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A Note on Formatting

For the sake of uniformity and readability, Slideshow articles have been formatted using The Chicago Manual of Style, 16th edition, even in cases where the author’s original honors thesis work used AAA, APA, or MLA formatting. However, in recognition of the interdisciplinary character of these pieces, our authors were allowed to choose either Chicago’s Author-Date citation system (more characteristic of the social sciences) or its Notes-Bibliography system (more characteristic of the humanities) for their citations.
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Foreword

The Merle Kling Undergraduate Honors Fellowship Program is delighted to welcome readers to the eleventh volume of Slideshow, its annual journal celebrating undergraduate research in the humanities and the humanistic social sciences. The articles in Slideshow represent a portion of the research that senior Kling Fellows have conducted, each under the supervision of a Washington University faculty mentor, during a two-year fellowship term. While the Kling Fellowship Program originated as a collaboration between the university’s Center for the Humanities and its College of Arts and Sciences, it became fully a Center for the Humanities initiative as of last summer. The current issue of Slideshow gives the center much to take pride in.

This year’s six Slideshow articles bring together an unusually wide range of disciplines and topics. The Kling Fellowship Class of 2015 will graduate with a series of majors and minors that read like a road trip through the Arts & Sciences undergraduate catalog: anthropology, comparative literature, economics, French, German, history, Japanese, philosophy-neuroscience-psychology, physics, political science, Spanish, and women, gender, and sexuality Studies. Needless to say, several of the Kling Fellows’ articles showcase profoundly interdisciplinary scholarship, and this year Slideshow can claim, among other things, its first ever contribution to a physics honors thesis and its first single article featuring six languages. Slideshow 2015 also boasts an impressive geographic span, touching down in not only the United States but also in Trinidad, Northern Ireland, Denmark, Korea, and the Philippines.

In the following pages, Chelsea Bhajan analyzes widespread ambivalence about the Trinidadian leisure activity of liming, or “doing nothing well,” and the difficulties it raises for Trinidadians seeking to fit into a faster-paced Western cultural norm. Marie Draper explores the ways in which language and gender expectations reinforce each other in the undergraduate physics classroom. Lily Jacobi shares stories from Nigerian women trafficked into prostitution in Copenhagen, Denmark, and discusses how their narratives problematize the binary of agency and victimhood. Gyooho Kong examines the ways in which theories of translation are challenged by the experimental work of an early twentieth-century Korean poet, Yi Sang. Áine O’Connor argues that the ritualized violence of Northern Ireland’s “marching season” reinforces ethno-religious identity claims in ways that its government is unable or unwilling to recognize. Last but not least, Sonya
Schoenberger looks back at the bitter end of the Philippine-American War, with accusations of brutality, torture, and “savagery” on both sides that reveal the ways in which legal frameworks were (and are) used to justify extralegal acts.

A student-authored acknowledgments section appears at the end of this volume, but it is important to recognize that the Kling Fellows whose work is represented here did not achieve their interdisciplinary breadth and rigor without a great deal of help. Each Kling Fellow was mentored by a Washington University faculty member in his or her home discipline, and the four semesters of the weekly Kling Seminar were led by four different members of the Arts and Sciences faculty: Professors Erin McGlothlin, Joseph Loewenstein, Jean Allman, and Rebecca Wanzo each generously shared their expertise. Dean Mary Laurita of the College of Arts and Sciences presided over these Kling Fellows’ selection and guided them into the Kling Fellowship Program.

I have also been privileged to watch this cohort of Kling Fellows transform into scholars, activists, leaders, and deeply humanistic thinkers, while their projects moved from sophomore research proposals, through innumerable false starts and drafts, to culminate in these polished pieces of scholarship. Just as I have enjoyed working with this cohort of Kling Fellows over the past two years, I am certain that Slideshow’s readers will enjoy their first encounters with these articles.

Wendy Love Anderson, Ph.D.
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Editor’s Note

As I consider the articles that make up Slideshow 2015, I am struck by a common theme. Each of our projects explores what happens when people, and aspects of people’s cultures, come into contact—collide, comingle, connect—and transform each other.

The colonized history of Trinidad and its modern class divisions inform Chelsea’s study of the local practice of liming. I investigate how language creates community, and reinforces gender inequity, in the undergraduate physics classroom. Lily examines how trafficked Nigerian women navigate the Danish immigration context. In Gyoonho’s translations of experimental Korean poetry, he elucidates how literature, a cultural product, traverses and collapses national and linguistic boundaries. Aine argues that Ireland’s marching season fixes divisive discourses of Anglo-Protestant and Irish-Catholic identity in popular memory and ensures their continuation. Sonya complicates the ways in which the Filipino and American militaries used the same laws of “civilized” war to justify strategies of increased brutality against one another in the Philippine-American War. The transformative consequences of interpersonal and intercultural contact are the foundation upon which all of our projects have been built.

This common foundation also affects how we conducted our research. Although each project has now been neatly packaged into separate Slideshow articles, this packaging conceals the amount of interpersonal and intercultural contact to which we subjected our own work over the course of two years. We each brought different cultural backgrounds, training from different disciplines, and passions for different topics into our Kling Fellowship cohort. We held our projects up to one another for interdisciplinary scrutiny, bringing our research into contact with the diverse expectations of our peers. In writing workshops, each Kling Fellow presented draft after draft, applying feedback from our peers and seminar leaders to each rewrite. We each in turn offered peer critiques of one another’s works. For each project, we discussed which excerpts, arguments, and ideas had sparked our intellectual curiosity and had made us most proud to share the Kling Fellowship with the author.

Each of our articles has developed along this transformative path. Contact with each other’s work, intellect, and passion has continuously changed each of our projects. The Kling seminar, our haven of intellectual space and time, has allowed us to influence each other and be influenced. As our
articles demonstrate, contact produces change. The humanities study how humans interact, and the importance of this study has never been clearer to me than now, as I introduce this journal. While our articles will remain static in their published medium, we will go on seeking and learning from contact as students, as scholars, and as humans, so that we can continue to change.

Marie Draper
Slideshow 2015 student editor
Liming: A Reflection of Where We Are and Where We Have Been

Chelsea Bhajan

If you have ever visited the Caribbean region, whether the British, Dutch, Spanish or French-speaking islands, you are likely to have come across the term “liming.” Liming, the art of doing nothing well, is said to have originated in Trinidad and Tobago and is the nation’s unofficial pastime. Liming has long represented what is distinctive about being from and living on the island, however, people constantly talk of liming as being in a state of decline. This essay explores that sense and examines the historical development of liming, contemporary social norm surrounding its practice, and the broad cultural dynamics in Trinidad that might produce such a feeling of decline among middle-class residents.

We don’t really have a culture, I fine…. We don’t feel authentic, as in anything authentically Trinidadian. Sometimes Trinidad does feel like if yuh in a, despite during Carnival, like if yuh in a American country just’ wit’ like all plenty Trinidad references.

These were the words one of my best friends, Justin, uttered to me one evening over Skype. At the time, I was at university in St. Louis and he was at home in Trinidad. I have known Justin for seven years now. We’ve been friends since high school. He is a twenty-three-year-old recent graduate from the University of the West Indies in St. Augustine, where he studied biochemistry. I’ve always thought of him as a “true Trini.” The first time we met, he was raving about an upcoming Machel Montano concert. He has always been a Carnival baby, someone who lives and breathes the music and festivity of soca, mas, and feewing; all things very much “Trini.” At the time of this conversation, we were having one of our usual Skype calls and were discussing liming, a leisure activity often touted as the national pastime of Trinidad and Tobago. I had asked Justin how he felt the Trinidadian lifestyle had changed from when he was younger, and he declared that Trinidad had become more dependent on Western culture. He felt that instead of focusing on our multifaceted Trini culture, Trinidadians are turning to the United States of America.

Trinidad and Tobago is a twin-island nation of the West Indies located in the Lesser Antilles, just off the coast of Venezuela. Trinidadian society is one that is rich and varied. It is multicultural, multireligious, and multiethnic, a direct
result of the island’s history, beginning with the migration of the first Amerindians and continuing through various colonial oppressors, slaves, and indentured workers. The national culture reflects African, Indian, and European influences in music, dance, food, language, and institutions. Why is it then that Justin would claim that Trinidad has no culture? What would cause a Trinidadian to feel as though there is nothing authentically Trinidadian and that he could essentially be living in an “American country?”

In this article, I explore “liming,” a practice which is said to originate in Trinidad and which has long represented what is distinctive about being from and living on the island. Through my analysis of the literature, current national discourses, and people’s everyday ways of talking about liming, I demonstrate that liming continues to bear civic significance. It both structures and reflects Trinidadian culture and society. However, my informants talked about liming as though it is in crisis. The general sentiment is that liming has declined, has become less authentic or distinctive, and has even been corrupted. The rest of this essay explores that sense of crisis and examines the broad cultural dynamics in Trinidad that might produce such a feeling among middle-class residents.

I argue that liming is not simply to be understood as a means of socialization but also as way in which Trinidadians understand themselves and perceive the world around them. Liming is a means of expression, a way of being and a reflection of the history, culture, and place of Trinidad. In this article, I first explain what liming is and provide an overview of key works addressing liming. Second, I show how liming is experienced by the middle class and, then, explore how it is being threatened through an analysis of public discourse. Finally, through ethnographic work, I elucidate how, through liming, we can understand Trinidadian norms, values, priorities, and the issues currently facing the population and their effects.

Methodology

Primary data for this research were collected periodically over the course of two years between 2012 and 2014 and consist of participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Eleven individuals were interviewed, including both males and females of varying races, ethnicities, and religions, and ranging in age from 20 to 48 years. Prospective interviewees were reached out to via personal, friend, or family connections. Many individuals employed at the University of the West Indies were also contacted. Those individuals who responded and were
willing to participate in the research were interviewed either in person or via Skype.

All respondents resided in various cities and towns in south Trinidad, the focus area for this study. South Trinidad was chosen for practical purposes, as this was where I resided during my trips. It was also chosen because I would be able to observe and understand changes in liming more acutely in south Trinidad because it has only recently become more urbanized. As such, Trinidadians living in “South” remain more community and family-oriented. North Trinidad, where the capital city of Port-of-Spain is located, is more metropolitan. It is significantly more urbanized and has a greater influx of outside influence from foreign cultures. There is also a greater number of foreign residents and expats living in north Trinidad. Thus, I believe that residents in South would be better able to recognize and articulate the changing scene of liming as the area has gradually become busier and more developed over the past few years. Its sister isle, Tobago, was excluded from this study due to its different history, industry, and demographic makeup.

The respondents all identified themselves as being part of the middle class, though some specified that they saw themselves as tending more toward the lower end of this spectrum. This research therefore focuses on the experience of the large middle class in Trinidad and does not explore the experience of the people who consider themselves part of the lower or upper classes. Findings thus can only be applied to and be representative of this specific body of the population. It should be noted that the middle class is not identified solely based on an income bracket in Trinidad. Middle-class status is more complex in the West Indies. Where you live, where you are from, how you speak and carry yourself, your occupation, and, most important, your level of education are also factors. Several respondents, specifically those in their early twenties, have spent significant time abroad for the purpose of tertiary education and so were able to lend varied understandings of liming through their myriad experiences.

Additionally, this research is undertaken as a native ethnography. I am a Trinidadian, born and raised in San Fernando, a city in south Trinidad. My personal experience with liming and knowledge of Trinididian society and culture is also utilized as primary data in this article. My intimate understanding of liming allows me to focus more on how it has evolved over time as well as the purpose it serves to people, society, and the nation on the whole. Because of my relation
to the island and topic being discussed, the use of "our" or "we" in this article refers to Trinidadians.

Secondary data was gathered from ethnographies as well as articles from anthropology journals, business journals, and interdisciplinary journals. Newspaper articles and social media posts assisted in recreating the public discourse on liming. I referred to renowned West Indian scholars and novelists to help me better express the liming experience and to garner some insight as to what liming looked like in years gone by and why it has such significance for island cultures.

Country Overview

Trinidad and Tobago is a twin-island nation located in the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, just off the coast of Venezuela. It covers an area of 5,128 square kilometres and constitutes a population of just over one million people.\(^1\) The country was inhabited by Amerindians until it was rediscovered by Christopher Columbus in 1498. It became a Spanish colony, and the indigenous people, the Tainos and Kalinagos, faced near genocide as a result. The islands changed hands among the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch until they were finally ceded to Britain in 1802. Under British rule, sugar-cane plantation estates were created and slavery was introduced, but was promptly abolished in 1838. This development ushered in the immigration of East Indian and Chinese workers as indentured laborers. Although their conditions and treatment were not far removed from those experienced during the time of slavery, these immigrants were promised land or return passage for their labor. Indentureship continued until 1917.

Waves of new colonists, slaves, and indentured laborers yielded the multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious society of Trinidad, as many of these immigrants remained in the country. However, the melting pot of Trinidad did not come to be without incident. The Hoxey massacre of 1884 was a result of strained relations between East Indian immigrants and both the black and British white populations. There was also a coup attempt in 1990, when the extremist Muslim group Jamaat al Muslimeen tried to overthrow the government. Today, most Trinidadians identify as Christian, Muslim, or Hindu. As of 2011, the population is approximately one-third of African descent, one-third

\(^1\) Trinidad and Tobago's 2011 Population and Housing Census Demographic Report indicated a population of 1,328,019 people.
of Indian descent, and one-third mixed or other. 

In 1962, Trinidad and Tobago gained independence from the United Kingdom. It severed ties with the British monarchy in 1976 and became a republic within the Commonwealth. Unlike many of the other islands in the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago has an industry-based economy as opposed to tourism based. Rife with natural resources such as oil, natural gas, and asphalt, the country has flourished through the development of petrochemical industries. The religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity on the islands has given rise to a plethora of festivals, music, and food that drives the tourism sector.

The history, culture, and demography of Trinidad all contribute to how liming has developed and how it has become what it is today. Liming is not just a reflection of who we are as Trinidadians but also who we have been. As a direct result of our long history of oppression and colonialism, liming demonstrates our values and what we hold dear. It emphasises our ability to be free and revel in our freedom, to resist and protest, and to strengthen community and family relationships. These elements generate liming’s meaning and purpose.

What is Liming?

The etymology of the word “liming” is largely unknown. However, tour guides and native Trinidadians love to speculate. When asked about the origin of liming, informants gave variations of stories involving colonial masters and military personnel. One story tells of how colonial masters used to rub themselves with lime as a sunblock while they were on the beach. The slaves would see them and say they were liming. Another variation says that during World War II, locals referred to British servicemen stationed in the country as “limneys.” This was because the locals always saw them hanging around brothels or bars in Port-of-Spain, sucking on limes or rubbing lime on their skin, supposedly to fight scurvy and keep away bugs. The locals dubbed the action “liming.” One respondent said that sailors added lime juice to their alcoholic beverages to supplement vitamin C deficiency and thus liming became synonymous with socializing and drinking. Jokingly, one interviewer suggested that you don’t buy one lime; you buy many limes, so it makes metaphorical sense since liming is a group activity. Nonetheless, the

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2 Exact percentages obtained from the 2011 Trinidad census indicate 35 percent East Indian descent, 34 percent African descent, 23 percent mixed, and 8 percent other,
term eventually became synonymous with the act of "hanging out." Most individuals, however, seemed to have no idea of where the term could have originated.

Then, what exactly is liming? What makes it so distinctive? And why is it so integral to the lives of Trinidadians? In 1976, cultural anthropologist Michael Lieber published the article "Liming and Other Concerns: The Style of Street Embedments in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad." The article documents his research on the street activities and engagements of young black men in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, or "street embedments" as he calls them. He refers to the streets of Port-of-Spain as the "living room" of many young black men and asserts that while lounging in the streets is a major part of street life, it is not limited to this. These engagements happen at various places such as bars and calypso tents, on stoops, and even around eating places. Lieber writes, "In Trinidad, the key activity or attitude related to making something of street life is loosely referred to as "liming" (Lieber 1976, 326).

Lieber explains that "liming may best be glossed as "just hanging around," but hanging around with eyes and ears keenly tuned to the flow of action and the recognition of advantage" (326). He points out the episodic and opportunistic aspects of liming. People who are liming are willing to be flexible and grasp whatever opportunities or events present themselves. For example, a promising social event was also expected to have a steady flow of music and possibly easy access to drugs. For the "poor, black, urban men" whom Lieber lived among and observed, affordability was also a factor in the evaluation of these opportunities for social engagement.

In the article, Lieber describes a lime as a "loose, vaguely planned, though carefully assessed string of engagements" (330). While liming may seem as a way merely to pass time, he notes that these activities are not trivial. He insists that anthropologists not disregard liming as a means of "making do" by marginalised people but rather "as commitments, as outcomes of choices to design and engage sociability in particular ways." Here, Lieber highlights the agency that is engendered by liming and the need for these young men to create a space for themselves that is not heralded by the values and expectations of the bourgeoisie. He proposes that "in liming we see where much of "meaning," in the Weberian sense, is grounded for men such as these" (331). That is to say, the same way members of a capitalist society find "meaning" in their work, these young black men
liming on the urban streets of Port-of-Spain find meaning in their street engagements.

Over a decade later, Norwegian social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen published a rather comprehensive article documenting liming in Trinidad (1990). As opposed to Lieber’s focus on liming among young black men in Port-of-Spain, Eriksen took a general look at liming by studying its widespread practice in Trinidad. His work aimed to fully explicate the practice itself, its rules, and how it related to Trinidadian culture. Eriksen asserts that liming is a social institution and cultural state of mind that is part of the Trinidadian definition of self (39). He acknowledges it as a “kind of performing art ... one wouldn’t hesitate to indulge in proudly” (35). He determined that liming has no explicit purpose outside of itself and noted that food, drink, and music are usually present. The group usually engages in “ole talk,” that is, the exchange of tall tales, good-natured ribbing, and anecdotes. During his study, Eriksen recognized that straightforward aimlessness, quick wit, and a way with words are highly regarded in a lime, but liming is not formalized, nor is it governed by a set of rules. It is an inherently social activity and thus cannot be done alone. Eriksen emphasizes the “presence of an ambience of relaxation and leisure” as well as an “air of openness ... to others who might want to join” (26). At the time of Eriksen’s research, people who limed together tended to be of the same age, rank in occupation, and ethnic group. And, echoing Lieber’s mid-1970s study, Eriksen found that liming was still predominantly a male activity in the 1980s.

Much has changed in Trinidad since these two publications, although the core aspects of liming, as observed then, remain. The distinctive elements of a lime and the meaning liming holds for Trinidad’s citizens—as a declaration of freedom, an assertion of independence, and a state of mind—are still prevalent today as they were when Lieber and Eriksen conducted their research on the island. Liming remains a demonstration of freedom to assert choice and to shape your life the way you desire. It displays Trinidad’s privileging of the social life over economic life. The Trinbagonian journalist B. C. Pires (2009) asserts, “It is only in places where freedom itself is completely taken away ... that the individual freedom to choose to do nothing becomes prized.” Pires believes that it is from our past of oppression through slavery, indentureship, and colonialism that liming came about in Trinidad. Pires views liming as a “declaration of independence.” He aptly writes,
While we limed with one another…we did nothing but what we wanted to do which was nothing…. We were people. We were not anything anyone forced us to be, especially we weren’t productive.”

Based on my own experiences and on the research conducted for this article, I find that liming is more than just liming. It is the assertion of the ability an individual has to lime. It is the actualization of the realization that you can declare your worth without “producing” something tangible. It thus embraces a purposeful lack of productivity. Liming is not a passive activity. Individuals exercise choice not only when they decide to stop what is deemed typically “productive” to lime, but also when they decide the course of the lime itself. Liming is a conscious choice and commitment to “do nothing.” This is not to be confused with laziness or idleness, for these states do not revitalise and recharge one’s energy. Liming is “doing nothing” as though it was of the utmost importance. Liming, when done well, is much better than doing nothing.

Liming is also a state of mind. Eriksen wrote that “liming is associated with a state of mind transcending temporal commitments” (1990, 29). It is being able to cast aside all obligations, responsibilities, and immediate commitments—work, assignments, business, etc.—and be completely present and available in the moment. This fosters what Eriksen called “a supreme ‘aristocratic’ feeling of total individual freedom” (28). A shared value among Trinidadians is that too much pressure, too much stress is simply unacceptable and not to be tolerated. Citizens must have full control of their lives such that no one makes decisions for them. This ability to “free up,” as it is called in Trinidad, and let go of all of life’s stresses, if only momentarily, is highly prized by the nation’s inhabitants and is certainly something to be proud of. This is why, as Eriksen finds, there are “many opportunities culturally available for the breaking of whatever rules might be there” (31). While Trinidadians, specifically the middle class, are often conscious of image and reputation and thus constantly display responsibility and respectability, there are instances where they are able to release their inhibitions and “free up” such as during a lime, at Carnival, or in a fete. Liming can

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1. An annual celebration that occurs the Monday and Tuesday before Ash Wednesday. Carnival is a very important festival in the Caribbean, especially in Trinidad, where it is said that “if Trinis are not playing mas (i.e., masquerading and parading..."
be considered a “liminal state” as described by anthropologist Victor Turner (1969). Turner regards liminality as a time and place where norms are temporarily suspended and identity dissolves to some extent, bringing about the possibility of new perspectives. Through his ethnographic work in Ndembu, Zambia, “Turner realised that liminality served not only to identify the importance of in-between periods, but also to understand the human reactions to liminal experiences: the way in which personality was shaped by liminality, the sudden foregrounding of agency, and the sometimes dramatic tying together of thought and experience” (Thomassen 2014, 87).

In the following section, I explore the experience of self-identified middle-class Trinidadians with liming and analyse their reactions to this liminal experience. I highlight the aspects of liming that create a sense of meaning and belonging and demonstrate how changes in the society—such as technological advances, a rise in crime, and a shift outside the home—have altered this experience so that it has begun to feel less authentic.

**Good Limes and Bad Limes**

When conversing with respondents, I asked them to differentiate between what makes a good lime versus what makes a bad lime. Their responses indicate that despite there being a multitude of ways to lime, Trinidadians with whom I spoke possess a shared view of what is yearned for in a lime. There are qualities that are highly preferred in these spaces. From these responses, I gather what is valued and what is shunned in a lime. It is in this way that we see a discriminating taste of sorts in a lime. These distinctions between what positively or negatively influences a lime demonstrate that Trinidadians have a clear understanding of how their social life should be shaped. Furthermore, the way that people speak of the characteristics of a lime reflects also how they view and perceive the world around them. It reflects how Trinidadians interact with the world and society at large.

Across the board, respondents declared that a good lime has “real vibes.” The presence of “vibes” largely determines how successful a lime is, but what do Trinidadians actually mean when they use the
term? Essentially, vibes is used to describe the overall atmosphere of a lime and all that entails from the people you are with, what you think and talk about while you are timing, and even how you feel after the session has ended. A good lime is thus a combination of good company, relaxing conversation, an openness to the lime’s free-flowing structure, and the freedom to shed roles and responsibilities so as to foster a feeling of oneness and connectedness.

One of the most important elements respondents identified in a lime is whom you are with. The company you keep sets the tone for the duration of the lime and can truly make or break a lime. An informant explained that a good lime is when “yah enjoy yuhself. Yuh enjoy d company yuh wit.” Several respondents’ ideal limericking partners would be “up for anything.” Good limes are therefore free-flowing and opportunistic. There need not be a set agenda or plan of activities for the lime. Participants are spontaneous and willing to follow the lime wherever it takes them, whether it be from a friend’s house to a park, a beach, a cinema, a club, and finally to another friend’s house. Flexibility and adaptability are thus ideal traits and help to promote a good lime. One respondent, Melissa, currently a law student in the UK, insisted that the best limes for her are the ones with friends she has known the longest. The element of familiarity within the group creates an immediately open and comfortable space in which one is uninhibited: free to act, speak, and be as they wish.

Ideally, with longtime friends, there are no awkward silences, and one is able to bypass the introductory conversations—or as Melissa says, “cut de smalls,” meaning to cut out all the small talk. This element of conversation is also key to a lime. It is usually stimulating and reflects similar or common interests in the group, whether it be sports, popular culture, or politics. A good lime has plenty “ole talk.” “Ole talk” is generally used to denote the sharing of tall tales alongside good-natured ribbing and banter. Ole talk can include covering the political woes of the country, stories from daily life, and just plain nonsense. Asha, a forty-four-year-old baker, described her experience of ole talk as follows:

Lots of stories are exchanged. The ole-time stories, the present stories, stories about children, or former colleagues from school. You hear a bit of gossip, too.

This sharing of stories demonstrates the performance culture of the nation. A lime is very much a performance. In expressing oneself and
one's enjoyment in a lime, people put on a performance for onlookers and passers-by. The fun and freeness and all-around success of a lime can be seen and heard by others as much as it is felt by the participants themselves.

Much like a lime, these conversations, the ole talk, has no purpose outside of itself. It is not a conversation to solve a problem or resolve conflict but purely social. This is an act of sharing simply for human interaction. Oftentimes, it is chance for individuals to reconnect in person and catch up, especially for Trinidadians who live abroad. Trinidadians sometimes contrast liming with social media, which is perceived as less personal. Sachin, a twenty-year-old currently pursuing an undergraduate degree in California, explained,

With Facebook and Twitter, yuh could see what yuh friends does' like literally every minute of every day, which is something back when you were younger you didn't really need to know that…. It kinda removes that need to immediately see somebody.

Limes act as a way of retaining face-to-face conversation, interaction, and all-out socialization in the midst of technological changes. Thus, liming preserves the root and base of social interaction.

Liming taps into human sociality. People describe experiencing a moment in a lime where they become acutely aware of the bonds of friendship among the group. This is probably the "oneness" that Pires wrote about in 2009. For Pires, "oneness" is an unsaid understanding that is achieved only when the self is given over entirely and willingly to others, and it is a requirement for liming. Oneness is what results from the vibes of a lime: the good company, openness, sharing, inhibition, ole talk. It all combines in a moment of ultimate togetherness where you realize yourself as a part of a group, community, and nation, and you have this unbelievable sense of belonging, of being at home.

Like Turner's concept of liminality, a good lime allows people to shed their roles, duties, and responsibilities and just be themselves, if only for the period of the lime. As Asha explained,

As I'm getting older, I tend to lime less. I know I need to do it because it's so relaxing and de-stressing. For me the purpose is really to de-stress and relax, forget about being a mother, forget about being a wife, everything yuh know. Just relax. To be me.

Stripped of all labels, one is able to fully be. Immediate obligations are
case aside, and one is fully present in the moment. Your mind is not occupied by thoughts of impending deadlines or future projects. Instead, you are focused on what is happening at the lime: the company, the conversation, the feelings of oneness. You are focused on “takin in de vibes.” Pires emphasized that liming is a way in which people assert themselves not just as workers or capital, but also, critically, as human beings. He wrote that liming “is an existential assertion, a declaration that the limner is just as much a person as the worker; indeed more of a person, since anyone can work well but only the free individual, able to shrug off everything under the sun, can lime well” (Pires 2009).

My respondents supported Pires’ view of liming. They said that bringing thoughts of work to a lime restricts one’s ability to “free up” and let go, and can seriously sour a lime. Constantly worrying about obligations affects the energy being brought to the lime, which is crucial to creating vibes. People who bring negative energy to a lime tend to come with an attitude that is not conducive to creating the ideal lime. They are preoccupied with other jobs outside of the lime, hesitant to go with the flow, and are overall unwilling to give themselves over and be present in the moment. Both attitude and energy translate into what kind of vibes are present in a lime and thus contribute to its atmosphere. High energy is said to be present in the most fun and successful limes. However, high energy should not be confused with high activity or even an outgoing demeanor, since more low-key limes can also have high energy. Instead, high energy should be understood as a willingness to be open and one with the group. High energy exists where everyone feels this sense of belonging, a belonging to themselves and a belonging to a larger group. In a high-energy lime, participants express their agency by living in the moment.

The elements of company, conversation, connection, and choice all combine and generate the vibes of a lime. The lime elicits relaxation and allows individual to unwind and de-stress. The presence of vibes and energy brings about a noticeable feeling of satisfaction for Trinidadians. Respondents described a feeling of total contentment in a lime. They are content in the space, with these people, doing whatever it may be. They are not in want of something more. In fact, it is hard to conceive of anything greater.

Read All About It:
Threats to Liming

If liming is experienced in terms of such pleasure and fulfillment, why
then is there so much talk of liming being in crisis? What would lead my friend Justin to think that our culture was gone and that we no longer possessed anything authentically Trinidadian? During my interviews, respondents identified several aspects of liming today that they were displeased with: the hierarchy of liming and its resulting social pressures, the commodification of liming, the effects of heightened crime rates, and the perception of liming with slackers and delinquents and its resulting impact on reputation. At times, these developments jeopardize the essence of a lime.

When Sachin returned home, he noticed his friends and classmates from secondary school were no longer satisfied with a low-key house lime, which is his preferred liming style:

Now I feel like everybody does be like, "When is the next party, when is the next big event, with goin' on in social media, wuh goin' on?" I think that when I was younger everybody was so an extent content with what they had, but now people are starting to want more. Just, starting to care about things that you wouldn't have necessarily cared about when I was younger.

Like Sachin, other informants feel that the increase in venues and activities for entertainment has interrupted the feeling of contentment that liming usually elicits. Instead, liming now has a tendency to generate feelings of anxiety about whether or not one is attaining a certain caliber of liming. People often question whether they are liming enough or liming in the best way possible. The availability of more options for liming thus does not simply mean that Trinidadians now have many different ways to lime but also that now they feel as though they need to be doing more to be enjoying themselves and furthermore to make their joy apparent to others. They feel more pressure to lime outside of the home and do more than ole talk with good friends. These pressures and expectations make it so that Trinidadians find it hard to find peace and contentment in just being, in existing as themselves. The social spaces that once allowed Trinidadians the ability to “free up” has now become a place where they have to put in work. As a result, respondents identified the formation of a social hierarchy concerning liming. They referred to this development as the “spectrum,” “ladder,” or “degrees” of liming. With the rise of entertainment venues, the monetary value associated with a lime has become
emphasized. People are clamoring to get into the bigger, better, “badder,” and more expensive limes. The emphasis on monetary value reveals not only a desire for the best entertainment offered but also a desire to keep certain people out: those who cannot or, rather, should not be able to afford the entrance fee. Based on the interviews conducted and the way people talk about these changes and how they structure their own limes, it is my belief that the shift of liming from the home to the public space and from a focus on company to a focus on activity and location has made class divisions and prejudices in Trinidadian society more apparent.

Another point made by my informants was that liming has evolved into something more akin to partying. During my interview with Tiffany, who currently lives in Canada and identifies as someone who limes frequently, she said she often found it difficult to not equate liming with partying and to distinguish between the two. Tiffany also talked about how limes have become a social commodity, with a great deal of competition involved. As mentioned before, individuals can garner prestige and popularity based on how they lime, where they lime, who they lime with, and, furthermore, who sees them liming. Liming is now used to outdo peers and demonstrate status and wealth. Moreover, some people have even been able to turn liming into an occupation by becoming a promoter for various events at bars and clubs around the country. They have capitalized on recent developments in liming and now engage in the business of liming. Their popularity and visibility in the liming scene is an asset that companies use to advertise their events and draw in more profits. Whether or not this type of employment is sustainable, however, is questionable and, indeed, was looked down upon by some respondents.

The amplified extravagance and indulgence in liming sessions has made the lime a prime target for crime. My informants echoed sentiments about the crisis of liming that are also expressed in national media that circulate in Trinidad. A quick search for liming on any of the local newspaper websites—such as the Express, Guardian, or Newsday—produces myriad headlines that reveal how liming is represented as being threatened not only by Trinidad’s changing social landscape but also changing perceptions of the national pastime. News reports highlight how rampant crime has especially affected liming as a safe, cathartic practice that can be...
conducted in the public space. A sampling of headlines including liming from recent issues reads:

"Man Stabbed While Liming at Bar"
"Arouca Man Shot Dead While Liming Near Home"
"Chopped to Death While Liming"
"Killed While Liming"
"Liming Lawman Falls Victim to Bar Robbers"
"Friends Gunned Down After Birthday Limie"

These headlines all appeared over the past four years alone. Titles like these are neither few nor far between and speak to larger issues facing the nation.

Trinidad and Tobago has been battling a rise in crime for the past fifteen years. I recall, in the late 90s and early 2000s, when I was still attending primary school, there was a surge in kidnappings for ransom.

Though kidnappers tended to target members of successful business families, less well-to-do families were also affected. My school held an emotional worship assembly at one point to pray for the release of our nursery teacher’s husband. In 2008, the nation witnessed a drop in ransom kidnappings but then saw an alarming increase in the murder rate. The number of killings climbed to its highest ever, around 550 in 2008, from fewer than 150 in the years before 2000 and 368 in 2006 and 395 in 2007. This number has declined in subsequent years, but the country still sees an average of more than one murder per day. In a country of just over one million residents, that translates to around 30 murders per 100,000 persons—and this excludes all other violent crimes. While Port-of-Spain does have the highest number of homicides, these incidents are not isolated to urban or highly populated regions of the island. Residents even in more rural areas feel the effects of crime.

As a result of perceived rampant crime and lawlessness, liming has become regulated. There are a number of restrictions being placed

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on lines by the participants themselves, their families, and even law enforcement. Often, lining puts citizens in the public eye, or at the very least outside of their homes. Even when lining is done at home, individuals retreat to the porch or yard. Lining therefore places them in a vulnerable position, as they can be observed and targeted. They are so in the moment, calm, relaxed, and unconcerned while lining that it is easy to let their guard down and be caught unaware. It is then, according to my informants, that “bad mind” or ill-intentioned people can pounce and take advantage. This also contributes to gender divisions in lining because women are considered more vulnerable to nightly attacks and often will not be allowed to go out at night unless in the company of a man.

The safe, worry-free space that lining is expected to provide has been compromised due to Trinidad’s changing social environment. Trinidadians now have heightened concerns about the potential of crime taking place. Venues are quickly and almost subconsciously assessed for possible threats upon arrival (exit points, shady areas, suspicious vehicles, etc.). People reported to me that this has, in turn, affected relationships with others, particularly strangers and passers-by. Liners, although generally friendly, will often put on “hard faces” and emit an air of meanness and exclusivity if a stranger approaches the crew, especially if he or she is deemed suspicious. This holds more true for women when lining in groups of women or even when caught alone. The typical attitude is to be brusquely polite so as to avoid slurs and harassment but also not to smile or be too warm and pleasant so as to invite further interaction. It is in this way that the “freedom to be” in lining has been tempered as attitudes and mannerisms have to be regulated.

Another recurring theme in newspaper headlines is the slackness, or laziness, associated with politicians’ lining. Politicians seen our lining generate public comments about their lack of professionalism and focus. They are held to a higher standard, and their Trinidadian identity as expressed through lining is restricted. Therefore, their “freedom to be” is severely regulated and their ability to shed the politician persona is harder to come by. Citizens question the dedication and commitment of members of parliament to solving the nation’s multitude of problems. A member position in parliament and subsequent role in leading the country forward has never deterred the public’s barrage of comments. The current prime minister has often
been called a “rum drinker” and “lover of the bottle” to the point where calypso and soca songs have been written about it. Whereas liming can demonstrate humility and oneness with people during a political campaign, it can negatively influence one’s reputation once elected. Ruth Clarke (2012) documents how liming with people living in one’s constituency is a common means of garnering support and securing votes. The public’s reaction to government members’ liming before and after being elected exposes a dualism in perceptions of liming. Liming can be seen as both positive and negative. While it fosters connections and feelings of togetherness, it can also bring into question one’s seriousness and work ethic.

A characteristic headline that reads “UWI [University of the West Indies] not for drinking, liming” echoes calls for a more focused and productive population. Many Trinidadians view the liming culture as something that is preventing the nation from “progressing.” Even respondents who were keen on liming and proud of its role in their lives were quick to point out how it reflected slackness, indolence, and poor work ethic. Samaara, a twenty-three-year-old medical student, stated:

“It’s just a part of our culture to slack off. [laughs] No, seriously. Anywhere else in the world, time matters. Time is not as important to Trinis as it is to other people. Like if work an’ stuff, people don’t come to work on time, and that’s not a big deal if companies. Or people take a Friday off just tuh have a long weekend jus’ fish so. Yuh know, it jus’ like adding on to d norm that limin’ is ok for us because that’s jus’ how we were raised, jus’ to not take anything seriously.”

Samaara and others describe a normalized aversion to work in the country. Tiffany explained that the nation’s lack of seriousness was one of the reasons she left the country. “Trinidadians are happy people, but—oh, gosh—they not serious about life.” This caused her to seek professional development and career opportunities outside of her home country. The laid-back attitude associated with liming is at once the nation’s strength and its downfall. Another respondent, twenty-three-year-old Josiah, who is completing his undergraduate degree in Florida, said that if you give a Trinidadian rum and food, they will quickly forget everything important and will be just focused on

* Yvonne Baboolal, Trinidad Guardian, August 31, 2013.
enjoying themselves. The dualism of liming becomes apparent here: prized for its freeing qualities but now being condemned for its negative effects on productivity.

The middle-class Trinidian seems to struggle most with this duality in liming. While they readily acknowledge their need and desire for liming as well as the positive effects it has, they also recognize the detriments of excessive liming and of making it the focus of life. Middle-class Trinidadians place a lot of importance on maintaining balance and having priorities in order. Image is key for them, so emphasis is placed on responsibility and reputation. The liming session thus acts as an extension and reflection of the individual. According to Tiffany,

Activity, dress code, language says a lot about the liming group—yuh limin' wit', where yuh limin', how yuh presenting yuhself when yuh liming, yuh know. It is not just a thing that you do. Yuh presenting yuhself to the public in yuh limin' session.

Tiffany's statements reinforce a view of liming as a performance. For members of the middle class as well as the working class, liming is usually experienced only outside of work hours. They can exhibit and revel in the laid-back attitude of their Trinidian culture only when they are off the clock.

But why has productivity suddenly become such a concern to Trinidadians? Why is liming being brought into question now? In this next section, I explore these questions. I address the discourse of development and how this discourse has been internalized by the nation. I then tie in how talk about liming reveals anxieties of class experience and how the pressures experienced in the middle class reflect a privileging of American/Western ideals. From there I will summarize the important changes that Trinidad has undergone in recent decades and how these changes might lead people to feel that the nation has lost its authentic culture.

### Challenging the Norm, Questioning Our Way

In 2000, the government of Trinidad and Tobago launched "Vision 2020," a list of Millennium Development Goals that were associated with the U.N. Millennium Declaration. These goals addressed issues concerning universal education, access to healthcare, poverty and hunger eradication, and gender equality, among other socioeconomic causes. Ever since the introduction of Vision 2020, my perception and the perception of others with whom I have spoken
has been that the discourse of development has permeated everyday life in Trinidad in ways that it previously had not. In daily conversation, there is much talk about the nation’s progress, not only with regard to how the government’s activities move the nation forward but also to how citizens’ activities can be holding us back. The parents of some of my interviewees and even the interviewees themselves, while extolling liming, also view it as a contributor to low productivity and poor work ethic in the country. They now label limers as delinquents, individuals who are not disciplined and who are unwilling to put in hard work and sacrifice to move the nation and its people forward. The pervasiveness of the development discourse has caused individuals to become more focused on work and productivity. It is no longer the norm for individuals to place much meaning on their social lives. Instead, they focus on personal and career development through the workplace.

Emphasis on the Western model and concept of development has caused Trinidadians to become ashamed of their culture. The increased attention to the supposed “underdevelopment” of Trinidad has led people to question what is wrong with their nation and what is lacking in their culture. Conversations with my respondents indicate that they feel Trinidadian culture is somehow inferior and holding them back from their “true” potential, that is, the potential to attain “developed” status as dictated by Western nations. This converges with the idea of the commercialization of leisure time and the heightened competition recognized among limers, which has transformed liming into something that seems less like “doing nothing” and more like work. Since both are attempts to try to overcome a lack of development, “development” becomes as much a status as it is an actual state of affairs.

Thus, we see this divisive nature in the middle class experience of liming. It is evident when individuals feel nostalgia for the type of carefree liming that once was, for the freedom and sense of belonging and simply being that they were afforded. It is also evident when they feel conflicted because they crave a good lime but desire to “get ahead” in the work sphere. The quest for development has put pressure on citizens, particularly middle-class citizens, to be productive and to “contribute to society.” This expectation is now tied to their feelings of responsibility and respectability, and, as a result, this sense of duty has placed limitations on their ability to assert their choice and declare their freedom.
Informants expressed further that they found that the younger generation is becoming more and more influenced by American culture. American culture, in recent years, has been viewed as superior to Trinidadian culture and thus is being constantly emulated. This has contributed to limes moving outside of the home and being more activity focused. It has also contributed to binge drinking and the party atmosphere that is increasingly seen in limes. Trinidadians seem to have distanced themselves from their own heritage so much so that it is creating a loss of unique culture and identity. The chase for the elusive “developed” status and the consistent appeal to be accepted according to Western norms and standards brings some people to question the value of their own historical and cultural traditions.

Conclusion

Through an analysis of the middle-class liming experience in Trinidad, I have proposed several reasons why these Trinidadians might feel as though they are losing the authenticity of their culture. Liming, identified by one interviewer as a "totally Trinidadian phenomenon," has become corrupted, many people believe. Its safe space, open atmosphere, and free-flowing structure have been threatened by rising crime, a growing interest in entertainment and nightlife venues, advances in technology, and a desire for immediate pleasure as provided by excessive drinking and partying. Furthermore, the internalization of development goals as promoted by Vision 2020 has added another obligation for the middle class. They now shoulder the burden of national duty to move the country forward. These citizens are now torn between their social lives and work lives and are trying to reconcile a previous privileging of the social over the economic with this new pressure to be productive.

The discourse identifying liming, a practice deeply connected to Trinidadian culture and lifestyle, as being in a state of decline, of being in crisis, of going through an unpleasant evolution, mirrors the current anxieties being experienced by Trinidad’s middle class. Priorities and expectations are being shifted; social lives are becoming second to work lives; and where we derive meaning in our lives is being challenged. Hence, the question of whether Trinidad is losing authenticity in its culture is intrinsically linked to the state of liming.
Bibliography


Influences of Instructor Beliefs, Biases and Language While Teaching Undergraduate Physics

Marie Draper

Growth rates of women’s participation in physics at American universities have remained stagnant for over a decade, even while women have begun outnumbering men in university enrollment. To explore why, this project engages with the idea that physics departments act as communities of practice and that physics instructors communicate the community’s cultural expectations through their language when they teach. To investigate the perceptions of natural-science instructors at Washington University in St. Louis, I designed questionnaires and analyzed the responses both quantitatively and qualitatively. Biology instructors, whose student body is 50 percent women, showed quantitatively more awareness about the impact of gendered language than did physics instructors, whose student body remains at 10–15 percent women. Additionally, in rejecting the label “feminist” for certain scientific research practices, physics instructors qualitatively affirmed the importance of language. Assessing the connections between these instructors’ perceptions and the language they use is one step toward encouraging instructors to communicate more inclusively with their students and involve more women in their disciplines.

Introduction

In 2005, USA Today reported that 57 percent of people attending American colleges and universities were women. Yet that same year, only 23 percent of physics bachelor’s degrees were awarded to women. According to the American Physics Society, the most recent statistics from 2012 show that this fraction has dropped to just under 20 percent. In order to explore how these male-dominated communities exclude women, this research project engages with what Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger have called “communities of practice,” a concept that emphasizes the cultural context of...


learning. In this framework, all members of the Washington University in St. Louis (WUSTL) Department of Physics participate in a specific community of practice and thus create and recreate the norms members are expected to follow. Specifically, this project examines instructors’ beliefs and biases regarding student success in an effort to understand how communities of practice at WUSTL define student success. I explore connections between these perceptions and how instructors present their communities of practice through their language. I argue that language plays a highly significant role in sustaining any community of practice, including such communities in natural-science departments. However, I question whether natural-science instructors, especially physicists, are aware that the language they use shapes their communities of practice and influences students.

Feminist philosophers of science have studied how the way scientists do science influences their communities, but scientists are often reluctant to consider the critiques that non-scientific fields may suggest about their disciplines. Yet, I argue that physicists, and all scientists, do recognize that the conditions under which they perform experiments influence the experiments’ outcomes. For example, quantum mechanics, one of physicists’ most prized fields, clearly demonstrates such dependence on context. I assert that physicists should bring this same acknowledgment to the classroom, where, as instructors, they are influential factors in students’ decisions to pursue physics.

Therefore, I designed a study with two goals. First, I aimed to discover

4 In addition to the Physics department and the Center for the Humanities, I also thank the WUSTL Office of Undergraduate Research. I especially thank my physics thesis adviser and Merle Kling Undergraduate Honors Fellowship (MKUHF) mentor, Dr. Maarin Hynes, director of Introductory Physics; my secondary reader for this project, Dr. Patrick Gibbons, professor emeritus of the Department of Physics; and my secondary MKUHF mentor Dr. Joachim Faust, previously associated with the Department of Linguistics. Without these people and these institutions, my ideas would never have developed into the full-fledged research project they have become.

natural-science instructors’ perceptions about their communities of practice and about their representation of these communities through their language. Second, I investigated how priming instructors with familiar ideas from quantum mechanics could influence instructors’ reactions to the principles of feminist science, which assert that instructors must consider their personal assumptions and biases in data analysis. To meet these goals, I chose questionnaires as the primary data collection tool, providing for quantitative and qualitative analysis. I recruited instructors from the WUSTL physics, chemistry, and biology departments to participate because their student bodies are approximately 15 percent, 35 percent, and 50 percent women, respectively. Comparisons between biologist and physicist respondents showed that biology instructors pay more attention to gendered language than physics instructors, and physics instructors were hesitant to use terminology from feminist philosophy of science to describe aspects of their field. Studying natural-science instructors’ perceptions and their reactions to implications from feminist science is a step toward encouraging instructors to communicate more inclusively with their students and involve more women in their disciplines.

Current Climate in Physics

While most American universities have been enrolling more women than men in recent years, the natural sciences, especially physics, continue to reveal a gender imbalance in favor of men. Yet, introductory physics courses at WUSTL attract roughly equal numbers of women and men, likely because introductory physics is a prerequisite for several majors and is a premedicine requirement. However, the classroom population of upper-level physics courses becomes much less balanced. In spring 2015, only three of the twenty students who will graduate from the physics department are women. In her book, *They’re Not Dumb, They’re Different: Stalking the Second Tier*, ethnographer Sheila Tobias explores why some students who would be capable of careers in science, including women, choose to pursue other fields. In one of Tobias’s ethnographic accounts, a male student cites the following significant factors in his lack of enjoyment in the course: lecture-style teaching, concentration on a single way to set up and solve a problem, lack of ins-

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6 Author’s personal experience, confirmed by department.
class discussion, and competition engendered by grading on a curve. While the participant in Tobias's study is a man, his concerns echo the voices of women students, who are at a higher risk of switching out of the sciences than most other demographics.\(^8\) In an extensive chapter from *Talking about Leaving: Why Undergraduates Are Leaving the Sciences*, the authors incorporate qualitative and quantitative survey responses, focus groups, and interviews to investigate the role gender plays in student decisions to leave the sciences in the late 1990s. Key points the researchers discovered include women's tendency to be disproportionately affected by lack of personal attention and support from faculty, as well as by competitiveness introduced by grading on a curve and by weed-out classes—all factors Tobias's male student also cited. While the authors suggest that various sociocultural gender norms may explain to some extent why these factors generally impact women more than men, they also posit that large class sizes and impersonal instructors run counter to women students' precollege experiences.\(^9\)

Indeed, most women in science point specifically to high-school teachers who encouraged them to pursue science and/or engineering. The researchers also demonstrate that women tend to perform better in collaborative study groups and working environments than when working alone. Although these researchers and Tobias emphasize that many students are capable of mastering physics course work, they recognize that the physics community tends to exclude students who have habits of learning outside the established norm for physics students—and excluded students are disproportionately likely to be women.

Overwhelming evidence shows that women are not only excluded from undergraduate degrees but also from university faculty positions. A table from the American Institute of


\(^9\) For example, the authors learned that many students who were men felt pressure to remain in the sciences in order to ultimately earn high-paying careers to support a family in which the man would be the primary breadwinner. This tendency highlights the fact that the sciences not only exclude women, who at the time of this study felt they had more freedom to leave, but also are off-putting for many men, who simply felt it was their duty to stay.
Physics reveals that the physics community continues to exclude women across every academic rank.\(^{10}\) This table illustrates the “leaky pipeline,”\(^ {11}\) the idea that women and minorities are much more likely than white men to “leak” out of the sciences on the way from high school to bachelor’s degrees to full professorships. Given that fewer women than men study physics, fewer women can become faculty members in physics, but the table shows that at each academic rank, regardless of the degrees offered at the institution, women disproportionately continue to drop out of the path to becoming a full professor. While the table does highlight that the physicist population has seen great gains for women faculty, the “largest disparity [in the gender gap] in both achievement and professional representation remains in physics” as compared with other STEM fields.\(^ {12}\)\(^ {13}\) This study seeks to discover what is happening in the undergraduate physics

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12 STEM is a common acronym educators use to describe the linked (and traditionally male-dominated) fields of science, technology, engineering, and math.
classroom that filters the relatively diverse population of introductory students into a community overwhelmingly dominated by men.

Instructor Influence

Education researchers have long agreed that the way instructors teach affects student learning. Scholars have applied several philosophical theories to the study of pedagogy, or methods of instruction. I focus on the social constructivist theory because this theory emphasizes the influences of mentoring, collaboration, and social interactions, which construct the "scaffolding" upon which students build their learning. Education scholars Orison Carlile and Anne Jordan demonstrate that "knowledge is embedded in the activities, social relations and expertise of specific communities, and such communities can be called "communities of practice." This term comes from the landmark 1991 work Situated Learning by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger. They assert that a community of practice can include the following: "who is involved; what they do; what everyday life is like; how masters talk, walk, and work, and generally conduct their lives; how people who are part of the community of practice interact with it; what other learners are doing and what learners need to learn to become full practitioners." In this expansive definition, Lave and Wenger highlight that instructors share with students not only knowledge from their field but also lifestyle and community expectations. The authors explain that in communities of practice, "participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means for their lives and for their communities." Educators are thus constituents of their communities of practice and represent them to others. For example, everyone who works in the WUSTL physics department is part of the WUSTL physics department com-

16 Ibid., 23.
17 Lave and Wenger, Situated Learning, 95.
18 Ibid., 98.
munity of practice. When instructors from this department engage with students, they show students what being a part of this community is like.

Given the social constructivist theory and Lave and Wenger's insights, instructors' choices in pedagogy may alienate or empower various types of students who could participate in their community. In fact, Carlyle and Jordan raise questions about the role of an instructor as a "gatekeeper of knowledge, enforcer of values and monitor of community participation." The pedagogical choices instructors make convey who instructors think are worthy of joining the physics community of practice. Indira Nair and Sara Majetic, physics faculty members at Carnegie Mellon, assert, "The way a course is taught implicitly demonstrates how much students are valued," and certain teaching practices privilege some students over others. Researchers have even gone as far as to claim that the physics community is elitist because many common teaching practices in physics cater more to the students who have historically been dominant in these fields rather than to "those people who have historically been omitted," including women. The way physics instructors teach implicitly demonstrates whether the gates to physics communities of practice are truly open to women today.

In recent decades, certain physicists have been overhauling their pedagogies for undergraduate physics; in effort at least in part to include more women. The work of Eric Mazur, who pioneered the idea of peer instruction in the late 1990s, emphasizes the importance of students learning to articulate to one another the concepts they have read before class. As previously reported, women benefit from less isolated learning experiences like Mazur's "Concept Tests," or "Two Minute Problems" as WUSTL introductory physics instructors call them, which are designed to get students talking about the material. "Physics by

19 Carlyle and Jordan, "It Works in Practice," 23.
21 Ibid., 38.
Inquiry," in which students ask their own questions and devise their own ways to research answers, sets up the classroom "to encourage students to cooperate with one another rather than see each other as competitors." Such emphasis on collaboration and discouragement of competition tends to appeal to women, as concluded by research on Workshop Physics. This style of teaching, in which each new lesson becomes a collaborative learning experiment, boasts unusually high women's enrollment. At WUSTL, several of these pedagogies are incorporated into an active-learning introductory physics course, with many students being called upon to engage with the instructor, Two-Minute Problems to facilitate collaboration, and no grading curve to eliminate competition. According to a 2014 study, when women take the first semester of WUSTL's "Active Physics" introductory course, their attitudes toward physics improve, whereas the attitudes of women who take lecture-style introductory physics decline. The encouraging results of these innovative teaching practices demonstrate that instructors can significantly impact not only how students learn but also how students develop positive attitudes toward physics and ultimately excel. Although women and men are far from achieving parity in physics, with further advances in pedagogy, successful students could be just as likely women as men.

Language Influence

Many studies from a variety of disciplines demonstrate that the way we talk, the vocabulary we use, and the analogies we apply can inhibit or enhance understanding for listeners. In every community of practice, all of these factors contribute to the community's culture and ability to inspire others. Geologist Paul Jeffrey includes "storylines," "metaphor," "vocabulary," and "dialogue," as "tools of collaboration" necessary to succeed on an interdisciplinary research team. These aspects of

25 Ibid., 219.
26 Ibid., 219.
language contribute to the ability of scholars and students with various educational backgrounds to work together. In L. J. Bracken and E. A. Oughton’s article “‘What Do You Mean?’ The Importance of Language in Developing Interdisciplinary Research,” the authors further analyze how language plays a key role in the success of interdisciplinary projects. More than the ability to communicate, however, Bracken focuses on how language influences scholars’ sense of community. Ultimately, the authors note that the way we talk reflects and can change the way we think and the emotions we feel. Any collaboration, within or without a community of practice, must be built upon foundations of trust, a willingness to be vulnerable, and mutual respect. Language is a tool not only for clarifying communication but also for building a sense of community.

While Jeffrey’s and Bracken’s articles concern interdisciplinary research teams, in which each member’s expertise differs, their conclusions can be applied to situations in which students from different backgrounds interact with instructors who have specialized expertise. Given that WUSTL undergraduates receive a liberal-arts education, students’ interactions with physics instructors are such settings. In general, not only does language influence whether students understand what an academic community of practice is all about, but the way community members use language reflects the character and culture of their community. In the natural sciences, men dominate this culture. Gender studies scholars P. Eckert and S. McConnell-Ginet emphasize, “Dominance is sustained by privileging in community practice a particular perspective on language, obscuring its status as one among many perspectives, and naturalizing it as neutral or ‘unmarked.’” Although physics instructors may imagine their language is neutral, masculine ways of communicating dominate the discourse in their community of practice. Ultimately, as members of this community,
physics instructors help represent this culture through the language they use when interacting with students.

The Classroom as Laboratory

The dearth of women in physics and the importance of language in communities of practice motivated me to question whether instructors realize the influence of their language when interacting with students. Scientists tend to believe that what they study is inherently different from who they are, because their disciplines place such emphasis on impersonal objectivity. Therefore, they may not imagine that nonscientific fields, which often research different points of view nuanced by personal details, can greatly influence science. However, since the 1980s, feminist philosophers of science have studied how the way scientists do science manifests itself as masculine-gendered, and this characteristic has consequences for power and privilege in the science community. Consequently, "feminist scientists," or any scientist who subscribes to a feminist philosophy of science, include their own assumptions and biases in data analysis. Feminist scientists thus understand they have the responsibility to address their personal context because it is important, an acknowledgement that disrupts the classic assumption of impersonal objectivity in science.

In fact, physicists themselves had already disrupted this assumption in the 1920s. Before quantum theory, physicists relied on Newton's deterministic framework, which emphasizes that the observer is separate from the observed, so observations in nature are objective. Instead, quantum mechanics asserts that no such binary between the observer and the observed exists, so experiments' outcomes are subjective according to the context in which they are performed. Quantum mechanics reveals that until a scientist intervenes by choosing an experimental setup, light can act sometimes as waves (continuous, patterned, and without boundaries) and sometimes as particles (distinct, individual, and bounded). Whether light becomes distinctly a wave or a particle is subject to the scientist's choice in laboratory context. Quantum mechanics professor Karen Barad refers to the scientist's participation as "intra-action" between the scientist and nature, defying scientists' detachment. Barad argues

32 Bug, "Has Feminism Changed Physics?"
33 Ibid., 891.

34 Karen Barad, "A Feminist Approach to Teaching Quantum
that this lack of distinction between scientists and their work means that science "can no longer be seen as the end result of a thorough distillation of culture" because scientists are "marked by the cultural specificities of race, history, gender, language, class, politics, and other important social variables."34 Scientists are not immune from sociocultural implications, so science cannot be either. Unfortunately, undergraduate quantum mechanics classes now rarely delve into the implications for scientists' responsibility to pay attention to context, rather focusing almost exclusively on the mathematics. Yet, scientists do accept the fundamental idea of quantum mechanics, that scientists' choices for the conditions of an experiment affect its outcomes.

What most natural-science instructors have failed to realize, or at least act on, is that their classrooms are very similar to their laboratories. All students, both women and men, in physics classrooms have the potential to graduate with physics degrees until certain factors, including instructors, intervene to steer students toward or away from the physics community. Instructors' teaching and the outcomes it produces, especially in terms of gender imbalance, are part of an ongoing experiment about structural gender inequality. For physicists, the masculine way of communicating in the male-dominated physics community of practice is simply the way to communicate. This unlabeled norm separates them from the responsibility of continuously noting this language as they teach, just as observers in Newtonian physics are considered separate from their experiments. However, if physicists accept quantum mechanics, which they universally do, then they should also accept feminist philosophy of science that emphasizes experimenters' partial responsibility for experimental results and their interpretation. The experiment instructors perform every time they teach a classroom full of women and men is no less important than projects in the laboratory.

**Methodology**

With quantum mechanics and feminist philosophy in mind, I designed a study with two goals. First, I aimed to discover natural-science instructors' perceptions about their communities of practice and about their representation of these communities through their language. Second, I investigated how priming instructors with familiar ideas from quantum mechanics could influence
instructors' reactions to the principles of feminist science, especially with regard to both fields' parallel assertions that context matters.

As primary data collection tools, questionnaires provided opportunity for quantitative and qualitative data analysis (see Appendix). Quantifying responses allows for statistical analysis of the data, which can determine how strongly each question correlates with another and which questions yielded the widest variation in responses. I used the Likert scale from 1–5, with low values corresponding to little consideration/agreement and high values corresponding to strong consideration/agreement, to achieve this quantification. Complementary qualitative responses provide for deeper understanding of particular quantitative responses to ensure that certain responses do not get misconstrued. Furthermore, many of the open-ended questions ask for respondents to provide examples, which grounds the responses in the reality of what is really going on in instructors' classrooms, not just what instructors theoretically think.

To obtain responses to these questionnaires, I recruited WUSTL instructors of physics, chemistry, and biology in order to compare the perceptions and language use of instructors who teach in natural-science disciplines with varying student body demographics. The nature of their disciplines is such that natural-science instructors teach mostly in lecture or laboratory environments. In terms of their undergraduate majors, 10–15 percent of the physics department, around 35 percent of the chemistry department, and consistently about 50 percent of the biology department are women. I chose physics, chemistry, and biology instructors as target populations to control for natural-science academic settings and to explore gender imbalances in their respective student populations. Furthermore, throughout their participation in the study, respondents were named "physicist," "chemist," and "biologist" as appropriate. I did not collect other demographic data until toward the end of the study because I wanted the participants to view themselves primarily as natural-science instructors, minimizing other aspects of their identities. For example, numerous studies indicate that being reminded of gender, one of the

36 In recruiting these groups, I followed all protocols from the Institutional Review Board for research on human subjects about informed consent and voluntary participation.
37 Personal communication with the chair of each of these departments at WUSTL.
demographic details collected, can have significant effects. Comparisons between responses from these departments' instructors form the bulk of my data analysis.

Quantitative Results

Each department had approximately thirty possible respondents. Thirteen instructors from physics, five from chemistry, and ten from biology completed the questionnaires in near entirety. While self-selection and a relatively small pool of potential respondents biases the results to some extent, considerations of such bias and other methodological limitations will be discussed in “Further Research.” Unfortunately, because only five chemistry instructors participated fully, my data analysis is especially limited for that population. Therefore, most of this section focuses on the responses from physics and biology instructors.

Significant correlations

The correlation coefficient is a measure of how closely one aspect of the data changes with another aspect. A positive correlation (from 0 to 1) suggests that the two aspects in question have a positive linear relationship; if people answer highly to one question, they are likely to answer highly to the other question. Based on the sample size and the coefficient of correlation for each question on the questionnaires, I conducted a one-tailed t-test to determine whether the correlations from my questionnaire results were statistically significant (at a p-value of 0.05). This test discerns signifi-


40 Conversely, a negative correlation (from -1 to 0) suggests that the two aspects in question have a negative linear relationship; if people answer highly to one question, they are likely to answer lowly to the other question. No negative correlations from this study were statistically significant.

41 This value basically means that there is only a 5 percent chance that the significant correlation is a result of a random relationship, not a relationship indicative of the population. See Shmoop University, “Statistics and Probability: Making Inferences and Justifying Conclusions,” accessed
cance based on how unlikely it is that the correlations could have been produced randomly. As a result, I analyze only statistically significant correlations.

Physics and biology instructors both had significant positive correlations for the following two key questions.

Q11 (asked after reviewing a history of quantum mechanics): To what extent do you consider the personal context from which your students may come when you choose the language you use while interacting with students?

Q13 (asked after reviewing four principles of feminist science): To what extent do you apply feminist scientific practices when you interact with students by considering the values, beliefs, and various personal contexts from which you and/or a student may be coming that could affect your language when you talk to each other?

Although viewed through two different lenses, these questions are meant to parallel each other, with the same underlying main question:

does the context of who is involved in the conversation affect what language people use in the conversation? While I had wondered whether introducing the idea of “feminist science” and comparing it with quantum mechanics might be off-putting for physicists, it seems that answers to these questions were in fact consistent with each other.

Reading about principles of feminist science did not encourage instructors to form stronger or weaker opinions in comparison with the opinions they gave when primed with an overview of quantum mechanics concepts. This correlation indicates that physics and biology instructors consistently recognize that they consider (or not) the context of the people with whom they interact when they choose their language. Regardless of the lens through which the importance of this context is highlighted, by implication from quantum mechanics or from feminist science, these instructors are self-aware about their particular belief.

For biology instructors, Q13 appears again on the list of statistically significant correlations; in fact, their highest positive correlation is Q13 with Q4, which asked to what degree instructors actively considered the gender connotations of the language they used when engaging with students in various academic settings. For these instructors, con-
sidering gender connotations correlates with considering values, beliefs, and personal contexts. This correlation suggests that biology instructors may be more aware of how their language can affect men and women differently, in addition to considering the individual beyond their gender identity. However, physics instructors did not have any significant correlations with Q4.

In another contrast between physics and biology instructors, biology-instructor responses had a significant positive correlation between the last two questions of the questionnaire.

Q14: To what extent do you believe that it is important to better understand instructor-student relations?

Q15: To what extent did the questions posed in this questionnaire seem relevant to your experience as an instructor?

The correlation between these two questions suggests that biology instructors understand that the issues raised in this questionnaire are relevant to instructor-student relations—that instructors' perceptions regarding language use and openness to different fields' presentations of familiar ideas are relevant to instructor-student relations. For physics instructors, however, the correlation between the content of this questionnaire and the importance of instructor-student relations was not significant. Interestingly, physics instructors did have significant positive correlations between both Q14 and Q15 with Q9, which presented a brief history of quantum mechanics and then asked whether the respondent believed that the choices of scientists affect the outcomes of their research. These correlations for physics instructors suggest that there is some connection between research choices and instructor-student relations and between research choices and the relevance of the questionnaire. Indeed, the correlation of Q14 with Q9 was the highest correlation for physics instructors.

Overall, analysis of several significant correlations provides insight into which instructors make connections with which ideas. In general, biology and physics instructors tend to contrast more than compare; in fact, only the significant correlation between Q11 and Q13 is shared between them.

Data variation
To measure how much variation exists in the responses, I calculated the standard deviations: which measure how far away data points are from the mean. I discuss here the most meaningful upper and lower extremes of standard deviations for the fifteen quantitative questions.
All natural-science instructors had high standard deviations for Q4 (cited above). In fact, this question had the highest standard deviation for physics instructors and the fourth highest (out of the fifteen questions) for biology instructors. Respondents’ tendencies to consider (or not) gender connotations when they interact with students are widely varied. This spread indicates that paying attention to gendered language is not enough of a priority for natural-science departments to make such consideration a policy consistent across the department, whether through published guidelines or as part of unstated cultural choices.

In contrast to the similarity with Q4, the following question resulted in a clear split between the biology department and the physics department.

Q3: (asked after defining a community of practice) When you interact with students, both in and out of class, to what extent do you consider how you represent to your students “what it takes” to be successful in this community? Here, “represent” means act as a model for how a successful physicist [biologist, chemist] speaks and behaves.

For physics instructors, this question had the fourth highest standard deviation but for biology instructors, it had the lowest. This narrow spread indicates that biology instructors are consistently more likely than physics instructors to take into account how they represent their community of practice to students. Furthermore, the consistency in the biology department may indicate that there is indeed some standard of representation for instructors that in their communities of practice, considering what students think of them is important. Whether or not this importance is codified by departmental guidelines, this consistency still indicates that such concern is an aspect of the culture for instructors in this department. In contrast, the physics department does not seem to have a clear standard; rather, instructors may or may not consider how they represent their community to students, and such representation does not have widespread importance.

The following question also reveals a divide between the physics and biology departments, although for a different reason.

Q5: To what extent do you believe that the language used in instructor-student interactions in academic settings impacts the way students perceive the inclusivity of the physics [biology] community of practice?
Physics instructors' responses were all clustered evenly between "some extent" and "high extent," with an average of 3.45, whereas biology instructors also included responses of "very high extent," with an average of 3.67. Thus, physics instructors displayed low standard deviation for this question, and biology instructors had wider spread. Yet, biology instructors were in general more appreciative of the impact that language has on their community of practice.

Overall, the variation in the data shows that no natural-science department is highly consistent in its approach to using language as a tool for more inclusive communities, especially with regard to gender. However, biology instructors tend to have higher awareness than physics instructors do of how their language and the ways that they represent their community of practice can impact students.

Qualitative Analysis
In general, fewer physicists than biologists responded to the open-ended questions, even if they responded to every Likert-scale question. Further, the physics instructors who did respond wrote much less when answering the open-ended questions, whereas biology instructors typically wrote several sentences. Less writing may indicate less interest in the study and/or that it is less common to consider, let alone express, the subjects discussed in this study. The willingness of biology instructors to discuss these subjects at length may indicate that such considerations are relatively normal in their community of practice. For physics instructors, these considerations, and especially the need to articulate them, are likely less common concepts than for biology instructors.

Attention to gendered language
Biology instructors had some interesting responses to the following open-ended question (asked after Q4): "Please consider times when you engaged with students in various academic settings. If applicable, please give one or more examples of gendered language that was used by you and/or the students at such a time." While three of the ten biology instructors who participated did not respond to this question, five of the seven others mentioned using "he" and "she" equally or even using "she" more frequently to balance out "prevailing masculine influences." It seems that biology instructors do genuinely consider gendered language when they interact with students. For example, one biology professor wrote, "I want my students to learn that, despite social history, what matters is what they bring to a problem, while, at the same time, I do not want them to
have illusions that there are no sociosexual obstacles in front of them." In comparison, only seven of the fourteen physics instructors responded, with brief reference to he/she pronoun usage.

Interestingly, one of the chemistry instructors who participated brought up the relevance of gender even before any questions asked about it. In response to the question asking instructors to describe a time when you have discussed with students 'what it takes' to be successful in this community," she wrote the following: "I often advise students about career path and openly discuss my experience as a woman and now as a mother throughout graduate school, post doctoral work and now as [position in the chemistry department]. I discuss the process of how I decided on a major to how I decided on an ultimate career and even what my current short term and long term career goals are." This kind of openness and willingness to share personal experiences and advice shows that this particular chemistry instructor is aware that gender can impact her relationship to the chemistry community of practice, and she understands that women students may be questioning similar aspects about her career path. This respondent also answered "high" extent to Q3 and Q4 and "very high" extent to Q5 (previously cited). Clearly, she believes that her representation of the chemistry community of practice is important, that the gender connotations in her language affect her students, and that language in general affects the inclusivity of the chemistry community of practice. Based on research discussed in the motivations section of this paper, her identity as a woman likely heightens her awareness of the importance of these influences, and now as an instructor rather than a student, she applies what she learned from her experiences.

Issues with "feminist" science

As noted in the quantitative results, many physicist respondents accepted the parallel between quantum mechanics and feminist philosophy of science, and 90 percent did agree to "some," "high," or "very high" extent that feminist science research practices were good research practices. However, most who felt this way took some issue with the "feminist" label. About half of the physics instructors responded to the questions introduced in the feminist science series of questions by rejecting the label "feminist" for these practices.

Despite the definition I explicitly gave of feminist science by explaining four main points in Q12, physicist respondents indicated a general misunderstanding of how the word "feminist" modifies "science." Specifically, they did not
understand how applying a feminist lens when studying science could influence science as a discipline or themselves as scientists. For example, referring to some "specific political ideology" or reflecting, "I think I am a 'feminist scientist,' although a cursory examination would show I have Y chromosomes" show the incorrect impressions of what "feminist" means, especially in the context of science. While feminism can be considered a broad political movement, the definition of feminist science I gave has no political implications, and men can certainly be feminist scientists. Whereas I provided a scholarly definition of feminist science, the media and popular culture provide a vernacular meaning of "feminist" that has many different connotations. It seems that these instructors' original, if inaccurate, impressions of the word "feminist" are difficult to dislodge. Their rejection of this label emphasizes the importance of word connotations, which linger even if the speaker does not mean to evoke them. These connotations can lead to the rejection physicists made of "feminist."

Their rejection may also indicate deeper concerns. For example, one physicist claimed that the feminist part of the questionnaire was the least relevant to his experience as a physics instructor. Given that this part most closely indicated to instructors they have some responsibility for which students join their communities of practice, his lack of concern may indicate that he does not consider his position as an instructor to be influential in helping to determine who become physicists. In another response, one physicist opined, "I don't think the label is helpful in physics. From a quick web search, I'm not sure Ruth Beyler [key founder of feminist science] is so famous, either." This response indicates incredulity not only that "feminist" is a worthy label to describe a way of doing physics but also that feminist scientists are even worth considering or respecting. Feminist philosophers of science have been publishing academically only for about forty years, whereas intellectuals have been talking about Einstein's theory of relativity, for example, since before the First World War. Of course, Ruth Beyler is not as "famous" as scientists such as Einstein who have been celebrated for more than a century. Yet, my description of her in Q12, "neurophysiologist and renowned scholar and activist (1923–1988)," indicated to participants that she was a well-respected scholar in her modern field. This status, along with the label "feminist," did not satisfy most physicists.

In comparison, only two of the seven biology instructors who re-
sponded rejected the label, and their rejections indicated offense at the notion that not all scientists would “consider the reasons for why they may choose certain interpretations” of data. Biologists generally not only emphasized the importance of introspection when conducting research, but they generally also did not take issue with the fact that a different academic discipline had codified the concept as part of doing “feminist science.” That physicists predominantly did take issue with this label suggests they are less open-minded than biology instructors about other fields’ descriptions of concepts, even for a concept that closely parallels ideas from quantum mechanics.

Further, the inaccurate impressions that physicists seem to have of the word “feminist” may bolster their rejection, at worst, or result in apathy, at best, toward the particular field of feminist philosophy of science.

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

While much research points to traditional natural-science pedagogies as significant reasons for gender imbalance in these disciplines and to language as an important tool for building communities, the WUSTL physics, chemistry, and biology departments generally do not prioritize their representation of their communities of practice to students or the language they use when interacting with students. Wide variation in responses to this study evidences this lack of conscientiously guided teaching choices. However, in general, biology instructors do seem to demonstrate higher awareness and care for how language, including gender connotations, affects instructor-student relations. While I cannot assert whether this relationship is a cause or a result of the student gender balance in biology, this study strongly suggests a correlation between these two issues.

Further, the results of my study corroborate the findings of other research that language and the connotations of words are indeed important. Physics instructors’ reactions to the word “feminist” demonstrate that despite the intention (or lack thereof) of certain word choices, the connotations of words and phrases do have cultural significance. The premise for this study about the importance of language in communities of practice is validated. Therefore, instructors’ representations of their communities of practice through their language can influence their disciplines, even though they are often prized for unbiased objectivity.

Given this influence, natural-science departments should begin a concerted effort for their instructors to pay attention to language and to how they represent their communi-
ties of practice. Claiming to want more women but not wanting to change any aspects of their current communities is contradictory. First of all, instructors should recognize that the way they speak and behave in the classroom affects students’ impressions of what being a successful physicist is like. The concept of communities of practice and how students learn to become a part of one should be emphasized to instructors. One physicist admitted, “I don’t know what ‘better understand’ means here. Or ‘instructor-student relations.’ My interactions with undergrads are pretty simple.” Fortunately, his was the only response of this type, but all instructors should know that their interactions with students are important and influential.

Specifically, instructors should learn how significant their language is when they teach because they are building their communities at the same time. For example, one physicist wrote the following as a response in my study: “I once described a particle accelerator as ‘boy physics’ because ‘it involves smashing things together and breaking them.’ The students laughed, and I hope it gave them a vivid picture of what an accelerator does. There is a danger my language could have been taken the wrong way, I hope it wasn’t.” Encouragingly, this instructor recognizes that his language is important and is concerned that it could be misconstrued. To address situations such as this one, instructors could work in groups to assess gendered language issues in one another’s teaching and to brainstorm alternate examples. For instance, a gender-neutral but still vivid image is, “Particle accelerators act like wrecking balls.” This practice would not only generate feedback among instructors but also appeal to the sense of community that all instructors are working together to tackle gender inequity.

One place to start is asking critical questions about how language can have gender connotations, even when the instructor, as in the previous example, does not mean to exclude women.

Yet, it is not enough to simply recognize the ways in which natural-science communities of practice have been masculine gendered. Rather, instructors need to learn to use their language to consciously include, rather than unconsciously isolate, women students. Not only does male domination contribute to a masculine environment that can deter women students, but the current high value of traits traditionally considered masculine, such as competitiveness, can also help explain why the norm is exclusive. Feminist philosopher of science Sue Rosser offers a robust table of guidelines in her book, *Female-Friendly Science,*
and explicitly appeals to language, calling for “precise, gender-neutral language in describing data and presenting theories.” A theme running across Rosser’s guidelines is the need for greater attention to social concerns and social context, which would emphasize scientists’ influences on the human experience. Whereas lack of personal connection has not tended to decrease the number of men seeking science degrees, bolstering this aspect should boost women’s interest in science. While Rosser’s guidelines can be used to inspire natural-science instructors, their departments should offer specific programming not only to raise gender consciousness but also to codify their own plans through which they hope to attract more women. To avoid traditionalist reluctance, participation in these efforts should become non-negotiable conditions for tenure. Departments should push to get past the point of merely avoiding gendered language to actively improving curricula and improving instructors’ abilities to present in ways that cater not only to men.

Once natural-science instructors have become more aware of the obstacles their communities present to women, they can become more active participants in the efforts to break down the gender barriers women face, especially in physics.

Further Research

The results from this study warrant further investigation into how instructors view their influential roles in the classroom. Future researchers should consider reducing some important limitations that this study encountered. Methodologically, one of the most significant limitations was the constraint on the sample size. Conducting a similar study at a larger university with larger physics, chemistry, and biology departments or across many universities would allow for more complex statistical analysis to be performed and trends in the open-ended responses may be discovered. Further, much voluntary bias is introduced by using volunteering as the method to select the population sample. Unfortunately I could not produce a true random sample of these populations due to restrictions on forcing those who would have been selected at random to participate. If such restrictions were lifted, such as allowing the offer of compelling incentives to participate if randomly chosen, then the samples would most likely be more representative of their respective populations. For example, of the five chemistry instructors who

completed the questionnaire, two were women, two were lecturers, and only one was a tenured professor. However, the chemistry department as a whole has only about 15 percent women instructors, and lecturers do not hold the same clout that professors do. Lecturers tend to have much less influence on departmental culture and how the department structures curricula and maintains pedagogical standards. In the physics department, however, almost all U.S. citizen physics instructors responded, so this study did get opinions from a significant group, yet about half of all WUSTL physics instructors are not American, so the department as a whole cannot be accounted for. Having larger populations from which to recruit participants and reducing response bias would magnify the results of this study.

Despite this study’s limitations, its results definitely encourage further research into connections between topics that have been investigated only separately before. In light of what this study reveals about instructors’ perceptions, researching students’ perspectives would be insightful. Cross-checking the instructors’ responses with what undergraduates say about their instructors would illuminate how students interpreted their instructors’ language. The student perspective would clarify the differences between how the instructors perceive what they say and how the students hear what the instructors say. For example, even instructors who make a conscious effort to avoid he/she pronouns may do so in such a way that women still feel alienated if they perceive the instructor is further singling them out as being different from their classmates, who are predominantly men. Additionally, researching what graduate students think about how departments prepare them to teach would highlight which pedagogical practices the departments view as important. Students’ points of view would contribute to learning more about how influential instructors’ language in the classroom really is.

43 Estimated percentage given as personal communication with the chemistry department chair, August 2014.

44 The following article addresses several of the pitfalls that well-meaning instructors may encounter when attempting to emphasize inclusiveness. Lauren Aguilar, Greg Walton, and Carl Wieman, “Psychological Insights for Improved Physics Teaching,” *Physics Today* 67:7 (May 2014): 43–49.
This study also inspires further research of instructors' language. For example, an ethnographic study that monitored their language throughout the course of a semester, or over several years, would reveal how much gendered language instructors really do use, even unconsciously. In-depth interviews with instructors would also help provide context for how actively they consider the importance of language, gender connotations, and their representation of their community of practice, as well as why the label "feminist" evoked such specific reactions. Creating and studying pilot programs at universities that are meant to encourage instructors to reflect on these topics in order to change their language and behavior would be a valuable application of practicing what this study tested in theory. Ultimately, this research is a step toward understanding how natural-science communities can use language to build inclusive environments, especially with regard to gender.

Appendix: The Questionnaire

All questions were asked using a Likert scale along with open-ended ("OE") follow-up questions. Note that where physics/physicist(s) is used in the following sample questionnaire, biology/biologist(s) or chemistry/chemist(s) was used in the appropriate questionnaires, depending on participant affiliation.

1. To what extent do you consider that students should devote a lot of their "free" time to learning about physics and related fields in order to succeed in physics?
   OE: Please describe what "free" time activities, if any, you consider being essential in order to succeed in physics.

2. Do you consider students with a second major outside of STEM as less likely to achieve "A's" in undergraduate physics courses than students who have majors only in STEM fields?
   OE: Please provide the reasoning to your response above.

3. For the purposes of this questionnaire, a "community of practice" consists of all people who practice ("work") in a certain field. Everyone whose name appears as a member of the WUSTL physics department is arguably a constituent of the WUSTL academic physics community of practice (graduate students, technicians, and all ranks of professors). More broadly, the American academic physics community of practice consists of such community members from all American universities. From here on, "this community" refers to the American academic physics community of practice. When you interact with students, both in and out of class, to what extent do you consider how you represent to your students "what it takes" to be successful in this community? Here, "represent" means act as a model for how a successful physicist speaks and behaves.
   OE: Please describe a time when you have discussed with students "what it
takes" to be successful in this community. For example, you could describe a conversation you have had about what it's like to present at a conference, what it's like to attend graduate school, what it's like to publish research, etc.

4. To what degree do you actively consider the gender connotations, if at all, of the language you use when you engage with students in various academic settings? Gender connotations include pronoun usage and teaching examples from activities that may be considered more common by one gender than the other.
   
   OE: Please consider times when you engaged with students in various academic settings. If applicable, please give one or more examples of gendered language that was used by you and/or the students at such a time.

5. To what extent do you believe that the language used in instructor-student interactions in academic settings impacts the way students perceive the inclusivity of the physics community of practice?
   
   OE: Please describe the efforts, if any, you make to ensure your interactions with students are inclusive to any physics student.

6. To what extent do you believe that physics concepts should be explained using the application of mathematics?

7. To what extent do you believe that physics concepts should be explained using comparisons from qualitative concepts?

8. To what extent do you believe that the context of the scientist (e.g., being under a time crunch, holding specific values) influences any of the parts of the research process such that it is no longer objective?
   
   OE: Please describe which contexts, if any, you believe may be most salient in influencing scientists during any of the parts of the research process.

9. The following is a brief history of quantum mechanics. Experiments such as those by Thomas Young (early 19th century) and Robert Millikan (1909) revealed that light and electrons sometimes act as waves—continuous, patterned, and without boundaries—and sometimes as particles—distinct, individual, and bounded. Modern physics textbooks explain that these two natures are "intricately linked," and this quirk of nature became known as wave-particle duality. Furthermore, the "observation [during the experiment] itself determines whether 'it' [the electron] will exhibit a wave or a particle nature." The scientist who designs an experiment with electrons determines whether the electrons will act as particles or waves. This scientist is both participant and observer for the experiment because his or her choice results in whether the electron shows its particle or its wave nature. Based on this brief history of quantum mechan-
ics, to what extent do you believe the choices of scientists affect the outcomes of their research?

10. To what extent do you believe that scientists' choices may be influenced by the context in which the scientist is conducting the research?
   OE: Please explain your reasoning for the previous two responses.

11. To what extent do you consider the personal context from which your students may come when you choose the language you use while interacting with students?
   OE: Please describe an example, if applicable, of a time you interacted with students and specifically remember that you considered your language choice and/or the personal context from which the students may have come.

12. The following considers four of the eight principles of feminist science, as defined by Dr. Ruth Bleier, neurophysiologist and renowned scholar and activist (1925–1988). Feminist scientists not only “acknowledge their values and beliefs” but also “explore how these affect their perspectives.” They “recognize the complexity of nature” and “resist single-cause explanations” that do not consider the context in which the research was conducted. In other words, when feminist scientists analyze their data, they evaluate all parameters and conditions under which they conducted their research, including their own assumptions and biases. Thus, feminist scientists not only interpret their data, but they also consider why they choose certain interpretations. Based on this consideration of feminist science principles, to what extent do you believe feminist scientific research practices are good research practices?
   OE: Please justify the extent to which you believe feminist scientific research practices are good research practices.

13. To what extent do you apply feminist scientific practices when you interact with students by considering the values, beliefs, and various personal contexts from which you and/or a student may be coming that could affect your language when you talk to each other?
   OE: Please describe, if applicable, one example of a time you interacted with students and demonstrated the application of such practices.

14. To what extent do you believe that it is important to better understand instructor-student relations?
   OE: Why or why not do you think such studies are important?

15. To what extent did the questions posed in this questionnaire seem relevant to your experience as an instructor?
   OE: Please describe which questions struck you as most and/or least relevant and why.
Bibliography


“Make Him Know Who You Are”:
Agency and Victimization in
the Lives of Trafficked Women

Lily Jacobi

In this ethnographic project, I explore the negotiation of migration, trafficking, and the pursuit of recognition and valuation by the dis-enfranchised through semi-structured interviews with Nigerian women working in prostitution in Copenhagen and participant observation at a resource center for foreign women in prostitution. I engage with anthropologist Sherry Ortner’s theory of “agency and ‘serious games’” as a means to think about the way that trafficked women live in restrictive personal and political circumstances, in the undertheorized space between agency and victimization. I argue that Nigerian women practice agency in pursuit of projects, feeding the remittance economy and establishing a transformative site of gendered social change in their communities and on the margins of the global economic system. I further contend that an articulate narrative of victimization, strategically modified to meet the raced and gendered expectations of the Danish state, is a tool by which these trafficked women make demands and access the services guaranteed by the state. Ultimately, this complicity of the polarized feminist debate on victimization offers scholars an additional way to theorize about spaces characterized by the conflict between agency and victimization and to recognize the complexity of individual experiences.

Introduction

Elizabeth told me that she “came the easy way.” She was working at a marketing and communications firm and was in Nairobi on business when a man approached her in the hotel and inquired if she would be interested in working for a firm in Europe. Elizabeth had a young daughter to support and accepted

1 Interview excerpts and quotations cited over the course of this paper were collected by the author between January and July 2014 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

the position. “So, I was looking for greener pastures. I met a gentleman in the hotel lobby, and he seemed interesting, and he offered me a job, like in Europe. I accepted. I came to Europe the easy way. I flew to Europe. He was the one who organized everything, from my transport to my travel documents.” When she arrived, she was forced to work in prostitution. She attempted to resist, but the traffickers threatened to kill her daughter. Elizabeth moved her daughter out of Nigeria and into hiding. At the time of the interview, she had not returned home or seen her daughter.
Jane made the decision to travel to Europe without any illusions about the work she would be expected to do. "I thought instead I go to Europe. [From] one man you get good hair and a car, but you go to Europe and you can get enough money to build a house." She approached a "trolley" to make travel arrangements. "And the man said, 'You want to go to Europe? Are you sure about this? You know we are going through the desert.' And I agreed." Jane came the "hard way" and walked for months from Mali to Morocco. During her passage, she experienced extreme conditions and witnessed horrific violence. She arrived in Spain but was eventually sent to Denmark. She suffered a serious sexual assault at the hands of a Danish man in a hotel in the red-light district. She was forced to seek medical attention and was consequently arrested for residing in the country illegally.

When I met them, both women were navigating the process of being "officially identified" as victims of trafficking by the Danish Immigration Service. There is no archetypal experience of human trafficking.

There is no uniform practice of exploitation, and there is no rubric for the process by which an individual becomes a trafficked person. The terrain of human trafficking—its practices, networks, economies, its victims and perpetrators—is constantly in flux. This is the root of the trafficking "problem" in Europe and the international community. Further complicating the situation, human trafficking intersects with a daunting host of other issues: the regulation of commercial sex, transnational crime, labor, migration, racism and widespread anti-immigrant sentiment, structural gender inequality, and the disparate impact of poverty, development, and the international economic system. Despite the complexity of the issue, many countries in Europe are inordinately focused on the relationship between migration and trafficking. They are enmeshed in conflicting priorities of meeting international, legal obligations to protect human rights and preventing the infiltration of their borders by trafficking networks and, more problematically, victims of trafficking labeled "illegal aliens" (NAP 2011–2014, 6). For Denmark, instituting a policy that prevents trafficking, prosecutes criminal activities, protects the state from illegal immigration, and addresses the needs of trafficked

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2 "Trolley" was the term used by Nigerian women to refer to the individuals responsible for physically conducting trafficked persons from their point of origin to their destination.
people without violating their rights has proven a difficult undertaking.  

In this project, I work to understand and untangle the intersecting sociopolitical influences on the Danish approach to the management of trafficking. I question how individual Nigerian women, trafficked to work in prostitution in Copenhagen, interacted with the state. How did they negotiate a situation in which the state, informed by anti-immigrant politics and feminist discourse on the wrongs of prostitution, emphasized “protecting victims” by repatriation? That same feminist discourse represents one side of a theoretical debate in feminism that produces a dichotomy in which women are characterized as being either “agents” or “victims” and collectively struggles to validate the experiences of women who challenge the notion that these statuses are mutually exclusive—women like those who inspired and built this project. How did trafficked Nigerian women make decisions, large and small, about their lives in a social and political milieu that was rife with abuse, structural and interpersonal violence, and risk?

To address these questions, I engage with anthropologist Sherry Ortner’s theory of agency and “serious games” as one means to think about the way that trafficked women lived in restrictive personal and political circumstances—in, if you will, the undertheorized space between agency and victimization. I first discuss the poles of the feminist debate on prostitution and, consequently, trafficking. I demonstrate how the radical feminist conflation of consensual and forced prostitution was implemented in the United Nations protocol on trafficking. Furthermore, the radical feminist archetypal victim of trafficking was reflected in the Danish national “Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking.” I claim that the liberal feminist perspective, in opposition to the radical, also correlates prostitution and trafficking by emphasizing the agency of migrant women in prostitution to such an extent that the experiences of trafficked women are erased. I apply Ortner’s theory to the experiences of Nigerian women in Copenhagen to facilitate my intervention in this debate.

Ortner, a practice theoretician, proposes a model of serious games to understand the stakes of people’s relationships to one another and to larger social, political, and institu-

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1 “Prevention,” “protection,” and “prosecution” are the components of the “3P paradigm” that shape international and national policies on trafficking, first established in the Palermo Protocol.
tional structures. Within these games, she describes actors as practicing agency in structures of domination, the ways that people operate in systems of inequality, and agency in pursuit of projects—the desires and intentions that motivate an actor’s projects and goals (Ortner 2006). I explore how Nigerian women practiced “agency as projects,” feeding the remittance economy and establishing a transformative site of gendered social change in their communities and on the margins of the global economic system. I then consider the larger, structural project of the Danish state and its anti-trafficking apparatus: namely, the prevention of the immigration of trafficked persons and the perception that being trafficked is a viable method of immigration. I demonstrate how this state project was operationalized through the national Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking and the application of anti-immigration methods in the process by which an individual was officially granted the status of victim. I examine the ways in which women maneuvered in this environment of unequal power relationships, exercising agency in domination to ensure official identification, facilitate projects, and play serious games.

I argue that an articulate narrative of victimization, strategically modified to meet the raced and gendered expectations of the Danish state, was a tool by which trafficked women made demands and accessed the services guaranteed by the state. Moreover, this complication of the polarized feminist debate on victimization offers scholars an additional avenue in which to theorize on spaces characterized by the conflict between agency and victimization and to recognize the complexity of individual experiences. I contend that victimhood, far from being a totalizing state of subjection, offers its own possibilities of empowerment and generation. For many women, victimhood provided a vocabulary and a way of understanding their experiences that helped to process and make meaningful sense of the trauma and violence in their lives.

Methodology

I lived and studied in Copenhagen, Denmark, from January to August 2014. I conducted interviews and informal conversations with Nigerian women working in prostitution and with several key informants, primarily social workers tasked with providing victim services. All interviews were conducted in a semi-structured fashion. In accordance with the dictates of the Institutional Review Board and its conditions for
tered with a resource center for foreign women in prostitution and practiced participant observation in the resource center and on the street in the red-light district. I analyzed existing Danish and international policies on human trafficking and prostitution and researched anthropological theories of agency and interdisciplinary scholarship on trafficking, prostitution, victimization, and feminism. Here, I will use female pronouns to refer to trafficked persons and people working in prostitution. While the trafficking of men and boys is serious and prevalent, it falls outside of the scope of this project. Furthermore, all of my participants worked in the commercial sexual market. The terms "prostitute" and "sex worker" are both laden with explicit and implicit political meanings (Kempadoo 2003). In this project, my use of the terms "prostitute" and "prostitution" is intended to be apolitical: I am using the terminology that the women I interviewed used to describe themselves and their activities.

This study is not intended to be comprehensive, and it is not representa
tive of many different iterations of trafficking for sexual exploitation. Instead, it is a small snapshot of a massive, complicated problem. Moreover, I am writing in a space that is fraught with ethical implications about the politics of representation. The voices and perspectives of disenfranchised people are almost always filtered through the terms of a person in a relative position of power, and this can irrevocably alter the ways in which narratives are understood and assimilated. Although I critique the ways in which predominantly white, Western academic feminists purport to represent women in disadvantaged positions, I participate in that tradition by virtue of writing this project. In recognition of this, I aim to foreground the voices of the women I worked with. I acknowledge both the capacity of these women to make decisions in their lives and their very real experiences of victimization without fetishizing trauma or reducing an individual to her status as a victim.

Feminism, Prostitution, and the Trafficking "Problem"

For the majority of trafficked women in this study, the nexus of control and exploitation in their lives centered on enormous, fabricated, but culturally and emotionally legitimated debts. Debt bondage, or the pledge of a person’s
labor and or wages in repayment for a debt or obligation over a period of time, was often established by juju, a ceremonial ritual in which women took an oath not to divulge information and promised to pay their debt in full. Women were generally reticent to discuss their experiences with juju, but one woman described her experience as follows: "So, I would take an oath in the village where the dead bodies lie down, We go to where the coffins are, where the dead bodies lie down." So she asked me to swear with the coffins. That I would pay 50,000 euros. And that if I don’t pay the money I would die." Despite the exploitation inherent to debt bondage, many bounded women remained able to dictate a number of the more mundane conditions in which they lived and worked. They were also able to maintain intimate, personal relationships and to send money home to their families in Nigeria, sustaining the goals and projects that motivated them to migrate in the first place. The fact that all of the women in this case study were experiencing debt bondage makes this case a particularly apt site to engage with the reductionist dichotomy between "agency" and "victimization" emergent in the often-combative canon of feminist scholarship on prostitution and human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Debt bondage produces a curious state of being "free" and "not free," but this state is often not adequately accounted for in feminist theorizing on trafficking.

With that being said, feminist scholarship is largely responsible for shaping much of the legislation on trafficking for forced prostitution, including in Denmark, and is thus directly relevant to the women that shaped this project (Spanger 2011). Feminism continues to grapple with crafting an expansive but inclusive understanding of what it means for a woman to be trafficked and to work in prostitution. By delineating the complexities of the feminist debate on trafficking, I contextualize the situation in which Nigerian women operate in Denmark and situate this project’s intervention in the current debate.

The politics of sex and sexuality is a point of contention between different schools of feminist thought. The commercial sale of sex is a particularly visible issue in this debate. Broadly, liberal feminists assert that the consensual sale of sex falls within women’s sexual, reproductive, and human rights. Radical feminists argue that the sale of sex is inherently degrading and oppressively victimizes women:

1 The woman is referring to a cemetery.
"Prostitution is not a harmless, ‘private’ transaction but a powerful means of creating, reinforcing, and perpetuating the objectification of women through sexuality" (Freeman 1989, 92). Between these perspectives on prostitution, philosopher Christine Overall identifies "a split between an emphasis on sexual freedom and pleasure that views women exclusively as agents, on the one hand, and an emphasis on sexual danger and degradation that see women exclusively as victims on the other" (1992, 767). This dichotomy between agency and victimization was summarily imported into the conversation surrounding human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation—or, in other words, forced prostitution.

Radical feminists draw little distinction between prostitution and trafficking. In The Prostitution of Sexuality, prominent radical feminist Kathleen Barry states that when the "human being is reduced to a body, objectified to sexually service another, whether or not there is consent, violation of the human being has taken place" (1995, 23). When consent is rendered irrelevant in the debate over whether or not prostitution is harmful, then the distinction between free and forced prostitution, or trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, is also rendered largely irrelevant. The radical feminist conflation of prostitution and trafficking impacted state and international policies. In 2000, the United Nations launched the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children" (hereafter referred to as the Palermo Protocol). The protocol was intended to resolve the paralyzing confusion in the international community created by proliferating and diverse conceptions of the definition of trafficking, or, rather, what it should be defined as. The Palermo Protocol established the canonical definition of human trafficking:

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve
the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used. (UNODC 2000; emphasis added)

By explicitly stating that the consent of person to “exploitation” (read: prostitution) is irrelevant when that person is in a position of vulnerability, the legal distinctions between forced and consensual prostitution and migration and trafficking were collapsed. This permanently problematized the anti-trafficking field for migrants, victims of trafficking, feminist scholars, and state governments.

Policies also adopted the radical feminist image of the archetypal victim of trafficking. In reference to Pakistani women trafficked to Bangladesh, Barry states that “illiteracy and rural village patriarchal feudalism abnegate human identity for many of these women” (1995, 171). Barry uses a powerful series of coded words: “illiteracy” implies that women lack the knowledge to actively resist oppression or to make their own decisions. “Rural village patriarchal feudalism” emphasizes the underdeveloped and inferior nature of the cultural systems to which these women were purported to belong; feudalism is a medieval social system characterized by violence and massive stratification. Moreover, the assertion that living in oppressive conditions of inequality abnegates (or completely destroys and precludes the possibility of) “human identity” is an astounding, broadly broad, and potentially dangerous, statement to make. Although Barry was here speaking to one case specifically, the tendency to characterize “third world” or non-Western women as being culturally bereft of autonomy is unmistakable. Marlene Spanger, in “Human Trafficking as a Lever for Feminist Voices: Transformations of the Danish Policy Field of Prostitution,” argues that in Denmark, “at a discursive level, the effects of how human trafficking is problematized produce a subject position of ‘the prostitute’ that is based on the intersections of gender, race and geographical place and that creates stereotypical notions of the ‘Third World Female Sex Slave’ rescued by the ‘White First World Feminist’” (2011, 536). The image of the
victim enshrined in the Danish national Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking reflected the expectations for women established by Barry and the radical feminist perspective.

Liberal feminism maintain that the campaign against trafficking must be understood “in the light of the history of imperialism, colonialism, and decolonization” in feminism (Doezema 2001, 25). Scholars reacted to the stereotype of trafficked women as culturally oppressed and emphasized the problematic way in which race came into play. For example, Nigerian women in Denmark were understood through the perspective of the “eroticized notion of black sexuality that was created during the period of colonialism and imperialism and deeply embedded in the consciousness of many cultures in both former colonies and former colonial powers” (Elabor-Idemudia 2003, 103). Nigerian women occupied sexualized bodies were perceived to be a threat to the Danish body politic. Simultaneously, the Danish anti-trafficking apparatus constructed them as “third world” and oppressed. Liberal feminists have a vested interest in combating a stereotype grounded in inequality and believe the conflation of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation and women migrating to participate in the commercial sale of sex—accomplished by rendering consent irrelevant—is racist, damaging, and counterproductive (Agustín 2005). Liberal feminists argue that by recognizing the agency of trafficked women, like those in Denmark, “it becomes possible to uncover resistances to, and contestations of, oppressive and exploitative structures and regimes as well as the visions and ideologies inscribed in women’s practices” (Kempadoo 1999, 233). By acknowledging the capacity for agency and resistance, liberal feminism purports to deconstruct systems of inequality and to expand the possibilities available to trafficked women.

However, I contend that the liberal feminist perspective obscures the distinction between trafficking and prostitution in its own way, distinct from that of radical feminism. For example, consider the following statement: “The terms most commonly associated with sex workers in non-Western countries are slaves, trafficked, and victims, all of which evoke images of helpless, ignorant, dependent women and girls” (Kempadoo 1999, 234). Kempadoo suggests that sex workers are unilaterally referred to as trafficked persons or as victims without explicitly acknowledging that while not all migrant sex workers are trafficked, significant numbers of them are. While it is
true that many women willfully migrate to work in commercial sex, the emphasis on agency functions to erase experiences of victimization. This perspective leaves little space for women who do not fit neatly into these categorizations.

The dichotomy between agency and victimization is undeniably unproductive, and feminist scholars, even as they are complicit in entrenching these categories, are conscientiously working to challenge polarizing tendencies. Kathy Miriam states: "The only resolution is through a new conceptualization that is not based on mutually exclusive choices, but instead incorporates the complexity of the prostitution phenomenon, and allows for the various voices of prostitutes to be heard and validated" (2005, 16). Cast into polarized roles (trafficked person, prostitute, migrant sex worker, illegal immigrant), women struggle to make their experiences heard holistically. Scholars are moving toward a "new conceptualization" that does not define individuals by specific components of their identities and incorporates the voices of impacted women.

Ethnography offers one possible tool in this endeavor. Anthropologists Anthony Marcus and Edward Snajdr comment on the lack of research that "problematises issues of agency, consent, identity, individual autonomy, and social governance, and even less that actually presents the empirical realities and quotidian experience of those who are counted as "trafficking victims," but argue that anthropologists and ethnographers are exceptionally qualified to "make the critical analysis that can put the life worlds of those individuals back into the picture" (2013, 191). Over the course of my ethnographic research, Nigerian women in Denmark told me complicated stories about their personal aspirations, their hopes for their children, and the trauma they experienced, both in prostitution and outside of it. They told me about their families and the romantic relationships they cherished: they talked about renting apartments and fighting with their landlords about the rising cost of utilities in winter. To accommodate both the extreme trauma and the quotidian, mundane aspects of the daily lives of trafficked women, I engage with practice theoretician Sherry Ortner's models of agency in serious games.

Serious Games and Modalities of Agency

In Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture, Ortner describes practice theory as being founded on the argument that "human action is made by 'structure,' and at the same time always makes and potentially unmakes it" (1996, 3). Essentially,
practice theorists contend that people's actions reproduce the larger social and institutional structures in which they live; however, those actions simultaneously create opportunities for people to renegotiate the way they interact with those structures and even potentially "unmake" them. Orner is particularly interested in the ways that a person's capacity to exercise agency are conditioned by her experiences of the inequality built into the foundations of social structures and predicated on different identities: race, class, and gender. Orner proposes the concept of serious games to encompass the diversity experienced by agents and the "motivated, organized, and socially complex ways of going about life in particular times and places" (12).

The serious games model enables the elucidation of the complexities of social relations of power and the layered dimensions of the subjectivity of social actors. Orner states, "The agent is always enmeshed within relations of power, inequality, and competition. Without ignoring relationships of solidarity, the omnipresence of power and inequality in social life is central to the very definition of serious games" (131). Serious games account for inequality and for the reality that "agency," or the capacity to make decisions and act freely, is not free. It is moderated by the ways in which actors, structures, and intentions are pitted against one another and play out in diverse, contested ways. In this particular case, I am interested in the serious games of migration and trafficking.

The trafficked women who participated in this project were not empowered, unattached agents in the liberal sense. Actors are not excluded from intentions, desires, and agency by precarity, but it does shape the way they "play the game." To capture the complexity of agency in serious games, Orner proposes two modalities of agency. Orner states, "In one modality, agency is closely related to ideas of power, including both domination and resistance; in another it is closely related to ideas of intention, to people's (culturally constituted) projects in the world and their ability to enact them" (2006, 144). The first modality, titled "agency in structures of domination," addresses the relationship between agency and power in which an individual, or an agent, acts within and negotiates social and structural inequality, force, and the impact of institutions in her life. The second modality of agency, of personal intentions, desires, and motivations articulated in culturally informed life projects, is an "agency of projects" that the "less powerful seek to nourish and protect by creating or protecting sites, literally or metaphorically, on
the margins of power” (144). In what follows, I explore the ways in which these modalities of agency can be applied to the circumstances that trafficked women in Copenhagen experienced and their lives in and away from Nigeria.

Over the course of this project, I witnessed the small moments in the lives of individuals that are underrepresented and undertheorized in scholarship and complicate simplistic representations of people’s experiences. These moments make up the fabric of the projects that made meaning in the lives of individuals and motivated women to navigate the serious games of trafficking and migration. I engage first with agency in the pursuit of projects. Financial gain and the remittance economy embodied their motivations for migrating in the first place and acted as the “projects” that sustained them in their efforts. I demonstrate the ways in which migrant women created a site on the margins of standardized networks of global economic exchange in which they were able to challenge existing structures of gender inequality in Nigeria. I then turn to agency in structures of domination and the position of women in the Danish context, the milieu of social and institutional forces that dictate the reception and treatment of trafficked women by the Danish body politic and anti-trafficking apparatus. I argue that women exercised agency in these structures by crafting narratives of victimization that deployed raced and gendered expectations of trafficking to ensure recognition by the state and access to resources. Moreover, I argue that victimization and the status of “victim” provide a discourse that helps women to express their experiences of violence and to grapple with the impact of trauma on their lives and futures.

Ortner’s Theory of Agency in Trafficked Women’s Lives

Agency in pursuit of projects

The current system of transnational exploitative labor is shaped by a set of technological conditions unique to the modern economy. Technology, trade, and globalization have converged not only to establish networks of human trafficking but also to break down social and economic barriers for women, who have been gradually integrating into the public domain alongside their male counterparts—including the domain of migration (Constable 2009). Rasheed Olanjii, a Nigerian scholar, claims that the mass exodus of Nigerian women is the “logical outcome of development problems such as poverty, economic deterioration, and population displacement [caused] by internal conflicts” (2003, 46). These factors, described in scholarship on human
trafficking as the “push” and “pull” factors that render individuals vulnerable to exploitation, are gendered (Chuang 2006). In Nigeria, many women “have unequal access to economic opportunities—education, jobs, healthcare [and] productive resources such as land, labour, technology and capital … [but] bear the burden of financial responsibility and provisioning and the production of health within households” (Fayomi 2009, 75).

Liza, a woman I met and interviewed while volunteering in the resource center, said forcefully: “It starts in Africa. You can’t ever stop trafficking. It comes from that place. It is the suffering that makes them come. In Africa now, you can’t go to hospital when you are sick and you don’t have money. Even if you go and you cry all your eyes out, nobody will answer you. You will just die there.” Liza exposed the confluence of poverty and gender inequality that “pushed” Nigerian women into migration and trafficking networks. However, Nigerian women in Copenhagen were aware of the potentially transformative power of the income they generated abroad.

Despite facing arrest, assault, and the often abusive conditions of debt bondage, trafficked Nigerian women were dedicated to maintaining relationships and sending remittances to family members. Entire families depended on the sexual labor of a sole daughter or mother to survive. One woman said, “This house was built by my daughter in Italy, this small car, she also bought it. If not for her, my husband is not responsible at all. What would I have done if not for my daughter? I have other children [and] they all depend on her now. She is planning to help the brothers as soon as they finish their university education” (Osezua 2011, 4290). In this section, I examine the different personal and economic projects that women maintained, including concurrent relationships, participation in trafficking networks, and the ways in which this altered the dynamics of their relationships to their families and communities.

Many women maintained concurrent relationships with European men and their partners at home in Nigeria. One woman named Sarah said, “They come to Denmark, and then they have one boyfriend in Italy and one boyfriend in Denmark! And another one in Sweden! And in Nigeria! Fuck. But you can get a lot of money, you know?” Women cultivated relationships with clients who sought the “girlfriend experience” and paid higher rates to spend longer amounts of time with a woman and for her to pretend to be his significant other. Marie, a regular face in the district, had a fairly lucrative roster of ro-
mantic and sexual partners in the cities where she lived and worked. Marie said: "It can be strange. They want you to call them 'baby,' or they want to call you 'baby,' and one guy kept asking me about how my sister-in-law was doing. I don't even have a sister-in-law! But I guess it can be nice, eh? They want to buy you dinner, you eat for free! And you get paid. And one guy wanted to massage me and kept asking if it was good for me. Easy money, right?" They sought older, established men with little familial or interpersonal ties to divert financial resources or generate awkward, uncomfortable questions. Nigerian women in Copenhagen with concurrent transactional sex partners subverted the standard paradigm of commodified sexual availability to further their own financial agendas. They capitalized on the emotional vulnerability of their clients, on loneliness and self-doubt and the willingness to ignore legal or ethical ambiguities in the interest of self-affirmation and access to sexual gratification. In doing so, they generated income and potentially established themselves more securely in a state that is rife with risk of arrest and deportation.

Women's dominance of the Nigerian remittance economy created the possibility of the renegotiation of gender politics in personal relationships. When I asked if it was difficult to manage any tensions between her relationships, Sarah replied blandly that she was not nearly as concerned with her husband's opinion as she was with supporting her family and maintaining her income. She described an incident occurring between herself, her daughter-in-law, and her husband:

In Nigeria, my son is having a wife. She just comes to the house and I have bought food and she comes to eat with all of us. She said, "Your mother is sleeping with animals." So this lady, she got me so crazy. She is saying what, that I am dangerous? That I am dirty because I do prostitution? Dirty money is better than no money at all. I told her: "So, you eat my food? You drink my water? And you use that language? You take the clothes my prostitution pays for?" I open the door. I tell her, "Fuck off! Fuck off right now!" Everybody was like, "Please don't do this, please don't do this." And my husband said—my Nigerian husband, you know? Not the Italian one. He told me to leave her be, that she was my son's wife and my son's problem. I said, "No, no, no." And I'm so crazy now! She can fuck off. She didn't pay for shit. I built the house. She can fuck off.
Although Nigerian men generally possessed authority over the family and dictated the resolution of domestic disputes; Sarah was able to override her husband by leveraging her larger financial contributions to the family (Fayomi 2009). She “built the house,” so she decided who belonged in it. With the exodus of Nigerian women into migration and trafficking systems, their sexual and reproductive potential and thus much of their labor power was repositioned in European socioeconomic networks that were inaccessible to men. Women had a greater control over the profits of their sexual labor, even when they had been trafficked into debt bondage and exploitation. By deciding when and to whom to send remittances, women controlled the ability of men and family members to benefit from their labor. When and if they returned home to Nigeria, women translated their economic clout into political power and domestic authority that was previously inaccessible to them because of their gender.

A significant number of women, after paying their debt, further augmented their social and economic power by participating in trafficking networks and becoming madams. In many ways, this is unsurprising. “Women, ironically, have played principal roles as barons because of their enormous capital and connections, which they have acquired through participating in the sex trade” (Olaniyi 2003, 47). Women did not believe it to be surprising, or even problematic, for a woman to be “promoted” into trafficking networks after satisfying the terms of her own agreement. Within the hierarchy of lucrative illegal occupations, being a madam or directly facilitating the trafficking of others was a significant improvement upon working in street prostitution. Liza said, “Nice work if you can get it, eh?”

Women conceptualized trafficking networks as hierarchical structures of semi-legitimate employment to be traversed. This was evidenced by the language they used—“investment,” “work,” “business,” and “finance”—to describe relationships and practices of debt bondage. Eva Lo Iacono described the madam as a “model of success to other Nigerian women because she [was] a female who [had] achieved a recognized social position of power and authority through her personal economic adventures” (2014, 118). Madams acted as mentors in a cyclical recruitment process. Women, encouraged by evidence of financial success abroad and the opportunities touted by madams, continued to seek opportunities abroad. One key informant described sitting down for a meeting with trafficked
women who became madams. She reported, “They said, ‘In Nigeria a woman is nothing. The only way that we can get any power or influence or a sense of independence in our lives was to make a business where we could be financially independent. Once we are financially independent, then we can demand respect. Not only from people we didn’t know, but from our family and our community.’”

Jane, although she did not work as a madam, demanded that her relationship with her mother be restructured in light of her economic contributions. After her assault and arrest, Jane was enrolled in an exit program for women in prostitution. She expressed regret and frustration that she was no longer psychologically able to work in prostitution and lamented her lost income. In an outraged tone, she informed me that her mother, the primary beneficiary of her labor, was “so sad, so very sad” that she would no longer be able to supply the family with remittances, “like nothing had happened to me.” Jane shook her head and said:

I used my prostitution to help a lot of people in my family. But they did not appreciate it, the ones in Nigeria. But they didn’t use it to make a business. They throw it out and cry for more. It’s the girls who are expected to make the money. They respect the boys more than the girls. But they don’t think about the money! The boys go off to do what they want, but they don’t make any money! Then what are they good for? The women from Africa, they are making the money. And maybe it’s from prostitution, so what? Don’t throw it out on your family and don’t throw it out on a man. They send you to make money? Fine, And you can try and help them if you want. Or you can help yourself.

Jane conceptualized her income, produced by trafficking, as a transformative opportunity—albeit one produced in conditions of inequality. She felt that her mother was asking too much of her, and after her ordeal she emphatically felt that she had earned the right to make her own decisions and pursue her own priorities and ambitions.

Nigerian women seized the opportunity to reimagine the responsibilities and moral imperatives in their lives, resisting the obligation to be confined by gender roles and servility. Social actors often reproduce structures of inequality, just as trafficking entrenches aspects of gender inequality and women who became madams reproduced the trafficking networks that rendered women vulnerable to exploitation. Howev-
er, actors and the projects they sustain also have transformative potential. Trafficked women were dedicated to the maintenance of female-dominated, communal networks of economic exchange to build and transform their families and communities. The impact of trafficking on women’s relationships and lives at home—although often ignored in scholarship on trafficking—shifted, even minutely, the balance of gender politics and inequality in Nigeria. While forced to negotiate terrible experiences of exploitation, they also negotiated opportunities to focus powerful, albeit heavily taxed, financial and personal resources on their own priorities and to develop the personal projects described by Ortmann.

Agency in structures of domination

I now turn to agency in structures of domination and the implications and potential of victimhood in the Danish context. Ortmann argues that the “agent is always enmeshed within relations of power, inequality, and competition” and that the “omnipresence of power and inequality in social life is central to the very definition of serious games” (2006, 131). The Danish anti-trafficking apparatus, albeit purporting to represent the rights of victims, tacitly emphasized the protection of the impermeability of the state to such a degree that it became the web of risk, strategy, and domination in which trafficked women were enmeshed. For the participants in this project, the Danish state provided the “omnipresence of power” and the serious game at hand was the protracted and contested effort to be officially recognized as a victim of trafficking by immigration services.

The Danish anti-trafficking apparatus was encapsulated in the national Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking. The action plan outlined the streamlined means by which the Danish government prevented human trafficking, prosecuted those responsible, and protected victims and their rights. The action plan coordinated the responsibilities of the different agencies, including law enforcement, immigration, and social services, to address the trafficking problem. In order to trigger the specific components of the plan that protect and provide for victims, an individual must be “officially recognized,” or granted the status of a victim of trafficking by the state in an extensive interview process with immigration services (NAP 2011–2014, 10). As “illegal aliens,” trafficked women were detained during this process. The authorities insisted that if they did not detain suspected victims of trafficking, they would “run”—a claim indicative, perhaps, of the
state’s larger concern with illegal immigration. The detention of victims, along with the practice of identifying potential victims byorchestrating raids on the red-light district and systematically arresting women for illegal residence, was resoundingly condemned by anti-trafficking and human-rights advocates (GRETA 2011). One woman, Alice, was detained immediately upon arrival in Copenhagen. Without any identification, she was incarcerated for forty days before being transferred to Sandholm, a reception center for asylum seekers that operated suspiciously like a prison. She informed the police that she had a debt, but “they were not interested in hearing my story” (Childers-Brooks, 2009, 15). Of her initial arrest, Jane said, “The police came and said, ‘According to our records, you’re here illegally, you’ve been working illegally.’ And I said, ‘Yes, excuse me, I’ve also been raped illegally.’ And they said they were going to keep me in prison.”

One key informant said, “We say we see women as victims, but we don’t treat them as victims. We treat them as criminals.” Indeed, the national action plan was careful to emphasize the victimization that trafficked persons experienced. It states, “[Victims] share a sense of powerlessness and a dependency on the traffickers which makes it difficult to reach the victims and help them to escape their situations as victims of trafficking” (NAP 2011–2014, 9). The action plan effectively institutionalized the radical feminist rhetoric and deployed the image of a victim and conception of victimization in trafficking as justification for problematic interventions — raids, arrests, and detentions. The co-opting of radical feminist discourses on victimization produced a “problem representation of human trafficking” that created a perception of trafficking as the “displacement of women from the ‘Third World’ and Eastern Europe ending up in the sex industry” (Spanger 2011, 527). This “problem representation” then produced solutions that proposed removing the “victims” from the sex industry by repatriation and reintegration programs. Such proposals created the “problem” to be the presence of “foreign” prostitutes. Other options and wishes of the victims, e.g., staying in the receiving country, are silenced” (527). Alice attempted to inform the police that she had residence papers in Italy, but they refused to verify this and instead began the process of deporting her to Nigeria. She was asked to agree to this deportation voluntarily, but she refused to sign the papers (Childers-Brooks 2009). The action plan emphasized deportation and repatriation as the paramount solution to the “problem” posed by a
victim of trafficking residing illegally in Denmark.

In many ways, the state's racialized determination to prevent immigration violated the rights of trafficked women. They were beholden to a process shaped by external actors and forces with little legitimate concern for the desires and the projects they were building in her lives. However, even in the vastly unequal relationships that shape the dynamics of serious games, "subordinates inevitably have projects of their own.... Thus, if power and the subordination of others is always in the service of some project, so too is resistance: the entire domination/resistance dialectic itself makes sense as the clash of people's projects, their culturally constituted intentions, desires, and goals" (Ortner 2006, 153). Victimhood, notwithstanding its generation in conditions of exploitation and violence, was also embedded in the "clash of projects" between trafficked women and the Danish state. To facilitate the viability of their own projects, women worked within the state's emphasis on repatriation by articulating their experiences of victimization in a politically expedient narrative. This narrative, crafted in the image of the idealized "third world" victim, ensured they would be granted the status of "victim," thus positioning trafficked women to access the services guaranteed by the state.

When an individual was identified as a victim of trafficking, the Danish government was obligated to provide a "reflection period" of thirty days in which that person was able to recuperate prior to deportation. During official identification processes (which can also take weeks or even months to complete), reflection periods, investigations and trials, and the asylum application process, the victim of trafficking was legally entitled to a suite of support services. The action plan states:

Foreign nationals who are given the status of victims of trafficking by the Danish Immigration Service have access to an extended array of available healthcare. The following are examples of available healthcare to the identified victims under the purview of the Danish Immigration Service: psychological/psychiatric therapy, hospitalization, physical therapy, dentistry, appointment of support person, and body therapy (NAP 2011-2014, 18).

Moreover, "all will be offered support in the form of e.g. hospitalization, psychosocial/psychiatric therapy, dentistry, socio-educational support, legal assistance, educational activities or what
they otherwise may need. All will be offered a stay in a protected housing facility away from the traffickers” (NAP 2011-2014, 5). If a victim agreed to participate in a “prepared return” program, or voluntary repatriation, this period of time could extend to one hundred days.

When an individual agreed to a prepared return, this triggered a series of interventions intended to facilitate the successful return to the country of origin. Prepared return included:

- Reception, housing, activities and provision in the first three months in the home country after the return. In addition to this, the prepared return and reintegration can—depending on the needs of the individual—involve psychosocial support, vocational up-skilling, seminar and assistance to starting a smaller business. In addition, the prepared return and reintegration can entail financial support for schooling and purchase of teaching materials as well as support for buying medication or therapy if necessary” (NAP 2011-2014, 10).

The reflection period was also extended when the individual agreed to participate in the investigation and potential prosecution of traffickers, an agreement that was known increase the likelihood of a victim receiving legal, permanent residence. A trafficked person could also apply for asylum and a residence permit on humanitarian grounds, but because trafficking is not, in and of itself, grounds for asylum, incidences in which a trafficked person was actually granted asylum were exceedingly rare. Nevertheless, the application process could take an extended period of time to complete, and the immigration service was obliged to provide an asylum applicant with legal residence in the interim. The social services provided by the action plan were extensive, comprehensive, and otherwise inaccessible to illegal residents in Denmark.

I sat in on a session between Hannah, a trafficked woman in the nascent stages of being recognized by the state and granted the status of victim, and the social worker helping her prepare for her interviews with immigration authorities. Her viability as a “victim” would be determined by how successfully she conveyed her experiences to the authorities in a digestible package.

Social Worker: So, it doesn’t make sense, the times you’ve given me. This is June, that you’ve given me. Then, you said it took you three months to go to Spain, so, what month is that in 2013? October. October. Look, count
with me now. Try counting, Hannah. You need to be clear here, Hannah, because tomorrow this is what they will be asking you. I’m putting words into your mouth now, and the person tomorrow won’t be helping you. Is what I am understanding correct?

Hannah: I can’t remember.

Social Worker: So, then if you can’t remember, that’s what you tell them tomorrow. You can’t remember. Because if you then say April, when in fact you have told them something else earlier, this will confuse them terribly. I’m trying to help you at this point so you can have a good conversation with them tomorrow. So, when do you find out what you really have to do?

Hannah: I will practice. Madame told me in Africa that I would sleep with one or two sugar daddies. But when I arrived, the man gave us some clothes, short skirts and boots, and he told us we would be standing on the streets. Then, when we work, we give him the money.

The social worker, despite having to work within the anti-trafficking apparatus, was invested in ensuring that Hannah was able to access the support services she felt Hannah was entitled to. She engaged in a sort of political subterfuge and coached Hannah in anticipation of the hurdles she would face in the immigration interview. Anticipating an interviewer ignorant of the impact of trauma and inclined to disregard her as an opportunistic alien, she made sure Hannah was prepared to avert suspicion and memorized her timeline.

Hannah, meanwhile, practiced framing herself like the victim in the action plan and emphasized the aspects of her experience that met the state’s expectations for trafficked women.

Social Worker: I’m going to ask you a stupid question now. They will ask you tomorrow. Why did you not run away? Why did you agree to go and work on the streets? Why not ring to your mother and tell her you were coming home? Why didn’t you go to the police?

Hannah: That’s a stupid question. But I won’t say that. I will say because I was afraid, I was afraid because of my mother. I called my mother, and she told me that I should remember the oath that I take. She said I should remember the oath and pay him the money. So, that’s why I didn’t run away.

Social Worker: It’s very important to remember that the people tomorrow will not help you. They will just write down that it was very strange that you
didn’t run away, I think you need to tell them that you were frightened, and that even you told your mother that it isn’t one or two sugar daddies. I have to stand on the street and it’s cold, and I’m frightened. And she said you should stay. Do you think it would be very easy for you to return to Nigeria now? Do you think you could return and that you would be safe? Or do you think there would be problems?

Hannah: There will be problems. Because the coffins will affect me because I have already made the oath. The jujus will get me. I don’t want to go. My mother wants me here.

Social Worker: So, you’re in Spain. How did you get from Spain to Denmark?

Hannah: He drove us from Spain to Denmark. There were three girls. How long did it take? I don’t know. It was hours. I was sleeping in the car because I was so tired. Maybe it was a day, two days.

Social Worker: What is this man like with you?

Hannah: If we don’t work, maybe if we don’t give him good money, plenty money, he will be so harsh with us. He will be angry, shouting at us. He beats me; he makes me stand on the street.

Aware of Immigration Services’ expectations for “culturally oppressed third-world women,” Hannah played up her mother’s complicity and her subjection to a jujus ritual, likely to mystify her Danish interviewers. She cited the violent and abusive tactics of her trafficker. I was recently informed by the social worker that Hannah had been granted recognition as a victim of trafficking and had accepted the state’s offer of a prepared return. For one hundred days, she would be housed in her own apartment, receiving a stipend for groceries and personal necessities, and being treated by assorted medical and psychological professionals. She would also begin an educational-skills program, planning to work independently as a seamstress. The International Organization for Migration would partner with Denmark to provide her with housing in Nigeria for an additional three months and would invest in her continued economic security.

Although the services provided to victims of trafficking were intended to facilitate the state’s anti-immigration project, they could be effectively incorporated into the projects of individual women. Women migrated for economic purposes, and the services provided by the state contributed to this endeavor. As the remittance economy continued to thrive and the
status of women continued to shift, even infinitesimally, women continued to seek out means of migration that exposed them to trafficking and to deadly risk. However, migration and trafficking were serious games, and confronting European anti-trafficking apparatuses, fortified with carefully crafted legislation and anti-immigrant public discourse, was not without its own jeopardy. Playing serious games required playing by the rules—here, within the framework of the Danish anti-trafficking apparatus—which tended to result in the social reproduction of inequality and injustice. Yet, the rules of the game ultimately had the possibility to change "because of the instability of the internal power relations on which successful play depends. Indeed, the externalities may prove indigestible precisely because they empower some of the normally subordinated subjects, and open up the possibility of rebellions, great and small" (Ormner 1996, 197). In the serious games of migration and trafficking, Nigerian women resisted disenfranchisement and capitalized on the resources available to them in structures of domination to sustain financial security, social mobility, and relationships—the goals they pursued with desire and ambition. These projects could seem isolated to the individual, unimportant and thus unimportant.

However, collectively, they had the dangerous potential to accumulate and seriously threaten the sanctity of “Fortress Europe.” These women were in the difficult, protracted process of permanently changing the political terrain of immigration and their position in their families and communities. One woman said, "He doesn’t pay for shit! You do! Make him know who you are.” Trafficked women were diverse individuals fiercely dedicated to the projects in their lives, to changing the rules of the game. They were striving to grasp and widen the cracks in a global economic system hostile to their mobility and rights.

**Conclusion**

Understanding victimization as a totalizing state that bars women from the capacity to exercise agency and resistance is inadequate to address the experiences of trafficked women. For many trafficked women in Denmark, victimhood had its own power: it created a site in which women asserted their right to services and provided a framework through which women filtered their experiences. Trafficked women were dedicated to coping with a hostile world and hostile circumstances, to finding ways to heal and to move forward. Identifying as a victim provided women with a discourse of justification and empowerment. After being granted the
status of recognized victim, Elizabeth saw a counselor through the Danish Centre against Human Trafficking. She still struggled with flashbacks, and the social worker suspected she had post-traumatic stress disorder. She said: "At that particular point, it's like I was lost. It takes a lot for somebody to come out of that phase. To be forced to be in the prostitution world, having different people every day, and it's like you have no say in your life. You have no control in your life. You are being threatened, and there is no family around at that particular point. Somehow, I came out of it. I found [the social worker]."

Elizabeth's relationship with her social worker, a trauma counselor, provided the catalyst she needed to cope with her situation. While counseling is not a panacea—her daughter was still in hiding—it significantly improved her sense of security, control, and worth. Because she was able to understand herself as a victim, to understand that what had happened was not her fault, she "came out of it." To another woman, the social worker said, "You just have to relax in yourself ... and everything will be okay. You are certainly a victim of a crime." The affirmation and validation of experiences of victimization provided a space in which trafficked women processed what happened to them and began to make sense of the violence that inflected their lives.

It is critical that feminist theories of trafficking continue to acknowledge the complexity of the relationship between exercising agency and experiencing victimization. Again, there is no archetypal experience of human trafficking. Many women would not, like Elizabeth, describe themselves as having no control over their lives. Jane, despite the pattern of violence in her life, felt empowered by some aspects of her experiences and sought recognition for her accomplishments. Both experiences are valid. Jane's capitalization on her access to increased authority does not mean she was not trafficked; Elizabeth's feelings of having "no control in [her] life" did not preclude her from having the capacity to prioritize, make decisions, and plan for her future and her daughter's. By expanding the effort to account for the diversity of individual experiences and to foreground the voices of trafficked women and migrants, feminist scholars can recover the positive impact of their influence on policy and legislation and shape more nuanced approaches to trafficking that empowers and protects, first and foremost, the rights and security of individuals.
Bibliography


Translating a Hybrid Poet: Foreign Presence in the Poems of Yi Sang

Gyoonho Kong

Under the pen name Yi Sang, Kim Hae-giông (1910–37) was a Korean poet known for his experimental poems, writing in both Japanese and Korean. His works exhibit frequent use of words from foreign languages including English and French; inversion of numbers, chords, and mathematical symbols; elimination of space and punctuation between words; and a numerical writing style. The experimental elements of his poems are considered an indication of influence from the European avant-garde movements he was interested in, including surrealism and Dadaism. The coexistence of Korean language elements and avant-garde stylistics influence therefore makes him a hybrid poet. Seen this way, Yi’s works introduce an interesting challenge of translation: how should one convey the linguistic and stylistic hybridity of Yi’s works? What is the meaning of translating him into Western languages? This paper focuses on answering these two questions, using the framework of Lawrence Venuti’s distinction between foreignizing translation and domesticating translation.

Introduction

“真鷹—塹るESQUIRSE,” a poem by the Korean poet Yi Sang (1910–37), published in the Japanese-language magazine Choson and Architecture in 1932, begins:

僞鷹—塹るESQUIRSE
ELEVATOR FOR AMERICA

One of the most noticeable characteristics of this poem is the coexistence of French, Japanese, and English within two lines of poetry. “Esquisse,” a French word that means “sketch” or “blueprint,” is combined with the word “塹る” (certain), creating the phrase “塹るESQUIRSE”; “塹るESQUIRSE” is a mix of Japanese and French that is neither fully Japanese, nor fully French. The very first line, “ELEVATOR FOR AMERICA” is also an English phrase within the context of this Japanese poem.

One term that could describe the mix of three languages in this poem is hybridity. Hybridity, a concept borrowed from biology and genet-
ics, is also commonly used to describe something (a work of art, language, object, etc.) that occurs as a result of the mixture of two or more different and distinct things. In this sense, the linguistic identity of Yi's poems includes a hybirdity of the Japanese, French, and English languages, as well as cultural and literary traditions that are associated with these three different languages.

The hybirdity of Yi's works was formed through a complex association of historical, cultural, and linguistic factors during his life.

Born as Kim Hae-gyong in Korea in 1910 during the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea, Yi learned both Japanese and Korean at school and became a bilingual speaker.

Through Japanese translations, Yi later read Western literature, primarily from European avant-garde literary movements including surrealism and Dadaism, which had a profound influence on Yi's works.

His diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds are reflected in the fact that he wrote in both Korean and Japanese and also frequently used French and English words and phrases in his poems. Yi was also trained to be an architect: his training as an architect is also reflected in his poems, in which pictorial symbols, graphic charts, and mathematical formulas frequently make appearances. Through his experimental works, which he wrote under the pen name Yi Sang, he is now remembered and respected as the first experimental poet of Korea, as someone who tried to open new grounds of expression by adopting the poetics and style of European avant-garde poems.

Among the many issues that Yi's life, the literary hybridity, and style of his works raise, this paper will focus specifically on the issues of translating him into other foreign languages. Even though his poems show the stylistic influence of the European avant-garde (especially that of surrealism), they are filled with word/sentence constructions, expressions, idioms, and grammatical structures that are deeply Korean. Yi was, in other words, not a poet who wrote as if he were translating, simply using his mother tongue as a tool. His stylistic device might be borrowed from the Western avant-garde, but the echo and the sentiment of his poems remain deeply Korean. Therefore, Yi is not a mere stylistic imitation of European avant-garde but a hybrid of distinctive Korean elements and European influences.

The hybridity of his poems, in turn, becomes the central challenge of translating Yi's works. Due to his European influence, Yi's works are foreign to the native speakers of Korean; however, he is still a Korean poet and, therefore, remains foreign to Western audience. The
main question is how to reproduce the foreignness of Yi’s works caused from such hybridity. The larger question of the methodology of reproducing Yi’s hybridity and foreignness can be understood in conjunction with other questions such as, What sorts of foreignness are there in Yi’s poems? To whom—namely, to what readers of what nationality—are they foreign? These questions will be addressed through three of the most difficult, and interesting, challenges of translating Yi’s poems: foreign language, punctuation, and Korean idioms.

Translation Methodologies and Theoretical Frameworks

The two extreme translation methodologies that might render the foreignness of Yi’s work are complete “foreignization” and complete “domestication.” Commonly used in translation studies, these two terms have been discussed in detail by translation theorist Lawrence Venuti. In The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation, Venuti discusses his idea in conjunction with the principle of translation “dynamic equivalence,” developed by translation theorist Eugene Nida. According to Venuti, the accuracy of a translation in Nida’s theory “depends on generating an equivalent effect in the target-language culture.” Venuti believes that this kind of translation is slanted “fundamentally to target-language cultural values while veiling this domestication in the transparency evoked by a fluent strategy.”

Venuti contends that in the kind of translation that tries to veil the foreignness of the text by domestication, “communication... is initiated and controlled by the target-language culture” and is therefore “less an exchange of information than an appropriation of a foreign text for domestic purposes.” To Venuti, domesticating translation in which the source text is naturalized so that readers feel as if the author were writing in the target language, instead of his or her mother tongue, “does not adequately take into account the ethnocentric violence that is inherent in every translation process.” Instead of domesticating translation, Venuti is in favor of foreignizing translation, which tries to preserve the foreignness of the work, so that when read, the work feels like a translation.

4 Ibid., 23.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
The arguments behind foreignizing translation versus domesticating translation can, in fact, be traced to some of the foundational debates of translation studies. Two figures who foreshadow this distinction are Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schleiermacher. In his 1819 essay "Translations," Goethe claims that the translation that is the "final and highest" of different kinds of translations is the one for which the translator "more or less gives up the uniqueness of his own nation"; although he does not explicitly use the word "foreignizing." Goethe believes that the best translations are not those that bring the work to readers by neutralizing the foreignness of the work but, rather, those that demand the "taste of the masses...to be developed." Friedrich Schleiermacher takes a somewhat similar view on translation in his 1813 essay "On Different Methods of Translating." Schleiermacher contends that the translator's task is to "furnish his reader with just such an image and just such enjoyment as reading the work in the original language would have provided the well-educated man...an amateur and connoisseur, a man who is well acquainted with the foreign language, yet to whom it remains nonetheless foreign".

However, while Goethe supports a very extreme version of foreignizing translation, advising the translator to abandon "his own nation," Schleiermacher conceptualizes the ideal translation as a balance of foreignization and domestication: the foreignness of work should be domesticated to a certain extent, with the assumption that the potential reader is already well-equipped with the foreign tongue, yet, not completely.

In the cases of real translation, complete adherence to a single principle of translation is not possible. In this section, through comparison of different translations of Yi's Korean poems and my translation, I will claim that the central challenge of translating Yi's works lies in three different types of foreignness in his poems: Yi's use of foreign words, the absence of punctuation and spacing, and the occurrence of Korean idioms. By examining the strategies that translators have adopted in order to

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render the foreignness of Yi's works into English, Spanish, and German, through the theoretical framework of foreignizing and domesticating translation. I demonstrate that translators of Yi's poems render the foreignness by balancing between foreignizing principles and domesticating principles.

*Foreignizing and domesticating in “Poem No. 13”*

In my opening section, I introduced the concepts of foreignizing translations and domesticating translations. In this section, through the comparison of the English translation and the German translation of “시 제 13호” (Poem No. 13), included in Yi’s collection of poetry *Ogumdo* (1934), I show examples of foreignizing translation choices and domesticating translation choices.

The first two lines of “Poem No. 13,” are: “내팔이연도幌을든채/토굴어져떨어졌다.자세히 /모연무엇에몸시위행당하는것처럼/런사따.” My word-for-word translation of the two lines would be: “My arm cut fell down while holding a razor blade. / When [one] looks closely [attentively] it is blue as if [it] is being very much threatened by something.” Through these two lines, the speaker first says his arm was holding a razor blade, and the arm dropped from his body and fell down. Then, in the second line, the arm is described as very blue (which also means “paic” in Korean), as if it is being extremely threatened by something. In their 2002 volume *Three Poets of Modern Korea: Yi Sang, Hanb Dong-woon and Choi Young-mi*, Yu Jung-yul and James Kimbrell translate the two lines as: “My arms were severed and fell to the ground, still holding the razor. If I examine them closely, they appear to have gone pale as if horrified by something.”

The first noticeable difference between the original and the translation by Yu and Kimbrell is the “arms” being plural in the English translation. The subject of the verb “모다” (to see, to look) is omitted in the second line of the original, as is commonly done in Korean. “자세히 보여” would just mean “When looks closely,” without the subject. Yu and Kimbrell translate the phrase into “If I examine them closely,” inserting the information that “I” is the one who is observing the fallen arm. Yu and

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9 Yi Sang, *Yi Sang chŏn’gŭp* 2, 82.

Kimbrrell also translate the words in the original "끌어져 떨어졌다" (cut fell down) into "were severed and fell." Yi's Korean plainly states that the arm came into a state of being "cut," without giving the reader information about the arm getting cut by something; the Korean construction that Yi uses in the original poem is impossible to recreate in the English language. As a solution to this issue, Yu and Kimbrrell choose the passive English construction "were severed," adding the information that the arm was severed by something, which implies an agent behind the action. The arms in Yu and Kimbrrell's translation also fell "to the ground," while the original Korean poem does not specify the destination. The joint translators also change the Korean word for "blue"—which means "paleness" in Korean—into the English word "pale." While the original poem states only that the arm is "세리울다" (blue), Yu and Kimbrrell add "appear to have gone" before "pale," emphasizing the change of state.

While Yu and Kimbrrell's translation more or less conveys the meaning of the original, it also attempts to explain and clarify. The Korean original poem includes several linguistic constructions and words that are impossible to recreate in the English language and, therefore, will not sound natural in English when translated word for word. The result is a translation that sounds more natural in English; in other words, there is a significant degree of domestication of Yi's original in the translation by Yu and Kimbrrell.

If Yu and Kimbrrell's translation tends to make Yi's Korean sound natural in English, by filling the gaps in the original Korean poem and by adding elements that are absent from the original, the joint translation by Marion Egger, Han-ju Yang, and Matthias Göritz tries to carry over the language of Yi's Korean into German, without adding anything that is not there in the original. The translation of the two lines by Eggert et al. runs as follows: "mein arm fiel ab während er noch die rätselklinge hält. / Wena ich genau hinsehe ist er leichen blass als wäre er von irgendswem erpresst." Through the German word "fiel ab" Eggert et al. convey the sense of "끌어져 떨어졌다" (cut fell down) in the original poem—which creates an image of an arm dropping down, therefore falling away from the body—without using a passive

construction in German. German "fallen" is a cognate of the English verb "to fall," and together with the prefix "ab-" which means "from," "off," or "away," the German verb "abfallen" means "to drop" or "to drop vertically." Eggert et al. therefore creatively convey the state of the arm being "cut" or "off" from the body of the speaker, followed by it vertically falling down, without sacrificing the syntax of the original. The second line also conveys the original almost word for word, except for substituting the Korean word for "blue" with "leichenblaut" (cadaver-ly pale), presumably to avoid confusion, because in German, being "blau" (blue) can mean "to be drunk."

The translation by Eggert et al., of course, does not perfectly preserve the Korean grammatical structure of "Poem No. 13," Eggert et al. add German words that are equivalent to the English words "it" and "if/when" that do not exist in the original Korean, ensuring that the translation does not break German grammar rules. In this sense, there is a certain degree of domesticating the poem in the German translation. In comparison with Yu and Kimbrell's English translation, however, the degree of domestication is much weaker. The English translation by Yu and Kimbrell sounds so natural in English that it seems as if one of the major attempts of the translators was to not harm the naturalness of the English language of the translation. Eggert et al., on the other hand, follow the original word choices of the author as closely as possible—almost word for word—creating a translation that seems as if Korean words have been reassembled following the rules of German grammar.

The comparison of the two translations of Yi's "Poem No. 13" reveals the two different modes of translation coexisting in the German translation by Eggert et al. In the German translation, naturalness of expression is not completely compromised to the extent that the translation would sound like broken or grammatically incorrect German, but the translators' attempt to preserve the foreignness of the text remains clear.

Foreignizing the foreign:

"Poem No. 6"

"시 제로호" (Poem No. 6) from the 1931 Ogando is one of Yi's most intensely chaotic poems in both form and content. My own translation of "Poem No. 6" appears on the following page.\(^1\)

\(^1\) From Yi Sang, Yi Sang chujjig 2.

85. The translation is mine.
Poem No. 6

Parrot: 2 heads of
Parrot: 2 heads of
- Parrots belong to mammals.
Me knowing the 2 heads is me not knowing the 2 heads. Of course I
shall hope.
Parrot: 2 heads of
"Is this young lady the wife of the gentleman Yi Sang?" "Yes"
There I saw the parrot enraged. My face could have reddened because I
was embarrassed.
Parrot: 2 heads of
Surely I was expelled. Not even expelled I dropped out. My body lost
its axis and also was quite staggering so I wept slightly.
"there is there" "I" "my—ah—you and I" "I"
What on earth is "SCANDALE" "you" "it is you"
"it is you" "it is you" "no it is you"
I got soaked so I ran away like a beast. Of course there was no one who
knew that or was watching that but would it be really and would that
also be.

"Poem No. 6" is the epitome of Yi's many poems that thoroughly resist
interpretation. One of the most obvious reasons would be the absence
of a unifying theme in the poem. Starring from counting the
parrots, the center of the poem freely moves from contradictory
and meaningless sentences such as
"me knowing is not knowing," to
the enraged parrot, to the embar-
cassed speaker, and eventually to the
speaker running like a soaked beast.
Within this scene of absolute disor-
der, one word that sticks out both
visually and linguistically is
"SCANDALE."

The word "SCANDALE"
(SCANDAL in the Korean original
by Yi) in the poem in fact poses a
very unique challenge to translators
of Yi. Below are the lines from
"Poem No. 6" where the English
word "scandal" appears in the mid-
dle of a Korean sentence:

"자기와 자기가 자기의 나의 너의
나의—
아—너와나"
"너나"
"SCANDAL이라는것은 무엇이나"
"너나"
"SCANDAL" is the only English
word in "Poem No. 6." For this
reason, “sCANDAL,” as the only foreign word, is emphasized in comparison with the rest of the text. The word also does not follow English orthographical rules; the English rule of capitalization is completely reversed, with the first letter written in lower case and the rest capitalized. The strangeness of “sCANDAL” in the poem is therefore maximized by its juxtaposition with the rest of the text in Korean and with its reversed capitalization, as if Yi consciously attempted to intensify the foreignness of the word.

Yi’s choice of the word “sCANDAL,” however, implies another layer of foreignness associated with the word. In the previous section, the stylistic influence of European avant-garde movements on Yi’s works was discussed. The word “scandal,” reflecting Yi’s interest in the Western literary culture, is an English word derived from the French word “escandale,” the two Western languages that Yi is known to have studied. In this sense, the use of “sCANDAL” by Yi also reflects his interest in Western culture.

In the face of the challenge of having to reproduce the unique foreignness that “scandal” has to Korean speakers, Yu and Kimbrell opt to translate this part of “Poem No. 6” as:

“This is the very place,” “I.” “Myself and me.”
“1.”
What is the sCANDAL? “You…”
“It’s you.”

The problematic word “sCANDAL” is left as it is in the original Korean. Yu and Kimbrell’s choice to leave the word as it is preserves the strangeness of the capitalization, but it does not carry the exoticaeness that the Korean readers would feel upon reading an English word inserted in the Korean poem. One implication behind Yi’s choice of the word—namely, the influence of the Western literary culture—also cannot be interpreted from “what is the sCANDAL?”

The implication of Yu and Kimbrell’s translation of “Poem No. 6” can be better understood with the help of concepts articulated by translation theorist Eugene Nida. In his 1964 essay “Principles of Correspondence,” Nida contends that there are essentially two different types of equivalence between the source text and the target text that a translator can pursue: formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. According to Nida, the principle of formal equivalence attempts to “reproduce as literally and meaning-

11 Yu and Kimbrell, Three Poets of Modern Korea, 11.
fully as possible the form and content of the original,” paying attention to the closest possible approximation of the form (e.g., syntax and idioms) and content (e.g., themes and concepts).” In comparison with the principle of formal equivalence, the principle of dynamic equivalence attempts to produce “equivalent effects” by making the “relationship between receptor and message...substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message.” Nida also explains that the translation of dynamic equivalence “aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of his own culture.”

Form, content, and effect are the three standards to determine equivalence in Nida’s theory of translation. Yu and Kimbrell’s choice to leave “sCANDAL” as it is in English reveals a decision to follow the form of the original as faithfully as possible. As a result, the effect that the word had in the original poem for Korean readers is compromised. Therefore, in the line “what is the sCANDAL?”

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ken/written English than "there is there"; if translated word for word, preserving the equivalence of the form and the content (meaning) of "저기 가기기 지," the resulting translation "there is there" would have sounded very clunky, foreign, and awkward in English. By sacrificing the form and the content of the original, the translation by Yu and Kimbrell achieves the "naturalness of expression" that Nida describes in his essay.

The phrase "My—ah—you and me," which is translated as "My-self—you and me" by Yu and Kimbrell, however, reveals an even more interesting issue about the relationship between dynamic equivalence and formal equivalence. In the Korean original, the possessive pronoun "나의" (my) does not correspond with the element that follows ("ah"), whereas "My-self—you and me" by Yu and Kimbrell erases the discontinuity present in the original by replacing "ah" with "self," thereby forming "my—self." Understanding "0" as "self" is nowadays considered archaic and dated. Moreover, "0" alone cannot mean "self"—only when it is used as a part of the word "저가 지" it would mean "ego" or "self." Therefore, the primary sense Korean readers would get from "0" would be the sound "ah," but it is also true to a certain extent that the word "0" in Korean could imply the concept "self" through a morphological connection with the word "저가 지" (self), Yu and Kimbrell's choice of "self" instead of "ah" could be interpreted as a choice to simultaneously reflect the meaning of the original word and to achieve naturalness of expression at the same time; in the case of "my-self—you and me," both formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence are being considered as important principles of translation.

Analysis of another translation reveals that the same translation choice could result in completely different equivalences in different linguistic context. In "Poem No. 6," a translation that appears in the 2003 _La Vida de Cuervo—an anthology of Yi's Korean and Japanese poems in Spanish translation—translator Whangbai Bahk decides to leave the word "SCANDAL" in English but still succeeds in achieving a similar effect to the one that the Korean original gives to its readers: "¿Qué es un SCANDAL?" The English word "scandal" has a cognate word in Spanish: "escandalo." However, instead of using the Spanish cognate "escandalo," Bahk leaves the word in English.

13 Whangbai Bahk, translator, _A Vida de Cuervo Y Otros Poemas_ [by Yi Sang] (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2003), 30,
thereby recreating the exoticness of the English word inserted into a Spanish sentence. While Yu and Kimbrell's choice to preserve "sCANDAL" in the English translation results in the loss of foreignness, the same choice by Balk results in preserving not only the original word's form and content but also the foreignness that "sCANDAL" evokes in the Korean poem. The degree of exoticness and foreignness, however, is inevitably sacrificed because the Spanish and English language share the Roman alphabet and because of the existence of this cognate.

The German translation of the same poem by Eggert et al. combines both dynamic and formal equivalence. Below is the German translation of this section of "Poem No. 6," along with my translation of the German back into English.16

"da da da" "ich" "mein – ach – du
und ich" / sCANDAL was soll
das sein "du" "mein, du bist es"
(Eggert et al.)

"three there there" "I" "my – ah – you and I" / sCANDAL what is
that supposed to mean "you" "no, it is you" (my translation)

What is most notable from this translation is the choice of "da da da" to translate "ざりざりざりざ" (there is there), which is a particularly creative collection of words to translate the original Korean sentence. The German word "da" essentially means "there" in English; the content (meaning) of the original phrase "there is there" is still preserved to a certain extent by translating it into "da da da" (there there there). However, "dada" is also a keyword of the European avant-garde movement Dadaism. Like Yi, Dadaist poets frequently used French words in their German-language poems, and Dadaist works often elicited shock from the readers because of their experimental content. In many Dadaist poems, one can also see the word "dada" appearing repeatedly. Therefore, the choice to render "there is there" as "da da da" can be interpreted not only as an attempt to carry over the meaning of the original poem but also to remind the readers of the Dada movement and its shocking poems. By establishing the link between Yi's works and Dadaist poems, Eggert et al. create an illusion, as if the readers are reading Dadaist works, which are supposed to surprise and shock them. Eggert et al.'s use of "da da da," therefore, is a result of combining both principles of equivalence: while "da da da" does not com-

16 Eggert, Yang, and Göritz, Morgelperspektive, 18.
ple completely carry the meaning and the form of the original, it does so to a certain extent, and while it does not recreate the same degree of foreignness that "sCANDAL" does, it creates a feeling of strangeness or foreignness that can be compared with Yi's use of "sCANDAL."

In my translation, I decided to add the letter "E" at the end of "sCANDAL," transforming the English word "scandal" into its French cognate:

"there is there" "I" "my—ah—yoo and I"
"I"

What is sCANDALE. "you" "it is you"

By changing the word into French, I chose to disturb the flow of the English sentence, aiming to create an effect similar to that of the English on Korean readers and to convey the underlying connection between Yi and French surrealism.

The foreignness of frustration: "Poem No. 2"

나의아버지가나의결에서출직 에나는나의아버지가되고또나 는나의아버지의아버지가되고 그때도나의아버지가는나의 الأب니다나의아버지인네이찌 자고나는나의아버지의아버지의아버지의아버지의....아버지가 되느냐나는왜나의아버지들끼 충돌이어 넘어가하는지나는왜드

Above is "시 제2호" (Poem No. 2), one of Yi's poems that elicited very strong negative reactions from readers as soon as it appeared in the newspaper Chosun Central Daily as a part of the collection of poems in Ogamino. There are two noticeable characteristics of this poem. First, the word "아버지" (which means "father" in Korean) occurs very frequently in the poem. Second, there is no punctuation or spacing between words.

To explain the first characteristic that the poem exhibits, it is helpful to look at Yi's family history. Yi's family was very poor because his father lost three fingers due to an accident at his job at a printing store and could not provide for his family. Yi's uncle eventually adopted Yi when he was two years old, and Yi stayed with him until he was twenty-three years old. The confusion of having two fathers as well as the pressure to support his family from a young age are major themes that penetrate many of his literary works, including "Poem No. 2." Here is my translation of "Poem

17 Yi Sang, Yi Sang chunjiip 2, 80.
No. 2," to help illuminate the content of the poem, as follows:

When my father dozes next to me I become my father and I become my father's father but my father is my father as my father himself but why on earth I continue my father's father's... become my father why do I have to leap over my father why do I finally have to live playing the role of me and my father and my father's father and my father's father altogether.

In the poem, when the father dozes off, the speaker becomes (되다) the father, Yi's verb choice, "to become," indicates that he does not have any choice over this transformation. The father in this poem is also a figure that needs to be kept over ([last 은/를]), The speaker's frustration and confusion at being caught between overcoming his father and playing the role of a father is emphasized by the endless repetition of the word "father."

If the first characteristic was closely related to the content of the poem (what the poem is about), the second characteristic is associated with how Yi conveys the content. Due to the absence of spacing and punctuation, native speakers of Korean would experience significant difficulty reading and understanding the content of this poem; the entire poem is also a single sentence, which makes reading this poem even more difficult.

The Korean poem would therefore feel frustratingly foreign to the Korean readers, even though it is written in Korean; through the omission of spacing and punctuation, Yi takes away what is taken for granted in the mother tongue. Yi foreignizes the Korean language in "Poem No. 2" in order to convey the frustration, breathless pressure, and confusion that he associates with the concept of "father." The punctuation and spacing in "Poem No. 2" can be therefore interpreted as Yi's careful decision to avoid the most effective form to convey the content of the poem. "Poem No. 2" is a poem that skillfully combines content and form to achieve the desired effect of making the work strange and foreign to Korean readers: the content revolves around the concept of "father" and is intentionally made difficult to access because of the absence of punctuation and spacing, resulting in the frustration of the readers.

One of the challenges of translating "Poem No. 2" would be reproducing the skillful combination of form, content, and effect of the original. As mentioned previously, Yi confuses Korean readers by breaking Korean orthographical rules. But the challenge does not stop there. Even though they might
have significant difficulties, Korean readers would still be able to understand the poem and distinguish one word from another, whereas it would be incredibly difficult to read the poem in German, Spanish, or English if punctuation and spacing were removed. The dilemma is this: if one follows the punctuation of the original Korean, then the translation will be more alienating and disorienting than the Korean original; but, if one decides not to follow the punctuation of the original, then it will almost completely remove the nature of the original Korean that challenges its native readers.

For this reason, one of the major questions that translators should consider when translating “Poem No. 6” would be: How should one recreate the alienation and disorientation that Korean readers experienced upon reading “Poem No. 2” using a different language? In their German translation, Eggert et al., as a solution to this question, decide to imitate the punctuation and spacing of the original Korean poem:

Eggert et al.’s choice, however, is not just a simple imitation of the form of the original Korean. The German language has, naturally, different orthographical rules than Korean. One of the most unique rules of German is the capitalization of the first letter of every noun in the sentence. In Eggert et al.’s translation, although the spacing and the punctuation are completely removed as in the original Korean poem, the nouns are still capitalized. It is not, therefore, a choice to follow the German rules or to completely ignore them; Eggert et al. consciously chose which of the German orthographical rules to follow and which to break in their translation.

Two effects are achieved by Eggert et al.’s choice to remove the punctuation but leave the first letters of the nouns capitalized. The removal of punctuation conveys the chaos and the confusion created by Yi’s “Poem No. 2”; the resulting translation is equally as difficult to

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read and understand as the Korean original was for Korean readers. By leaving the nouns capitalized, however, the word “Vater” (father) is rhythmically emphasized throughout the translation; even when one cannot make out the translation’s context very clearly, it is not difficult to notice the repetition of the word “Vater” and “mein Vater” (my father). Taken together, the removal of spaces and the capitalization of “Vater” frustrates and confuses readers and makes the content of the poem inaccessible and foreign and successfully ties the frustration and disorientation the readers would experience with the concept “father.”

While Eggert et al. convey the effect of the original Korean poem by creatively negotiating German orthographical rules, Walter Lew, a translator of Yi’s works for the Columbia Anthology of Modern Korean Literature, takes a different approach. Instead of following the punctuation of the original Korean, Lew’s English translation of “Poem No. 2” compromises the naturalness of English expression at different points of the translation to convey the foreign and disorienting feeling of the text.

When my father dozes off beside me I become my father and also I become my father’s father and even so while my father like my father is just my father why do I repeatedly my father’s father’s father’s . . . when I become a father why must I hopelessly leap over my father and why am I that which while finally playing all at once my father’s father’s father’s father’s father’s roles must live? 10

Compared with Eggert et al.’s German translation, Lew’s translation is much easier to read. There are intentional violations of English rules; such as “I” written in lower case throughout the poem and the general absence of punctuation throughout the translation. Still, the content of the poem is much more accessible due to the added spaces between the words. For example, Lew adds a question mark at the end of the translation, clarifying the fact that the last sentence is a question: the punctuation and spacing are not the main means through which Lew tries to confuse and frustrate the readers of the English translation. Instead, the foreignness and alienating nature of Yi’s poem is primarily recreated by means of English syntax and natu-

ralness of expression. Throughout the poem, there are stark dissonances between the natural English—for example, “when my father dozes off beside me, I become my father”—and very awkward and clunky sentence structure such as “why am I that while finally playing all at once” or “my father’s father’s father’s father’s characters all at once.”

Like Lew’s translation, the translation starts off with a natural English sentence, “When my father dozes off beside me I become my father.” However, when it gets to the lines “though as ever my father just as he is,” the syntax of English becomes very clumsy and awkward. The shaky syntax reaches its peak by the repetition of “it” in the line “though as ever my father just as he is my father.” The breaking of syntax adds a feeling of strangeness and foreignness, making it difficult for English readers to read and interpret the poem with ease. The stylistic dissonance is, however, not just between the parts where the rules of English grammar are broken and where they are followed. In the middle of the poem, the Latin phrase “ad infinitum” is inserted. Moreover, the translation of “로봇을 …으로서 살아야 하는 것이나” (to play the role of, to act as) is “breathe life into […] characters.” Compared with the German translation “Rollen […] spielen” (to play a role) and Lew’s “playing […] roles,” the expression “breathe life into characters” by Yu and Kimbrell is unusually sophisti-

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20 Yu and Kimbrell, Three Poets of Modern Korea, 7.
cated. The expression “breathe life into” does not fit into the rest of the diction in Yu and Kimbell’s translation, creating a stylistic dissonance that adds strangeness to the translation.

Out of the four translations that are discussed in this section, the German translation is the most formally equivalent to the original poem. The close formal equivalence subsequently results in a foreignizing translation: the German translation would not sound natural to German readers but would remain as a text that has a new and foreign form, one that alienates readers as the original did. In contrast to Eggert et al.’s translation, Yu and Kimbell’s translation is the one that is least concerned with preserving the foreignness of the original. The absence of punctuation and spaces in the original poem is completely lost, and the disorienting nature of the original is also eliminated. Combined with the phrases that only exist in English, such as “breathe life into characters,” the resulting translation is a one that neutralizes the disorienting and alienating nature of Yi’s original poem.

The foreignness of Korean idioms: “Prostitution” and “Poem No. 5”

The poem “매춘” (Prostitution) was first published in the journal Catholic Youth. Below is a part of the poem.

조삼모사의사이판작용
The siphon action of the three in the morning and four in the afternoon.

Translated word for word, the underlined phrase “조삼모사” would mean “morning three evening four.” Such constructions are made by combining four letters, called “시자성어 (Sa-Jah-Sung-Uh)” in Korean, idioms or proverbial sayings that are condensed into four words (or morphemes, depending on the proverb). The four-lettered proverb is a shared feature in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese, with slight variations depending on the language. “조삼모사 (Joh-Sah-Moh-Sah)” in “Prostitution” describes situations in which the two objects or conditions that are being compared really do not make that much difference, but they are presented with a cunning or sly trick as if they are hugely different from each other. In English, one of the equivalent phrases would be “heads I win, tails you lose.”

Translating four-lettered proverbs to Western languages is challenging for both its content and its form. If

2) Yi Sang, Yi Sang chónjip 2, 123. My underscore and translation.
one translates "Joh-Sahm-Moh-Sah" word for word, its meaning cannot be deduced, and the content will be completely lost. If the phrase is rendered as "the two things that are being compared really do not make that much difference, but...," the content would be well represented but the concise form would be completely gone. Due to its incredibly tight connection between the form and the content, it is extremely challenging to reproduce the four-lettered proverb in a foreign-language context.

The challenge of translating four-lettered proverbs into Western languages, however, requires far more than balancing the form and content of the proverb. Every four-lettered proverb has its own narrative or a story that justifies the connection between the form and the content. In the case of "morning three evening four," the story goes as follows: In ancient China, there was a man who kept monkeys in his private garden or zoo. One day, he suggested to his monkeys that he would provide each monkey with four pieces of fruit in the morning for breakfast and three in the evening for dinner. The monkeys complained that the dinner portion was too small. The man, in order to deceive the monkeys, then suggested three pieces of fruit for breakfast and four for dinner. Upon hearing the offer, the monkeys were satisfied that they would get four pieces of fruit for dinner and accepted the offer. The story goes that thereafter, people started using "morning three evening four" to describe either (a) a situation where the two things in comparison are in fact not different at all from each other, but are presented as if they are hugely different or (b) a cunning or sly plan to deceive others into agreeing with what you want. In certain cases, the proverb can mean both (a) and (b) at the same time.22

Eggert et al., in their German translation of "Pu:stitution," translate the proverb as "trickreicher siphonmechanismus" (tricky, can-

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22 Variations of this story can be found in different books about Korean and Chinese idioms. In Inoup and M. Martins Taylor's Writing and Literacy in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 1995), the story behind the proverb runs: "Once upon a time there was a man who raised many monkeys and worried about the cost of feeding them. One day he said to his monkeys, 'From now on I will give each of you three acorns in the morning and four in the evening. How about that?' The monkeys complained, 'Only three acorns in the morning! That's not enough!' Thereupon the man said, 'How about four acorns in the morning and three in the evening? The monkeys were well satisfied' (76).
ning siphon-mechanism). The Spanish translator Bahk translates the proverb into “Los movimientos caprichosos del sifón engañan al hombre” (the capricious movements of the siphon that deceive the man) in his translation, “Prosección.” Using the principles of translation laid out by Nida, one can argue that Eggert et al.’s choice to translate “morning three evening four” into “trickreicher” (cunning, tricky) shows the consideration of the “naturalness of expression”—therefore the pursuit of dynamic equivalence—while at the same time shows the attempt to convey the content of the original by sacrificing the form in “trickreicher siphonemechanismus,” part of the formal equivalence (the form) is sacrificed for the dynamic equivalence and the meaning.

Bahk makes a similar choice to sacrifice the original four-lettered form, in consideration of the naturalness of expression in Spanish, and to preserve the meaning of the original proverb. In this analysis of the choices of the translation, however, one significant component of the original poem that should be also considered is completely lost: the story behind the proverb. The four-lettered Korean proverbs are not just combinations of four random letters and completely unassociated and arbitrary meanings. The narratives are the decisive elements that bind the form (four letters) and the content (meaning) together. Since Korean speakers have an intuitive understanding of how the four-lettered proverbs function within the Korean context, these proverbial sayings are one of the most Korean elements of Yi’s poems, and so represent a foreign element for Western readers.

Even though the principles of formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence suggested by Nida are useful in explaining how the translator balances the form and the content to reproduce a desired effect to the readers, the theory still has limits in analyzing the complexity of the issues of translation raised by the Korean four-lettered proverbs. The foreignness created by the narratives that are tied to the proverbs cannot be simply explained as part of the form, the content, or a desired effect. An alternative attempt to understand translation can be found in the 1993 essay “Thick Translation” by Kwame Anthony Appiah. In his essay, Appiah challenges the notion of thinking of translation as “finding ways of saying in one language something

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23 Eggert, Yang, and Görts, Megoelperspektive, 60.
24 Bahk, A Vista de Cuervo, 124.
that means the same as what has been said in another," by using the example of the challenges associated with translating Twi-language proverbs, from a region of Ghana. According to Appiah, if one "cannot conventionally communicate a certain literal intention in language A and...can in language B, then the translator cannot produce a literal translation."  
Likewise, in the case of Korean four-lettered proverbs, there are no literal ways to describe what is communicated in the English language, within the reasonable boundaries of maintaining the concise form of the original. According to Appiah, in such cases, one needs "richer" and "thicker...contextualization" to understand the proverbs, because "neither metaphors nor proverbs mean only what they [literally] say." Appiah explains the contextualization as "convention...and specific features of the mutual knowledge of speaker and hearer that derives from context," which "interact to produce meaning." In the conclusion, Appiah summarizes that offering "our proverbs to American students is to invite them, by showing how sayings can be used within an oral culture to communicate in ways that are complex and subtle, to a deeper respect for the people of pre-industrial societies," and "such a way of understanding reading and translating will make the question of how we should do it highly context-dependent."  
To carry over the complex and subtle ways that the proverbs function differently in the Twi language, Appiah supports "academic translation," translation that seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context.

Going back to the issues of translating four-lettered proverbs in Yi's poems, all four translations that are cited in this paper do not engage in "thick" or "academic" translation as suggested by Appiah in his essay. "시 제5호" (Poem No. 5) is another poem by Yi that includes four different four-lettered proverbs:

전후좌우들어하는유일의혼작

마음으로써목을대도

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26 Ibid., 335.
27 Ibid., 337.
28 Ibid.
The literal translations of the proverbs used in the poem are:

“전후좌우” (front back left right),
“익은불서” (wings big not rise),
“목불대도” (eyes not big see),
“이전간상” (I front fall hurt).

The first proverb means “from every direction.” The second and the third proverbs, “익은불서” (wings big not rise) and “목불대도” (eyes not big see) originate from a story about the ancient Chinese philosopher Zhuang Zhou (c. 369-286 BCE). The original phrase is “익은불서·목불대도” (wings big not rise - eyes big not see) instead of “익은불서·목불대도” (wings big not rise - eyes not big see). One day, the story goes, while Zhuang Zhou was taking a walk in the forest, a crow with exceptionally big wings and eyes almost collided with him. It is said that Zhou invented the proverbs to express the irony of the bird not being able to see and fly well, although it had big wings and eyes. However, due to Yi’s incorrect (or perhaps intentional) use of the proverb, the second part of the phrase could be interpreted as “eyes do not see big” instead of “eyes are big but cannot see.” The last proverb, “이전간상,” means “a person falling down and hurting oneself” and was presumably made up by Yi himself.

Yu and Kimbrell translate the poem as follows:

With regard to the inimitable traces after before-and-after and left-and-right were extracted.

**Though having giant wings I cannot fly My sight is harbored in a narrow field**

At the feet of the plump and dwarfish god I have fallen and have suffered a wound.

In Yu and Kimbrell’s translation, the four-lettered proverbs are in bold typeface, implying that the sentences in bold are different from the rest of the poem. However, how they differ from the rest of the poem is not indicated. The eight separate words that do not form coherent sentences in the original Korean are turned into grammatically correct English sentences. Instead of constructing the sentence by using the given words in Korean (e.g., Wings are big but cannot fly Eyes are big but cannot see), the

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91 Yi Sung, *Yi Sung chu-i* 2, 83.
sentence "My sight is harbored in a narrow field" changes words of the original Korean poem and results in sounding natural in English. Yu and Kimbrell therefore completely sacrifice the form of the original to convey the content; the translation gears toward the dynamic equivalence of achieving the naturalness of expression, rather than achieving the equivalence of the form between the original and the translation. The consideration of contextualizing the four-lettered proverbs, and attempts to explain what Korean native speakers might convey with them, is completely absent in the poem.

The situation is not very different in Bahl's Spanish translation:

El único punto donde se distancian la cara anterior a la posterior, la parte derecha y la izquierda
NADIE PUEDE VOLAR
AUNQUE TENGA ALAS GRANDES
NI PUEDE VER
AUNQUE TENGA GRANDES OJOS

Casi delante del dios pequeño y grueso, y me lastimó.38

Like Yu and Kimbrell, Bahl also decides to emphasize the second and the third proverbs through typeface; while Yu and Kimbrell’s choice was to make it bold, Bahl chooses capitalization. Although the two methods are visually different, the effect is similar: they both bring attention to the middle phrase. Bahl’s Spanish translation is indeed more explanatory than the original poem, like Yu and Kimbrell’s English translation, but to a lesser degree. “Nadie puede volar aunque tenga alas grandes ni puede ver aunque tenga grandes ojos” would mean “no one can fly even though they might have big wings nor see even though they might have big eyes.” The simple diction by Bahl renders the phrase much more concise than “my sights are harbored in a narrow field.” Still, the concision of the Spanish translation does not match that of the four-lettered proverb in the original Korean, and additional information about the story behind the proverbs, or contexts in which they might be used, is not provided.

Perhaps Eggert et al.’s translation comes closest to achieving equivalence of both form and content:

was die einzige spur einer subtraktion von vorne hitten rechts und links betriff
GROSSE FLÜGE DIE NICHT FLIEGEN
GROSSE AUGEN DIE NICHT SEHEN

38 Bahk, A Vista de Cuervo, 29.
Angesichts des kleinen feinen
gottes stürze ich schwer: besagt
die überlieferung.24

Just as Yu and Kimbrell and Balk
did, Eggert et al. also choose to use
typographical means to establish the
difference between the proverbs in
the middle and the rest of the
poem. The two phrases in capital
letters, "GROSSE FLÜGEL DIE
NICHT FLIEGEN / GROSSE
AUGEN DIE NICHT SEHEN,"
translated word for word in English
is "Big wings that do not fly / big
eyes that do not see." The original
four-letter proverbs are translated
by using only five words and are
still true to the meaning of the
original; in the case of the German
translation, the form and the con-
tent both faithfully follow the
original, rather than trying to natu-
ralize the proverbs into the German
language. Formal equivalence is
sought to the maximum degree,
without damaging the naturalness
of the German language of the
translation. Unfortunately, Eggert
et al.'s translation is not an example
of a "thick" translation. Although
the proverbs catch the eye of the
potential readers, they do not estab-
lish more than attention. The story
behind the proverbs and the contex-

24 Eggert, Yang, and Göritz, Mä-
gelperspektive, 17.
verbs and how they function in the Korean language. Although footnotes can disturb the visual form of the original, I believe that the only way to do justice to the proverbs is to contextualize them through added explanations of how they are used in Korean and how the proverb came into existence.

In the translations discussed in this section, the four-lettered proverbs are what translators “cannot conventionally communicate” in the target languages, and, consequently, they “cannot produce a literal translation.” In other words, the target languages of Yu and Kimbrell, Bahk, and Eggert et al. have limits in reproducing the foreignness of Korean proverbs. The translators instead found ways to convey the foreignness of the proverbs through other means outside the realm of language; in all three translations by Yu and Kimbrell, Bahk, and Eggert et al., the translators visually distinguish the proverb from the other words of the poem through typographical methods. The strangeness of the typography of the translated proverbs foreignizes the translations, which might otherwise look too much like a Dadaist or surrealist text translated into English.

Conclusion: Yi Sang, Foreignness, and Translation

Throughout this paper, I have focused on the challenges and difficulties of translating Yi’s works. Through reading Japanese translations, Yi developed an interest in the thematic and stylistic experiments of surrealist poems and other European avant-garde literature and later adopted them in his own Korean poetry. The hybridity of Yi’s works, in which stylistic elements of the European avant-garde coexist with Yi’s own creative experiments with the Korean language, makes him an experimental poet worthy of receiving attention and translation into foreign languages.

Through analysis of different translations of Yi’s works by Yu and Kimbrell, Lew, Bahk, and Eggert et al., as well as my own translations, I demonstrate that there are different types of foreignness in Yi’s poems that translators need to take into account in order to faithfully convey his hybridity. Different forms of foreignness in Yi’s works require different and creative solutions, which may range from borrowing from a different foreign language to recreate the foreignness of an English word in a Korean poem, to using visual means to convey the foreignness of Korean proverbs.

Finally, Yi’s hybridity and the challenges of translating his works can imply the significance of the act...
of translation. The unique hybridity of Yi’s works was formed via translation; the thematic and stylistic experimentation of the European avant-garde left its home soil via Japanese translation, reached a Korean poet named Yi Sang, and was reborn in his hybrid poetics. What was once native to Western literary culture went through a process of transformation and synthesis after traveling outside the culture of its origin and was reintroduced to these same Western languages in translations of Yi’s works. The effort to translate Yi, therefore, demonstrates that translation as an act contributes to the continuous revitalizing and revolutionizing of literary norms and influences, both by importing what is foreign to a native culture and by exporting what is foreign to other cultures.

### Bibliography


Marching Season: Identity, Memory, and Sectarian Politics in Northern Ireland

Áine O'Connor

Restrictions on parades of Northern Ireland’s “marching season” in 2013 led to riots and protest in which seven hundred people were reported to authorities or charged with disorder; in 2014, a man was stabbed in a sectarian confrontation the day before the season’s climactic parade. In a “post-conflict” state like Northern Ireland and a segregated city like Belfast, what explains the continued sectarian violence that surrounds these parades? In an interdisciplinary argument incorporating historical case studies, memory studies, the psychology of individual bias, and both evolutionary and political theories of ritual practice, I argue that the parades of the marching season offer individuals with more strongly held ethnoreligious identities a place for the performance of dual extremism that is absent from Northern Ireland’s implicitly moderate power-sharing government. An interdisciplinary approach to these “intractable” sectarian divisions corrects the tendencies of political science to underestimate the disruptive impact of the country’s occasional violence and overestimate its manageability.

No. 3: Orange Drums, Tyrone, 1966

The lambeg balloons at his belly, weighs
Him back on his haunches, lodging thunder
Grossly there between his chin and his knees.
He is raised up by what he buckles under.

Each arm extended by a seasoned rod,
He parades behind it, and though the drummers
Are granted passage through the nodding crowd,
It is the drums preside, like giant tumours.

To every cocked ear, expert in its greed,
His battered signature subscribes “No Pope”.
The goatskin’s sometimes plastered with his blood.
The air is pounding like a stethoscope.

—Seamus Heaney, excerpt from “Singing School”

Introduction

Walking through Belfast on an exceedingly gray day in October, I noticed first the peace walls, still standing. I’d known they existed before coming to the city, but they are structures that need to be seen to be properly felt. They are inherently disruptive: enormous, concrete, tall, and painted in industrial dark green, if painted at all. Even the hopeful peace-and-love murals that adorn the walls at eye level were jarring against that dark green and against the dark gray sky. Erected originally by the British army as barbed wire fences, the first Belfast peace walls

2 Many people inspired and aided this project. Professors Carl Craver, James A. Wertsch, Roddy Rodiger, and Elizabeth Borgwardt all agreed to formative meetings at the beginning of this project that helped me a great deal. Thanks are due of course to the Merle Kling program and all our many seminar leaders for encouraging us to travel, think, and write, and for treating us like actual scholars when we felt like impostors. Special thanks also to all my fellow Kling Fellows, who watched this project change from “something about collective memory and foreign policy” to the narrow examination of a pet peeve that it is today. And heaps on heaps of gratitude go to Professor Sunita Parikh, my adviser for this project and my senior thesis, without whom I could not have written either paper, let alone both. Separated the largely Catholic Falls Road area from opposing Protestant communities to dampen the communal violence that had claimed several lives in the summer of 1969. This was the beginning of the Troubles—the euphemistic title of the thirty-year conflict between loyalist/Protestant and republican/Catholic paramilitaries that killed 3,500 people—and the transition of an already-divided city into one whose segregation soon became a matter of both physical and symbolic division. Catholic neighborhoods began to self-cloister as their residents, too, erected barriers to protect themselves from Protestant forces enraged by the recent civil rights movement against the political discrimination and economic inequity Catholics in Northern Ireland had experienced since partition in 1921.

The walls and their legacy loom over Belfast’s main roads and subdi-

visions, cutting the city into awkward chunks. They still work as they were meant to, with gates that open in the day and close at night to keep who is in, in, and who should stay out, out. Inside the walls, communities declare themselves with Irish flags or Union Jacks, fire hydrants and curbs painted green or orange, and murals commemorating the fallen soldiers of the conflict. Loyalist Lt. Col. William “Buckey” McCullough peers through Coke bottles, smiles in self-eulogy. MURDERED BY THE ENEMIES OF ULSTER, the wall says.

The walls, the murals, the flags, and the all-important colors signal the divides in Northern Irish society that many claim are past business. My taxi driver, for example—one of many such “black taxi” tour guides who take tourists of the peace process around the flashpoints of Belfast’s city center—praised the progress Belfast has made since the ’70s, ’80s, ’90s. People aren’t afraid like they were in the Troubles, when the city resembled a war zone, he told me. The community feels so much safer. We’ve made great strides and the government is functioning well enough, and we can give these tours now to people like you.

Well, I asked, so why are the walls still up?

Because, he told me, people aren’t yet ready to take them down.

This struck me as contradictory, or at the very least, defeatist—“everything is much better now, but not quite good enough”—but after further research I found that my driver spoke to common sentiment. In a context where the once-minority Catholic community has eclipsed the historically dominant Protestant population, 45 percent of Northern Irish believed that relations between Protestants and Catholics in their country were better in 2013 than they had been five years ago. The percentage had fallen from 62 percent in 2010. Historically, the association of Catholicism with republicanism and nationalism, and Protestantism with loyalism and unionism, dominated

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6 Green is associated with the republican population, which is largely Catholic. Orange is the signal color of several Protestant groups, most notably the Orange Order (discussed much more later in the paper), and thus typically associated with the loyalist/unionist movement.


8 These -isms have heavy connotations. “Nationalism” refers to the desire for a Northern Ireland either independent
the political and social attitudes of the Northern Irish, but by 2013 the proportion of respondents marking themselves as not strongly unionist or nationalist but "neither" hovered around 43 percent. The change in proportions would be trivial except for the fact that sectarian divisions persist in the form of peace walls, segregated schools, and political parties—and that violence, too, persists, most frequently and most strikingly during the marching season of April to October.

The marching season is often considered the more dynamic counterpart of the murals and walls that partition the city, but parades and peace walls differ in purpose and impact. The walls barricade and insulate, allowing families of one identity group or another to live in the company of those with whom they identify. Many of the commemorative murals, like that celebrating Lt. Col. "Bucky" McCullough, are inward facing, painted on the sides of houses or community centers. The parades, however, are outward-facing displays of identity, explicit reminders of what it means to call oneself Protestant or unionist or Catholic or nationalist or Irish or British or Northern Irish. Unsurprisingly, the marching season can be a tense time in Belfast. Following the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, violence erupted as the Protestant Orange Order’s July 12 parade marched its traditional route through Catholic/nationalist neighborhoods. In 2013, restrictions on that route led to riots and protests in which seven hundred people were reported to authorities or charged with disorder. A year later, a man in south Belfast was stabbed in a sectarian confrontation before the July 12 parade began.
although the march itself remained peaceful.10

The gap between reported claims to a more neutral or national identity and continued iterations of sectarian violence reads like a problem of cognitive dissonance. Why might an increasingly unified community still divide itself along the remnants of a war zone? Political science thrives on studies of peace and conflict, and plenty of scholars have theorized and measured the effect of different governmental institutions, civil society organizations, the intensity of civil wars, and group grievances and motivations on the success of post-war peace. Yet scholars of political science tend to label Northern Ireland’s sectarian divisions as one of the “intractable conflicts” of modern history, ignoring changes in Northern Irish conceptions of nationhood and belongingness since the Good Friday Agreement ended the Troubles in 1998. Indeed, writing off sectarian violence as inevitable and perpetual “cannot explain its temporal and spatial variation”11 in places like Belfast—why is there now stabblings and riots instead of paramilitary guerilla war? Conflict databases categorize the Northern Irish conflict as “ended” because conflict between the two largest republican and loyalist paramilitaries has ceased and the number of deaths attributable to sectarian violence has dropped below the threshold of “civil war” or even “civil conflict.”12 This understatement of the Troubles’ legacy implies that today’s sectarianism has negligible social or

10 Northern Ireland Marching Season: One Man Stabbed in Clashes before Orange Order Parade,” The Irish Independent (Dublin), July 13, 2014.


political impact, which is evidently not the case.

I approach the Northern Irish puzzle a little differently, assuming that like any other political act, the sectarian violence of contemporary Northern Ireland depends upon individual participation and government reaction. Employing psychological theories and studies of implicit bias, memory, and ritual performance, I argue that in order to truly understand strongly held group identities that seemingly run counter to common social desires, we must examine group bias as it occurs within individuals. I contend that the parades of the marching season, around which much of the country’s sectarian violence clusters, offer individuals with more extreme political biases and strongly held ethno-religious identities a place for the performance of that extremism that is absent from Northern Ireland’s implicitly moderate power-sharing government. I restrict my analysis primarily to Belfast, the nation’s capital and the site of most—but not all—parades and the violence that may accompany them. This interdisciplinary approach to Northern Ireland’s “intractable” sectarian divisions corrects the tendencies of political science and history to underestimate the disruptive impact of the country’s occasional violence and yet overestimate its unmanageability.

The Right to March

The origin of the Northern Irish sectarian conflict is a long story, beginning in the twelfth century with the invasion of the Normans from England into Ireland, but the most salient date for the contemporary conflict in Belfast is 1609. That year marks the Plantation of Ulster, the final extension of British control over the island, during which time the English army finally defeated the Ulster clans that had risen to oust them. Following their victory, the British invited Scottish, English, and Welsh colonists to Ulster with large land offers, promoting the establishment of a new culture and class from which the largely Catholic Gaelic Irish were barred. Marginalized in their ancestral nation, the Gaelic Irish could not own land and were denied political rights and economic parity.

14 Ulster historically comprised nine counties: Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Derry, Monaghan, and Tyrone. Following the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 and the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 that together ended the Irish War of Independence, Ulster was split: the Irish Free State received Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan, those counties with a higher proportion of Catholics/nationalists. The country of Northern Ireland is made up of the remaining six counties.
They had to adapt to a new landowning and governing class with a different tongue, altered systems of land tenure, and Protestant faith. As the centuries passed, the "Anglo-Irish" minority consolidated their cultural, territorial, and economic hold on the entire country, governing in Dublin while maintaining majority status Ulster.

Protestant rule was not without its challenges. Periodic rebellions against British rule, often centered in Dublin, made heroes out of their executed republican leaders throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Agarian secret societies burned fields, ruined cattle, and intimidated and sometimes killed landlords for unfair renting practices. Union between the kingdoms of Ireland and Great Britain in 1801 was countered by the extensive fight for Home Rule (rather than governance transferred from Britain) that lasted from the 1830s to the 1870s. Rejection of British rule in Ireland was primarily political, but there was no denying that the Gaelic Irish were treated as ethnically distinct from the British or Anglo-Irish and were even categorized at times as a different race, opening the door for dehumanization and excusing social segregation and the restriction of basic political rights. Throughout the country and particularly in the cities of Ulster, class stratifications mirrored religious divisions, with Irish Catholics largely earning less income than Anglo-Irish Protestants and, until the 1830s, living without effective representation in government and no franchise. Though the relationship between the Anglo-Irish and Catholic Gaelic Irish had changed since 1609, "the broad outlines of the current conflict in Northern Ireland had been sketched out within fifty years of the plantation: the same territory was occupied by two hostile groups, one believing the land had been usurped and the other believing that their tenure was cons-

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stantly under threat of rebellion.\footnote{John Darby, “Conflict in Northern Ireland: A Background Essay,” in \textit{Faces of the Conflict in Northern Ireland}, ed. Seamus Dunn (London: Macmillan Press, 1995).} The sense in Ulster that each group was under threat, created by the implicitly different social contexts of many Catholics and Protestants in Ireland as a whole, fed a conflict between British rule and Home Rule that was based at least partially on religious, ethnic, and even racialized difference.

Parades functioned to inform and emphasize the ethno-religious division in Belfast and beyond since at least the eighteenth century, heightening the existential tensions between Ulster’s minority Catholic/nationalist population and its majority unionist/Protestant. Organized and led predominantly by politically minded social groups like the Protestant and loyalist Orange Order or the Apprentice Boys of Derry, the parades of the marching season operate on a concept of the “right to march” that is historically associated with Protestantism and loyalty to British rule. The apex of the marching season, for example, is the Protestant Orange Order’s July 12 parade commemorating the 1690 Battle of the Boyne, in which the Protestant William of Orange defeated King James II’s Catholic forces and took the British throne. Competing Catholic/nationalist parades include March’s St. Patrick’s Day procession, put on by the historically republican Ancient Order of Hibernians, but the proportion of nationalist parades has always been shockingly low, numbering only 119 out of 2,766 notified parades in 2014—albeit 4.3 percent.\footnote{Parades Commission for Northern Ireland, “Annual Report and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 March 1, ch 2014” (Belfast, Northern Ireland: House of Commons Papers) July 7, 2014.} Parading in Northern Ireland is a predominantly Protestant endeavor, which unsurprisingly politicizes its framing and practice—and rather more surprisingly sets the vestiges of the Troubles to simmering nearly every July.

Much of the protest surrounding Protestant processions centers on where their participants walk; traditional routes may take the Orange Order and the Apprentice Boys around and through largely Catholic or nationalist communities.\footnote{Michael Hamilton, “Freedom of Assembly, Consequential Harms and the Rule of Law: Liberty-Limiting Principles in the Context of Transition,” \textit{Oxford Journal of Legal Studies} 27:1 (2007), 92.} The most notable violence has occurred during the procession of the Orange...
Order through the largely Catholic/nationalist neighborhood of Ardoyne. The contested route is purportedly the same King William’s army took on its own march to the south.\(^{22}\) In prior years, residents of Ardoyne violently protested the Orange Order’s march through their neighborhoods, leading to restrictions by the government Parades Commission on the traditional route. These restrictions, in turn, resulted in violent protests in 2013 and the subsequent arrest or reporting of seven hundred individuals after police barricades met with rioters.\(^{23}\) The knotty politics of parading in and around Catholic/nationalist home turf is usually explained away by organizers invoking tradition and their innate “right to march” according to Northern Irish law and custom. (Indeed, marching in Northern Ireland is considered a civil right, and a parade requires only a notification beforehand of the route and number of participants, not outright permission by the state or local government.\(^{24}\) Naturally, not all parades are notified parades.) That violence accompanies the marching season is old news—protest and disruption have characterized the big-ticket parades almost since their first runs.\(^{25}\) But during and after the Troubles, the marching season began to hold an expectation of violence that has continued into the present day and frustrates those who work to limit sectarian conflict.\(^{26}\)

Scholarly literature on the marching season of Northern Ireland has often focused on its history, on its symbolism of dominance and repression, on its ties to ethnicity and the collective memory that fuels the perennial commemoration of individual battles from 1690 and 1916 and the contestation of public space.

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\(^{22}\) Ibid.


that continues to the present day. Recently, however, the parades’ repetitive qualities—and their changes—have come under academic scrutiny. Patrick Tuite wrote a fascinating paper on the Apprentice Boys parade, arguing that the procession is a rehearsal of violence, a social drama of embodied symbolism in which traditional routes must be maintained in part because it has become a bodily habit of the group and its individual participants.27 Marc Howard Ross labels the parades “psychodramas,” arguing that they present differing historical and psychological narratives to those who participate and those who do not. The 12th of July parade from Drumcree Church to Orange Lodge headquarters strikes nationalists and Catholics as insensitive and inflammatory when it involves cutting through their neighborhoods; but to Orange members and other Protestants, the parade is a crucial reminder of both a great victory for their country and the massacre of people of their faith.28 The interpretations of these parades, Ross writes, are more important than the events themselves, for it is the interpretation that leads to violence—the memory of yesterday’s oppression or insurrection that drives today’s protest. However, recognizing that the marching season rings differently to Protestants/unionists and Catholics/nationalists does not fully explain the continued violence between them, given the country’s recent shifts toward moderation and neutrality in political and religious identification and affect.

Commemorating 1916: The Importance (and Impotence) of Collective Memory

Studies of “collective memory” generally make two claims about the structure and function of memory, dealing respectively with the group and with the individuals of which it is composed. The first claim states that any social group that affords its members some salient concept of identity (e.g., Catholic, Protestant, Irish, British, nationalist, unionist, etc.) also has its own body of memory, created and continuously reiterated in order to define and support that identity. The second claim regards the makers and consumers, that is, the individuals who are subject to and participants in a group’s version of history. It alleges that every individual’s memories are subject to change and influence by his or her participation in the social

world. Collective memory studies assume that for groups, memory is less an end than a means: a way of constructing and maintaining valid claims to an identity and all it pertains. Collective memory concerning the tumultuous year 1916, then, is not the static sum total of many Northern Irish 29 individual conceptions of history but an active process by which all those who identify as Northern Irish confirm and validate (or reject and invalidate) the stories and beliefs that various groups hold to be true. In the following, I show that dissociations between the factual history and the commemorative histories of 1916 offer an important case study of how the implicit violence of the marching season feeds collective processes of identity confirmation and validation.

Historical context is important to understanding the events of 1916. Northern Ireland’s political landscape was fraught in the years before World War I. Belfast, particularly, was consumed by the third and final Home Rule crisis. Opposition to or support of the upcoming Home Rule Bill giving Ireland freedom to self-govern tinged most of Belfast’s political conversations and, naturally, its processions. Angered by the creeping possibility of what they called “Rome Rule”—if Ireland became self-governing, the Catholic majority of the island would threaten Protestant dominance in the north—Ulster Protestants and loyalists took up arms to defend their power. By 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), led by Sir Edward Carson, boasted almost one hundred thousand men. 30 Under a doctrine of “conditional loyalty” to the crown and unconditional refusal of Home Rule, Carson and his ilk made it clear that the UVF was not an idle threat of force but the strong arm of a popular movement 31 by drilling in the streets. 32 Support for the UVF was widespread among Belfast unionists, 33 and by spring

1914 their capability and motivation to rebel against Home Rule was displayed in two marches throughout the city in which an estimated 1,500 participants showed their preference for union with Britain.  

Naturally, the threat implicit in unionists’ imposing numbers and doubly imposing rifles elicted a nationalist response in the Irish National Volunteers, a pro-Home Rule militia created to counter “Carson’s Army,” which began drilling that same April. On July 12, the day of the Orange Order parade, Carson thoroughly denounced the Home Rule Bill and personally led the procession through Belfast; though the parade claimed to “give the Nationalist quarter a wide berth,” residents of nearby Catholic neighborhoods were on edge. The anxious character of these pre-WW1 parades was emblematic of the growing fear and increasing likelihood of rebellion and perhaps civil war; every military drill or route march held the possibility of violence. Serious conflict in Ulster seemed so probable by summer that the British government had begun outlining strategies for physically coercing the north into accepting Home Rule. Fortunately (or so it seemed at the time), Britain’s entry into World War I that August largely ended such threatening demonstrations of political conviction. As both the UVF and the National Volunteers funneled their members into British forces, Home Rule was suspended to facilitate focus on the world war, and the possibility of sectarian civil war—so prominent only months before—diminished.

In 1916, however, Belfast’s careful veneer of war unity cracked in two places. In April, the Easter Rising in Dublin against British rule reminded unionists in Ulster that the spirit of violent nationalism was still alive on the island. Martial law was enacted all over the country in response, and all parades, processions, and meetings were by default banned unless explicitly approved by the government. However, the near-wholesale slaughter of the largely Protestant 36th Ulster Division at the Battle of the Somme demanded instant memorializa-

34 “Ulster Exclusion Would Be a Betrayal.” *The Irish Independent* (Dublin), February 13, 1914, 5.
37 *Irish Examiner* (Blackpool), March 20, 1916.
tion, and the curtailment of traditional Orange parades loaded symbols and reflections of Protestant Ulster identity onto this somber remembrance of the dead, who had fought for the home country—for Britain. In the years that followed, the Somme and the Rising came to represent blood sacrifices for both unionists and nationalists. The latter came to join Catholic and republican identity on Sinn Féin, the organization-cum-political party (dubiously) linked to the Rising, which would from then on represent Catholic/nationalist interests. The drawn-out executions of Easter insurgents became a source of deep discontent and bitterness in Ireland, the ringleaders of a poorly planned and poorly received revolution nonetheless immortalized as martyrs in papers and poetry. The stories of James Connolly, allegedly strapped to a chair for the firing squad because he was too weak to stand, and of Joseph Plunkett, who married his sweetheart the night before his execution, swept over the country and cemented the republicans' status as tragic heroes. Increasingly, both sides ignored republican participation in World War I—the unionists because it did not fit with their narrative of fighting for Britain and the nationalists because it did not fit with the narrative of the fight for independence that would arise after partition and independence in the south after 1921.

The changing collection of histories during 1916 and in commemoration of that turbulent year is a perfect representation of the process of “collective memory” as it was originally conceived by Maurice Halbwachs: a cultural deposit of historical interpretations and selected narratives, created and maintained by the interaction of a group’s existing intellectual and cultural traditions (Protestantism and Catholicism, unionism and nationalism), its memory makers.

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38 Fitzpatrick, Two Irelands, 61.
40 Fitzpatrick, Two Irelands, 34.
(like Carson or Sinn Féin), who adopt into the canon new events and ideas, and its memory consumers (Northern Irish citizens), who omit, change, and otherwise utilize their self-identified groups' accounts as necessary. Generally, we identify the nation-state as the structure that puts a name, an infrastructure, and an imperative to the shared-ness of shared recollections, but subnational groups, organizations in civil society, and political parties all use identity claims to fuel their own existence. The Orange Order adopted the tragedy at the Somme into a pillar of Protestant and unionist identity—the only event it marks outside of the Williamite War. If one is truly Protestant, loyalally British, and/or a dedicated unionist of Northern Ireland, one commemorates the Somme. Indeed, nearly all Orange parades now incorporate some mention of the 36th Ulster Division, and many of what Hallwachs would call "memory consumers"—working-class loyalists or unionists—have joined local Somme Associations in order to more fully participate in commemorations. While the Somme reminds Belfast Protestants of sacrifices made for "King and Country" and "God and Ulster," however, only with the approaching anniversary of WWI have Catholic and nationalist organizations begun to acknowledge the Somme—and the war as a whole—as an important part of Northern Irish history. Republicans in Northern Ireland (and, in fact, in the Republic) have recast WWI as

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44 This is in no way to suggest that memory consumers are not also memory makers. Hallwachs was keen to stress that memory is a social process in which all individuals participate.

45 See Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (London, Verso Press, 1983), a book famous in political science, anthropology, and sociology that examines the rise of the nation-state. Anderson theorizes that the nation-state depends on strong senses of national identity, forged by shared memory, habits, and print culture (i.e., newspapers, or, in today's case, newspaper websites and blogs). According to Anderson, a nation can be successfully unified only if every individual within the nation has similar mental boundaries to the outside world.

48 Beiner, "Between Trauma and Triumphalism," 380.
an imperial effort to which the colonized Irish were forced to contribute. In contrast, centenary commemoration of the Easter Rising has already begun in both Northern Ireland and the Republic by the modern-day Sinn Féin, the apparent inheritors of the martyrs’ legacy.

Collective memory is not simply a frame in which group histories are presented, but a confirming and identifying mechanism by which individual memories are ensured space and preservation in society. It also ensures that identity groups are legitimated in existing. When an individual shares a certain historical narrative with a group with whom he or she identifies, he or she simultaneously legitimizes that narrative and is legitimizes in holding it. But memory starts getting morally and methodologically complicated when it seems—as collective memory studies often hold—that community expectations, group norms, and social experiences exert strong influence on what, and in what way, one remembers an historical event. When civil or political groups based on identity claims hold competing versions of history, both versions become definitive, which means that they also become unfalsifiable—to reject the Orange Order story of the Somme is to reject Protestant and loyalist identity and all the social and material benefits that come with it in a society as segregated as Belfast. But, of course, a large proportion of Belfast does reject the Orange narrative of the Somme in favor of another tragic event, and benefits politically from its legacy. These different sets of historical narratives are important not only because of their poignancy but because of their permanence and their use. It may not be coincidental that the Troubles began not long after the 50th anniversaries of the Somme and the Easter Rising, and that a new paramilitary organization that arose around that time appropriated the title of “Ulster Volunteer Force.”

The problem with recognizing the strength and frequent usage of collective memory in contemporary politics is that it often feeds the myth of the “intractable” conflict, acting as a buzzword to describe—but not explain—the common history of identity conflict and group violence. This makes collective memory unhelpful in the examination of individual and group

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30 Beiner, “Between Trauma and Triumphant,” 386.
identity because it puts the burden of analysis on social phenomena rather than memory itself, which, after all, is the domain of individual psychology. Wulf Kansteiner recently issued a focused critique of collective memory studies, admonishing the field for using psychological language within the context of anthropological or sociological analysis. Mechanisms of collective memory, he writes, are "frequently misinterpreted through facile use of... psychological methods," and by consequence scholars have not adequately addressed how a group's memory is actually produced and received by the individual. (Why does this or that marcher join in a procession that may be marked by violence? How can the color orange inspire such ire?) Cognition is a self-referential process whose mechanisms cannot be accurately extrapolated to explain group behavior—social psychologists, after all, still measure the reactions of individual subjects. If I want to understand why sectarian identity in Northern Ireland is important, I should look at why sectarian identity is important to individuals, and then how that individual affect might explain group behavior.

**Explaining Sectarianism: The Psychology of Learned Bias and Group Behavior**

Collective memory studies are correct to pinpoint social context as formative in the creation and recollection of individual memories. What they have, by and large, not done is properly address why that might be so: given that the mind and mental events are by nature private and individual, what are the psychological or cognitive mechanisms by which social context might influence memory and help construct or alter concepts of personal identity? If a credible theory for the psychological underpinnings of strongly felt identities may be forged for the individual, then we may be one step closer to understanding collective phenomena of the group with which that individual associates. To explain collective sectarian violence in a segregated place like Belfast, I look first at individual implicit bias, second, at the psychology of group conflict, and, third, at the importance of repetition in memory and learning, all in the context of the parades of the marching season.

Studies of implicit bias often focus on implicit racism, and there is a sense in which racism is quite relevant to studies of sectarianism,

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Indeed, some argue that religious differences between the Irish subjects and the Anglo colonists and rulers were racialized; tying Irishness to Catholicism and pairing those identifiers with subjugation and the sense of being “lesser” was only one example of a common imperial practice in which colonists “made sense of colonialised peoples through the prism of their own religious beliefs.” Of course, this kind of racism is very different from and generally milder than that practiced by white colonists in non-white colonies, in which race is an immediately recognizable personal characteristic. But because class stratifications were drawn on ethnoreligious lines after the Ulster Plantation, recognizing an Irishman (versus a British Ulsterman) was not difficult. Catholicism acted as an indicator by which the Irish were assigned several racialized stereotypes: of drunkenness, of violence, of rebellion, of a sort of good-natured stupidity. Viewing Northern Irish sectarianism as arising from racialized prejudice enables us to use psychological studies of individual bias and its projection onto collective phenomena to explain the salience of Belfast’s ethno-religious divides.

With disappointment, most psychological studies of implicit bias display just how hard it is to get rid of. It is generally recognized that biases are irrational, maladaptive, and not innate (in the sense that we are not “born with it”—children often reach a certain age before they begin to have racialized or gendered preferences in playmates or playthings, for example), and yet they

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55 “Implicit bias” here means the unconscious and non-deliberate assignment of affect (positive/negative feeling) or qualities (like stereotypes) upon perceiving some identifying characteristic in another individual.

56 Phyllis A. Katz and Jennifer A. Kofkin, “Race, Gender, and Young Children,” in Developmental Neuropsychology: Perspectives on Adjustment, Risk, and Disorder, ed. Suniya S. Lu
are quite strong and have significant social effects even if they are never displayed explicitly. People who score higher on tests for implicit biases of race, for example, are more likely to respond in error that a black figure is holding a gun than any other tool; correspondingly, they take longer to identify when a white figure holds a gun, because such an image does not fit with their known stereotypes. Of course, the elements that might differentiate a Catholic or nationalist from a Protestant or unionist in Belfast would be largely verbal or affected, not as visually salient as racism based on skin color. Asking someone's name, for example, holds weight in Northern Ireland, as whether it is Gaelic or Anglicized—Sean vs. John, for example—often indicates political/religious identity. Asking where someone went to school, where she lives, and even noting his or her style of dress may also reveal to which groups a person belongs. And once identifiers are revealed, subconscious bias may influence our behavioral responses.

In-group preference and the corresponding out-group derision can be elicited by the simple act of putting people together in different groups, even if the groups have no moral, emotional, or political salience, and if there is no reason for or incitement to hostility, competition, or individual benefit. Of course, assigning emotional significance to a group does increase its salience: fear, for example, promotes the convergence of identities such that in the most segregated areas of Belfast, existential threat makes the Catholic/Irish and Protestant/British identity labels more salient, even as both groups recognize their Northern Irish identity. Collective memory plays a large role here in that the Catholic Irish, historically...

oppressed in Ulster, have stories of tragedies and resentment that inform their conception of the Anglo-Irish Protestants. Similarly, the children of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland have memories of victory and violence that justify their wariness of Northern Irish Catholics. The kind of fear elicited by the drums, the antinationalist songs, the pageantry, and the militia-style marching of Protestant/unionist parades through Catholic neighborhoods inspires the kind of out-group wariness that feeds individual implicit bias against Protestants and unionists as if they truly were synonymous groups. Likewise, restrictions of the right to march threaten the continued existence of the once-dominant Protestant group. Indeed, those who participate in Orange marches are more likely to feel that history is deeply important to their sense of self—and to oppose political change—than those Protestants in Belfast who do not march.  

Given the significant influence of individual bias on social behavior, the critical puzzle is how implicit attitudes are created in the first place. My earlier condemnation of the methodology of memory studies notwithstanding, it is true that collective memory informs individual bias very early on in life. Its mechanisms within individual psychology are what I focus on now. Through a series of elegant experiments known well to students of psychology and cognitive science, memory has been divided and subdivided into distinct categories.  

There is an understanding that short-term memory (STM) is malleable and improvable and that long-term memory (LTM) is protected from change because it requires structural changes in the brain—literally, neurons wiring themselves together in different ways. The way memories make the big jump from STM to LTM is through a particular use of STM called “working memory,” a process of practice and repetition based on cues in the world and learned behavioral or menial responses. This can be as basic as mentally reciting a phone number or as complicated as a third-grader repeating, silently: “i before e, except after c,” and when sounding like ‘a,’ as in ‘neighbor,’ or

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61 See, for example, Endel Tulving and Fergus I. M. Craik, eds., The Oxford Handbook of Memory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Any psychology textbook will explain the divisions of memory.
weigh,” until they no longer have to recite it—they just know. Different areas of the brain are crucial for different aspects of learning, from physical movements (learning how to play an instrument) to complex mental processes (remembering how to perform long division) to subconscious reactions (an addict experiencing a craving at the sight of a needle, bottle, cup of coffee, etc.), but all learning is theorized to work at least in part by repetitive exposure until both are linked in long-term or procedural memory. Extensive work has been done on Belfast’s segregated neighborhoods, and particularly its segregated schools, pointing them out as precisely the kind of cultural institutions in which such repetitive exposure takes place, perpetuating out-group derogation by keeping Catholic or Protestant children separate from each other and teaching biased versions of the same histories.62

Halbwachs, who was strikingly accurate in guessing the mechanisms of memory, recognized that repetition and social context may also taint or alter individual memories; cognitive science has shown that he was largely correct. Constant repetition both strengthens the memory trace first laid by the occurrence of the actual events and introduces the traces to interfering and competing memories of talking or hearing about the event days, months, or years later. This is because the recollection of an event brings an individual’s memory from LTM back to working memory for further operations and manipulations before sending it back to LTM. To recall a memory, then, is really a process of re-making it based off of existing connections.63 Events that are highly publicized and frequently commemorated are especially subject to memory perversion simply because everyone talks about them, such that one’s personal account often comes to align with the accounts of newspaper coverage and public conversation that come up in anniversary commemorations, newspaper articles, textbook paragraphs, and popular culture. These efforts of “community retelling”64 present redundant and


64 William Hirst et al., “Long-term Memory for the Terrorist Attack of September 11: Flashbulb Memories, Event Memories, and the Factors That
emotionally salient stimuli to individuals who already hold a memory of the event—in doing so, they change the individual’s memory into something both more communal and less personally accurate. This explains why people who participate in parades tend to value historical ties to old Protestant tradition more than those who do not: they hear the history more often. They are likely Orange Order members who attend lodge meetings and speak about social problems with like-minded brothers. They are immersed in history all the time and especially during the marching season, in which each march evokes memories of the last and stories of the first.

At this point, it is relevant to wonder what the parades of the marching season offer participants beyond annual validation of their identity claims and continuous reiterations of biased histories. The fact that the parades are bookended with violence and protest signals that the marching season plays another, more powerful role in Northern Irish society. Indeed, the parades' frequent focus on commemoration of both victory and defeat is wrought in ritual practices much like those of religious ceremonies, with strongly structured guides for participation that determine how the memory of the event is experienced by participants and observers. This is not to say that the parades are religious ceremonies, but rather that their ritual character guarantees participants an opportunity to express strongly held identity claims at least several times a year in respect of tradition. I argue that the parades' continued salience in Northern Irish society is due to the implementation of a power-sharing government in which those same strongly held identities are made less politically significant than they were before the Good Friday Agreement.

**Routine Politics and Ritual Violence**

The marching season offers those with strongly held political identities a mouthpiece and choreography for their extremism that the power-sharing government of Northern Ireland generally does not. In repeating commemorative parades year after year, the marching season becomes a kind of ritual of rituals. The parades are ritualized by dictating certain interactions with important symbols, always following the same routes through critical areas and retelling divisive stories in the same or similar ways every year.

the season is a time set aside and traditionally dedicated to these kinds of commemorations. How these inherently political parades actually interact with real governance is a complex question, however. Northern Ireland is one of the clearest existing examples of consociationalism—a term (though not a practice) coined in the 1960s by political scientist Arend Lijphart, who proposed it as a governmental solution for countries with identity-based conflict in which no side has an overriding majority. In Northern Ireland, the “sides” are represented by unionist parties (the Democratic Unionist Party [DUP], Ulster Unionist Party [UUP], and several smaller ones); republican or nationalist parties (like Sinn Féin and the Social Democratic and Labour Party [SLDP]); and cross-cutting parties (like the Green Party or Independents). The static nature of power-sharing governments like Northern Ireland’s, in which proportionality and equity in power are the rule, makes political opposition the status quo: if nobody can truly win on a “big issue”—like parades, for example—because of the threat of veto, then nobody can truly lose, and so both sides make policy on little issues that can be won. Parades thus function as an alternate means of political expression that may for some feel more representative than a vote in the government.

66 As of March 2015, the DUP has 38 seats and the UUP has 13; Sinn Féin has 29 and the SLDP has 14, all out of 108. Executive government is split between Peter Robinson (first minister) and Martin McGuinness (deputy first minister). These ministers are appointed by their parties. The first minister is appointed from a unionist party and the deputy is appointed from a nationalist party, as decreed in the Good Friday Agreement.
the freedom and ability to provide for its own members, there ought not to be any basis for identity-based grievances. Still, consociational government in Northern Ireland has failed—once in 1973 (before it even really got started) and once again in 2002, when it was suspended until 2007 due to "allegations of intelligence gathering" between political parties.\(^8\) Scholars and observers allege that power sharing actually exacerbates ethnic divisions, "giving succor to conflict by institutionalizing difference at the political level, stilling diversity in the name of communal identity and for 'failing to recognize cross-cutting identities."\(^9\) More accurate, however, is the "status quo" critique: while more extreme parties like Sinn Féin and the DUP do find success in consociational government, this is actually because they enact pragmatic, moderate policies in order to avoid fractionalization and a loss of identity-group votes\(^10\)—and not because they win fights over ethically important issues. The practical moderation of identity-based political parties that would usually be extreme dilutes the meaning of ethnic divisions, creating a void, which the politics of civil society step in to fill. That is, it seems as if a power-sharing government in which all parties have nearly equal and proportionate power should reduce the need for the blatant religious-political displays of identity and strength, but such parades nonetheless go on every year, erupting in violence both when they take their traditional turns and when efforts are made to restrict or change them.

Like government is supposed to, political ritual makes society and relationships within it "intelligible... serving to organize people's knowledge of the past and present and their capacity to imagine the future."\(^11\) In conflictual societies it "exacerbates social conflict and works against (some aspects of) social integration," so its exercise becomes an effort to achieve or:


\(^10\) Paul Mitchell, Geoffrey Evans, and Brendan O'Leary, "Extremist Outbid-

consolidate power. In environments where degrees of power remain static and no one side can really "get ahead" relative to another, political rituals are crucial to reinforcing individual political participants' sense that their side—whatever it may be—is doing well by them. Orange parades in this view are conduits through which shared Protestant/unionist narratives may be outwardly displayed and the power of that identity group is perennially confirmed. These strongly performative, strongly structured anniversaries of culturally significant events like the Battle of the Boyne and the remembrance of the dead or lost as in the Battle of the Somme are collective phenomena that nonetheless determine how the memory of the day is experienced by the individual participants—and by individual observers, as well.

Cognitive theories explaining public ritual from the lens of individual psychology are new and intriguing, building off of evolutionary and psychological evidence about both learning and redundant behavior. Pascal Boyer and Pierre Lénaïd identify cognitive systems that contribute to the performance and retention of ritual practice: a "hazard-precaution system" that motivates ritual performance in reaction to threats in the environment and an "action parsing system" that divides ritual behavior into "meaningful units." Consider the necessity to performing a ritual correctly: with the right order of events, with the proper affectations, with the appropriate accompanying speech. The fears elicited by performing a ritual incorrectly, or by not performing it at all when it is needed, are reflections of an adaptive urge to maintain self-security that has its roots in deep, primitive brain structures. Taking this idea in parallel with the importance of repetition to learning, it appears that organizations like the Orange Order are almost more politically salient.

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73 Consider, for example, a common symptom of obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD): compulsively washing one's hands. Surely cleanliness, and repetitively working for cleanliness, is an adaptive quality that is, on the whole, quite beneficial. The cognitive pathways involved in transforming this practice into a habitual behavior—the pathways of the basal ganglia—are thought to go awry somehow in the case of individuals with OCD. In other individuals, the pathways' functions of stimulating and retaining habitual action is kept stable by maintaining appropriate levels of dopamine, a neurotransmitter that plays a role in motor control.
than parties like the DUP because their ritual practices and the way they invoke existential threats may activate implicit mechanisms for self-protection. Because the parades are “legitimating performances”\textsuperscript{76}—not precise recollections of historical events but re-creations of “meaningful narrative sequences” that tailor the Boyne, the Somme, and so forth to the Protestant/unionist storyline,\textsuperscript{75}—marching is a repeated lesson about threats to existence. Certainly, Orange Order leadership “determines the task, defines the criteria of success, organizes punishments and rewards, and, in this way, conditions the learning”\textsuperscript{77} of these performances; paradoxically, however, the power-sharing government also conditions that learning by offering little quarter to more extreme, competing voices in unionist (or nationalist) parties that might seek to change the lesson.

Interestingly, the current power-sharing setup in Northern Ireland is meant to be transitional,\textsuperscript{78} begging the questions: transitional to what, and when? Like the parades and like the violence that accorns parties them, the tug-of-war Northern Irish government seems lodged in a comfortable routine. While parties like Sinn Féin and the DUP have made great progress—only twenty years ago they were active paramilitaries fighting it out in Belfast city streets—the consociational arrangement between them has done nothing much to alleviate the sectarian divisions that have characterized Northern Ireland since it was created. So long as parades function as a—or the—primary outlet of extreme identity-based political expression, violence will continue to simmer under the surface of Belfast’s new normalcy.

**Conclusion**

Delivered to every house in Northern Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement was ratified by 71 percent of voters in Northern Ireland and 94 percent in the Republic of Ireland to the south, signifying a clear majority desire that the ubiquitous ethno-religious paramilitary violence end.\textsuperscript{79} In the months and

\textsuperscript{76} Lienard and Boyer (2006), p. 35.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p. 28.
\textsuperscript{77} “Good Friday Agreement,” April 1998, accessed March 1, 2015.  
http://www.cfr.org/ireland/good-friday-agreement/p12815. See also Andrew Reynolds, “A Constitutional

\textsuperscript{79} John Darby, “Northern Ireland: The Background to the Peace Process,”
years following April 1998, however, as the loyalist and republican paramilitaries wavered and splintered over decommissioning their arms and entering into government, conflict-related killings did not cease with the cease-fire: in 1999, eight individuals were killed, and in 2000, nineteen died.\(^{76}\) And even as the two major paramilitary organizations—the nationalist Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)—did decommission their weapons, their processes ending as late as 2009, violence threatened in highly contested cities like Belfast. This low-intensity conflict between Northern Ireland’s two primary ethno-politico-religious groups continues to present a serious, if more occasional, threat serious not only because of the routine occurrence of violence, but also because it speaks to a degree of political stagnancy that generally goes unreported in political science and other disciplines concerned with peace and conflict.

The parades of the marching season are political rituals serving to reinforce and remind participants and observers of divisive identity claims; this much is commonly studied. And the tendency of implicit bias to inform individuals in highly contested societies like Belfast is also well known. But along with reinforcing and informing, the marching season and participation in it permit a degree and type of political expression that is often unavailable to participants in the “normal” government of electoral politics. Power sharing in Northern Ireland has diluted the sectarian message of its ex-paramilitary political parties, but for those who still identify most strongly with the ethno-political divisions formalized since the 1609 Plantation, this shift to moderation is missing the point. The parades of the marching season offer a ritualized alternative to electoral politics by appealing every year to old fears, learned prejudices, and biased histories in a region that is still divided by walls, cordoned off by flags and murals, segregated by neighborhood.

I was struck very much by the odd mural of Lt. Col. McCullough, _MURDERED BY THE ENEMIES OF ULSTER_, and said as much to my taxi driver, who seemed bemused by my fascination. But the mural signifies a very important problem in Belfast and beyond: that only a minority of Northern Irish citizens think of themselves as

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76 Sunun, “Appendix: Statistical Summary.”
such, and that the primary enemies of "Ulster," however it may be conceived, are within its borders. The presence of a meaningful overarching identity often blurs the effect of implicit biases between distinct groups; if the significance of being Northern Irish increases relative to the significance of being British/Protestant/unionist or Irish/Catholic/rationalist, perhaps the severity of the divisions between those identity groups will ease. In that case, it may be only a matter of time before Northern Irish sectarian affect and violence wears out.

Unlikely. Conflicts over existential questions of belongingness, personal safety, and troubled history are rarely solved so simply. While I do not believe in the validity or the use of calling conflicts like Northern Ireland’s "intractable," it is important to new negotiations and possible solutions to more fully understand the country’s particular problems with governance, memory, and bias. The type of political violence that prompted the erection of Belfast’s peace walls is no longer the norm, but that is by no means a reason for policymakers or citizens to throw their hands up and call the peace process done. I do not write this paper in an effort to see the marching season—a historical legacy with obvious cultural significance—ended or unnecessarily restricted: I wish only to draw attention to what is an ongoing and often forgotten instance of uneasy peace, and to complicate the simplistic narratives of "ethnic conflict," "intractable conflict," and "successful peace processes" that often plague studies of post-Troubles Northern Ireland and other places that have been torn at the seams.


82 Further proof that the issue of sectarian sentiment is still hotly debated in both domestic and international policy, Richard Haass (president of the Council on Foreign Relations and distinguished ambassador and adviser in the U.S. State Department) chaired negotiations in Northern Ireland on "flags, parades, and the past" in 2013. The advisory document that resulted has not led to any significant policy decisions.
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Civilizing Combat: The American War in the Philippines, 1899–1902

Sonya Schoenberger

The Philippine-American War is remembered in the United States today—if at all—as a short but brutal war of conquest in distant jungles where racial hatred inspired American soldiers to commit unspeakable, uncharacteristic acts. The conflict claimed 250,000 Filipino lives and marked the United States’ transformation into a trans-Pacific imperial power. This paper examines the April 1902 court-martial of General Jacob H. Smith as a case study in the legal and moral boundaries of American violence against Filipinos. The discourse around the court-martial and the testimony offered over the course of the eight-day trial demonstrate the ways in which American racial views infused legal frameworks in order to justify a broadly violent campaign against the Filipino population. The quarter million Filipinos—mostly civilians—who died during the war were not simply victims of overzealous and misguided American infantrymen; they were the objects of legal and geopolitical frameworks in which they were falsely classified as both subjects of uplift and appropriate targets of violence.

In 1901, Gen. Jacob H. Smith issued oral instructions to kill all men and boys over the age of ten on the Philippine island of Samar. “The more you kill and the more you burn,” he told his subordinate, “the better you will please me.” Smith encouraged U.S. troops to make the entire interior of the island “a howling wilderness.”  

General Smith’s order—paraphrased in the media and military reports as instructions to “kill and destroy all”—became the most infamous of the Philippine-American War. Critics of the war cited Smith’s instructions as evidence of a lawless and violent imperial campaign at odds with basic American values and humani-

1 I would like to thank my mentor, Elizabeth Borgwardt, for her advice throughout this project; the Washington University Office of Undergraduate Research for funding that allowed me to conduct research at the U.S. National Archives; and the Kling Fellowship for two years of feedback.

2 “Record of Proceedings in Trial by General Court Martial of Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith, U.S. Army,” July 16, 1902. General Court Martial 39739 in Record Group 153, Box 3376, National Archives in Washington, D.C. (Hereafter referred to as “Record of Proceedings.”)
tarian principles. The *Billing?? (Montana) Gazette* wrote in April 1902 that if General Smith had indeed given such orders, “He should be shot, no matter how cruel, heartless, and deceitful is the foe in Samar.” While some rallied to Smith’s defense, most, including the military establishment and President Theodore Roosevelt, tried to distance themselves from such an overt, unabashed policy of extermination. Smith’s words were a chilling inversion of the proclamation President McKinley had issued when he first announced the United States’ plan to annex the Philippine Islands three years earlier. In December 1898, McKinley had promised that American soldiers came to the Philippines “not as invaders or conquerors but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes.” Smith’s orders suggested that instead of protecting the natives in their homes, American soldiers were massacring them and destroying their towns and villages.

While General Smith’s instructions to “kill and destroy all” embarrassed the military and the Roosevelt administration, they were nevertheless in keeping with the spirit of the campaign on the island of Samar. Most officers on the island denied having been given such orders but, when questioned, explained that they would fire at all those capable of bearing arms, a category that many believed included boys as young as eight, and women. American soldiers’ liberal license to kill, combined with the mass displacement of Filipino populations and concomitant epidemics, claimed hundreds of thousands of Filipino lives. Between 1899 and 1902, a quarter million Filipinos died from causes related to the war, the vast majority of them noncombatants.3

This paper contextualizes the American campaign in the Philippines within legal and historical genealogies of “civilized combat.” I argue that constructions of “savagery” and “civilization” played a critical role in escalating the violence of the war. Arguments that Filipinos were racially inferior and incapable of self-government justified the American “civilizing mission” in the islands, and classifi-

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lations of Filipinos as "savage" cast Filipino combatants and civilians alike beyond the protections of the laws of war. As limited warfare in Manila gave way to dispersed guerrilla tactics and the resulting American "counterinsurgency" campaign came to engulf the entire archipelago, Filipino civilians became targets of American violence because of their cultural and racial affiliation with irregular combatants. This strategy of total warfare contrasted starkly with the purported humanitarian drivers of U.S. intervention, as the peaceful inhabitants of the islands—the putative beneficiaries of United States' civilizing mission—were construed as the enemy.

Establishing American Sovereignty

The United States acquired the Philippine Islands as part of the peace treaty that ended the Spanish-American War of 1898.¹ U.S. forces began to occupy Manila in the summer of 1898 after a decisive naval victory over the Spanish fleet, aided by Filipino nationalists who sought independence from Spanish rule. These nationalist revolutionaries, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, initially perceived the United States—a nation born of revolution and founded upon principles of liberty and self-determination—as an ally in their fight for independence. As U.S. forces began to marginalize Filipino troops, however, these revolutionaries became suspicious of American intentions. In December 1898, when the United States formally acquired the Philippine Islands after paying Spain $20

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million for its "improvements," tensions rose between American troops and the soldiers of the Filipino revolution. Filipino forces under Aguinaldo prepared for a continuation of the revolution they began in 1896 under reactionary Spanish rule. After extensive deliberation in Washington about the value of the Philippines to the United States, President McKinley announced on December 21, 1898 his decision to annex the islands as an American possession. The intentions of the United States, McKinley announced, were not self-interested, but benevolent. Cooperative Filipinos would be rewarded with protection; those who resisted would be made to recognize the military authority of the United States "with firmness if need be, but without severity, so far as possible." McKinley was careful to emphasize that the U.S. occupation of the islands and imposition of its sovereignty over the annexed territory was ultimately in the interest of ordinary Filipinos. The U.S. mission, he announced, was "one of substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule." The forceful enforcement of this imposed sovereign authority was also part of the protection of Filipino civilians. "For the greatest good of the governed," McKinley explained, "there must be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority, to repress disturbance and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowment of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States."

The McKinley administration framed the war as a civilizing mission that involved the destruction of a radical insurgency in the interest of peaceful inhabitants of the islands. American leaders reconciled the suppression of an indigenous revolution with American founding ideals by emphasizing the savage and despotic nature of the Filipino revolutionaries. Emilio Aguinaldo was, according to U.S. rhetoric, not a true representative of the Filipino people.

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1 For background on the period leading up to the outbreak of hostilities, see Stuart Creighton Miller, "Benign Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984) and T. M. Kalaw, The Philippine Revolution (Quezon City, Philippines: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969).

people but an aspiring despot working to impose his own domestic imperialism upon Filipino masses. As the tactics of the revolutionaries shifted from conventional to guerrilla warfare in the wake of Aguinaldo’s spring 1901 capture, the U.S. Army began to treat all inhabitants of areas in which active hostilities persisted as enemies and targets of violence.

American and Filipino historians writing on the Philippine-American war have analyzed the conflict through a variety of narrative frameworks. Walter LaFeber portrays the war as one driven primarily by commercial self-interest and contextualizes the conflict within a broader narrative of sanguinary westward expansion and growing commercial interests across the Pacific. Paul Kramer argues that the conflict was, at its core, a race war in which the racial animus of American soldiers drove a severe, violent campaign. Kramer also explores the mutually reinforcing relationship between racial bias and guerilla tactics, as these “ideologies and changing strategies and tactics moved together in a dark, violent spiral.” While Kramer’s work delves deeply into the racial environment of the war and the race-based drivers of violence, his narrative does not fully explore the legal frameworks that shaped American conduct in the Philippines. Brian McAllister Linn divides his history of the Philippine-American war during its guerrilla phase by province, emphasizing the diversity of tactics employed under various regional commands. “Even within an individual province or regiment,” Linn explains, “the diversity of experiences precludes sweeping generalizations” about the war. The Philippine-American war, Linn suggests, was not one war, but many.

American commanders guiding the campaign in the Philippines

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9 Though Aguinaldo was not captured until spring 1901, he was effectively out of power by the end of 1899. Insurrections was a politically laden term used by American soldiers and officers to describe Filipino belligerents, whom Americans viewed as members of an insurgency rather than a legitimate army.
frequently referenced a Civil War-era legal code, General Orders No. 100, as the authoritative embodiment of the contemporary laws of war. General Orders No. 100, “Instructions for Government of Armies of the United States in the Field,” set forth 157 articles that ostensibly delineated restraints upon the ability to wage indiscriminate war. These articles prohibited the use of poison, acts of perfidy, assassination, and torture. They also proscribed the killing or infliction of suffering upon prisoners of war and censured vengeful retaliation. Ultimately, though, General Orders No. 100 empowered commanders to adopt a wide range of violent tactics in the name of “martial law” and “military necessity” and excluded irregular and guerrilla combatants from the protections of civilized warfare.

The War Department provided copies of General Orders No. 100

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14 The “laws of war” I refer to in this paper are reiterations and interpretations of General Orders No. 100, which also served as a foundational document for field manuals issued by European states. While the “laws of war” were discursively associated with civilized norms of restraint, American commanders invoked the authority of General Orders No. 100 to justify violent campaigns against both Filipino insurgents and the noncombatants among whom they operated.

**Kill and Burn All**

On September 28, 1901, Filipino guerrillas disguised as civilians massacred American infantrymen as the soldiers ate breakfast in Balangiga, Samar. Armed Filipinos spread themselves throughout the Americans’ sleeping and dining quarters around 6:30 a.m., while many soldiers were still sleeping, and then began to attack before the U.S.

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15 Copies of General Orders No. 100 were issued to both Regulars and Volunteers, according to Secretary of War Elihu Root in "Charges of Cruelty, etc., to the Natives of the Philippines." 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902. S. Doc. 205: 1–2.

infantrymen had the chance to grab their weapons. Forty-eight members of the 9th Infantry, Company C were killed in the surprise assault. When the surviving Americans finally drove the assailants away, they left immediately for a nearby U.S. base to care for the wounded. They returned twenty-seven hours later to find the corpses of fallen American soldiers horribly mutilated. Sgt. C. M. Mumbay, a survivor of the attack, described the chilling scene that greeted these soldiers on their return:

[Paper and other material had been placed over the officers' heads and set fire to, so that their heads and shoulders were burned. Some of the men had been cut across the body, and the cuts filled with jam taken from the issue commissary [to attract tropical ants]. The bodies had all been stripped of their clothing. Captain Connell's body had been stuck full of holes; they had taken their daggers and jabbed him full of holes.]

The duplicitous nature of the attack—which clearly contravened General Orders No. 100's prohibition of perfidy and disguises—and the gratuitous viciousness of mutilating the dead inspired cries for vengeance within the army.

Lt. Gen. Adna Chaffee, military governor of the Philippines, assigned General Smith to command troops in Samar to “restore order” on the island in the wake of the Balangiga massacre. Smith, a Civil War veteran known among his peers for his inflammatory expressions, interpreted his mandate for violence broadly. In January 1902, Cpl. Arthur Simmons of the 7th U.S. Infantry wrote the secretary of war concerning humanitarian abuses on the island of Samar, “Nothing in all American history,” he explained, “equals our campaign here in the island of Samar, as a matter of fact our work is little less than that of extermination. The orders being to ‘KILL and destroy ALL.’”

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17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., 37–38.
20 Arthur Simmons (Corp., Company C, 7th U.S. Infantry) to Secretary of War Elihu Root, January 16, 1902, in Record Group 94, Entry 411745, Box
Simmons identified the Balangiga massacre as a turning point in American conduct on the islands. Prior to the massacre—and General Smith’s arrival—the campaign had been “conducted with due observance to civilized warfare, giving due consideration to the unarmed innocence, unoffensive [sic], non-combatant.” The systematic abuses of the native population, Simmons indicated, were a retaliatory reaction to the September 1901 massacre.23

On April 24, 1902, General Jacob H. Smith stood before a Manila court-martial, accused of “conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”22 Specifically, the adjutant-general’s office charged him with having issued the following instructions to his subordinate, Major Little D. Waller:

I want no prisoners.
I wish you to kill and burn. The more you kill and burn, the better you will please me.
The interior of Samar must be made a howling wilderness.23

Waller testified that he understood Smith’s orders to have meant “that every person opposing us was to be destroyed.” Waller continued:

I asked what persons were to be spared; he said all capable of bearing arms should be killed. Then I remarked to him at the time that it seemed to me that these people were born with bolo in their hands, and asked for an age limit, and he gave the instruction of ten years—all over ten years.”24

Waller then summarized his interpretation of Smith’s approach to Samar: “With the savage enemy we were dealing with, they would give no quarter, and we were to give no quarter.”25 Smith’s legal counsel, Col. Charles A. Woodruff, did not deny the delivery of these orders, nor did he try to say that they were taken out of context or that the spirit of General Smith’s leadership...

2872, National Archives, Washington, DC (emphasis in original).
Ibid.
22 Matraux, “U.S. Courts-Martial.”
23 “General Orders No. 80,” July 16, 1902, Headquarters of the Army: Adjutant General’s Office, General

24 “Record of Proceedings,” 23 (emphasis added).
25 “Quarter” refers to a display of mercy toward one’s opponent. “To give no quarter” in this context refers to denying a captured enemy prisoner-of-war status and suspending or violating the laws of war when interacting with the enemy.
had been misrepresented or misunderstood. Rather, Woodruff sought to exonerate Smith on the grounds that these orders—to kill tens of thousands—were Smith's legitimate prerogative as the steward of a community of savages. "Savages," Woodruff argued, had no rights under the laws of war.

General Smith, Woodruff declared, had under martial law "an undoubted right to issue the instructions for which he is arraigned, even giving them the most drastic meaning that the prosecution can claim." As commanding general, Smith possessed "full power of life and death over the people of Samar." General Smith, Woodruff continued, was ultimately "being tried not for executing the methods he used or might have used, but for expressing them in plain vigorous English." Woodruff argued, somewhat wittily, that the trial itself was simply staged to appease the "misguided and incompletely informed sentimentalists and troublesome busybodies on [sic] the United States." The "sentimentalists" and "busybodies" to whom Woodruff referred included a vocal cohort of American anti-imperialists who opposed the war in the Philippines on moral and political grounds.\(^ {25} \) Carl Schurz, Moorfield Storey, and other anti-imperialists vocally advocated for investigations into atrocities in the Philippines by distributing pamphlets and publishing letters to the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations in the national press.\(^ {26} \) Smith's court-martial was arguably a response by the U.S. military to public outrage over media reports of Smith's orders to "kill and burn all."

Yet while the anti-imperialist movement shaped public discourse on empire, it did not represent a sustained national reckoning with the darker dimensions of this empire. Richard E. Welch writes that:

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\(^ {25} \) "Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court," General Court Martial 36739, Record Group 153, Box 3376, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

\(^ {26} \) Ibid. For more on the gender politics surrounding the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, see Kristin L. Hoganson.

with the exception of members of the Anti-Imperialist League and some in literary and academic circles, "no significant portion of the American public demonstrated deep concern over military atrocities in the Philippines."20 While news of Smith's "howling wilderness" orders inspired a rash of editorials in April 1902 objecting to such cruel and brazenly exterminatory language, this public outrage did not give rise to a serious reevaluation of Philippine policy or the moral costs of empire.

Smith's defense counsel's statement that the proceedings were a superficial reprimand of Smith's frank language rather than the censure of his violent campaign was largely correct. Correspondence between Secretary of War Elihu Root and President Theodore Roosevelt prove Woodruff's suspicion that the court-martial was little more than a concession by the Roosevelt administration to domestic public opinion. In his letter to Roosevelt, Root recommended that Smith be retired from active duty, given his "intemperate, inconsiderate and violent expressions." In the same letter, though, Root defended Smith's leadership on the grounds that Smith's "written and printed orders, and the actual conduct of military operations in Samar, were justified by the history and conditions of the warfare with the cruel and treacherous savages who inhabited the island...[and] wholly within the limitations of General Orders, No. 100, of 1863."21

Root then cited the historical precedent of George Washington's severe policy toward Native Americans to contextualize Smith's orders in American history. In 1779, Washington had ordered General Sullivan to destroy the Native American communities of the Six Nations. Root quoted Washington's instructions to "not by any means listen to overtures of peace before the total ruin of their settlement is effected." This precedent "of the highest authority," Root implied, suggested that exterminatory policies toward savage races were not only permitted under the laws of war—they were directly sanctioned by the United States' most revered Founding Father, and thus fundamentally American.22

21 Ibid.
22 President Theodore Roosevelt's reply similarly condemned Smith's "louder and violent talk" while expressing his hearty approval for the "employment of the sternest measures necessary" to end the war against an
The American Way of War

In 1863, President Abraham Lincoln had commissioned Francis Lieber to draft a code to govern the "Arms of the United States in the Field" in an effort to facilitate Union victories. Lincoln's goal was not to contain violence but rather to increase the severity and effectiveness of Union war tactics by making war upon Southern society as a whole. Historian and legal scholar John Fabian Witt argues that the promulgation of General Orders No. 100 was a war tactic that helped turn the tide of the Civil War toward Union victory: Lincoln adopted the code "at just the moment when his nation's wartime fortunes seemed at their nadir. And Lincoln had won his war." General Orders No. 100 endowed commanders with broad recourse to severe tactics under the doctrine of "military necessity." Military necessity, Lieber wrote, would justify all "measures which are indispensable for securing the ends of the war," including "direct destruction of life or limb of armed enemies, and of other persons whose destruction is incidentally unavoidable in the armed contests of the war." In addition to authorizing the deliberate killing of armed enemies and civilians, military necessity, as defined in Article 15 of General Orders No. 100, permitted destruction of property, cutting off enemy supply lines, starving the enemy, appropriating the resources of the enemy's country, and the use of deception.

Francis Lieber, the primary drafters of the document, had three sons fighting in the Civil War—one for the Union, and one for the Confederacy. In the context of this deeply interminable conflict, Lieber's General Orders No. 100 permitted broad license for violence but infused this license with caveats about retaining humanity in warfare. In Article 15, Lieber explained the broad destruction permitted under the traditional doctrine of military necessity, and then wrote, as qualification: "Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God." Even "military necessity," he emphasized, "does not admit of cruelty." The Civil War—a bitter break between

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34 Article 15, "General Orders No. 100."
35 Article 16, "General Orders No. 100."
two incompatible elaborations of American identity—was a war between cultural and literal kin, even brothers. In this context, General Orders No. 100, with its paradoxical restrictions, allowances, and appeals to humanity, was both a tool of aggression and a measure of restraint. When the U.S. Army invoked the code in the context of a war of empire against a racially and culturally distinct population, though, soldiers and officers overwhelmingly interpreted the code as an instrument of aggression.

Writing in 1863, Francis Lieber could hardly have imagined that American soldiers would wield his code to divest the inhabitants of a Pacific archipelago of national identity and legitimate right to defend their sovereignty. Lieber would, however, have understood the relevance of clauses about irregular combatants to America’s frontier wars against Native Americans. While the codes of the Civil War served as the foundation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century military law, the frontier wars of the second half of the nineteenth century provide a closer analog to the role of the U.S. military in the Philippines. Between 1860 and 1890, the number of white Americans west of the Mississippi grew six-fold from 1.5 to almost ten million, and confrontations between settlers and Native Americans increased as whites vied to dominate the Western territory. In 1871, Congress changed the legal status of Native American groups from separate, sovereign nations, with which treaties could be made, to “local dependent communities” that could be pushed off desirable lands through congressional decree. Theodore Roosevelt lauded the process of expanding Anglo-Saxon civilization into what had been “nothing but a game preserve for squalid savages.” This trope of the Native American as “savage” played a central role in reconciling extermination practices with the laws of war.

Although General Orders No. 100 asserted that the “law of nations knows of no distinction of color,” racial and cultural biases are embedded within the American laws of war framework. Lieber’s exclusion of certain groups from protection under the laws of war had significant racial connotations. General Orders No. 100 stated that groups of men not part of an “organized hostile army,” who move back and forth between the role of combatant and civilian, “are not entitled to the privileges of prison-

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31 Ibid.
32 Article 38, “General Orders No. 100.”
ers of war, but shall be treated summarily as highway robbers or pirates." Thus, any armed agitator not party to a hegemonic national military organization was classified under General Orders No. 100 as an outlaw, rather than a soldier.

Lieber had written another set of rules in 1862. Guerrilla Parties Considered with Reference to the Laws and Usages of War, at the request of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck. In it, Lieber defined a "guerrilla party" as "an irregular band of armed men, carrying on an irregular war, not being able, according to their character as a guerrilla party, to carry on what the law terms a regular war." Guerilla parties, unable to encumber themselves with prisoners, Lieber argued, would be frequently driven to kill those they captured and, in doing so, violating the rules of warfare, should not be granted prisoner-of-war status themselves. Worse, guerrillas, or "war-rebels," prolonged and escalated conflict, renewing violence in occupied territory. "The war-rebel," Lieber wrote, "essentially interferes with the mitigation of the severity of war, which it is one of the noblest objects of the modern law of war to obtain." Race was not explicitly mentioned in provisions about guerilla warfare. But these clauses disproportionately applied to non-white groups, and formally excluded entire societies, notably Native American tribes, from the province of civilized warfare.

Americans misinterpreted the customs of Native American warfare, which for some groups consisted of ritualistic practices involving torture and execution, as evidence of an absence of humanitarian limits. Historian John Fabian Witt argues, however, that these types of practices served to control the scale and frequency of Native American military campaigns, thus imposing "powerful restraints of the violence of Indian conflicts" that were not appreciated by Western observers. This misperception of Indian warfare as savage and utterly devoid of rules and restraint prompted nineteenth-century jurists to exclude Native Americans altogether from the humanitarian protections of civilized warfare. In his Elements of International Law of 1836, leading American legal scholar Henry

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53 Article 82, "General Orders No. 100."
55 Ibid., 7.
56 Ibid., 8.
57 Ibid., 13—14.
58 Witt, Lincoln’s Code, 89—91.
Wheaton wrote that the law of nations applied only to “nations of the same class or family, united by times of similar origin, manners, and religion.” Groups defined by different cultures and alien moral frameworks were categorically excluded. In his *Introduction to the Study of International Law* of 1891, T. D. Woolsey excluded “guerilla parties” from the “benefit of the laws of war” on the basis that “they are annoying and insidious, that they put on and off with ease the character of a soldier, and that they are prone, themselves, to treat their enemies who fall into their hands with great severity.” Combattants from non-Western civilizations who adopted guerilla tactics were accordingly doubly excluded from the laws of civilized warfare on the basis of cultural identity—“savagery”—and on the basis of their irregular tactics and departures from the strictures of “conventional warfare.”

Both Native Americans and Filipinos were described in similar terms of “savagery” and “cruelty.” In the 1880s, Theodore Roosevelt wrote that “red Indians” were characterized by their “inhuman love of cruelty for cruelty’s sake.” Two decades later, Roosevelt would describe Filipinos as “pirates and head-hunters” and would characterize Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino revolutionary leader, as a “typical representation of savagery, the typical foe of civilization.” By 1900, the U.S. Army was approaching the military campaign in the Philippines as a fight against savages—precisely because those savages were promising subjects of uplift. Differences between frameworks of warfare, with Filipinos, like Indians, perceived to lack humanitarian restraints and civilized combat techniques, drove cycles of retaliation strongly reminiscent of brutality on the American Great Plains.


46 In, respectively, a 1904 letter to Rudyard Kipling and an 1899 speech in Cincinnati, Ohio, as quoted in Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 140.
Americans. These officers carried the legal and ideological frameworks they had applied to frontier warfare with them across the Pacific. Notably, they had earned their tenure in the army in a context in which “savage peoples” who espoused irregular methods of warfare were denied protections under the laws of civilized combat, and in which entire “savage” populations became targets in response to isolated, and largely defensive, attacks by combatants.

In both the frontier wars and the Philippines, massacres of white Americans were used as pretexts for retaliatory exterminations grounded in racial, rather than combatant, status. In 1876, 2,500 Sioux warriors surrounded and slaughtered George Custer’s 7th Cavalry at Little Bighorn. The Sioux massacred 260 American soldiers and mutilated their corpses, leaving behind a harrowing scene, with “eyeballs and brains extracted and laid out on rocks, hearts impaled on poles.” Americans responded with vows to exterminate the Indian race. Twenty-five years later, many of the same American military commanders responded to the massacre and mutilation of American soldiers in the Philippines with similarly disproportionate threats. It is in this context that the September 1901 surprise attack against forty-eight American infantrymen at Balangiga allowed General Smith to advocate for retaliatory actions that would have punished the entire island of Samar, including roughly two hundred thousand inhabitants.

To Save One’s Country

American military officers cited the savagery of Filipino combatants and broader Filipino society as pretext for a violent campaign of total warfare. This “savagery,” however, had another face. The leaders of the Filipino revolution were themselves powerfully influenced by Western norms and values and, at the outset:

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68 Ibid., 169.
69 Ibid.
of the war, carefully calibrated their military strategy to be consistent with Western values of civilized statehood. Filipino historian Cesar Adib Majul argues that the leaders of the Philippine Revolution were deeply influenced by Enlightenment ideals and were preeminently concerned with realizing a government based on consent to safeguard Filipino natural rights.\footnote{Cesar Adib Majul, \textit{The Political and Constitutional Idea of the Philippine Revolution} (New York: Otrio Editions, 1967), 189.}

Revolutionary leaders were cognizant of the legal frameworks that dictated Western sovereignty doctrine and regulated conduct in armed combat. When hostilities commenced between American and Filipino forces in December 1898, revolutionary leaders Emilio Aguinaldo and Apolinario Mabini issued rules and regulations emphasizing adherence to the Western laws of war. The two leaders understood that, in order to be recognized by the West as capable of self-rule, Filipinos would have to prove themselves “humane” and “civilized” in keeping with the norms of Western society. Apolinario Mabini, a trained lawyer who is considered the “brains of the revolution,” sanctioned the transition toward guerrilla tactics a year into the war only after it became clear that the Filipino nationalistic forces had no chance of realizing the independence of their republic through conventional warfare. This transition, Mabini maintained, was not a departure from civilized standards but a commitment to self-determination at any cost. “A humiliating peace,” Mabini wrote in a July 1900 letter, “is tolerated only in uncivilized countries.”\footnote{The \textit{Letters of Apolinario Mabini} (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1965), 253.}

The Filipino revolutionaries thus faced a dilemma: they could accept subjugation by a colonial power and lose the right to define their own civilization or they could fight—only to be branded as “uncivilized” and thus denied legitimacy under international law.

The importance of maintaining sovereignty at all costs was articulated in General Orders No. 100. Article 5 referenced the “paramount duty to defend the country against invasion” and then reiterates, for emphasis, “to save the country is paramount to all other considerations.” Just as U.S. Army officers could look to the laws of war for license to adopt the violent tactics of total warfare, so, too, could the Filipinos fighting for self-determination. These two very
different conceptions of the war—on the American side, as a necessary campaign of counterinsurgency against a savage and despotic faction of an uncivilized people, and on the Filipino side, as a desperate revolutionary struggle against a new colonial oppressor—sustained cycles of uncompromising violence.

Aguinaldo’s “Instructions to the Brave Soldiers of the Sandatahan of Manila” embodied this tension between pressures to adopt irregular tactics and aspirations to uphold civilized ideals in combat. The “instructions,” which advanced a strategy for taking Manila from the Americans, laid out a series of articles encouraging Filipino troops to conceal themselves, pose as American sympathizers, and pour boiling water, oil, and molasses on American soldiers from the tops of buildings.⁵⁷ Seemingly paradoxically, Aguinaldo then went on to demand that his troops prove themselves honorable and humane by upholding the laws of war with respect to American prisoners. Filipino soldiers, Aguinaldo emphasized, must never lose sight of the noble ends of what might be interpreted as ignoble actions:

I charge that in the moment of combat, the officers, soldiers, and whatever patriots take part in the struggle will not forget our noble, sacred, and holy ideals, liberty and independence. Neither will you forget your sacred oath and immaculate banner: nor will you forget the promises made by me to the civilized nations, whom I have assured that we Filipinos are not savages, nor thieves, nor assassins, nor are we cruel; but to the contrary, that we are men of culture and patriotism, honorable and very humane.⁵⁸

Filipino forces fought, ultimately, for self-determination. Aguinaldo recognized that the Philippine Republic would be accepted into the family of nations only if the Filipinos proved their character as humane, civilized combatants. Aguinaldo and his cabinet were acutely aware of Western prejudices against Filipinos and sought, through combat, to prove that they were not inferior, by repelling Americans from their territory, and that they were not cruel, by doing so within the bounds of civilized warfare. Aguinaldo’s instructions

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⁵⁸ Ibid.
represent a duality in the Filipino approach to warfare: while Aguinaldo and Mahini wanted the soldiers of the Philippine Republic to prove their worthiness of an independent nation by adhering to the laws of civilized warfare, they also recognized that their troops were poorly equipped and at a distinct conventional disadvantage compared with American forces, and so they endorsed certain departures from irregular warfare in the defense of the "noble, sacred, and holy ideals" of freedom and independence.

By the end of the war, few Americans were willing to concede that the Filipino cause had been tempered by any sentiments of restraint or humanity. In his July 1902 declaration that the "insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the United States" had been successfully eliminated, Theodore Roosevelt described the Filipino forces as a "very cruel and very treacherous enemy" and heralded the "triumph of civilization over forces which stand for the black chaos of savagery and barbarism."55 Roosevelt issued a general amnesty and pardon to all Filipinos who submitted to American sovereignty as of that day, but he would never concede that these forces of "black chaos" might have been inspired by the same values at the core of the American republic.

Towards Total Warfare

The U.S. Army responded to the Filipino revolutionaries’ adoption of guerrilla tactics with a new campaign "based upon the central idea of detaching the towns from the immediate support of the guerrillas in the field."54 Gen. Arthur MacArthur, military governor of the Philippine islands, described what he saw as the new strategy of the Filipino combatants, which assumed the allegiance of all Filipino civilians to the revolutionary cause, as "primal and inflexible" but also extremely effective.55 "By reasons of a strange combination of loyalty, apathy, ignorance, and timidity," he observed, the majority of Filipinos did in fact seem faithful to the revolutionary cause. As a consequence, the "military leaders enjoyed a very extensive cooperation of the whole mass of the Filipino in support of their move-

55 Arthur MacArthur was the father of Douglas MacArthur of World War II fame.
ments. Because the new diffuse command structure of the Filipino revolution across regional guerilla units relied on resources of local towns and the support of coerced or sympathetic natives, the U.S. Army began to target civilians and the social fabric of local Filipino society.

In December 1900, General MacArthur issued a proclamation that marked the Army's transition toward a campaign of total warfare. Framed as a restatement of the laws of civilized warfare, grounded in the principles outlined in General Orders No. 100, the proclamation declared Filipino guerillas—and all those who aided or abetted them—ladrones, bandits, and outlaws, operating beyond the pale of the laws of civilized warfare. Civilians caught selling supplies or contributing advice, information, or supplies to insurgents, or giving "aid, support, encouragement, or comfort to the armed opposition in the field," MacArthur announced, would "offer themselves as easy victims to be plundered and murdered." The proclamation further asserted that men participating in hostilities "without being part of a regularly-organized force, and without sharing continuously in its operations" were not considered to be regular combatants, since they had "divest[ed] themselves of the character of soldiers and, if captured, are not entitled to the privileges of prisoners of war." By this standard, Filipino combatants and the communities in which they operated were no longer protected under the laws of civilized warfare. Essentially, MacArthur's proclamation warned Filipinos that the United States had the right both to dictate and abrogate the laws of war.

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61 Ladrones is an Anglicized version of the Spanish word for "robber" that American soldiers commonly used when referring to Filipino combatants.
in the interests of U.S. war aims and asserted the authority of the United States to censure, target, and exterminate all those supportive of or affiliated with armed resistance to U.S. rule.

While MacArthur's orders set a precedent for a campaign of total warfare across the archipelago, the toll of the conflict varied significantly across provinces. The U.S. Army's "pacification" campaign in Samar, probably the most severe of the war, and the courts-martial surrounding it, provide a case study of the legal constructions and frameworks that drove American violence against Filipino noncombatants.⁶⁶

**Samar after the Balangiga Massacre**

Though Colonel Woodruff argued before Smith's court-martial that the general's orders could be unequivocally justified on the basis of martial law, he sought to doubly exonerate the general by demonstrating that the inhabitants of Samar were all savages and thus had no rights under the laws of war. As Smith's defense counsel, Woodruff sought to prove that the "natives by their methods placed themselves outside the pale of civilized warfare, ignored every rule of civilized warfare, were in fact outlaws, savages."⁶⁷ Woodruff's language highlights the logic that transformed a campaign of "benevolent uplift" to one of violent extermination. Importantly, he describes all "natives," rather than Filipino combatants, as beyond the laws of war. Thus, allegations of Filipino savagery cast the entire civilian population, in addition to combatants, beyond the protections of humanitarian law.

Witnesses at the Smith court-martial emphasized the rugged, almost primordial environment of the island of Samar. Capt. Waldo E. Ayer described the island as dominated by "well defined mountains" and "intense verdure." Mr. Severance, a civilian newspaperman, described densely wooded terrain, a succession of ravines, and a persistent onslaught of leeches.⁶⁸

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⁶⁶ Richard E. Welch says the campaign in Samar "was the most widespread killing of Filipino civilians in the entire period of the war." Welch, "American Atrocities," 238.

⁶⁷ "Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court," in General Court Martial 30739 in Record Group 153, Box 3376.

⁶⁸ Letter from Geo. B. Davis, Judge Advocate General, to the Honorable Secretary of War, June 19, 1902, Record Group 153, Box 3376, National Archives, Washington, D.C., pp. 3–5.
Witnesses similarly characterized the inhabitants of the islands in ethnological—nearly zoological—terms. Lieutenant Baines of the 9th U.S. Infantry described the natives of the interior of Samar as "savages" of "treacherous and cruel" disposition, with "no feeling, either for their families or for anybody else." It was natural, some Americans argued, for American soldiers operating in an inhospitable environment, fighting a subhuman foe, to resort to uncivilized methods. Maj. Gen. Adna Chafee wrote in a July 1902 letter to the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army: "It may not be necessary for me to call attention to the fact that when soldiers or civil troops are required to campaign in jungles, against a foe whose practice it is to spring from cover at a few feet distance only and attack with bolos, knives, spears, etc., said troops must act many times on mere impulse, and are liable to fire at first sight before full observation is possible. It is simply to resort to self preservation." In testimony before the Senate Committee on the Philippines, one soldier described the uneasiness of living under constant threat of guerilla ambush and his relief at being instructed by General Smith to "burn and kill" all the men and boys around him over the age of ten.

There was a great deal of fright among our boys at that place ... the natives in the village (about 8,000 people), which is a little seaport town, could have easily come in and massacred all of us, because there were only 30 men there and one sergeant and two corporals, and the rest were privates, myself among them. We had no peace, you might say, until this order [to burn and kill all inhabitants over the age of ten] did come, because the natives were harassing us, and we were afraid of them at all times. The boys would wake up, and I have seen men rise and say, "get him, boys, get him." They were so scared, you know."

This private's language regarding the threat to his safety is revealing. He cites not "insurgents" as threats to the safety of American troops but "natives" more broadly—all eight thousand inhabitants of the "little

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66 Ibid., 5.
67 Major General Chafee, U.S. Army, Commanding, July 31, 1902 to Adjutant General, U.S. Army, in Record Group 94, Entry 411745, Box 2872, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
seaport town," he declares, could have come to murder him. This perception surely played a part in his eagerness to embrace the order to "kill and burn."  

In July 1902, the War Department dispatched Col. Francis Moore as a special inspector to evaluate conditions on the islands of Samar and Leyte. Moore visited various military posts, interviewing officers and local Filipino leaders in each military subdistrict to ascertain whether the campaign in the islands was truly characterized by orders to "kill and destroy all." Moore ultimately reported that such orders were in no instance given, dismissed the eight hundred to nine hundred reported native casualties as "very small percentage of loss," and concluded that the campaign on Samar was "as humane as conditions permitted." Even in cases where the laws of war were violated, Moore argued, "it was right, considering the almost uncivilized and barbarous enemy, and the native, who at the beginning was either hostile by inclination, or compulsion."  

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67 For more on the "degeneration" of American men in tropical climes, see Hoganson, American Manhood.  
68 Moore's investigation was likely in part a response to Arthur Simmons' letter to the War Department. The two are held together in the same record group entry at the National Archives, Record Group 94, Entry 411745, Box 2872, National Archives, Washington, D.C.  
69 "Investigation regarding the character of the recent War in the Island of Samar, P.L., conducted by Colonel Francis Moore, 11th U.S. Cavalry, (Special Inspector) in obedience to instructions contained in letter of Adjutant General, Division of the Philippines, dated June 20th, 1902."
nearly all natives were "hostiles" and thus barbarous and undeserving of humanitarian protections—pervaded the campaign on Samar and undermined claims to humanity and restraint, as U.S. Army officers openly admitted that hostiles could be justifiably killed.

The testimonies that Moore includes in his report highlight the disingenuous attitude of the U.S. Army regarding acceptable loss of civilian life. While every officer interviewed by Moore insisted that he had never received orders to "kill and destroy all" and claimed that the campaign was most humane, many of these same interviewees described conditions of engagement in which anyone found lurking beyond the boundaries of U.S.-controlled towns, and anyone who moved without permission, would be shot. The object of the campaign was one of "pacifying" resistance. In the words of Capt. James N. Pickering of the 1st U.S. Infantry, the "object was to get the people to come into the towns and pacify them." But the "people" was a slippery category. The boundary between "amigo" and "insurrecto"—between those to be protected and those to be eliminated—was tenuous and highly permeable.

Pickering’s statement conflates "insurgents" and the "people."

Capt. Abraham P. Buffington, also of the 1st U.S. Infantry explained that "it was generally understood that if he came upon insurgents and they would not surrender, and he could not capture them, he was to kill them." This category of "insurgents" encompassed any male outside of U.S. garrisons, "as every man on the Island, outside of the cities occupied by troops, and a few other places along the Coast, was recognized and known to everybody to be insurrectos." During his cross-examination of Major Waller, Judge Advocate Harvey C. Carbaugh interrogated the distinction between combatant and non-combatant directly:

Q. What do you mean by insurrectos in the island of Samar?
A. I mean those people actually bearing arms against us, or who were openly aiding or abetting the insurrection.

Q. Whether they had arms or not?
A. They all had arms. Even the women carried arms.

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Record Group 94, Entry 411745, Box 2872, p. 43 (emphasis added). (Hereafter referred to as "Moore Report.").


77 Ibid., 16.
Q. Then would the term “insurrectos” apply, in your understanding, to everybody in the island of Samar?
A. I really think they were more or less that; I think you might apply that term to [all of] them.  

Because all Filipinos were presumed hostile, they had to comply with strict regulations to attain “friendly” status. Within towns, the U.S. Army concentrated civilians and surrendered insurgents, and forbade natives from leaving towns without a pass. Anyone who tried to run or escape would be fired upon as an enemy.  

In his testimony before the Smith court-martial, 2nd Lt. George S. Gillis of the 26th U.S. Infantry explained that the war was carried out in a “civil manner, and without cruelty,” as he never shot anyone “without first calling on them to hail.” Beyond the towns where U.S. soldiers were stationed, the Army burned houses and rice stores “in order to compel the people in the country.” In other words, while all interviewed officers denied that they had received Smith’s orders to “kill and destroy all,” many seemed to be taking to heart the order to “make the interior of Samar a howling wilderness.”

While U.S. soldiers stated that only insurgents lived beyond the boundaries of garrisoned towns, Filipino presidencis of various municipalities interviewed by Moore explained that many peaceful villagers were out in the mountains, having fled when Americans invaded the coastal town. Petro Abayan, presidente of Balangiga, said that only about 550 inhabitants remained, compared to five thousand prior to “the trouble”; many of those missing were out in barrios around the city, sick with fever. The presidencis of Basy and Catbalogan told Moore that many in their towns ran away into the mountains upon American arrival. Victor Celis of Catbalogan explained that General Lukban of the insurgent forces had “told [villagers] that the Americans would kill all the women and children, and everybody else.”

In his testimony at Smith’s court-martial, Captain Ayer repeated comments Smith himself had made concerning the desertion of coastal towns. Upon Smith’s arrival on

75 “Moore Report,” 5.
76 Ibid., 38.
77 Ibid., 2.
Samar in the wake of the Balangiga massacre, he had found the towns of the coast “substantially deserted; from a population variously estimated prior to the war from 200,000 to 300,000 there was a mere handful in site [sic].” The Balangiga massacre, Smith reasoned, “had caused the people to flee to the interior, fearing the just punishment of their former acts.”

This testimony demonstrates both the scale of human displacement on the islands and the conflation of civilian inhabitants of the islands with insurgents. Captain Ayer’s paraphrasing of Smith’s language (200,000 to 300,000 people fled to the interior, “fearing the just punishment of their former acts”) suggests that the U.S. Army considered every inhabitant of the islands deserving of retaliation for the Balangiga massacre.

Because Filipino combatants violated laws of war and because the distinction between combatants and noncombatants, according to the U.S. military, was insubstantial, Filipino civilians were victims of a most liberal interpretation of General Orders No. 100’s license to employ tactics of total warfare. The laws of war in the American campaign in the Philippines functioned as weapons of empire, rather than measures of humanitarian restraint.

In his statement as General Smith’s defense counsel, Colonel Woodruff derided Smith’s court-martial as a reaction to “hysterical public opinion” and “overwhelming or noisy public sentiment in the United States” rather than a legitimate and sincere prosecution of military law. “It has always been the object of an invading army,” he explained, “to either kill or conquer, capture or destroy the opposing force.”

Woodruff’s incisive criticism of the trial locates a central contradiction of liberal empire under the American flag: while the war in the Philippines might have been carried out in practice as a campaign of conquest and extermination, it could not be presented as such to the American public. Smith’s court-martial censured Smith’s frank language but not the underlying agendas and ideologies that supported a campaign of displacement, murder, and extermination.

Conclusion

In 1901, President McKinley assured his American audience that the United States could expand while maintaining the integrity of

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61 “Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court,” 2.
62 Ibid., 4.
its democratic values and institutions: "The American people, intrenched [sic] in freedom at home, take their love for it with them wherever they go. Our institutions will not deteriorate by extension, and our sense of justice will not abate under tropic suns in distant seas." But if American institutions and the American sense of justice had not deteriorated or abated in humid Philippine jungles, they had certainly been transformed and reimagined in imperial context. The American system of justice was—and is—deeply grounded in notions of upholding the rights of the "civilized" at the expense of those perceived as threats to Anglo-Saxon civilization. In the Philippines, ideas of "justice" were used to disempower, rather than protect, local inhabitants.

A century after McKinley's Second Inaugural Address, another American president articulated a similarly grandiose, and arguably similarly misguided, vision for spreading infallible American democratic institutions. The results, as at the turn of the twentieth century, proved sanguinary and disillusioning, and raised questions of relationship between the principles of the American Constitution and American actions abroad. The precedents set during the Philippine-American War, and the national conversations precipitated by the United States' first distant war of empire, are rarely referenced directly today. Interest in the period resurged during the Vietnam War as Americans navigated another morally ambiguous war in the jungles of Southeast Asia, but the infancy of this later conflict has since overshadowed memories of American soldiers massacring civilians in the Philippines. While the Philippine-American War has faded from public consciousness, the legal and rhetorical strategies employed in 1902—targeting noncombatants who harbor belligerents, casting "savage" non-state actors beyond of the protections of laws of warfare, and justifying American departures from "civilized" conduct on the basis of the savagery of the other—continue to be relevant today.

At the turn of the twentieth century, American military leaders and politicians constructed a barbarous enemy by refusing to recognize the nuances of Filipino aspirations and parallels between Filipino revolutionary ideology and American founding principles, and by highlighting episodes of Filipino violations of the laws of warfare. This artificial gulf between purported American benevolence and Filipino barbarism served, paradox-

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" McKinley, "Second Inaugural Address."
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Similarly, to justify American recourse to violence. Ultimately, the "savagery" of the Filipino enemy served as a foil for the construction of an American imperial identity. Throughout the wars of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we can hear the echoes of the historic General Smith, the uneasy privates driven to kill out of fear, the nationalists who adopted brutal tactics to fight for noble values, and the hundreds of thousands of civilians who lost their lives because of their association with a civilization deemed savage, illegitimate, and cruel.

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About the Authors

Chelsea Bhajan is graduating with a major in cultural anthropology and a minor in Japanese language and culture. She is an international student from Trinidad and Tobago who is especially interested in studying multiculturalism as it functions in island regions. During her undergraduate career, she has conducted research in both the West Indies and Indonesia. She is ever grateful to her mentor, Dr. Kedron Thomas, for her unwavering support; to Dean Mary Laurita, for her constant encouragement; to Dr. Monique Bedasse, for her insightful direction; and to the Kling Fellowship, for granting her the opportunity to explore the life of the mind.

Marie Draper is graduating with majors in physics and French. Her research interests lie in astrophysics and in the relationship between science education, gender inequity, and cultural inclusion. She is immensely grateful to her mentor, Dr. Mairin Hynes, for her inspirational guidance, as well as to Dr. Patrick Gibbons and Dr. Joachim Faust. Further, she thanks her peers and the leaders from the Kling Fellowship for their constant support at every stage of the research process. Marie is passionate about eradicating educational inequity, and she looks forward to becoming a Teach For America Corps Member in St. Louis after graduation. She will be teaching high-school math and hopes to get involved with dance and French programs at her school. Just as Kling has further committed Marie to a lifelong love of learning, she hopes to inspire students to love learning as well.
Lily Jacobi is graduating with majors in anthropology and in women, gender, and sexuality studies. She is particularly interested in the intersections of gender, inequality, culture, and power, and she hopes to continue working in advocacy. She would like to thank the Kling Fellowship for its instrumental role in both funding her project and fostering her growth as a researcher, writer, and scholar. She is extremely grateful to Dr. Carolyn Sargent for her invaluable guidance over the course of this project and to Dr. Breit Gustafson for his incisive feedback in her final year. Next year, Lily will be applying to law school and studying French in Paris.

Gyoonsoo Kong is graduating with majors in comparative literature and German literature and a minor in Spanish literature. His academic interests also include translation studies. He wants to thank Dr. Kurt Beals and Dr. Ignacio Infante, who have offered incredible support throughout the process of developing both his Kling project and his senior honors thesis. Gyoonsoo is originally from Seoul, South Korea, and enjoys playing soccer and weight lifting during his free time. He plans to further pursue his interest in German literature and comparative literature through a Ph.D. program in the near future.
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Sonya Schoenberger is graduating with a major in history and a minor in economics. Originally from Albany, California, Sonya is interested in the intersections of empire, international law, and human rights and hopes to attend law school one day. She would like to thank her mentor, Dr. Elizabeth Borgwardt, for her invaluable guidance throughout this project as well as her history thesis on the same topic. Sonya would also like to thank the Washington University Office of Undergraduate Research for the funding that enabled her to conduct research at the U.S. National Archives.
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