task, Wendy's also mirrored the same prompting exhibited by Twitter itself; challenge the user to accomplish something. Whether that goal is to achieve a certain amount of retweets in exchange for free chicken nuggets or challenging them to answer the question posed before a user begins typing a tweet—"What's happening?"—such tweets push users to actually use Twitter to their advantage, as well as to the advantage of an organization or Twitter itself.

Wendy's has shown excellent usage of Twitter to create a dialogue not just in the form of retweets but also by engaging directly with consumers and other brands on Twitter. The Wendy's Twitter account will often reply to questions and comments, or inject itself into discussions, often using humor, memes, or other pop culture references which garner significant attention, retweets, and replies. One conversation with Twitter user @inkedsnowflake, asking about Wendy's breakfast, resulted in Wendy's response tweet receiving over 8,000 retweets and nearly 15,000 likes. Many of these interactions are catalogued on websites such as BuzzFeed.com, reddit.com, or boredpanda.com, where users can revisit and discuss the tweets. What this does for Wendy's is to enter their brand into the lexicon of internet users as a fun, edgy, and entertaining site that promises other Twitter users a chance of interaction with the account and the subsequent dialogue and attention that may follow.

Giving the user an experience has greatly distinguished

Wendy's use of Twitter from its competition. "Research has shown that organizations tend to use Twitter primarily in a one-way, mono-logic manner and fall short using the platform's technological affordances to engage the public in dialogue" (Lim, Lee-Won, p. 422, 2016). Avoiding this trend has afforded Wendy's to gain a foothold in the fast-paced world of online marketing, and the account's reputation for being able to "roast" people provides Wendy's with a level of credibility that connects to audiences on a deeper level. "Humor is a valuable and effective tool for communicating just about anything because humor breaks down barriers. Carefully disguised as fun, humor can smuggle new ideas into people's hearts" (Tabares, 2009). Humor disarms the consumers and potential consumers that Wendy's marketing strategy is targeting and causes them to forget that they are really being sold a set of ideas about Wendy's, which is that they are fun, relatable, and in touch with the attitudes of people today.

In addition to poking fun at consumers and Twitter users, the Wendy's Twitter account will also call out other restaurant chains to distinguish themselves from the competition as well as align themselves with other Twitter accounts from other brands which use a similar marketing strategy. In the fast-casual restaurant industry, McDonald's is the leader, with over 37,000 restaurants world-wide to Wendy's 6,500. However, by keeping constant pressure on McDonald's over Twitter, Wendy's has been able to brand itself as the smaller, but more "real" restaurant that is not just a giant corporation but a brand that people can relate to and joke with.

During their Super-Bowl ad campaign, McDonald's main strategy was to promote the switch to fresh beef rather than frozen beef in their quarter-pounder burgers at some of their restaurant locations. Wendy's response, "@McDonalds So you'll still use frozen beef in MOST of your burgers in ALL of your restaurants? Asking for a friend," received over 72,000 retweets and 180,000 faves, where the original McDonald's post received less than 6,000 retweets and 8,000 faves. By distinguishing themselves from larger

chains using humor, Wendy's sets themselves apart and targets a smaller, more niche audience which appreciates humor and enjoys seeing one of the largest corporations in the world being made fun of successfully. By creating a forum for humor and jesting at a much larger corporation, Wendy's creates a space for consumers to share their own thoughts and opinions as well as retweet and reply to the tweets of other Twitter users, which encourages a dialogue online not just with Wendy's but also with one another. This serves the adaptive structure theory of communication because even though McDonald's is the larger corporation with more resources, Wendy's can establish the tone of the dialogue and set the rules for the conversation about McDonald's marketing campaign and encourage their consumers to join in with the same goal of mocking the McDonald's campaign. When the corporations break the "fourth wall" and begin communicating with one another as well as consumers, it demonstrates to the average user that their digital experience is equal to their real-world experience. While McDonald's and Wendy's would not interact physically, over Twitter they can engage with one another and users are able to witness the interaction and add their own input.

In addition to using Twitter as a platform to tease and make fun of the competition, Wendy's has also used it to align itself with other smaller, similarly family-oriented companies and organizations, most noticeably the snack company MoonPie, which has taken a page out of Wendy's marketing campaign and has begun using a similar strategy on Twitter to create buzz. MoonPie and Twitter began interacting in January of 2018, spawning a series of online articles and reviews about the two corporations, such as "Wendy's Was Actually Nice for Once and Made A New Twitter Friend," and "Wendy's and MoonPie Are Your New Relationship Goals." However, the marketing strategy was seen through by some, most notably the avclub.com article, "MoonPie and Wendy's are friends now because the internet is a corporate hellscape." This article states perhaps the harshest, but most honest description of the marketing campaign being used by companies today: "The confines of their old, stuffily corporate nature long

since shed, the brands have been steadily working to convince us they're human. Not content merely to own our stomachs and minds, they've taken to Twitter, cannily tricking us into imagining them as something other than the twisted assemblage of focus-tested logos and marketing terrorism all public-facing corporations truly are and attempting, instead, to get us to think of them as real people" (McCarter, 2018). Regardless of public opinion, the "love affair" between Wendy's and MoonPie has generated thousands of likes, retweets, and feedback which is the mark of any successful marketing campaign. Furthermore, this back-and-forth dialogue sets the two companies up to support and promote one another and allows for their identities to play off one another to suggest that they are not corporations with complex and well-researched marketing strategies, but fun and witty people who like to joke and have fun online just like regular people.

By working together to promote their separate organizations, they eschew the normal assumptions of how their organizations operate; mainly, that Wendy's roasts/bullies other accounts while MoonPie attempts a similar strategy with a more niche audience; instead, the two organizations are working together and building one another up rather than tearing them down. By setting the rules for the conversations around their individual organizations, both Wendy's and MoonPie retain an ally in the Twitter-marketing landscape, as well as eliminate a potential rival by joining forces. This also sets the stage for the two companies to join together should a third company or private account choose to engage either company in a derogatory manner. By showing the two companies conversing and engaging in a traditional back-and-forth discussion like two ordinary people, the two organizations appear to be not only capable of conversation but of using the same channels that regular people would, like Twitter, to orchestrate the conversation. Rather than ignoring one another, the two organizations immerse the users in their conversations and dialogue which lets the user be a part of the conversation rather than just being a passive observer. While organizations typically shun one another and avoid direct communication for fear of

indirectly promoting the competition, Wendy's has taken the initiative to make clear alliances and distinctions between itself and other organizations. This is closer to how people operate outside of online communication, where friendships and disagreements manifest openly, and, by acting like a person, Wendy's Twitter account is able to achieve the same level of communication interpersonally as average users are.

All these marketing strategies serve to embed the identity and image of the Wendy's franchise in the mind of consumers, but one of the key components of this strategy is aided by Wendy's mascot, "Wendy": "a stronger advocate-brand personality correlation leads to stronger brand name recall" (Kinney, Ireland, p. 135, 2015). Wendy's has attempted to use a spokes-person on several occasions but suffered backlash when after a less than successful campaign using founder Dave Thomas' daughter and restaurant namesake Wendy Thomas was scrapped for a campaign using actress Morgan Smith-Goodwin with the implication that she was "Wendy."

The benefit of a spokes-character versus an actor or celebrity is that "they can be controlled in ways that human endorsers cannot...celebrity spokespeople can become associated with negative information that embarrasses a brand or harms the brand's image" (Kinney, Ireland, p. 135). In addition to this, Wendy as a female spokes-character is received more positively as a communicator than a male spokes-person would be. According to a study about spokes-characters as marketing strategies on Twitter, researchers found that "by initiating communication female spokes-characters are more outgoing, engaging, and likely to approach their followers in an effort to strengthen the relationship" (Kinney, Ireland, p. 146). In turn, this more favorable reaction to a female spokes-character facilitates communication and promotes the dialogic loop between the Wendy's brand and their consumers.

By having a spokes-character rather than an actor or celebrity potential consumers are more easily able to relate to an organizations' message without being distracted by a human

element. The controversy around using actress Morgan Smith-Goodwin as opposed to Wendy Thomas distracted from the message that Wendy's was trying to relay to its consumer-base, which further highlights the advantage of using a character as opposed to an actor. Cartoon spokes-characters are never considered controversial, unless they were drawn before the age of political-correctness, and do not distract from the message of an organization by introducing a potential controversy such as the Thomas versus Smith-Goodwin debate. By removing the human element, Wendy's can shift the focus onto the content of the ad; a person is more likely to have a connection with a human actor than a cartoon, and, therefore, be less immersed in the advertisement they are watching. By having a spokes-character they can allow the viewer a fuller immersion into the advertising experience and a better apprehension of the intended message.

Discussion

Taking the concepts behind marketing a step forward is a risk for any company; however, Twitter allows organizations to minimize the risk while simultaneously receiving immediate feedback on the successes or failures of that step. Creating a conversation takes two parties, and Twitter has let those organizations who are creative enough to see the potential for what these conversations can bring use them for their benefit. Establishing a dialogue requires participation, and organizations like Wendy's are harnessing Twitter to their advantage, but how will these strategies pan out in the long run? Many are seeing past the veil of the strategy being implemented by companies like Wendy's, but will their awareness be enough to force what has been an extremely successful, and inexpensive, marketing strategy to change its focus? Going forward it may benefit organizations to look beyond the ease of Twitter and tweeting to come across as genuine, or they run the risk of saturating their own market with a multitude of disingenuous and failed tweets.

Conclusion

By utilizing a combination of humorous tweets, media-savviness, timing, dialogic communication, and a female spokes-character, Wendy's Twitter can effectively market itself and its brand to consumers by taking advantage of Twitter's unique features and its ability to facilitate dialogic loops in communication online. Through its use of Twitter, Wendy's has found a way for their consumers and followers to market for them, by letting them be a part of the conversation and avoiding the mono-logic conversation that many organizations traditionally engage in on Twitter. The framework that both the adaptive structuration theory and the theory of cultivation operate under, mainly the structuring of the rules of a conversation according to one party, and the immersion and involvement in the digital world by a person, allow for Wendy's Twitter marketing strategy to be most successful. Cultivation theory hinges on the immersion of people in the media they are consuming, and, by interacting with an organization and connecting with them on a more personal level, the effectiveness of that organization's message is increased exponentially. Similarly, adaptive structuration theory involves the rule-setting of communication by one party, which Wendy's does in this study by setting the requirements for rewards from the company in exchange for spreading the company's message through retweets, as well as by challenging other companies in a comedic manner and using humor and an "underdog" mentality to their benefit. Taking advantage of retweets, @-replies, and people's willingness to be a part of a dialogue and desire to be involved with something, Wendy's has exemplified how online marketing can be done through modern media platforms such as Twitter and how communicating a message can be accomplished through more than just slogans and commercials. By creating a connection with consumers and letting them interact with an organization, they bypass the traditional channels altogether and allow for a dialogue to be created. Dialogic loops are essential to communication because they allow the perpetuation of a conversation, rather than a one-way mono-logic

where only one party is involved in the communication process.

Further Studies

Twitter will continue to affect and have a profound influence on several different areas of communication as time goes on. Marketing, political communication, journalism, entertainment, technology, literature, and more are featured on Twitter in their own areas, and studying these with continued content analyses, as well as statistically tracking how people are using Twitter, will provide insight as to how this social media platform is changing the way that people and organizations communicate with one another.

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About the Author

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Unseen and Unheard: Experiences of Immigrants Who Work as Low-Level Healthcare Providers

DANIELA BELICE

"I used to work at a nursing room with two white nurses on my shift. One of them used to go inside the patients' rooms and hide their dentures, then she will say it's the Haitian workers that take them to go sell in Haiti. I never paid her any mind until one day. So, there is this racist patient who does not want to work with any black people; in fact, his family said that. So, this patient put on his light, and I decided to go to his room to know what he needed. He said, "How come they sent me a black person? Get out of my room, nigger! I can't stand black people!" Then he slapped me. The nurse that I mentioned above was passing by at that time; she didn't say anything; she didn't even make a report. She came to the patient's room to take him out, and she was laughing. I spent two weeks with a swollen face. The Director of Nursing (D.O.N) didn't know about what happened.

Later that month, I went to the patient's room to take care of him, and he didn't want me to be there. I left immediately, and, fortunately for me, the D.O.N. was there, so I took the opportunity to talk to that white nurse. I ask her why she keeps allowing the patient to insult me when she knows that he doesn't want black people to enter his room. I told her that Martin Luther King died so that I didn't have to go through all this. I went to the D.O.N. and told her that if she doesn't take any measures I am going to write a letter to the President (Obama) so that he knows what's going on at the nursing home.

Whenever something happened to the black workers at the nursing home, the head nurse and D.O.N. never found out. I wanted to speak for all the black workers because it seems like they always stay silent when something happens to them. So, I told the D.O.N. everything that happened to me and what I observed since I started working at the nursing home. She told me that she didn't know I was that mad. She was shocked that my face was swollen for 2 weeks and I never told her. She said that I should have spoken to her and filed a report. The nurse didn't get fired because it's not easy to find nurses who want to work in nursing homes. What do you think they did to her? They just give her a warning. Because of that, I left the job after 3 months."

Story told by Marie,¹ an older CNA from Haiti

The story above comes from one of fifty interviews I conducted in the summer of 2017 with an ATP Summer Grant. I interviewed immigrants who work as caregivers in the health field, mostly as Certified Nurses Aids (CNAs), Personal Care Assistants (PCAs), and Home Health Aids (HHAs). Immigrants, especially those from the Caribbean, are heavily employed in the low-skilled but high-demand caregiving fields. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), there were 2.1 million immigrant healthcare workers in 2015, and 24 percent are employed as low-skilled direct care workers (Altorjai et Al. 2017). The number of immigrant workers continue to increase. I wanted to learn about their experiences because while our health system depends heavily on them, current political rhetoric about, and administrative action toward, immigrants is making their lives more insecure.

I began with Marie's story because this brief shows what so many of my interviewees discussed: indifference, outright racism and hostility, even physical violence experienced on the job. Though Marie was physically marked by the patient who hit her, her supervisor never found out. It is easy to blame Marie, as the D.O.N. did in her story above, for not reporting the incident immediately, but low-status healthcare workers have few job protections and fear losing their jobs. This may be even more true for immigrants

¹ All names used in the paper are pseudonyms.

who are often supporting people back home as well as in the U.S. The majority of care workers I spoke to are not protected against false accusation and abusive behaviors, whether it is the use of vile language, insults, and lies against them, or racial discrimination. This story reflects the work culture of many caregiving jobs as described by my respondents.

Sociologists try to push against our taken-for-granted understandings of the social world. By doing research with immigrant care workers in low-status healthcare jobs, I am making the contributions of these immigrants more visible and pushing against taken-for-granted and, often, very negative assumptions about low-status immigrants. For instance, in January 2017, President Trump made disparaging remarks about immigrants from Haiti and Africa, the population I worked with, during a meeting on immigration reform. This study enhances understanding of immigrants' significant contributions to the lives of the elderly and disabled for whom they provide care. Ideally this information will be useful to people who work in the healthcare field as well as BSU as it tries to serve all people in our region.

IMMIGRATION AND THE HEALTH FIELDS, SOME BACKGROUND

Direct care workers (caregivers) take care of the disabled and the elderly as home health aides, certified nursing assistants, or counselors. Care workers play a major role in the health care sector; their job responsibilities and tasks involve activities of daily living (ADL) such as dressing, bathing, using the toilet, shopping, cooking, and maintaining a safe environment (Meyer 2015). Their daily work is different from those who do not perform entry level tasks. For this reason, they are considered frontline care workers.

Because baby boomers are aging, scholars have studied the role of immigrant workers in elder care, but relatively little research has focused on the lower-skill employment of frontline caregivers. Most research has instead emphasized high-skill employees such as RNs or health care technicians. There is a lack of research that focuses on the experiences of immigrant care workers. My research

adds to our understanding of: contributions of low-skill immigrants to the lives of aging and disabled Americans and their families; immigrants' feelings about these jobs; and other aspects of their lives such as balancing work and family. Although the prevalent themes that I found in my data were low wages, job instability, racism, and other forms of discrimination, additional findings include issues of emotional management, personal attachment, conflict management, religiosity, and patient care.

METHODS

This paper is a small piece of a larger analysis of my interviews. My research investigates the experiences and aspirations of low-status immigrant healthcare workers in the state. Massachusetts' low-status healthcare positions are disproportionately filled by Caribbean and African immigrants, so my sample was mostly comprised of Haitian, Nigerian, Ghanaian, and Cape Verdean respondents. All my participants were asked the same sets of questions whether in English or in Haitian Creole. It is important to hear from immigrants who fill this crucial role in our economy and health field, but who are often rendered invisible and often experience considerable anti-immigrant and racist political ideologies.

To get an idea of their stories, I conducted semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews use one interview guide for all respondents but give interviewees a lot of freedom to focus on the things that matter to them. My broad interview questions were intended to lead each discussion, but participants had flexibility to bring up topics that are most important to them. I asked questions such as: what motivated you to do this job? What aspect of the job do or don't you like and why? What relationship do you have with your coworkers, the family members of your care recipients, and your care recipients themselves?

I started by reaching out to contacts I already have, then used a snowball sampling method, asking interviewees to recommend others who could speak to me. Snowball sampling is useful for difficult to find populations because each respondent

helps you widen the research field. I conducted all interviews over the phone, recording them, then transcribing them. I conducted 50 interviews in all—seventeen in Haitian Creole. I interviewed thirty-eight female careworkers and twelve male careworkers. While most of the interviewees live in Massachusetts, a few of the participants live Florida, New Jersey, and New York. They mostly work as CNAs, PCAs, HHAs, although I interviewed a few nurses as well. My sample was equally divided among workers older and younger than 30. Though my small sample size means we cannot generalize their experiences to all immigrants, my respondents' stories align with the literature and tell us very much about immigrants' experiences in the low-skilled U.S. healthcare field.

It is important to note that I have a personal connection with this research. First, having immigrated from Haiti in 2010, I am passionate about immigrant rights, and, secondly, I am surrounded by people who do the particular jobs that I am studying. From family members to friends, to church members and classmates, I could lose count of how many care workers I have met, but I know that these stories matter.

JOB SECURITY AND EMOTIONAL LABOR

In general, care workers are employed by for-profit organizations, which means that they are not unionized. Workers who have union representation get organizational support, can hold their employers accountable, and benefit from social safety nets such as health insurance, social security, and unemployment. For example, Mercy, a young Kenyan who used to work as a residential counselor, was wrongfully terminated from her job after the parents of her client falsely accused her of abusing him. Because her case went to court and her employer “washed their hands clean,” she had to deal with her legal proceedings by herself. She mentioned that if she was part of a union organization, they would have referred her to a lawyer. Her narrative demonstrates that non-unionized workers are put at an extreme disadvantage.

When workers are not represented, it also affects how they respond to work-related abuse, as was the case for Marie,

whose interview began this paper. Even though reporting an abusive incident depends on individuals and their knowledge of their rights, for immigrants, scholars have found different reasons why they do not report incidents of work-related abuse. Studying help-seeking behaviors of Filipino migrant home care workers in Israel, Ayalon and Green recorded that 70% of the respondents' reasons not to report was because it “takes too much time and effort” and because of the belief that “things cannot be changed” (Ayalon and Green 2016). These findings demonstrate that it is hard for workers to end the cycle of exploitation, even when they know it's wrong, like Marie clearly did when she referenced Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The small portion of the workers' sampled who did report abuse did it through informal means such as family and friends.

The daily job of care workers involves both physical and emotional labor. The notion of emotional management or emotional labor was first defined by Arlie Russell Hochschild, a sociologist, in 1983, and focused on flight attendants, but is very useful to understand the day-to-day work of immigrant healthcare workers. Hochschild defined emotional labor as “the process of managing feelings and expressions to fulfill the emotional requirements of a job.” (Hochschild 1983: 184). In other words, emotional labor requires people to hide their real emotions or show emotions that they don't really feel in order to keep their job, like the saying “fake it until you make it.”

Among paid care occupations, lower-skilled care workers are the most influential direct care workers because they have the most contact with care recipients. Working in often fast-paced settings, these care workers need to be physically and mentally ready in order to provide sufficient care. Moreover, they have to deal with certain stresses in the workplace. Although my respondents have different job titles, my data shows that care work in general is a job that involves constant emotional management, especially in times of conflict or during racist situations. They have to manage their personal feeling so that they do not interfere with the way that they do their jobs.

EMOTIONAL LABOR AND ITS CONNECTIONS TO RACE, GENDER, AND CLASS

Imagine a situation at work involving another person when you feel angry, frustrated, or humiliated about what happened. Instead of expressing those emotions, you keep them to yourself in order to maintain a positive perception of yourself as a worker and to satisfy the other person's needs. In the book *Global Woman*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Hochschild tell stories of immigrant women in first-world countries who work as nannies caring for the children of wealthy families, leaving their own kids behind (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). They end up being attached to these children to the point that some say they love the children that they care for more than their own kids. Even though this statement might seem genuine, the workers say it while fighting their distress and guilt.

Kang (2003) goes further with the concept of emotional labor. She personifies different dimensions of emotional labor and shows how race, gender, and class help to shape its performance. She argues that emotional labor relates to gendered bodily display in service interactions. Hence, she defines body labor as work involving the exchange of not only body-related services, but also physical and emotional labor, for a wage (Kang 2003). Nail salons remain a niche for Asian immigrant women in the United States, and, daily, these workers have to deal with many emotional stressors that come with customer service. Her ethnographic study involves nail salons that serve white middle-class customers, those that serve working class, mostly black, customers, and those that serve lower income mixed-race customers. Depending on where their work is located, the manicurists have to be aware of their customers' emotional attentiveness, the customers' preferences, maintain interactive conversations, and have high technical skills (Kang 2003). These are necessary in order to satisfy customers' needs and earn tips.

Given that my research is immigrant focused, I draw a parallel from Millian Kang's research from 2003. Kang informs readers about the everyday interactions of Korean immigrant

women workers in New York's nail salons with different types of clients. Using quotes from my participants, I demonstrate factors that shape immigrant care workers' feelings. I examine the interactions of respondents with their care receivers as well as their superiors. It is important to mention that gender is less relevant than race and ethnicity for this discussion. Though my male participants mentioned that some places prefer to assign male workers to work with combative patients, the themes found in my data resonate with both genders. Emotional management is a component of many jobs and I found three sub-themes in my data which are part of the overall conversation of emotional management. These sub-themes, including relationality and personal attachment, the workers' perspectives of their care receivers, and religiosity, help to explain the interactions between the care workers and their care receivers. Moreover, I discuss their encounters with other healthcare workers and superiors.

FINDINGS

Race, Ethnicity, and Emotion at Work

Despite the low wages and the physical demands of care work, low-skill health care workers understand their employers' expectations regarding emotional behavior. They have to suppress their real emotions and at times, keep silent, in order to please everyone around them. To begin, workers learn not to bring their outside problems into the job. When they enter a patient's room they are told to smile, say "Hi," and have a little conversation with the patients and their family members if they are present. They have to keep a positive attitude or the family members might say that they are "rude" or they were uncaring, or they were speaking in their maternal tongue to another care worker in the family's presence. This is why a lot of my interviewees think that when the family members come to visit the patients, either at the nursing homes or the hospitals, they come to cause trouble for the care workers. Anette, a young Haitian who has been working as an HHA for three years said, "This job can be very stressful, you will feel like you want to quit. The Americans always say 'don't make

your problem my problem.”” Considering the population that they are working with, the last thing that they can do is lash out at the patients. The interviewee went further to say that if someone does not like the job that they are doing, they will be better off not doing it.

In this line of work, immigrant health care workers often find patients who call them names, make racist comments to them, or even hit them. In my data, 43 of 50 interviewees mentioned that they have experienced racism, either directly or indirectly, at work. Despite the emotional rewards that come with care work, being a person of color and an immigrant greatly influences their experience of their work environment. Those who work overnight shifts and have fewer interactions with the patients or clients praised their shift choice. Apart from doing routine checks in every room, the only time that they face the patients is if patients call them for something (by putting the call light on) which means they are less at risk of racist and demeaning comments. This is common for workers who work in private homes as well as for those who work in institutional settings.

One thing that my participants commonly said they do not like about the job is finding racist care receivers who see them simply as workers. Betty, an older Haitian CNA who has been working at the Veterans Affairs hospital (VA) since 2003 compared her job to that of *bayakou* in Haiti. *Bayakou* is a Haitian Creole word which describe a job that involves manual labor to empty septic tanks and pit latrines. Given the societal views of this job, referring to someone as a *bayakou* is most undignified. Betty said “You will find patients who tell you that they pay you to clean them so do your job. As a result of that I call the job *bayakou*. When someone talk to you like this they really consider you as a *bayakou*.” The reason behind her claim is that because the job involves tasks such as “wiping people’s behinds,” as Anna, a Cape Verdean HHA, said. Society views this job as disgusting, low-down, and dirty. Even when the patients can do a task by themselves, they would rather call the CNAs to do it for them. Usually the tasks are those that no other health care workers would like to do or would help to do.

For example, Betty, the Haitian CNA that I mentioned above, was explaining her frustrations with some patients at the VA who would call her just to clean them up. They would tell her that she should do as they say because they put their lives on the line for the country [as prior military personnel], and she did not. These cases usually happened between white care receivers and immigrant care workers of color, both in nursing homes and in hospitals. Since that is the case, we should consider the elements that help the workers to control certain situations and not respond to the care receivers. Many times we hear about elder abuse which is often caused by workers’ frustration about something the care receivers might have said or done. This why it is important to study emotional management in care work.

The U.S. is not alone in tending to fill the dirtiest, hardest jobs with minorities. For example, in Italy, domestic workers who are mostly women of color and immigrants, are supposed to scrub the floor on their knees instead of using a mop on the floor (Parrenas 2001: 174). As immigrants, workers are often belittled for their skin color, their language skills, and sometimes their potential. Although not every worker might experience discrimination firsthand, it is something that they might see in their work environment. Interestingly, depending on a care worker’s country of origin, some employers might treat them differently. For instance, there were two direct care workers employed at one house, one from Brazil and the other from Haiti. Cecilia, the Brazilian direct care worker narrated the story as follows: “the family members treat the Haitian girl bad; they are very racist; they will say things like, ‘I should have hired you to clean my bathroom,’ ‘I should have hired you to clean the house.’ The girl will get mad and then go off on them.” I proceeded to ask the interviewee why she thinks the family members treat her differently, and she quickly responded that she believes it is because of the color of her skin, noting that she has fair skin like many Brazilians. However, she mentioned that as an immigrant you can get discriminated against anywhere you go, because, no matter your skin color, your accent will show that you are foreigner.

Relationality and Personal Attachment

One thing that is very distinctive about care work is relationality (Armenia et al. 2015). Care workers have a genuine relationship with the people that they care for. In a study conducted by Meyer (2015), who interviewed immigrant workers in the care work sector, immigrants reported that relationships with both clients and their family members were essential for rewards and positive experiences. Being a care worker requires more than providing close, physical attention. Paid care work is a job which facilitates workers to give their undivided attention to someone else. Care workers' main duty is the act of "pouring love" (Parrenas 2001: 183) In my data I find that one thing that makes immigrant care workers overlook whatever the patients might say or do is relationality. In African countries as well as Caribbean countries, people are taught to respect their elders and not to talk back at them. In those cultures, the elders have significant importance. Moreover, back home, many of these immigrants took care of their elderly parents and grandparents, who most of the time lived with them. Now, even though they are taking care of complete strangers, they still hold the same ideologies. A younger Haitian HHA named Fabiola described her relationship to her patients this way: "I always tell people that, just treat them just like you will treat your grandparents, think of them as your grandparents because I don't think anyone will treat their parents or grandparents bad." Many immigrant care workers share this sentiment. If you treat the elderly badly, you will definitely face the consequences, because my respondents strongly believe that they have the power to curse you.

Some care workers feel more connected to the job when they are taking care of their own family members. Not that it happened consciously, but because it's very personal to them, they put in more work. Khadra, a young Somalian female HHA who was motivated to get her HHA certification in order to take care of her disabled brother, mentioned that there is a very big difference when she is working with her brother compared to strangers: "For my brother, I go above and beyond because I want him to get

the best care. I do want the best for everyone ... where for other people I just do what is on the paper." Even though she mentioned this personal element, many care workers said that they can only perform the tasks that they are assigned to do for the patients. They cannot exceed their job's requirement because that might put their jobs in jeopardy. For example, if a client requests to drink some juice and the care worker gives it to them while it is not written in their work assignment, they will be held accountable for anything that happens to the client.

Workers' Perceptions of Care Receivers, Fate, and Religiosity

Many of the care receivers that the immigrant care workers work with suffer from dementia, Alzheimer's, and mental illness. People with these issues do not act the same way as people who have only physical disabilities. Care receivers who have mental illness have diminished brain control. There are different behavioral and psychological symptoms of mental illness, including aggression and violence, and many can be verbally abusive. Veronique, an older CNA from Haiti, mentioned how she was frustrated by something a patient told her and went into detail about what he said: "How come all Haitians, when they come here, they either work as CNAs or nurses?" He asked if we got selected to do these jobs before we got into the boat to come to the U.S." For anyone else listening to this, they might decide not to work with that particular patient anymore because of the way he insulted them. However, Veronique mentioned that although at that time she was mad, they all learn that the patients might say and do things they don't really mean when they are not in their "normal state." Ines, a younger Cape Verdean who works as a residential counselor said, "It's not them acting willingly, but it's because of their sickness, that is why they are acting like that. So, you got to be patient with them."

Equally important is the notion of fate. Everyone who is born will one day get old, and, therefore, may experience any illness related to aging. Immigrant care workers believe that the way they treat their care receivers will dictate how they will be treated in their old age. Both the older and the younger workers express that no

matter what the patients do to them, what's important is the care that they are providing to them. Many of these care receivers need assistance to do the activities of daily living such as cleaning, eating, and combing their hair because they are unable to do it themselves. While the patients can be difficult to work with, the care workers I interviewed remind themselves that one day they will be in that same position, and, therefore, they should be kind and considerate towards their care receivers. A younger Ghanaian male named Obeng who worked both as a CNA and HHA said, "We all need to get the best care or we will want to get the best care so, in order to have that, you need to give that care out to someone that needs it, so you receive it." He realized that by being there for his care recipients and giving back to them, in return, he will receive much more in his old age. There is a saying "you receive what you give," and this is why most care workers see their work as an opportunity to shape their dying years.

Immigrants tend to be more religious than the U.S. born population (Pew Research Center 2013). For religious people, all aspects of their life are impacted by their faith. I did find a connection between some care workers' faith and how that helped them manage their feelings. An older Haitian CNA named Lourdes, who works at a nursing home, told me about an experience she had with a patient and how she struggled with her own faith. The patient needed to smoke, and Lourdes decided to bring him. However, she was very busy, so the patient became impatient and started to swear at her. Lourdes got mad and didn't want to bring the patient to smoke. As a result, the patient put feces on his bed and lied to the nurse manager, telling her it was Lourdes who put it there. Knowing that she was innocent, Lourdes wanted to defend herself and to confront the patient. Throughout her years of work, she said this was the one thing that she would never forget. She said "I know that God says that we have to forgive, so I try to forgive the patient. There are certain things that you can forgive, but you can't forget." In order to work with that particular patient Lourdes had to get rid of all her bitterness and anger and relied on her faith to help her.

Religion offers guidance on how people should work and live with one another. I did not ask any questions about the participants' faiths, but many of them mentioned "God" or talked about their beliefs in the interviews. Two other Haitian female interviewees stated that God would reward the care workers depending on how they treated their care receivers. They believed that they should put their hearts into the job, not just when a supervisor was around, but at all times. There are multiple Bible verses that urge followers to excel in the job that they do because, in the end, their labor will not be in vain.

Conflicts between Care Workers

I was interested to see how immigrant care workers deal with conflict, especially when it is with their superiors. Many of my interviewees mentioned that they get belittled by the nurses who want the CNAs to be busy at all times. One older female CNA from Nigeria called Ngozi said this about the nurses who work at her nursing home: "They think that they are the boss, they want to control you. They boss you around, they want you to do this, and they want you to do that." This was not relevant for those who provide care at the client's residence because there are no other health care workers around when they are working with the clients. Two older male nurses told me that it is very common to see disputes between the nurses and the CNAs at the hospitals and the nursing homes. What usually happened is that, unlike patients, they report each other to the manager who most of the time is the head nurse. Some of the CNA interviewees complained that judgements are never fair because, most of the time, the managers are white and are nurses as well. Therefore, the CNAs do not really feel like they have a voice. This shows why race and ethnicity are important in how we view care workers.

I interviewed two head nurses, the first was Jean, an older Haitian male, and the second was Gloria, an older Bajan female who first started as a CNA in the 1970s and now works as a head nurse. They both mentioned that they practice fairness and that whenever they cannot settle a dispute they hand it over to someone

who is their superior. Surprisingly, Gloria did mention that she has had some misunderstandings with CNAs. One time, she asked a Haitian CNA to shave a patient but the CNA did not want to do it because she believed that the head nurse could have asked someone else to do it and from there the situation escalated. Gloria said, “She said that I personally don’t like certain people at the job which was definitely not the case. I get along well with all Haitians, in fact, my daughter’s godmother is Haitian. I never let where someone is from be a problem.” As can be seen, the issue between the two Caribbean workers was not about race but, rather, power. In every health care institution, the nurses are at a higher level than the CNAs. They have the power to delegate different tasks to the CNAs. For those who were once CNAs too, they try not to abuse their power.

CONCLUSION

My research shows that frontline caregivers experience a great deal of satisfaction from their jobs but, even more, experience racism, fear of job loss or mistreatment, and general insecurity at work. Many of their stories are difficult to hear. While I was doing this research, some of the participants asked me if this research would bring any changes to their experiences. I found this question very difficult, because while I am increasing people’s awareness of these workers and their struggles, it’s not like I am creating any policies to raise their wages, or change immigration laws, or mandate that all employers provide Workers’ Compensation to help them when they are injured at work. All of these are very significant issues for my participants. Still, working toward making these changes is also very important to me.

In November 2017, the Trump administration announced that Temporary Protected Status, or TPS, will not be extended for Haitians who have come to the U.S. legally seeking protection from the tremendous social and economic issues at home. According to the *New York Times*, among the 320,000 people who benefit from TPS, by July 2019 more than 45,000 of them who are Haitians will have to leave the country (Dickerson et al. 2018). Recently, it was announced that many other immigrants from nations who

were initially granted TPS (Salvadoreans, Syrians, and Somalis) may also not be able to renew their status. These are people who have contributed to the economy and have established a life here. Moreover, given today’s healthcare costs, health care facilities are downsizing, restructuring, and cost cutting in order to deal with smaller budgets. What this means is that those that need the help the most, the elderly and people with disabilities, will be more vulnerable because there are not enough funds and workers to assist them. It is important to learn about and understand immigrants’ contributions to our health care institutions, our economy, and their experiences at work.

Immigrant healthcare workers are vital to the U.S. economy, their patients, and their local communities, and we should be looking for ways to help them stay and take care of the most vulnerable, rather than trying to push them out. The stories these interviewees tell can help policy makers make informed choices when it comes to laws regarding immigrants. A current narrative surrounding immigration, though, is that immigrants depress wages because they arrive without employable skills. In reality, there is no federal mechanism that assesses immigrants’ credentials, leaving new arrivals with few employment options. Despite other challenges that they have to face outside of work, these workers devote their work to the betterment of the elderly and aging population. This research allowed the voice of immigrant care workers to be heard.

I want to thank all the 50 participants who dedicated their time to participate in this study. All of my participants were helpful and without them this research would not have been possible. Some of them were interviewed after midnight, some of them were interviewed while on break at work, and others were interviewed during their commute from one job to another job.

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Two Unattainable Ideals: Beneatha's Struggle for Identity in *A Raisin in the Sun*

ELIZABETH BRADY

The late 1950's were a time for revolution in African American history as the Civil Rights movement gained momentum and grasped the attention of the public. During the fight for African American equality, Lorraine Hansberry published the critically acclaimed play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), a story of an urban black American family and their attempts to improve the trajectory of their future using a \$10,000 check paid upon the death of their patriarch, Big Walter. Beneatha Younger, a twenty-year-old medical student and the daughter of the deceased, gives a voice to a fledgling generation of aspirational black Americans. Beneatha provides audiences insight into a shared experience of African Americans grappling with cultural identity through her interactions with two suitors, George Murchison and Joseph Asagai. Through Hansberry's juxtaposition of George as a symbol of assimilation and Asagai of Afrocentrism, she demonstrates the vexing African American struggle to find a distinct identity in one of two unattainable extremes.

Beneatha's relationship with the wealthy George Murchison symbolizes the temptation for African Americans to assimilate into white society. In her article "Lorraine Hansberry: Defining the Line Between Integration and Assimilation," Yomna Saber defines assimilation in the context of African Americans as "a fusion that entailed a profound and irremediable loss of one's ethnic identity. In assimilation, the marginalized group identity dissolved into the culture of the dominant larger group: white America" (Saber 452). The loss of one's ethnic identity in favor of the dominant white culture is personified in George Murchison's character. George is described before he appears in the play, and the

first mention of his name is said, according to the stage directions, "with displeasure" by Beneatha when she is asked by her mother who she's going out with the following night (Hansberry 1485). Though this tone may arise from Beneatha's annoyance with her family for prodding into her personal life, Hansberry still chooses to associate George with displeasure from the very first time his name appears in the play. Beneatha goes on to say that she couldn't be serious about George because of how shallow he is, and her brother's wife Ruth replies, "Shallow — what do you mean he's shallow? He's *rich!*" (1485). It is clear in this response that Ruth prioritizes George's money over Beneatha's feelings about him. This shows a generational distinction between Ruth and Beneatha even though they only have about a ten-year age difference: Ruth values economic success while Beneatha values identity and character. This divide is further emphasized by Beneatha's description of George later in the scene: "Well. George looks good—he's got a beautiful car and he takes me to nice places and, as my sister-in-law says, he is probably the richest boy I will ever get to know and I even like him sometimes—but if the Youngers are sitting around waiting to see if their little Bennie is going to tie up the family with the Murchisons, they are wasting their time" (1485).

Beneatha understands why Ruth thinks George is so appealing, but she swiftly dismisses any ideas of settling down with him regardless. She doesn't think that George's money is as important as his character. In his first appearance in Act II, George walks in on Walter and Beneatha participating in a Nigerian song and dance, immersed in an idealized and deeply cultural past. Though Walter is under the influence of alcohol, Beneatha's enthusiasm is sober and genuine. Still, all of this ends the moment George walks into the apartment, which is symbolic of how assimilationism forcefully halts all hints of African influences. Beneatha grows frustrated with George in the scene, exclaiming, "I hate assimilationist Negroes!" (1500). Here, Beneatha explicitly labels George as an assimilationist, which Beneatha defines as "someone who is willing to give up on his own culture and submerge himself completely in the dominant, and in this

[African American's] case, oppressive culture" (1501). Assimilating into white culture would make Beneatha more palatable to her white counterparts, which could pay off socially and financially as she works her way through a white-dominated medical field. Still, she views this choice as shallow, which is made clear by her disgust with George's materialism, lack of individuality, and general assimilationist attitudes, captured in her outburst that she "hates assimilationist Negroes." In this way, he represents how assimilation may benefit African Americans financially, but strips them of their culture.

Beneatha's disgust with George's superficiality develops into disdain, cementing Hansberry's opposition to assimilationism. The stifling effects of assimilation are further emphasized in George's remarks about Beneatha's traditional African garments and hair, calling them eccentric. When Beneatha asks how something natural could possibly be eccentric, George replies, "That's what being eccentric means — being natural" (1500). This is clearly George normalizing a standard "white" appearance, distancing himself from an African American identity, and acting upon internalized racism. He believes Beneatha's natural self is strange and wrong and that she must shape herself to fit into white American culture. George has a distinctly assimilationist worldview, which Beneatha points out to George later in the same scene. He brushes off the label by exclaiming nastily that African culture is "nothing but a bunch of raggedy-assed spirituals and some grass huts" (1501).

Clearly, Hansberry is trying to make George an unlikeable, pretentious character by emphasizing his contempt for Beneatha's choice to reclaim her African identity. Though initially Mama values George's money over his personality, over the course of the play she recognizes his contempt for African American culture. He is later regarded in the play as a "fool" by both Beneatha and Mama, a declaration which concludes his appearance in the play (1509). By staging the process by which the Younger family rebuffs George's way of thinking, Hansberry shows her own rejection of

assimilationism.

Even though Beneatha's other suitor, Joseph Asagai, is presented in a more favorable light than George, he is still presented as patronizing and even sexist. Asagai is a classmate of Beneatha's from Nigeria, which gives his character an alternative perspective on America's race problem and a distinctly Afrocentrist point of view, given that he comes directly from Africa and is described by Beneatha as an "intellectual" (1489). However, his embodiment of African culture distances him from American ideals and causes him to make insensitive remarks to Beneatha throughout the play, showing that an emotional rift from African American people and culture can be problematic. In his first appearance in the play, he brings Beneatha colorful Nigerian robes and remarks that she wears them beautifully despite her "mutilated hair," referring to her relaxed and straightened hair (1491). Though Beneatha says her hair is "hard to manage" when it's natural, Asagai disagrees, claiming that her choice to relax her hair is a remnant of assimilation (1491). She is horrified and embarrassed by this claim, but he seems to dismiss her genuine need for an identity. He says, laughing, "Do you remember the first time you met me at school? You came up to me and you said — and I thought you were the most serious little thing I had ever seen — you said: 'Mr. Asagai — I want very much to talk with you. About Africa. You see, Mr. Asagai, I am looking for my *identity!*'" (1491). Asagai seems to talk down to Beneatha here, and he trivializes her struggle for an identity and culture. Though Beneatha may be naive, her identity crisis is a valid experience created by an oppressive culture, and she deserves to be taken seriously. Asagai clearly doesn't see her pursuits as anything but the whims of a young American woman, calling her "the most serious little thing" like she's a child and not his equal (1491).

Asagai's lofty attitude emerges again later in the same conversation when Beneatha says that there can be more than "one kind of feeling" that exists between a man and a woman, and Asagai says that one kind of feeling, romantic love, should be "enough" for a woman (1492). Beneatha is yearning for his respect,

and Asagai is only willing to grant her infatuation, claiming that it is all she needs. He speaks for not only Beneatha but also for women generally in this statement, seeming to assume he knows what women need and want from a relationship. Perhaps through her portrayal of Asagai, who represents Africa in the play, Hansberry is trying to communicate that Afrocentrists, particularly men, generalize in this way as well. In Gerald Early, Wilson J. Moses, Louis Wilson, and Mary R. Lefkowitz's 1994 symposium titled "Historical Roots of Afrocentrism," the core ideas and founding principles of Afrocentrism are described and explored. The authors claim that those of African descent can only achieve full humanity "when they are permitted to overthrow and denounce white or Eurocentric premises and when they can fully realize and articulate their view and their consciousness through their own self-creation" (Early et al. 44). This is exactly what Beneatha is trying to do, yet Asagai, a man *from* Africa and a role model for her, is stifling her self-creation, telling her what she needs and who she should be by making fun of her hair, her aspirations, and her needs in a relationship. This, frankly, isn't that different from what George does in the play: they both seek to influence Beneatha to do what they think is "right" for an African American woman. Though Beneatha seems to buy into Asagai's beliefs more than George's, their intentions are the same.

This shared intention of controlling Beneatha becomes even clearer in Asagai's case in the beginning of Act III, when he tries to comfort Beneatha after her brother loses all the insurance money that she was going to use to finish medical school. Asagai, instead of offering support, delves into a philosophical debate with her over the state of man, which seems not only out of context but callous as well. When Beneatha rhetorically asks when human misery will end, Asagai, smiling, says condescendingly, "You sound like a French intellectual" (1525). Saber describes his out-of-context behavior in the scene in depth, claiming that "despite the flaws in [Asagai's] characterization, he remains a convincing argument against readings of Hansberry as an assimilationist" (Saber 462). Although I agree that Hansberry should not be read as an

assimilationist, Saber is incorrect to label Hansberry's portrayal of Asagai as "flawed." His actions are too consistent to be accidental, and, in fact, he is flawed in the same way that Afrocentrism is flawed: it is lofty and unattainable for the average African American. In "The Historical Roots of Afrocentrism," William J. Moses claims that "the Afrocentrist dreams of appropriating the high culture of classical civilization and disdains the low culture of gangster rap" (Early et al. 47). This idealization of a culture that often isn't tailored to middle- to lower- class individuals ultimately hurts the movement, and it is apparent that Asagai romanticizes high culture and intellectualism in this scene through his references to philosophy and lack of emotional warmth. The pressure he puts on Beneatha to see the world in a particular way is incessant and condescending, even when she needs his emotional support. Far from being flawed, Hansberry's characterization of Asagai contributes to her critiques of Afrocentrism.

It is evident that George and Asagai—because of their lack of complexity, straightforward goals, and minimal change throughout the play—are flat characters. Their only function in the play is to influence Beneatha, who is representative of a young African American generation in the late 1950's that struggled to either assimilate into or diverge from white culture. In fact, in "Historical Roots of Afrocentrism," the authors describe Afrocentrism as representing, "the continued longing among black Americans for some set of ideas that would bind them together as a community and offer some alternative to an assimilation that is either foreclosed by whites or seen by blacks as an admission of inferiority and defeat" (Early et al. 45). Beneatha wants to find her community and find a way to label who she is, which is likely why Afrocentrism is so appealing to her: it is an evocation to the part of her soul that longs for a distinct identity. But it is notable that her character does *not* have a singular identity, and that's part of what makes her a multifaceted character. In the stage directions, describing her when she first walks onstage, Hansberry writes:

She wears a bright-red flannel nightie, and her thick hair stands wildly about her head. Her speech is a mixture of many things; it is different from the rest of the family insofar as education has permeated her sense of English—and perhaps the Midwest rather than the South has finally—at last—won out in her inflection; but not altogether, because over all of it is a soft slurring and transformed use of vowels which is the decided influence of the Southside. (1478)

She is described as a walking contradiction. Although she meticulously straightens her hair, it still stands “wildly” about her head. Her speech itself somehow falls in between her roots as the descendant of slaves and her current position as a medical student in Chicago. It is suggested that the Midwest may have “won” over the South in her voice, a notably aggressive word to describe her internal conflict between integration into white culture and deviation from it. This internal conflict is brought into view for the audience and reader as an initial impression of her character. Her lack of conviction in her own identity allows the characters of George and Asagai to influence her thoughts.

By the end of the play, there is no concrete closure to Beneatha’s struggle for identity, which is likely intentional. In Act III, Asagai proposes to Beneatha and asks her to return to Africa with him. She expresses interest but doesn’t firmly decide anything by the conclusion of the play. “Too many things—too many things have happened today,” Beneatha says, “I must sit down and think. I don’t know what I feel about anything right this minute” (1527). Hansberry is conveying the absurd nature of asking African Americans to choose one of two unattainable ideals: rejecting their own culture or fully embodying a foreign one. By showing Beneatha getting “all mixed up” (1526) after Asagai’s proposal and omitting any closure to this confusion, Hansberry shows that there is no way to make a concrete decision one way or another. The freedom of African Americans to choose what they want to do rises above all. Beneatha’s choice to straighten her hair does not make her an

assimilationist, and her choice to embrace Nigerian music does not make her an Afrocentrist. By placing Beneatha in between assimilationism and Afrocentrism, Hansberry seems to be making a claim that African Americans are able to exist between these two extremes.

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About the Author

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Like a Rainstorm

CHERYL CUTTER

One of the penalties of an ecological education is that one lives alone in a world of wounds.

Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac*

On a hot August day, I find myself standing once again on top of Hyner Mountain, looking over the town towards two million acres of remote rolling hills in central Pennsylvania. As I stand amongst the heat and humidity, you might think I am feeling the pure joy and lightness that standing at the top of a mountain brings (see figure 1). Instead, I am feeling something heavier. I am staring out over a forgotten town, Renovo, covering an area just over one square mile, nestled along the river bank (see figure 2). This town is immersed in stretches of state forest and designated wildlife areas that spread out across central Pennsylvania like patches on a quilt. Companies want to strip this area down for its resources, burying the beauty of the land among the debris of fossil fuels. I stand with hesitation, wondering, how long could one stand here and see what I see now? How long can this wilderness remain unowned?



Figure 1. Aerial view from top of Hyner View. You can see a hang glider ramp, the Susquehanna River, the Allegheny Mountains, and state highway Route 120, which cuts through Renovo about seven miles west of here (2016).



Figure 2. View of South Renovo from across the Susquehanna River (2016).

Renovo, my grandmother's town, has seen the changing of industries over time. The economy of Renovo and the surrounding area was primarily based on lumbering, until the first-growth forest was almost entirely stripped away and the industry collapsed. Next, the companies turned to coal mining in the neighboring towns (see figure 3). Now they have moved on. More recently, natural gas was discovered in the area, and, like a rainstorm, the companies descended on the area slowly, then all at once.



Figure 3. Bitumen Miners outside a mineshaft (circa 1900). They earned about 30 cents per ton of coal mined. Photo courtesy of Bitumen Roots.

When I think of coal mining and natural gas drilling, initially, I think of the damage they cause and not what they produce. But even more, I think of how these coal mining communities have brought happiness to my family and, at the same time, sadness. If it wasn't for these communities my great, great grandfather, Michael Hritzko, wouldn't have found a job, and he may have never settled in Pennsylvania. His community, a town called Bitumen (named for the coal being mined in that area), is a short seven-mile drive up a winding road from my grandmother's house in Renovo (see figures 4, 5, and 6).



Figure 4. A picture of Joe Pitonyak driving on Main Street, Bitumen, in a 1924 Overland Whippet (circa 1930). Photo courtesy of Bitumen Roots.



Figure 6. Picture of Bitumen, although the exact location of the view is in debate, because the land has changed so much in 125 years (circa 1890). Photo courtesy of Bitumen Roots.

I have seen firsthand the environmental impact from coal mining bitumen. My great, great grandfather emigrated from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1913. He moved to Bitumen, 1,398 feet above sea level, in central Pennsylvania. My grandmother remembers Bitumen fondly, but she grew up in neighboring Renovo, where my mother spent her adolescence and teenage years. The community created a safe place and employment for immigrants. The mines were up in the mountains, and the workers would transport the coal down to the river valley, where the train tracks were, and load it on the trains. The town sits on the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad as the midpoint between Philadelphia and Erie. I visit my grandmother frequently in Renovo, and usually find my way to Bitumen (see figure 7).



Figure 5. Bitumen Store, which I often heard about as a kid, circa 1910. Photo courtesy of Bitumen Roots.



Figure 7. My great, great Uncle Tommy Tomko brother's house in Bitumen (2017).

The entrance to Bitumen's old Main Street is marked on the left side of a dirt road by a Ukrainian Catholic Church which is bordered by an old cemetery that houses traces of the once populous Slovakian community. Unfortunately, if you continue to follow the dirt road beyond the church, almost all that remains of Bitumen's Main Street is fragmented house foundations that spring up out of the thickly wooded mountain side. I walk through these same woods today, cut off from all technology, and, somehow, I feel closer to those who lived here a century ago. As I stand among the noisy silence of this obscure forest, I envision the bustling mines of long ago. My siblings and I run between the trees like children in a scavenger hunt, but what we find evokes more complex emotions. As I sink back to reality, my eyes focus on the now collapsed mine tunnels. The land is uneven, filled with unnatural mounds where workers once entered the earth. There are no towering trees immediately around these sites: it has not been long enough for the once barren coal mine

entrances to flourish with a sea of green plants and trees. The mine entrances stick out in the mountainous forest, leaving the wandering eye to catch how deeply scarred the natural beauty is.

One of the biggest impacts these mines have had is their drainage runoff. The Susquehanna River is at the base of the mountains. This river bends and swirls its way across vast amounts of land, pumping water for miles over the pebble ridden riverbed. This river does not discriminate. Once the core of this community, this river was the life line for trade. Oh, the countless hours I have sat afloat on a brightly colored inner tube feeling the river's life beat against the plastic tube and splash over my toes. Under the surface of the shiny blue metallic water, though, the river struggled to sustain amphibious life. The Susquehanna was polluted by the countless creeks that contained mine runoff. These creeks flowed like veins emanating from the mountain side into the river (see figure 8).

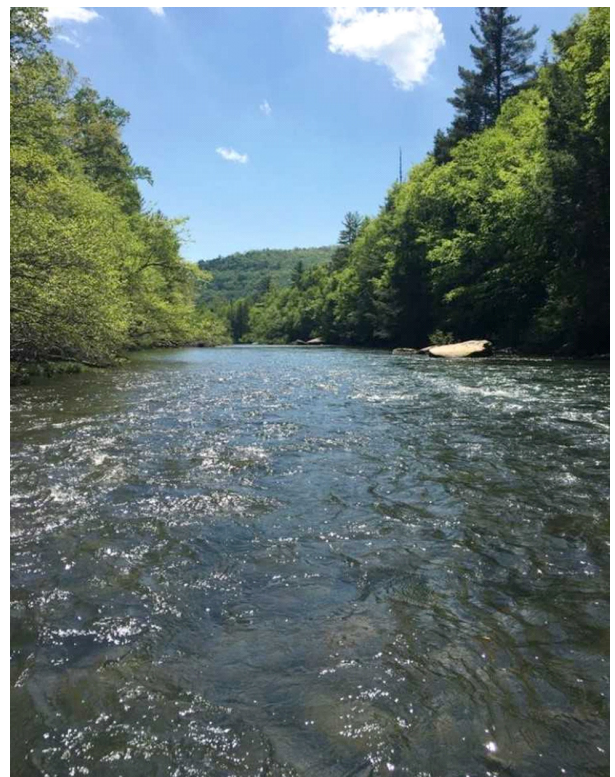


Figure 8. Drury Run, a creek in Renovo that flows south into the Susquehanna River (2017).



Figure 9. My sister and I looking over one of the elk wildlife areas (2017).

It didn't stop there. Natural gas companies have infiltrated the area. I first noticed this phenomenon as a child. My family would drive the mountain roads looking for elk (see figure 9). The forest would suddenly open up into clearings where man-made structures sat, all fenced in. Although the population was slightly affected by these new companies, when a hundred workers came into Renovo the population of 1,200 took notice. As more out-of-town natural gas company workers came and stayed there, they complained to their companies about the backwardness of the town. Now, more technological advances have come to Renovo. Better roads have been built for access to the remote mountains. Five hundred workers are expected to come to Renovo in 2018, for construction of an \$800 million, natural gas-fired electric power station, and the town is already wondering where to put all the workers. A "preliminary artist's rendering" of the plant shows an

expanse of large smokestacks and huge storage tanks. Ironically, this plant will be built adjacent to the Greater Renovo Heritage Park (a site dedicated to commemorating the town's mining past) after they demolish the old PA Railroad shops where they once built railcars. I wonder what else will be affected. I have seen the natural views and landscape of this remote area destroyed by the natural gas companies. The heritage park is a beautiful backdrop to the small town, but soon the windows of those who live next to it will show only the cold, sharp outlines of factories, instead of the soft, green, arched landscape of rolling hills. This part of Pennsylvania is one of the least densely populated areas in the eastern United States, and was featured as such in *The Last Empty Places* by Peter Stark. I think back to the little girl standing atop the mountain thinking that this place would always belong to her, and now, at 20, I stand here hoping that I won't live to see this place become industrialized. I've always hoped that wouldn't happen.

For some reason I always felt this place was invincible, that it would always be untouched. I was mistaken: anywhere on this planet is fair game for developers. I worry about the five hundred expected workers who, perhaps, instead of enjoying the middle of nowhere vibe, will want chain stores and restaurants, turning this town into the towns they left behind for work.

What should I tell the future generations about this place?

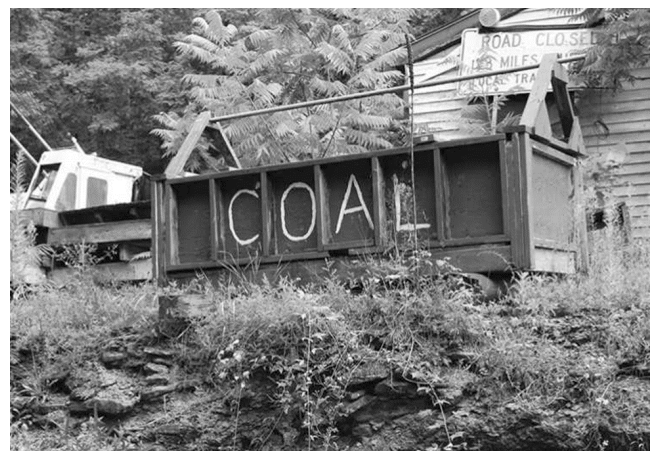


Figure 10. Picture of a bucket outside of an old brewery on Brewery Lane in Renovo (2017).

That this barren-looking landscape holds more life to me than a bustling city? Should I tell them that these places are the reason the sun rises, to shine its rays between the hollows, to glisten over the river, and to guide the trees upward in growth? Should I try to convince them that this is unclaimable wilderness? Do you think they'll know that time stops when you stand at Hyner View and watch the numerous hang gliders descend into the open fields below? Will they believe me when I say, a place like this can save your soul?

I wasn't ready for the land outside my grandmother's kitchen window to change. Unfortunately, the things I look upon today may be memories tomorrow.

And what should I tell the future generations about this place?

Endnotes

¹ "New Marcellus-Fired Electric Plant Coming in Clinton County, PA," *Marcellus Drilling News*, July 18, 2017, accessed November 2017. <https://marcellusdrilling.com/2017/07/new-marcellus-fired-electric-plant-coming-in-clinton-county-pa/>.

² Peter Stark, *The Last Empty Places: A Past and Present Journey Through the Blank Spots on the American Map* (Ballantine Books, 2010).

About the Author

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How do Mindfulness Practitioners Describe Pausing? A Qualitative Interview Study

BENJAMIN FELDMAN

Stress is something all of us face in the day-to-day events of our lives, and which at times makes us do things that are regrettable, such as snapping at a loved one or driving recklessly to get somewhere on time. The literature on stress and stress reactivity tends to focus on the fight or flight reactions we have to stressors, aiming to change thoughts or behaviors to diminish the longevity and magnitude of sympathetic nervous system responses. While we cannot change our physiological stress reaction, we can change our responses to stressors or, in other words, our reactivity. Mindfulness practice is one way of training ourselves to observe our reactivity to stress and to choose non-reactive responses. According to Jon Kabat-Zinn, mindfulness is “paying attention in a particular way: on purpose, in the present moment, and nonjudgmentally” (Kabat-Zinn, 1990, p. 4). Over the last 30 years, Mindfulness-Based Interventions (MBIs) have been developed to teach contemplative practices which aid stress reduction. This research is based on one MBI, Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR). The concept of pausing (rather than changing thoughts or behavior) will be explored in relation to MBSR, since one must first pause during a reaction before being able to intentionally choose a different response. Thus far, there has been relatively little research exploring how pausing relates to stress reactivity and mindfulness.

A study of what scholars and mindfulness practitioners (i.e., people who actively practice mindfulness meditation) mean by pausing will clarify this potentially helpful mechanism of stress reduction. The concept of pausing has been taken for granted as self-evident and is sparsely found in the MBSR scholarly literature. Clarifying this term and how it could help facilitate managing stress

reactivity in everyday life should expand our understanding of how mindfulness practice works. A literature review examining uses of terms related to “pausing” is presented, followed by a qualitative study analyzing previously obtained, in-depth interviews with practitioners. Examining how interviewees describe the phenomena of pausing was expected to clarify how mindfulness practice enables new responses.

Stress/Reactivity

Allostasis is the physiological process through which the body achieves optimal heart rate for any given activity. When these optimal set points are out of balance, the body will try to restore order, via the stress response. Stress is how we subjectively perceive this imbalance: the process by which the body is trying to keep at an optimal level or at the allostatic load for the task at hand (Sapolsky, 2004). The body has multiple different set points for different physiological activities (e.g., heart rate varies depending on whether one is awake or asleep). Anything that sets the allostatic load out of balance is commonly called a stressor. As humans, our daily lives are filled with minor stressors on a good day, perhaps moderate stressors on a bad day. Our stress response originally evolved to handle life-threatening situations, such as when a zebra is being chased by a predator. In modern life, a low-level stressor such as being late for work may trigger a stress response similar to what would be experienced if a lion were attacking. Chronic stress reactions can cause health problems such as high blood pressure, ulcers, strokes, and heart attacks.

The phenomenon of pausing does not eliminate stressors, but may radically alter how we confront them by reducing our perceived sense of stress. Pausing provides a gap between the stressor and subsequent responses. Typically, we react to stressors quickly; the gap between a perceived stressor and one’s reaction is brief because our stress response is meant to keep us out of danger (i.e., we need to be faster than our predators). Quick, unreflective responses to stress have been labelled as “automatic pilot” by Jon Kabat-Zinn (1990). Shifting out of automatic pilot is the

primary function of pausing, which he describes: “the cultivation of mindfulness also gives us a new way of working with what we find threatening and of learning how to respond intelligently to such perceived threats rather than react automatically and trigger potentially unhealthy consequences” (Kabat-Zinn, 1990, p. xxxvii).

While autopilot may sound benign, such stress reactivity can negatively influence interpersonal relations, such as snapping at a loved one after a long day, or the potentially deadly effects of road rage. Reactivity at a cognitive level can lead to chronic stress via rumination. These repetitive anxious or depressive thoughts which reoccur after a stressor maintain reactivity. In such instances, we may not do anything, but we feel plagued by thoughts about what happened, why it happened, and what we should or should not have done. Cognitively, pausing clearly would not stop a stressor, but it could help interrupt ruminative thinking. To fully understand pausing and how it does this, one must first understand MBSR and its basic underpinnings.

Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR)

MBSR is an exclusively eight-week adjunct to psychotherapy, which was developed to teach meditation to medical and psychiatric patients. It has also been shown to be effective for a wide range of nonclinical distress, such as the everyday reactivity described above. MBSR incorporates various mindfulness meditation techniques originally taught as Buddhist contemplative practices. The main insights of Buddhism relate to what are called the three characteristics of existence: *impermanence*, *suffering*, and *nonself* (Olendzki, 2010). *Impermanence* refers to the concept that nothing is permanent, and that everything around us and within us constantly changes. Since everything is always changing, a good situation will not stay positive, nor will a bad situation stay negative. Clinging to a “good situation,” or attempting to avoid a “bad situation” causes distress. *Dukkha*, or suffering, refers to a general un-satisfactoriness where we struggle between reality and what we desire reality to be. The term *non-self* refers to the concept that the human mind (or what we generally call “self”) is in constant flux

and is dependent upon the conditions in which it exists. From this view, what we experience as a stable, permanent self is not an independent entity, it is merely a flow of experiences in time. This Buddhist psychology delineating the causes of suffering is the foundation of MBIs, which have shown promise for improving mental health and are becoming widely used.

The specific processes of MBSR’s effectiveness are still under researched (Grossman, 2011; Mamberg & Bassarear, 2015; Shapiro et al 2006). Theoretically, however, Kabat-Zinn (1990) described early on how mindfulness entails seven “attitudinal foundations,” which he saw as pivotal to MBSR’s benefits. These foundations are: *non-striving*, *non-judging*, *acceptance*, *patience*, *beginner’s mind*, *letting go*, and *trust*. In the MBSR program, these attitudes are cultivated through formal meditation practice, as well as the informal practice of bringing mindfulness into everyday life. *Formal practice* refers to the act of meditating during which one attempts to stay present, meeting each sensation as it arises, to develop the seven foundations. *Informal practice* is the act of bringing mindful awareness to everyday situations by fully engaging the five senses and meeting each new moment fully. In a sense, meditation enables practitioners to develop the various attitudinal pillars in stillness and silence, while informal practice enables practitioners to apply those attitudes intentionally, to any stimuli present in their noisy, busy, stressful life.

Kabat-Zinn’s (1990) text laid out a way to cultivate mindfulness and employ the concept of pausing. While most readers would understand this sentence and its implicit definition of pausing, it raises the question of what might be happening psychologically (cognitively, emotionally, or behaviorally) to create this feeling “of extra time.” In other words, this important phenomenon should be researched directly, rather than remaining unexplored. Pausing is pivotal to developing mindfulness, but that, too, has been a challenge to define.

Western researchers have tried to operationalize the Buddhist concept of mindfulness. Explanations of the key

psychological components of Mindfulness have centered around *reperceiving*, *decentering*, *cognitive distancing*, and a more obscure concept, “experiential selfless processing.” The current study will use the reperceiving model as it the most prominently understood model. The reperceiving model also mentions pausing directly so this will provide the overarching framework for the following study since it most clearly connects pausing as integral to developing mindfulness and reducing stress reactivity.

Reperceiving was first defined in detail by Shapiro, Carlson, Astin, and Freedman (2006) who laid out three components of mindfulness: Intention, Attention, and Attitude. *Intention* refers to performing actions in a deliberate way. *Attention* refers to being better able to recognize stimuli internally and in one’s environment. *Attitude* refers to the way in which something is done. Together these mechanisms facilitate the ability to have better clarity and objectivity of one’s moment-by-moment experiences; in this review they describe a pause as a temporary interruption which allows in-the-moment processing. Within their model, pausing would be considered an aspect of attention (Madonna, 2017).

Pausing

Pausing is colloquially understood as an interruption to ongoing action or speech. The *Merriam-Webster* dictionary (*Merriam-Webster*, 2018) defines a pause as “a temporary stop.” In mindfulness practice, pausing can have a variety of specific meanings. For this research study, pausing will be defined as a temporary interruption between the perception of a (usually negative) stimulus and the automatic reaction to the given stimulus. This interruption allows for a more intentional response by facilitating greater cognitive awareness of stress reactivity, which can then be followed by a deliberate cognitive, verbal, or behavioral response, presumably different from the automatic reaction that had begun (Kabat-Zinn, 1990; Santorelli, 2000). Such pausing has been asserted to be advantageous because it is correlated with decreased negative reactions to aversive stimuli (Morone, Lynch, Losasso, Liebe & Greco, 2011), but more research is needed to

elaborate this process. Pausing has been treated as an obvious, even taken-for-granted concept in the scholarly literature. No research was found which studied pausing, or how it can be encouraged, in depth. Pausing is mentioned most by the pioneers of MBSR: Jon Kabat-Zinn & Saki Santorelli. Jon Kabat-Zinn writes:

...bring[ing] mindfulness to a stressful moment, you can see if, in effect, it winds up creating something of a pause, a moment in which it feels like you have a bit of extra time to assess things more completely. By intentionally orienting yourself in this way to the present moment, challenging as it may be, you have an opportunity to buffer the impending effects of a major stress reaction. (Kabat-Zinn 1990, p. 340)

This use of the term pause conveys the concept but is not sufficiently defined for research purposes. Saki Santorelli, Jon Kabat-Zinn’s successor at the Center for Mindfulness, asserts that pausing is “the willingness to stop and be present which leads to seeing and relating to circumstances and events with more clarity and directness” (Santorelli, 2000, p. 12). This states more clearly how pausing affects reactivity. However, this definition focuses entirely on end results and does not explain the process of pausing.

Despite this dearth of research and imprecise definitions, psychological inventories (see Appendix A) used to measure practitioners’ degree of mindfulness do mention pausing. Here again, the term is used colloquially, assuming practitioners will know what it means. For example, the widely-used Mindfulness Attention Awareness Scale (MAAS; Brown, & Ryan, 2003) alludes indirectly to reacting without awareness and quickly, i.e., without pause, in five separate items. In this way, mindfulness researchers assume that awareness of one’s reactivity and the capacity to pause is pivotal to understanding mindfulness, but have yet to define it empirically. Similarly, the Five Facet Mindfulness Questionnaire (FFMQ; Baer, Smith, Hopkins, Krietemeyer & Toney, 2006), uses a synonym for pausing twice and indirectly refers to it in three separate times. These inventories further demonstrate how important

pausing is to the larger construct of mindfulness. It is necessary that research address this lack of operationalization by studying pausing directly. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to select a qualitative methodology, Grounded Theory (Irving, Park-Saltzman, Fitzpatrick, Dobkin, Chen & Hutchinson, 2012).

Grounded Theory

The study presented below utilized Grounded Theory (GT), a methodology that examines in-depth reports of first-person, subjective experience to describe a phenomenon in detail. As Grossman's (2011) argument asserts, many attempts to quantify mindfulness have led to a misunderstanding of what mindfulness is. This is one of the reasons for utilizing not only a qualitative approach, but the GT methodology, since it derives categories from participants' talk, instead of forcing their statements into a preconceived set of categories (Irving, Park-Saltzman, Fitzpatrick, Dobkin, Chen & Hutchinson, 2012).

Quantitative studies, in contrast, tend to reduce richly complex subjective experiences to simplified variables in order to measure, compare, and establish relationships between them. GT is a descriptive, rather than comparative methodology. GT enables the researcher to closely examine the participants' accounts as indicators of how the phenomenon is experienced in everyday life. This approach is better able to identify a comprehensive description of pausing. Since little is known about how mindfulness practitioners experience and utilize pausing, there are no clear variables to measure or manipulate quantitatively at this time.

GT researchers carefully transcribe participants' talk then analyze small segments of the transcribed data to identify all thematic content relevant to the research question. In quantitative research, a hypothesis must be conceptualized prior to collecting the data so that it can be disconfirmed. In contrast, GT entails ongoing interaction between the data collected and developing interpretations of participants' meanings, to best represent that data. Data collected using this method must be interpreted. The

interpretation process begins with the researcher carefully detailing how a phenomenon is discussed in the transcripts: these notes are called memos. Memos are then utilized in the creation of theoretical categories that stay with the descriptions of what was discussed by the participants rather than fitting them into a preconceived category or basing them on how many times they were repeated (Charmaz, 1995). GT fosters rich understanding of what the data is depicting, rather than being constrained by what the researcher initially expected it to depict; in this way, the researcher's own assumptions can be called into question.

The GT method begins with reading through each interview transcript carefully. The researcher will distinguish segments, breaking the mass of data into manageable units, to stay close to the data. These manageable units are called discursive turns (DTs), which are easily marked every time a new speaker begins to talk. The first process of coding, called open coding, is contingent on the transcript of the interview being as clear as possible, which means the researcher must include breaks in speech and other discursive features. Each unit is carefully coded for all the ideas it contains (Charmaz, 1995). For example, if a participant describes a time they felt road rage, a researcher may label this DT with the code, "anger." Once the data is completely coded, the researcher begins a second process called focused coding, which entails the systematic creation of memos for each DT. Memoing allows the researcher to take a step back from the participants' coded talk, beginning to interpret themes which can be identified across multiple participants' data. The fundamental components of Grounded Theory (open coding, focused coding and memoing) made it an ideal method for this study, which aimed to clarify how the concept of "pausing" is understood and utilized by mindfulness practitioners. The research question developed to guide this process was, "How do MBSR practitioners describe pausing?"

Method

This project builds on a larger study (Mamberg & Bassarear, 2012; 2015) which conducted semi-structured interviews

with former MBSR practitioners and utilized a Grounded Theory model to analyze the transcripts. The overall study's purpose was to understand how they described learning to practice mindfulness. The present study focuses on the portion of that data set in which participants mentioned pausing in any way.

Data Obtained

The participants were students, faculty and staff at a small New England college who had indicated a willingness to be contacted for research purposes, all of whom had previously completed the 8-week MBSR course with Dr. Bassarear (one of the co-investigators). Of the participants ($N = 20$) interviewed, seven of the participants were male and 13 were female. Participant ages ranged from 21 to 62 (average age: 39.6) years old. Nine of the twenty participants were students, eleven of the participants were college staff (10) or faculty (1).

Interviews. Dr. Bassarear conducted hour-long, individual, semi-structured interviews, containing ten questions and various follow-up prompts. He conducted the interviews because his prior experience with participants was expected to increase participant's comfort, while his shared knowledge of the class was expected to help him elicit full elaboration of their experiences. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Boards (IRB) of both Keene State College and Bridgewater State University, participant confidentiality was ensured. Demographic data were kept separate from all other data and secured using a password-protected Microsoft Access database. All participants were given a pseudonym and any identifying information was changed in transcripts, to assure their confidentiality.

Transcriptions. The interviews were transcribed using typing conventions to capture every span of silence, laugh, and sound the participants made to assure that the data accurately portrayed not only what the participants said, but how they said it. These discursive aspects are sometimes referred to as meta-linguistic features. This meticulous transcription is particularly

important for the given study since talk about pausing may also feature actual pauses in interviewees' speech, which can be captured in text by recording timed silences (see appendix B). Once the data was transcribed for the main study (Mamberg & Bassarear, 2012, 2015), it was then uploaded to Atlas.ti, a qualitative software package (Atlas.ti v.7, 1999/2017), so all content could be analyzed, turn by turn.

Data Analytic Procedures. Analysis entailed two distinct processes: open coding provided the basis for the focused coding used for this project. The open coding process, conducted by the other principal investigator and my predecessors in the lab, captured all content, while my focused coding was based on a subset of the data that mentioned pausing.

Open Coding. Open coding of the transcribed data was scrutinized by several trained raters who assigned content codes to each discursive turn. The researcher then labeled all content of each speaker's turn, as fully as possible, so that each DT may be tagged with numerous content codes. For example, "I just need to cool my head, and re-examine my predicament" was a DT coded as "reactive," "reperceive," and "cognitive." To establish inter-rater agreement, each coder used a different database in Atlas.ti, to prevent their being impacted by seeing each other's codes. Each coder independently coded $\frac{1}{3}$ of the transcripts. Upon comparison, any disagreements between raters were resolved through discussion until a consensus was reached. This initial open coding process yielded a total of 993 content codes applied to 1,873 DTs.

Focused Coding. Once rater agreement was reached, focused coding was used to address specific research questions (Cormier, 2014; Field, 2015; Madonna, 2017; Schubert, 2013). The present study began with focused coding, the process of using one's research question to guide the selection of data, based on relevant content codes, then identifying thematic categories across all DTs, across all participants. The first step was to narrow down the data to just that which was coded as related to pausing or failing to pause. To identify which codes were most associated with pausing I

began by reviewing all codes correlated with pausing. These selected codes familiarized me with the data and prior coding to get a better idea of what codes would be most associated with pausing. From this larger group of codes, I identified using the codes more specific to pausing: *anger* (41 DTs), *autopilot* (15), *detach* (10), *distance* (6), *pause* (51), *reactivity* (82), *space* (5), and *stepback* (6). This led to a tentative data subset of 176 discursive turns, which was still overly inclusive. Of these 176 DTs, 89 did not actually describe pausing, and only 87 were deemed relevant to the research question: these became the final data set for the current study. These DTs were then memoed based on the varying ways participants described pausing and how they used it. The memoing process then allowed me to identify emerging categories.

Analyses

The final 87 DTs selected were read carefully and memos made as to how each related to the guiding research question. Memos were then reviewed and refined to identify common themes which generated two main categories: *Taking a Moment* and *Taking Some Space*. These categories were identified based on the type of pause described by participants. The *Taking a Moment* category utilized pausing in a temporal sense, meaning it facilitated time passing before reacting. While the *Taking Some Space* category utilized pausing in a spatial sense, meaning it facilitated a buffer zone before reacting. Within each category, two subcategories were identified. Two clear thematic categories emerged from the data *Taking a Moment* and *Taking Some Space*, each of these will be defined in the analyses below.

Category 1: Taking a Moment

Taking a Moment was defined as a temporal buffer between internal or external stimuli and the participants' responses to them. This category encompasses 55% (48 of the 87 DTs), all of which discuss moments that they were able to take some time to get ahold of the current situation. Participants discuss this process in terms of a temporal metaphor. This category is further broken into two

sub-categories: *Suspending Reactivity* and *Recognizing Habituation*.

Category 1a: Suspending Reactivity. *Suspending Reactivity* is defined by allowing some time prior to responding to stressful stimuli. Some DTs mention a specific anchor which the participant turned their attention to during the pause. Some DTs discuss how letting time pass enabled the participant to feel an immediate reduction in reactivity. This subcategory consisted of 44% (38 of the 87 DTs). An example was when the participant Bella says,

I think I believe that the stopping and being mindful makes almost everything better cause cause if it's a really good experience you go deeper richer you're going to go more into it if it's a horrible experience (.) you can break it down a little bit (.) and make it less horrible (3) and if it's a (6) and if it's just day to day stuff THEN it helps me (8) it helps me take that pause and say <vc> wai -- wai -- where was I going with this? <vc>

What makes this quote an example of *Suspending Reactivity* is the use of stopping or pausing to decrease stress and reactivity. The participant here gives an insightful glance into what she experiences during a pause. Pausing is not about procrastinating the inevitable or seeing the world with rose-colored glasses, it a way to become more conscious about one's actions and making obstacles more manageable. This point is further elaborated on by Patty when she says,

...so I think that again I've built an awareness of clearing my mind whatever that might be it might be a big breath it might be stopping for a moment to refocus but that has been since the class as well...

This shows how some people use a deliberate focus on the breath to come back in the moment in a less reactive manner. Here, the participant does not deny the reality of her emotional state; she is

not avoiding her feelings, instead pausing brings clarity to ‘refocus’ and deal with the problem head on.

Category 1b: Recognizing Habituation. The second subcategory of *Recognizing Habituation* is defined by recognition of our process to become unaware of certain repeated stimuli. This subcategory was made of 11% (10 of the 87 DTs). This reduction in habituation leads to a self-reported increased awareness. Habituation here is used in the psychological sense of the word, meaning a process of becoming unaware of certain stimuli when they are repeated often or long lasting (e.g., becoming nose blind to how your house smells). Participants mention becoming aware of habituating in a couple of different situations, mainly when there was a negative perception or a positive perception to which they had become habituated. An example of a negative perception being habituated can be seen when participant Jordan discussed dealing with unpleasant events,

I think REALLY (.) even though I have some other questions that have bubbled up AROUND that I think that THAT provided an excellent foundation of which to at least stop (.) recognize what’s going on? Kind’of like a stop drop roll thing (h) that it’s like <vc> Okay I’m on fire I’m (.) rum::inating I’ve got a lot of emotions rolling right now. Stop for a second. What are you feeling? <vc> Anger anxiety an::d fatigue. Okay. Focus on those now! Y’know analyze investigate and then eventually try to feel a::nd I’ve got to a point that I feel like it’s separate...

In the form illustrated by Jordan he recognizes that he has become habituated to his emotions and uses this knowledge to gain greater clarity of the topic. Another example of this category is demonstrated by a positive perception being habituated. For example, participant Bella details this,

Bella: OHH the stopping and appreciating the outside...

Interviewer: mmhm

Bella: there’s there’s the (2) I’m sure this is from your class... and I probably m::orphed a little bit, the hear five things taste five things and smell five things, feel five things

Interviewer: that wasn’t from our class but it fits

Bella: or something just so when I’m on a walk or something or just to stop and can I can I identify? Maybe it’s not five. Three different sounds three different smells three different (2) uhmm going through the different sensations

Here Bella discusses how being able to take some time to notice sense perceptions facilitates her ability to meet the present moment in a mindful way. We can see here that not only do people discuss the use of pausing with gaining clarity to negative perceptions, but also positive perceptions we may be too habituated to realize..

Category 2: Taking Some Space

The category *Taking Some Space* is defined as statements in which participants altered their idea of a stimulus and created perceived and metaphorical separation between this internal or external stimuli and subsequent responses. This category had a total 30% (26 of the 87 DTs) and is made up of two subcategories, *Disconnecting* and *Reframing*.

Category 2a: Disconnecting. *Disconnecting* is defined as detaching from one’s reactive mindset. The participants describe creating space between themselves and their reactions. This category had 13% (11 of the total DTs), an example can be seen when the participant Paul says,

and-- and so maybe detached came to mind because some of the the power of stepping back is being less attached to the particulars of what’s happening...

The participant here uses a spatial metaphor to become

less affected by incoming stressors and this allows a better understanding of the moment. Although becoming too desensitized may seem like avoidance or invalidating their own perception of event, the participants do not describe dismissing their previous mindset. They just describe not letting that mindset trap their views and actions. This process is further highlighted when participant Kent says,

what it (.) what it means to me is that I don't have to give that thought or that emotion um its head that I don't have to then um get caught up in in that

Kent describes this process of desensitizing the initial preconception of the stressor, so he will not be trapped by it. This portrayal characterizes the sub-category of mainly dealing with reactivity via desensitizing oneself to the stressor.

Category 2b: Reframing. *Reframing* is defined as creating a new perspective. This is reported to be done by creating a metaphorical space between oneself and stimulus to obtain a clearer and less reactive idea of stimulus. This category had 17% (15 of the total DTs), an example of which can be shown when participant Jordan says, "So It's sorta like y'know that nanosecond allows you to see <vc> Oh I have CHOICES <vc> rather than just the automatic way it allows you to SEE another possibility." The theme of this category is how participants use pausing to find alternative paths from which to choose. In this case Jordan does mention time, but it is this time that facilitates a special widening of perspective that facilitates the creation of a new perspective. This meant realizing that not reacting was a choice he could make. Another participant Samuel details this process,

n'yeah and you can and definitely helps you from just banging your head into the wall over and over and over again kinda take that one second to STOP and be like oh! maybe I should do this you know like the - for some reason I just thought of a uh Gary Larsen cartoon where

it's like the school for the gifted and the door says pull but the guy's like leaning up against it pushing on it.

This further illustrates how participants can see choices stemming from a reactive state. The importance of this is sometimes people get in their own way. This is in part due to the tendency to become unaware how many choices are available and instead reacting to certain ways, despite their being clearly ineffective. For example, suppose someone is in a heated argument with a loved one over something trivial. It is far more likely that they will become reactive and say mean things to one another in their reactivity than to maintain a diplomatic argument. Participants report these spatial metaphors of pausing as helping them to become aware of other ways to respond.

All these forms of pausing help clarify the definition of pausing and how it relates to mindfulness. Given the categories developed by this focused coding, we can now expand our definition of pausing to a temporary interruption between the perception of a stimulus and the reaction to the given stimulus which may be described as temporal (time out) or spatial (widened perspective).

Discussion

Originally, when focused coding began, I expected that participants would discuss the timing of pausing rather than how they paused. I presumed participants would discuss when they paused in their reactive process, times they forgot to pause until it was too late, or times they did not pause at all but later wished they had. When Kabat Zinn and Santorelli discuss pausing, they mainly mean what was identified in this study as *Suspending Reactivity*. There was no indication by previous theorists that there may be more types of pausing, or that it could function in multiple ways. The chosen methodology of Grounded Theory (Irving, Park-Saltzman, Fitzpatrick, Dobkin, Chen & Hutchinson, 2012) allowed the participants' reports of their experiences of pausing to be heard clearly, contrary to my initial expectations of some sort

of sequential depiction of pausing. A quantitative methodology would have imposed categories prematurely, rather than allow such an in-depth understanding of this under-studied process. While another qualitative approach may have not allowed me to work with transcribed data from a former project. The analyses enabled a preliminary definition of pausing which should facilitate much needed operationalizing for future research.

The Grounded Theory analysis led to identification of two separate categories, *Taking a Moment* and *Taking Some Space*. These categories relate to MBSR as possible mechanisms for reducing both reactivity and autopilot. When pausing is mentioned in research or by theorists, it is typically discussed in the context of *Suspending Reactivity*, simply because pausing is discussed primarily using temporal metaphors and the reduction of reactivity. This made the sub-category *Recognizing Habitation* surprising to see. While participants do discuss pausing in terms of a temporal metaphor, this category was not dependent on reactivity or a more conscious reaction to the stressor, but instead discovering internal and external stimuli that they have become habituated to, regardless of whether they are perceived positively or negatively. Based on the analysis, pausing is a clear concrete mechanism, despite the lack of literature surrounding it. This lack of understanding has led many researchers to see pausing as something that does not need proper operationalization or explanation, such as the case in Shapiro et al., (2006). This research has both helped define this concept, but also aimed to assert the importance of pausing. One important implication of this study relates to the mindfulness inventories, discussed earlier. Both the FFMQ and MAAS utilize pausing as a way of measuring mindfulness, yet they seem to presume only one aspect (suspending reactivity) seen here. Future research may indicate that such inventories should add items related to the other subcategories identified in this study.

Similarly, books about mindfulness imply the usefulness of pausing is important [cf., *A World of Pausabilities: An Exercise in Mindfulness* by Frank J. Sileo (2017)], yet they too do not differentiate

among the types of pauses. Such applications of mindfulness pedagogy, in addition to the lack of studies noted in the literature review, support the need for continued research on this topic.

One limitation of this study is the lack of diversity of participants and the fact that they were all taught by the same instructor. While this ensures that participants have a similar frame of reference and consistency in the data, a study of practitioners who trained with differing instructors should be done to ensure the categories presented here are representative of a broader range of mindfulness practitioners. It is possible that the training of these participants led to the perception of pausing found. A second limitation was that the interview questions did not ask directly about pausing. As the larger study was meant to address how participants learned mindfulness, no questions were designed to clarify or bring up pausing. While the data were sufficient for developing preliminary categories, perhaps more detailed representations of pausing would have been obtained if interview questions directly aimed at the concept at pausing. Relatedly, the interviewer would have followed up more carefully when participants alluded to pausing indirectly.

The implications of this study relate to clinical practice, to teaching mindfulness practices, and to research on MBIs. As mindfulness and MBSR continue to be incorporated in clinical settings, more information regarding their usefulness will be needed. By having this information clinicians could advise patients more accurately on ways to reduce reactivity in their lives. Research into mindfulness practice will be helped in a similar way. Further studies may help practitioners understand different options they have to stay in the moment and better reduce reactivity. This research study is a leaping off point to both understand mindfulness better in the context of pausing and to also further understand this complex phenomenon.

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Appendix A

Pause-Related Items Found in Mindfulness Inventories.

Source	Direct mention of Pausing	Indirect mention of a lack of pausing
MAAS ¹		Item 1. I could be experiencing some emotion and not be conscious of it until sometime later.
		Item 3. I find it difficult to stay focused on what’s happening in the present.
		Item 7. It seems I am “running on automatic,” without much awareness of what I’m doing.
		Item 10. I do jobs or tasks automatically, without being aware of what I’m doing.
		Item 13. I find myself preoccupied with the future or the past.
FFMQ ²	When I have distressing thoughts or images, I ‘step back’ and am aware of the thought or image without getting taken over by it	
	In difficult situations, I can pause without immediately reacting	
		I watch my feelings without getting lost in them
		It seems I am “running on automatic” without much awareness of what I’m doing
		I do jobs or tasks automatically without being aware of what I’m doing

¹ MAAS; Brown, & Ryan, 2003.

² FFMQ; Baer, Smith, Hopkins, Krietemeyer & Toney, 2006.

Appendix B
Discursive Transcription Scheme.¹

Identify speakers		
I:	Interviewer; <i>Note: one tab after colon before speech.</i>	I: How regularly do you engage in formal meditation practice?
P:	Participant (<i>1 tab after</i>)	P: I really have found meditation very empowering.
Stressed Speech		
CAPS	Amplified speech; usually single word or syllable of a word louder than surrounding speech.	P: I found it VERY helpful
::	Lengthened syllables	P: I really did not like the body scan
?	Rising intonation, raised pitch (not a punctuation mark).	P: and how much I care for my family?
!	Stressed / exclaimed utterance followed by pause.	P: And then wham! it just hit me
Pause Length		
(.)	Just noticeable pause (untimed, ~ 1 sec.)	P: (.) I think I think it was the support of my family
(#)	Timed Pause, given in seconds (>1 sec).	P: Well (4) I don't know, it's hard to explain
.	Full stop, falling intonation contour (ending)	P: I just found myself sitting and watching the sun set.
Interruptions / Overlaps		
--	Truncation, self-editing marker where speaker stops abruptly, either to interrupt self or yielding to other.	T: So, I was wondering -- if you don't mind me asking
...	Trailing off.	P: I was going to do it but...
[]	Placed at beginning and end of verbal overlap	P: I meditate [and find--] T: [How often] do you meditate?

³ Marnberg, M. H. (2012).

Meta-transcription Comments		
(text)	Inaudible words; guess at words	P: I think (<i>my</i>) whole, my (<i>family</i>) is
()	Unintelligible speech, transcriber unable to guess	P: I meditate once () but not as often as I would like
[]	Non-lexical action which interrupts the text (e.g., [cough] or [knocking])	T: So tell me more about that [cough] experience
<vc>	Voice change; usually indicates speaker is mimicking or quoting someone else – place at beginning and end of stretch of talk that differs from speaker’s normal voice	P: So she was like <vc> WHAT?! You so CRAZY! <vc> and so I said...
Audible Breathing		
, -h,	Inspiration (In-breath) or any breath (can’t discern in vs. out), set off with commas	P: This is hard to talk about, -h, I guess it really bothered me
, h,	Aspiration (Out-breath), set off with commas	P: What a relief, h, that was something I had trouble with
(h)	Small laugh, chuckle; Note: can be placed within a word, as well	T: (h) It sounds like that was quite an exper(h)ience
(h, h)	Laughter	P: I was walking to class when I saw it (h,h)

The Novel Mystique: Depictions of Women in Novels of the 1950s

SARAH FENDER

Throughout history, novels have consistently been scrutinized over the images they portray (Cameron 18-25). For some readers, the concern is that scandalous scenes in dirty books will corrupt the young and the feeble-minded. Others worry that representations of certain groups will disrespect and stereotype oppressed peoples. Clearly, novels are not only entertainment or means for escape; they can have moral and political implications. Popular ones most especially reveal a great deal about the culture and time in which they were read. This essay examines the images of women popular novels were offering during the 1950s, an era in which the term “career woman” first became a dirty word (Friedan 32). The small sample of novels analyzed here reveal that a great portion of Americans did indeed consider independent women indecent, but that a smaller fraction of society was working hard to dismantle that maxim.

Immediately following World War II, Americans were insecure about the state of world affairs. The world was a terrifying place filled with war, genocide, and weapons of mass destruction. Where could Americans feel safe? According to Betty Friedan’s 1963 groundbreaking book *The Feminine Mystique*, “After the loneliness of war and the unspeakableness of the bomb, against the frightening uncertainty, the cold immensity of the changing world, women as well as men sought the comforting reality of home and children” (213). Americans thus began marrying and having children at younger and younger ages. During the war, women had worked outside the home in record breaking numbers, but employers and the government alike wanted to assure that veterans

returning from war could find work. Thus, women were quickly pushed out of the workforce through decreasing salaries and propaganda campaigns painting domestic life as women’s patriotic duty (May 67).

In her book *Homeward Bound*, historian Elaine Tyler May figures that this is why images of women as housewives emerged overwhelmingly in American culture during the 1940s and 50s. Rosie the Riveter quickly became a petite young housewife enjoying her new washing machine. This image, what Friedan termed “the feminine mystique,” is the focus of her 1963 study of popular women’s magazines. In *Homeward Bound*, May claims: “The new mystique makes the house-wife mothers, who never had a chance to be anything else, the model for all women” (36). The mystique was this strange paradox wherein contemporary women were doing everything they were told to do that would make them happy—housekeeping, raising children, and catering to their husbands—and yet, American women’s rate of depression, alcoholism, and suicide skyrocketed at this time (Friedan 22). Friedan thus set out to understand this phenomenon by analyzing popular women’s magazines, all of which perpetuated images of women that were limited in their scope.

As a former editor of a women’s magazine, Friedan knew that the topics discussed, and the stories told in these magazines, had evolved over the course of her career. Thus, in her research for *The Feminine Mystique*, she collected magazines ranging from the 1930s to the late 1950s in order to better understand this evolution. In the notes that she took at this time, located at the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University, Friedan tallied the number of short stories featuring “independent” women, “housewives,” and “career” women in *Ladies’ Home Journal* editions for 1939, 1949, and 1959. She found that during World War II, independent career women were often the protagonists in magazine fiction stories; Friedan documented eleven independent female characters, three feminist characters, and only six housewives in 1939. Eventually, the independent women and feminists faded away, replaced with almost exclusively housewives by 1959. That year,

she tallied two single women, whose stories focused solely on the pursuit of husbands, eleven housewives, and two career women, one of whom was a housewife who temporarily sold sandwiches in order to save money and buy dresses.

Ultimately, Friedan's book shows how this mystique invaded a myriad of different realms of American culture, but as comprehensive as her study is, Friedan does not include analyses of contemporary novels. Yet, the crux of her book is based on how women were searching for an escape from the dullness of housewifery. Are novels not one of the greatest mediums through which to escape reality? Scholar Ardis Cameron, in her book *Unbuttoning America*, posits that they are, asking in reference to women of the 1950s, "where, if not in novel form, could the female reader find herself an actor in a world where women's actions mattered?" (25). Surely, they were not major players in history books at the time; but, novels with significant female characters could seriously influence and inspire female readers, a growing market at this time as an explosion in cheap dime novels made literature available to women and men of all economic classes (Cameron 86).

The role novels might have played in either perpetuating or countering the feminine mystique was a question Friedan, in a way, left open. In her chapter on women's magazines, she claimed that "the new image of woman did not permit the internal honesty, the depth of perception, and the human truth essential to good fiction" (50). Given her hypothesis, if popularity is a sufficient measure of "goodness," then perhaps best-selling novels would have more nuanced portrayals of women than short stories in women's magazines.

The four novels explored in this essay all were published at different periods throughout the 1950s, were on *The New York Times'* bestseller list, had central female characters, and had contemporary settings: *Star Money* by Kathleen Winsor (1950), *Marjorie Morningstar* by Hermon Wouk (1955), *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* by Sloan Wilson (1955), and *Peyton Place* by Grace Metalious (1956). This sample suggests that popular 1950s novels indeed reflected

the American societal "problem with no name"—the feminine mystique—as each, in one way or another, acknowledges that ideally women were to be obedient housewife-mothers. Winsor's novel rejects this ideal, Wouk's and Wilson's embrace it, and Metalious's complicates it. Not surprisingly, novels that most promoted the feminine mystique were those written by male authors; the female characters in these novels were happiest when married, dependent on men, and taking care of children. Female authors, in contrast, depicted female characters with other passions; these women were actually happy working and being autonomous.

Star Money

Kathleen Winsor's *Star Money* features Shireen Delaney, a young woman who begins her career wanting fame, fortune, and respect. When her husband Ed leaves to fight in World War II, she sets out to gain this kind of celebrity through the publication of a novel she had worked on for years. Navigating her new way of life, Delaney better understands herself as well as American patriarchal society.

Published in 1950, *Star Money* embraces a dying narrative. This narrative was, according to Betty Friedan, that of "the New Woman" who was "independent and determined to find a new life of her own" (30). Shireen represents exactly that. After Ed's departure, her feelings of loneliness and uselessness work as catalysts for her career. Once finished with it, she sends her manuscript to an agency in New York City, and soon she moves there and starts the process of publishing her book.

Shireen quickly starts earning money for her hard work, and this financial autonomy reaps rewards of all kinds, including a sense of sexual independence. With Ed away and Shireen no longer reliant on him for finances, she feels less obliged to be faithful to him. In New York, she thus begins a series of affairs that teach her a great deal about men. The relationship between Shireen's economic independence and her sexuality interestingly parallel contemporary fears of female monetary power of the time, described by May as "a scientific formula, that social freedom and employment for women would cause sexual laxity, moral decay, and

the destruction of the family” (68).

Admittedly, Shireen’s wealth does ultimately destroy her relationship with Ed, as the novel ends with their plans for divorce. According to our heroine, however, the end of their relationship has less to do with her power as it does with Ed’s insecurity over the matter. Ed is disgruntled by Shireen being the breadwinner, which apparently made, according to her male acquaintance, “The whole pattern of marriage [turn] upside down” (Winsor 403). Instead of Shireen becoming despondent about their lost love, however, their ill-fated marriage causes her to make one of many realizations about men. In this case it is that they tend to believe:

that women have no business being cleverer or making more money than men. Because whatever will the poor dears do then? They’re not used to it, because it’s their normal part in life to dominate and give women what they think she deserves—a house and clothes and whatever fragments of affection they have handy. And if that power is taken from them then they’re nervous and upset and begin walking on eggs! And isn’t it pitiful! I suppose if a woman happens to have some kind of ability she should thoughtful enough not to use it, because she might do better than her husband and that would make him unhappy! (403)

Shireen’s understanding of men’s attitudes underscores May’s claim that because the Great Depression, World War II, and corporate jobs—that many men took after the war—disempowered middleclass men, both the media and the government pushed the idea that men should find their power as the head of their households. Accordingly, a home with an obedient wife was a place in which men “could see tangible results of their efforts and receive a measure of respect” (86).

Professionally successful women like Shireen threatened the dynamic. This is likely why the men she spent time with made sure to assert their dominance over her in a multitude of ways. Some men attempted to maintain their superiority by attacking the young woman’s femininity. For instance, one of her close male

friends, Dallas, asks her, “What made you decide you didn’t want to be a woman?” because, apparently, “Children are certainly part of any woman’s life” (312). Here Dallas attempts to force onto Shireen a lifestyle of motherhood, projecting what Betty Friedan called “a religion, a pattern by which all women must now live or else deny their femininity” (36). In making himself the authority over who is to be considered a true woman, Dallas proves, at least to himself, that he is superior to the object of his ridicule: Shireen.

Men in Shireen’s life not only made themselves feel bigger in the presence of this strong woman by rejecting her femininity, however. Another tactic was to subject her to their opinions about what they found attractive in women. Ed does this when he is clearly insecure about his place within the household and tells Shireen she is not nearly as beautiful without makeup, momentarily destroying her confidence. Many men, however, do it simply by encouraging only certain kinds of behaviors in her. One man, she realizes, loved her most:

When she suddenly betrayed herself as a child. Not when she was being a siren, dangerous to men, not as a calculating successful and independent woman, not even when she became very serious and talked ... philosophically. Just when she returned for a moment to her childhood and he knew that he was older and wiser than she and had nothing to be afraid of. (329)

Only when she is being childish and unsure of herself do men really treasure her. Otherwise, she often makes them feel anxious and fearful of their place in the patriarchal, social hierarchy. Shireen’s consistent distaste for these men’s attitudes, and her ultimate success and happiness without them, show that the novel by and large rejects the traditional maxim that women ought to accept their supposed inferiority to men.

Despite this constant insistence from her lovers that Shireen should conform to men’s desires, the novel ends with her resolving to never again be dependent on a man either emotionally or financially. In her search for happiness our heroine concludes, “The solution would be found in writing—her own private and

reliable world” (372). Like female protagonists of the 30s and early 40s, Shireen immerses herself in her passion, finding a sense of security not in the arms of a man but in the embrace of a career. For both Shireen and the fictional heroines featured in women’s magazines before the feminine mystique swept over American culture, a “career [means] more than job. It [means] doing something, being somebody yourself, not just existing in and through others” (Friedan, 32).

Perhaps this is why contemporary critics of Kathleen Winsor’s novel called the main character “without a doubt the dullest, silliest, and generally most objectionable young beauty in contemporary fiction” (*The Atlantic* 88). As both Friedan and May indicate, American culture was not accepting of such bold imagery of female autonomy. In fact, “Single women . . . became targets of government-sponsored campaigns urging women back into their domestic roles” (May 70). The mainstream critics easily fell in line by denouncing her book. Meanwhile, libraries across the nation did their part to reject depictions of female independence by deeming her novels pornography and refusing to carry them (Fowler).

In spite of these dismissals, both of the author’s first two novels achieved great notoriety and became *New York Times* bestsellers. Regardless of the supposed vulgarity of the content, readers were enticed. Yet critics refused to take the author seriously. Perhaps it was her surprising success as a beautiful, young, divorced female author that caused them to dismiss Winsor’s novels so easily (Fowler). After years of independence during World War II, the culture of conservatism was bent on chasing women back into the domestic sphere. Thus a successful, independent woman like Winsor whose texts addressed issues such as female autonomy and sexuality was the perfect target for scorn.

Ultimately, considering its content, *Star Money*’s success signals that while both the government and the media disparaged female autonomy in all its many forms, American readers were at least curious enough about such a topic as to elevate Winsor’s novels to bestseller status. While *The Atlantic* claimed *Star Money* “achieves a really high standard of pointlessness” clearly American

readers got the point (88). They read this novel about a woman pursuing her dreams, succeeding, living luxuriously, and having affairs with any man she pleased, and they devoured it. Throughout the 50s, however, readers would be subject largely to images of women who were happiest as housewives and mothers.

Marjorie Morningstar

Hermon Wouk’s 1955 *Marjorie Morningstar* follows a similar storyline as *Star Money* but with important, dramatic differences. While Kathleen Winsor’s novel idolizes the independent woman, Hermon Wouk’s denounces her, essentially deeming any young woman’s interests in autonomy as a mere phase in her life. Moreover, whereas *Star Money* rejects the supposed feminine duty of pleasing men and boosting their egos, *Marjorie Morningstar* espouses it.

The young heroine of Wouk’s novel is Marjorie Morgenstern, a young Jewish girl living in New York City with her family in the 1930s. Early on, she takes on the pseudonym Morningstar in her pursuit of an acting career. Much like Shireen, Marjorie from a young age expresses disdain toward housewifery: “It was during this time of her life that she worked up a number of bright arguments against marriage, made fun of sex, and declared that instead of becoming some man’s dishwasher and cook she was going to be a career woman” (24). Both the narrator as well as the other characters of the novel treat the young woman’s passion as silly, not necessarily because acting is a difficult field to succeed in but for the simple fact that it is a career at all.

Early in the novel Marjorie’s mother, for instance, has an argument with her daughter about marriage prospects and Marjorie’s dream of being an actress. Mrs. Morgenstern simply “[mutters] that Marjorie could probably be cured of any career by actually trying to work at it” (47). But, unlike Shireen Delaney, who faces doubts about her passion and counters those doubts by proving her abilities, Marjorie does in fact fail at every attempt at work she makes. She not only fails to become an actress, but she despises doing any kind of professional work, quitting every part time job she acquires. Over the course of a few years she finds that

her mother was right in claiming, “A good husband and children is what you’ll want in a year or two, darling, once you’ve had a taste of dragging like a tramp around Broadway” (153).

Rather than engaging in affairs with men, learning about their expectations, and rejecting them, Marjorie learns about men’s assumptions through her one and only lover, other than her husband. Noel writes her a letter explicitly telling her what her role as a woman should be, and she eventually follows suit. Her first love writes:

All girls, including you, are too goddamn emancipated nowadays. You get the idea from all the silly magazines and movies you’re bathed in from infancy, and then from all the talk in high school and college that you’ve got to *be* somebody and *do* something. Bloody nonsense. A woman should *be* some man’s woman and *do* what women are born and built to do—sleep with some man, rear his kids, and keep him reasonably happy while he does his fragment of the world’s work. They’re not really happy doing anything else. (436)

Interestingly, the magazines Noel mentions here are those of the 1930s which Friedan claims did in fact encourage female independence. Regardless of these images though, Marjorie ultimately proves Noel’s point when she marries a conservative Jewish lawyer and becomes Mrs. Schwartz. They move to the suburbs and have four children. The young writer Wally Wonken who had fallen in love with her at South Wind acting camp visits her in 1954. According to Wonken, “Contented, she obviously is. There was no mistaking the look she gave her husband when he came in with their two boys from a father-and-son softball game, in old clothes, all sweaty and dirty; nor the real kiss, nor the way she rubbed her face for a second against his shoulder” (559). The young woman who dreaded a suburban lifestyle as a housewife and was absolutely determined to be a star on Broadway now was “only remarkable” for the mere fact that “she ever hoped to be remarkable, that she ever dreamed of being Marjorie Morningstar. She couldn’t be a more run-of-the-mill wife and mother” (564).

Marjorie’s submission, and her choice of lifestyle proves not only Noel’s assertion that women are happiest when they take on their traditional gender role, but, along with her rejection of a career comes too his claim that in order to be truly happy, she must also work to make her man “reasonably happy” (436). Unlike *Star Money*, Wouk’s text clearly supports the prevailing belief of the time that women were made to please men and be happy, dutiful housewives. This sentiment of ultimate gender traditionalism holds true for all young women like Marjorie in the text. During her time at South Wind acting camp, she sees her fellow actresses and, rather than seeing them as passionate, ambitious young women, “she thought that they were exactly like herself, youngsters snatching at fun while they chased the dream of happy marriage” (208).

Apparently, Wouk’s reinforcement of conformity was true in much of his fiction. According to scholar Ardis Cameron, another of Wouk’s novels *The Caine Mutiny* was one of many novels interpreted by contemporary sociologist William H. Whyte in his study *The Organization Man* as being a part of a phenomenon wherein “popular novels in the postwar period greatly distorted the realities of American life, often avoiding conflict and increasingly advising readers to ‘adjust to the system’” (34). Accomplishing this same goal, *Marjorie Morningstar* certainly encouraged contentment with traditional gender roles. The novel especially prescribes motherhood, housewifery, and subservience as cure-alls for young women seeking a purpose in life.

Of course, Marjorie’s purpose is more nuanced given her Jewish heritage. As May suggests, “The view of childbearing as a duty was painfully true for Jewish parents, after six million of their kin were snuffed out in Europe” (26). In fact, Marjorie’s exposure to the atrocities of the Holocaust on a trip to Europe becomes one of the motivating factors that causes her to reject her flamboyant, secular lover that, at least at times supported her career, and instead marry a conservative Jewish man and rear his four children.

In this way, Wouk’s novel espouses the feminine ideal Friedan found major fault with by making the satisfaction of men the centerpiece of good women’s lives. Yet *Marjorie Morningstar*

also sheds light on the significant role that World War II played in reaffirming women's proper roles in society. Wartime gave women the opportunity to leave the domestic sphere and enter the workforce as it did for Shireen Delaney, but, for many women, the pressure to fulfill domestic duties and focus solely on supporting husbands and children after such a horrendous war won out over the pursuit of meaningful careers which were few and far between for most women.

The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit

In its own way, Sloan Wilson's *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, like *Marjorie Morningstar*, encourages conformity; specifically, it gives readers an example of a strong female character who sacrifices her desires and natural ambitious tendencies in order to make her husband feel more powerful. This novel focuses mainly on the father of the Rath household, Tom Rath, and it highlights the pressures men faced as breadwinners as they tried to balance family life with demanding careers. There are almost no career women of any kind in this novel. Two of the few mentioned are described superficially as "one chosen for looks, apparently, and one for utility" (9). Tom's wife Betsy, however, does play a key role in influencing her husband's choices. At the start of the novel, Tom is not ambitious at all, and it is Betsy that motivates him and presses him to do more at work and at home.

True, given her drive and prudence, she is not *exactly* like the happy housewife heroines Friedan found in women's magazines, but the resolution at the end of the novel diminishes her power within her marriage, making Tom more dominant and Betsy more dependent, a common trope of 50s literature (195). In the second chapter, the narrator acknowledges that Betsy is confident enough that "she was perhaps the only woman in the world who didn't like... compliments" about her looks (5). She is not only confident, but she is competent and pragmatic. Late at night while trying to unravel the unhappiness she knows both her and her husband have been experiencing as of late, she comes to the conclusion that "People rely too much on explanation these days, and not enough on courage and action" (112). From there forward she seeks to

solve the problems in their marriage by altering their everyday routine, taking the matter into her own hands and pursuing a resolution enthusiastically.

Betsy's energy and confidence turn out to be points of tension in the Rath household that are resolved by the end of the novel. First, though, Betsy learns that Tom had a love affair and fathered a child while away at war. She is so upset she takes the family car and goes for a drive late at night, but, for the first time over the course of the entire novel, she finds herself a damsel in distress when her car breaks down and police pick her up. When her husband saves her, she urgently tells him that he ought to send alimony to his child in Italy, insists they stop worrying so much about money, and suggests he talk to her about his time at war—all things Tom had been hoping for all along. She then apologizes for "[acting] like a child"; to all of this Tom just repeatedly responds, "I love you" (271).

Not only that, but she resolves to help him and boost his ego in one final way. A way that his poor, vulnerable Italian lover always did, by asking him, "Do you think I'm beautiful?" (177). For this young woman Maria, it was true that "physical love was the only form of reassurance she knew, and that she was completely happy and sure of him only when she was caressing him and giving him pleasure... it was chiefly this that caused her constantly to entice him" (176). Clearly, Tom is attracted to women who need his approval. Betsy finally realizes this, humbles herself, and thus asks her husband after they have made up, "Do you like the way I look? ... I want to hear it now. Often. Tell me again I'm beautiful" (273). For a woman like Shireen Delaney in *Star Money*, men's ability to determine her value by focusing solely on her looks is irksome and disempowering. But in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, Betsy's newfound dependency on Tom and her desire to please him is treated as a sort of skill she has learned to strengthen their relationship. In fact, in the final line of the aforementioned scene, Tom muses "'all's right in the world'" (274).

This lesson Betsy learns works to alter her behavior in a way that literature of the 1950s promoted across the board. For

instance, one short story Friedan highlights in her chapter “Happy Housewife Heroine” involves a wife whose husband has cheated on her with a clingy, innocent, needy young woman; a friend of the protagonist points this out and encourages similar behavior in the wife in order to win him back. She does, and her problems are thus so easily resolved. The lesson the story teaches mirrors that of an article titled “Do Foreign Women Make Better Wives?” that Friedan studied in her research for her book. According to the article, the answer is yes. Why? Ultimately the author of the article concurs with an army chaplain who is quoted as saying that “European girls have been brought up feeling a traditional dependence on men—and that makes them more attractive” (30). Tom’s affair with his Italian mistress works in much the same way that this article does, reminding American women of their vulnerability, and the fact that they ought to act properly according to the feminine mystique because they are replaceable.

The U.S. in the 1950s was a world in which women’s career prospects were severely restricted, their average pay equaled half of men’s, and the mere act of pursuing careers often made them suspected of communism in this red scare era. Thus, marriage to a man was their only really viable option for economic stability. Messages identifying what was attractive to men consequently promised to seriously influence women’s behavior (May 85). *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* much like *Marjorie Morningstar* and in opposition to *Star Money*, reinforced problematic gender roles and contributed to a culture of limiting women’s autonomy by subverting the agency they had discovered during wartime and redefining feminine patriotism as service to one’s husband and children exclusively. For Betsy, her patriotism is expressed through her making her veteran husband’s happiness her priority. Just as May proposed, after World War II, “Much of the healing process [fell onto] women” (64). So too did it for Betsy Rath.

Peyton Place

While the three other novels this project analyzes either accept or reject ideas about gender role conformity, the 1956 “blockbuster” novel *Peyton Place* offers more raw, honest, nuanced

depictions of female life that complicate the discussion. For example, every female character *Peyton Place* focuses on has a job, not because they desire to be strong, independent women, but by pure necessity. Nellie Cross’s husband Lucas is a drunk and spends his money irrationally on booze, and so in order to keep their family afloat, Nellie works as a housekeeper. Constance MacKenzie is a single mother and owner of a clothing store in town. Nellie’s daughter Selena started working for Connie in high school when she decided she wanted to have spending money. Allison MacKenzie, Constance’s daughter, is the only woman for whom having a job is a choice. She chooses to write for her local newspaper and then move to New York City writing short stories for women’s magazines because, for her, writing is both a passion as well as an escape.

At fifteen, Allison thinks much like the young women of *Star Money* and *Marjorie Morningstar*. When discussing her future with a friend, Allison declares: “I am going to be a brilliant authoress. Absolutely brilliant. And I shall never marry. I just hate boys!” (91). But, while Allison has a seemingly typical attitude toward men that the young women of the other novels have also espoused, the other women of this novel have different kinds of skepticism toward men. Rather than disliking them generally for the way they tended to demean women verbally as Shireen Delaney did, these women of *Peyton Place* were cynical about men because men in their lives had seriously injured them in some way or another.

Constance was always wary of men until she met her eventual husband Tom Makris because she had been impregnated by a man who already had a family, and when he died she was left with little money and with social stains she had to constantly lie about to cover up. Nellie, on the other hand, was terribly abused by her husband, physically, emotionally, and sexually, leaving her so disoriented, depressed, and mentally ill that before committing suicide, “Nellie had gone from cursing [her husband] and all other men to believing that she was afflicted with a strange disease” (186).

Worse still, Selena Cross’s experience with her stepfather caused her once to contemplate telling her friend Allison that

“[Your father, h]e’s dead—and you’re better off for it, kid” (40). Selena’s step father, also Nellie’s husband, was so cruel, he not only physically abused the girl at a young age, but he raped and impregnated her too. Her pregnancy caused not only her, but the local physician to grapple with the luxury of holding such conventional moral beliefs in the face of such horrific circumstances. For, how could he follow traditional morality by denying the child an abortion and thus sentence her both to motherhood as well as social leprosy?

The text poses a myriad of questions about contemporary morality, especially gendered morality. If it is good and moral for women to obey men’s desires, what does a woman do when a man wants to have unprotected, premarital sex? What does she do when her father forces an incestuous relationship on her? If she is supposed to be the homemaker, and her husband the breadwinner, what does she do when her husband does not earn an income that allows for such a lifestyle? What about when the man dies? Metalious raises these questions simply by writing about the reality that she and millions of other women experienced on a daily basis. As Cameron shows, “Allison MacKenzie [is] like her creator, restless, eager for success, hungry for something else... A small-town girl without a father but whose mother carries on in arch solitude, protecting her past by keeping a social and emotional distance from others” (71).

The experiences of the women of *Peyton Place* are not only reflective of the author’s experience as a woman, but catalogued in Cameron’s book *Unbuttoning America* is further affirmation of the events that take place in Metalious’s novel. Cameron shows that the experiences of women in *Peyton Place* seriously resonated with readers. The American Studies scholar documents letters written to Metalious by fans after the publication of *Peyton Place* and finds that the novel “represented a radical leap in its conception of women characters, encouraging readers to recognize themselves or one of their neighbors in its pages” (117). Moreover, she asserts “the women of *Peyton Place* touched a national nerve, their true-to-life stories simultaneously well known and

silenced, the subject of clandestine gossip and will-to-not-know” (117). Accordingly, fans again and again wrote to Metalious, “I live in *Peyton Place*” (117).

Part of that familiarity was not just the recognition of how gossip spreads in towns, and how gender role ideals were unobtainable for many women, but it was also their unfortunate ability to relate to the hardships the female characters of the novel faced dealing with the men. As Cameron points out in reference to Selena Cross’s traumatic experience, “The home remains today ... ‘the most dangerous place for children’; their most likely [sexual and physical] assailant is ... their father” (48). So, while United States leaders of both government and media, as well as a number of novelists, spent their time urging women to humble themselves and make the satisfaction of men the focus of their lives, a great many women and children were already subject to men’s violent, brutal desires.

Fortunately, women related not only to the traumas of the women of *Peyton Place*, but they recognized too these women’s attempts to seize control of their own lives. As *Star Money* displayed, financial independence often gave women some degree of sexual independence. The same is true in *Peyton Place*. While, “Husbands, the academic experts and health professionals agreed, should assume not only just economic but sexual dominance,” both the promiscuous women of *Peyton Place* as well as the notorious 1953 Kinsey Reports reveal that women can be sexually assertive and desiring, not just submissive and desirable (128).

While *Star Money* glamorizes the rarely experienced life of a successful female author, *Marjorie Morningstar* rejects such dreams as silly and insists on the contentment women acquire from adherence to traditional gender roles, and *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* proposes families are happiest when wives are submissive, *Peyton Place* represents something far closer to reality. Regardless of their desires, women often *were* dominated by men, poor ones were forced to take jobs, but those jobs were under-paid and gendered. But mostly, they did have personal desires that deviated from the supposed norm; they often sought escapes from female oppression

through activities including but not limited to reading, writing, sex, and working.

Interestingly, one young woman of *Peyton Place* who possesses a notable passion which she uses as an escape from the social ostracism she faces in high school and beyond is Allison MacKenzie. She is the only woman of the text privileged enough to pursue the kind of lifestyle Betty Friedan prescribed to the women of the United States—that of a career woman. Allison ends up working in New York City, “carry[ing] out the formulas,” as Friedan put it, of happy housewife heroine short story writing (49). Her story published in *McCall's* mirrors well those that Friedan described: “It’s about a girl who works in an advertising agency in New York ... She is a career girl who wants her boss’s job. This boss of hers is young and handsome and the girl can’t help herself. She falls in love with him. In the end she marries him, after deciding she loves him more than her career” (272). Having been fortunate enough to escape Peyton Place, Allison finds herself restricted to doing the uncreative, fruitless work of carrying out formulas of women’s magazine’s fiction. The resolution to the novel suggests that despite the limited opportunities women had in finding creative, fulfilling work in writing, there was hope. Readers are left with Allison back in Peyton Place, happy, and planning on pursuing the publication of a novel.

Conclusion

Both Shireen Delaney and Allison MacKenzie found that their only route to a career that could be rewarding both intellectually and monetarily was novel writing. This speaks volumes about the career opportunities for women in the 1950s. According to Friedan, when the happy housewife heroine stories of women’s magazines were being circulated at large, it was the case that in the magazine industry “Women often carr[ie]d out the formulas, women edit[te]d the housewife ‘service’ departments, but the formulas themselves, which have dictated the new housewife image, [were] the product of men’s minds” (49). Men were in charge. Both the top editors and writers of women’s magazines as well as the supervisors, directors, managers, and CEOs of the majority

of organizations in the United States were male in the 1950s. Not only that, but of the women who were still employed in war industries after World War II ended, “90 percent of them were earning less than they had earned during the war” (May 75). Wage discrimination and limits on work place advancement opportunities for women were rampant in the postwar era.

The novelist heroines of *Star Money* and *Peyton Place* find a way around those barriers in order to be successes. They escape the chains of traditional gender roles by pursuing the publication of novels. During the middle of the twentieth century, this was indeed one of the few career opportunities open to women. Cameron discusses the prospects granted to female writers after a dramatic commercialization of the novel-writing industry provoked publishing agencies to enlist everyday readers to write for them. The culture around writing ultimately “invi[te]d readers to imagine themselves as writers ... advertisements for schools and contests conceptually flattened the hierarchies of talent and effectively tethered authorship to the consumerist fantasies of the era” (87). Essentially, while the majority of industries were confining women to low wages and at times rejecting their employment altogether, a massive commercialization of literature actually gave some of the forlorn, disoriented housewives Friedan studied a chance at success and fulfillment. Indeed, the industry glorified the career of authorship, and gave consumers the impression that anyone who worked hard enough could *be somebody* (88).

Both Grace Metalious and Kathleen Winsor, as well as their apparently autobiographically inspired young female protagonists, benefitted from this revolution in publishing. These women were ordinary, without university educations, and became major successes to the great surprise of the public. Winsor’s success was shocking because her writing abilities were not expected in such a beautiful young woman. Metalious was unique as a housewife and mother of three. Unlike the male authors Wilson and Wouk, Metalious and Winsor were pioneers of their demographic. Thus, their very ordinariness made them extraordinary.

Undoubtedly, their experiences navigating a man’s world

as ambitious women determined to make names for themselves and garner respect influenced the images they chose to portray in their fiction. While the male authors perpetuated and encouraged a mystique with which they were not intimately familiar, Metalious and Winsor both offered to American reading audiences alternatives to the traditional narrative. Ultimately, while it was Friedan who put a name to the “problem with no name,” these female authors started the conversation by projecting it through their fiction.

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Recycling Music of the 1800s: An Analysis of the Potential for M.A. Reichert's 7 Daily Exercises for Flute to Serve as a Technique Book for Saxophone

LANNAH FITZGERALD



Matheus Andre Reichert is a well-known name in the flute community. As a composer and virtuoso flutist, M.A. Reichert (1830-1880) produced a number of challenging works for flute that are still played today. One such work is Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises*, Op. 5, first published in 1872. This book of music, consisting of seven multi-page etudes, is popular among advanced and even professional flute players. Although written for the flute, Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises* has the potential to serve as an excellent, yet demanding, technique book for saxophone.



Figure 1. Cover of M.A. Reichert's "7 Daily exercises for Flute"

M.A. Reichert's etudes can help players to improve finger speed, articulation, air control, range, timbre, rhythm, and tone, but these improvements do not come easily. Reichert's studies go through unfriendly keys, include notes that soar above the staff, and utilize patterns with difficult leaps. On top of this, Reichert's work poses a special challenge to saxophonists: the exercises go above the saxophone's natural range, into the extended upward range of the saxophone known as *altissimo*.

Background

Normally, saxophonists change the instrument's pitch through the pressing and releasing of keys. When keys are pressed down, air is directed through a longer length of tubing, resulting in a lowered pitch; when keys are released, air is directed through a shorter length of tubing, resulting in a raised pitch. The highest note of the saxophone's natural range is produced when the saxophone's pitch cannot be further raised through the releasing of keys. Interestingly, it is possible to play pitches even higher than the saxophone's natural range due to a phenomenon known as the *overtone series*.

The overtone series is a set of pitches that are mathematically related to any given tone. When an instrument produces a tone, it sounds the pitch that people hear clearly, called the fundamental tone, while simultaneously quietly sounding a set of related pitches with higher frequencies (See Figure 2).

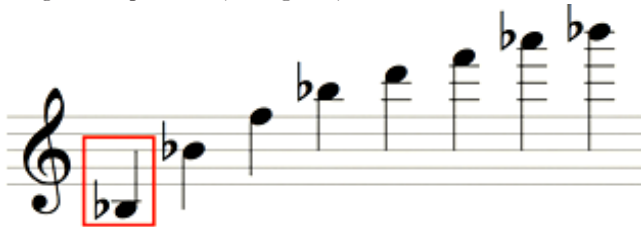


Figure 2. *The Overtone Series, Based on the Fundamental Pitch of Bb (Boxed in Red). When a saxophonist plays a low Bb, all notes pictured here sound simultaneously.*

Overtones are often so quiet that they are nearly inaudible. Yet, through changing the shape of the larynx and oral cavity it is possible for saxophonists to draw out the overtones' sounds. With a great deal of nuance, saxophonists can isolate specific overtones. Since many overtones go above the saxophone's natural range, this manipulation of the overtone series makes it possible for saxophonists to play notes higher than the saxophone's standard range.



Figure 3. *The Saxophone's Standard Range. The saxophone naturally spans just two and a half octaves, from Bb3 through F#6.*

Overtones that go above the saxophone's usual highest pitch, F#6, constitute the saxophone's *altissimo register*. This extended upward range of the saxophone gets its name from the Italian term "altissimo," meaning "very high." Through utilizing the altissimo register, saxophonists are able to play an increased amount of music, including works originally written for other instruments, such as Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises for Flute* (See Figure 4).

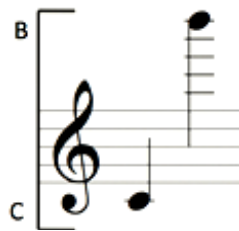


Figure 4. *Range of Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises." Reichert's exercises extend a perfect fourth above the saxophone's natural range, up to altissimo B6.*

Function of Reichert's 7 Daily Exercises as a Technique Book for Saxophone

Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises for Flute* fills a specific role that currently is not adequately filled by any existing work originally written for saxophone; Reichert's exercises can help saxophonists to improve both general and altissimo technique, as well as to gain fluency in playing in all key areas, while using varied altissimo fingerings. Additionally, Reichert's exercises are melodic and interesting to play. Due to difficult altissimo passages, Reichert's exercises would work best as a technique book for advanced or even professional saxophonists, but adjustments can be made for intermediate students to benefit from Reichert's studies as well. Intermediate level students can practice smaller parts of Reichert's etudes, or can practice the altissimo passages down one octave.

Detailed Description of Reichert's Etudes

Reichert's etudes have a unique format. Each study follows a different pattern and goes through that pattern in 24 different keys. The exercises all start in the key of C major, followed by the relative melodic minor, A minor, and then progress through different keys following the pattern of the circle of fourths. The organized set-up of *7 Daily Exercises* makes it easy to progress through it; players can work on learning the new note pattern of each exercise while still playing within a familiar structure. Due to the cadence at the end of each line, any line of Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises* can be played in isolation while still sounding complete. This format enables players to practice as much or as little of an etude as they desire.

The structured set-up of Reichert's etudes also makes these studies accessible to saxophonists of varied ability levels. Students who are yet to learn altissimo can work on just the lines that do not extend above the saxophone's natural range or can practice playing the etudes down an octave. Players who are still learning altissimo can focus on specific keys or altissimo passages they are trying to learn; and more advanced players can work on several lines or entire etudes.

Not all lines of Reichert's music are equal in difficulty. The difficulty increases as the key signatures gain accidentals, and also as the music extends above the staff. Additionally, since each of the seven etudes utilizes a different pattern, some etudes are innately more challenging than others. Exercise No. 1, for example, follows a scalar pattern with an arpeggiated chord at the end. Each line of this exercise is a complete phrase with two high points, one in the second measure and one in the final measure (See Figure 5).

Exercise No. 1 utilizes one of the simplest patterns in Reichert's book. But, this exercise also includes more altissimo

notes than any other etude in Reichert's book. For players hoping to improve fluency in the altissimo register in varied keys, this first exercise is a great way to practice. The changing keys and heavy use of altissimo lead players to utilize varied altissimo fingerings, and to master several different ways to play the same pitch. Additionally, the structure of each line prompts players to play musically and with phrasing, so the skills learned playing this exercise are easily applicable to the saxophone's repertoire.

Exercise No. 2 follows a slightly more difficult pattern than Exercise No. 1, but includes fewer notes in the altissimo register. This second etude is made up of arpeggiated chords, alternating between the tonic chord and the dominant seventh chord. It is a great exercise to master full range broken chords, and several lines in Exercise No. 2 are written to be played 8va, making the exercise easy to play down the octave for saxophonists who have not yet learned altissimo (See Figure 6).

Exercise No. 3 presents the trickiest pattern, and would be best suited for advanced players. This exercise is quite disjunct,



Figure 5. Line from Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 1. This etude follows one of the simplest patterns in Reichert's book, yet still includes beautiful phrasing.



Figure 6. Line from Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 2. Like many lines in Exercise No. 2, this line of music is written to be played up the octave.



Figure 7. Line from Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 3. This exercise includes several chromatically altered neighbor tones and features a difficult pattern of notes..



Figure 8. Line from Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 4. This exercise has a melodic and engaging pattern centered on the tonic chord.

featuring larger leaps between notes than the two previous exercises. It includes notes of the tonic chord in varied order as well as several neighbor tones, some of which are chromatically altered. These chromatic neighbor tones increase the difficulty of Exercise No. 3 because players must play in difficult keys while reading additional accidentals (See Figure 7). This exercise also includes more altissimo passages than Exercise No. 2, none of which are written to be played 8va. Less advanced saxophonists hoping to play this exercise must be able to read notes with up to five ledger lines in order to play this etude down the octave.

Exercise No. 4 is similar to Exercise No. 3 in that both exercises are centered on the tonic chord and utilize several neighbor tones. The pattern of Exercise No. 4 is smoother than that of Exercise No. 3. It includes alternating upward and downward 16th note arpeggiations of the tonic chord, and mixed in with each arpeggiation is either an upper or a lower neighbor tone, some of which are chromatically altered. The arpeggios start in a low register. Then they move upwards, reaching higher on the instrument until they peak in the middle of each line. This structure encourages players to crescendo up to the top of the phrase. The music then moves back down to the low register, until the final measure where

it arpeggiates upward before moving down by thirds back to the tonic (See Figure 8). The note pattern in this exercise is not easy, but it is very melodic and enjoyable to play. Although many lines of Exercise No. 4 contain altissimo, intermediate level saxophonists could practice individual lines from this exercise that stay within the saxophone's natural range.

Exercise No. 5 has a 2/4 time signature and consists of 16th note triplets. This study is double the length of the other six etudes in Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises*. Whereas in the other exercises each new key gets one line of music, in Exercise No. 5 each key takes up two lines of music (See Figure 9). The result is that Exercise No. 5 is four pages long instead of two. Despite its length Exercise No. 5 contains the smallest number of altissimo notes out of all seven etudes. It could be played by saxophonists of varied abilities, and more advanced saxophonists could play it at a more rapid tempo.

Exercise No. 6 is made up of two octave chromatic scales. Unlike the previous five exercises, Exercise No. 6 is not slurred



Figure 9. Example from Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 5. This exercise is double the length of the other etudes in Reichert's book, but contains fewer altissimo notes.



Figure 10. Line From Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 6. This exercise was originally intended to serve as a double tonguing study. It is the only study in "7 Daily Exercises" where each pitch is articulated.



Figure 11. Line from Reichert's "7 Daily Exercises," Exercise No. 7. This is the final exercise in Reichert's book, and was originally intended to serve as a triple tonguing exercise.

(See Figure 10). Since Reichert wrote this exercise for the flute, an instrument on which double tonguing is often used, Exercise No. 6 was intended to be played as a double tonguing exercise. Double tonguing is a method of articulation in which a player rapidly alternates between two different consonants such as "da" and "ga." This etude contains many altissimo notes, and would be a challenging exercise for saxophonists to play even while single tonguing. But, those with high ambitions can attempt to play Exercise No. 6 double tonguing.

The final study, Exercise No. 7, was meant to serve as a study in triple tonguing. Triple tonguing is similar to double tonguing but requires the use of three different consonants such as "da," "ka," and "ga." This etude is in 2/4 time and consists of 16th note triplets.

The pattern includes arpeggiations mixed in with a repeating note that acts as a sort of drone throughout each line (See Figure 11). In major keys the repeating note is the tonic, and in minor keys it is the dominant. Saxophonists who do not wish to triple tongue can use this exercise to increase the speed of their single tonguing. The exercise does include a fair number of altissimo notes, and could help advanced players to improve their articulation in the altissimo register. Many of the exercises are written to be played 8va, so this etude would be easy to read and play down the octave for students who have not yet learned altissimo.

Comparison of Reichert's 7 Daily Exercises with Existing Saxophone Technique Books

Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises* differs from other books for saxophone. While other books are strictly focused on either altissimo technique or general technique, Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises* can help saxophonists to improve playing in both of these areas. Reichert's book does not teach beginners how to play altissimo, but it is an excellent vehicle for experienced players to master the saxophone's extended upper register. Altissimo passages are mixed in throughout Reichert's studies, so *7 Daily Exercises* can help players to make altissimo part of their normal playing range.

Unlike most altissimo method books, *7 Daily Exercises* does not include fingering suggestions for saxophonists. Players must experiment with different altissimo fingerings for each of Reichert's exercises. Luckily, there are a variety of resources available that contain fingerings for the altissimo range. For example, Eugene Rousseau's altissimo book, *Saxophone High Tones*, contains an excellent altissimo fingering chart, and also serves as a thorough introduction to the altissimo register. Rousseau covers a wide variety of topics in his book, including proper embouchure, the harmonic series, overblowing sixths, altissimo fingerings, and scalar exercises. *7 Daily Exercises* would work very well following study of Rousseau's book, or could serve as a supplement to it.

Other saxophone books that could prepare players for *7 Daily Exercises* include Todd Rewoldt's *Altissimo Studies for Alto Saxophone*, Rosemary Lang's *Beginning Studies in the Altissimo Register*, and Sigurd M. Rasher's *Top Tones for the Saxophone*. Each of these books contains fingering suggestions for the altissimo register, and these fingerings could be used for Reichert's exercises.

Conclusion

Matheus Andre Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises for Flute* can help bring saxophonists to the next level, so that playing in the altissimo range feels natural as opposed to cumbersome. The diverse keys and patterns used in Reichert's exercises drive saxophonists to use varied altissimo fingerings and prepare saxophonists for an array

of situations they may encounter in the saxophone repertoire. For example, practicing Reichert's *7 Daily Exercises* can help saxophonists to succeed in playing difficult works that are important standards in saxophone repertoire, such as John Harbison's *San Antonio*, William Albright's *Sonata*, Libby Larsen's *Holy Roller*, Robert Muczynski's *Sonata*, and other works that feature the saxophone's altissimo register. Additionally, *7 Daily Exercises* can prepare saxophonists to take on and perform on saxophone many works originally written for other instruments. Reichert's etudes are rigorous; they may require years of practice before achieving mastery. But, through recycling this music of the 1800s, saxophonists can discover and unleash their instrument's potential.

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About the Author

Lannah Fitzgerald graduated in December 2018 with a major in Music and a concentration in Music Education. Her research was conducted during the summer of 2017 under the mentorship of saxophonist Dr. Jonathan Amon, and was funded by an Adrian Tinsley Program for Undergraduate Research and Creative Work summer grant at Bridgewater State University. Lannah hopes to perform and teach music, and has special interest in teaching band.

Implementing Mindfulness in K-12 Schools: Exploring Educators' Perceptions of Students' Academic Skills, Behavior, and Well-Being

SARA GOTTFRIED

Abstract

Research indicates that academic performance and social and emotional well-being are fundamentally interrelated (Schonert-Reichl, Oberle, Lawlor, Abbott, Thomson, Oberlander, & Diamond, 2015). Given that 13-20% of children in the United States experience social and emotional challenges, schools are required to attend to the social, emotional, and behavioral needs of students (Maynard, Solis, Miller, & Brendel, 2017). However, students are often unequipped with the skills to effectively cope with stress and resort to behaviors that cause emotional, mental, and physical suffering, all of which thwart the learning process (Schonert-Reichl et al., 2015). Schools warrant interventions that support the whole student, given the increase in mental health statistics (Meiklejohn, Phillips, Freedman, Griffin, Biegel, Roach, Frank, Burke, Pinger, Soloway, Isberg, Sibinga, Grossman, & Saltzman, 2012).

Given that the stakes for student success and well-being are high, many schools have integrated mindfulness practices within classrooms. This study sought to understand the efficacy of mindfulness programs in the K-12 education setting, specifically educators' perceptions of mindfulness on students' academic skills, behavior, and well-being. This qualitative study involved

semi-structured interviews with ten participants from schools in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The findings indicate that mindfulness is successful when applied both indirectly and directly, is adaptable within class structures and transitional periods, is practiced using a variety of techniques, and supports a diverse student climate. However, while there is little to no data to support the effects of mindfulness on academics, this study does suggest that mindfulness can be an effective means of supporting students' behavior and well-being. Further research measuring the effects of mindfulness on academic skills is needed.

Introduction

Mindfulness is a broad concept rooted in Buddhist tradition and was proposed for therapeutic purposes by Jon Kabat-Zinn in the 1970s. Kabat-Zinn defined mindfulness as an open and receptive awareness to present reality and the ability for "self-endorsed behavioral regulation" (Brown & Ryan, 2003, p. 823). Mindfulness includes the concepts of self-regulation, directing attention to internal or external stimuli, awareness of thought processes, and adopting a non-judgmental attitude (Hart, Ivztan, & Hart, 2013). Originally practiced through seated meditation and yoga, Kabat-Zinn introduced mindfulness in clinical research through Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (Zenner, Kernleben-Kurz, & Walach, 2014). Mindfulness is unique in that it is a learned coping skill on the behalf of the practitioner, which inevitably has a therapeutic effect. In other words, it is a coping strategy that truly only requires a practitioner who is willing to learn (Renshaw & Cook, 2017).

Mindfulness based interventions (MBIs) within the K-12 educational setting have been seen as effective (Eklund, O'Malley, & Meyer, 2017). Mindfulness within the elementary school setting is preferred because it is during the childhood years that children develop personalities, behaviors, and competencies that "consolidate into forms that persist into adolescence and adulthood" (Schonert-Reichl et al., 2015, p. 2). Because of the

significant amount of time students spend at school and the challenges that the school setting creates, the need for mindfulness within the school setting is seen as necessary (Schonert-Reichl et al., 2015). Mindfulness improves students' social-emotional and behavioral learning skills, which helps to alleviate stress and anxiety (Eklund, O'Malley, & Meyer, 2017). The onset of mental illness occurs as early as age seven (Stagman & Cooper, 2010). During a typical school year, children with mental health disorders miss as many as 18-22 days of school (Stagman & Cooper, 2010).

Mindfulness and Mental Health

Students today face a myriad of mental health challenges. Among children, anxiety accounts for 31.9% of psychiatric disorders (Merikangas, Hep, Burstein, Swanson, Avenevoli, Cui, Benezet, Georgiades, & Swendsen, 2010). Anxiety is characterized by a narrow focus of attention on thoughts in addition to a future-oriented disposition "about potential threats of harm, [which] can predispose an individual to a lack of awareness of what is actually happening in the present moment" (Treadway & Lazar, 2009, p. 198). The brain is easily hijacked by thoughts and, therefore, the child is unable to engage in the present moment. The stress stimulated from the school environment further increases students' anxiety and contributes to the 46,000 children committing suicide every year (Merikangas et al., 2010). And because specialists such as therapists and psychiatrists are in short supply but in high demand, many children are left untreated or given inadequate treatment, which further thwarts their success, both inside and outside of the classroom.

Therefore, it must be understood that the school setting is not only a place for learning academics but can also be a source for learning tools to combat psychiatric disorders. Because MBIs reduce stress and depression symptoms in children and increase social skills and well-being, integrating mindfulness in schools is an approach to overcome these challenges (Eklund, O'Malley, & Meyer, 2017).

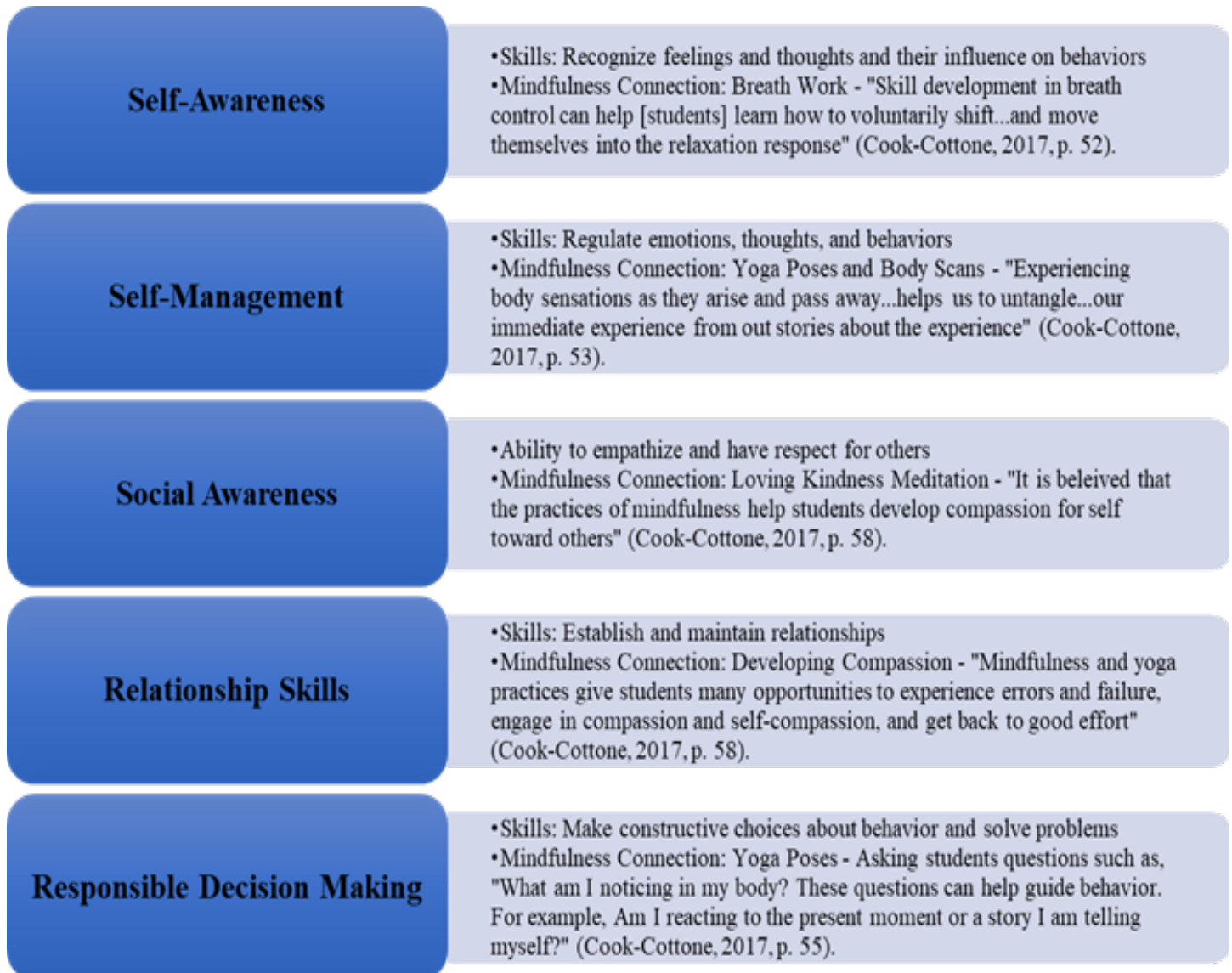
Although the scientific evidence of the role that mindfulness plays in decreasing anxiety in children is in its infancy, mindfulness is promising. Mindfulness interventions teach students how to shift their attention to the present moment and, rather than being "immersed in the drama of [their] personal narrative or life story, [students] are able to stand back and simply witness it" (Treadway & Lazar, 2009, p. 201).

Mindfulness and Social Emotional Learning

Social emotional learning (SEL) is a concept that has recently been integrated into many school systems. SEL, as described by the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), is defined as the "process through which children and adults acquire and effectively apply the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to understand and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships, and make responsible decisions" (CASEL, 2018). Social and emotional difficulties often impede upon student's academic success (Lawlor, 2016, p. 67). However, SEL has been "referred to as the 'missing piece' for the reason that it embodies a part of education that is inextricably linked to school success" (Lawlor, 2016, p. 67). Evidence has shown that social and emotional factors such as emotion regulation, self-management, relationship skills, and decision-making skills are directly and indirectly related to academic success. In integrating social and emotional skills through mindfulness practices in the classroom, students will be able to develop greater impulse control, better concentration, and focused attention in school, all of which will improve academic performance (Maynard, Solis, Miller, & Brendel, 2017, p. 13).

CASEL has outlined five core competencies that go along with SEL. The core competencies are described in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Competencies, Skills, and Connection to Mindfulness in the Classroom



Note. ¹ The skills listed are from the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL).

Essentially, mindfulness and social emotional learning are interrelated. SEL “works from the outside-in – and [mindfulness] works from the inside-out. When the two come together in the mind of a student, the effect can be powerful” (Lantieri & Zakrzewski, 2015, p. 1). SEL focuses on teaching skills, in which the teacher introduces a new skill and practices with the students and then moves on to the next skill. However, mindfulness focuses on teaching students to identify how their internal emotions, feelings, and body sensations may impact their behaviors, stress levels, and overall ability to succeed (Lantieri & Zakrzewski, 2015). Mindfulness helps students to connect their inner and outer experiences to see how the two affect one another. In essence, mindfulness teaches students skills to embrace the present moment so that they can become more aware of their own feelings, emotions, behaviors, relationships, and make better decisions, all of which are skills within the five core competencies as outlined by CASEL.

Approaches to Mindfulness

Mindfulness is often incorporated into the school setting in a variety of ways. Indirectly, mindfulness is learned through the educator. In doing so, the teacher develops a personal mindfulness practice and embodies mindfulness ideals throughout the day. The purpose of this approach is to acknowledge, “beyond just conveying course material, teachers are supposed to provide a nurturing environment...coach students through conflicts, and be exemplars of emotional regulation” (Meiklejohn et al., 2012, p. 3). This indirect approach is twofold: 1.) If teachers use mindfulness in their own lives, including teaching, children will learn about mindfulness practices indirectly; 2.) Teachers will be more effective as individuals. However, mindfulness can also be taught directly, when students are taught mindfulness techniques and practices in the classroom. Mindfulness taught in this way promotes sensory awareness, cognitive control, emotional regulation, acceptance of thoughts and feelings, and the ability to regulate attention (Jones, 2011). When mindfulness is integrated in this direct approach, mindfulness becomes a branch of the social-emotional learning

curriculum in schools and facilitates goals of relationship building, social awareness, and reasonable decision-making skills (Klingbeil, Renshaw, Willenbring, Copek, Chan, Haddock, Yassine, & Clifton, 2017). The last approach is a combination of direct and indirect practices, where teachers and students are simultaneously taught mindfulness practices.

Mindfulness-based programs have been implemented in a variety of elementary educational settings and have been seen as just as effective as in clinical settings (Renshaw & Cook, 2017). Observed across a variety of parameters including academic achievement, emotional regulation, physical health, and social competence, mindfulness has promising evidence (Renshaw & Cook, 2017). There are a number of elementary schools throughout Massachusetts and Rhode Island that have integrated and adapted mindfulness practices into the classrooms to serve a diverse range of student academic and social-emotional learning climates.

The purpose of this research is to understand the effectiveness of mindfulness in the K-12 education setting, specifically, educators’ perceptions of students’ academic skills, behavior, and overall well-being. The thesis builds upon this topic’s newly researched field by outlining the methods used in conducting the study, discussing findings and their implications, and acknowledging the limitations of the research.

Method

Approach

This qualitative study was guided by grounded theory. Grounded theory “does not refer to any particular level of *theory*, but to theory that is inductively developed during a study” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 49). According to Maxwell (2013), grounded theory is valuable in that the theory is developed, or grounded, in the data itself. Rather than simply testing a preexisting theory against empirical data, theories and conclusions made throughout the research study were determined based on the collected data itself.

Procedure

In order to answer the central research goal of understanding educators' perceptions of students' academic skills, behavior, and overall well-being when integrating mindfulness into the classroom, information was gathered directly from educators who have integrated mindfulness practices in their classrooms. A series of qualitative research, one-on-one interviews was conducted. Qualitative research is designed to capture social life as it is experienced and provides an understanding of human behavior and the reasoning behind specific behaviors (Engel & Schutt, 2014). The interview guide consisted of open-ended and closed-ended questions to allow participants to provide personal accounts while ensuring that specific information relevant to the study's aims was collected in an expedient manner. Participants were interviewed individually to promote the attainment of valid results.

Using public online mindfulness training program directories from mindfulschools.org as the sampling frame, data was collected from ten participants in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Following IRB approval, participants were sought via snowball and convenience sampling. Subsequently, interviews were scheduled with each participant from April through June of 2018. Each interview was approximately 30-60 minutes and nine participants were interviewed in their classroom and one via the phone. Before interviews began, participants were asked to sign a Consent and Audio Consent Form and the one phone interview participant was emailed the forms and returned the forms via U.S. Mail. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. A fifty-dollar compensation was given upon completion of the interview and post-interview questionnaire.

Sample

Ten in-depth interviews were conducted with participants from private, public, and Montessori schools throughout Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Participants included classroom teachers, adjustment counselors, and outside providers who taught

in a variety of classroom settings, all of whom had varying years of experience teaching mindfulness and training in mindfulness (See Table 1). To ensure confidentiality, all participants' names, listed in Table 1, have been changed.

Table 1. Demographics

Alias Name	Type of School	Percent of Students on Free/Reduced Lunch ¹	Setting	Current Grade Level	Years of Teaching	Years of Mindfulness Application in the Classroom	Mindfulness Training
Cheryl Shepard	Public and Private	N/A	Outside provider in Rhode Island regular and special education classrooms	K-12	4	8	Yes
Sally Somers	Public	93.3%	Classroom Teacher	K	19	6	No
Nancy Norwell	Montessori	N/A	Learning Specialist	K-5	40	30	Yes
Elizabeth Ellison	Private All-Girls	88.9%	Classroom Teacher	5	9	4	No
Melissa Moon	Collaborative for students with learning challenges	32%	Adjustment Counselor	5-12	3	3	Yes
Kimberly Krest	Private	N/A	Librarian	6-8	9	5	Yes
Mark Mason	Public	15%	Classroom Teacher	5	20	4-5	Yes
Carol Collins	Public	6%	Classroom Teacher	2	24	3	Yes
Jennifer Jenkins	Montessori	N/A	Teacher's Assistant	1-3	2	2	Yes
Caitlin Cast	Public	25%	Adjustment Counselor	9-12	15	9	Yes

Note: The data in column 3 are from the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, National School Lunch Program, and the Rhode Island Department of Education, Child Nutrition Programs.

Data Analysis

Following each interview, the audio recording was transcribed. Transcription Star, an online transcription service, transcribed each interview verbatim. Each transcript was re-read multiple times, both separate from and along with the audio recording, and was crosschecked with notes taken during the actual interview in order to ensure accuracy.

As mentioned earlier, this study was guided by a grounded theory approach. Both memos and coding constitute a major component of grounded theory. According to Maxwell 2013, memos are notes written about the research. Memos do not include field notes, transcriptions, or codes. Memos are used to “facilitate reflection and analytic insight,” which are then used to create codes (Maxwell, 2013, p. 20): “the goal of coding is... to ‘fracture’ the data and rearrange them into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 20). The coding process consisted of three categories: organizational, substantive, and theoretical. Organizational categories are referred to as topics and are often used as chapter or section headings because “they do not explicitly identify what the person actually said or did” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 107). Substantive categories are descriptive in nature and are typically derived based on participants’ own words (Maxwell, 2013). Lastly, theoretical categories “place the coded data into a more general framework... [and may be] derived from prior theory or from an inductively developed theory” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 108).

Results

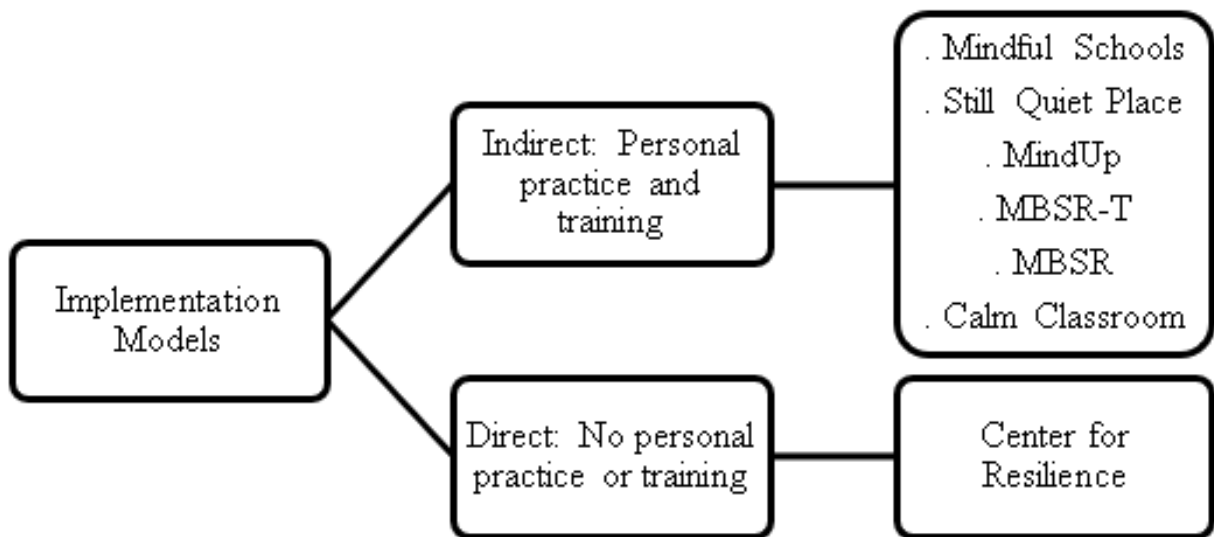
This study sought to address the effectiveness of mindfulness programs in the K-12 educational setting, specifically educators’ perceptions of mindfulness on students’ academic skills, behavior, and well-being. Qualitative data revealed that participants focused on four major themes. The results of the qualitative analyses are presented in the sections below. The first section provides information on the implementation models used by

participants. The second section addresses when mindfulness was integrated in the classroom. The third section examines the types of mindfulness practices participants integrated into the classroom. The fourth section focuses on the effectiveness of mindfulness on a broad student climate, in other words, the effectiveness of mindfulness on students with a variety of abilities and needs.

Theme 1: Implementation Models

According to participant responses, there were two different models by which participants integrated mindfulness practices into the classroom: indirect and direct. The indirect model implied that participants cultivated a personal mindfulness practice and then sought additional mindfulness training to integrate practices into the classroom. The trainings, which are listed in Table 2, are based on the belief that “mindfulness is only truly taught through the transmission of an experienced practitioner” (Rechtschaffen, 2014, p. 20). The direct model inferred that an outside provider, who was an experienced mindfulness practitioner and had prior training, taught students mindfulness in the classroom (Rechtschaffen, 2014). Both models are pictured in Figure 1 and described in detail in figure 2 .

Figure 2. Implementation Models



Model 1: Indirect

Eight out of the ten participants explained that their personal mindfulness practice prompted them to integrate mindfulness into the classroom. Notably, those eight participants pursued additional training at their leisure and expense. Six of the eight participants completed the Mindful Schools three-part training, and three of the six participants pursued additional trainings in addition to the Mindful Schools trainings. The two remaining participants that did not choose to take the Mindful Schools training chose to enroll solely in Calm Classroom and Jon Kabat-Zinn’s Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction program. Table 2 provides a brief overview of each of the programs.

Each of the trainings focused on the cultivation of a personal mindfulness practice within the educator, in hopes that the practice would naturally influence the classroom environment. The trainings relied on the assumption that mindfulness is effectively taught only if the practitioner has a personal practice. The format of each training varied from simple one-day professional development workshops, to online module courses, to weeklong silent meditation retreats. Despite differences in the setting and delivery of each program, all of the programs highly recommended maintaining a personal mindfulness practice, not only to effectively teach mindfulness to students but also as a form of necessary self-care.

Model 2: Direct

Out of the ten participants, two did not have a personal mindfulness practice or outside mindfulness training, yet successfully implemented mindfulness strategies within their classroom that were taught by an outside practitioner from the Center for Resilience. The Center for Resilience is a 501(c)(3) organization with trained mindfulness practitioners, most of whom are former educators that go into K-12 classrooms and facilitate mindfulness lessons. Center for Resilience utilizes a social-emotional learning based curriculum, which aligns with Rhode Island’s Common Core. Although neither of the two non-practitioner participants had participated in any training or had a personal mindfulness practice, both learned to take the strategies taught by the provider from the Center for Resilience and apply the tools in the classroom, in the absence of the provider.

“What we found is that once some skills have been taught, we can use those to help us when [Center for Resilience] isn’t here or... the school social worker isn’t here... Prior to this, the teachers were never shown any skills on how to deal with this [student behavior]. It’s just been, you’ll learn as you go... But now we have someone coming in and showing us, now, when someone’s lying on the floor in the middle of the hallway because they don’t want to come to school... I can get down on the floor and say, ‘Hey, remember what [Center for Resilience] taught us? We’re going to try that right now...’”
 – Sally Somers

In describing their experience with the Center for Resilience, Sally Somers and Elizabeth Ellison stressed how beneficial it was.

Table 2. Mindfulness in the Classroom Training Programs

Program and Website	Description
<p>Mindful Schools</p> <p>https://www.mindfulschools.org</p>	<p>Course 1- Fundamentals: Provides basics of mindfulness meditation, techniques for difficult emotions, and support for a daily personal practice; 6 weeks online</p> <p>Course 2- Mindful Educators Essentials: Provides training kit curriculum, workbooks, information on neuroscience of mindfulness, and evaluation tool; 6 weeks online</p> <p>Course 3- Certification: Use and teach the curriculum and learn how to lead professional development workshops; 1 year online with 2-week long silent retreats</p> <p>Grades: K-12</p>
<p>Amy Saltzman’s Still Quiet Place</p> <p>http://www.stillquietplace.com/sqp-10-week-online-training/</p>	<p>Begin and/or continue a personal mindfulness practice, review current research, learn curriculum, adaptations, implementation challenges, and how to pitch mindfulness to schools; 10 weeks online</p> <p>Grades: K-12</p>
<p>Goldie Hawn’s MindUp</p> <p>https://mindup.org</p>	<p>Provides toolkit with curriculum, a chime, and implementation guidelines; connects mindfulness in the classroom to Common Core guidelines</p> <p>Grades: Pre-K-8</p>
<p>Gina Biegel’s MSBR-T</p> <p>https://www.stressedteens.com/training-for-professionals/</p>	<p>Introduces neuroplasticity and foundations of MSBR-T, explains effects of stress on the body and how to develop mindfulness practices with students; 30-hours online for 10 weeks</p> <p>Grades: Teens</p>
<p>Jon Kabat-Zinn’s MSBR- UMass Medical</p> <p>https://www.umassmed.edu/cfm/</p>	<p>Daily home assignments, guided mindfulness meditation practices, yoga, and group dialogues; 8 weeks online and 1 full day live class</p> <p>For adults seeking personal mindfulness practice</p>
<p>Calm Classroom</p> <p>https://calmclassroom.com</p>	<p>Introductory Course: Presents science behind mindfulness, how to implement ambassador program, daily implementation structure, and access to worksheets, schedules, videos, and checklists; 3 hours live</p> <p>Train-the-Trainer Course: Access to online portal for school wide programming, and learn how to lead staff in professional development workshops, develop mindfulness skills, and understand the positive psychology and SEL of mindfulness on the classroom; 1 day live</p> <p>Grades: K-12</p>

Theme 2: When Mindfulness Was Integrated In the Classroom

Mindfulness, as described by all of the participants, can be taught as both a formal lesson during the day and informally integrated into everyday class structure.

Formal Mindfulness Lessons

All ten of the participants reported that they implemented a formal mindfulness lesson at some point during a given day or week. When asked to describe a typical lesson, all of the participants followed a similar format: 1) Sound of a bell, 2) Breathing exercise, 3) Activity. The activity component differed in that some participants used guided meditations and visualizations or included movement. In addition, the duration and frequency of the mindfulness lessons differed.

"[Cheryl Shepard] comes twice a week Mondays and Wednesdays for half an hour each time and then on days that she does not come, we try to do a little bit of it during the day." – Sally Somers

"I do it once a week for 30 minutes...mid-morning." – Melissa Moon

"This year was more formalized. We practiced everyday after lunch and recess... Usually a guided meditation that took five minutes. And then we talked about it. And I also did breathing exercises during that time using the mindfulness bell"

"We have a session in the morning, and then after lunch, when they come back from recess." – Carol Collins

"I was delivering a formal lesson only every other week." – Jennifer Jenkins

Informal Mindfulness Lessons

In addition to formal lessons, mindfulness was also informally integrated within everyday class structures. Participants explained that informal lessons were useful because they could implement the practices based on the student climate. All ten of the participants found informal mindfulness lessons especially helpful following transitions, as students moved from slightly unstructured to structured environments.

"They [students] come back after and lunch and recess and they're coming in from recess so they're five and they're super crazy and they want to play more and then now the recess is over, so that's a great time to – let's just – and we will say, 'Let's close our eyes, let's use some of the skills that [Miss. Shepard] has taught us and try to practice some of the strategies,' and try to get them to get back to get ready to learn."

"I knew that based on the class before, it was hard to get them settled. They're talking a lot. There's a lot going on anyway like with emotions in that classroom. So, for me I want them to focus and feel really successful in science. So, what we did is we did the glitter jar... And we got relaxed and we just settled and then from that point the class was settled. And there was that kind of internal feeling of this is going to be a really peaceful start." – Elizabeth Ellison

"We also did mindful walking... When we are going to art class, for example in the hallways. You know as opposed to okay it is zero [voices], what I am looking for is let's be mindful. And the kids grew from that and they really learned what mindful meant. So it worked out really well..." – Mark Mason

Furthermore, four of the ten participants reported integrating mindfulness prior to students taking a test. Mason instructed students to consider strategies that might be applicable in the present moment to ease anxiety. In addition, Caitlin Cast explained that teachers requested her to conduct short mindfulness exercises before students took Advanced Placement exams. Participants also integrated mindfulness when the classroom climate shifted.

"So if in the middle of a lesson, I need to get them refocused, it's just the reference because through the exercise, they understand that when they do mindfulness they get access to a different kind of attention... In the middle of a math lesson, if I notice some attentions are wandering off, all I have to say, 'Are you listening to me mindfully?' And in an instant switch that it happens because they know what mindful attention is because of the exercises. So they realize that, oh, they've actually followed their thoughts somewhere else, they're not here. And then when I say, 'Are you listening mindfully?' boom, I become the anchor immediately, or the lesson, whatever I'm showing on the board or my words." – Carol Collins

"Sometimes they [students] need to get up and move... We've done some walking meditation. Let's just walk around the classroom. Other times is a – I use a program called Smart Moves. And it is just a series of hand movements, following prompts."

– Mark Mason

Notably, three of the ten participants described how

mindfulness was organically woven into the classroom

“Mindfulness has become part of the setting, the routine, and the culture of the class.” – Carol Collins

“And so now we kind of have a universal language within the school from grade to grade so that I’m not doing something completely different than the first grade teacher who’s doing something completely different than the second grade teacher. Instead, we’re all doing the same thing and we are all using the same language and the same skills, and the kids are getting used to that.” – Sally Somers

“So it’s built into our culture that way. So, it doesn’t ever feel forced.”

– Elizabeth Ellison

Theme 3: Types of Mindfulness Practices

When describing the types of mindfulness practices integrated into the classroom, participants described a variety of practices. Formal mindfulness lessons reflected the aforementioned format: 1.) Sound of a bell; 2.) Breathing exercise; 3.) Activity. However, the specific breathing exercises and activity components of the lessons differed between participants. Data revealed three overarching categories that reflect these differences: single-pointed focused attention, breathing exercises, and movement. These three categories are described below.

Single-Pointed Focused Attention

A typical classroom session facilitated the teaching of single pointed focused attention through guided meditations and visualizations.

Mindful Listening. Mindfulness listening employed the use of a chime. When students no longer heard the sound they were instructed to raise their hand or do something that signaled that they no longer heard the sound anymore.

Mindful Eating. During mindful eating, students were given a clementine or other snack. Students were guided through a four-step process: 1.) Students noticed how they felt simply holding the clementine (i.e. stomach grumbling, mouth salivating); 2.) Students placed the clementine in their mouth and noticed how the clementine felt (i.e. rough, smooth, sticky); 3.) Students chewed and

swallowed the clementine; and 4.) Students reflected on the process of eating a clementine in such a way and how it might feel to do the same with other foods.

Guided meditations. All ten of the participants used a form of guided meditation, some of which included visuals. Students were given a feather to balance on their palm. Others used a glitter jar, which was shaken and then set down. The glitter jar was symbolic of how thoughts take over the mind, but when students take a moment to pause and rest, their thoughts settle down. One participant guided students through a series of questions, prompting students to consciously bring attention to their thoughts.

“Think about someone who is a ringer for you. You can always go to and they’ll always love you and appreciate you, no matter what it could be; your family dog, it could be someone or some living thing... Just sit and think about that person. Visualize them. When you are done.... think of someone that you know, you have a hard time getting along with. Then again think of how you’re going to feel empathy and kindness towards them...” – Nancy Norwell

Breathing Exercises

There were a variety of breathing exercises used by all ten of the participants, however, there were two commonly cited exercises, palm breathing and stuffed animal belly breathing.

Palm breathing. Students held their palm in front of their face and used their pointer finger on the opposite hand to count. Starting at the base of the thumb, students “traced” up and down each finger. When students traced up, they inhaled, and when students traced down, they exhaled. Participants reported palm breathing as effective because of its convenience; students could simply do it anytime and anywhere.

Stuffed animal belly breathing. Students were instructed to lie down on the classroom rug and were given a stuffed animal to place on their stomach. Keeping their eyes open, students closely watched the stuffed animal rise and fall with each inhale and exhale. Belly breathing was reported effective especially in the younger grades because that specific age group thrived off of the fact that the

exercise was both tangible and visual.

Movement

Responses in this area suggested that the majority of participants did not integrate movement into mindfulness sessions with students. Two out of the ten participants integrated movement. One of these participants typically used physical sequences as movement breaks for the students.

Theme 4: Effectiveness of Mindfulness on a Broad Student Climate

In all ten of the interviews, it became evident that despite classroom diversity, mindfulness was effective within a broad student climate. Participants spoke of the effectiveness of mindfulness on students with Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (OCD), Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), and behavioral difficulties.

“[The student] is sitting at the table and erasing and rewriting and erasing and rewriting... And as many times as you tell him that it looks great, it doesn't look great to him because that's what OCD is... And so I took away the pencil and the paper and I said, 'Let's just stop for a minute...' And I moved him over to the calm down area, he took the breathing ball, he was using the breathing ball, taking the deep breaths, using the glitter jar, just really calming himself down and then he was able to go back and do more... I don't even have to guide him sometimes. He's just doing it on his own to try to get through being so upset with himself.” – Sally Somers

“I've seen students who have a difficult time self-regulating. And I taught them a tool and then later without me mentioning it, I see them using it or talking about it.” – Jennifer Jenkins

“If I did this everyday, I would never be in trouble.” – Freshman Student

“My entire population is that [OCD, ADHD, autism, and behavioral difficulties] and I 100% believe that the students benefited greatly from mindfulness” – Melissa Moon

“So, if they can't find their crayons, that could have thrown someone off for the entire day... Well, now they'll say, 'Well, I can't find my crayons, but let me take a deep breath and think about what I can do to solve the problem.' They're able to stop, pause, take a deep breath, use some strategies to calm themselves down and think about what we could do next.” – Sally Somers

“Parents could not believe that their [child] is in a regular education classroom and that they are actually succeeding because their behavior was so severe.” – Sally Somers

Participants noted that there was less redirection and students were more attentive. Peer conflict subsided, as students were better able to regulate their emotions. One participant had even become known as the “mindfulness lady” throughout the school. Students frequently sought this participant out for mindfulness support. All of the participants believed that mindfulness was effective for a broad student climate.

“I've been here almost 20 years, I've never collected lunch money... We're I think the poorest neighborhood in the state. But when you look at the affluent areas, those kids are super stressed too for different reasons... Those kids are not worried about food, they're worried about different things and they're stressed for different things. And they are scheduled to the max and there are- they have these high expectations that they're trying to live up to. And so I think it works well here for the reasons that we need it and I think it would work well there for the reasons that those kids would need it. I think that no matter where you are, it's going to provide something different for these kids that kids in every community need now...” – Sally Somers

“Just because the student looks like they, for short hand language, have it all together, it does not necessarily mean that they don't need these tools also.” – Jennifer Jenkins

Discussion

The purpose of this pilot study is to gain an understanding of educators' perceptions of the effects of mindfulness on students' academic skills, behavior, and overall well-being. During interviews, participants were able to highlight the success their own students have had with mindfulness as well as indicate some of the barriers towards integrating mindfulness school-wide.

The findings of this research indicate that mindfulness can be effectively integrated into the classroom setting both directly and indirectly. More specifically, the data seems to counteract the assumptions of the training programs listed in Table 2 that mindfulness can only be effectively integrated if the educators have a personal mindfulness practice. This finding is important because

it indicates the possibility that non-practitioners can implement mindfulness. All ten of the participants are dedicated to the process and believe that mindfulness is an effective means to help students manage a variety of challenges. This revelation may further prompt other schools and educators to employ mindfulness within the classroom. Despite the various trainings that participants pursued or did not pursue, they all utilized similar mindfulness exercises and practices, both formally and informally. During formal lessons, participants were able to introduce new practices so that informally the practices could be utilized. Breathing exercises and visualizations were the most common, while movement was least common.

Participants revealed two specific challenges for integrating mindfulness into classroom structure. Student resistance was common in the middle and high school students. Behaviorally, these students would turn or hide their face and avoid participating in group discussions. Verbally, students would make jokes and blatantly say, “This is lame,” “This is just a load of crap,” or “This is stupid.” Research participants noted that behavioral and verbal resistance, at times, became infectious with other students. However, they reported that over time students became acclimated to the lessons and the students, who initially were apprehensive about participating, quickly realized that they were actually the minority. Another reported barrier was some students were unable to or unwilling to close their eyes or had difficulty tolerating quiet. Participants who faced this challenge often gave students; especially the students who they knew had difficulty, a private conversation, prior to the lesson, with the student to ease any anxiety. The findings of this research appear to indicate that mindfulness can be an effective means to combat the various challenges that students face on a daily basis.

Recommendations

Based on this research study, it appears that mindfulness in the classroom can be integrated in a variety of ways. Mindfulness integration can include a simple three-minute exercise or an hour-long formal lesson. According to the data collected in this study,

participants usually start off with a bell followed by a breathing exercise. Given the flexibility in teaching methods and styles of mindfulness, educators have the ability to integrate mindfulness in an adaptable way into their classrooms, whether that is through formal lesson plans or integrated according to the classroom climate. The data collected in this research study recommends that mindfulness lessons include mindful listening, mindful eating, guided meditation, palm breathing, or stuffed animal belly breathing. Further research and an increase in sample size would add to these recommendations.

Limitations

Although the sample size was relatively small, the research study goal of recruiting ten participants was met. In order to expand upon this pilot research study and draw more supporting data on educators’ perception of the effects of mindfulness on students’ academic skills, behavior, and overall well-being, the sample size would need to be expanded. Additionally, this study was unable to answer the question of the effects of mindfulness on academic skills. Therefore, in order to answer this question a future study would need to focus specifically on the effects that mindfulness does or does not have on academic scores.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by way of funding from a Summer Research Grant via the Adrian Tinsley Program for Undergraduate Research at Bridgewater State University. I would like to thank my mentor, Dr. Denise Howley, for her guidance, patience, and support throughout this project. Dr. Howley reminded me to tune into my own mindfulness practice during stressful periods throughout the research. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Kathy Bailey who encouraged me to apply to the Adrian Tinsley Program. I will forever remember Dr. Bailey’s wise words, *“to stop and smell the roses, maybe not a dozen, but at least one.”*

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Resisting Marriage: Using *Rubyfruit Jungle* to Analyze a Lesbian's View on Societal Norms

JENNIFER JORDAN

The novel *Rubyfruit Jungle*, by Rita Mae Brown, was published in 1973 and focuses on a lesbian protagonist. This is Molly Bolt, who is followed from sixth grade into her post-college life. Molly begins the novel living in rural Pennsylvania with her supportive stepfather, Carl, and her critical stepmother, Carrie. Growing up, Molly has a tenuous relationship with Carrie, as Molly continuously lives her life in a manner in exact opposition to her stepmother's beliefs. Throughout the novel, Molly grows both in age and ideas. She begins discovering her feelings for women in the sixth grade, when she has a romantic and sexual relationship with Leota Bisland. This occurs before Molly's family moves to Florida with her parents and cousin Leroy's family. In Florida, Molly starts a relationship with a high-school classmate named Carolyn that further escalates her stance against marriage. After high school, Molly works to put herself through film school at New York University, where she has multiple relationships with women. Like *Rubyfruit Jungle*, many mid-to late-twentieth century novels include lesbian protagonists who do not value marriage. This can be seen in novels such as *Odd Girl Out* by Ann Bannon and *Oranges are Not the Only Fruit* by Jeanette Winterson. These books were written in 1953 and 1985 respectively, and they also depict lesbians rejecting the societal expectation of marriage. *Odd Girl Out*, as well as other lesbian pulp novels, helped to set a precedent for novels with lesbian themes: furthermore, that novel includes a lesbian protagonist with a negative view of marriage. Likewise, *Oranges are Not the Only Fruit* relates back to Brown's work by also depicting a lesbian protagonist who negatively

views marriage.

Rubyfruit Jungle was received well in 1973, winning awards and being held in high esteem among critics. It came out in a time when homosexuality was something taboo and unspoken. Importantly, it was seen as a novel that paved the way for other novels with lesbian themes and now is viewed as a key twentieth-century lesbian novel. This paper will explore the conflict that Molly has with marriage within the plot. This includes how she feels about marriage personally, how she perceives marriage from observing other people, and what she thinks of marriage as an institution. Often marriage is something that is expected of women, including Molly, and it is expected that she will both marry a man and have children.

The main method that is employed in this analysis is close reading. The work of close reading is one of the most basic and essential tools in the work of analyzing literature. This allows for a more detailed look into the literature to gain reasoning for any particular argument, rather than relying on secondary sources to back up a claim that is central to the narrative. The work of close reading rewards the reader with a deeper understanding of the text, and the ability to use this knowledge to make a claim that is central to the idea of the novel. The other method necessary to this analysis is secondary sources that examine lesbian novels. These sources come from various places, but each is a scholarly work that deals with the specific topic or the novel itself. Examples of this research will be books that have been written on lesbian theory and articles found in academic journals that present their own argument on these lesbian novels or works that present relevant theory and critiques surrounding the topic. I will look to works that add onto the novels including the chapter "The Woman-Identified Woman" from the book *For Lesbians Only* written by the Radicalesbians, Catharine Stimpson's article "Zero Degree Deviancy: The Lesbian Novel in English," the book *The Safe Sea of Women: Lesbian Fiction 1969-1989* by Bonnie Zimmerman, and various other works that are relevant to the topic. These sources will add to the work of close reading as a way to gain knowledge about the novels and the time

period that would not be possible to find within the novel itself.

The negative thoughts on marriage throughout the novel create a space for dialogue about why Molly's thoughts are so important in the world she grows up in. Molly offers a different perspective from societal norms, with a negative viewpoint on marriage. This perspective could stem from her upbringing, her relationships, as well as the time period into which she was born. This novel is set within a time where any kind of marriage equality may not have even been on her mind or taken seriously, which could also add to the negativity surrounding marriage. This novel tells the story of its time, and I will speculate how the viewpoint of one lesbian protagonist can extend into real-world thoughts at the time.

Rubyfruit Jungle is a novel about Molly growing up and being told that her life will be valued based upon marriage and children, in that order. Molly disregards this sentiment every step of the way. She has her first homosexual experience in sixth grade, and she never feels ashamed or turns back as time goes on. Molly continues to love women, and goes to college to pursue a career in filmmaking. She escapes to the city to live her life, and she consistently refuses to follow norms. This story is narrated by Molly, which allows for deeper insight into her thoughts and feelings. Molly's life is influenced by having sexual experiences with women, by going to college, by reflecting on her young life and the challenges that she faced, and by her adoptive mother, who only wants her to be "normal." The setting begins in rural Pennsylvania, and then follows Molly as she moves to Florida and then works to put herself through college in New York City. The novel ends with Molly graduating from NYU with honors, having trouble finding a job within the film industry based solely on the fact that she is a woman, and continuing to promise to try to reach her dreams no matter what adversity she faces.

Molly deliberately states several times throughout the novel that she never wants to get married, and that the sex of the person does not change the fact that she would never want to get married. She is an independent, irreverent girl who lives

life how she wants to. She is also expected to "grow out" of her feelings as her junior high school girlfriend Leota does, but she never makes any attempt to hide how she feels. She is a lesbian, and she knows it. She disdains marriage and the shackles that it would place her in. Molly's concept of marriage conflicts with the ideas of those around her throughout and after she grows out of childhood. *Rubyfruit Jungle* handles the subject very bluntly. Molly states several times that she has no interest in marriage. While Molly acknowledges that the idea of same-sex marriage may exist, she continues to reject it altogether. Molly is growing up at a time when being able to marry a woman is not quite as preposterous as it was in the past, but she would still rather be her own independent woman than be held back by trying to gain a permanent kind of love.

This novel has a relatively small amount of relevant scholarship written on it. However, there are some works of scholarship found that do not pertain to the scope of this analysis. The article "Dr. Molly Feelgood; or, How I Can't Learn to Stop Worrying and Love *Rubyfruit Jungle*," written by W. C. Harris, discusses the role of identity as it pertains to Molly's life. Harris makes the claim that Molly rejects all labels, but this article deals mostly with her characterization, and does not address marriage. Another piece of scholarship is the article "Reading Queer Counter-narratives in the High-School Literature Classroom: Possibilities and Challenges" written by Kirsten Helmer. This article focuses on a high school English classroom that is teaching queer novels, including *Rubyfruit Jungle*. There are more articles that discuss *Rubyfruit Jungle* and Rita Mae Brown and the treatment of lesbian characters through arguments that pertain to topics other than marriage.

The most relevant piece of critical scholarship about *Rubyfruit Jungle* is an article written by James Mandrell in 1987 titled "Questions of Genre and Gender: Contemporary America, Versions of the Feminine Picaresque." This article discusses the form of the novel, as well as the statements made within it. Mandrell writes about how Molly disregards the ideals set up for

her, which push her into an even more marginalized place than the one that she inhabited before. He writes, “it is hard to conceive of anyone more marginal, more removed from access to power and authority, than a Southern lesbian from a poor, working-class family. With neither money nor the potential for upward mobility that would be offered by a husband, Molly Bolt is essentially condemned to her marginality” (Mandrell 152). This characterization shows the independence and drive that Molly possesses throughout the novel, but Mandrell wonders whether these are enough. Later he adds, “by offering this ‘good and true account,’ Molly/Brown changes nothing, shows no possibility for change, but, rather, *acquiesces* to and *confirms* the marginality experienced by those who are not straight, white middle-class males” (Mandrell 163). This marginality is partially caused by her background and her sexuality; however, it is also caused by her refusal to get married to a man who could give her more power. Mandrell focuses heavily on this, and it adds a layer of thinking onto the idea of what it would mean for Molly to get married.

Throughout her life, Molly is expected to conform to the ideas of society in order to become a successful woman. However, she rejects these norms every step of the way, from childhood into and throughout her adulthood. Molly’s adoptive mother Carrie is one of the first people to put heteronormative expectations on her. She tries to teach Molly how to do housework or simple activities that would be necessary once she becomes a housewife. Molly has no interest in these activities, and she would rather play down by the river with her cousin, Leroy. One instance has Carrie talking to her husband Carl, saying, “She don’t want to learn none of the things she has to know to get a husband. Smart as she is, a woman can’t get on in this world without a husband” (Brown 39). Carrie is very critical of Molly throughout the novel, especially on the grounds of how different she is from other girls. Molly has no interest in learning housework or manners that will draw a man later down the road. She has high goals for herself, as does Carl, who insists that Molly will go to college. Her two parents have different expectations for Molly; Carl expects her to go to college and

become an independent woman, while Carrie expects Molly to stop being rebellious and to lead a life that conforms to the expectations of those around her. Throughout her life Molly will grow to meet Carl’s expectations but to disregard Carrie’s.

As Molly transitions into high school, her feelings of resentment towards marriage and those who view marriage as the only correct way to live increases. She has a relationship with Carolyn, who refuses to believe that their love makes them gay. Carolyn wants to have the perks of a lesbian relationship without giving up her heterosexual privileges and ideals for her “normal” life. After the two begin having sex Carolyn asks Molly not to tell anyone. Molly says she does not want to lie, but that she doubts anyone will ask anyway. Carolyn then says:

“I hate to lie too, but people will say we’re lesbians.”

“Aren’t we?”

“No, we just love each other. Lesbians look like men and are ugly.” (Brown 103-4)

Carolyn’s statement brings in the stereotyping of lesbians that is prevalent throughout the novel. This statement asserts Carolyn’s idea that because she doesn’t look like a man she can’t be a lesbian. This notion is one that Molly rejects because why would she lie about this? Her sexuality is something that she is never ashamed of throughout the entire novel. The difference between the reactions of Molly and Carolyn show where each of them are in terms of their sexuality. While Molly has come to terms with her attraction to women, Carolyn still acts as if it does not mean anything unless she looks the part. This stereotyping is a harmful idea that carries through the novel and through gay culture itself as well.

Along with the evidence found within the text itself, ideas about the expectations that come along with a lesbian sexuality can be found in critical theory as well. Catharine Stimpson, in her article “Zero Degree Deviancy: The Lesbian Novel in English,” discusses expectations placed upon women (including lesbian women) in the world. She writes of a growing sense of independence among women in terms of jobs and ideas on marriage. She writes:

Among the causes of the reappearance of a submerged

consciousness and its narrative of enabling escape have been the women's movement, more flexible attitudes towards marriage (so often contrasted favorably to the putative anarchy of homosexual relations), the "modernization of sex," which encourages a rational, tolerant approach to the complexities of eros, and the growing entrance of more women into the public labor force, which gives a financial autonomy inseparable from genuine sexual independence. (Stimpson 374)

Stimpson's statement adds onto the ideals that Molly faces within her world, and that any woman would also face. Molly is expected to learn what she needs to do in order to entice a man to marry her; however, she would rather do anything else. Stimpson discusses another novel by Mary McCarthy from 1963, *The Group*, that focuses on the restrictions on women within the late twentieth century. Stimpson's statement recognizes the trend within novels of this time to take a transformative stance on what a woman's role in life is. This can be seen within *Rubyfruit Jungle* through Molly's longing to be free of the expectations that her environment has for her.

Molly's childhood thoughts on marriage are explicitly stated from quite early in the novel. Molly spends time contemplating the idea of marriage, allowing her to think about why a person would want to get married. For example, as Molly talks to Leroy, he asks her, "Why do people get married anyway?" Her response is, "So's they can fuck" (Brown 37). This conversation shows Molly's nature of thinking that marriage is a waste of time. She sees that during this time, getting married serves the purpose of having sex and then having babies. She asserts that the only reason she can find for marriage is for sex, and she does not believe the two are mutually exclusive activities. Perhaps this is because she is living proof (as a bastard) that both sex and procreation can happen without marriage. Molly's statement highlights her disregard for marriage from an early point within the novel. Above all, it creates a trend of thinking that will follow Molly throughout the novel, until her adult life, and into the foreseeable future of the character that

exists after the end of the novel.

Molly is a character who not only rejects marriage as a point of procreation, but also rejects marriage to a man, and the idea of marriage in general. From childhood, Molly would spend much time with her cousin Leroy, and, later, the relationship would turn sexual. However, in a conversation that Molly has with Leroy she says, "Leroy, we don't need to get married. We're together all the time. It's silly to get married. Besides, I'm never gettin' married" (Brown 36). Molly's statement shows that even from a young age she had no intention of getting married. She thinks that the notion is laughable, although she *is* talking to her cousin who proposes marriage. This familial proposition ends up blurring the lines between romance and incest because, although Molly is technically adopted, she has been raised as Leroy's cousin from infancy. This taboo relationship places Molly further into the periphery of societal expectations. The act of rejecting Leroy's proposal, along with her rejection of the ideals of society for her to get married at any point in her life, creates a path towards her adult ideas as well.

Along with her relationship with Leroy, Molly starts a relationship with Leota Bisland when she is in sixth grade. She ends up having her first sexual experiences with Leota, and she starts to feel positively about some of the societal expectations, even if her relationship itself goes against those expectations. At this point, Molly comes up with an idea: "I began to wonder if girls could marry girls, because I was sure I wanted to marry Leota and look in her green eyes forever" (Brown 44). Molly's thoughts display her desire to be with Leota, and it's the first real mention of getting married that seems to please Molly. This moment marks Molly's toying with the idea of marriage, only if Leota will do the housework, of course. This first positive idea about getting married adds another layer to Molly's personal ideals and thoughts about the institution of marriage.

All of these childhood thoughts from Molly lay the groundwork for the rest of the novel. Readers are given a picture of a girl who rejects the expectations of society at every turn. Molly's feelings as a child lay the groundwork for her adolescent and adult

life decisions. All of these decisions add up to create the character of Molly, who becomes a woman who decides to take her choices into her own hands. She lives her life the way that she wants to where she wants to live it. These connecting pieces are essential for understanding both Molly and her views throughout her life.

A notion that is carried on throughout *Rubyfruit Jungle* is the idea that a person can “grow out” of their homosexuality. This idea compares being a homosexual to being a child, and this thought is something that Molly has to deal with in her life. This comes to her from people like Carrie, Leota, Carolyn, and the various other people who move in and out of her life. From all of these people comes an idea that only children think that homosexual relationships can exist, and that adults realize that living a heterosexual life is the only way to live a fulfilling life. Molly argues that this is not true, and lives her life happily how she wants to in defiance of all of the expectations placed on her.

During this period of her life where she is expected to grow up, she also has to deal with attacks from within her relationships as well. Molly and Leota have a noteworthy conversation:

Molly: “Why don’t you marry me? I’m not handsome, but I’m pretty.”
“Girls can’t get married.”
“Says who?”
“It’s a rule.”
“It’s a dumb rule.” (Brown 49)

This conversation shows that Molly doesn’t care what society or her family expects, and that she is going to do what she wants, no matter what. If she wants to marry Leota, she will. If she wants to stay single, she will, and nothing will stop her. Molly’s will comes through in these statements as persevering and confident. She decides that she will not just “grow up” into someone who society expects her to be, and that she will become her own person with her own life, in whatever way she sees fit.

Leota is the first person that Molly ever has sex with, and she becomes an important part of the narrative of Molly Bolt. After

her sixth-grade year, Molly’s family moves away, and she does not see Leota again for quite some time. When Molly is able to reconnect with her, Leota has grown into the kind of adult woman that Molly resents. She has changed from her “childish” self, and she lives a heterosexual life. Leota now is married to a man, and she has children. She shuns her old ways as if they were nothing but normal childhood games, and then tells Molly that she too should embrace this life and marry a man. To this, Molly responds,

“Leota, I will never marry.”

“You’re crazy. A woman’s got to marry. What’s going to happen to you when you’re fifty? You got to grow old with somebody. You’re going to be sorry.”

“I’m going to be arrested for throwing an orgy at ninety-nine and I’m not growing old with anybody. What a gruesome thought.” (Brown 219)

This conversation reinforces the idea that Leota “grew out” of her homosexuality. She has fallen into the societal norms of the need to marry and to procreate in order to have a fulfilled life in the eyes of everyone else. Molly goes against this, because she does not believe that others should be in charge of what makes her life successful. She even goes as far as calling a “normal,” heterosexual life a gruesome one. The amount of distaste Molly has for the idea of marriage is viewable from afar.

However, she does not only view the thought of being with a man forever to be the gruesome part. She deliberately states that she will not be growing old with “anybody.” If she wanted to dig into Leota for her marriage, in particular, she could have said that she would not grow old with any man. But her use of “anybody” shows her feelings towards any kind of long-term commitment, whether it is with a woman or a man. This conversation adds even more layers to the argument for Molly’s thoughts on marriage. From her thoughts presented directly within the text, Molly has shown that she places no value in marriage or getting married. She feels that marriage is used as a tool for people to feel better about themselves for having sex and, along with it, children. She knows that being legally bound to a person for the

rest of your life is not the only way to live a life that is meaningful to the person living it. She decides to become living proof that she can live a happy and fulfilled life that does not exist solely to function within the role of what she is expected to do by society. Molly is a dynamic character who always thinks for herself.

This thinking is extended not only by a close reading of *Rubyfruit Jungle*, but can also be seen within one of the critical texts as well. Bonnie Zimmerman, in her study *The Safe Sea of Women: Lesbian Fiction 1969-1989*, discusses Brown's novel in brief. She writes, "Molly decides early in her life that she does not want to be like other women, trapped by the female destiny of marriage and motherhood, nor does she want to grow old or die like her cousin Leroy's mother" (Zimmerman 47). This statement from Zimmerman adds further evidence to this idea of Molly's feelings about marriage. Zimmerman writes that Molly does not want to be "trapped," and that Brown's usage of words that conjure up ideas of incarceration or being forcibly held against her will are a common theme within the novel. She also includes the fact that Molly does not want to die like Leroy's mother, Jenna. Jenna dies in the novel because she hides her cancer from Leroy's father, Ep, because she knows the family cannot afford to hire a doctor to treat her. Molly does not want to sit back in life and let things happen to her. She wants to take control when things are wrong, and live a life she will not be ashamed of. This childhood idea influences Molly's thoughts about marriage that are carried into adulthood.

As Molly enters adulthood and the world, she starts to notice even more how unbalanced the world is towards the people who live in it. She sees how people perceive her based on the facts that she is a woman, that she is lower class, and that she is a lesbian. This understanding comes from the men in her film classes at New York University demeaning and underestimating her because she is a woman in a "masculine" field of work. This understanding comes from the film executives who refuse to hire her for anything other than low-level reception jobs. It comes from women like Mighty Mo who try to tell Molly what kind of lesbian she has to be, simply because that makes it easier for others to judge whether she is a

"butch" or a "femme." All of these simple judgments form Molly's outlook and her ability to see the injustices that she faces as a poor, gay woman. Collectively, this leads Molly into a space where she ends up rejecting marriage and the social expectations presented to her to the point where she is resentful of them all. Above all, her adult thoughts allow for a prediction of the future life of Molly Bolt. She is such a powerful figure, that it is hard to imagine a scenario in which Molly could be forced into a life that she does not intend to live.

As Molly grows older, she has relationships with both men and women. Her relationships with men are boring and short-lived, while her relationships with women are wild and full of passion, before eventually fizzling out. Molly reaches the point where she says, "I didn't even want a husband or any man for that matter. I wanted to go my own way. That's all I think I ever wanted, to go my own way and maybe find some love here and there. Love, but not the now and forever kind with chains around your vagina and a short circuit in your brain. I'd rather be alone" (Brown 88). Molly's statement shows that she views marriage as something that will stop her from living life freely. Molly wants to be able to love who she wants when she wants, and she doesn't want to be controlled by outside forces. She would rather live her life alone than be forced to be with one person for the rest of her life. The idea of being chained to or forced to be with another person seems like torture to her, and seeing other people be within that force repels her even more.

In the above quote, she mentions that she does not want a husband, or even any man in her romantic life. This is far off from the Molly who would sleep with men and go on dates with them because she could. This displays an internal change: Molly transitions from having relationships with men because she can to wanting to remove these men from her life. Molly states that she wants love, but not the type of love that society expects her to have. Instead of a love where she will be submissive and raise children, she wants a love that is casual and fun. The "now and forever" kind of love does not appeal to Molly; she wants to live her own life. She

wants this even above any love at all. Molly values her freedom and independence more than any love she could have, and she wants to retain that feeling. She has goals in her life, and she will not let anyone get in the way of them. These statements create a larger lens through which to see Molly's actions. Although she does not say that she would not want to marry a woman, aside from childhood she may not retain thoughts that marrying a woman would be an option in her life. Furthermore, she rejects marriage itself, and she chooses to live how she wants instead of putting her own desires aside for a long-term partner.

Towards the end of the novel, Molly returns to her hometown and goes to see Leota for the first time since sixth grade. When the two reconnect, Molly expects to see a woman who resembles her first love, beautiful and vibrant. Instead, what she gets is a tired woman who looks far too old for her age. Leota tells Molly that she is married now, and her children can be seen in her house. Molly is horrified at the change that has happened to Leota, and how she is forcing herself to fit into the societal expectations for women rather than being her true self. Leota claims to be happy, that her life is just something that was always meant to happen this way. Molly does not buy into Leota's way of thinking that a heterosexual life is unavoidable, and she talks of their childhood love. Leota mentions that it was just childish, and that it is not like they would have stayed in love anyway because that is not how a normal life turns out. Molly rejects this statement as well.

At this point, Molly tells Leota that she still loves women. Leota tries to tell her that she needs to get married in order to have a fulfilled life, and Molly replies, "Let's stop this shit. I love women. I'll never marry a man and I'll never marry a woman either. That's not my way. I'm a devil-may-care lesbian" (Brown 220) At this point, Molly officially removes any doubt that she will remain single. She doesn't care who it is; she refuses to be tied down to any person. She knows that marriage is not something that she foresees in her life, and she doesn't shy away from showing it. She refers to herself as a lesbian in front of Leota, which presents itself as a way to dig back to their former relationship that Leota has written off

long ago. Molly decides that she does not want to marry anyone, man or woman. She will continue to love women, but having a legally bound relationship is not something she is even slightly interested in.

She says that it is not "her way" to be married to anyone. From her actions within the novel, this proves to be correct. Molly's independent nature leads her to a life of whirlwind romances rather than to one steady love who will change her world. She does not need the grand gestures and grand romance that comes with a long-term relationship. She wants to have a connection with someone that is meaningful and worthwhile. Molly's approach to love and romance is far from the relationships that society and people like Carrie would expect from her, but that means nothing to her. Her life and how she loves are completely up to her, and she makes sure that everyone around her knows that.

Along with a close reading of Brown's work, critical scholarship can also be used to understand Molly's adult thoughts. The Radicalesbians were a group of women fighting to be a part of feminism rather than be ostracized as a group that would take away from the feminist movement. It is important to note that Rita Mae Brown was a member of the Radicalesbians, and that she was a part-author of their manifesto. Her ideas about feminism and the importance of lesbians flows through both her work with the Radicalesbians and within *Rubyfruit Jungle*. This scholarship shows that other women may feel the same way that Molly does about marriage and the state of the world as a whole. Molly notices all of the things around her, and she wears all of her hardships like a badge of honor in order to keep trudging through until she gets the life that she truly desires. However, along the way, some of her setbacks come from other women, the people who should be helping her because they understand her struggles. Many women want to shy away from lesbians as if they can somehow "catch it" or simply because they feel it is wrong. These women view lesbians as a distraction to the feminist movement as a whole. This is primarily what the Radicalesbians refer to in their manifesto, "The Woman-Identified Woman." They write:

Affixing the label lesbian not only to a woman who aspires

to be a person, but also to any situation of real love, real solidarity, real primacy among women is a primary form of divisiveness among women: it is the condition which keeps women within the confines of the feminine role, and it is the debunking/scare term that keeps women from forming any primary attachments, groups, or associations among ourselves. (Radicalesbians 174)

This passage from “The Woman-Identified Woman” displays some of the same theories that Molly notices in *Rubyfruit Jungle*. The Radicalesbians claim that labels such as that of “lesbian” are used as a tactic to hold women down. The word is used to keep women in the roles they are traditionally told to be in, because if they stray from the norm they will be ostracized as lesbians. The fact that this word is used to hold women within their designated place creates a disconnect between heterosexual women and the lesbians they so desperately want to be distanced from, and it suggests that Molly’s negative feelings towards marriage are valid.

This close reading along with the scholarship creates a wealth of evidence for Molly’s disdain for marriage. From childhood, everyone around her tries to force her to become the woman that she is supposed to be. All of these forces lead Molly to decide to live her life however she wants to, even if that life is not one that garners respect from others. This life turns out to be one of personal struggle along with triumphs, and Molly goes much farther than people thought she would. She graduates from NYU and becomes a strong woman who does not need to depend on others to get what she wants. Through the analysis of the text, Molly is shown to be a woman who appreciates her own freedom more than conforming to the ideals of others.

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A British Officer's Responsibilities, Relationships, and Respect on the Western Front in the First World War

KATHERINE KELLY

At the outbreak of the First World War, young middle- and upper-class British men were leaving their public schools and homes behind to enlist as officers in the British Army. Encouraged by the ideals of fighting for one's country and inspired by bravery, men enlisted, many with hopes of seeing the trenches on the Western Front in France. Certain expectations and responsibilities came with joining the British Army as an officer. Paramount of these was trying to maintain the morale and health of the soldiers as time passed, ceaselessly, in the trenches. Most officers, only having seen battle on a few occasions, spent the war attempting to provide for their soldiers through the harsh conditions of trench life and warfare. Throughout the war, officers often grew very close to their soldiers, and the relationship of an officer to his "batman," a servant who accompanied him to the trenches, is one of particular interest. Regardless of class backgrounds, friendships between an officer and his subordinates did occur. The role of officer often demanded respect, which was given to those who deserved it. Officers earned the respect of their men by showing, through their actions and behaviors, why such regard was warranted.

Often, esteem was granted to an officer who proved his masculinity through endurance, strength and a stoic countenance. The term "masculinity" grew from wartime advertisements and attitudes of the time. During the years of war, masculinity was

arguably a synonym for bravery or stoicism. Historian Jessica Meyer (2011) discusses how British propaganda instilled the ideal of preserving masculinity through enlistment and defending one's homeland. Masculinity was defined as a soldier who maintained his composure throughout battle and hid his fear. Bravery was a sought-after quality that determined one's masculinity. Bravery characterized a man, in this era, as having true grit and strength, not displaying his fear or acting in a manner similar to a child or, even, a woman (3-5).

For years historians have been analyzing the role an officer played throughout the Great War, a role which has developed over the decades. As Meyer (2011) argues, masculinity was an important factor in a British officer gaining respect from his men. Meyer's book focuses in depth on how masculinity was a quality respected in a British officer on the Western Front. Likewise, Richard Holmes (2005), historian and author, states that respect was given to an officer from the soldiers based on how well an officer was able to provide for his men in the harsh conditions. Holmes also draws on the specifics of an officer's responsibilities to the men. It is through the correspondence of Major Reggie Trench to his wife and mother that primary evidence is provided of the true responsibility of an officer. Despite rarely seeing battle himself, Trench was respected by his men, the 2/5th Sherwood Foresters. Trench was grandfather to Anthony Fletcher, author of *Life, Death, and Growing Up on the Western Front* (2013). Martin Petter (1994), author and historian, argues the responsibilities that weighed on a British officer in the trenches was so great that it prevented men from returning to a normal life once the war ended. He also argues that masculinity demonstrated by one's bravery played an important part in an officer maintaining morale (127-52). G.D. Sheffield's work in *Leadership in the Trenches* (2005) similarly reveals how morale and discipline in the trenches was a great responsibility for officers and how it impacted the officer to soldier relationship.

Primary sources are vital in research regarding the lives of officers, and it is Vera Brittain's memoir, *Testament of Youth* ([1933], 1999) that provides intimate accounts of the experiences of her

brother, Edward Brittain and their dear friend, Geoffrey Thurlow. Both men served as officers on the Western Front. *Testament of Youth* is the personal memoir of Vera Brittain. Within this book, one is able to witness the experiences of youth during the Great War. The chapter titled “When the Vision Dies...” reveals how the responsibilities of an officer played a major role. Edward’s account of his actions at the Battle of the Somme that display how he performed his duty and was rewarded with not only the Military Cross, but also the respect of his men, who dubbed him “the immaculate man of the trenches.” It is shown through Thurlow’s account how decision-making as an officer was a great responsibility and how shell shock victims were stereotyped as man cowards. The behaviors which accompanied shell shock did not follow the mold of how a man should present himself as an officer: brave, stoic, and masculine.

Class and social standing was often an aspect that contributed to a man becoming an officer. Upper-class young men were expected to attend public schools to further their education as young adults. Brittain and Thurlow planned to attend a public school for their education. Before obtaining a commission as an officer during the war, Brittain was planning to attend Oxford University (Brittain [1933] 1999, 99). Due to the outbreak of war, young men such as Brittain were unable to continue their education and enlisted in the British Army. As Second Lieutenant Edward H. Brittain of the 11th Sherwood Foresters and Second Lieutenant Geoffrey Thurlow of the 10th Sherwood Foresters, the pair became close friends, having trained together in the Officer’s Training Corps. The friends became known to their battalion as “Brit and Gryt” (Brittain [1933] 1999, 203). After receiving the Military Cross for his bravery, Brittain was promoted to Captain of his regiment. Young men who came from wealthy or prestigious backgrounds were often sought after and wanted by Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener to lead the British Army to victory. Kitchener became Secretary of State for War in 1914 after his success in 1898 in the Battle of Omdurman in the Sudan. As Anthony Fletcher (2013) points out: “The British Army was led by gentlemen. Social

standing had long been the foundation of military leadership. Kitchener believed that education, still largely an upper- and middle-class preserve, really mattered” (20). Both Thurlow and Brittain demonstrated what was expected of an officer of the British Army.

An image of Edward Brittain will be explored as the second piece of primary material supporting this research. This image, a photograph of Edward Brittain after he received the Military Cross for his brave actions during the Battle of the Somme, demonstrates the reward that was presented to officers whose actions demonstrated leadership, masculinity, and courage. Brittain’s actions indeed earned him respect among his men: his nickname, the “immaculate man of the trenches,” is evidence of that. Both the photograph of Brittain as well as his and Thurlow’s accounts from *Testament of Youth* will show how an officer’s responsibilities impacted their actions and experiences as well as uncover how respect was given to officers through the course of the war.

This essay will follow the important roles that were required of British officers—particularly Reggie Trench, Edward Brittain, Geoffrey Thurlow, and Rowland Fielding—throughout the Great War, as well as their relationships with their fellow soldiers and the responsibilities they held as leaders. The focus of this essay will fall greatly on the analysis of how British officers carried out their roles in regards to their men and their relationships with the soldiers they were responsible for throughout the years of the First World War.

An Officer’s Responsibilities

There were many expectations of officers in the Great War. The British officers, upon finding themselves in the trenches of France, were handed certain responsibilities. Among these responsibilities were maintaining morale and discipline; providing food, dry clothing, warmth, and shelter; and decision-making. The weight of these responsibilities was very great.

Major Reggie Trench’s experiences uncover how an officer on the Western Front carried out his responsibilities. Anthony Fletcher (2013) describes how his grandfather, Trench, provided

for his men, the 2/5th Sherwood Foresters. Trench writes, in letters home to his family, how difficult it was to maintain both good discipline and popularity among his men. Trench, having only seen battle on several occasions, worked to win the loyalty and respect of his men by fulfilling his responsibilities to them. Fletcher argues that leadership on the Western Front was not only defined by action during battle, but was best demonstrated through an officer's actions in caring for their men. Trench referred to this as "practical soldiering" (142). Trench provided for his men by supplying them with the means to acquire proper hygiene. He worked to allow each soldier an opportunity to bathe properly. Trench also worked to have clean and suitable latrines for his soldiers. In his letters home, Trench described his domestic duties.

As well as providing appropriate means of hygiene, Trench also worked to improve living conditions and housing billets. Another domestic responsibility that Trench aimed to fulfill was giving the men decent meals with fresh meat and vegetables. Trench wanted to offer his men a variety of meals that allowed them to be more efficient, as well as happier. As the battalion history describes Trench: "Captain Trench was dead nuts on field kitchens" (Fletcher 2013, 146). This description is evidence to how passionate Trench was when it came to feeding his men. Officers of the Royal Welch Fusiliers provided a Christmas dinner in 1916 for their company's enjoyment. Inspired by such treatment, Trench made it his aim for the next year to provide each one of his soldiers with a kipper as a treat for Christmas (143-50). Major Reggie Trench worked incredibly hard to make life in the trenches bearable for his men.

Domestic duty in the trenches, as observed by Major Reggie Trench, was only one duty of many for which officers were responsible. Morale and discipline were other responsibilities that officers worked tirelessly to uphold. Maintaining morale and discipline among their soldiers was an important and challenging task. In G.D. Sheffield's book (2005), we learn how officers managed to balance the two and create an environment for their soldiers that was equally optimistic and controlled (135). Martin Petter (1994) argues that demonstrating masculinity played an

important role in maintaining morale. If an officer presented a strong and brave front, they were not only deemed as masculine, but their men found themselves following their officer and remaining optimistic in the trenches (131). Jessica Meyer (2011) states that displaying bravery in the trenches was considered "the very basic test of manhood" (128). Keeping the atmosphere of the trenches anything less than tense and terrifying was indeed a struggle for officers who wanted to provide for their men as well as discipline them.

A third major responsibility that took its toll on officers on the Western Front was that of making decisions. As an officer, one was responsible for making decisions in and out of battle; these decisions impacted an officer's men, and their lives were often at stake. "When the Vision Dies..." a chapter within Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* ([1933], 1999), best describes this weight of decision-making. Brittain describes a conversation with her friend, Geoffrey Thurlow, an officer of the 10th Sherwood Foresters. Within this conversation, Thurlow reveals his experience with decision making in battle. Thurlow describes his experience as one of strain and anxiety. Making decisions that impacted the lives of his soldiers fell heavily on him. Thurlow tells of his experiences in the Battle of Ypres. He shares with Brittain that his fear was not of the danger in the battle, "but of completely losing his nerve." Thurlow describes how he felt when his men looked to him for guidance: "It's awful the way the men keep their eyes on you! ... I never know whether they're afraid of what's going to happen to me, or whether they're just watching to see what I'll do" (258). Thurlow was faced with the decision, during a bombardment of German fire, to either stay and face certain death or to retreat. After choosing to retreat, Thurlow confided to Brittain how he still struggled to confirm that he had made the correct decision. Thurlow's encounter in battle demonstrates the pressures young officers dealt with when making the best decisions for their men on the front lines. The heavy sense of responsibility weighed on officers, and Thurlow's description of his experience to Brittain demonstrates that responsibility (257-9).

Thurlow also suffered heavily from shell shock, also known today as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, and this suffering impacted how others judged his character as a man. As he convalesced from an injury he received in battle, Thurlow struggled with nervousness and the anticipation of returning to the front lines. Vera visited Thurlow during his stay in hospital and observed his changed state. As she describes, “he [Thurlow] still shuddered from the deathly cold that comes after shell-shock; his face was grey with a queer, unearthly pallor, from which his haunted eyes glowed like twin points of blue flame in their sunken sockets” (Brittain [1933] 1999, 257). Thurlow was granted two months of sick leave in order to recover from his wounds and shock. Shell-shock was often associated with fear, and one who suffered from it could be deemed a coward. This is where the ideals of masculinity carry a great deal of weight in regards to how an officer behaved during war. Maintaining control and hiding fear during battle were commended as masculine attributes and behaviors. Displaying fear, often as a consequence of shell-shock, was not acceptable behavior for an officer on the front lines (Meyer 2011, 4). Brittain ([1933], 1999) wrote of Thurlow’s condition in a letter to Edward, “I think he is the kind of person who suffers more than anybody at the front ... I wonder if you mind its horrors and trials as much as he does. I expect you do, but being calmer in your nerves and more confident of your own powers you can bear it better” (258). Thurlow’s experience with shell shock demonstrates how greatly an officer’s behavior reflected the weight of their responsibilities and how it could deem one effeminate and, even, cowardly.

An Officer’s Relationships

It is through the relationships between an officer and his men that an understanding was shared between a leader and his followers. Having strong relationships between an officer and the rank and file of soldiers motivated officers to fulfill their responsibilities and take care of their men. In Richard Holmes’ work (2005), he describes how a relationship of mutual understanding would occasionally grow to friendship.

This friendship allowed for respect to form from both sides of the hierarchy (97). Holmes also discusses the strict chain of command in the trenches, and how many officers worked to build relationships with the average “Tommy” in order to better provide for them. The bond between an officer and a soldier created a link between them that allowed for a mutual relationship with reciprocated feelings of respect and trust (171-3).

The relationship of an officer and his men often stemmed from respect. In the trenches, men of all class levels became reliant on one another for survival. It is important to note that most officers were of a prestigious class, while their soldiers were often working-class men. On the Western Front, regardless of class, friendships were formed. If an officer earned the respect of his men, the acknowledgement of class differences often faded away. It is within Holmes’ work (2005) that it is revealed that officers who maintained an identity as privileged upper-class men were often less respected than those officers who embraced trench life and lived among their soldiers with a sense of equality (172-4). It is within Holmes’ work that Ernest Parker, a soldier in a Royal Fusiliers battalion, briefly reflects on his officer, Lieutenant F.P. Roe. Parker describes Roe as having “kindly eyes [that] looked into my own as he passed along the ranks” (172). This sense of kindness that an officer emits toward his men, despite their class backgrounds, often was rewarded with loyalty and admiration. The aspect of class may not have been an important aspect in all relationships on the Western Front, but it did play a part in the development of friendship between officers and their batmen.

The relationship between an officer and their servants, also known as “batmen,” is exceptionally fascinating. The first-class officers who came from public schools and privileged lives brought with them to the Western Front a batman to dress and serve them. The term batman derived from such a position on a cricket team. An officer and his batman spent a great deal of time with one another; these circumstances allowed for a friendship to develop. In other words, without this class difference between them and the British officer’s necessity of bringing a servant to the front

lines, such a friendship may never had occurred between an officer and his rank and file soldiers. As seen in Fletcher's work (2013), Major Reggie Trench developed a very strong friendship with his batman, Albert Lane. Trench described their relationship as having established "a deep mutual loyalty." What is a true testament to their relationship and deep friendship is described by Lane: "I was always quite happy and felt a certain sense of safety while I was with him" (131). This quote demonstrates how great a friendship between an officer and his batman could become and how a sense of safety with one another developed due to that level of friendship.

Geoffrey Thurlow developed relationships and gained respect from his men through his kind demeanor and humility. As Vera describes him, "Geoffrey was too diffident, Edward told me, to be good at dealing with people, and yet his very self-depreciation caused him to be embarrassingly adored by his batmen and his men" (Brittain [1933] 1999, 202). Thurlow's shy personality and modesty was a respectable attribute for a man who came from high social standing.

Rowland Fielding, whose account is told within Fletcher's work, had a batman who expressed eagerness to be next to his officer during battle. As Fielding described, "he would like to be by my side ... and this, I think, is not mere talk" (Fletcher 133). This relationship expresses the special bond between an officer and his servant and how that bond grew stronger in anticipation of battle or within battle itself. Affection and loyalty grew among the relationships of officers and their batmen (Fletcher 133-4). Such relationships motivated officers to care more whole-heartedly for their men and led them to provide for their soldiers' needs.

The relationship between an officer and his family often grew stronger when war separated loved ones. It is through Edward Brittain and his correspondence with his sister, Vera, within *Testament of Youth* that we see how strong a familial bond could grow during war. Edward was Vera's only brother, and their relationship was very special. Vera describes her brother, upon visiting him in hospital after being wounded: "The relief of having the great dread faced and creditability over was uppermost in his mind ...

Only later I realized that the Battle of the Somme had profoundly changed him and added ten years to his age" (Brittain 282-3).

This encounter between Vera and her brother, after his experience in battle, shows how Vera viewed Edward. Vera's visit with her brother demonstrates how he changed, and how he no longer represented to her all that was pure and innocent, but, instead, was experienced and stoic, for war had taught him to be so. Edward's change in character demonstrates not only how war impacted an officer physically, but also emotionally. Vera's ability to register a change in him displays how close they were as siblings and how war only strengthened their relationship. The fear of losing Edward to the Great War brought Vera closer to her brother.

Earning Respect as an Officer

In order to maintain their leadership in the trenches, British officers worked to earn the respect of their men and gain their trust as leaders. Admiration and loyalty were important parts of whether an officer succeeded in holding control over his men or not. Maintaining control and discipline was incredibly important in the success of an officer during the Great War. Masculinity played a key role when it came to an officer deserving his men's respect. Officers who were not held in high esteem often reflected the privileges of their upbringing and their men resented them for this.

In Jessica Meyer's work (2011) the ideal of masculinity in regards to respect is deeply studied. Meyer explores how having endurance was seen to demonstrate masculinity and was rewarded with high regard for an officer. This idea argues that if an officer endured the difficult circumstances of trench life without complaint then their soldiers would respect them greatly for it. Enduring the elements was seen as contributing a large part of the masculine ideal of an officer in the trenches. An officer's ability to endure was often reflected in that of his men, who saw their officer as a leader and model of proper masculine behavior of a soldier. A stoic endurance of shellfire was greatly admired by soldiers if demonstrated by an officer (61-3).



Image 1. “Edward Brittain After the Award of the Military Cross.” 1916. Vera Brittain Fonds, Photograph courtesy of The William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library, Ontario, Canada.

Another element of how an officer earned respect was through his actions. Second Lieutenant Edward H. Brittain is an example of this. It is through the photograph of Brittain that reveals his bravery (see Image 1). In the photograph, Brittain is turned to the side so the viewer sees his profile. He presents a stoic and expressionless face, and is in uniform, with the Military Cross pinned onto the collar of his jacket. The medal not only symbolizes his bravery within battle, but also depicts, in a small object, what Brittain achieved as an officer. The photograph of Edward Brittain was taken in 1916 following the Battle of the Somme where, on July 1st, Brittain was wounded. In a conversation between Brittain and his sister, Vera, within *Testament of Youth*, he describes thoroughly how he was wounded while leading his men over the parapet of the trenches and into No Man’s Land, only to be welcomed by German rapid fire (Brittain [1933] 1999, 284-6). Edward recounts to Vera that he led the first wave of his company into battle on July 1st. It was Edward who was determined to rally his men after they had witnessed wounded soldiers from previous companies’ waves retreat into the British trench. He describes to his sister, “I can’t remember just how I got the men together and made them go over the parapet. I only know I had to go back twice to get them” (284). His men followed his lead for

about seventy yards, then Edward was hit in the thigh with a bullet. He describes his injuries, “I fell down and got up, but fell down again; after twice trying to go on I gave it up and crawled into a shell hole ... A huge beast of a shell burst quite close to the hole. A splinter from it went through my arm; the pain was so frightful” (284). There were two other men in the hole with him and “one was very badly wounded.” The other was, as Edward describes, “in a blue funk” (285). After trying to persuade the uninjured man to go and find help, Edward himself climbed out of the hole and starting crawling. He explains, “I started dragging myself along between the dead and wounded to our trenches seventy yards away” (285). After twenty minutes of crawling, two stretcher bearers saw him and brought him back to the trench. When he reached the dressing station, Edward sent both men back out to find the wounded man in the shell-hole. Edward was congratulated for his “courage and splendid behavior” and recognized for his ability to keep his men’s morale high on a day of a vital “push.”

Edward Brittain was awarded the Military Cross for his fearless actions in battle. The Military Cross was an honor sought by many officers throughout the Great War, awarded to those who committed acts of “really conspicuous courage” (Brittain [1933] 1999, 287). To be awarded such praise was honorable as well as valued and respected by soldiers. The photograph depicts this high praise for an officer who demonstrated bravery in a terrifying atmosphere. That bravery had not only earned Brittain the respect of his men, the 11th Sherwood Foresters, but also the nickname of “the immaculate man of the trenches.” Brittain’s ability to rally and maintain morale during battle is another example of how an officer’s actions earned him respect on the Western Front.

Conclusion

Trading a life of privilege and luxury for the trenches on the Western Front was quite a drastic change for many of the British officers in the First World War. Officers had responsibilities and duties to provide and take care of their men, to maintain morale and discipline, and to make significant decisions, often when lives

were at stake. Both Reggie Trench and Geoffrey Thurlow strived to care for their men. Trench, eager to maintain domestic duties as well as ones of warfare, worked hard to improve conditions for his soldiers. Thurlow, afraid of letting his men down, struggled with his responsibility in battle. Many officers carried with them the weight of responsibility for caring for their men throughout their entire experience of war. By performing their duty and demonstrating their bravery through their behavior and masculinity, officers earned the respect of their soldiers. The courageous actions of Edward Brittain reveal how an officer was rewarded, not only with an honorary medal, but with the respect of his men. With strong relationships between officer and soldier, and officer and his batman, there came an even stronger sense of loyalty and even safety. We see through Reggie Trench's relationship with his batman, Albert Lane, how strong a bond could be between ranks in the trenches. It is through the correlation of duty, friendship, and admiration that we truly see how a British officer lived on the front lines throughout the Great War.

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Story-Telling: The Empire's Neglected Responsibility

AMARYLLIS LOPEZ

Racism and xenophobia do not end just because a country's borders become more accepting. Instead they morph and adapt to the current societal norms. Especially in a country like the United Kingdom, where the legacy of the British Empire is still thriving, there is still a disconnect between the Empire's colonial effects and the country's present-day racist and xenophobic policies. This disconnect is reflected in their current literary canon which has helped British citizens convince themselves that racism exists in other people and other countries and not in their own lives and histories. A canon outlines and shapes the culture of a society through art and literature that reflects how life is like in that nation. The British literary canon currently upholds the notion that dead white men can still accurately represent their nation's diverse and ever-changing population. Historically speaking, the British canon has always memorialized the voices of white men and currently excludes the voices of women, people of color, immigrants, and other marginalized people that contribute to culture and history of the nation. Contrary to the original British canon belief, white men are not the only contributors to British culture. The Second World War took a financial toll on the British Empire and to resolve this issue it looked towards its Caribbean colonies to help rebuild Great Britain. In 1948, these Caribbean immigrants arrived in England on the *Empire Windrush* and since then have challenged and contributed to British culture and life. James Berry's *A Story I Am In: Selected Poems* (2011) belongs in the British literary canon as it reveals the reality of post-colonial xenophobic and racist British attitudes that still threaten the livelihoods of the Windrush Generation to this day.

Berry's work forces contemporary British literature and history to accept that British culture has been shaped by the

Windrush Generation. When the *Empire Windrush* returned to Great Britain with hundreds of Caribbean immigrants ready to work, the only thing their mother country could certainly offer was racism and poverty. As more migrants came to the United Kingdom, they brought with them their many cultures and languages that reshaped Britain into what is now their multicultural society today, but they "painfully discovered that their official status as British subjects often did not translate into their being welcomed as full-fledged members of British society" (Stallworthy and Ramazani 1832). White Londoners were unwelcoming and made life socially, economically, and politically difficult for the Windrush Generation. These Caribbean citizens' citizenship and "Britishness" were constantly being tested and questioned. The title of Berry's collection of poems, spanning over four decades of his lived and witnessed British experiences, is called *A Story I Am In: Selected Poems*, a nod to the exclusion he faced as a British citizen by way of the *Empire Windrush* and his unapologetic claim to his British citizenship. Berry memorializes the voices of those who have not been given the platform and space to reflect, celebrate, and share their British experiences with the general British public. *A Story I Am In: Selected Poems* demands those rejected British voices to come to life, to be seen, to be bold, and to be unashamed in-between pages and lines that validate their lives. However, despite the frustrations that many Caribbean immigrants found themselves facing, over time they acclimated to British culture. Assimilation brought on an uneasy sense of validity that left many feeling like lifelong outsiders who never quite fit in with British or Jamaican culture. Berry was able to put into words what the Windrush Generation was experiencing, and that the British literary canon was ignoring, in a way that did not feel like a forced or emphatic narrative.

Berry's poetry, which explores his feelings of not belonging to neither Jamaica or Great Britain, speaks to diasporic experiences of Caribbean immigrants who struggle to claim their intersectional identities which illustrates British colonial culture and on the pressure around assimilation. This sense of not truly

belonging goes back as far 1665 when British colonialism brought enslaved Africans to the shores of Jamaica and wiped out entire generations of its indigenous people. These British plantation owners were not invited or welcomed, and didn't even belong to the country of Jamaica and neither did the African slaves who they brought with them who, now, did not even belong to themselves. However, over time, "a sense of belonging gradually developed as generations born on the island evolved Creole cultures of their own. Yet Jamaica's cultural language bears the etymological traces of its rich and troubled origins: Africa and Europe; journeys into exile and death; plunder and ruination; slavery, rebellion, and an unfinished process of emancipation" (Brockington 134). This feeling of being a lifelong outsider is deeply embedded in Jamaican history as a result of British colonial rule. It is the product of generational divide and conquest and trying to survive and preserve whatever was left of the African slaves' identities. In his collection, Berry struggles with the disturbing truths of his homeland and motherlands interactions and aftermaths. The Windrush Generation was the first mass influx of those children of the Empire's first physical returning to the country that has caused so much pain, injustice, and hurt. In Great Britain, the Windrush Generation was pressured to let go of Jamaican culture and heritage and assimilate to British culture and aesthetics, once again having to conform to British standards and rule. The past and present of Jamaica and Great Britain seem to always be in communication, a troubling dialogue that leaves many concerned about the future of the two countries.

Berry's use of Jamaican Creole and standard English in his poetry forces the British literary canon to acknowledge and claim its Caribbean immigrants and narratives both as British experiences and established literature. Although Berry was not the first Windrush Generation poet to experiment with form and style, he is one of the first to unapologetically write "in 'standard' English and in Creole, choosing one or the other, or sometimes interweaving the two in a single text. This style of his, he said, 'simply emerged naturally.' But it was of great significance to Caribbean writers of

his generation and the next, as it further legitimated Creole as a form of poetic expression" (Holme). There is no clear praising of one language or culture over the other, as the work celebrates the two equally and encourages Caribbean writers to utilize both. White Londoners discriminated physically, verbally, and emotionally against their fellow Caribbean citizens for their looks, their foods, their cultures, and the languages they spoke. Understanding the experiences of one another helps us realize our differences and similarities that ultimately bring us together. Berry's poetry acts as a bridge to help further rebuild the relationship between Jamaica, his homeland, and his mother country, Great Britain. He puts into words the experiences and cultures of his fellow Caribbean immigrants that were not reflected in British literature at the time. Berry's poetry makes visible the invisible children of the Empire; it's Caribbean citizens. Berry's work represents the reality of a multi-cultural Britain. Not only did he diversify the capacity of the English language and what it looked and sounded like, and who it was for, but his work also did the same for British citizenship.

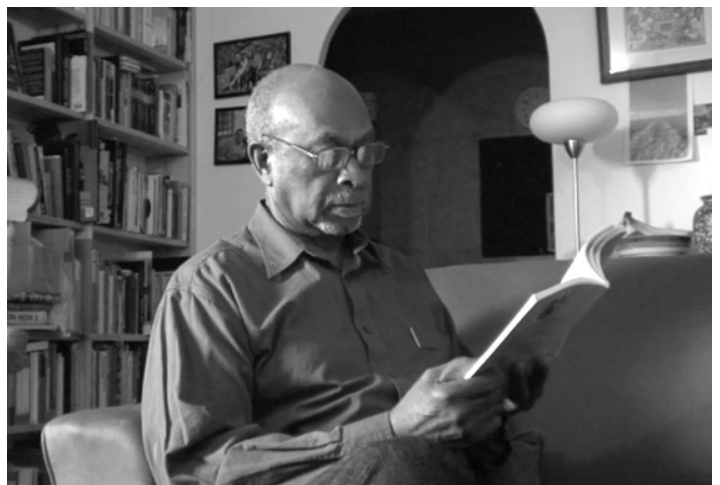


Figure 1. James Berry, still from *In Person: World Poets*, 2007.

Only a British audience would notice the references that Berry uses in his poetry which challenges and redefines who the British audience is. In Figure 1, we see James Berry reading from his collection of poetry *A Story I Am In: Selected Poems*. Before he reads his poem "To Travel This Ship," he talks about his anxieties

after graduating high school about not being able to continue his education in Jamaica. He saw the *Empire Windrush*, and the opportunities it promised, as a way to relieve these fears and anxieties. In this poem, he speaks of the lengths that many of the Windrush Generation would have gone through for a chance to be aboard the *Empire Windrush*, writing that:

To travel this ship, man
I woulda hurt, I woulda cheat or lie,
I strip mi yard, mi friend and cousin-them
To get this yah ship ride.
Man – I woulda sell mi modda Jus hopin to buy her back.
Down in dat hole I was
I see this lickle luck, man, I see this lickle light. (*A Story I Am In* 151)

Berry humorously hints that this idea that work in Great Britain would amount to a large income assured the Windrush Generation that it would even be possible to sell their own family members and make enough money to buy them back. The promised opportunities of work and a better life in the United Kingdom were so enticing to the Windrush Generation that people would have put their own trust and reputation from their community on the line for a seat on that ship. Anyone who entered Britain before 1973, including anyone aboard the *Empire Windrush* in 1948, is legally entitled to live in Britain. Berry describes the migration stories of British citizens in his poems. Anyone who migrated on the *Empire Windrush* can relate to this poem, to the now-humorous but then drastic actions they would've or have done in exchange for a better life in the UK. Although this is written in Jamaican Creole, its message is not exclusive to Jamaicans. These themes of wanting to provide a better life for yourself and your family are values and ideals that speak to any British citizens regardless if they were born in Britain or moved from colony to motherland.

Berry's poetry tests and reveals British culture and expectations which need to be acknowledged for the Empire to truly be dismantled and evolve to the post-colonial. His poem

"Outsider" exemplifies the rejection of Caribbean immigrants as British citizens and the need to speak in "proper" English, appear less threatening, and assimilate to British societal norms to appease non-immigrant British citizens. The first stanza reads;

If you see me lost on busy streets,
my dazzle is sun-stain of skin,
I'm not naked with dark glasses on
saying barren ground has no oasis:
it's that cracked up by extremes
I must hold self
together with extreme pride. (*A Story I Am In* 28)

The speaker in this poem is aware that their skin color, which they are not ashamed of, already paints them to be non-British. They find themselves lost throughout England where it seems that no matter where they end up there is not a place where they can catch their breath and be relieved of all the stares and rejection. They face rejection, dehumanization, and internal and external isolation, all in the first stanza. They are aware of how other British citizens view them and try to define who they are on their own terms, separate from what those people might think. This constant struggle to define and conceive of yourself is a cycle that many Caribbean immigrants face daily. Stylistically, Jamaican Creole and "standard" English work together, yet "standard" English is what carries the narrative throughout. This speaks to the outstanding pressure to sound as "British" as possible and to discard your native tongues and cultures to truly be seen as British. If the reality of British society today is that it is multicultural and accepting, why is this sense of alienation and rejection still relevant to British citizens who come from a history of migration? For other Black British immigrants, Berry's poetry validates their experiences as well as helps them to conceive a truer image of themselves, free from a colonial perspective.

Anyone from Great Britain or anyone wanting to learn about British culture and experiences needs to be exposed to the work of James Berry in which he struggles with feelings

of belonging while being an outsider as a result of racist and xenophobic British culture. Studies have shown that British parents practice egalitarianism parenting to cope with globalization and this ever-evolving multicultural England. These parents teach the “the importance of individual qualities as opposed to membership in a racial or ethnic group... Parents using this strategy discuss their appreciation for diversity and the desire for their children to mix and learn from others. Parents may also stress the importance of hard work, equality, morality and self-worth to be more important than ethnicity” (Dimitrova 136). While this teaching is not exclusive to England, this kind of thinking is reflected in the current British literary canon. When ethnicity and race are pushed to the side as irrelevant characteristics of a person, that leaves a large portion of a person’s identity silenced and unacknowledged. Colour-blindness is not the anecdote to racism as it leads to further alienation and discrimination. By ignoring race and ethnicity you start to inadvertently equate that topics of discussion about equality should not include topics of discussion around race. This kind of parenting influences school curriculum, which leaves stories that are directly inspired by experiences of various races and ethnicities to be left on the back burner as the focus on race is too troubling for the general white British public. While a person’s race and/or ethnicity is not what defines them, it does shape the majority of their experiences and how they can interact with the world and what the world thinks of them. These are important aspects that we must keep in mind. When we ignore how race determines a person’s experience, we allow racist and xenophobic rhetoric to thrive in our policies, everyday language, institutions, works places, and literary canons.

James Berry’s *A Story I Am In: Selected Poems* stands as a literary work that will not let the experiences of the Windrush Generation be ignored at the hands of racist and xenophobic negligence. A canon recognizes the contributions of those who challenge, affirm, or experience a nation’s cultures and values so when a group of people who have created a home and culture in that nation is left invisible, it is a clear act of marginalization and

rejection from that nation towards those underrepresented citizens. These messages shape a nation’s policies which can have drastic and deadly effects on their citizen’s livelihoods and experiences. Today, the Windrush Generation’s citizenship and legal status are being questioned and many are facing deportation or have already been deported. Many have had to pay to prove their citizenship, which was granted to them aboard the *Empire Windrush*, and those who are not as financially privileged were left to be deported. In reaction to her controversial and institutionally racist requirements and leadership under the Home Office, British Prime Minister Theresa May has considered compensation to those migrants affected by these policies. It is this culture of neglecting the realities of their Caribbean citizens and immigrants that led to the country’s Prime Minister being able to pass and enforce these laws. Accessibility and visibility to stories and poems like the ones that Berry writes about can change perceptions of how people view each other, the social problems that affect people, and bring us to a better understanding of each other globally. Literary canons can help shape the conversations and pick up the slack where political debates ignore and neglect. It is our responsibility as active and engaged citizens to demand that our respective nations acknowledge their histories and wrongdoings and create a more inclusive culture that protects immigrants and their future children.

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About the Author

Amaryllis Lopez is a junior majoring in English and minoring in Latin American and Caribbean Studies and African American Studies. Her research, mentored by Dr. Allyson Salinger Ferrante (English), was a culmination of the importance of literary canonical claim and representation that she analyzed in Dr. Ferrante's Recent British Fiction course. She presented excerpts of this paper at the 43rd Annual Conference of the Caribbean Studies Association in Havana, Cuba in June 2018.

The Real Cost of a College Education

MARISSA MORGANELLI

Introduction

Increasing college costs are contributing to a myriad of deleterious issues for college students. Of the top five stressors experienced by college students, four are related to financial stress (Heckman, Lim, & Montalto, 2014). The financial learning curve associated with managing a budget while striving to meet educational goals (Britt, Mendiola, Schink, Tibbetts, & Jones, 2016) can be overwhelming in the best of circumstances. Yet, a college education, on average, leads to nearly twice as much in annual income. According to the 2005 census, members of the workforce who had completed a bachelor's degree earned an average salary of \$51,206 per year, while workers with only a high school diploma earned an average of \$27,915 per year (Joo et al., 2008). But this comes at a cost. Over the 11 year period leading up to 2006, the cost of tuition and fees had risen more rapidly than both average family income and economic inflation (Joo, Durband, & Grable, 2008). Given the ever-increasing cost of a college education, practical considerations may make the completion of a degree impossible, creating the following no-win situation: according to Bousquet (2008) & Britt et al. (2016), in order for a student to be able to pay the average public college tuition fee, he or she must work at least 55 hours per week, but students working more than 20 hours per week are at a greater risk of dropping out of college (Joo et al., 2008).

Students with insufficient means to afford a college education not only work, but also take out loans. Students are relying on loans more frequently now than in previous generations as a means to finish their education (Heckman et al., 2014). By the mid-2015, the average amount of student loan debt climbed higher than ever before, reaching approximately \$35,051 per college

student. Nearly 70% of graduating students were found to be carrying some level of debt. Despite their education, new college graduates are struggling to pay off these debts due to a decline in their average income, causing one in four of these graduates to be behind in their payments or to default on their student loans entirely (Robb, 2017). Thus, the increased financial pressure students feel is partly fueled by the growing debt that students accumulate.

1.1 Financial Burden and Physical, Mental, and Social-Emotional Health

Financial stress on present-day college students has an adverse impact on nearly every domain of their lives. Poor physical health, depression, and anxiety are associated with greater financial stress (Heckman et al., 2014). Self-reports show that college students under financial stress experience below average physical health as well as more psychological issues and a greater need to access mental health resources (Britt et al., 2016). Underscoring the negative impact of college debt is the finding that the relationship between financial stress and poor mental health is observed at an even higher rate for seniors as opposed to underclassmen. (Guo, Wang, Johnson, & Diaz, 2011).

Students under great financial stress are also not participating in school events and activities as frequently as their less-stressed peers, affecting their ability to integrate into their campus community (Adams, Meyers, & Beidas, 2016). Emotional well-being is also impacted as many of these students have reported participating in unhealthy coping behaviors (Britt et al., 2016), have lower levels of satisfaction in areas of their lives that are connected with self-esteem (Joo et al., 2008), and report higher level of dissatisfaction with interpersonal relationships (Britt et al., 2016).

1.2 Financial Burden, Academic Achievement, and Retention

It has become more financially difficult to be an unemployed full-time student considering the dramatic increase in cost of attending. Most students need to dedicate at least part

of their week to earning income in order to cover college costs. Between 2003 and 2004, more than three-fourths of college students earned some sort of income and approximately one-fourth of students were working full-time hours (Joo et al., 2008).

The number of hours that students are working obviously takes away from the number of hours they are available to complete coursework. College students experiencing financial stress display lower levels of academic performance and increased difficulty in completing degree requirements (Heckman et al., 2014). Due to time constraints, this may cause them to enroll in fewer courses than average per semester which exacerbates the issue by slowing the pace at which they are able to complete their degree requirements (Joo et al., 2008).

In addition to these academic struggles, college students experiencing high financial stress often report that they have considered withdrawing from school (Britt et al., 2016). Some students may need to earn an income to remain enrolled, but employment often interferes with student success and can influence drop-out rates. Students who are employed are, on average, working nearly 30 hours per week. Research indicates that students working more than 20 hours per week are at a greater risk of attrition (Joo et al., 2008). Roughly one-half of students who start a college program do not complete it in a traditional time frame. About 15% of these students drop out of college and only one-third of those who drop out never re-enroll. Students who drop out often cite the inability to cope with stress as a significant factor involved in their decision (Joo et al., 2008).

When students experience significant financial burden, cognitive attention otherwise allocated for academic pursuits shifts into managing financial stress instead. Success in academics is in part based on fluid components of cognition including overlapping aspects of executive function and working memory (Best et al., 2011; Lawson et al., 2017; Borragán et al., 2017). Simple reaction time tests can be indicative of performance on generalized intelligence tests as well as more complex cognitive processes (Deary et al., 2001; Jakobsen et al., 2011). In this study, we used a

reaction time measure as an indicator of overall cognitive function.

A study by Van Biesen, McCulloch, Janssens, and Vanlandewijck (2017) explored the relationship between reaction time and general intelligence. Response times of participants diagnosed with mild to moderate intellectual impairment (II), meaning they possessed an IQ between 40 and 75, were measured in response to a single visual stimulus. The comparison group data were taken from participants of average intelligence that had completed their secondary education and were enrolled in higher education using the same method for response time as the II group. Simple reaction times of the II group were found to be significantly slower than the response times of the comparison group, establishing a moderate negative correlation between IQ, as a measure of intelligence, and reaction time (Van Biesen et al., 2017). According to another study done by Taskin (2016), a significant correlation was found between reaction times and academic achievement. Participants with lower levels of academic achievement, as represented by grades, had longer reaction times in response to both visual and auditory stimuli while students who fell within the highest bracket of academic achievement had faster reaction times in response to the same stimuli. These correlations were consistent regardless of whether the participant was using their right or left hand (Taskin, 2016).

It may be assumed that students who receive financial aid have less financial worry because they are not paying out-of-pocket at the same rate as those who do not receive financial aid. However, this misses the point regarding its necessity. Simply put, students who receive financial aid would be unable to attend college without it. In this study we use financial aid as proxy for financial burden. Nationally, students who may need aid complete a Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA). A complex formula incorporating an expected family contribution (EFC), among other numbers, is then calculated to derive the level of legal federally funded financial aid a student receives. The EFC calculation includes an allowance for the cost of living, and, for 2017-2018, for a family of 4, the so-called income protection allowance was determined to be \$28,170

(<https://ifap.ed.gov/fregisters/attachments/FR050117.pdf>) which makes it about \$3,000 higher than the current poverty level for a family of four. It is worth noting that the living wage calculator published by MIT (<http://livingwage.mit.edu/counties/25023>) shows that a family of four living in Plymouth County, MA, requires a net, not gross, annual income of \$56,368 to cover annual basic cost of living expenses. The number changes annually, so using financial aid, rather than household income or another number, provides a window into the financial burden experienced by the student.

Given these findings, we hypothesized that students at a public university in Massachusetts, which has one of the highest costs of living—ranking as the 4th most expensive state to live (<https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/rankings/opportunity/affordability>)—would acutely experience the relationship between financial burden and negative outcomes. A second novel component of this work was to assess physiological measures of stress and determine whether they were related to financial burden.

Method

Design

Several measures were used to operationalize “stress” levels in college students. We collected both physiological and self-report data. A blood pressure cuff was used to measure both pulse and blood pressure as physiological measures of stress. The other measure was a self-report survey, the Perceived Stress Survey, or PSS (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983). To determine if personality impacts stress, we administered the Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) and acquired scores for the Big Five personality domains; extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to new experiences (Boston, Homola, Sinclair, Torres, & Tucker, 2014). To address financial burden, we designed a demographic questionnaire regarding educational and financial circumstances. In this questionnaire, we also included questions regarding college life and coping strategies. Finally,

reaction time to an auditory stimulus was used as a correlate of academic performance.

Participants

Participants were college students enrolled in a Research Methods for Psychology course during the Spring 2018 semester. Students participated in these procedures during class time throughout the semester. This work did not require IRB approval because it is an in-class study involving students in the course. Furthermore, all students were required to complete the online NIH ethics training as a course requirement: <https://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php>. There were 16 participants, all of whom were female. Data was collected and immediately coded. All identifying information was removed from participant files which were kept in a locked cabinet in a locked room.

Materials and Apparatus

The blood pressure cuff is a device used to measure both the participants’ pulse and systolic and diastolic blood pressure values.

The PSS is a 10-item self-report survey consisting of questions regarding emotion such as “how often have you felt stressed” or “how often have you felt confident to handle things.” All questions begin with “In the last month.” The PSS uses a Likert 0-4 rating scale. The published norm for 18-29 year-olds is $X=14.2$, $+/- 6.2$ (Cohen et al., 1983).

The TIPI evaluates participants on five major personality traits using two question items per trait. The personality traits that the TIPI scores for are extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experiences. Participants rank themselves on a 1-7 Likert-type scale, with 1 representing “Disagree Strongly” and 7 representing “Agree Strongly” (Boston, Homola, Sinclair, Torres, & Tucker, 2014).

We compiled a questionnaire that asked participants to provide information about their education, finances, and health. The questions surveyed participants about number of hours

worked per week, student loans, and other methods for funding their education, as well as college habits.

The Biopac Physiological System measures reaction times of the participant in response to an auditory stimulus. The Biopac Physiological System requires a set of headphones through which auditory stimuli are presented as well as a pushbutton hand switch which is used by the participants to respond, all of which is connected to a computer that both administers the trials and collects the data (BIOPAC Systems Inc., Goleta, CA). Four data points were derived for auditory testing. Each data point corresponded to a different condition: dominant hand, non-dominant hand, fixed interval, random interval. Each condition consisted of ten trials. An average was then derived, yielding one data point for each condition.

Procedure

The demographic questionnaire, the PSS, and the TIPI were distributed and administered during class time. Upon completion, the demographic questionnaire, the PSS, and the TIPI surveys were placed in individual participant folders. Folders were then stored in a locked room until analysis.

The physiological data, including blood pressure, pulse, and reaction time were conducted in separate testing rooms.

Reaction time tests involved a response to an auditory stimulus. Briefly, (more detail can be found at BSL PRO Lesson H11, <https://www.biopac.com/curriculum/H11-reaction-time-i-auditory-stimulus/>) participants entered a testing room, placed headphones on, and sat in a chair facing away from the computer. A push button hand switch (MP3X/45, Biopac Systems Inc, Goleta, CA) was first placed in the participant's dominant hand and the participant was given the following instruction: "First, we will make sure everything is working. You will hear a click. When you hear it, please press the button." This was done to provide individual baseline calibration.

If the participant understood and followed these directions, the experimenter could verify this from the calibration spike on the computer screen. Once calibration was verified, the

experimental session commenced. Each series of trials began with the participant's dominant hand; the auditory stimulus was presented at fixed intervals, every 4 seconds. Following the first set of 10 trials, an average reaction time for that condition was derived. Next, the auditory stimulus was presented at random intervals, ranging from 1 to 10 seconds between presentations for ten trials, after which an average was derived for that condition. Upon the completion of dominant hand testing, the participants completed a third and fourth series of trials in their non-dominant hands at fixed and random intervals, just as described for their dominant hand. This order was the same for all participants.

Upon completion of testing, data were entered into SPSS and analyzed for correlations via Pearson's r . Correlations were considered significant at the 0.05 level.

Results

Descriptive statistics for psychological and physiological stress are listed in Table 1. As expected, we found several important findings regarding physiological and psychological measures of stress and variables indicating financial burden. Please see Table 2. There is a strong positive correlation between taking out loans and systolic blood pressure, $r = 0.557$, $p < 0.05$. Diastolic blood pressure is also strongly and positively correlated with receiving financial aid and scholarships, $r = 0.597$, $p < 0.05$. When considering financial burden and psychological stress, a strong positive correlation between if a student relied on financial aid or scholarships and their PSS score is observed: $r = 0.539$, $p < 0.05$. Students who relied on financial aid and scholarships to fund their education self-reported higher scores for perceived stress on the PSS.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics: Mean and Standard Deviations for Pulse, Blood Pressure, and PSS

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Pulse	86.0	10.23
Systolic Blood Pressure	117.4	9.52
Diastolic Blood Pressure	71.4	7.22
PSS	21.8	5.32

Reaction time to an auditory stimulus was used as an indicator of cognitive load and academic performance. Please see Table 3 . A strong positive correlation was observed between receiving financial aid and scholarships and the reaction time in the participants’ dominant at fixed intervals, $r = 0.538, p < 0.05$. There was also a strong positive correlation between receiving financial aid and scholarships and the reaction time in the participants’ non-dominant at random intervals, $r = 0.555, p < 0.05$. Students who rely on financial aid and scholarships displayed slower reaction times to the auditory stimulus, which may indicate an increased cognitive load and decreased academic performance abilities.

Additional correlations associate financial stress with negative indicators of overall health. Please see Table 4 . There is a strong positive correlation between the number of hours per week a student is working and alcohol use, $r = 0.581, p < 0.05$. This correlation associates an increase in the number of work hours per week with an increase in the number of nights per week that students are consuming alcoholic beverages. In addition to the increase in negative health behaviors, we also noted a decrease in

positive health behaviors. There was a strong negative correlation between the number of work hours per week and hours of exercise per week, $r = -0.586, p < 0.05$. As students are working more hours per week, they are also spending less time exercising. In addition, the number of hours worked per week was negatively associated with Emotional Stability as measured via the TIPI, $r = -0.624, p < 0.05$.

Discussion

Through this study, we were able to establish several significant relationships between financial burden, stress, and other lifestyle factors. Our study replicates findings in regard to financial burden and stress, but additionally we show physiological measures of stress are also linked to financial burden. Further on a measure of cognitive load, we see that financial burden diminishes performance on two reaction time tests. Given the low number of participants, the relatively strong correlations, as conventionally accepted according to Cohen (Cohen et al., 1983), is noteworthy and concerning.

Our study replicates and extends findings showing the negative impact of financial burden on college students’ physical and mental health and academic performance. Financial factors not only correlate with a self-report measure of stress, the PSS, but also correlate with higher systolic and diastolic blood pressure highlighting the how financial burden impacts both mental and physical stress. Given that the financial burden, in terms of college debt, does not disappear after graduation, it is plausible that continued financial burden will lead to continued elevated blood

Table 2

Correlations between Stress and Financial Burden

Stress Measures	Financial Measures	R value	Significance
PSS	Financial Aid, Scholarship	0.539	$p < 0.05$
Systolic Blood Pressure	Having Loans	0.557	$p < 0.05$
Diastolic Blood Pressure	Financial Aid, Scholarships	0.597	$p < 0.05$

Table 3

Relationship between Stress and Reaction Time as an Indicator of Academic Performance

Financial Burden	Indicators of Academic Performance	R value	Significance
Financial Aid, Scholarship	RXN2DFI	0.538	p < 0.05
Financial Aid, Scholarship	RXN3NDRI	0.555	p < 0.05

Table 4

Number of Hours Worked per Week Significantly Impacts Indicators of Overall Health

Financial Burden	Indicators of Overall Health	R value	Significance
Number of Hours Worked Per Week	Alcohol Use	0.581	p < 0.05
Number of Hours Worked Per Week	Hours of Exercise	-0.586	p < 0.05
Number of Hours Worked Per Week	Emotional Stability	-0.624	p < 0.05

pressure, contributing to long-term health problems.

Negative physical health outcomes are not alone in their ability to have long-term effects on students. A decrease in academic performance due to an increased cognitive load could diminish a student's academic achievements by prolonging their degree completion, lowering their grades, or even causing them to drop out of college entirely. Level of education completed will affect their income in the future and time lost to prolonged degree completion is also income lost for that individual. This contributes to the seemingly unbreakable cycle of losing income due to lack of education and not being able to complete educational goals due to lack of sufficient income.

Exacerbating the relationship between financial burden and stress are poor coping strategies. Students who work more tend to drink more and exercise less than students who are not working. If time were the only limiting factor we would expect to see a decrease in both time spent exercising as well as time spent drinking, but that is not the case. Instead the stress of financial burden leads to poor coping choices.

Overall, we find that the stress caused by financial burden can be measured in terms of perceived mental stress via the PSS, physical stress in terms of increased blood pressure. Financial burden lends itself to both the necessity of working to supplement college – and while surely some work is healthy, we do see a positive correlation between number of hours worked and poor coping strategies. These can contribute individually or synergistically to diminished academic performance, putting students at greater risk of attrition. Diminished academic performance and more time spent working, in turn, increase stress. Please see Figure 1 for a conceptual diagram.

By sharing our findings, we are hoping to draw attention to the need for financial education and intervention for college students. In order to prevent or decrease the impact of these negative outcomes, students need an outlet through which they can manage their stress caused by financial burden. Doing so should equip students with real-time strategies to assist while in college, but also help with managing college debt long after graduation. We suggest implementing financial awareness programming

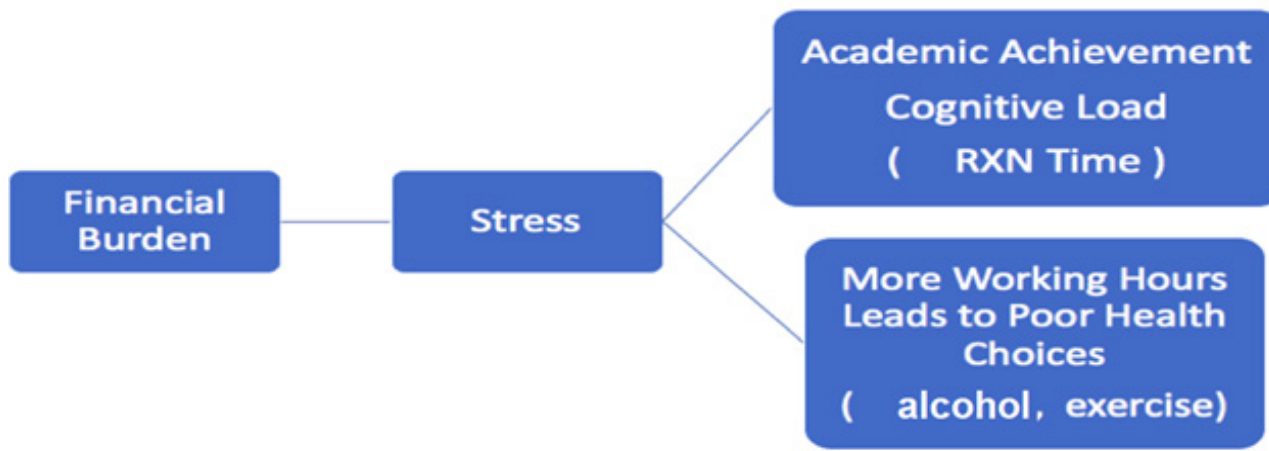


Figure 1

A Working Schematic of Financial Burden and Impact on College Students

that is staged throughout the college experience and occurs in collaboration with alumni who have expertise in this area, the Financial Services Office and faculty from economics and business. With the assistance of such interventions students may see increased success in academic performance and better physical and mental health statuses as they learn how to manage their financial stress.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Ellen Cost of the Office of Financial Aid for sharing her expertise in financial aid.

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About the Author

Marissa Morganelli is a graduating senior double majoring in Communication Sciences & Disorders and Psychology. Her research was mentored by Dr. Sharon Ramos Goyette (Psychology). Marissa presented this paper at the 2018 New England Undergraduate Sociological Research Conference (NEUSRC) and the 2018 Student Arts & Research Symposium (StARS), both held at Bridgewater State University. After graduation, Marissa hopes to gain employment in a setting that will allow her to further explore her interest in neurological rehabilitation.

Adapting to College Life: An Ethnographic Study of the Linguistic Challenges Faced by Immigrant, Black, Male Students at Bridgewater State University

CARTER REMY

Abstract

This linguistic qualitative ethnographic study sought to understand whether immigrant, ESL men who have completed their first year of college at BSU perceive themselves as linguistically prepared for college life. Linguistic preparedness is critical for successful participation in the classroom and completion of required work. The research seeks to identify and analyze the programs BSU has established to assist this population in their adaptation to college life and in acquiring linguistic proficiency. The study employs a multi-tiered methodology, beginning with semi-structured interviews with diversity administrators as well as ESL and Global Language faculty. These interviews were followed by rapport-building, participant and naturalistic observations, and semi-structured interviews with four immigrant male students who had completed their first year of college. Selected by purposive sampling, the resulting case study of Bridgewater State University with respect to linguistic readiness for ESL immigrant students will offer emic (insider) perceptions of students' own linguistic preparedness. Results offer insights into this population and generate recommendations that cater to struggling ESL students.

Section I

Foundation

The moon is shining, the stars glimmering. In the midst of a soccer game on the beautiful island of Haiti, following the funeral of a senior citizen in the community, momentarily I am mesmerized by the beauty of the night. Turning back to the game, I look across the field to see who is open, so I can make my next cross as our team is down one. Unable to do so, I swiftly and beautifully dribble my way through two guys of the opposing team followed by a diagonal pass to find my teammate. My teammate, with one hand in the air, yells, “blode mwen ouvri, banm pass lan,” telling me to pass the ball while jokingly cussing at me, saying that he is open as I am in the middle of performing my move to lose my defenders. Our attack is cut short as one of the defenders anticipates the move and sweeps the outgoing pass. Again, my teammate shouts and jokingly cusses at me in Haitian Creole for not passing the ball much sooner and quicker. I retort, yelling as loudly as I can “ou pa tap fe anyen avek boul la,” telling him that he won't do anything with the incoming pass.

Growing up in Haiti as a kid, I never imagined being able to speak more than Haitian Creole let alone seeking to be linguistically competent in more than one language. However, my life course has offered me this opportunity: immigrating to the US at age 12, I faced the challenge of becoming competent in English, so I could be successful in school and life. Thinking back on that soccer game all those years ago, I realize that part of the fun of the game was the banter with my peers in a comfortable setting. This is what linguistic anthropologists refer to as a “speech community,” individuals who share specific rules for speaking and interpreting speech in a community (Salzmann, et al, 2015, 266). Studying anthropology has allowed me to think about my past and my current challenges through the lens of the many speech communities I navigate in daily life, and it is because of my personal experience that I realized others face a similar struggle. This research highlights these struggles that are significant because

the immigrant population deserves to be a focus of all universities' student success efforts. At Bridgewater State University (BSU), while student success is highlighted as one of the university's strategic goals, the specific definition of student success is not readily available to students on the BSU website; my research indicates that it is student-oriented, defined as learning and applying knowledge and skills through a vast array of curricular activities, degree completion, and post-degree educational goals (BSU Strategic Plan, 2017).

Research problem and hypothesis

Bridgewater State University prides itself in catering to its students in helping them to become successful. According to BSU's Strategic Plan, the university's "primary purpose is to advance student success" (BSU Strategic Plan, 2017). To what extent is this goal achieved with respect to the population at hand, specifically Black male immigrant students? BSU has sought to help young men tackle obstacles that hinder their capacity to excel, and, in many ways, there has been success, most notably through BSU's Male Student Success interventions with respect to retention and graduation rates (interviews with administrators; July/August 2018). However, there is always room for improvement, and my informal interactions with immigrant male ESL students suggest that the university has not focused enough on the challenges that this population faces linguistically. This has led me to look into the linguistic readiness of ESL Black male immigrants at BSU and how the resources that the university offers impact their studies. A study related to my proposed research was conducted by Mauro S. Dos Reis, during the spring of 2016. A former student from BSU, Reis researched the high school performance of Cape Verdean immigrant students who had migrated from Cape Verde to New Bedford. Reis's research adopted a linguistic perspective as she worked to figure out ways to better serve Cape Verdean immigrant students in their acquisition of ESL (Reis 2016).

This research offers what we in Anthropology refer to as an emic perspective, or a cultural insider's point of view, of male

immigrant students' own linguistic readiness. I have analyzed the data I obtained from my observations of my study group—their emic perspectives—drawing from James Cummins' proposal of his lower and higher threshold levels that are needed in order to achieve linguistic competence, which I explain in more detail below. In brief, these levels build on one another and are interdependent with each other, indicating that there are degrees of readiness rather than only two levels. Cummins outlines an introductory level and a fully competent level. This idea of stages challenged my initial thinking when I began the research. Initially, I shared Cummins' view.

However, now after my research, I have determined that my data indicates that there are many stages of linguistic readiness and that they vary with each student's prior knowledge of English, as well as other factors such as individual attitude, the nature of the student's speech communities, and mentorship experiences. There is much more than simply stating that, yes or no, immigrant students are, or aren't linguistically ready for college. Having said this, the current article does not detail Cummins' hypothesis or present challenges, but instead focuses on responses to interviews from all the study participants regarding existing services at BSU and the challenges of acquiring language proficiency for student success. Cummins was useful in helping me to think about stages of language proficiency.

Section II

Literature review

Linguistic foundation

English is a language that is taking the world by storm—it is currently known as the world's "lingua franca"—the common tongue, since so many countries have adopted the language in many areas such as academia, business, and even everyday life. When immigrants speak English, myself included, we are often looked down upon: we face prejudice, are teased, and mocked for our accents, leading to shame and embarrassment. A research study conducted by Maureen Snow Andrade in 2009 found that

non-native English speakers, including international students, are heavily challenged by academic language demands. One challenge is with their peers in the classroom. For example, their difficulties with English proficiency may prevent domestic students from working with them on projects for classes, due to “their weak writing or presentation skills” (Andrade 2009, 18). Non-native English speakers face two kinds of language proficiency struggles here in the United States. The first is what is referred to as “basic interpersonal communication skills” (BICS) where a student can be well versed colloquially. This means that language skills are developed enough for interpersonal communication with peers outside a formal classroom environment. The second is what is referred to as “cognitive academic language proficiency” (CALP) which is the ability to keep up with the demands of academia (<http://esl.fis.edu/teachers/support/cummin.htm>; accessed 2/21/18). Immigrant students often struggle with keeping up with the demands of their CALP skills but more easily master their BICS skills.

Anthropological foundation

Linguistic Anthropology, the scientific study of language and its relationship to thought, semantics (meaning), and behavior, offers the theoretical framework that guides my study. According to the early twentieth-century linguist Edward Sapir, who laid the foundation for the anthropological subfield of linguistic anthropology, “language is a guide to ‘social reality’... human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity ... but are very much at the mercy of the particular language that has become the medium of expression for their society” (Sapir, cited in Salzmann, et al 2015, 312). This understanding of the semantic role of language—the fact that the world around us is given meaning in large part through language, rooted in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, offers the linguistic anthropological theory that shapes my work. As indicated above, James Cummins is another linguist who has heavily shaped my

work. One of his hypotheses proposed that there is a potential for levels of “linguistic competence” that need to be acquired in order to avoid cognitive loss and have access to cognitive growth (Cummins 1979, 229). He called this The Threshold Hypothesis, and in it, he highlighted two levels of learning. The lower level is not too rigorous and doesn’t require significant mastery of cognitive language skills. However, the higher level needs to be attained in order to grow cognitively and perform well academically. The lower level varies according to a child’s stages of development and academic requirements, but, essentially, the lower threshold of bilingual competence, as Cummins refers to it, proposes that a bilingual child’s competency in a language may be weak to the point where it impacts their interactions in an educational setting. The higher-level builds upon the lower level and as immersion increases within programs in a second language, there should be cognitive benefits. Through the lens of these levels within the threshold hypothesis I was able to analyze the interviews and observation data. Previous studies have reported that bilingualism has had negative effects on scholastic progress. However, Cummins’ research indicates that negative impacts can be largely resolved by addressing language proficiency through students’ access to support and resources. Bilingualism itself isn’t an obstacle to academic success; in fact, studies demonstrate that people who speak more than one language have increased capabilities in a number of areas such as thinking skills, cognitive functioning, and more (Cummins 1976).

Section III

Methodology

Methods for assuring protection of human subjects (IRB)

This project was very sensitive for each of the case study participants. The project was not approved right away from the IRB board as various precautionary measures had to be taken. The first application that was submitted was denied because the

Board was seeking further clarification about the nature of the project with respect to the safety of the immigrant population. The second application submitted was again denied for its lack of emphasis on how the identity of the participants, especially the student participants, would be protected. The Board was worried about their identity being revealed and used throughout the research project even with pseudonyms. Most importantly, the Board was concerned about the student participants' immigration status being revealed through the process of the research, which required involvement in participants' speech communities, so consent forms had to be redrafted with greater specificity for their protection. This research required participant observation, rapport building, community engagement, and other forms of anthropological naturalistic observation. These processes are explained in detail below in the approach to data collection section. However, given the severity of the current immigration crisis, I, as the researcher, was not allowed to travel to the homes of the student participants. This would hinder collecting data from the many possible speech communities that typically occur in the homes of the student participants. The IRB worries were understandable; however, the project start date was very time sensitive. The board did not give their approval until everything was thoroughly explained and carefully examined, and it was just in time to begin conducting field work which was about a week before I needed to do so.

Sample and approach to data collection

To provide insight into the domestic ESL Black male immigrant student population via the perspectives of students, faculty, and administrators, this study, based on a critical paradigm, draws on a multi-tiered methodology beginning with a literature data search, structured and open-ended interviews with diversity administrators, ESL and Global Language faculty, followed by rapport-building (continuous genuine and naturalistic dialogic interaction), participant and naturalistic observations, and structured and open-ended and formal interviews with four male

immigrant students who had completed their first year of college at BSU. Selected by purposive sampling, consent forms were created for each individual group with appropriate wording. I began by pursuing a literature-search of research conducted on ESL students about their struggles in the academic realm. I then met with each student individually, interviewed, participated in their daily activities and observed them in their respective speech communities, details which I explain below. After four weeks of this participant-observation followed by interviews, I moved to stage two of my research, interviewing administrators and faculty from the Global Languages and English Departments. Following the interviews, I transcribed them by listening to and typing up each interview. My decision to focus on specific speech communities is informed by Sapir's linguistic anthropology insight, namely that the social context of speech shapes language use in terms of vocabulary and body language. For example, I wanted to understand how well students adapted, linguistically, to distinct speech communities. One I transcribed the interviews, I then analyzed the data using Cummins' ideas to determine if their level of language represented the lower or upper tiers of linguistic readiness. This is how I determined that these two levels are inadequate to describe the range of levels I noted in my observations.

My sample comprised of students, administrators, and faculty. I had a sample of four male Black Male ESL students from different countries including Haiti, Jamaica, Cape Verde, and Ghana whom I interviewed and engaged in naturalistic observation and participant observation in their respective speech communities that they often navigate through—with the exception, as noted above, of their homes. My naturalistic participation and participant observation involved me spending a period of two months interacting with the student participants in different settings. For example, with one student, I attended a Church service in English at his Haitian Church and then asked him about his understanding of the sermon. With another student, I joined a game of soccer, paying attention to the verbal exchanges before, during, and after the game, also noting body language.

As they linguistically navigate these communities, individuals engage in what linguistic anthropologists refer to as “code switching” (Salzmann et al, 2015, 313). Each community contains its own codes—patterns of speech represented by grammatical constructions, lexicon (vocabulary), kinesics (body language), as well as other variables including intonation, communication levels (loudness), and the proximity of one speaker to another (proxemics). I also interviewed three administrators from different department and offices, including the Office of Institutional Diversity and English Language Learning office. Interviewing the administrators allowed me to see how they view the programs created for student success compared to how the students view those programs, and whether they are useful to the immigrant students’ academic growth from the students’ point of view.

Section IV

Data Analysis and findings

Student perspectives

The population at Bridgewater State University is very diverse. In a recent survey conducted by the university, the ethnic make-up of said population includes Asians, American Indian Hispanics, and more (CIRP Freshman survey 2017). In addition, it is important to note that the university does not collect data on a student’s immigration status, such as which countries domestic immigrant students are from. Nor does the university specify percentages of ESL students. Moreover, even for ethnically diverse students who are counted, said population is rarely a focus of conversations about diversity with respect to linguistic challenges. The student participants were eager to be part of a project that would allow them to use their voices and speak for themselves. The student participants echoed many like-minded sentiments. They all agreed that as undergraduate students, immigrant, domestic, international students are expected to have a certain proficiency,

in fact, a level of mastery of the English language to succeed academically. They all mentioned how they had to seek language acquisition via unorthodox forms such as watching anime: “Yeah, a lot of big words I learned from anime, I learned a lot from Dragon Ball and movies,” stated one participant (interview July 1, 2018).

An additional sentiment echoed was on some of the many resources that the university has to offer and students’ own perceptions of how they use those resources and whether they are helpful. One resource that all my participants referred to was the Academic Achievement Center (AAC). Students go to the AAC to receive help with their academic coursework. Within that Center, there are multiple resources available, such as the Writing Studio (WS), second language services, and more. The WS is a resource on campus that most faculty and administrators think is helpful to the student body, but that the student participants asserted was not helpful to them. This was the one resource that was mentioned in all the student participants’ and professors’ interviews, as well as one of the three administrator’s interviews. The WS provides additional assistance, mainly writing assistance, to students to help them with their classroom assignments. However, the student participants saw the WS in a different light. One participant stated, “For me, I feel like it (the AAC) didn’t help” said one of the participants (Interview with student participant, July 1, 2018). I quickly asked a follow up question: “Going to the AAC, do you see that happening with other immigrant students on campus where they’ve done the same thing that you have, stopped going to the AAC?” He replied, “Yeah, definitely, most of my friends, from the same high school, sometimes we joke about our writing. You could ask why you don’t go to the Writing Center and they would say, ‘Nah, I stopped going because every time I never get the help that I needed. It’s not only me’” (Interview with student participant, July 1, 2018). This sentiment highlights that this issue is present amongst other students. Later, the student elaborated that “three or four people have said the same thing.” This was a sentiment expressed across the board with all the student participants that I conducted observations with and interviewed. For example, I

asked one of the student participants if he felt like the WS molded his writing to help him achieve the level of writing he was seeking and his response was as follows: “So for the first semester, I went there, talked to them... they helped me with my writing and they told me it was fine, but then I brought it to the teacher and I got a low grade on it. That kind of stopped me from going back there, because I feel like they weren’t much help” (Interview with student participant, July 2, 2018) Another student expressed that he was getting help with writing his papers when the tutor would make the corrections, but not with becoming a better writer. This indicates that the students perceive that they are not getting the help they need and that not all immigrant male students can be helped the same way. Also, it seems that the tutors themselves are not sure how to guide the students with these ESL challenges.

The combination of these factors led students not to return and to give up easily for many reasons: some indicated that they were shy in seeking help; others cited the lack of a cultural connection to their mentors; others thought the aid they received was inappropriate to their needs. The context here, a foundation of the anthropological approach, is critical: ESL students have frequently been ostracized, shamed and discriminated against for their accents; they have even experienced the assumption that they are not intelligent because of their accents. “They were told a story of themselves as struggling, less competent learners, while they were doing a task twice as difficult as the rest of their peers” (Lowenstein 2017). This history shaped their perceptions of their experiences, and as an ESL student myself, resonated with my own experience. With that said, the student participants also agreed that there needs to be a resource focused on immigrant students, and, if not a new one, an improvement on the existing services based on awareness of the experiences of this student population. Their reasoning, according to one participant, is that “students of color, immigrants should be able to feel more comfortable. There should be more focus on the students, helping them prepare instead of just putting them in class” (Interview with student participant, July 2, 2018). When asked

what that resource would look like, their answers were as follows: “At least an office for immigrant students. Have people that can help you in writing, help you understand the language”. Another student, commenting on his own lack of comfort at the WS said, “Just make it more inviting.” When asked what he meant by that in a follow up interview, he explained “Sometimes you don’t really get the help needed, or enough time because there’s other people waiting.

Faculty perspectives

The faculty members were also big proponents and supporters of this project being done. All of the faculty saw the need that immigrant students face. One of the faculty members even empathized with the linguistic struggles of immigrants, something that the student participants noted that not all faculty members recognize: “Yeah exactly. If English isn’t your first language, you’ll have issues with grammar and syntax. So, we talk about different cultural ideologies that influence their writings. So, we try to be aware of cultural differences,” said one faculty member. “Often professors will go nuts and be upset about every grammatical error and penalize the student. It’s like penalizing someone for having an accent” added the same faculty member (Interview with faculty participant: July 31, 2018). That faculty member understood the cultural differences of immigrant students and how that affects their work. Most professors expect their students, no matter their background, to be linguistically ready academically. “there’s a belief that good grammar equals good thinking” (Interview with faculty participant, June 25, 2018). Another shared idea among the faculty was how they strongly they believed that a student’s mastery of English will definitely affect his studies. I asked one of the faculty participants “Do you feel like the student’s mastery of English has an impact on their writing?” to which the response was: “definitely” (Interview with faculty, July 31, 2018).

Administrator perspectives

Bridgewater prides itself on being student-oriented first and foremost. That is a viewpoint that all the administrators in the study shared. In regard to being student-centered, they all also echoed how they are data-driven and those data, whether qualitative or quantitative, always involve the student population (from small-scale to larger-scale analyses): “I think the approach that BSU has, ‘one student at a time’, makes sense. It’s an institution that is data driven, using analyses to best help our students,” said one administrator (Interview with administrator, July 16, 2018). “We look at the data from institutional research and student-driven” said another administrator (Interview with administrator, July 19, 2018). The administrators’ perspectives were that language has not been part of the many programs and research conducted at the university itself, even linguistic issues in terms of the language that the university utilizes. This fact hinders an upcoming freshman student’s ability to fully comprehend the rules, regulations, and operation modules of the university, whether they are an immigrant or not.

One question that I asked of all the administrator participants was, “has language been part of the programs (At BSU)?” In response, one administrator stated, “It hasn’t. Your project is making me realize we need to do that more.” Another administrator even pointed out that, “I’ve encountered language issues. For examples policies that are written by a lawyer. For a lawyer, it’s easy to understand, but if I’m reading it and I have no notion how the law operates, I’ll be lost.” Another administrator added, “That’s a really good question. I’m not sure that it [language proficiency] has been. Clearly, it has been to some extent.” Given the many students that Bridgewater caters to, this project has allowed administrators to look more closely at a population with immense linguistic struggles, who was perhaps flying under the radar. They understand that the immigrant population, in this case, male immigrants, is an underserved population when it comes to linguistic readiness.

Analysis and Additional Findings

From its analysis, this project highlighted quite a few insights. As I studied the semantics of each of these participants, it was evident that they knew how to code switch orally. For example, after the Church service, where the student participated in hymns and spoken prayers, he reverted to the peer-to-peer conversational style of Haitian Creole that he and I use in our casual conversations. Another example was when another student participant switched from speaking to me in English to speaking in Cape Verdean creole to his co-workers after I interviewed him. This indicates that these students know how to culturally code switch. In a nutshell, this means that they demonstrated the ability to adopt behaviors that are normative in a given speech community in their respective form of language, such as being able to greet people in Haitian Creole and, then, being able to quickly switch to greet others in English using proper gestures and tonality. Given that many of them are polyglots (speakers of more than two languages), they followed the rules fairly well in their respective languages. I was able to determine this because the responses they received were not surprised or concerned, but matter-of-fact and sometimes led to ongoing conversation. Three out of the four participants use the lingua franca, as well as code-mixing as a mode of communication cross-culturally. For example, in one communicative event, where two of the study’s participants and I, alongside our friends, were playing a game of pick-up soccer, more than one language was used simultaneously. We switched back and forth between English and Creole. Many of the participants’ sentences sounded like this: “Map pran three thirty train lan,” which in English translates to “I’m going to catch the 3:30 train.” During the same event, one of the participants spoke Haitian Creole to me and English to a friend of mine in the same sentence. Thus, one finding is that oral code switching was successfully achieved in peer group conversations. A second finding is that code mixing was also normative in those same speech events.

Moreover, I have also concluded, based on the emic views

of the students, that this population faces issues that are flying under the radar, so to speak. While Black males are a population who are focused on for success, Black male immigrants who are struggling with language skills, as a subset of this wider population, is not targeted for academic success. During one of my interviews with a faculty member, it was brought up that there's a course available, English 101e, for students whose first language is not English and need additional help with their writing beyond English 101. That course is a start, but there are much bigger issues that cannot be solved simply in a matter of a semester. Following that course, my research indicates that there's no way to truly track these students' improvements in linguistic proficiency. There are multiple resources available for other populations on campus, but when it comes to resources for black male immigrants, resources are very limited.

Section V

Limitations and Future Studies

Limitations

This project is among many that look into how second language learners navigate through the many challenges they face when acquiring a second language, mainly English. However, this project is one the few that looks into the readiness of immigrant college students when it comes to English. As the end of the project neared, I started seeing its many limitations. To name a few, the first limitation of this project was that the student participant sample was small and purposefully sampled. Another limitation of the project is that it was only being looked at from a male perspective. A third limitation was that the environment to conduct field research and collect data was already controlled and pre-determined by IRB constraints.

Future Studies

There are always two or more angles to an issue. As mentioned above, while this specific project was looking at the issue from the perspective of male students, the next step is to look at it from female students' perspectives. My goal is to understand if gender plays a role in Black immigrant students' process of becoming linguistically ready. The issue of linguistic readiness may not necessarily change for women students, but it might look different from their perspective. It is also possible that there may be Black immigrant students who identify as gender diverse, and, if there are, issues of gender diversity may render even more complex the intersectional identities of race, ethnicity, immigration status, and language proficiency. There are already issues of stigma and discrimination related to language, race, and immigrant status. How gender weaves into this is critical to explore. Thus, I will continue this project through an Honors Thesis, pursuing an ethnographic study that seeks to understand whether Black immigrant, ESL women and gender diverse individuals who have completed their first year of college at BSU, perceive themselves as linguistically prepared for college life. This would allow me to understand the role of gender in linguistic readiness in the black immigrant population.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The concluding results of this study demonstrate that domestic, immigrant, ESL Black men who have completed their first year of college at BSU feel that they are not being provided with enough resources to help them to acquire enough linguistic competence to be fully prepared for the college realm. As noted above, limitations have included a small number of immigrant student participants due to time limitations of the study combined with the in-depth nature of ethnographic research. Nonetheless, I shall conclude with some recommendations that I believe reflect the insights gained from the combination of student, faculty, and administrator contributions.

- I. One of the many recommendations that can be made stemmed from one of the administrator interviews. That recommendation is **to host campus tours, or family orientation programs in a student's native tongue** for both the students and their parents. This would allow the parents to be able to get involved in the student's academic life.
- II. A second recommendation that I can make is for the writing studio to **revisit their training of their staff members to include empathy training**. As I interviewed a faculty member from the WS, they seemed to understand what being an immigrant student is about. They indicated specific awareness and empathy for immigrant students who suffer from self-esteem challenges regarding language use; however, to what extent does the entire staff appreciate the complexity of immigrant student issues, from emotions of inadequacy to skills needed? The importance of the anthropological perspective is evident here in the distinction between language acquisition and language proficiency. Proficiency includes features of language learning that stem from Sapir's holistic approach to language as part of culture. Students are not only learning grammar, lexicon, morphology, and semantics but also cultural patterns of language use such as kinesics (body language) and proxemics (spatial distances between communicators) and the subtleties of tonality, volume, and other behaviors that accompany language. ESL/ELL learners would benefit from language trainers who themselves are trained in the **holistic nature** of language.
- III. BSU collects data in many ways to help their students. The CIRP freshmen survey and the placement test are two main ways to identify immigrant students and their needs. However, the process still needs adjustment. The CIRP survey includes questions that ask a student about their level of English and their level of speaking and writing skills. However, the answer choices may not be as clear or well defined where some students may choose a category that doesn't necessarily describe their skills or mastery. A few **questions are needed that point more directly to whether students speak and write English as well as first language learners**.
- IV. A fourth recommendation emerged from one of the faculty members that I interviewed who explained that the students felt as if their work was being red-penned, both in the classroom and at the WS. This means that professors or tutors would go over their work with them, cross out what was wrong, and tell them how and what they should write, rather than helping them understand why what they originally wrote was wrong in the first place. Therefore, the nature of tutoring must teach students using "**focus correction**." Focus correction **establishes rapport**, an understanding of who that student is, and builds a relationship with the student. Determining the level of linguistic readiness is part of the focus of the rapport building. In this way, tutors would be able to understand why students are making the mistakes they are and how each student can be helped to see their mistakes and the best way to fix them. A few professors, including my advisor and a professor that I interviewed, use focus correction rather than red-penning. By the end of next semester in my honors thesis work, I will be able to provide the administration with a chart that includes levels of language proficiency development that can be used as a guide for tutors and professors who have immigrant students in their classes who are ELLs.
- V. **It is crucial that faculty and tutors understand the emotional profile of many ELL/ESL students.** Students in the study group report that because of their language proficiency challenges, there is often the unacknowledged assumption that the students are not

as intelligent, and they are often spoken to in louder tones than to other students. This is a subtle form of discrimination that alienates ELL/ESL students and reinforces feelings of inadequacy. A **handbook or tips for faculty and tutors that identifies the profile and how to assist students by boosting confidence** is also recommended.

- VI. The university's definition of **Student Success should be easily accessed on the website**, so that all students, including the population of this study, are able to evaluate their own views of their own success vis-à-vis the university's definition. Students need to be able to determine the relationship between the two and to identify the support systems they need to attain success as the university defines it.
- VII. One final recommendation is to conduct further research into the immigrant population at the university and, ultimately, to see if **a program can be developed for undergraduates modeled after the graduate writing fellows program**, which pairs a struggling student with a strong peer and a faculty member to strengthen their writing. This can be a resource tailored to focus on immigrant students like the student participants have mentioned throughout their interviews, in terms of a new resource or to better an already existing one. This program for graduate students is fairly new but has seen a lot of success. Something of that nature can definitely be of use to undergraduate immigrant students.

As immigrant students are increasingly growing in numbers, especially in higher education, the topic of their linguistic readiness, as well as associated issues that they face as immigrants, is starting to be an essential conversation. The naturalistic observations and participant-observation conducted with the student participants have demonstrated that immigrant students, especially Black male immigrant students, still struggle linguistically. Part of the goal of

this research was to analyze the programs that the university offers and to see whether or not they provided adequate help to assist this population—Black, domestic, immigrant, former first year, male students—in their adaptation to college life and in acquiring linguistic proficiency. The field work conducted with my student participants, combined with the interviews with the faculty and administrators, has echoed the sentiments that the programs that the university offers do not fully cater to their linguistic needs.

Bridgewater State University prides itself on diversity as well as the success of its students. However, one of the many student populations that attends Bridgewater is facing significant linguistic struggles. It is my hope that this research will inspire the university to take a deeper look by addressing the above recommendations, and see how they can best help this population. Becoming linguistically ready is an ongoing battle, especially with detailed writing such as verb tense agreement and noun-verb agreement, which are issues for many immigrant ESL students. In my own experience, as a member of this population, there have been individual professors who have been willing to help me, but no systematic program where I can partake with experts in ESL writing who can train me. This was the kind of work I've had to do as a former first year student at BSU. I've come from afar as I faced many challenges with my writing skills and becoming linguistically ready; however, I still have a long way to go. This is also the case for others who are part of this population—Black, domestic, immigrant, former first year, male students at BSU—as they are still struggling to become linguistically prepared to tackle academic writing and feel comfortable in the speech community of the classroom. Academic success is not divorced from the emotional struggles created by the stigma of discrimination that ESL students experience. BSU, as an institution that prides itself on diversity, has an opportunity to further its strategic goals through this attention.

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Appendix A: Glossary

Bilingual: People who can speak two languages

Code-mixing: The embedding of various linguistic units such as words or phrases and clauses

Code-switching: The mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two different grammatical systems

Communicate Competence: The knowledge of what is and what is not appropriate to say in any specific cultural context

Communicative Strategy: The shift in language to fit the nature of a speech community

Cognate: A word related to another by descent from the same ancestral language

Creole: A pidgin that has become the first language of a speech community

Creolization: Process of expansion of a pidgin to other language functions

Decreolization: Speakers of creoles who uses the standard language over the creole

Dialect: Form of a language or speech used by members of a regional, ethnic, or social group

Diglossia: The use of two distinct varieties of a language for two different sets of functions.

Ethnography of Communication: The nature of communicative

behavior in the context of culture

Ethnopoetics: Study of the poetic aspects of discourse

Ethnoscience: Lexical classification of the social and physical environment of speakers of a language by means of its vocabulary rather than the relationships of grammatical categories.

Frame (or Performance): Face-to-face interaction that participants do when speaking that determines the frame of reference in which the exchange is to be interpreted and understood

Idiolect: An individual’s speech variety

Kinesics: The study of body language

Language Shift: Adaptation of a new language into a native tongue

Lexicons: A person’s vocabulary

Lingua Franca: A language agreed upon as a medium of communication by people who speak different first languages

Linguistic Competence: The knowledge of the grammatical rules of one’s mother tongue, acquired before adulthood

Loanwords: Borrowed lexicons

Multilingual: The ability to speak more than one language

Morphology: Study of words and their structure (Linguistics)

Neurolinguistics: Branch of linguistics concerned with the role the brain plays in language and speech processing.

Norms of Interpretation: The judgment of what constitutes proper interaction

Paralanguage: Characteristics of vocal communication considered marginal or optional and therefore excludable from linguistic analysis of speech for purposes of an ethnographic analysis

Passive/Receptive Bilingualism: The ability to understand a second

language but not being able to speak it.

Polyglot: People who can speak several languages fluently

Pidginization: Process of grammatical and lexical reduction of a language

Proxemics: The study of cultural patterning of the spatial separation individuals maintain in face-to-face encounters.

Rules of Interaction: Communicative activity of the members of a speech community who know what is and what is not appropriate

Semantics: The study of meaning

Sequential Bilingualism: Becoming bilingual by first learning one language and then following up with another

Simultaneous Bilingualism: Learning two languages at the same time

Sound Symbolism: The presumed association of sound and meaning

Speech Act: Minimal unit of speech for purposes of an ethnographic analysis

Speech Area: An area in which speakers of different languages share speaking rules

Speech Community: Those who share specific rules for speaking and interpreting speech

Speech Event: Basic unit of verbal interaction

Speech Situation: The context within which speaking occurs

Voice Characteristics: Speech through which one talks

Voice Qualifiers: Tone of voice, pacing of speech, and variation in intensity or volume



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Carter Remy is a graduating senior majoring in Cultural Anthropology. His research, mentored by Dr. Diana Fox (Anthropology), was funded by an Adrian Tinsley Program summer grant and formed the basis of his honors thesis. Carter is a big proponent for youth, especially youth immigrants. He is moving forward in furthering his studies in linguistic anthropology. His interests lie in understanding speech communities, the ethnography of communication, linguistic readiness in black communities in the United States, as well as linguistic readiness amongst other communities (LatinX, White, Caribbean).

Western Appearance Culture, Media, and the Body as a Project

SOPHIE SERNA

Abstract

In our contemporary appearance culture, media has been complicit in convincing women that the body is a measure of overall happiness and one's value to society. Because of this it should be viewed as a project that needs constant attention and upkeep. This research explores the way the media, and more specifically, health and fitness magazines, address the body as a project with endless room for improvement. Believing that the human body can be molded and significantly transformed can lead to unrealistic expectations, causing many women to feel negatively about themselves. Through a textual analysis of the U.S. magazine *Health*, this research examines messages about the way women should think about their bodies. Analysis found that this magazine encourages readers to identify problems in themselves and to seek to fix these on an individual level. These problems are heavily related to the body, appearance, and health. Resolving these problems is viewed as a project involving personal commitment on the path to health and happiness.

Introduction

Western appearance culture is a powerful structure that encourages individuals to think of health and appearance as primarily a personal choice and to work toward constant improvement. In our contemporary appearance culture, media has been complicit in convincing women that the body is a measure of overall happiness and one's value to society and that it should be viewed as a project that needs constant attention and upkeep. As Tiggeman, Polivy, and Hargreaves (2009) note, popular media suggests that these contemporary beauty ideals come with a wide

array of psychological benefits and positive life outcomes.

This paper examines these attributes of western appearance culture as an example of what Gill (2007) terms "post-feminism." Post-feminism describes a media response to feminist critiques of objectifying and pacifying practices. Analysis of this response helps us understand how women look at the body as a project and how we as a culture have come to treat attractiveness and sexuality as primary values. Positing the power of female sexuality, post-feminism provides a means for women to see their bodies as leverage in the world (Salmenniemi, 2014). This post-feminist perspective has consequences for identity formation and contributes to the constant and extensive self-monitoring and regulation of the body that defines Western appearance culture. This self-regulation encourages women to monitor their own bodies for any transgressions against the ideals of appearance culture. These specific mechanisms are successful in regulating power because "the disciplinary power that inscribes femininity in the female body is everywhere and it is nowhere; the disciplinarian is everyone and yet no one in particular" (Duncan, 1994, p. 50). Finally, in this culture of self-monitoring, "confessions" reinforce this panoptic process whereby individuals participate in identifying their shortcomings through fat talk, which is the ritualistic conversation about one's own and other's bodies (Arryo & Harwood, 2012), while at the same time repeatedly reinforcing things that need to be improved upon in order to empower oneself. Through all these cultural practices, the body comes to be viewed as an ongoing project that requires a great deal of work and upkeep to achieve happiness and self-fulfillment.

Post-feminism and the Body

As Gill (2007) identifies it, post-feminism is a term that describes a response to feminist critiques of media that represent women as passive, sexual objects. Gill (2007) notes, however, that while post-feminism cloaks itself within feminist concerns representing women as powerful sexual subjects, it nevertheless should be recognized as a new form of female self-objectification.

In this it allows a contemporary version of femininity that offers a self-objectifying relation to the body as empowerment.

Objectification theory states that sexual objectification occurs when a woman is reduced to or treated as a body, or a collection of body parts, available for sexual use (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, p. 228). This mentality is not only demeaning to females, but it can also contribute to a host of mental health issues for girls and women, including anxiety, eating disorders, depression, and reduced sexual functioning (McLean & LaGuardia, 2016). Traditionally, advertising and media more generally, have participated in this sexual objectification of women. For feminist scholars, the concept of the “male gaze” draws attention to the structured ways in which this sexual objectification is accomplished through media, visually constructing women as passive objects of male sexual desire (Patterson & Elliot, 2002).

Responding to criticisms of these objectifying tendencies of media, some representations have pushed for a more active construction of female sexuality, changing the way women are portrayed in the ads and placing them in positions of control. This response offered an image that moved away from passive sexual objectification to a more active version of female sexuality. However, as Gill (2007) notes, this did not simply create a clear break with objectification. Instead, it offered an image of women where they actively participate in self-objectifying practices. Gill (2007) defines this new active objectification as a media response to feminist criticisms that she has coined post-feminism.

The intertwining of practices of objectification and a sense of female power is an important characteristic of post-feminism. According to Gill (2007), post-feminism can be thought of as a media and social response to feminism, including the intertwining of anti-feminist and feminist ideas relating to themes of individuality, pleasing oneself, and the power of choice. Western media has become home to post-feminism in part because it is completely saturated with an appearance culture that calls for women to be thin and attractive while also insisting that this is

something every female should want to do as an ethical obligation to herself and viewing this as a matter of personal choice and freedom.

In this climate, where sexual objectification has come to be understood as an example of women’s freedom, the practice of self-scrutiny comes to be viewed as an important part of happiness and liberation rather than a negative effect of beauty ideals. Women are often asked to evaluate their femininity, sexuality, and physical attractiveness as a means to increase value to their lives. Additionally, this also helps them to be more desirable on the heterosexual market and allows women to use their bodies as leverage and power in the world (Salmenniemi, 2014).

The concept of control is central to this new version of female sexuality. No longer the submissive and passive sexual being, women now actively choose to objectify themselves and to use their sexual power as a tool for success. In this post-feminist perspective, women are encouraged to feel that they have complete control over their bodies; however illusory this feeling is, it offers a new sense of power and confidence. This sense of control not only applies to sexuality, but women are told it will carry over into other aspects of their lives, bringing positive outcomes, happiness, and fulfillment (Carver, 1997). This control seemingly provides women with a new sense of value and power that will lead to the best version of their life.

In this reading, post-feminism helps us to understand Western appearance culture as encouraging a view of the body as project. In post-feminism women are encouraged to evaluate their worth according to their bodies. But unlike past feminist critiques, women should feel both in control of that evaluation as well as their body itself. In this view, physical self-improvement comes to be seen as part of the process of freedom and empowerment. This mindset influences women to see bodies as projects that need constant attention and improvement. The media makes aggressive recommendations related to how a woman should feel about her body and the activities she should participate in, reinforcing a

message that frames these beauty ideals as a matter of health and happiness rather than something that happens by chance. In using specific language, one will come to see that media in magazines like *Health* communicate these beauty ideals as something that each and every person is not only capable of, but something that they owe to themselves, making it a project that is solely about the individual.

Practices of Self-Control

This narrative also fits well with the Western idea of the “American Dream,” which is the idea that, in this country, anything is possible if one works hard enough. Much like the American Dream, failing to succeed in Western appearance culture is viewed as an individual issue. Since individuals in this culture accept their body as their own project they also fully accept responsibility for improvements or failures. As such, individuals are applauded for trying to eat healthily, to eat less, to exercise, and for doing anything they can to lose weight. As with the narrative of the “American Dream,” hard work and motivation are the keys to a success that is open to any individual if they are willing to do what it takes. It is in this perspective that practices of self-evaluation, self-surveillance, and confession all help to reinforce the orientation toward the body as a project to be worked on and to encourage the practice of continual improvement.

Media plays an important role in cultivating practices of self-evaluation, surveillance, and control. In a textual analysis of *Shape* magazine, Duncan (1994) found that there are two main mechanisms that this magazine and other popular fitness magazines use to regulate the relationships women have with their bodies. The first is the “Efficacy Initiative” which calls upon women to make a private commitment or promise to themselves to make the personal choice to change. The second mechanism is “Feeling Good Means Looking Good.” This technique emphasizes the importance of health, but primarily through an emphasis on appearance. This promise of feeling good on the inside gives women a sense of urgency and motivation to look good on the outside. Duncan (1994) discusses these methods as examples of a panoptic gaze.

Using Foucault’s description, Duncan (1994) argues that this structure of looking “encourages the continual surveillance of the self; every wrongdoing is then made visible, allowing the possibility of punishment for each transgression” (p. 50). The panoptic gaze helps us to understand practices of self-monitoring. As we become reflective of our practices of surveying others, we internalize this gaze and begin monitoring our own bodies for any transgressions against the ideals of appearance culture. These mechanisms are so successful because through them we accept them as our own social scrutiny: “The disciplinary power that inscribes femininity in the female body is everywhere and it is nowhere; the disciplinarian is everyone and yet no one in particular” (Duncan, 1994, p. 50). This way of thinking takes the body and beauty standards that society has set and makes women believe that these standards are their own personal standards. They own these standards just as they own their sexuality leading to the private struggle to meet these standards. The language used in magazines contributes to this self-regulation and reinforces the connections between the body, happiness, and personal motivation (Gill 2010).

These practices of self-surveillance and improvement are reinforced through the media narrative of the confession. Popular culture abounds with success stories of self-improvement; people who were not happy, did something about it, and now have lives better than they could imagine. These stories often include a section where the individual confesses to their past transgressions such as late-night snacking, skipping the gym, or eating fast food. By opening up to the reader and to the world, the individual is opened to judgment and scrutiny. But such judgement is mitigated by the continuation of the story whereby personal responsibility is highlighted. This is the part where the person explains that they have completely changed their life around and that they are now happier than ever. Foucault (1979) explains this confession as an interesting form of power. The practice of confessing grants power to the audience through judgment. Yet it also provides a space for ownership whereby the individual gains a sense of control (Duncan, 1994). Nikolas Rose (1990) states that the confessions

individuals make about their bodies are similar to confessions that are made in Christianity because individuals are “obligated to render [themselves] truthfully into discourse, and a power relation in which the confession was to be made under the authority of another who hears it, evaluates it, judges the soul, and prescribes the form of conduct appropriate” (Rose, 1990, p. 219). This opening of oneself to judgement and evaluation reinforces the idea of surveillance and improvement and helps to define the body as a project in Western appearance culture.

Not only is this confessional perspective highlighted in the media, but it has also moved into everyday experiences. Carey, Donaghue, and Broderick (2011) interviewed teenage girls about their experiences with dieting and their bodies. One key finding was the girls’ participation in fat talk. According to Arroyo and Harwood (2012), fat talk is a constructive process that helps individuals build ideas about their own bodies through conversation about their own and other’s bodies. The girls in Carey, Donaghue, and Broderick’s study explained that fat talk was a way to receive feedback as well as bond with each other by sharing their thoughts and feelings about their bodies. They explained that talking about their bodies in a negative way to each other was done frequently and was welcomed. The interviewees expressed that trying to be skinny was what mattered most. In this, emphasis is placed on progression and effort as much as on success. Confessing one’s appearance sins and promising to do better in the future are important ways that this idea of the body as a project is reinforced.

While the mechanisms of self-improvement provide individuals with a sense of personal control and empowerment, this overlooks the fact that this discourse of reconstruction is really just “new mechanisms to control individual conduct” (Lazzarato 2009, p. 109). In this, Western appearance culture shares something with the capitalist logic of the market. In the market that is appearance culture, members of society make choices that they think are their own, constantly trying to improve themselves on an individual level to acquire value, happiness, and control. Yet this individual

sense of control fails to acknowledge larger social and economic pressures and influence. Beauty ideals are not viewed as outside influences, but as something in the eye of the beholder. The consequence of this individual orientation is that social issues are often ignored and that attention is given to narcissistic tendencies instead of meaningful content (Illouz, 2008). The irony in working tirelessly towards these goals of attractiveness with expectations of happiness, health, and control is that participation reinforces the power and control of Western appearance culture.

Method

To further examine Western appearance culture and the idea of the body as a project, this paper offers a textual analysis of the contemporary magazine *Health*. Though these cultural pressures and ideals can be seen in a variety of media outlets, popular health and fitness magazines are a particularly useful place to see this phenomenon (Botta, 2003). Other research has identified the magazine as a medium that is particularly intense in its reinforcement of cultural appearance standards (Nemeroff, Stein, Diehl, & Smilack, 1994). Popular health and fitness magazines are an exceptionally powerful place to examine and analyze the concepts of western appearance culture because they often include articles that focus on the body and appearance as a predictor to health, happiness, and success in life and treat the body as a project that can be improved upon at all levels.

The popular U.S. magazine *Health* focuses on women’s health with topics related to weight loss, mental health, exercise, and diet. As opposed to fashion and lifestyle magazines, this magazine advertises itself as primarily about physical health rather than overtly about appearance. It also targets an older female audience than many popular fashion magazines, downplaying the focus on overt beauty ideals. For these reasons, this magazine provides a good opportunity to examine the interconnections between the idea of the body as a project and the goal of happiness and life fulfillment that is reinforced in Western appearance culture.

For this analysis, five of the most recent issues of the magazine (June 2017, July/August 2017, September 2017, October 2017, and November 2017) were analyzed. Attention was given to the whole magazine, including a focus on the cover, the table of contents, and specific segments and stories that occurred in each issue. Most articles in the magazine were text heavy, so images were only assessed when they came into play, such as before and after pictures highlighting a body transformation. Advertisements were not included in the sample as the literature on advertisements is broad and not discussed heavily in this paper. The analysis focused on micro-themes that reoccurred throughout the magazines as well as broader categories of articles such as weight loss, body makeovers, and general health.

Analysis and Findings

The analysis showed that the idea of the body as a project was woven into almost every article in *Health* magazine. While the magazine strongly suggested that working out and dieting were top priorities, it also called on women to do things to improve other aspects of their life. These things ranged from choosing the best brands of make-up, always wearing sunscreen, taking steps to prevent aging, and reducing stress. These aspects of life are treated primarily as individual choices, and the magazine encourages readers to identify problems in themselves and to seek to fix these on an individual level. These problems are heavily related to body, health, or appearance, and resolving these problems is viewed as a personal commitment to obtaining happiness and health.

Five main themes help to illustrate these aspects of the magazine. These included: weight loss, body makeover, confessions, age, and general health.

Weight Loss

The majority of articles that were analyzed in the sample mentioned some sort of weight loss strategy, making this theme the most prominent. On all of the covers examined there were short tag lines in big, bold letters that accompanied the featured celebrity

in a bikini or belly shirt. Titles like “LEAN FOR LIFE: Eat more fat, melt ab flab” and “The Food She Gave Up To Look This Amazing” accompany a stunning tanned and toned Eva Longoria on the June 2017 cover. Similar points were also found on the November 2017 cover next to Julianne Hough in a pink belly shirt with glowing skin: “Tiny Foods To Swap To Shed Big Lbs,” and “Burn 500 Extra Calories A Day.” Titles like these on the cover of these magazines set the tone for the content that can be found inside.

Themes of weight loss can be found in many different articles that address a variety of subject material. For example, an article in the July 2017 edition is titled “Beach Body Boot Camp: Wanna get swimsuit ready? All you need are these six simple moves”; another article in the same edition is titled “Your A to Z Summer Shape Up: Fitness moves to feel your best and keep the pounds off all season.” Articles like these suggest that an individual should not be okay with putting their winter body, which was covered by clothes all season, into a summer bikini. Both these articles offer workout routines to help in slimming down for the summer season. Other topics that mention weight loss are dieting articles, such as the September 2017 edition titled “Can TV Make You Slim: Should you snack like Olivia Pope? Lunch like a Kardashian? Find out which moves to steal – and which to skip,” an article that ironically picks apart entertainment television for its portrayals of unhealthy dieting practices. The article describes eating habits seen on popular television shows with an analysis of whether the audience should adopt or resist the dietary habits. What is interesting here is the way this kind of article encourages readers to treat dieting as a constant issue. This is not only something you should think about when grocery shopping, cooking, or eating, but even when you are watching your favorite mindless television program. You should be constantly surveying and evaluating body practices and considering their relationship to your own body project. There was even an article titled “Think Yourself Thin” which explains how to use the science of the brain to control cravings as the “latest weight loss trend” in the June 2017 edition.

The overwhelming amount of weight-loss-related material in this sample of magazines makes it clear that even though this is a magazine avowedly focused on overall health, weight loss takes precedence as the primary health concern. As such, being thin is viewed as being healthy and being overweight is viewed as related to a lack of motivation and control. Through taking steps to become thin, an individual can move toward a project of happiness and fulfillment. *Health* magazine offers a multitude of different ways a person can lose weight, through countless ways to exercise, varying diets, tricks to increase willpower, weight loss surgery, and even brain science. It leaves individuals with absolutely no excuse as to why they could not make an effort to lose weight and improve personally, and reinforces the view that this should be a woman's primary concern when thinking about her "health."

In this appearance culture, weight loss has become something that seen as a challenging project that can and should be an open conversation. Magazines like *Health* suggest that it should be talked about with friends, as a way to bond. It should be seen as motivational entertainment. Appearance culture makes sure that weight loss is not seen as something that should be dreaded but rather as a liberating and empowering journey with a destination that will bring happiness, health, and the best version of one's life.

Beyond overall weight loss, *Health* also encourages a form of self-scrutiny and evaluation that contributes to body objectification. As noted above, objectification can include approaching the body as distinct parts when surveying the self for imperfections. Many articles in the sample were found to do exactly this, focusing on one part of the body and giving the readers ways to fix that specific part of the body. In fact, a common article structure was to provide readers with a celebrity and showcase an ideal part of their body like the legs, the arms, or the abs. This would be followed with a description from their fitness trainer explaining the workout that achieved this perfect body part. In the September 2017 edition, an article titled "Steal Selena's Leg Sculpting Secret" explains how 25-year-old Selena Gomez keeps

her legs toned. In the article is a quote from her personal trainer explaining the exercises she does, suggesting that if the reader wants the same results they should do these exercises four to six times a week. By having a picture of the singer showing off her amazing toned legs, the article gives readers an exact standard to hold themselves to and helps them imagine her legs on their body. More importantly, this form of objectification is not simply a passive, voyeuristic representation, but an active objectification that occurs with the full consent of both the woman represented and the female audience. This discourse suggests that individuals should not only scrutinize their overall appearance but also pay attention to specific parts of the body in order to dissect smaller, extremely specific flaws like armpit fat, stretch marks, cellulite, canckles, or a double chin. Readers may choose to do this using one or many of the diet and exercise suggestions the magazine makes in order to achieve the specific looks that are being presented in articles such as these. *Health* magazine not only offers descriptions of the parts of the body that should be scrutinized, but solutions for these problems, dieting being the number one suggestion.

Body Makeovers & Confessions

As mentioned previously, body makeovers have become a common narrative in our culture. Body makeovers have been historically represented when a female who is overweight, depressed, and doesn't know how to dress makes a change in her life, transforming into a completely different person. These types of stories work the same way for many individuals; it is satisfying to see someone take control of her life and make a serious change for the better.

Articles in *Health* magazine feature many of these body makeover stories showing us before and after pictures of women who were overweight and "not feeling like themselves" or "uncomfortable in their own skin." An illuminating example can be found in an article titled "From Obese to Iron Man" in June 2017. In this piece a woman explains to the reader how her life needed fixing, confessing that after she had kids, she started to

eat more fast food, and the numbers on the scale started to climb: “I was 235 pounds, depressed, and low on energy. I realized that if I didn’t change I would continue to feel miserable for years to come” (Kunes, p. 51). She completes the story explaining how she decided to sign up for a half marathon and how she struggled to run even half way down her street at first but moving her body felt “invigorating.” After continuing to run every day and making low-calorie dietary choices the pounds started “dropping fast.” Today she has completed seven Ironman competitions and says when she thinks about the days where she could hardly make it down her street she feels “humbled, empowered and, most important, unstoppable” (Kunes, p. 51). Along with the article is an unflattering “before picture” of the woman with measurements of her weight, dress size, and total pounds lost next to the photo. It is small in comparison to the large professional photo of the woman running down a path in a sports bra and matching athletic leggings while smiling.

This story provides a clear example of how the body is presented as a project in this literature. There is a clear understanding that her movement from “miserable” to “unstoppable” is one bound up with a change in her physical appearance. As with the discussion of confessions, the story provides the audience the power of judgment and allows them to relate to her. Her journey toward a happier and healthier life motivates women to believe that they can and should do the same so they can also feel this empowered. More importantly, this is a story of individual success and it fails to address other social, cultural, or economic issues. Besides the struggle of motivation and willpower, the reader hears nothing about the struggles of motherhood, constraints of time and money, or even body changes that come with pregnancy. Instead, this article, and many others, focuses only on things that women seemingly have control over, rather than actual barriers that would affect one’s success in any transformation or body makeover.

Confessions are often mentioned in body transformation

stories similar to the article above, but the magazine offers many other ways for the audience to read about confessions and also gives them a chance to make confessions to themselves about their own habits and bodies. For example, in the September 2017 issue there is a quiz the reader can take to help them find out “what prompts you to pig out.” After choosing from a number of multiple choice questions about the circumstances under which one eats along with the frequency and the kind of food, the reader is then prompted to add up their score to find out what makes them “pig out.” The options were “snacking out of habit,” “meals aren’t cutting it,” “emotional snacker,” and “because the snacks are there” (p. 65). Taking this quiz calls for someone to not only be self-aware in their eating habits but also willing to admit to their wrong doings. Identifying possibly unhealthy habits also calls the reader to then do something with the information they now know. The reader is now conscious of this flaw in their eating habits and must take responsibility for this on an individual level, further monitoring their eating.

Another article from the September 2017 issue describes the story of a woman who transformed her body using social media. She confesses that she was always the “fat funny friend” whose “weight matched her personality” (Levi, p. 66). When she went to college she gained the “freshman 15” on top of her other weight because of the unlimited access to unhealthy food in the dining halls, which is something people who went to college can relate to. She explains how she started going to the gym every morning and immediately lost 20 pounds, but it wasn’t until she used social media to study and learn about bodybuilding through following fitness accounts that she lost the remainder of her weight. This article not only included confessions such as “being the fat funny friend” or “gaining the freshman 15” that readers can relate to but it also provided a way for readers to learn about how to become skinny and fit through social media. Implied here is not only a set of recommendations for how the reader can make over their physical appearance, but a set of tools for how to better use social media in the benefit of one’s body project.

Even featured celebrities make confessions to the readers in certain articles. Stars like Julianne Hough, Gabrielle Union, and Eva Longoria admit that at times it is hard to find time to work out, keep up with their diet, or make time to take care of themselves. They confess to having guilty pleasures like eating pancakes or sleeping in. They confess to sometimes getting overwhelmed and not liking the way they look, but they always admit that taking care of oneself is not only worth it, but essential, and it always pays off in the end. Articles that include confessions such as these play a prominent role in *Health* because they allow readers to identify their flaws by relating to the women in these articles and then identifying what needs to be done to combat these issues personally.

Age and General Health

Age was a key theme throughout these magazines and helps to represent the extent to which the body as project interjects into far reaches of the self. Whenever a woman in an article was mentioned, her age was also provided. On the cover of the September 2017 edition is the title “Gabrielle Union at Age 44!” right next to Gabrielle’s head. The words “Age-Proof Your Body With 3 Simple Strength Moves!” can be found on the cover in June 2017. In the article titled “Looking Good is Feeling Good,” the 63-year-old model, Christine Brinkley, explains why she is “not done saying yes to bikinis” and how she keeps her body looking good and feeling good by eating a mostly vegan diet, wearing sun screen, and exercising (p. 19). Her age is the reason she is in the magazine and the fact that she is 63 and looks the way she does is why she is being celebrated in the article. Age is often talked about in appearance culture as something that individuals have control over and something that can be prevented. The problematic transition from youth to middle-age to old age is something that is heavily focused on. In our appearance culture aging is something that is akin to disease or almost unnatural. Popular media often represents senior citizens as sexless, disabled, sick, unattractive, and delusional (Luther, Lepre, & Clark 2012). These representations contribute to the fear and dread that comes with growing older. Appearance

culture combats this by making individuals, especially women, feel that they are in control of their aging process. These magazines offer the insight of women who are aging gracefully, or seemingly not at all, to readers so that they might feel that they too can take preventative measures. The articles in this magazine approach age in the same way that they approach weight loss. They offer suggestions to combat and control the process with a promise of physical and mental well-being in the end.

This emphasis on anti-aging pervades other areas of health news in the magazine as well. In an article “15 Things You Need to Know About Sun Protection” from the June 2017 edition, dermatologist Robert Anolik MD is quoted stating: “when people come in for Botox, lasers, and fillers I tell them 90% of what we are aiming to treat – the wrinkles, brown spots, blood vessels, large pores – it’s strictly due to sun exposure” (Edgar, p. 26). This article highlights the way in which health concerns that might arise from sun exposure are primarily related to physical manifestations of age. Moreover, the use of sunblock is addressed less to circumvent health concerns such as cancer and instead treated as a way to help prevent and solve the aging problem.

Age is not something that can be controlled. However, the theme of aging, like many other themes mentioned in these magazines, is viewed as something that individual women can control and something they should evaluate in their own life and seek to address in their body project.

Health related articles that were separate from weight loss were also looked at in the sample. Interestingly, these articles were usually part of a section in the magazines titled “Live Healthy.” This is a bit ironic as the entire magazine is supposed to be focused on “Health.” Relegating actual health topics to this one section of the magazine helps to reinforce the idea that weight loss and appearance are the primary means through which the magazine addresses health issues. The topics in this section range from sun protection to mental health (“Be More Zen,” September 2017), stress reduction, and finding happiness. A smaller part of the “Live

Healthy” section is titled “Our Doc Will See You Now,” a section that asks readers to write in with questions for Heath’s medical editor, Roshini Rajapaksa, MD. While a number of these questions were related to women’s health specifically, many also were focused on weight and appearance. For example, one reader’s question was titled, “There is a random dark hair that grows on my chin. What the heck?” (Rajapaksa, p. 65). Also included here were questions pertaining to cellulite or other non-threatening appearance “problems.”

While age and general health are not issues that seem necessarily related to appearance culture, in this analysis we can recognize that these issues are also bound up with the idea of the body as a project and intertwined with concepts of appearance as an integral part of this project.

Discussion

The type of articles that can be found in *Health* magazine reveal a few very important things about the way Western appearance culture works and the effects it has on society. One thing that became obvious in this research was the emphasis on self-motivation and hard work as the tools to not only improve bodies but also lives, mentality, diets, and even age. Everything and anything can be improved. The articles in these magazines encourage women to do things like meditate once a day, stretch every morning, exercise to “age-proof” one’s body, use certain creams, take certain supplements, cook like this, eat these foods, avoid these foods, and to wear sunblock, just to name a few. These practices promise results like looking younger, losing weight, having more energy, feeling less stressed, and being happy. The overarching message is that you are in control of these aspects of your life; therefore, you are in control of your own happiness. This message encourages women to view their body as a project that can be molded, shaped, and, ultimately, transformed. Talking about the human body in this way ensures constant attention and self-surveillance. It marks attention to beauty ideals and our quest to meet those as personal choice and freedom and limits challenges

to the use of time, effort, money, and resources that feed such projects.

Conclusion

This analysis helped to show the ways in which *Health* magazine is complicit in Western appearance culture’s view of the body as a project that needs to be worked on and constantly improved. Whether it was through discussions of weight loss, age prevention, or general health, appearance culture was at work throughout the pages in every edition of the magazine, constantly calling on the readers to actively fix something about themselves. Analyzing these articles through a post-feminist lens, it is evident that health and fitness magazines are an extremely effective place to study the power of Western appearance culture. Even in a magazine that is titled “Health,” there is an overwhelming amount of content that calls women to work on improving their bodies and their appearance while sharing promising testimonials of women who have turned their lives around and are feeling happier, healthier, and more empowered than ever because they chose to put themselves first and make a change. It can be argued that the panoptic gaze is also at work throughout the content in these magazines. This mentality takes the body and beauty standards that society has set and makes women believe that these standards are their own, leading to a private struggle to meet these standards. Confessions were found in every edition, ranging from the confessions of celebrities to confessions of everyday women, asking the reader to relate to the struggles of these women. Lastly, this analysis also helps to show how members of appearance culture take on these issues as their own, treating this orientation toward constant improvement as an individual choice and under individual control. However, this distracts for larger political, social, or economic issues that might be important to projects of transformation and larger issues of happiness. Ultimately this analysis helps to illuminate the ways that popular health and fitness magazines use mechanisms and language to motivate women to see their body as a project that needs constant attention and upkeep in order to assign value to

their lives and make improvements on themselves.

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The Establishment of National Self: Combating the Influence of the Empire in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*

DANIELLE SIMOES

From the years 1815-1914 over 14 million square miles and 450 million people were under the power of the imperial British Empire. To this day, the countries once occupied by the dominating power are struggling to regain their political independence, while simultaneously reasserting and remembering their own country's and peoples' identity. The independence of a country comes with more than just a new government and freedom for the people; there is political unrest, economic upset, and public turmoil as both country and people attempt to establish who and what they are. For India, independence from Britain was not the smooth transition as was hoped; the great mother country left the land in a state of war and division that the new Indian government had to face from the onset of their establishment. With upset raging from the borders of Pakistan, the government of India did not and could not provide its people with a sense of security. Coupled with ethnic and religious tensions that remained from the time of British occupation, as well as the convoluted standards of living left over from the regime, the people of India struggled to identify who they were and what their country stood for. As the British canon of literature focuses strongly on honor, civility, monarchy, and propriety, the climate within the newfound country of India reflected values that both aligned with and diverted from that of their previous law maker. The literature that is produced within a nation has the capability to shape not only readers of the time, but future generations as well.

As a result, a nation's canon must change with the times it faces. Though not all people will always agree on what should be included within such an illustrious group, texts within the canon need to be reflective of both the positive and negative attributes of a nation. For India the literature that is most reflective of their struggles will make the largest impact on their establishment of a new national self-distinction. Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* belongs within the canon of Indian literature, as both the novel and characters reflect the nation's need to establish a new identity that not only echoes the India that once was, but also one that embraces the benefits and rejects the negatives of the influence of the Western world.

Through asserting the value of uncontaminated "Indian" characters, the novel claims the importance of cultural purity both during and after the time of British rule, effectively displaying the desire of the people to establish a wholly "Indian" identity. *Midnight's Children* presents the main character, Saleem, as a subjective first-person narrator, looking back on his life from the time of his birth on the eve of Indian independence and reflecting on moments throughout. Readers must analyze and interpret the characters through his storytelling and weave in Saleem's interjections to fully comprehend the change that both he and the country undergo. In the Kashmir of Saleem's grandfather's world, the elderly boatman Tai feels as if the doctor's bag "represents Abroad; it is the alien thing, the invader, progress. And yes, it had indeed taken possession of the Doctor's mind"; "he was an alien, and therefore a person not completely to be trusted" (Rushdie 16, 25). The medical bag that Saleem's grandfather possesses is one that he acquired during his time serving in the British army as a doctor, and in the elderly neighbor's mind the bag is a representation of both the Empire's reach and permeation throughout his beloved India. This comment from a character who is categorized as purely Indian in every aspect of the ancient culture, reflects the sentiments of those who wish to depart from the influences of the British occupation. By placing the unpolluted character as a critique of Western contamination, the novel claims the innate superiority

of the untainted Indian in contrast to the Indian who exhibits or embraces the ways of the imposed Western culture. The acquisition of the British medical bag is a reversal of the phenomenon of the “oriental costume be[ing] seen as a sign of the colonial ‘right’ to appropriate foreign bodies and foreign culture” (Bates 324). This haunting appropriation of Western artifacts, coupled with Saleem’s grandfather’s prizing of the bag, shows the slow transition to colonial ways within the Indian subcontinent. The insistence of those who are seen as wholly Indian to maintain the cultural purity of their people is therefore contrasted within the novel to those who are being transformed by British ways, exemplifying the duality of sentiments that were transpiring in the country.

The attempts of the characters to maintain the pre-occupation mindset of their ancestors, as well as the aim of Indian peoples to remain untainted by negative Western customs, is shown by the novel trumpeting the subservience and docile nature of female characters. Though it is showcased in numerous female characters throughout the book, the specific evolution of the Brass Monkey’s character strikes at the heart of the matter, as her rebellious, out-spoken youth is transformed into the culturally docile behavior expected by her Indian/Pakistani family. Growing up as Saleem’s younger sister, Jamila’s nickname of the Brass Monkey slowly fades as she grows older. After her adaptation to the overtly patriotic persona that she occupies as a singer, the Brass Monkey of Saleem’s youth becomes a young woman who is the embodiment of “truth, beauty, happiness, and pain”, as “being the new daughter-of-the-nation morphed her character owing more to the most strident aspects of the national persona than to the child-world of her Monkey years” (Rushdie 359). Jamila’s metamorphosis into a proper Indian woman is portrayed as a necessary maturation, as the novel presents her as a proper Indian woman whose abandonment of Western influences and embrace of traditional ways is one to be emulated throughout the nation. As observed by Gust—a scholar traveling in India post-independence—in independent India girls were transformed from being “disoriented and misdirected” regarding their future; they abandoned the

“inappropriate sphere” and their “frivolous deviation” from the culturally accepted planned path of docile subservience (Gust 284). By observing the shift in growing adolescent girls from tumultuous childhood mischief to reserve and obedience, Gust’s observations of girls in India directly mirror the behaviors that Rushdie details throughout the novel. The intended subservient lifestyle is thus showcased through not only Jamila’s character, but through the extolling of the female characters who remain within the accepted parameters of female behavior.

With an intense focus on the family dynamics of pre- and post-occupied India, *Midnight’s Children* reinforces the roles of members of Indian households while simultaneously devaluing the British and Western notions of family structure that are synonymous with expectations of female identity. As presented through both Saleem’s parents’ and grandparents’ relationship dynamics, women’s abhorrence to the British contamination of their men is a constant dividing point in marriages. The men simultaneously adhere to the Indian customs of being head of the household, while embracing the British customs of being independent and living in the ways they wish. In her youth, Nasseem was appalled by her new husband, shown by the narrator when she shrieks, “I know you Europe-returned men; you find terrible women and then you try to make up girls like them’... it set a tone for their marriage, which rapidly developed into a place of frequent and devastating warfare” (Rushdie 31). The novel therefore promotes the Indian culture and family conventions through the voiced opinions of spouses in each of the detailed generations, with a recurring theme of women accepting their place within the household, providing that the men displayed values that did not appear Westernized. A man’s place was at the head of the family and the maker of decisions, yet if a man became contaminated by Western ways, the woman consequently reserved the right to act in a manner parallel to their husband’s Westernized transgressions. Such women would assume the roles of westernized females in response to their husbands’ behaviors in order to fight back against western influences and to aid them in the family’s return to a more Indian

lifestyle. Their refusal to accept their husbands' colonized ways led the women in the novel to refuse the traditional Indian family dynamic. Regarding self-advancement, "their relationship [that of a husband and wife] was secondary to her position as future wife in the home"; especially regarding the aspects of public appearance and thoughtfulness to the improvement of their family (Gust 279). As a scholar of contemporary Indian studies, Gust's commentary on the roles of women in the shifting society shows the struggle to maintain the identity of an Indian wife in the increasingly westernized world. Based on Gust's research and observations, the dynamic of an Indian wife in the public eye was dependent on a level of docility and subservience to her husband, while in the private realm, her role was to do whatever she had to in order to preserve her family- even if that meant falling into a westernized role. To have a relationship that was entirely Indian was of the utmost importance in the society, even if it meant that a family's private life was riddled with western ways.

With the first several chapters of the novel focusing solely on the establishment of Saleem's lineage and its importance, *Midnight's Children* shows characters' high regard for ancestry and its pertinence when defining one's national self in the new country. At the realization of Saleem's familial illegitimacy, his unpreparedness at Padma's shock leads him to explain to the misunderstanding woman that:

there is something more important than that. It's this... we all found that it made no difference! I was still their son: they remained my parents. In a kind of collective failure of imagination, we learned that we simply could not think our way out of our pasts. If you had asked my father who his son was, nothing on earth would have induced him to point elsewhere. (Rushdie 131)

This importance of lineage reflected the ideal that bloodlines has less an impact than did the sentiments and feelings of belonging within a family. For a more westernized, and specifically British society, familial lines that are directly linked to blood are placed above a sense of family. If the novel—and consequently Saleem—

had trumpeted British values in this situation, Saleem's family would have been appalled to learn his truth. By adhering instead to a more Indian value system, they accept him as their son, and their lineage and history becomes his own.

It is crucial to note that the prevalence of Indian peoples who mimic or display racist British values is shown clearly throughout the novel, while simultaneously maintaining that Indian values are to be privileged above British values. Reflecting the Western views of "whiteness as purity" the people of India are shown throughout the novel to still exhibit to the racial prejudice and colorism that pervaded the country during British occupation. There is a constant sentiment throughout *Midnight's Children* where characters exclaim, "How awful to be black, cousinji, to wake every morning and see it staring at you, in the mirror to be shown proof of your inferiority! Of course they know; even blackies know white is nicer. Don't you think so?" (Rushdie 75). As characters throughout the novel are repeatedly judged for the lightness or darkness of their skin tone, *Midnight's Children* singles out the institution of racism as a negative remnant of the Western world that had been so deeply instilled, that even after independence the ideology remained. In a more modern India, it is argued by scholars such as Varma that their "citizens cannot be color-coded into white, black, or yellow"—a clear fighting back against the institutions of Western racism and colorism in an attempt to emulate an Indian identity that is not based off of one's appearance (Varma 48). *Midnight's Children* comments on the importance of overcoming such sentiments in making India a better place, one that is without the negativity of racism and colorism that was introduced through the influence of the British Empire.

Written as the manifestation of the newly independent India, Saleem's character is a direct and intentional manifestation of the nation, with both he and his country facing trials and tribulations, as they mature over time. Even the physical features of Saleem mirror India, as his teacher so crudely points out that "In the face of this ugly ape, do you see the whole map of India" (Rushdie 265). Born at the stroke of midnight on the day of

independence, the novel uses Saleem as a human manifestation of the birth of a new India, going as far as displaying the country's landscape on his physical features. Through such an embodiment, India is treated like a child which allows the reader to see the maturation of both the country and the person through the simultaneous experiences that are presented to readers. Saleem's troubles as an adolescent are mirrored through the struggles of political and ethnic strain that are present from the onset of the nation. *Midnight's Children* consequently reveals that the insecurities and struggles that Saleem faces during his childhood mirror the effects of the British rule "which left Indians with a lack of self-respect from which they have taken decades to recover" (Robinson 63). Though Robinson makes this argument, the Indian people are continuing to recover from the influences of the British Empire. The country continues to mature and outgrow the effects of colonization, much like a maturing individual.

As a final show of control, the encouragement of the British Empire to create Pakistan left the new Indian government as a country which was pushing for division and civil war before dependence from the mother country was even official. Rushdie thus shows the overreaching impact of British colonization and India's desperate attempts regain its stability in the wake of war. The division which created the two separate countries effectively created the further division of the nation, as eight years following independence "India had been divided anew, into fourteen states and six centrally-administered 'territories'... language divided us" (Rushdie 216). A nation that was once comprised of numerous ethnical entities was divided not by their ways of life, but how an outside governing force saw fit. Though the British Empire had no formal hand in the post-occupation division of India, their influence was an undoubtable force. Tackling the undoubtable issues that face the self-governing body, scholars argue that "British rule, despite hypocritical government claims to the contrary ... undermined its political unity to keep it under British control, applied a racist rule of law ... for utilitarian reasons" (Robinson 63). When considering this strong point, the novel thus becomes

a commentary on the abuses of the British Empire, while at the same time, the novel acknowledges the issues that face the new Indian national government in its fruition. By tackling the issues of the country head on and calling for acknowledgement of fault, *Midnight's Children* presents itself as a novel which has the improvement of India in mind, not that of the former mother country.

With mounting religious and ethnic tensions, newly independent India faced its future with a population that was more divided than united. *Midnight's Children* scripts such sentiments as results of British control and condemns those who align with such beliefs throughout the novel. The sentiments that are strewn between the religiously, ethnically, and culturally divided India become a feature of the novel as the described "damnfool Hindu firebugs" are presented to readers as convoluted naysayers (Rushdie 78). This contrasts with the voiced Hindu sentiments for peace that were popularized during the early post-occupation era. As both the Muslims and the Hindus are villainized and portrayed as at fault throughout *Midnight's Children*, the novel presents readers with the notion that even though the post-occupation time of Pakistani and Indian division was a vital part in the establishment of the new India, it is not a part which should be honored or perpetuated. Before the influence of the British empire there were always moments of disagreement between Muslim and Hindu people, yet with the notion of physical and forced separation, the unrest became violent and catastrophic. The unrest is a key part of the country's history and cannot be forgotten. Though tensions are currently still high between the countries, the religious and ethnic intolerance is an issue brought up in the novel that fixed to create an India that is whole and has overcome the negative impacts of the British regime.

Drawing from the political unrest that was central in the Hindu-Muslim violence, *Midnight's Children* makes the seemingly polar institutions of marriage and politics synonymous by reflecting the commitment of the people to take their past and place it within their future. With the fear of "the brain being softened

by fancy foreign ideas of ... unnatural marriage” coupled with the notion of “India rising up to confound her present; the new-born, secular state was being given an awesome reminder of its fabulous antiquity, in which democracy and votes for women were irrelevant”—exhibiting the people’s desire to return to their pre-occupation roots (Rushdie 73, 81). The use of the phrase “new born” to describe India is one which stipulates that India, much like a child, is the outcome of a relationship. By insinuating that the new Indian government is the product of Indian political tradition and British colonization, Rushdie is making the relationship similar to a marital one. By using marriage as a symbol of creation in regard to a political entity, the novel consequently equates the institutions of marriage and government. Such sentiments show the need of India to abandon the influences of the British people as well as create a new self, drawing on the idea that their history is valuable, and that to return to a true Indian self, they must essentially return to such a time. By using literature to communicate such beliefs, the Indian people are represented as a nation that is desperate to detach itself from the negative influence of the British empire while attempting to retain what inevitably makes it better. Through the reworking of institutions such as marriage and politics, “the idea that political power was something that had to expand, conquer, and subdue was replaced by the idea that political power was the legitimate means of coercion solely for purposes of internal order and external security” (Parel 43). With the inherent need for internal order, the novel recognizes the attempts of the people to find a sense of security through adherence to ancient Indian culture and lifestyle.

The Conference of the Midnight Children within the novel functions as an entity that is entirely Indian by birth, and through the multiplicity of people and situations, the multifaceted futures of the country are shown as both the nation and the children mature. Through this fictitious group, Rushdie is able to present to readers individuals who were all born on the night that India gained its independence from the British Empire. By manufacturing the characters and giving them magical capabilities, the novel shows that the new India can create something that was never before seen—a people

who were an amalgamation of new and old India. In Saleem’s reflection upon the remarkability of the *Midnight Children*, he confesses that:

A thousand and one children were born; there were a thousand and one possibilities which have never been present in one place at one time before; and there were a thousand and one dead ends. Midnight children can be made to represent many things according to your point of view ... but what they must not become is a bizarre creation of a rambling diseased mind. (Rushdie 230)

This willingly open interpretation within the novel allows readers to view this fictional feat in theoretically any way they see fit. Nevertheless, despite an individual’s interpretation, the children are presented as a phenomenon that is entirely Indian, uncontaminated by British and western influences of the past. The connection between the group’s members cannot transcend India’s borders, nor can the children forget that they are the first product of this new world. They are a product of India and therefore must remain there to reach their full potential. As India is known by the outside world as “a land where imagination was privileged over reality,” the novel does not shy away from the mystical past, but instead embraces it within the context of the modern world (Bates 312). As the children’s extreme importance is shown through their tumultuous lives, they mirror the country, and much like Saleem himself, become the embodiment of the numerous futures and paths that were available for the people residing within its borders. *Midnight’s Children* therefore solidifies the importance of post-occupation India and the culture it embraced, moving it into a role of utmost importance to the newly independent nation.

By belonging to the Indian canon of literature, *Midnight’s Children* embodies the struggle of the Indian people to establish a new sense of self that is separate from the negative influences of the Western world as possible. In spite of the innate need to establish a communal self, the novel also exemplifies the struggle of determining what exactly this self was. Because India was never an organized country before British colonization, the collection

of numerous ethnicities, religions, and cultures under a singular government became a struggle for both the early British Empire and the early Indian government. “Indian-ness” thus become a new projection—one which takes the old and combines it with the new, creating a fusion of thoughts that become a new national self-identity. Embodied throughout Rushdie’s work, the Indian canon of literature is presented as one which is birthed by independence, mirrored in both the structure and character development throughout the novel. Through the authorship of the book, Rushdie adds to the genre of Indian literature through a similar approach of the much-revered Gandhi; he “updated the old Indian canon and made the innovated version suitable for a recognizably Indian way of thinking” (Parel 40). Though Gandhi was a prominent political figure in India, his thoughts are shown as those of a nation and consequently must be represented throughout the nation’s literature. *Midnight’s Children* places itself within this new national canon by mirroring the evolution of thought and structure throughout time with the emergence of a people that were an amalgamation of their multiple pasts and futures.

Without this novel in the country’s canon, the struggle to develop a sense of self in the aftermath of the British Empire would be lost. To recover from imperialism, India faced numerous struggles and was forced to mature by tackling issues of belonging head on. The novel presents to readers the idea that the transition of power was difficult and multifaceted—there was no easy path to create a definable people. Though independence was declared in a single day, the process of creating a national identity is one which is ever fluctuating. *Midnight’s Children* presents to readers the notion that the path to identity, namely an Indian identity, moves in a direction that is difficult to navigate. There is maturity and experience that comes with age, and with such age come the increase in responsibility and issues. Rushdie provides to the people of India a lens to look through, knowing that each part of their identity is not manifested overnight, but comes instead with struggles that must be faced and lessons that must be learned. Shaping and identifying the culture of India, *Midnight’s Children*

places value on the retention of ancient Indian thought while simultaneously acknowledging the influences of Western culture. By doing so, it shows the people of the Indian nation that such influences are acceptable as long as there is a remembrance of and adherence to the old ways of the subcontinent.

The Indian canon of literature is one which will continue to evolve, much like any other body of work. As a result, it is imperative to include works within the canon that showcase the evolution of the country after its gained independence. Post colonization, the struggle to regain a sense of self and national identity is a pertinent issue which faces such countries, and literary canons identify the hardships and progress along the way. By providing readers with a value system to follow and recognize themselves within, a nation’s canon of literature is vital to the progression of the self-identity within a country. It is unpardonable to reject a work for a national canon if it does not show that nation in an entirely positive light. In cases where a text is being considered for a country’s literary canon, there are always people or groups who oppose it for one reason or another. At times it is because the content may not fit into the country’s past canon, or there may be trouble with the material or author’s opinions. Novels that challenge the country are those that should be widely read and appreciated—not for what they say, necessarily, but for what they expose and try to change. An author should be honored for a work that looks critically at a nation and all it has faced, for creating a masterpiece that is the embodiment of a people’s sense of self. No country can mature without the influence of its people, and no people can establish their sense of self without the knowledge of what their national identity means.

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The Fate of “American Prosperity” in the Age of Tech: An Analysis of the H-1B Visa Program

MARINA SMOSKE

I. Introduction

On April 18, 2017, President Donald Trump signed Executive Order 13788 calling for a review of the H-1B visa program, effectively taking the first step towards visa reforms to reverse what he dubbed the “theft of American prosperity” (Beckwith, 2016). Just over a week later, he reaffirmed his administration’s commitment to American workers, stating in a subsequent speech that his foreign policy “will always put the interests of the American people and American security above all else.... this will ensure that our own workers, right here in America, get the jobs and higher pay that will grow our tax revenues, increase our economic might as a nation, and make us strong financially again” (Beckwith, 2016).

For many political pundits and average Americans alike, Trump’s call for scrutinizing the H-1B visa program was hardly unforeseen, as he echoed a sentiment common in the public discourse on employment in the United States during the primaries: “They are taking our jobs. China is taking our jobs. Japan is taking our jobs. India is taking our jobs. It is not going to happen anymore, folks” (Worstell, 2016). Trump’s assertion has become so exceedingly commonplace in the context of economic uncertainty that it has morphed into a sort of truism in the collective consciousness of many Americans who fear for their jobs. As such, it is hardly a leap of logic to regard Trump’s desire to review the H-1B program, the country’s flagship employment-based nonimmigrant visa program for attracting temporary workers in

specialty occupations, as a step toward curbing the outsourcing of American labor and hobbling foreign competition from “stealing” American jobs.

Yet despite the cultural fervor aimed at employing Americans first, there is little research that explores the role of the H-1B visa in this supposed phenomenon, particularly with respect to India’s role in the rapidly-evolving tech industry. That being the case, the goal of this research is to investigate trends in the volume of Indian H-1B recipients vis-à-vis economic, social, and political factors that may influence these trends in order to determine whether or not America needs H-1B labor. To this end, I will first supply a brief explanation of the genesis of the H-1B program. I will then identify and describe trends in Indians’ use of the H-1B in relation to other top recipient countries, occupational groups, leading visa sponsors, and the demand for temporary workers in specialized fields. Finally, I will attempt to draw conclusions which speak to whether or not America needs H-1B labor.

II. Methods

To compile data on the quantity and demographic characteristics of H-1B recipients, I analyzed the *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* and the *Characteristics of H-1B Specialty Occupation Workers* reports to Congress, both of which are released annually by the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services agency.

To provide the most comprehensive scope of information possible, I collected data for the years 2000 through 2015. This timespan encompassed the most significant trends and contextual events germane to the subject matter and was selected due to availability of consistent data. Historical data on the H-1B visa is incomplete prior to fiscal year 2000, and thus does not appear in USCIS reports or any other government publications dated before the release of the *2000 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. After the year 2002, the H-1B data section is no longer included in *Yearbooks of Immigration Statistics*; the reports on the characteristics of H-1B workers served to provide similar data.

Concurrent to my data collection, I reviewed the limited research on the H-1B visa in addition to online news coverage spanning the length of the time period examined. For several reasons, the 2000-2015 data are predictive of trends in 2018 and the near future. The consistently high percentage of H-1Bs originating from India during this period (see Fig. 2) give no indication of imminent change. As market conditions have not since changed, the general distribution of visas in the 2000-2015 period remains economically advantageous.

III. The H-1B Program

Though the United States had been admitting skilled temporary nonimmigrant workers since 1952 through the “H1” program, the current H-1B program was established through the Immigration Act of 1990 (IMMACT). This act allowed for the admission of nonimmigrant workers in specialty occupations, defined as “requiring theoretical and practical application of a body of highly-specialized knowledge and the attainment of a bachelor’s degree or higher (or its equivalent) in the field of specialty,” such as medicine, law, and engineering (IMMACT). The newly-minted program set a cap of 65,000 recipients per fiscal year. Recipients are granted a three year duration of stay that is extendable to up to six years, during which time some visa holders attempt to gain citizenship.

The petitioning process begins with the prospective employer, who submits a Labor Condition Application (LCA) to the United States Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration. If approved, the LCA is submitted in conjunction with a 1-129 Petition for a Nonimmigrant Worker form and application fee to the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services within the Department of Homeland Security. USCIS approves H-1B packages in the order received until the cap is reached, after which point a computer-generated “lottery” process is used to select visa recipients from the pool of applicants. After the State Department conducts an interview and verifies the supporting documentation of those selected, a visa is issued.

Since its inception, the H-1B visa program has undergone numerous transformations in response to shifting market conditions, political scrutiny and the accelerating forces of globalization. Throughout these changes, however, what remains apparent is the growing significance of computer occupations and prevalence of Indian nationals in the H-1B labor pool.

IV. H-1B by Occupation

In examining the H-1B recipient population with respect to occupation, the predominance of computer-related occupations is immediately apparent. Divided into ten occupational categories, the *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* delineates the number of beneficiaries and leading country of birth for each category. Represented as percentages, computer-related occupations maintain the lion’s share of H-1B visas, regularly garnering around half of the total visas issued. In comparison, the second most common occupational group—including architecture, engineering and surveying—remains a distant second at an average of 11% of H-1Bs issued between 2000 and 2015, while the competing groups of administrative specializations and education average 8% and 11%, respectively (see figure 1). The predominance of computer-related occupations aligns with developments in the technology industry, producing the labor market conditions wherein “the information technology industry has come to dominate the H-1B visa as no single industry has previously” (Lowell, 2000, p.33).

By the year 2000, the high volume of computer-related H-1Bs were granted on the heels of India’s “techno take-off” (Chakravartty, 2006). This, combined with market liberalization, prompted an explosion of Indian technology firms in the United States, including Infosys and Tata Consultancy services, whose economic significance in the United States and use of outsourcing came to become defining features in the “new paradigm of economic and labor policy ushered in by H-1B labor” (Sahoo, 2010, p.295; “India Leading the Charge,” 1999; Hahm 2000). At the same time, the United States was experiencing

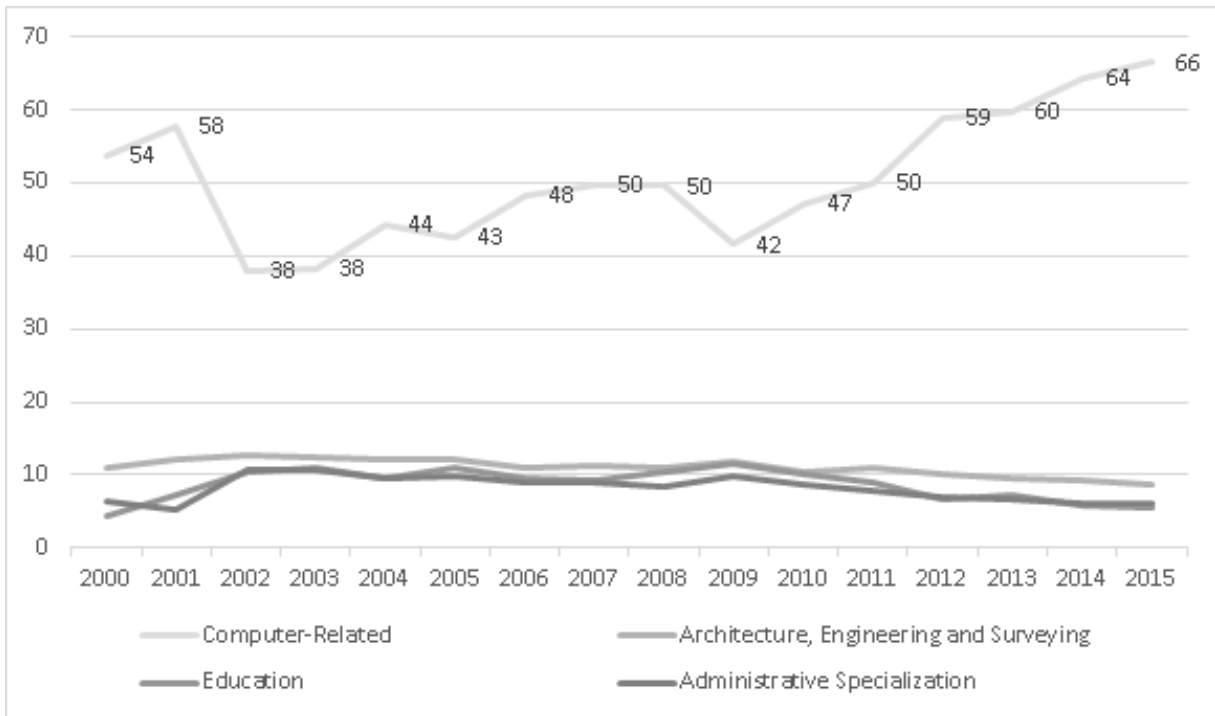


Figure 1. Percentage of H-1B Visas in Top Four Occupations
(Source: USCIS)

“voracious demand” for skilled workers in information technology to help mitigate the shortage of domestic talent suited to meet the needs of the rapidly-growing industry (Hahm, 2000). The occupational data mirrors this industry growth through the year 2015, dipping only in response to changes in the cap brought on by legislation and the Great Recession in 2009; the former will be discussed in greater detail later. In addition to explaining the sheer number of H-1Bs granted after 2000, the confluence of market liberalization, high demand for computer workers in the United States, and the Indian technology boom have a great deal of explanatory power in terms of to whom H-1B visas are awarded most.

V. H-1B by Country

By the late 1990s, India was emerging as a global leader in technology, with software exports as its fastest growing industry and a plentiful supply of IT professionals; it was also producing an increasing number of computer science and engineering graduates willing to work overseas. As a result, Indian H-1Bs saw “a remarkable pattern of growth” from 1989 to 1999, at which point they accounted for 47% of all H-1B visas issued (Lowell, 2000, p.33). This trend was augmented as a result of the Y2K panic. In addition to the extensive outsourcing of code-writing to India from American tech giants such as Microsoft and IBM along with a host of other multinational corporations, American firms began hiring Indian programmers en masse to rewrite code and

mitigate the technological meltdowns anticipated at the turn of the millennium (“India Leading the Charge, 1999). Indian programmers far outnumbered China’s comparatively fledgling IT migrant labor force, and the legacy of the Y2K panic for Indian H-1B holders is visible through the year 2001.

In addition to the shifting “global marketplace for labor, the rapidly-growing IT sector... [and] pool of English-speaking Indian engineers” that made the country an attractive source for H-1B labor in the late 90s and early 2000s, social forces created momentum for the continued influx of H-1B petitions from India (Lowell, 2000, p.35; Sahoo 2010). Though “significant numbers” of professionals in other fields from other Asian countries are employed in the United States via H-1B visas, India became “the dominant nation almost certainly because... prior waves of Indian information technology workers have successfully established a beachhead in an industry that places them first in the demand queue” (Chakravarty, 2006, p.44; Cornelius et al., 2001, p.151). Indeed, as a result of Y2K Indian-educated computer scientists established such a positive reputation that they were “actively sought out by American employers” (Sahoo, 2010, p.302). For H-1B recipients, established ethnic networks in the United States served to ease the transition to working overseas, as “increased communications between diaspora and homeland communities” created greater awareness of disparities in living standards and the financial opportunities that accompany a job in the United States (Sahoo, 2010, p.304). In India, increasing government recognition of the economic potential of non-resident Indians, or “NRIs,” coupled with the successes of Indian IT entrepreneurs in the United States “sparked the imagination and aspirations of millions of young Indians” who sought opportunities in IT (Chakravartty, 2006, p.49).

Such social forces proved enduring over time and remain visible in the growing majority of Indian H-1B visa holders as of 2015. With the exception of the Great Recession of 2009, in fact, the only dip in Indian H-1Bs occurred at the height of

the “dot-com bubble,” the period between 2000 and 2002 where a proliferation of internet industry generated unanticipated competition, resulting in plummeting stock values for internet companies and the “disappearance” of thousands of IT jobs (Munro, 2001). As the industry began its rebound by 2003 (see figure 2), India’s growing share of the H-1B labor pool becomes increasingly apparent, though the sheer volume of Indian H-1B holders can be obscured by the changes in the H-1B cap.

VI. Demand for the H-1B Visa: A Closer Look at Caps

No examination of the H-1B program would be adequate without taking into consideration the impact of the historical changes in the program’s acceptance cap, which is primarily and historically driven by the technology industry.

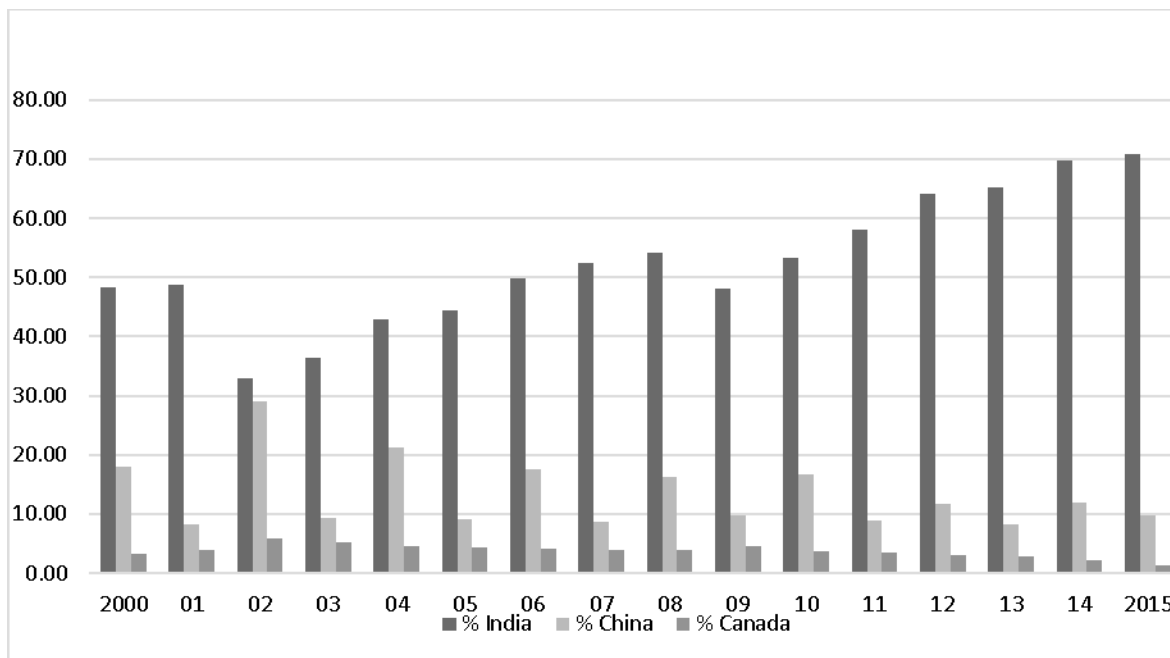


Figure 2: Percentage of H-1B Visas Approved for Top Three Countries (Source: USCIS)

While the program’s initial cap was set at a then- modest 65,000 acceptances under the Immigration Act of 1990, the literature notes that “demand for foreign workers skyrocketed” in the face of a “booming economy, low unemployment, and shortage of skilled workers” (Hahm, 2000, p.1682). Within a climate of “ravenous demand” for skilled technology professionals, the upper limits of the H-1B cap were increasingly tested until 1997, when for the first time the program was oversubscribed (Lowell, 2000, p. 30). Recognizing the need for reform to meet the burgeoning demand, the technology industry successfully lobbied Congress for a near-doubled cap of 115,000 visas through 2001, which came to fruition via the American Competitiveness and Workforce Improvement Act of 1998 (ACWIA) (Hahm, 2000). For the same reason, this legislation was quickly followed by the American Competitiveness in the 21st Century Act (AC21). In addition to raising the cap once again, this time to the all-time high of 195,000 visas for fiscal years 2001 through 2003, AC21 introduced

cap exemptions for employers meeting specific criteria, such as “an institution of higher education or related nonprofit entity, nonprofit research or government research entity” (Ruiz et al., 2016, p.4). Exemptions also applied to visa holders changing employers and those reapplying for a three-year extension on their existing H-1B visa (Lowell, 2000). Later, the passage of the H-1B Visa Reform Act of 2004 reverted the cap back to 65,000 visas (see figure 3). However, it also established provisions for an additional 20,000 visas beginning the following fiscal year specifically for applicants with Master’s degrees. This effectively raised the cap to its current level of 85,000, which has since remained unchanged.

In examining the changes in the cap over time, what becomes apparent, and what is crucial to outline, is that the cap alone is not the most useful determinant of demand. Because not all employers are subject to the cap, as is also the case with renewals, the number of petitions granted and the number of H-1B visa workers in the United States at any given time can outnumber the

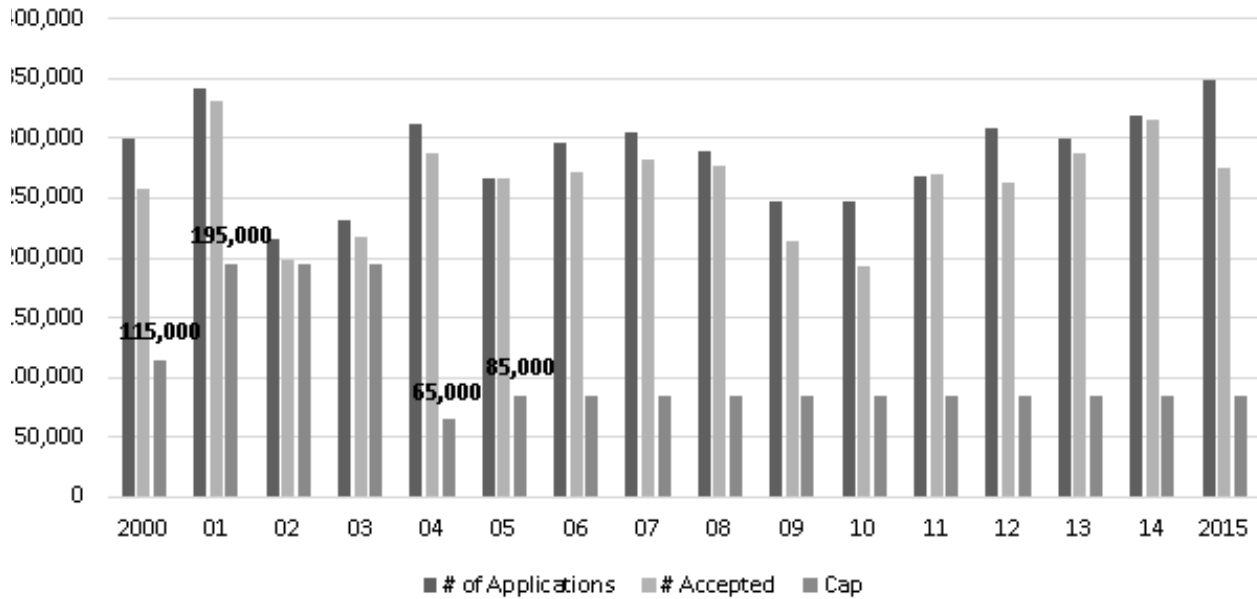


Figure 3: H-1B Applications and Approvals in Relation to Annual Caps (Source: USCIS)

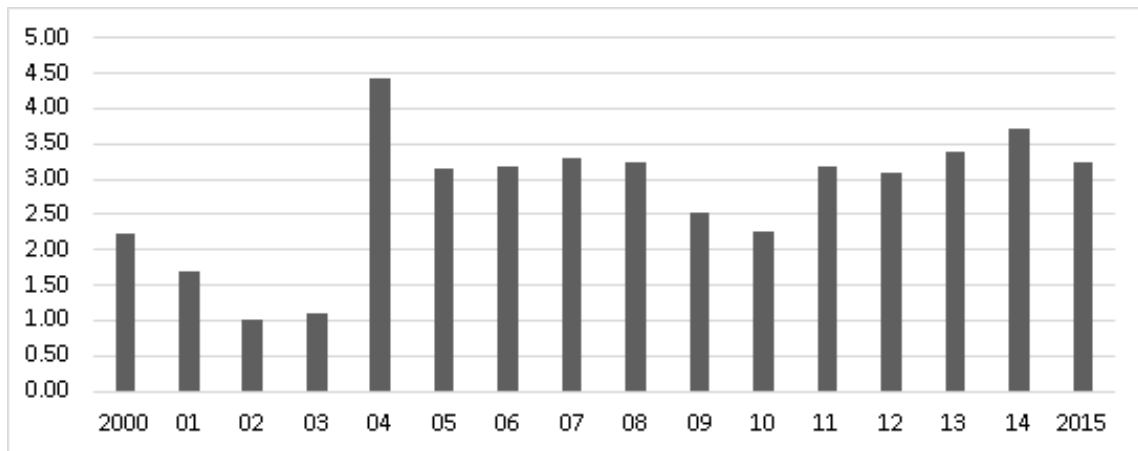


Figure 4: Proportion of H-1B Annual Cap Approved (Source: USCIS)

cap several times over (see figure 4). This issue is compounded by the fact that “in some cases, more than one U.S. employer submitted a petition on behalf of an individual H-1B worker (Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, 2002, p.96). One petition, therefore, is not necessarily equal to one worker. Indeed, it is frequently reported that though the cap has remained unchanged since the addition of the Master’s degree quota, the structure of the program allows for the number of valid H-1B visas to continue to grow steadily, numbering over 400,000 in 2015 (Lichfield, 2017). Instead, to gain

a full understanding of demand, one must consider the extent to which the cap is exceeded, and why. If anything is to be gleaned from what information the cap does provide, however, it is that the cap’s increases over time—coupled with the sheer volume of petitions approved and H-1B visa holders in the United States at any given time—is a solid indication that H-1B labor is strongly needed in the field of information technology.

VII. Concluding Remarks and Recommendations for Further Study

In response to the question, “does America need H-1B labor?” the findings of this project would indicate that the short answer is a tentative “yes.” The data relating to occupational categories for the H-1B show that the vast majority of H-1B visas are awarded to those in computer-based occupations. Considered in conjunction with the growth of the technology industry, the increasing predominance of computer-based H-1Bs mirrors the growing demand in the industry. India’s “techno boom” and high volume of IT professionals, combined with the social incentive of established ethnic communities in the United States, made it the ideal and predominant source for H-1B labor, and that trend continues to the present day. The United States’ selective use of Indian H-1B labor evinces the need for specialized skills that the domestic labor force cannot alone fulfill. Finally, the sheer number and proportion of H-1B petitions granted in relation to the cap serves as strong evidence of high demand.

The longer, more complex answer to the same question requires further examination of the H-1B visa program. To better determine the nature of the demand for H-1B labor, many other aspects of the program must be taken into consideration, such as the number of H-1B visa holders who become American citizens; the incidence of wage depression for American IT workers; claims of discrimination and displacement of older Americans by younger visa holders; as well as alleged abuse of the H-1B visa by powerful multinational corporations in an attempt to cut costs. While delving into such topics was not possible for this project, these are also crucial dimensions to investigate to allow for more definitive conclusions.

As of the time of completion of this paper, January 2018, no changes have been made to the H-1B visa program as a result of Executive Order 13788. Nonetheless, as the Trump Administration continues to scrutinize immigration and labor policy, the possibility of reform remains viable, and its implications economically,

politically, and socially salient.

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Marina Smoske is a graduating senior majoring in Political Science and minoring in Geography. Her research project was conducted in the summer of 2017 while visiting the global technology hubs of Bangalore and Hyderabad, India, made possible with funding from an Undergraduate Research Abroad Grant. Under the mentorship of Dr. Madhu Rao and Dr. Martin Grossman, she continued her research project through Fall 2017. She plans to pursue graduate studies in International Affairs.

Exploring the Impact that Mentorship has on College Preparedness

KATIE TRUDELL

INTRODUCTION

College preparedness is an important topic within educational research. Scholars have not yet come to a consensus on how college preparedness should be defined, but previous research has noted the significant impact that an individual's high school experience can have on their ability to prepare for college (Farmer-Hinton 2008; Glater 2016; Holland 2006; Reid and Moore 2008; Wimberly and Noeth 2004). Often students who are involved in extracurricular activities and complete advanced coursework in high school are more prepared to transition into higher education (Conley 2008; Glater 2016; Reid and Moore 2008). Furthermore, low-income and first-generation students require additional support from their high schools because they often do not receive information about college from their family members (Farmer-Hinton 2008; Glater 2016; Gullatt and Jan 2003; Holland 2009; Reid and Moore 2008; Wimberly and Noeth 2004). Therefore, it is important to examine the ways that high schools support or fail to support students as they prepare for college.

In this study, I interviewed 18 Bridgewater State University students from Brockton, Taunton, Fall River, and New Bedford, four small cities in southeastern Massachusetts. The purpose of this research is to confirm whether or not the qualitative data collected in this study mirrors the findings that previous researcher have found. The data collected from these interviews emphasizes the significant role that extracurricular involvement, advanced coursework, and college preparedness programs have on preparing students to transition into college. Students who

have the opportunity to develop one-on-one relationships with high school faculty and staff that provide them with academic and social assistance are often better prepared to transition into college. Therefore, the data collected in this research reinforces the significant role that high schools can play in preparing students for the transition into higher education.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous research has shown that college readiness is best examined through multiple lenses, including a student's academic coursework in high school, his or her involvement in enriching extracurricular activities, and his or her understanding of the college process (Glater 2016; Glennie *et al.* 2014; Holles 2016). Conley (2008) argues that students must have sufficient knowledge about "college culture" in order to succeed in higher education. They need to understand the application process, financial aid, and how to choose a school that fits their needs. Once they are enrolled, they must understand how to communicate with their professors, how to access academic resources, and how to manage their time in order to achieve academic success. Arnold *et al.* (2012: vii) also found that "college readiness" was best defined as "the multidimensional set of skills, traits, habits and knowledge that students need to enter and succeed in college." Therefore, college readiness cannot merely be measured through an individual's academic ability, because one's preparedness for college is impacted by multiple factors including academic performance, social skills, and college knowledge (Conley 2008).

Previous research has also shown that preparing for college is particularly challenging for low-income and first-generation students. First-generation students often do not receive assistance from their parents when preparing for college because their parents have had limited experience with college planning, as well as the application and financial aid processes. Holland (2009:25) found that "underrepresented students rely [solely] on their secondary schools for college preparation and guidance because they often have parents who have not completed college." When

students do not have immediate family members who have attended college, it is imperative that their high schools provide them with the information and support that they need to understand their options as well as how to navigate the college application process. Gullatt and Jan (2003:9) further explain the benefits that pre-college access programs can have for first-generation and low-income students. They explain that “these programs [are designed] to provide a student with high potential, but limited resources, with the support necessary to reach his/her individual academic goals, including college admission and enrollment.” For first-generation students who cannot rely on their parents for college support, these preparation organizations are invaluable resources.

College preparedness is important to explore in urban communities specifically because research has shown that these students are typically disadvantaged in the education system. Holland (2009:25) explains:

Students are less likely to have access to the human and material resources that are critical for college preparation. These students are less likely to be enrolled in academically rigorous courses or college preparatory tracks; and, the schools that many of these students attend have been less likely to provide students with sufficient opportunities to develop relationships with high school personnel who are solely responsible for guiding students through postsecondary planning activities.

Holland (2009) argues that students who attend urban high schools are at a disadvantage because the school often cannot provide the same access to critical college resources that smaller suburban schools can. Researchers have noted the significant role that extracurricular involvement, academically rigorous coursework, and access to college information plays in helping students to prepare for college. However, Holland (2009) notes that students in urban high schools are typically disadvantaged on all of these fronts.

Therefore, it is important to understand how students navigate this high school environment and what impact their high school experience has on their ability to prepare for college.

One-on-one relationships with high school staff and faculty provide students with the opportunity to ask questions about college and receive personalized assistance through the application process. Reid and Moore (2008:243) concur as their research concluded “that strong social and academic support networks are necessary for successful transition from high school to college”. Farmer-Hinton (2008:128) argues that these mentoring relationships are particularly important for first-generation students:

Students rely on their school networks where school leaders and teachers with collegiate experiences can supplement familial and local networks that have limited collegiate experiences. Besides the appropriate courses and academic support, students need the benefit of school networks to reinforce college expectations and provide college-planning tools and resources.

Therefore, first-generation students benefit greatly from relationships with high school staff and faculty who can supplement the knowledge about college that students cannot receive from family members. In her research, Farmer-Hinton (2008) found that students who lacked important knowledge about the college application process and college expectations were able to achieve their academic goals with the support of their high school social networks. Students who received guidance from teachers, counselors, and other school staff shared that their mentors made post-secondary education attainable. This research highlights the important role that high schools can play in preparing their students for college.

Previously published research has shown the important role that one’s high school experience can have on one’s ability to prepare for college. The academic and social supports that students receive

in high school lay the foundation for later success in college. Based on published data, students who are mentored by their guidance counselors, extracurricular advisors, and teachers are more prepared for their transition into higher education. Additionally, first-generation students are often particularly reliant on their high schools to provide them with guidance and experience to prepare them for college because they cannot use their parents as resources.

METHODOLOGY

For this qualitative study, 18 in-depth interviews were conducted with Bridgewater State University (BSU) students who graduated from an urban public high school in either Brockton, Taunton, Fall River, or New Bedford. Participants for this study were recruited primarily through convenience and snowball sampling methods. Because only specific urban communities were targeted for this study, I used convenience sampling methods to contact potential interviewees whom I knew personally through my involvement with different organizations on campus. Information about the study was also published on the BSU class pages on Facebook in an effort to access additional participants. Once some participants had agreed to be interviewed, snowball sampling methods were used to gain access to additional participants. All interviews were conducted at Bridgewater State University (BSU) in Bridgewater, Massachusetts between June and October 2017.

This sample consisted of 18 total participants, 12 of whom identified as female and 6 who identified as male. 10 interviewees graduated from Brockton High School; 1 graduated from Taunton High School; 2 graduated from B.M.C Durfee High School in Fall River; 4 graduated from New Bedford High School; and 1 interviewee graduated from a public vocational school in New Bedford. When asked to identify their race, 8 respondents identified as white; 7 identified as black or African American; 2 identified as Asian; and 1 participant identified as Dominican. In this sample, 15 out of the 18 participants identified as first-generation students. The names of all interviewees have been changed in order to protect their identity.

The data collection method utilized in this study was semi-structured interviews which consisted of both descriptive and reflective open-ended questions designed to give the interviewees the opportunity to explain their high school experience in depth and comment openly on how it impacted their preparation for college. In the interviews, participants discussed their coursework, extracurricular involvement, and employment in high school. In addition, the subjects described their college application process, their college coursework and their college employment. During the interview, the participants' responses were audio recorded so that they could be accurately transcribed. The transcribed data was then coded for key phrases and organized by theme for further analysis.

The research methods used in this study allow for the collection of descriptive and detailed information from participants. However, the data collected in the study is also limited because of the possibility of interviewer effect, because the personal contact that I had with a number of the participants could have influenced the data that was collected from their interviews. Other limitations in this study may include participants misunderstanding questions or misremembering past experiences, which can impact the data collected in qualitative interviews.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Research Statement 1: Students who were involved in extracurricular activities in high school will report feeling more prepared for the transition into college than those who did not report being involved in extracurriculars in high school.

Many interviewees remembered their involvement in high school extracurriculars as a support system which helped them significantly as they prepared for college. For Ben, from New Bedford, college became a reality for him as a result of his relationship with the Yearbook advisor. Ben explained that his advisor "really pushed [him] to go to college [because he] hadn't really thought about it much before that" (Ben, New Bedford HS). Similarly, Samantha, from New Bedford, recalled the Yearbook

advisor being “like a second mom” who helped her with everything from understanding financial aid to picking out college classes (Samantha, New Bedford HS). Both Ben and Samantha identify as first-generation college students, which meant that their family members were less able to offer advice about how to navigate the college application process. When family members were unable to assist, these high school mentors were an invaluable resource. The one-on-one relationships that club advisors often developed with the students in this study allowed them to share information about college and answer their students’ questions about college access and planning.

These findings mirror what Glater (2016) found in his research concerning the benefits of extracurricular activities. He argued that involvement in extracurricular activities in high school facilitated one’s success in college because students were able to build relationships with staff and faculty who could educate them about college expectations. Ben and Samantha’s reflections support what has been found in previous research and reinforces the important role mentorship plays for first-generation students specifically.

Three out of the 18 interviewees reported that they were not involved in any extracurricular activities offered by their high school. One interviewee, Ryan, did not feel adequately prepared for college, and, looking back, Ryan expressed that he was at a disadvantage because he was not heavily involved in high school extracurricular activities. He explained that he “did not take applying to college seriously. I applied to one college just because I looked it up. I did not even [do] other research” (Ryan, Brockton HS). Reflecting back, Ryan believed that if he had made more connections with the staff and faculty in his high school, he would have had more knowledge about different college opportunities. Furthermore, Ryan saw the benefits of extracurricular involvement when he enrolled at Massasoit Community College (MCC). Ryan reported that he “knew about internships because [he] was involved, [and] because [he] was talking to people. [He] knew about

opportunities.” (Ryan, Brockton HS). Ryan’s regret reinforces the important role that building relationships with high school faculty and staff has on a student’s preparation for college.

Ryan identifies as a first-generation student, and previous research has noted the importance of mentorship for first-generation students (Farmer-Hinton 2008; Holland 2009; Reid and Moore 2008). Ryan recognized after enrolling at MCC that building relationships with staff and faculty could provide him access to additional opportunities. In high school, Ryan did not get involved in extracurricular activities and he did not develop one-on-one relationships with the staff and faculty. As a result, he did not receive much advice or guidance through the college application process, and he did not know how to navigate it successfully. Farmer-Hinton (2008) notes that first-generation students often do not have enough information about college to successfully complete the college application process without the assistance of high school personnel, and Ryan’s reflections evidence a similar conclusion. Ryan regretted not being more involved in extracurricular activities while in high school, which reinforces the important role that the one-on-one relationships developed through clubs and organizations can have on students preparing for college.

Research Statement 2: Students who felt supported through the college application process by their guidance counselors and teachers will report feeling more prepared for higher education.

Subjects in this study viewed guidance counselors as important mentors who helped them to prepare for college. Many interviewees who identify as first-generation students noted the significant role that knowledgeable guidance counselors played in helping them apply for and prepare for college. First-generation student Jessica from Brockton explained that she went into the application process “completely clueless... because neither of [her] parents knew much about how to apply... So, it was all through [her] guidance counselor” (Jessica, Brockton HS). Because Jessica could not rely on her parents’ assistance in the application process, it was vital that knowledgeable guidance counselors were available

to educate her on how to apply for colleges, and how to navigate the process.

Liam from Brockton also reiterated the important role that guidance counselors play in helping students to prepare for college. Liam emigrated from Haiti as a child, and he also identified as a first-generation college student. Therefore, Liam was reliant on his high school to provide him information and support throughout the college application process. Liam explained that the application process was “nerve-wracking [because he had] never seen [an] application before. [The guidance counselor had to] help me with everything... [and] tell me what to do.” (Liam, Brockton HS). Liam reported feeling stressed by the college application process because he had never seen an application like it before, and he could not rely on his parents to provide him with any assistance. Liam’s gratitude towards his guidance counselor for supporting him through the application process evidences the integral role that high school staff play in preparing students for college.

Kim from Fall River fondly recalled activities that her guidance counselor planned to help prepare her and her peers for higher education. Kim explained that they were given a semester budget and with assistance from the guidance counselors, the students had to account for college expenses and decide how many hours in a week they would allocate for study and work. Kim also explained that “mandatory meetings” were set up between B.M.C Durfee students and academic advisors from Bristol Community College where students discussed “what applications we wanted to fill out and what GPA we needed to have” (Kim, B.M.C. Durfee HS). Kim remembered these activities and meetings as extremely helpful because they helped her to understand how to make college a reality and taught her how she could set herself up to succeed in higher education.

Other interviewees felt that they did not receive the support they needed from their high school guidance counselors. Without the proper mentorship, or knowledge about college from family members or high school staff, these students were easily

frustrated by the application process. Rachel, from Brockton, explained:

I didn’t know the questions that needed answers. I didn’t know [anything] about college because no one really spoke about college, and the application process or what you should be looking for ... And it was definitely overwhelming because I didn’t have that skill or that level of preparation to go into these applications and fill everything out correctly. (Rachel, Brockton HS)

Rachel was a first-generation student who relied on her high school to provide her with the information she needed about college. When guidance counselors and other high school staff failed to offer the support she needed, Rachel struggled to get through the application process and take full advantage of potential opportunities. Farmer-Hinton (2008) argues that first-generation students are able to achieve their academic goals with sufficient support from high school staff. However, when that support is lacking, first-generation students such as Rachel report experiencing a considerable amount of frustration.

Fiona from Taunton shared similar frustrations as she feels she could have made a more informed decision about what college to attend if she had received the proper support from her guidance counselors. She reported:

I didn’t know about any schools. As a senior, I was just like “I don’t even know where I want to go [and] I don’t know what I want to do.” Usually guidance counselors should be helping you [but]... I really didn’t have a sense of what schools were out there. (Fiona, Taunton HS)

As a first-generation student, she felt that she did not have enough information to make an informed decision about college, and she felt that the guidance counselors in her high school failed to provide

her the support that she needed. Conley (2008) argues that students should not only be academically prepared to succeed in college, but they also must have enough knowledge about college to truly understand the application process and choose a school that best fits their needs. Without the proper support from her guidance counselor, Fiona reported feeling frustrated by the application process and disappointed that she did not have enough information to make a more informed decision.

Finally, Nicole from Brockton resented her high school guidance counselor as she believes that her guidance counselor “messed up a lot with things [and] miss[ed] half the deadlines” (Nicole, Brockton HS). Nicole did not have any family members who had attended college, so she was dependent on her high school to provide her the information and support that she needed to make higher education a reality. Therefore, Nicole was infuriated when her guidance counselor’s negligence limited her opportunities. After high school, Nicole decided to enroll at Massasoit Community College in a “spur of the moment” decision because “it was the summer after [she] had graduated, and [she] still didn’t know where [she] was going” (Nicole, Brockton HS). When high school students are reliant on guidance counselors to send the proper paperwork to colleges, it is important that they are knowledgeable and organized enough to assist their students. When students lack that assistance, they often find themselves struggling to even get into college. Rachel, Fiona, and Nicole are all first-generation students, and Holland (2009) explains that first-generation students must depend on their high school for college preparation and guidance because they cannot utilize their parents as college resources. Therefore, it is imperative that high school staff are equipped to support their students through the college application process. Rachel, Fiona, and Nicole’s frustrations reinforce the important role that high school staff play for first-generation students who are reliant on them for support through the college application process.

Multiple interviewees also noted the important role that teachers played in helping them prepare for college. Beyond

providing them the necessary academic skills, many interviewees reported that their teachers would invest personally in assisting their students in the college application process. When asked who provided the most assistance during the college application process, Ben from New Bedford explained that “teachers...were the ones who were driving us towards ‘well, what are you going to do when you get out of here?’” (Ben, New Bedford HS). As a first-generation student, Ben did not see college as a possibility until high school. When his teachers, and other staff at the school, invested in him and challenged him to think about the future, he recognized his potential. Without the support of teachers and staff, Ben may not have chosen to pursue higher education. In response to the same question, Claire from New Bedford had a similar reflection. She reported “teachers who I had a close relationship with would sit down and talk to me about money and scholarships and what they thought would be best for me career-wise...I think that was the most influential” (Claire, New Bedford HS).

Farmer-Hinton (2008) also notes the importance of mentorship in assisting students in their preparation for college. In her research, Farmer-Hinton (2008: 133) explains that many students in her focus group reported the significant role that a specific “interested adult” played in helping them to recognize college as a possibility and guiding their college planning activities. The data collected in this study reinforces what previous research has shown: teachers who saw potential in their students and invested in helping them realize their academic goals were remembered by students for the positive impression that they had.

Research Statement 3: Students who took Honors and Advanced Placement classes as part of their high school coursework will report feeling more prepared than those who did not enroll in higher level classes.

Participants who enrolled in Honors and AP level classes in high school remembered how those advanced courses prepared them for college-level academics. Jessica from Brockton explains: “my AP teachers would always talk about college and

how important AP was because it could help us in college” (Jessica, Brockton HS). Jessica reported that she felt adequately prepared for college-level course work because she was exposed to college-level classes in high school and her teachers helped her to succeed at that level. Teachers who saw academic promise in their students, challenged them to rise to college-level standards, and explained the significance of completing advanced coursework in high school were remembered by the interviewees in this study for their important advice.

Allen from Brockton also remembered being challenged by Honors-level work as he commented that the work load was “intense,” but that he appreciated that “it really gave [him] a sense of how college would be” (Allen, Brockton HS). While challenging at the time, Allen appreciated that he took higher level classes in high school because the work was similar to what he would be asked to do in college. Ruth from Brockton reiterated a similar sentiment: “based off of what I had to do in high school, I was prepared [for] what I have to do in college. I know I can manage it because I’ve done something similar before” (Ruth, Brockton HS). Both Allen and Ruth felt that taking Honors-level courses was an important part of their preparation for college because the work load was similar to that of a college class. By exposing students to college level work in high school, these classes help to prepare students for the academic demands they will encounter in college.

Some interviewees regretted not taking their high school academics seriously. Kim from Fall River enrolled in AP classes, but she did not invest in them. She commented that her AP teachers “didn’t really stress how important it would be to pass the [AP] exams, and how it would help you in college” (Kim, B.M.C. Durfee HS). Because Kim did not understand the benefits that she could have received from her AP courses, she did not take the courses very seriously. Now that she is in college, she expressed regret as she recognized how much AP credits could have helped her academically. Kim explained that if she “would’ve known how

advanced [she] would’ve been, it would’ve helped [her]” (Kim, B.M.C. Durfee HS). Kim regrets not taking her AP classes seriously because she reports feeling as though she missed out on an opportunity to get ahead academically.

Other interviewees felt the repercussions of not investing in high school coursework when they got to college. Megan from New Bedford explained that “high school was very social” for her (Megan, Greater New Bedford Reg. Voc. Tech HS). She explained that she “did not pay attention and [she] did not like to do work” which is why she had to “go to a community college” because her “grades were not that great” (Megan, Greater New Bedford Reg. Voc. Tech HS). As a college student, Megan recognizes how her low grades in high school limited her collegiate opportunities. Kaitlyn from Brockton also faced challenges because she did not invest in her coursework in high school. She explained:

I was not your top notch student. If anything, I was lazy and I cut corners. When I brought that over to my college career, it was not cutting it... I got on academic probation my freshman year.
(Kaitlyn, Brockton HS)

Kaitlyn struggled to keep up with college academic work because she did not invest in her high school coursework either. She explained that her lazy attitude prevented her from doing well in high school, and in college it got her into more serious trouble. Kaitlyn later elaborated, saying that if she had established better study skills in high school then she believes she would have performed better in her first year of college, and she would be happier with her overall GPA. Megan and Kaitlyn’s regret reinforces the important role that high school coursework can play in preparing students to transition to college level academics.

Research Statement 4: Students who were involved in college preparation organizations will report feeling more prepared to transition into college than those who did not join such organizations.

One key component of college preparedness is helping students to develop a clear understanding of what college entails. Glennie, Dalton, and Knapp (2015:963) argue that pre-college access programs provide students with the opportunities to “seek more information about college, apply to college and receive financial aid [than] non-participants.” These programs are typically designed to benefit first-generation students and low-income students who are in need of support and guidance when applying to and enrolling in college. When high schools offer these college preparation organizations, they provide their students with the opportunity to visit universities, receive academic, social, and financial assistance, and receive support through the application process (Glennie, *et al.*, 2015; Gullatt and Jan, 2003).

Dianne, from Brockton, reflected on her involvement in Brockton Talent Search, an organization that provided her academic assistance, as well as information about college applications and college life. Dianne described:

They have waivers to apply for college. They help with filling [out] the FAFSA. [They] give [school supplies], SAT Prep, college [tours] etc. [And] people that participate in the program that go to college can come and tell those high school students about their college experience, and what they should expect, what they should know (Dianne, Brockton HS).

Dianne recalled that her experience with Brockton Talent Search was instrumental in her preparation for college. Dianne is a first-generation immigrant, so she was reliant on her high school to provide her academic and social support so that she could get accepted and succeed in college. Dianne’s involvement in a college preparation program gave her the chance to visit colleges, learn more about college life, and receive assistance with the college research and application process.

Another college preparation organization that interviewees

from Fall River referenced was Upward Bound. Lawrence describes all that the organization provided students:

They would offer after-school tutoring sessions. And then during the summer, they select a college campus, and we would kind of see [what] it would be like to live on campus, and also at the same time, we were doing a lot of activities that were really preparing us for college. We had to do practice applications, filling out waivers... practice SATs, and we also were taking classes. At the senior level in high school, you were able to take a class that would count towards your [college] credit. (Lawrence, B.M.C. Durfee HS)

As Lawrence explained, Upward Bound offered a myriad of academic supports for their students. Lawrence commented later in the interview that a majority of the information that he learned about different college opportunities was through his involvement with Upward Bound. Gullatt and Jan (2003) explain that exposure to college campuses can be a crucial part of preparing a first-generation student for college as their experience on campus can help them envision themselves succeeding as a college student. For first-generation students who may not know anyone who has attended college, it is important for them to recognize that college is an attainable option for them, and these college preparation programs offer students the chance to see that.

Claire from New Bedford discussed how Gear Up, a college preparedness organization, “opened [her] eyes to many possibilities” for college (Claire, New Bedford HS). She explained that Gear Up focused on helping students:

Writing essays... applying to college...applying for SAT’s and prep SAT classes...[They] brought us on college tours... We had guest speakers from colleges and they’d bring back kids who graduated from New Bedford High who went to

college or graduated from college and just had them talk to us and they had people who didn't go to college and then later on in life went to college come back and talk to us... [and] they offered a scholarship. (Claire, New Bedford HS)

Hearing from college students helped Claire and her peers recognize that college was an option for them. The program educated her about the benefits of earning a college education and provided her the academic and financial support she needed to apply and be accepted into a university.

Looking back, some participants reported that while they may have been academically prepared for college, they lacked the social skills necessary for the high school to college transition. First-generation students especially noticed that they did not have the preparation they needed to succeed socially in this new college culture because their parents could not advise them. Beyond the application process, students also require support in preparing for the higher demands and expectations of college.

Liam from Brockton remembers that the staff at his high school "didn't really tell us what to expect, and what college was about" (Liam, Brockton HS). He explained the significance of understanding how to access college academic resources, as well as knowing how to converse with professors. While he felt that having these social skills was an important part of his academic success, Liam expressed that he did not learn about the social expectations of college until he had enrolled. Liam further explained that if he had received more information about college culture from his high school experience, he would have felt more prepared for the high school to college transition.

Ruth from Brockton shared a similar sentiment: "high schools would be better if they helped not just preparing [students for] school work, but help[ed] students with adapting to college life, and [had] more people come in to speak about it" (Ruth, Brockton HS). While a majority of the interviewees in this study felt that

their high school offered academic programs and application assistance which helped prepare them for college, some noted the lack of social support. First-generation students especially may not have an understanding of what college is like because they do not have family members who have attended college. Therefore, it is important that high schools work to prepare their students both academically and socially for the transition into college.

CONCLUSION

This research sought to understand whether or not Bridgewater State University students felt adequately prepared for college by their experience in an urban high school. Based on previous research, this study examined interviewees' involvement in extracurricular activities and college preparation organizations in high school, their high school course work, and their knowledge about the college application process as well as the overall culture of college as indicators of college preparedness (Conley 2008; Farmer-Hinton 2008; Gullatt and Jan 2003; Reid and Moore 2008).

The data collected in this study supports the hypothesis that those who are involved in clubs while in high school reported feeling more prepared for the transition into college than those who were not involved. Interviewees reported that their involvement in activities in high school facilitated their success in college because it gave them the opportunity to develop one-on-one relationships with club advisors who could serve as mentors in the college application process. This data reflects what previous research has found in terms of the mentoring role that high school staff and faculty can provide for first-generation students preparing for college (Farmer-Hinton 2008; Holland 2009; Reid and Moore 2008; Wimberly and Noeth 2004).

The second research statement that this study addressed was the importance of college knowledge for students who were preparing to transition into post-secondary education. Many of the first-generation students who participated in this study reported feeling frustrated and discouraged by the college application

process when they did not receive adequate assistance from their guidance counselors. Their frustrations reinforce the importance of mentorship as a path to collegiate success for first-generation students.

The third research statement that this study explored is the role that an individual's high school coursework played in their preparation for college. Interviewees who enrolled in Advanced Placement and Honors classes reported feeling academically prepared for college. Conley (2008) argues that study based skills and academic behaviors are an integral part of academic success in college; therefore, the data collected in this study mirrors the conclusions drawn in previous research.

Finally, this study sought to understand the role that college preparation organizations played in helping first-generation and low-income students transition to college. Previous research has shown that college preparation organizations are particularly beneficial for first-generation students as they provide them with the academic, social, and financial advice that they need to succeed in college (Glennie *et al.* 2015; Gullatt and Jan 2003). In this study, interviewees reported that all of these opportunities made college more attainable for them.

The data collected in this study confirms that college preparedness is a multifaceted concept that includes an individual's academic and social preparedness as well as their overall knowledge about the college application process and college culture. Previous research has argued that high schools are responsible for providing students with the college readiness resources that they need (Wimberly and Noeth 2004), and the interviewees in this study concurred. Therefore, the data collected from these interviews suggest that there should be additional investment in high schools' college preparation efforts. Specifically, high schools in urban areas with a high proportion of first-generation students should invest in providing their students with programs to educate them about college options and the college application process. All students should be knowledgeable about how to matriculate and succeed in

college and what steps need to be taken in high school to ensure that collegiate success is attainable.

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About the Author

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The Challenges of Starting a Global Software Company: The Case of Buildium, LLC

MELANIE TUMMINO

Buildium: The Entrepreneurs

It all started in the 1990s when two young and motivated men, Dimitris Georgakopoulos and Michael Monteiro, had a vision to pursue their interest in business. Already having had experience working in the IT department at Sapient Corporation, a marketing and consulting company that supports clients with technology, marketing, and management, the entrepreneurs decided to put their time and money towards purchasing their first rental properties in Providence, Rhode Island.

Georgakopoulos and Monteiro's story did not start as one might imagine, considering where they are today. Georgakopoulos is a Providence College alum and Monteiro is a Boston College alum, but they both lived in Watertown, MA in the late 90s; they commuted to Sapient together while working on the same project, which is how they first met. Having very different personalities and perspectives, they certainly did not start off on the right foot, to say the least. While Monteiro is very statistical, analytical and detail-oriented, always getting sidetracked and lost in the details, Georgakopoulos is more straightforward; he would rather get it done with imperfections than not get it done at all. Although their views seemed to clash a lot in the beginning, it was not long until they started to appreciate each other's personas, realizing that both perspectives are essential when attempting to pursue efficiency.

Long story short, they eventually learned how to make a very solid team together.

After purchasing their first property in Rhode Island and deciding to run a business together, Georgakopoulos and Monteiro's first "office" was essentially a proverbial garage in Providence, where they organized their rental property and tenant information through spreadsheets. It did not take much time for them to realize the complexity that came with managing all of this information in an organized and effective way. As they started to confuse which leases were expired, which tenants weren't paying rent, and other details of the business, they realized they were in dire need of help—something that would make the tedious parts of their business less complicated and easier to manage. Unfortunately, they relied heavily on spreadsheets to keep track of all these elements so they sought alternative software to help them, but, to their dismay, they realized how expensive and difficult it was to use tools for offline computer desktops.

By 2003, Georgakopoulos and Monteiro had a vision: to develop Landlord software that would make property management easier to control and more affordable. The reason why is quite simple—they both understood the stresses and challenges of being property managers. This included, but was not limited to, all of the pesky and endless to-do items, such as collecting rent, maintaining property, and attending to tenant demands. They also understood the disadvantages of having to navigate through difficult and expensive software. How is one possibly supposed to focus on the growth and expansion of a business when the pesky things are constant obstacles? Their vision stemmed from this thought, and soon Buildium LLC (LLC meaning they became a legal form of a company that provides limited liability to its owners in various jurisdictions) was established. The Buildium Solution is software that helps in automating the more time-consuming tasks of landlords, allowing them to focus on more important things.

Buildium: The Startup

The startup of Buildium was not an easy process,

and some of the most challenging obstacles started very early on. For the first few years of getting the business on its feet, Georgakopoulos and Monteiro put a lot of their time and money into something that did not seem to be going anywhere. They had large monthly expenses, but they had neither customers nor income—all they had was some property in Providence, and a passion for helping the small business world.

One of Georgakopoulos and Monteiro's very first challenges while marketing their landlord software was understanding the product market fit. In 2004, when Georgakopoulos and Monteiro first launched their initial design, they immediately wanted to put it on the market. They imagined that gaining a customer base was the least of their worries considering that they already had been investing so much of their time into advertising. Little did they know that the original design they launched would not quite meet the demands of the property managing market, and, unfortunately, that this was due to the fact that their product quality simply wasn't strong enough for its competitors.

Georgakopoulos and Monteiro did not understand that the market they were dealing with called for something more comprehensive: an accounting system that was more robust than what they were originally marketing. They decided to take their product off the market, but before they could address the problem, they first had to figure out what exactly the problem was: what functionality was missing? The process of identifying this problem unexpectedly took two years, and it was not until 2006, once they both understood what needed to be improved, that Georgakopoulos and Monteiro started working fulltime for the sole purpose of completely rewriting the software. Once they were in a place where they could start listening to the demands of their customers, and address those demands through additional functionality, their hard work finally started to pay off, for customers started to take interest in their product. After marketing their new design in 2006, they not only started getting more leads, but these leads were also converting more

consistently, thus increasing their conversion rates, and, in turn, capturing more clients. After two lean years of research, not only did Georgakopoulos and Monteiro create a very comprehensive and competent software, but they also provided a full-blown accounting system that most property management software did not provide. These two aspects alone are what attracted their clients, and that is when they realized that they had finally mastered the product market fit.

Once their customer count started to grow, they could afford to move out of their garage into a new office in Quincy, MA. By 2008, the company reached 500 customers, and by the end of the year they nearly doubled their customer count and moved to an even bigger office in Boston, MA, where they were able to hire their first workers, and extend a branch to India (Anil Mangalampalli, the manager in India, and his contributions to their expansion will be discussed later in this paper). In 2010, Buildium LLC officially became profitable, and, within the next two years, the company made Inc. 5000, a national list created every year that acknowledges the 500 fastest-growing companies in the United States (to make the list, companies must have 5,000 or more customers). Furthermore, by Buildium's tenth year, they had made Inc. 5000 for the third year, reaching 10,000 customers. By 2014, the company established multiple scholarships, including Build U and Women in Technology (one that I applied to in Fall '17). By 2015, according to the company's website, "Buildium acquire[d] All Property Management, becoming the only solution that actually help[ed] property managers grow revenue by connecting them with property owners in the area," and, not surprisingly, the company won Inc. 5000 for the fourth time in a row, along with Boston's "50 on Fire" award, for their groundbreaking business in the Boston area ("About Us").

Today, Buildium is known for receiving various national awards that are widely known and respected within the business and technology industries. The company won a Stevie Award for 4 consecutive years (2014-2017) for contact center of the year, which was created in 2002 to recognize the accomplishments and endowments of companies worldwide; they were finalists for

Bostinno's "Coolest Company" and "Tech Madness" in 2016 and 2017; they were honored as "BBJ Best places to work" for three consecutive years (2012-2014); and cofounder, Monteiro, was an award finalist himself in 2016 and 2017 for "Entrepreneur of the Year." Although these awards are the major ones, the list does not stop here. There are additional awards that Buildium has received in between the major ones for smaller or more specific successes, and the list is only growing as Buildium continues in this direction. This year marks the sixth consecutive year since 2010 that Buildium has made the Inc. 5000 list, while also receiving the "Honor Roll," another unbelievable accomplishment ("About Us").

In the article "Buildium is the Largest Boston Tech Company You've Never Heard Of" from February 2015, Rebecca Strong mentioned, "we really do think Buildium is the quietest success story in the Boston tech ecosystem. And we'd like to change that." Using "GoTo meeting," a communication tool used for video chatting and recording, to meet with Georgakopoulos, I asked him his thoughts regarding this quote, and he agreed: "it probably has to do with myself and Monteiro's personalities. We're both on the introvert scale. We're not out there making a lot of buzz about the company." Both men are quiet and reserved, and do not seek attention, and this serves as a reflection as to how their business started and was able to grow from the ground up: Monteiro mentioned it being a "long and slow road" to success. Overall, he underscored Strong's argument by suggesting he believes it was a combination of their personalities and their willingness to take an untraditional path that allowed their success to remain overshadowed by the other IT success stories frequently shared by the media.

Financing the Business

Most people are not aware of this, but when the vision of Buildium was first put into action, there was help from a third party, a man by the name of Chris Chung, who Monteiro and Georgakopoulos met while working together on a project for Sapient. Back in the late 90s when the Internet was just starting

to popularize, anything web-related attracted attention and was almost guaranteed to be well funded. Unfortunately, this also meant that many companies were burning through large sums of money without achieving anything. The project that the three young entrepreneurs were working on could not successfully grow, so within the first 2-3 years the project came to an end.

In 2001, Monteiro and Georgakopoulos invested in their property in Providence, Rhode Island with Chris, and together they quickly realized that most software was too difficult to understand and too expensive to purchase. This is when Georgakopoulos had an idea to build their own software, market it, and see how far it could be taken. Monteiro and Chris agreed to create the initial designs of Buildium in 2003-2004 ("About Us"). Of course, times were tough and money was tight in the first few years, so Chris decided to leave the business early on, to go back to school, and, eventually, to move to Hong Kong. From that point, only Monteiro and Georgakopoulos were involved in the evolution of Buildium, but the process would not have been possible without the initial help of Chris.

The company's funding was completely out-of-pocket for the four years that it took to get Buildium on its feet. Monteiro and Georgakopoulos were spending about \$1,000 to \$2,000 a month on advertising in the hope of acquiring leads. This was money that Georgakopoulos, Monteiro and Chris had put aside for the business initially, and by not taking salary they were able to keep the costs as low as possible. This was important considering both Georgakopoulos and Monteiro had growing expenses, and it was crucial for them to economize. As a result, they were able to sustain those first two lean years of the business when they didn't have any paying customers. When the business launched in 2004, they didn't have any customers at all; in 2005, they had five customers; and in 2006 they had about 50 customers, which helped them rent out their first "office space" (a garage), in Providence, RI, for an additional \$400 a month. This office helped them maintain a safe environment to keep their customer information organized and secure. Every year following 2006, their customer base expanded.

By 2007, they had 250 customers, and, by 2008, they had close to 1,000 customers. As the customer count grew, the money that the business was generating also grew, so by the end of 2008 they were finally able to start generating enough income to pay themselves and to hire their first workers, or Buildians, as they like to refer to themselves. In 2010, when Buildium officially became profitable, they were able to generate revenue in 2 ways: a fee for the platform of the subscription and a fee for any additional add-on services (“About Us”). Today, Buildium, has a total of 6 different locations: Boston, St. Louis, Seattle and Winthrop (Washington), Portugal, and, of course, India.

Diversification into India

Another important person that Georgakopoulos and Monteiro met while working together at Sapient was Anil Mangalampalli. The information provided about Mangalampalli throughout the remainder of this paper was recorded during a one-on-one interview that I had the privilege to conduct during my time spent in Hyderabad, India during the Summer of 2017.

Mangalampalli is a U.S. citizen who received his education for engineering in India, and worked for Sapient for six years, focusing on pure consulting. Mangalampalli knew he eventually wanted to go back to his birthplace of India, but he did not necessarily plan on working for a company while living there, until the opportunity of working for Buildium came along. Georgakopoulos and Monteiro knew investing in a branch in India would cut down software development costs tremendously, but they did not have the experience or knowledge of how to start a branch in India, a country known for bureaucracy. They knew Mangalampalli from Sapient, so they asked that, if he was still considering moving to India, if he would help them in building a Buildium branch there. Although Mangalampalli had not foreseen running a business in India, he used this opportunity as motivation, and agreed to help Georgakopoulos and Monteiro in this investment, acting as the manager of Buildium in India.

By mid-May 2008, Mangalampalli moved to India and

started to create a Buildium branch. Unfortunately, those first few steps are not easy when you have absolutely no consultants, but he knew if he started talking to the right people it would not be long before he started moving in the right direction. He already had a few acquaintances who had had similar experiences. His plan of action was to contact these people for advice and guidance, to find office space, and to start hiring workers to get the business on its feet. By August 2008, Mangalampalli started working in a “shared office space” that was essentially a two-bedroom apartment that he shared with a friend from Florida who was willing to help him during this process. Mangalampalli said, “nobody tells you what you’re doing wrong until you’ve made the mistake,” and that served as one of his biggest obstacles while attempting to start the business. Although he was consistently moving forward, only taking a little more than a month to go through the process, every mistake he made was a surprise to him, because he did not actually know what he could and could not do while attempting to start a business in India, or run a business at all, for that matter.

Once Mangalampalli was able to connect to the right people and find adequate office space, he was ready to start interviewing potential hires, but this quickly became a challenge, considering the atmosphere of his “office” at that time. Mangalampalli mentioned in our meeting, “I wanted to start interviewing people, but I didn’t know how those interviews would go, because if anybody saw the office I wasn’t sure they would actually join the company.” Not only was that an obstacle, but also not having any proof of an address during the hiring process became a concern too. At the beginning of the process, Mangalampalli was an independent consultant, which meant he had to make sure the people he interviewed were aware that, although there was no legitimate proof of an actual company at the time, there soon would be an established business under the name of Buildium—if everything worked out accordingly.

The platform was Microsoft-based at the time, so the workers were expected to understand that software and have specialized skills in Dotnet, so Mangalampalli continued to look for

candidates with solid engineering and programming backgrounds. He started the hiring process in three-month increments, meaning if a new hire was doing well after the first 3 months, they would be offered a permanent full-time position with the company once it was established. Mangalampalli mentioned that the toughest part was trying to distinguish between who was a good engineer and who was a fake engineer (someone who obtained the degrees, but did not have the ability to independently problem solve), which is why he did not value certifications, but valued the ability to go about solving real-world problems. The team today is predominantly engineers, which was an advantage to this branch for it reduced the cost of operation.

In July 2008, many startup IT companies were acquiring offices in Hyderabad, making office space slightly less challenging to obtain, so Mangalampalli rented an office right in the city. During this time, he understood he needed different licenses and permits to establish his office space for the company of Buildium, but India's lingering bureaucracy issues made this process challenging. Luckily, Buildium is considered an IT company, so obtaining these permits were nowhere as difficult as it would be for any other startup company.

The *License Raj* or *Permit Raj* was an elaborate system of licenses and permits that were required to start a business in India from the late 40s until 1990. It was known as India's way of creating a planned economy, meaning all aspects of economy would be controlled by the state, and licenses were only given to a select few—those select few being within the IT industry (Majumdar, 111). During this time, people were restricted from starting companies because the process was so difficult, it was almost impossible to start a company, and, even if it did get approved, the government still had the advantage of regulating production. During this time, many companies such as Apple, Microsoft, and Google were looking to create branches in India for price reduction reasons, and considering these multimillion-dollar companies gave India more recognition, the government started to promote and attract foreign IT. When Mangalampalli went to India to start

Buildium, ten years had passed since the *License Raj* ended, but vestiges of the License Raj still remained. They exist today in the general process of starting a business in India, but the government is more lenient towards IT-focused companies. Fortunately for Buildium, Mangalampalli was able to bridge the gap, in most cases, while obtaining these permits, and he built strong connections with the people who helped him understand the process of obtaining certain permits to start his business. As Mangalampalli explained, not only do these permits have to be renewed every year, but each requires many taxes to be paid on strict deadlines. When the branch first started, Mangalampalli did not realize how long these payments could take to process, so, as he explained, it was always an obstacle to figure out which needed to be paid and which did not. Today, many things are becoming digitalized in India, so the process of paying online is an accessible option that is more efficient and quicker. Mangalampalli mentioned, “even today, you need somebody full-time just to take care of regulations of the company” because of how time-consuming and confusing it is to know all of the requirements that go hand-in-hand with running a business in India. The office in India has one person working in Human Resources and one in Administrations to ensure that the company is meeting regulation requirements, and that things are running smoothly outside of the business. Mangalampalli refers to those two workers as being “crucial” to the business, for he wouldn't know what to do without them.

Although the Buildium branch in India is very small, each worker contributes much to Buildium as a whole, and it is difficult to imagine all of Buildium's successes without the contribution of the team in India. While I was interning for Buildium in Boston, I spoke to a Buildian on the Quality Assurance team in India every morning as a way to keep up with challenges, progress, and issues within the Business Operations team, as did the rest of the team. Buildium also holds a testing and training setup: workers from the teams in the U.S. will travel to India to help train new hires, and vice versa. This helps in the software development and engineering departments because although each branch holds extensive

knowledge in these areas, there is always more to learn, especially when workers' educations are completed in different countries. These connections really help the small office in India appear larger than it is, for they are consistently keeping in touch with the five other offices outside of India. The team in India has a total of 31 workers, and from what I was able to conclude from my meeting with Mangalampalli and from conversations with the employees, everyone seems happily positioned within the company. The retention rates of the workers are very high, and the few people who have left the company had to leave for family reasons. Overall, the small branch in India did not only become a family within their own office, but also they are now considered family to Buildium as a whole.

Developments in the Landlord Software for Property Managers

The most important aspect of any software is the functionality that it provides. A company cannot and will not grow unless the functionality is continually improving to meet customer demand. When Buildium first started, the software was not comprehensive enough; it did not have enough functionality to interest customers enough to subscribe to it. The reoccurring problem was that most property management software companies in the market are more focused on profit and build their software around the demands of larger clients who own multiple properties, making it difficult for an average person, or a smaller client with less property, to understand the functionality. It was this thought that gave Georgakopoulos and Monteiro a purpose: to create software that was more focused on the demands of smaller clients with limited knowledge in property management while also setting the highest standard for the operation of the business. They designed their software as an easy-to-use solution that could work for *all* types of property managers. Although some might argue that having larger clients is more profitable to a property management business, it seems that over the years these “small” clients have become some of Buildium’s largest clients, and, quite

frankly, are what made Buildium what it is today: a successful and growing business. Considering the software is a lot easier to use than most, and that Buildium also has a 24-hour customer service center, clients are supported by them more than any other landlord-software company, which, in turn, gives their customers a lot of insight into how to successfully grow their *own* business as a landlord or property manager. The idea is ingenious—as Buildium helps the business of their customers grow, the business of Buildium itself is also growing.

As a way of communicating effectively and consistently, Buildium holds biweekly company meetings between each location that focus on updating employees about software revisions or progress towards specific goals. Product Share is a meeting in which the Product team demos product updates, previews upcoming work, and shares results from recently released items. The idea is to give all Buildians the opportunity to see what the Product team is doing, and why, on a regular basis. Similarly, the company holds another meeting called the Cross-Team Sprint Review, which is for the Engineering team. The way the meeting is held is very much like Product Share, but there is a projector displaying live video chats within each of the teams at all six Buildium locations to discuss updates, changes, and progress made within the development of the software that is accessible to the customers. If a Buildian is ever unable to attend either meeting, a project manager is always recording it using the GoTo meeting tool, so it is available to be reviewed at home or at a later time. Again, the goal is to keep each Buildian in the loop within every area of the business, thus making it easier to meet customer demands.

As a Data Analyst intern for the Business Operations team during summer '17, I had a daily morning meeting called “stand up” with the team, where each team member discussed what was being worked on, what was in progress, and what was going through the process of quality assurance (QA). Considering the QA team was with the branch in India, we video chatted with a member of the QA team for Business Operations, Rajesekhar Murthy, during stand up. As the team completes data requests, and improves functionality,

Murthy assesses the testing, making sure each task completed on the team's end is successful and can be executed. The QA team, indeed, is a very important aspect of the company's success.

Although Buildium has the functionality of any other accomplished property management company, Georgakopoulos and Monteiro purposely use simpler terms within the software to avoid customer confusion. This is a helpful and useful tactic when it comes to their smaller clients, but, at other times, can be rather confusing for more knowledgeable clients who claim these terms are not part of the property management vocabulary. Nevertheless, overall, the majority of customers are very pleased with the Buildium Solution, reporting improvement in operational efficiency and increased growth after using the software for two years or more ("About Us").

As Georgakopoulos and Monteiro began to understand the demands of their customers more clearly, they realized that it was not fair to have only one option for a platform, as they did in 2010, due to the differences between a smaller and larger client. As a way of meeting the customers' demands, they upgraded their software so it has a total of three subscriptions: Loyalty Core, Core, and Pro. Loyalty Core includes all the Legacy customers (customers who have been with the company since the beginning) grouped into one subscription; Core customers subscribe to the more basic form of the software, and they are charged additional fees for add-on services; Pro customers receive everything the software has to offer. Today, there is only the option of signing up as either a Core or a Pro member, making matters simple, yet more tailored.

Besides the subscription, Buildium has added and improved many functionalities of the software as it has evolved throughout the years through add-on services. When the company first started, the add-on services included ePay, which allowed for online payments between a landlord and their tenant, whether for rent or maintenance; basic tenant screenings, where tenants could pull their own reports; EZmail, which allowed for the generation of letters that could be printed and scanned for mailing; and remote check printing, which recorded check payments, printed

them remotely, and mailed them to recipients. Today, Buildium has double the functionality, adding within the last two to three years premium tenant screenings, improved renter's insurance, eLeasing, and property inspections. Each of these individually contributes to the bigger picture, making the landlord's tasks as easy as possible, so they can focus on the more important things, such as growing their business.

Buildium will continue to cater to all its clients, large and small, but, as the company evolves and becomes more profitable, it seems that Georgakopoulos and Monteiro will not fail to remember who brought them their initial success: the customers who started off in the same boat as them, simply trying to grow their business.

Customer Care Team

Dimitris Georgakopoulos said,

Customer service is something we invested in early on. We could have done what a lot of other companies are doing by offshoring or putting a call center in the Philippines. We didn't do that. We built our call center right in Boston. It made the difference. It's not the most conscious way of doing it, but I think it does help tremendously when customers call and they can understand what we're trying to communicate to them because we speak the same language. (Personal Interview)

Buildium, known in the landlord software market for their award-winning customer care service, not only provides phone support Monday through Friday from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m. (Eastern Standard Time), but also provides online support 365 days a year through their dedicated Customer Care Team. With a 98% customer satisfaction rate and a 93% first call resolution rate, the majority of Buildium's customer feedback stems from the fact that Buildium never fails to make their customers feel supported ("About Us"). Whether they're struggling with something within the software or confused about how a specific functionality works, a Buildian is always there, ready to assess the situation with exceptional patience and a listening ear. The majority of reviews from customers who rate Buildium with five stars on GlassDoor, a well-known website

in which employees and former employees can anonymously review companies in a safe environment, and on other review websites are mainly due to the service that the Customer Care Team unconditionally provides for its customers on a daily basis. A client never leaves a conversation with a Customer Care Team member unsatisfied.

During the company's biweekly team meetings and using communication tools such as HipChat and Yammer, various comments from customers are put on display for all Buildians, as a way to foster improvement and acknowledge noteworthy work. During the three months I was with the company, I never saw a negative comment about the Customer Care Team, or C2D. Customers would often say things like, "*so and so* was absolutely great, and was able to nicely answer every one of my questions even after 2+ hours of talking ..." and "if it wasn't for Buildium's Customer Care Team my business would be nowhere as successful as it is today." These are reviews that a Customer Care Team receives when they 100% know how to do their job, and know how to do it well. Customer care service is meant to supply customers with support in a patient and respectful manner, given that the customer does not have as much knowledge about the product as the team. If there is one aspect of Buildium that it has over its competitors, it is, without a doubt, their C2D team, considering there is no other team in the landlord software market that is as dedicated as their own. Again, as Mangalampalli puts it, "it makes the difference."

Buildium's Philanthropy

Buildium holds very high standards when it comes to their company core values—values that constitute how the employees and company should portray themselves—and how to implement those core values in every choice that is made. Although the company is not perfect, each Buildian holds each other accountable to ideals that they believe are core to their company culture. There is a total of six core values that serve as a moral compass and establish a solid basis for each decision the

company makes individually or as a whole: "focus on customers first," "communicate openly and honestly," "take initiative and work hard," "be helpful and supportive," "be nimble and flexible," and finally, "be passionate and have fun."

I just want to take a brief moment to reflect on the fourth core value: "be helpful and supportive," because some of Buildium's greatest successes have been outside of the office, as a way to execute this core value to its highest potential. This core value doesn't only apply to co-workers, but also to customers and the community. Buildium is a company known for always giving back through various non-profit organizations. Each worker is required to attend at least two community service events every quarter in substitution for a day of work. The most known organization Buildium helps is the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, through a long-distance bike ride called the MS Ride. Every year, the company forms a team for Bike MS—"an epic fundraising ride that is changing the lives of people affected by MS and helping fuel progress toward a world free of MS" ("Bike MS: Cape Cod Getaway 2017")—and this year the team went the distance by biking to Cape Cod, raising \$89,000 for MS. As an intern, I attended one of these community service opportunities in June with another non-profit organization called The National Audubon Society: I spent the day gardening and fixing a children's playground at a park in Marshfield, MA, helping to make the community look cleaner for families to comfortably relax. Other organizations that Buildium helps every year are Crates to Crayons, The Blood Mobile and Soccer without Borders. Of course, this is only the team in Boston ("About Us").

Although the India team has been with Buildium for quite a few years, the entity agreement that officially made them a separate branch was signed in October 2012. Although they had been in business for nine years, their fifth-year anniversary was celebrated on July 1, 2017. The team was successfully able to execute Buildium's core values to the fullest, with their motto being, "we try to leave the world a little better than we found it by volunteering and giving back to the community" ("Buildium India

Helps the Hyderabad Community”). The celebration included a blood drive right in the Hyderabad office, which was opened to all neighboring companies and attracted thirty-one people to donate blood, and a visit to a nearby orphanage through the Cheers Foundation, where books, food, and new school uniforms were donated to the children. But it does not stop here: the team in India is already planning for their next service opportunity, eager to continue living their core values.

Conclusion

There is not a more fitting way to end this case study than with Buildium’s sixth core value: “be passionate and have fun.” One of the very first things I noticed about Buildium while interning there was that every Buildian I met seemed genuinely enthusiastic about the product and to thoroughly enjoy their work. I think we can all agree that property management isn’t the most interesting subject, and, while Buildium is known for hiring and recruiting young graduates, I found it alarming that every Buildian seemed to be heavily invested in their contribution to the company. I like to believe it is because of the way the company is managed: work hard, play hard. The office itself has a ping pong and foosball table in the kitchen area that is available to anyone who needs a quick and active break from their desk; team lunch is served every Thursday at noon, with the company providing a weekly lunch from a different ‘hot spot’ in Boston; and there are multiple mini refrigerators stocked with beer and wine available for anyone who needs a refreshing break. It is no secret that Buildium likes to have fun, and, as long as everyone is completing their portion of the work, the company will ensure, to the best of its ability, that every Buildian is happy in their work environment.

Being a Buildian for three months really solidified a statement for me: “choose a job that you love, and you will never have to work a day in your life.” As a newer startup company, Buildium brings creative, new approaches to business, and that sets them apart from all other property management software companies, including having a Customer Care Team unlike any

other, prioritizing small business owners, continuously giving back, and keeping the employees just as content as the customers. I believe these are the reasons why Buildium will only become more successful as the years pass—this business is a *family* that will go above and beyond for those who are a part of the team.

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About the Author

Melanie Tummino graduated in May 2018 with a major in Mathematics with a concentration in Statistics. Her research project was completed in the summer of 2017 in India under the mentorship of Dr. Madhu Rao (Geography) and Dr. Martin Grossman (Business); it focused on information technology (IT) in India. This undergraduate research was made possible with the funding provided by an Undergraduate Research Abroad Grant. Melanie presented this research at the Fall 2017 Mid-Year Symposium. She plans to start a career in Data Analysis after graduation, but plans to pursue a Ph.D. after working for two years.

Reframing Sympathy for Indigenous Captives in

Avatar: The Last Airbender

PETER WOOD

The animated series *Avatar: The Last Airbender* plays as a response to the broader tradition of American captivity narratives, a genre in which one “captive” character or group is emotionally or physically constrained by a “captor.” Captivity narratives have historical roots in American colonial accounts, especially those by white women, of being captured by mostly male, or at least masculine-coded, American Indians. *Avatar: The Last Airbender*, commonly referred to as ATLA, takes place in a world of four nations: the Water Tribes, Earth Kingdom, Fire Nation, and the Air Nomads, which are based on Inuit, Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetan cultures respectively. It details the journey of a young nomad named Aang and his friends to end a century-long war with the technologically advanced Fire Nation. As the series progresses, it most noticeably incorporates the captor-captive dynamic into its protagonists Aang, Katara, and Sokka, who are fleeing and, at times, captured by Prince Zuko of the Fire Nation. It is worth noting that Zuko fills both roles, hoping to convince his father to reverse his banishment from the Fire Nation by trying to capture Aang.

The series also includes elements of the intercultural “moving encounter” found in American captivity narratives, as defined by Laura L. Mielke in her book *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature*. Mielke’s concept focuses on an interaction between different nationalities or ethnicities with significance to the overall story. She describes this in greater detail in her book as any scene “in which representatives of two ‘races,’ face-to-face in a setting claimed by both, participate in a highly emotional exchange that indicates their hearts have more in common than their external appearances or

political allegiances suggest” (Mielke 2). This is especially true when we consider Aang and his title as “Avatar,” one who is reincarnated throughout history to relearn the element-based art form of each nation, as an intermediary between the colonizers and colonized characters (Mielke 4).

That said, ATLA uses many of these captivity tropes with a critical perspective toward the genre. In doing so, the series challenges how we use sympathy and sentimentality for indigenous people in the captivity narrative tradition. For example, although we can view Aang as an intermediary between cultures, making the moving encounter possible, we may also note that the show’s writers and producers do not remove him from his identity as coming from a colonized culture. Perhaps more noteworthy is the fact that his relationships with other characters are based more around building empathy and solidarity among the Fire Nation’s victims rather than working to draw sympathy from colonizers and the audience. Additionally, the series allows scenarios in which indigenous people are not ubiquitously vanishing or victims of colonialism, but have flourished during a century of war. This opens readings of ATLA to consider how the series recognizes pluralistic identities among indigenous people instead of a more rigid, monolithic representation with the protagonists as the exceptional “good Indians.” Despite the writers and producers calling for empathy over sympathy through the protagonists, they still include unambiguously sympathetic and sentimental portrayals of indigenous people. This reduces many of the indigenous characters to symbols of victimhood and the risks of the world; however, these characters serve to depict the threat of a vanishing culture as opposed to a future that excludes indigenous people. Thus, *Avatar: The Last Airbender* critically uses tropes associated with captivity narratives to broaden indigenous representation. This action also helps to decouple indigenous representation from strictly sympathetic and sentimental portrayals.

Avatar: The Last Airbender’s Place in the Captivity Narrative Tradition

In order to argue that ATLA critiques and reshapes the

captivity narrative, we cannot ignore the need to show that the series works within and responds to the genre. For example, in the second episode, “The Avatar Returns,” we explicitly see the episode’s conflict center around rescuing the protagonist, Aang, from captivity at the hands of Prince Zuko. Despite the dark gray and red backgrounds and gruff voice-acting from Zuko’s henchmen, the writers quickly defuse tension by playing the captivity scene for laughs. Aang comments, “So, I guess you’ve never fought an airbender before. I bet I can take you both with my hands tied behind my back,” beginning his escape almost as quickly as he is captured (“The Avatar Returns”). The animation at sixteen minutes into the episode supports the playful tone of the captivity when it portrays the firebenders as constrained by their uniforms and rooted by gravity while Aang manipulates the air to run along the walls and ceiling, and Aang’s bright yellow and orange outfit standing out against the gray and red walls of the ship (“The Avatar Returns”). Both scenes subvert captivity to show off Aang’s wit and childish, cartoonish confidence, creating a disconnect between the real harm that potentially awaits him and his rejection of his captors’ terms. In later episodes, like “The Siege of the North, Part 2,” we see transculturation upon learning of Moon and water spirits, Tui and La, who choose to remain in the physical world as koi fish.

Transculturation specifically plays a role after Fire Nation Admiral Zhao kills Tui, destroying the Moon and leading the Water princess, Yue, to take her place and give up her mortal body (“The Siege of the North, Part 2”). This conflict forces the audience to consider the ways in which the physical and spiritual realms interact and influence one another over the course of the show, encouraging the impression that transculturation between spirits and humans is painful yet valued and necessary for the cultures involved. If we consider that this conflict takes place in a fictional indigenous setting as a way for the characters to recover from colonial violence, we can see how the show uses transculturation to represent solidarity and to restore tradition. Little scholarship is present on ATLA, let alone its place in American storytelling

traditions, but the show’s self-published online reviews and critiques since the series’ end can also shape our understanding of the show’s place among captivity narratives. For example, Nerdy POC, an online publication for fantasy and sci-fi fans of color, hosted by the blogging and social journalism platform Medium.com, tries to fill this gap. Brittney Maddox, one of the publication’s contributors, comments in her article “Avatar: The Last Airbender: A Feminist Work of American Animation” that, “I’ve read a lot of feminist text [sic] over the course of my undergraduate career and to be honest I find the texts boring, as there are examples of media more comprehensive and interesting. . . . I believe media can introduce the feminist theory and a good example which comes to mind is the hit series *Avatar the Last Airbender*” (Maddox). The series arguably does less work as its own comprehensive introduction to feminist theory than it does to respond to and synthesize broader themes. This applies similarly to ATLA’s place among other captivity narratives. The show may introduce and challenge many of the genre’s themes, but it ultimately accomplishes this in a manner that situates itself within the captivity narrative tradition.

In a third tie to the captivity genre, the show utilizes Laura L. Mielke’s concept of the “moving encounter” between “representatives of two ‘races,’ face-to-face” with high emotional stakes (Mielke 2). Before continuing, it is crucial for us to also note that, while Mielke criticizes sentimental language and the moving encounter “in particular, its use by . . . [Indian] removal apologists,” she argues they have a place in the political sphere: “Rather than reject all sentimental treatments of the Indians in [the Nineteenth Century] as complicit with the ideology of removal, we should consider how images of mediation between non-Natives and Natives may be harnessed in the name of both cultural pluralism and American Indian sovereignty” (196). Her point that authors can potentially use the moving encounter to empower indigenous voices is crucial because it helps us to better understand how ATLA critiques and refashions the concept for itself. In the first moving encounter between Aang and Zuko, we hear Zuko say, “I’ve spent years preparing for this encounter. . . . You’re just a child,”

only to hear Aang say, “Well, you’re just a teenager” (“The Avatar Returns”). This scene calls attention to both characters’ immaturity when compared to their personal conflicts: the expectation that Aang must save the world and Zuko must restore his honor. Thus, the audience is encouraged to look for similarities in how they handle their circumstances, even if this encounter fails to generate lasting sympathy. We can compare this to a successful moving encounter in the “The Siege of the North, Part 2,” in which the protagonists work with one of the antagonists, Zuko’s uncle Iroh, upon the understanding that any harm to the Moon Spirit Tui would affect all life on Earth (“The Siege of the North, Part 2”). Although Zhao ultimately kills Tui, this encounter proves vital to reviving her and the show’s theme of empathy, specifically Iroh’s decision to support the Avatar over the Fire Nation Navy. Hence, *ATLA* frequently situates itself within the captivity narrative tradition while also critiquing its tropes about the captor-captive relationship and sympathy.

Avatar: The Last Airbender and Indigeneity Without Sympathy

By creating space for its indigenous characters to perform indigeneity differently, *ATLA* rejects the doomed, rigid stereotypes of the genre historically associated with American Indians. We see this clearest in how the series portrays the Northern and Southern Water Tribes, the nation located at the north and south poles, based on Inuit cultures. One of the more prominent examples of representation is in the landscape seen in the visuals and architecture of the two tribes. For example, when Yue asks Sokka, “So, they don’t have palaces in the Southern Tribe?” Sokka answers, “Are you kidding? I grew up in a block of ice; it’s not exactly a cultural hub” (“The Siege of the North, Part 1”). Even within one indigenous civilization, the show depicts prejudices and standards of whom is more “civilized” than whom among the tribes. The scene serves to cement our image of Yue and Sokka as from vastly different social classes, although both are the children of chiefs, and the anxieties that this may carry for Sokka and Katara (“The Boy in the Iceberg”; “The Siege of the North; Part 1”). The audience

would see this in how differently the animation depicts water in the two tribes. Snow and ice in the south are various shades of slate, off-white, and tan, as if they were mixed dirt; almost every structure is a tent (“The Boy in the Iceberg”). Compare this to the Northern Water Tribe, where snow and ice take on purple, blue, and occasionally white hues, and we find homes and bridges built from ice overlooking canals (“The Siege of the North, Part 1”). The show does this to create a sense that colonization has robbed the Southern Tribe of its culture and art form, whereas the Northern Tribe pushes the limits of what water can be and creates a dynamic setting out of a single element.

That said, the show also addresses this difference between the two tribes as the result of the Southern Tribe’s colonization by the Fire Nation, to which Katara alludes with the fact that she is “the only waterbender in the whole South Pole” and that “the Fire Nation’s first attacks” were 80 years before (“The Boy in the Iceberg”). In doing so, the show recognizes different privileges and societal responses that stem from colonization. This attitude that indigenous societies can change or survive by their own merit stands in contradiction to many representations of sentimentality in captivity literature, if we follow Michelle Burnham’s interpretation of the genre. In her book, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682—1861*, we can use her reading of John Marrant’s *A Narrative of the Lord’s wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black, (Now gone to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia)*, in which he lives with a Cherokee tribe, to see one difference in how the two stories use captivity: “Marrant crosses the boundary to a new world, which he gradually colonizes through the deployment of evangelical Christianity. . . . The condition of captivity and hence the necessity of or desire for escape ceases with the captors’ religious conversion, after which the ‘poor condemned prisoner had perfect liberty, and was treated like a prince’” (Burnham 126-7). Although Marrant situates the Cherokee as his captors, his momentum of religious conversion, an act of colonization, continues beyond his actions. As his audience, we only receive information about how it shapes their interactions

with settlers, as opposed to other indigenous nations. The Cherokee in Marrant's account have no resistance to conversion and, by extension, no way to resist colonization. This says less about Marrant's place in anticolonial African-American literature than it does about how he delimits power and sympathy between the "fading" Cherokee and "rising" colonizers. ATLA uses these same themes of captivity, such as when soot mixed with snow is a sign of a Fire Nation invasion, but provides the audience with a perspective on how colonization can damage social and diplomatic interactions between indigenous peoples ("The Siege of the North, Part 1").

With respect to indigenous representation, we can also look at how ATLA rejects "positive" stereotypes tied to gender and people of color. Yet again, this is an angle that is nonexistent in scholarship on the series itself but that has been explored through social media and amateur or self-published reviews. In the user AvatarCarter's Medium.com article, "'Positive' Stereotypes in The Last Airbender," he explains this concept with the example of "the stereotype that Asians are good students. . . . If they struggle with school or find more interest in other areas of life, they may feel they are losing some racial authenticity or that they might be deficient or weird" (AvatarCarter). He writes about the Water Tribe:

the stereotype that female water benders are skilled healers. . . . Because of their perceived affinity for healing, female water benders are often denied the chance to prove themselves in combat and are viewed as too frail to go to war. Katara was one of the first women to go against this limitation, and in a spectacular display of skill she was able to change the attitudes of the patriarchal water tribe leadership. (AvatarCarter)

His article focuses on how such stereotypes shape children's anxieties and on the benefits of depicting characters acting against the stereotypes that many children of color grow up facing; however, we can build from his reading to understand what ATLA's portrayal of indigenous people says about the show's attitude toward stereotypes in captivity narratives. When Katara chooses to use waterbending for both healing and combat, the screenwriters allow her to cross the gender norms of her culture. They also allow for someone from

the less "civilized" Southern Water Tribe to promote social justice and change in the north, arguing that indigenous cultures do not become less valid simply because their customs change. In effect, the screenwriters recognize that even "positive" stereotypes, in this case being a skillful healer, still limit how their characters and audience perform gender and race. Ultimately, through these visual cues and challenges to stereotypes, *Avatar: The Last Airbender* broadens the ways in which actors and writers can perform indigeneity on television.

Re-appropriating Indigenous Sympathy in *Avatar: The Last Airbender*

Although ATLA broadens indigenous representation in this respect, it is vital to also acknowledge how the series still clings to sympathy to manipulate and elicit responses from its audience. When the audience views the indigenous characters in a sympathetic light, the show encourages them to view these scenes as threats of a vanishing culture and not as signs of a future without it. This ties back into Mielke's perspective that the sympathetic voice and moving encounter found in nineteenth-century captivity narratives are employed "in particular . . . by American Indian activists and removal apologists alike," which she goes on to say, "suggests that the image of white-Indian exchange and sympathy has been revised and refigured according to contemporary concerns" (196). ATLA is no different here. We see this perhaps most clearly in the first episode when Katara says cheerfully, "Aang, this is the entire village. Entire village, Aang," and the camera reveals 19 people with solemn or confused faces standing in tan snow in the sunset ("The Boy in the Iceberg"). When the villagers do speak to Aang, they do so while either cowering behind someone else or bringing attention to what has been lost, like when Aang asks "Why are they all looking at me like that?" and Gran Gran, one of the solemn villagers, answers, "Well, no one has seen an airbender in a hundred years. We thought they were extinct" ("The Boy in the Iceberg"). The imagery surrounding the tribe plants the notion that this culture faces its own sunset, and the landscape reflects their poverty; however, the screenwriters place

much of their focus on Katara as the only girl capable of continuing the Southern Water Tribe's art form. This becomes apparent through her relationship with Aang, such as when she says, "I told you. He's the real thing, Gran Gran. I finally found a bender to teach me," only to be told, "Katara, try not to put all your hopes in this boy" ("The Boy in the Iceberg"). Between this and the knowledge that the Northern Water Tribe has flourished during the war, the show shifts the tribe's conflict from how it will be saved by Aang to how indigenous art forms can be restored or adapted to a new tribal life, without presenting the tribe as entirely lost.

Mielke comments on how some authors, namely the Transcendentalists, elicited sympathy for American Indians from their audiences without requiring that they "vanish." She writes that "Although Fuller and Thoreau do not fully transcend the myth of the doomed Indian, their engagement with both the moving encounter and the idea of correspondence prompt them to consider a future inclusive of, rather than vacated by, American Indians" (114). More specifically, she describes how Thoreau depicts an American Indian man named Joe Polis: "Polis's economic independence enables him to move freely between the wilderness and the city; this Indian intermediary adapts to Euro-American society and retains the language and much of the cultural practice of American Indians. Thoreau, then, proposes that the Indian, degraded or otherwise, is not fated to disappear" but treats their knowledge and languages as "endangered" (113). In the sympathetic language Thoreau uses, American Indians are fated to adopt some Euro-American norms but still to remain inexplicably "Indian." While he argues that American Indians are not disappearing and should be protected, *ATLA* builds on his ideas in how it represents indigenous cultures by detaching "progress" from Euro-American culture while still including indigenous peoples in the future. Hence, *ATLA* works within Mielke's vision of sympathy and the moving encounter toward indigenous peoples by using imagery that shows a culture in decline, but provides a context and worldview that rejects the idea that it is "doomed." The show presents the view that both tribes are fluid and capable of changing on their own terms.

Conclusion

Avatar: The Last Airbender works within the captivity narrative tradition while also critiquing it in order to broaden indigenous representation and decouple it from sympathetic and sentimental portrayals in American literature and television. When working with the genre's conventions, the series establishes early on that the Fire Nation functions as the captors and colonizers in the vast majority of its conflicts and the protagonists, while Aang, Katara, and Sokka function as captives. The series then subverts captivity by using it in early episodes to simply introduce the threat of captivity and the captor's weaknesses. Over the course of the series, the screenwriters weave between portraying captivity as a plot device for introducing new conflicts and the real threat of colonization and social isolation. When the series does use techniques associated with sentimentality, like the moving encounter, it makes a distinction between drawing similarities between the characters and, more favorably in the eyes of the screenwriters, empathy and solidarity against a common threat.

In relation to representation, the series uses the Northern and Southern Water Tribes to depict intracommunity prejudices within indigenous civilizations and the uneven trauma dealt by colonization. Perhaps more intriguing is the fact that when social justice and progress occurs in these tribes, the show does not present it as part of a slow but inevitable loss of indigeneity, but rather the result of calls for change within these communities. While there are scenes that do resort to sympathetic depictions of indigenous cultures in decline, particularly when they are first introduced in the series, these scenes depict the threat of a vanishing culture to the world overall rather than a future without indigenous people. Hence, *Avatar: The Last Airbender* critiques the captivity genre from within in order to broaden portrayals of indigenous peoples beyond sympathy and sentimentality to account for desires and changes driven from within these cultures.

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