



KALEIDOSCOPE

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KALEIDOSCOPE

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

We are honored to present the second annual volume of *Kaleidoscope*. The fast pace of college life sometimes keeps us from fully appreciating and learning from students' work. Too often, exceptional ideas and prose, creative expressions, graphics, and other forms are graded and returned to the students, to be filed or forgotten. Perhaps two or three people ever get to see these very special works. Furthermore, the submissions of a semester often hold untapped potential that isn't released in a single write-edit cycle. *Kaleidoscope* aims to unleash some of this potential by cultivating and honoring incredible work done within KHC.

Kaleidoscope showcases students' achievements "above and beyond" assignment expectations—with three main aims. First, by sharing these contributions with the KHC community, we hope to inspire more remarkable work and show faculty, prospective students, and anyone else what KHC is all about. Second, we extend the creation and revision timeline past the confines of a single semester. Each author has the chance to engage in meaningful dialogue about their ideas, words, and creations with a member of the KHC editorial board and collaborate to make the work as strong as possible: the best of dialogic grading, without the grading. Finally, we simply want to celebrate you, the students—because taking time to listen to and appreciate each other matters.

The thirty pieces in this volume include maps, legal memos, digital art portraiture, a critical analysis of the genre of portraiture, poetry, and podcasts, among other genres. The authors dive into studies of international diplomacy, forced displacement, music, urban planning, gender discrimination, and environmental justice. Each author not only deeply examines a key issue but also seeks out the best form, style, and voice to express their ideas—and help us deepen our own learning, questioning, and engagement with one another. We thank the contributors for sharing their work and engaging wholeheartedly in the revision process. And speaking of extraordinary work, we are grateful to our extraordinary Managing Editor and Designer, Megan West Kagstrom, for leading every step of the *Kaleidoscope* process, and to our wonderful editorial team. We hope you enjoy these pieces as much as we have!



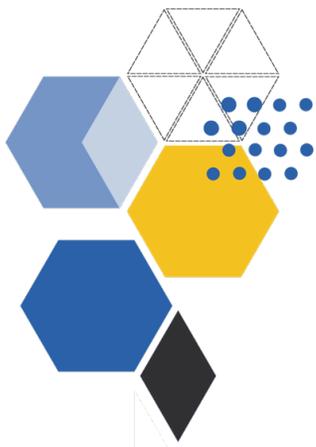


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You might notice that the stylistic conventions are varied across the journal. We opted for an intentional inconsistency in formatting and citation practices to keep intact the interdisciplinary nature of our curriculum, including the publication practices and academic standards recognized across disciplines.





Jenna Riedl

CFA'23, Painting

When not writing or painting, Jenna Riedl (she/her) can be found walking in the woods, attempting to befriend the squirrels. Her favorite book of 2023 is *Untamed* by Glennon Doyle.

CONTEXT NOT PROVIDED

The following pages contain three essay prompts. Please choose all.

PROMPT 1: Please explain to us why you deserve to be here.

Definitions of “us” and “you” are not provided.

Us: a term used to describe the faceless entity that sends emails signed “Visual Arts.” Members may or may not include faculty, students, administrators, that one guy who wrote an art book once, every potential future employer, your favorite artist, and the world.

You: a term used to describe the girl with curly hair and bouncing knees currently sitting in a white-walled room, wondering if it is socially permissible to walk out of her own critique.

The room is white and two-dimensional

The walls have all collapsed

I can feel my knee bouncing and am suddenly filled with a sharp and pointed hatred for this body

This bone-filled parachute that lets me down when I need to appear sure of myself

I wonder, briefly, what would happen if I ran out of the room

(If I walked, calmly and certainly, out of the room.

If I slammed the door on my way out.

If I stood up and said, *this critique has been entirely unhelpful and I see no evidence*

That it will be anything different in the next twenty minutes

So I’m going to leave and you can all dissect my personality without me.)

In conclusion, “you” does not deserve to be here

Does anyone?

“You” paints dots on cardboard and “us” thinks cardboard is tacky

“Us” thinks cardboard is not *intentionally* tacky, and this is the real issue

“Us” likes to forget that no one has ever, in two years of critiques,

Asked a single person about their intentionality for working with oil on canvas

“You” would like to move the fuck on from talking about the fact that she works on cardboard

But “us” pounds the words “archival” and “environmental” into the ground like hills to die on

(You know, she’s so conscious of waste.

She should make environmentalism a more deliberate part of her practice.)

Does it even count as doing something if you’re not doing it 100%?

If I paint on cardboard with watercolors from Amazon, am I a hypocrite?

“You” does not deserve to be here because she doesn’t care if her work lasts for centuries
 “You” doesn’t need her art to exist in museums, in galleries, as powerpoint slides
 For a new generation of caffeinated, careless art history students
 “You” made an error in judgment and entered a space where only certain rules were meant to be broken
 And she picked different trip wires to snap
 No one is wrong
 Wouldn’t it be easier if someone was wrong? Then someone else could be right.
 They say contrast is an essential element of successful paintings

In conclusion: “you” was supposed to be part of “us”
 And neither “us” nor “you” deserve each other
 There is no fault
 I simply did not fit into the fluorescent-lighting studio box they so courteously provided
 I did not try very hard to fit

The most important thing I learned in art school was not how to paint
 It was not how to push through when I had no inspiration
 Or how to contextualize someone’s work
 It was not even how to decipher what I meant by splattering phthalo blue on a wooden panel
 The most important thing I learned was this
 Someone’s criticism only matters
 If their vision of you succeeding is the same as your vision of you succeeding
 Whether they mean well (and they almost always mean well) is irrelevant
 If they are trying to make you better
 But their version of *better* is too tight on your skin
 Sags in all the wrong places
 You don’t have to listen to them
 They are not mean or wrong
 They are just humans, living on the surface
 Unable to imagine that the jellyfish of the deep sea might not mind the pressure
 Don’t we all live unimaginable lives?
 Telling someone to become more like me is not necessarily telling them how to improve
 We were not all meant to breathe air

In conclusion, deserving does not come into it
 I am here
 More specifically, I am

PROMPT 2: Where did you get the fucking audacity? (Please list at least 3 examples)

(Firstly) from my anger
 Sophomore year, I started flipping men off on the street
 As long as they were far enough, old enough
 The street crowded enough, my legs ready-to-run enough
 No socratic seminars about the ongoing movement for women’s rights could educate me

As clearly as the man who rolled down his windows and told me to *get in, sweetheart*
 The difference between a law and a theory: we know why a theory works
 A theory: it doesn't matter what my grades are or how many miles I run or how angry I am
 It doesn't matter that I, in that moment, would be willing to kill
 I will always be 5'2" to his Something Bigger
 I will always be smaller than my rage
 I am not strong enough to win, but –
 Revolutions have happened in the space after that word

(Additionally) from their apathy
 I stopped going to church two weeks after coming to college
 Did I mention I was president of the Christian a capella group?
 Did I mention I grew up spending so much time in the choir room, they almost got us a bed?
 I could not separate the gentle prayers and microphone feedback
 From *man and woman God created them*
 From *gay people have been given a great burden, to resist the temptations of their flesh.*
We must honor their struggle to remain pure.
 I committed the gravest error a statistician can make
 I allowed the outliers to represent the whole
 I know that I am wrong, but I know that I am also right
 If [silence] given [devaluing of queer people's humanity],
 Then [get the fuck out, girl, they only love you because they don't know]
 How many outliers is too many?
 When does coincidence become correlation?

(Furthermore) from necessity
 It took twenty one years and seven-ish months to articulate what I experienced
 First in third grade when I looked up from the church floor and fell in love with a girl:
 Second when I sat in the doctor's office as the nurse told me it
Wouldn't hurt to exercise a bit more... and drop down to a healthier weight:
 Third when three boys asked me out as a joke
 And no one asked me again:
 If my community won't even pretend that I will be unconditionally loved
 I need to believe that my worth does not depend on people's good opinion
 Or I'll believe I'm worthless for the rest of my life
 Group test: how can you believe you deserved to be wanted when no one wants you?
 (empty space encouraged)
 Maybe I was lucky that it was so clear the world wouldn't love me
 I would have clung to the pretense if it had been offered
 I would have built my soul around good opinions if someone had ever told me
You're so close... if you could just –
 But I was born in the deep end
 They say that's where you learn to swim

(Ultimately) from love
 Does it make you uncomfortable?
 Does it make you squirm to know that I love you
 Even if I don't know, as I write this, who will read it?
 Does it hurt to imagine that I could love you
 Because you've learned to experience the love of a stranger
 As expectations waiting to be disappointed, a bowling ball balanced in a spiderweb
 Do you believe that knowing you would shrivel my love?
 Would it provoke terror or envy
 If you knew I could not help but love you
 Because now, I believe so completely in my own value
 That neither your success, nor your scorn, nor your disappointment could threaten me?

PROMPT 3: Prove that higher education is worth something. List all primary assumptions at the top of your response.

We can assume that human beings deserve to live in a state of active security rather than absent danger. We can assume that competency is not the automatic byproduct of certifications or admiration. We can further assume that the author of this proof is honestly pretty over higher education on both a personal and conceptual level. That being said:

Higher education is most certainly worth *something*.
 Here, I will solve for the unknown quantity which higher education might be equal to.
 If the value of higher education is equal to the amount of job security it provides after college
 Then higher education is worth four job offers
 Two of which pay almost, but not quite,
 Enough to cover rent in the overpriced city where the office building is located
 And one of which ends up being a scam forwarded from your impressionable Aunt Margaret
 It is worth a checked box for most white collar jobs
 60% of which do not require information learned during college
 And 30% of which require a PhD and twenty-five years of relevant experience
 (Breaking News: parents campaign for internships in embryo)

If the value of higher education is equal to the experiences it offers
 Then it could be worth two lifetime friendships and breathless laughter late at night
 Inside jokes and quiet mornings in a sunlit cafe
 Five scheduled sobbing breaks per week and a guy who wasn't *really* trying to harass you –
 He's just not good at joking around
 I could have drowned in the experiences they offered me daily, delivered to my inbox
 Like small bombs of possibility and guilt
Last chance to apply!
Take advantage of this incredible opportunity!
 How does one calculate the worth of infinity?
 You can be buried alive under too much gold

If the value of higher education is equal to the self-actualization that it provokes
Then it is worth a therapist, I suppose
And a crisis line that shuts off after 10pm
We're sorry, breaking down should only occur during business hours
It is worth getting so used to not having approval that I learned to live without it
(Approval: society's unicorn
Sure, we should all get to see some if the world was fair
But who the fuck ever said *that*?)
Higher education is a reagent
And I was an existing solution that was primed to thrive because of and in spite of it
But I cannot claim much universal value for higher education

In conclusion: we fail to prove the alternate hypothesis
There is insufficient evidence to prove that higher education is worth anything

In conclusion: a single experiment, when successful
Requires replication
But how many successes are required? And how many failures are acceptable?
(definitions of "success" and "failure" remain unclear)



Anjali Byju

COM'26, Journalism

Anjali Byju, a native Floridian, enjoys reading and going to the beach in her free time. As a Journalism major, writing is a passion of hers and she's excited to be included within *Kaleidoscope* for the first time. On campus, Anjali is an RA within Kilachand and a staff writer for various student-run publications.

THE SOUTH: An All Too Cruel Love Affair

The horns from dozens of trains could be heard miles away during the Great Migration. Passengers piled into train cars as six million Blacks fled the rural South aspiring for a more blissful existence in the urban North. This large-scale demographic shift brought about many mixed emotions for people forced to leave a land their family had claimed for generations. Although the North was portrayed as a safe haven for African Americans, some were reluctant to forfeit their roots in the South. Langston Hughes' poem, "The South," conveys the nuance of the Great Migration and the internal conflict Blacks faced when leaving the South, a land within which they had seen both terror and beauty.

Langston Hughes, a prominent Black writer during the Harlem Renaissance, wrote "The South" in 1926 from the perspective of a Black man contemplating what it means to migrate from the South to the North. Although African Americans left the South to better their living conditions and escape Jim Crow laws, many felt a deep interdependence with the region. The poem begins with Southern characteristics: "lazy, laughing," (line 1) and "sunny-faced" (line 3). These traits refer to the speaker's positive perceptions of the South. Many Blacks worked as sharecroppers and rented agriculture passed down through generations (Equal Justice Initiative, 2018). This was a social order that some white Americans insisted remain, particularly Arkansas Republican leader H.L. Remmel. In a 1923 letter written to the U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace, Remmel suggested a commission be created to deter the northern migration of Blacks and instead promote their continued provision of agricultural labor in the South. Remmel, like many other white Southerners, said in his letter, "the south is the natural home of the colored man and his family." While we must acknowledge the racist and classist undertones of Remmel's statement, it is important to note that Blacks had been living in the South since the late 18th century and had developed strong ties with their land and community as a result (PBS, 2013). "The South" exemplifies how hard it was for Blacks to break free from such a bond.

Many people imagine the Southern lifestyle to be relaxed and bountiful. It is nearly impossible to look at Southern history without acknowledging the contributions made by Black Americans. From the origination of Blues to the creation of a wide array of "Southern comfort foods," Blacks made an indelible mark on the Southern culture we know today (NEH, 2023). The warm climate brings about an almost playful innocence, "the child-minded South" (line 6), as Hughes puts it. In many ways, Southern land represented the naivety and innocence

associated with childhood. Leaving the South was not easy for many African Americans because it had been their home since birth. The South provided solace to Blacks because of this proverbial way of life to which they had contributed for so long.

Although Hughes begins the piece with positive words used to describe the South, Hughes shifts to a more unpleasant tone in the later stanzas. He begins to paint the South in a negative light: “blood on its mouth, beast-strong, scratching in the dead fire’s ashes for a Negro’s bones” (lines 4-8). The South is personified as an animal-like entity responsible for further abuses endured by Blacks in the South, abuses which initiated their generational traumas in the early 1900s. The South was unable to fully end the maltreatment of Blacks and it continued to “scratch” at the remnants of slavery. The South continued to exhume the memories of slavery, perpetuating racism by continued segregation and lynchings. The Great Migration was a means through which African Americans attempted to physically remove themselves from the birthplace of such calamity. However, by no means was this a simple task.

Despite alluding to the South’s history rooted in racism, Hughes circles back to its beauty. This juxtaposition illustrates the mixed feelings many African Americans held for their home. Hughes references cotton, the backbone of the booming Southern economy for much of the 19th century (CUNY, 2023). African Americans contributed to this success by picking cotton on plantations. The poem refers to cotton not only as a commodity but also as a symbol of nature, “Cotton and the moon, warmth, earth, warmth ...The magnolia-scented South” (lines 10-13). Hughes employs a romantic and longing tone to show how the South has a lulling effect. The cotton plant was quintessential to Southern agriculture and Hughes compares its existence to other aspects of nature: the moon, our planet, and flowers. Each one of these gifts from Mother Nature aggregates to form a serene image of the South. Still, cotton picking remained a task forced upon the enslaved by plantation owners. This dark history adds to the negative feelings many African Americans held toward the South. Hughes is reminding the reader that 1920s Black migrants fled the South to escape the abusive system that dates back to the antebellum period.

Within the final four stanzas of the poem, Hughes personifies the South as a cruel mistress and the North as merely a slightly kinder lover. He speaks deliberately of the allure of the South, “Beautiful.. Seductive, Passionate, Honey-lipped” (lines 13-16). Like a femme fatale, the South is externally attractive but ultimately reveals its deadly intentions. She is a temptress who appealed to many African Americans for generations only to betray them and abuse them later on. Truthfully, Southern culture appealed to Black folks because it was the origin of many of their culinary, artistic, and cultural practices. Because of the charm of the South, Hughes tells how Blacks tried to attain acceptance from her (the South), “but she spits in my face. I, who am black, would give her many rare gifts but she turns her back on me” (lines 19-22). The South acted bitterly towards African Americans, unwilling to treat them with respect but eager to exploit them for benefit (enslaved persons forced by Southern plantation owners to pick cotton). By calling the South a “syphilitic” whore, Hughes depicts the ways in which Southern soil was teeming with weeds and dead crops (line 16). It was on this depleted soil that slaves (and later, their freed ancestors) toiled in hopes of eventually leaving.

The Great Migration resulted in the exodus of over six million Blacks. Author Isabel Wilkerson writes of the promises the North sold African Americans, “better wages, better living, and better conditions” (*The Warmth of Other Suns*, 217). During the first Great Migration between 1910 and 1940, many jobs became available to Blacks up north as whites went to fight in World War I (Frey, 2023). Employers sought out southern Black workers to fill unskilled jobs within industrial manufacturing and meat packing. Still, the North brought its own atrocities. When Hughes published this poem, housing discrimination, racial violence by law enforcement, and poor working conditions were omnipresent in Black communities in the north (Clark, 2020). Hughes portrays the North as “cold faced” (line 24) but hopes that “in her house my children May escape the spell of the South” (lines 27-28). Although not outwardly accepting of African Americans in the 1920s, Hughes hoped the northern United States would develop into a welcoming place for his descendants.

This poem explores the connection many Blacks felt towards the South and their difficulty choosing to leave it behind. With her agrarian beauty and deep-seated Black history, the South was hard for African Americans to abandon. Although appealing on the surface, a closer look would reveal the malevolent nature of the South. As Blacks fled this abusive relationship and began their love affair with the North, she became a kinder mistress. Nevertheless, the North was disappointing to African Americans as she too revealed herself to be tainted by prejudice. This poem tells the story of an uprooted people. These individuals were forced to leave a place all too familiar and comfortable, no matter how torturous. Hughes hopes his readers will recognize that the Great Migration was more than just the physical movement of people; rather, it was an acknowledgment of both the pleasures and pains brought to African Americans by the South. After weighing both the negative and positive aspects of the Southern United States, many Blacks still made the decision to leave their home and start anew in the North. This is a testament to the courage of Black migrants and their dreams of a brighter future.

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Poppy Livingstone

CAS'26, Sociocultural Anthropology

Poppy Livingstone (any pronouns) studies Sociocultural Anthropology. They work for *Boston Art Review* and the Boston Center for the Arts, and run *Mister Magazine*, an independent publication for emerging creatives.

TRANSCENDENT SELVES: Excavations of "Otherness" in Performative Self- Portraiture



"Under this mask, another mask. I will never be finished carrying all these faces."
– Claude Cahun

Between the 1920s and the present, many photographers have played with alternative and speculative identities, using the body as a medium and photography as a vehicle to “enact the self, question history, and articulate identity” (Moynihan 1). Some toy with pop-culture iconography, others play dress-up, while still more delve into the personal and political forces that shape their race, gender, sexuality, or ability. Upon entering the RISD Museum’s 2023 exhibit, *The Performative Self-Portrait*, the viewer is greeted by the works of David Benjamin

Sherry, Martine Gutierrez, and Juliana Huxtable, artists drawing from queer and Mexican American, Mayan, and African American experiences respectively. Though artists hailing from all walks of life have married performance with self-portraiture, none have defined the genre as distinctly as artists belonging to marginalized communities.

As this inquiry will soon outline, the richness of performative self-portraiture results from the interpretive tension inherent in the medium. Some art historians have labelled performative self-portraitists narcissistic due to the artform's inherent self-consciousness. Contrarily, postmodernists have believed these artists to be self-abnegating, as they "insist it is fiction, about representation and, therefore, about nobody in particular" (Knafo 1). It is not my intention to dispute these views. Instead, I would like to consider the self-portraitist through yet another lens—that of an incisive, curious archeologist who uses various tools to excavate the rich site of their own identity. "Otherness" is all too often presented as a passive state, a burden that one must shoulder or overcome. I hope to demonstrate that performative self-portraiture can serve as an instrument to explore one's sense of difference, revealing "otherness" to be a generative space that exists between the external and the internal, the perceived and the embodied, the subjective and the objective.

I will start by using Alfred Stieglitz's portraits of Georgia O'Keeffe to introduce key tensions in the medium of photographic portraiture, such as automatism and artfulness, as well as objectivity and subjectivity. I will then introduce the work of Cindy Sherman, a performative self-portraitist who ranks among today's most successful contemporary artists, to exemplify the ways in which self-portraitists might play with these tensions. From the rich canon of post-Sherman self-portraiture, I will then explore the work of Lyle Ashton Harris and Nikki S. Lee, artists who emerge as particularly deft excavators of the self. These case studies provide two examples of how performative self-portraiture may serve as an effective tool for understanding—and upsetting—our perception of the "other" and the self.

THE SUBJECT AS OBJECT IN PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITURE

The "other" has long been the subject of photographic portraiture and, by extension, subject *to* the representational preferences of photographers. In the early 20th century, photos of tenement houses simultaneously advocated for and sensationalized the plight of the working poor. In the 1960s, Diane Arbus documented disabled people, transvestites, and sex workers with leering empathy (Figure 1). Today, documentary photography both celebrates and fetishizes social outcasts. Though these photographers seek to raise awareness about their subjects, they often frame these photos as "true" representations of those that they depict. This understanding of portraiture is as dangerous as it



Figure 1: Diane Arbus, "Transvestite at a Drag Ball, New York City, 1970."

is flatly incorrect. “Even when photographers are most concerned with mirroring reality,” Susan Sontag says, “they are still tacit imperatives of taste and conscience” (6). In nearly all photographic portraits, there lies this tension between objectivity and subjectivity, “mirroring” and taste.

Though photographs depict some degree of “truth,” photographers and critics alike understand that photos hinge on the whims of their beholder. This understanding was hard won, as early photographers fought to deny the role of automatism in their work. Philosophical objections to calling photographs “art” due to their thoughtless, mechanical nature were parried by critics such as Dominic Lopes, who insisted that deliberate shifts in exposure, framing, and light legitimized photography as an artistic medium (433). Despite this long-standing discourse, photographic portraits are all too often taken as “mirrors” of their subjects. When Sontag asserted that “photographs are as much an interpretation of the world as paintings and drawings are,” she was both highlighting the artful nature of photography and pointing to the artform’s subtle subjectivity (9).



Figure 2: Alfred Stieglitz. “Georgia O’Keeffe, 1918.”



Figure 3: Alfred Stieglitz. “Georgia O’Keeffe, 1930/1931.”

Alfred Stieglitz’s portraits of his partner Georgia O’Keeffe illustrate the risk of overlooking photography’s non-representational nature. While Stieglitz famously hailed “the search for Truth” as his obsession, the veracity of his work is not entirely convincing (1). Stieglitz’s early portraits actively *created* his subject, using soft lighting, gentle textures, and classical posing to transmute O’Keeffe into a feminine muse (Figure 2). Warped by decades of growing distance, his later work depicts her as a stern androgyne in sharp relief (Figure 3). In either case, these facsimiles of O’Keeffe were far from mirror-images of objective truth. Lending support to Sontag’s theory of photographic artfulness, this series invites critical reflection on portraits. The default interpretive stance would ideally start by recognizing these works as intersubjective and as reflections of the photographer’s relationship to their subject.

Art history is laden with similarly subjective representations of marginalized people, often to dangerous effects. Fetishization, or the act of making someone an object of sexual desire based on some aspect of their identity, pervaded the art of early Western encounters with Asian women. *Image of the Black in Western Art*, a compendium of Western visual history, is rife with persistently stereotypic images of African and African American subjects (De Menil). Pablo Picasso's own granddaughter once decried the artist's animalistic treatment of his muses, who propelled Picasso's career just as swiftly as they were disposed of and "bled dry" (Delistraty 1). People belonging to "othered" communities are at risk of misrepresentation in any medium. However, the common understanding of photography as a mirror can be uniquely complicit with objectifying outcomes. With this in mind, there is an evident and simple incentive for oppressed artists to practice self-portraiture: the ability to control one's own representation.

PERFORMANCE AND AUTONOMY

"There is no real Cindy Sherman in these photographs; they are only the guises she assumes."

- Douglas Crimp

Just as the self-portrait gives the artist control over their representation, *performative* self-portraiture further complicates the belief that self-portraits deliver the "true" artistic subject to the viewer. Performative self-portraits go beyond mere representations of the self, using ornament and charade to alter the photographer's appearance. This rejection of "truth" allows artists to consider which aspects of their identity to highlight, to obscure, and to play with.

One of the most well-known champions of performative self-portraiture is Cindy Sherman, whose suite of enigmatic images *Untitled Film Stills* deftly tinkered with deep-rooted notions of reality, femininity, and simulation. Staged to resemble scenes from mid-century film noir, B-movies, and art house films, Sherman poses in the guise of various female archetypes (Sherman 24). Ambiguity marks these heroines: in "Untitled Film Still #21," Sherman's character belongs to a nonspecific but familiar cityscape, bearing an evocative but indefinite expression (Figure 4). Who is this starlet? What's on her mind? Catching her mid-thought, frozen in a furrowed upwards glance, we wish to click "play" on this invented film. The tension present in this series foregrounds that of portraiture more generally; we desire to know the "real" Sherman, to be given access to that same "truth" which Stieglitz longed for. Instead of delivering us to an image of Sherman as she "really is" or "was," however, Sherman's photographs "testify to the impossibility of our attaining such access" (Jones 954). Through her insistent theatricality, Sherman imposes distance between herself and the viewer. In mediating this access, she bars



Figure 4: Cindy Sherman. "Untitled Film Still #21."

the viewer from the assumption and connection they ordinarily feel entitled to. Though Sherman is her own sole subject, there are no mirrors here.

The social and political implications of this theatrical camouflage are rich with artistic interpretation and activist potential. When misrepresented artists turn the lens back on themselves, what new realities do they create? How might they use performance to engage with their identity? Though myriad photographers have used performative self-portraiture to “enact the self,” the contrasting methods of photographers Lyle Ashton Harris and Nikki S. Lee serve as useful touchstones to explore this varied medium.

LYLE ASHTON HARRIS: Creating The Self

As an HIV-positive, black, and gay man, the photographer Lyle Ashton Harris has long been concerned with the abundant potential of liminality. Through self-portraiture and masquerade, Harris toys with expectations of race and gender within and without the white, cisnormative gaze (Aletti 116). He has evoked black female iconography in drag as Billie Holiday and Josephine Baker; posed triumphantly in statuesque nudes; stood bloodied and gleaming in a jockstrap as a boxer; confronted the viewer in pallid whiteface. At the crossroads of race and sexuality, the personal and the political, his work explores the elasticity of these overlapping identities. “It’s always been less about celebrating the notion of any type of homogeneous queerness or blackness,” Harris said. “It’s more about engaging the complexities at the edges of both” (Aletti 118).

Just as Sherman embodied archetypes of womanhood in *Untitled Film Stills*, Harris’ work exists in conversation with past photographic portraits of black, gay men. Chief among these photographs is *The Black Book* by Robert Mapplethorpe, which features dozens of photographs of black models posed in the nude (Mercer 173). Mapplethorpe represents his subjects as beautiful objects, “collectors’ pieces,” via his insistent references to classical sculptures and through fragmentation, or details of pose and camera angle (Still 121). In “Derrick Cross,” the eponymous model faces away from the camera, his limbs geometrically arranged against a stark white background (Figure 5). His arms, back, and buttocks are carefully lit from either side, illuminating the muscled contours of his form. As a result of this exacting framing, Cross appears as a statuesque projection of black virility, rendered inanimate through Mapplethorpe’s gaze. Like Stieglitz’s photos of O’Keeffe, Mapplethorpe’s quest to capture “perfection” on film effectively “flattened” these models into objects of desire, figures who are not *doing* but *being* (Naughton).

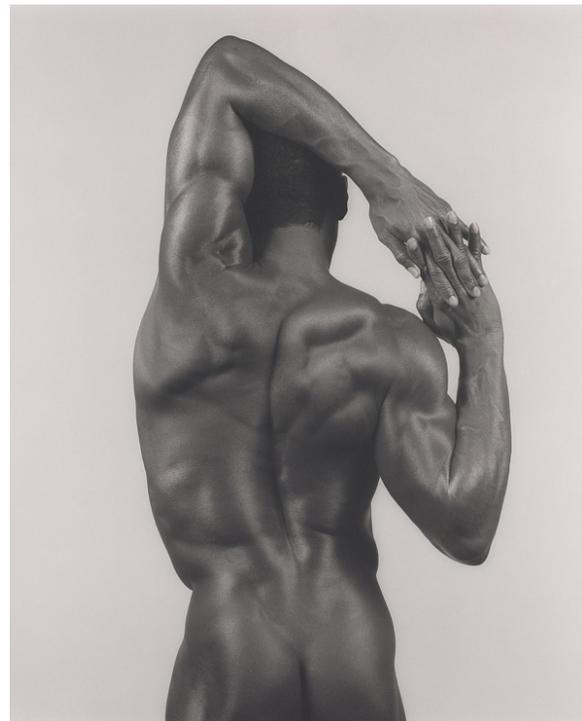


Figure 5: Robert Mapplethorpe. “Derrick Cross.”

Though *The Black Book* consists of a sequence of these individual, personally named black men, what we see is “only their sex as the essential sum total of the meanings signified around blackness and maleness” (Mercer 174). The 2019 Guggenheim exhibit *Implicit Tensions: Mapplethorpe Now* explored these limitations by presenting Mapplethorpe’s photos alongside photographic portraiture by other queer artists, many of whom were people of color. Harris’s work served as the most skewering counterimage to Mapplethorpe’s portraits.



Figure 6: Lyle Ashton Harris, “Constructs #10-13.”

Overtly or covertly, the photos that comprise Harris’s *Constructs* oppose those of *The Black Book*, eviscerating Mapplethorpe’s mythology of the virile, potent black man (Figure 6). In this series, Harris appears similarly to the subjects of Mapplethorpe’s photos: black, in black-and-white, and in various stages of undress. Rightfully insisting that his identities are both unimaginably complex and intrinsically linked, Harris brings richness and depth to these familiar forms.

Countering the hungry gaze of Mapplethorpe and many others, Harris exudes sensuality without submitting to fetishization. In one photo, he stands naked with his arm raised confidently. In another, he faces the wall and bares his naked back to the viewer, echoing “Derrick Cross.” And in “Constructs #10,” he stares assuredly at the camera in a short wig, black tank top, and white tutu parted to reveal his penis. This final image critiques the notions of passing and beauty imposed upon black, queer bodies. He presents himself carefully, gracefully, and with ethereal femininity, but does not hide his sex. He bears no uncertainty or self-consciousness, no desire to pander to the gazes that limit or idealize him. In doing so, he stares down the historical and aesthetic pressures that seek to confine him, fashioning a self at once aware of and unconcerned by these archetypes.

In 1994, Harris traded black-and-white prints for vibrant Polaroids, and the tradition of statuesque black nudes for a more vernacular form of photographic portraiture: the family photo. Drawing on the red, black, and green color scheme of the Pan-African flag, Harris’s *Good Life* depicts the self in the context of the family, or perhaps the family as the self. The series presents a vision of black family life that is glowing, comfortable, and undeniably queer. In “The

Child,” Harris cradles Renee Cox’s son while wearing red lipstick and eyelashes, his hair pulled back in a red scarf (Figure 7). Cox’s hand rests assuredly on Harris’ shoulder, matching the confidence of her mustachioed face. In “Sisterhood,” Harris poses with photographer Iké Udé in his lap, both in bespoke suits and eyeliner (Figure 8). In passing, the photos depict typical models of young, black families. The subversive radiance of this series comes with the second glance.



Figure 7: Lyle Ashton Harris and Renee Cox. “The Child.”



Figure 8: Lyle Ashton Harris and Iké Udé. “Sisterhood.”

Though these portraits diverge from normative American families in their insistent queerness, they carry no sense of incongruity or “otherness.” Their subjects are awkward only in the way that posed family photos often are. This comfortable confidence illustrates just how vast black and queer identities may be when seen from the inside looking out. Harris’s portraits create an archive of black photographic representation that is far more vibrant, genuine, and moving than most white portraitists’ misguided quest for “truth.”

In *Bearing Witness*, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., asserted that no genre has played a role as central in the African-American literary tradition as autobiography. The ultimate form of protest, Gates suggested, was to register in print “the existence of a ‘black self’ that had transcended the limitations and restrictions that racism had placed on the personal development of the black individual” (Ashton Harris 249).

The deliberately fashioned and thoughtful nature of performative self-portraiture bears great similarities to the literary tradition of African American autobiography. Both Harris and Gates engage with self-representation as a liberatory strategy, in which the act of self-creation is a “necessary and radical act” (Ashton Harris 250). By tinkering with his own identity in rich, affective ways, Harris foregrounds the flimsiness of external representations of black, queer life.

Harris's work evinces one radical use of performative self-portraiture: to explore, create, and embody transcendent versions of the self.

NIKKI S. LEE: Destroying the Self

In a snapshot photo time-dated '97/ 2/ 27, six young New York punks pose in a line. One troublemaker in a studded jacket flips off the camera; another with a blue mohawk gives an irreverent thumbs up (Figure 9). In a crowded room, each figure would stand out like a sore thumb. Together, the group bleeds into an amalgam of gleaming studs and zippers, black-and-white t-shirts, leather jackets, and red-checked pants. The photo might come from the backlog of *Vice News* or *The A.V. Club*, repositories for taboo documentary photography.



Figure 9: Nikki S. Lee. "Punk Project (1)."

Even a well-trained eye might not notice that the third punk from the left is none other than Nikki S. Lee, the South Korean photographer and shapeshifter who seemed to be "everywhere and everyone" in the late 1990s (Vogel).

While Harris uses performative self-portraiture to assert and explore his overlapping identities, Lee aims to disappear. For her most famous photographs, the South Korean photographer approached members of various subcultures, spent time with them for several weeks, and finally asked them to "transform" her into a member of their peer group. In photo series with apt titles such as *The Lesbian Project*, *The Young Japanese Project*, and *The Seniors Project*, these multifarious Nikkis are captured in candid snapshots among her newly appropriated kin. In "The Yuppie Project (15)," for example, Lee exits the subway among a herd of young professionals, bearing business casual attire and a morose expression. The mundanity



Figure 10: Nikki S. Lee. "The Yuppie Project (15)."

of this scene masks weeks of thoughtful preparation (Figure 10). Lee's feigned authenticity effectively collapses the boundary between performance and reality, creating a world "where the distinctions between the real and unreal Nikki S. Lee are ambiguous" (Lee 78). Lee's artistic practice is part participatory ethnography, part pedestrian drag, part real-world *Where's Waldo?*, pointing to the constructed nature of identity to amusing, and often sobering, effect (Dalton 47).

Because she documents these groups in specific moments of time, Lee's photographs become artifacts of the subcultures they document, while "nevertheless remaining objects essentially external to them" (Mindiak 2). Her interlocutors know she is an artist and thus understand her status as an outsider. Despite this, they help her choose her clothes, makeup, and posing for *Projects*. This practice is radical to some degree, considering the lack of representational autonomy in typical portraits of divergent subcultures. Unlike the documentary photographs she emulates, Lee makes no attempt to unilaterally "mirror" the reality of these groups. Instead, Lee's communally curated appearance creates a kind of *collective* self-portrait, with her body serving as a vehicle for each group to highlight their key aesthetic signifiers.

Lee devised *Projects* shortly after immigrating to the United States, a period that brought the concepts of assimilation and individuality to the forefront of her daily life and creative practice (Fonesca). During this transitional period, Lee relied on American media to navigate the country's overwhelming particularities. "I watched a lot of movies to know this society better," she said (Lee 83). Though the costumes Lee tries on in her *Projects* are primarily determined by her interlocutors, they are also informed by popular portrayals of these subgroups. This mix of authenticity and stereotyping, simulation and reality, reflects the complexity of identity-making in American society as a whole.

In this gray area of accuracy and artifice, assimilation and otherness, Lee's experience almost recalls that of the most casual self-photographer: the tourist. In her essay "In Plato's Cave," Sontag argues that photos "help people to take possession of a space in which they are insecure" (9). In interviews, Lee frequently recalls the uncertainty of being an immigrant in a country as fragmented and individualized as America. By virtue of her race, gender, and immigrant status, she couldn't help but feel like an "other" and admits to using *Projects* as a vehicle for connection and self-affirmation. "To get to know where I am and who I am requires for me to see myself through the eyes of others, those who live their lives around me, a society to which I belong," she says (Lee 81).

Rather than excavating her own identity as a woman, immigrant, and person of color, however, Lee's photography breaks down the concept of "otherness" itself. Lee brings an energetic spirit to what is often a "deadly serious debate" over assimilation and "passing" (Dalton 47). That a young Korean American woman can be simultaneously convincing as a yuppie on a lunch break, a rural trailer-park dweller, or a sexually frustrated butch lesbian suggests that social identities are far more fluid and self-subscribing than American society seems to believe. Unlike the portraitists seeking to document the "reality" of divergent identities, Lee's performative self-portraits seem to suggest that in identity there can be no definitive "truth."

CONCLUSION

Self-portraits upend the unidirectional gaze of traditional photography. Gazing upon a portrait, the viewer scrutinizes the subject through the photographer's eyes. Though they might hope to find "truth" in a photograph, this perspective all but guarantees misunderstanding. As both subjects and photographers, self-portraitists stand alongside the viewer. They may point to aspects of their identity that they deem important, and obscure those that they don't. They may

transcend or explore the narratives imposed upon them. This unique position disrupts the “process by which we constitute ourselves in relation to others,” allowing the viewer to join the artist as they confront the incoherence of their own identity (Jones 949). The disruptive experience of viewing performative self-portraits might motivate the viewer to question their own notions of identity in turn.

Though Lee and Harris’s photography are both concerned with identity and otherness, their artistic practices differ meaningfully. While Harris finds meaning by venturing deep within himself, Lee locates herself within the context of society more broadly. While Harris exemplifies the use of self-portraiture as a tool to transcend the boundaries of one’s identity, Lee transcends the concept of identity itself. Driven by both internal desires to excavate their identities and external threats of misrepresentation, these artists exemplify the power of performative self-portraiture as a technology of inquiry and embodiment. It is all too easy to project meaning onto others. Reckoning with one’s own image, or another’s self-image, is a far more complicated and rewarding task.

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Alessia was born in Northern Virginia and has 4 siblings. Her maternal family is originally from Laos, sparking Alessia's interest and passion for diverse Asian cultures within the United States.

THE RESILIENCE OF CHINATOWN

AUNTIE KAY & UNCLE FRANK CHIN PARK



Adjacent to Chinatown's Gateway, the park sports a colorful jungle gym and slide for kids to play on. Parents and grandparents watch along a curved ledge under the shade of several trees. Childish banter, liberated laughter, and the patter of small feet on the rubber playground surface resonate throughout the air on a sunny day.

TALE OF AN ANCIENT VASE



Overlooking a parking lot between Tyler Street and Harrison Ave., "Tale of an Ancient Vase" by Chinese-Cambodian artist Bryan Beyunk depicts a popular Chinese tale of Emperor Shun. The 2019 mural remains in the midst of adorned, up-and-coming restaurants off of Tyler and heavy pedestrian and car traffic from Harrison Avenue. Its bright colors and depictions bring a sense of pride and empowerment to Chinatown's community.

JIA HO SUPER MARKET



Tucked in on Knapp Street, the Jia Ho Super Market is a popular grocery store for Chinatown residents. The market provides a place for residents to chat with neighbors and friends and touch base with familiar workers. The allure of its illuminated sign draws customers in to browse its plethora of Asian goodies.

MARY SOO HOO PARK



Next to the adorned Chinatown Gate, the park is made up of several tables where Chinatown's residents congregate. Park goers consist of adults and elders who gather around to engage in card games or spectate. The strung lights allow for players to linger over their games after dark, chat with friends on the outer benches with smoldering cigarettes, or utilize the area as a marketplace among acquaintances.

PHILIPS SQUARE



A bright plaza bolstering vibrant blues, greens, and white, is recently reclaimed land taken from Harrison Avenue, which was purposely widened to displace Chinese homes and businesses. Passersby stop to enjoy their boba and authentic treats at the tables, and young teenagers congregate along the bright green circular benches. Two white guardian lion statues stand at the front of Philips Square facing Essex Street.

WHERE WE BELONG



Tucked away on Oxford Street and peeking onto Essex, Thai artist Ponnopä Prakkamakul depicts a bowl of noodles that gradually develops into a brilliantly red dragon. In bold, Prakkamakul writes "Where We Belong," close to the street for both drivers and pedestrian traffic to see. While Oxford Street doesn't get much traffic, the 2019 mural is close to the popular dim sum restaurant Hei La Moon, allowing for customers to stop and admire before or after their meals.

THE RESILIENCE OF CHINATOWN

唐人街的力量

MAP KEY

- Buildings
- Streets & Alleyways
- Chinatown Gate Plaza
- Public Parks
- Park Walkways



I first stumbled upon Chinatown and all of its wonders six Saturdays ago. A friend and I were wandering around Boston when my habitual longing for home kicked in; it came in the form of overwhelming hunger, a craving for something sweet, savory, sour – a craving for pho, something to cure the chill of a November night in Boston. We trekked to Chinatown and arrived on the front steps of Pho Pasteur where people were pouring in and out, lining up

outside the door for a chance to order a steamy bowl of soup. When we finally sat down, crammed at a table shared with others, a cozy sense of familiarity enveloped me alongside the bustle of people, aromatic smells of Vietnamese cuisine, and clatter of dishes escaping from the frenzied kitchen. Revived with spring rolls and a bowl of gin pho that rivals that of my grandmother's (a significant feat, and a detail that stays between me and you), my friend and I ventured into the flurry of Boston's Chinatown. Fond of exploration, we weaved in and out of the neighborhood's dense streets and alleyways, observing the twinkling lights dangling over Mary Soo Hoo Park, the allure of illuminated lanterns, and most importantly, the interactions of passersby, street vendors, and Chinatown's inhabitants. I was quick to realize that Chinatown was distinct from any other neighborhood I had observed in Boston. An intimate liveliness snaked itself along the asphalt of the neighborhood's arteries, in and out of the buzzing shops and restaurants, and through the busy parks. Chinatown was *alive*, a beating heart in downtown.

I was immediately captivated by this mysterious vitality that reminded me so clearly of my own heart, the carotid pulse evident in the soft crook of my neck. [The heart](#) is responsible for circulating blood and oxygen throughout the body, providing power and energy through electrical pulses. I wondered where Chinatown's energy originated from, how such a small part of Boston had become so alive. I took to the internet, and through my research of Chinatown's rich history, I realized that beneath the glowing lights and enticing aromas, the neighborhood harbored a dark past. Throughout the years, Chinatown had been subject to anti-immigration violence, the displacement of families, the expansion of highways, and more. My curiosity only intensified, centering on the neighborhood's incredible resilience. And yet, despite my extensive research, there was no clear explanation of what made Chinatown so vibrant, and how its profound pulse remained alive after years of attempted eradication. I set out to find the answer.

MARY SOO HOO PARK: the main artery of Chinatown, carrying blood from the heart to the lungs.

The sticky linger of cigarettes seeps from Mary Soo Hoo Park, scattering across the cluster of tourists milling around the Chinatown Gate. The park consists of seven round tables almost always taken by Chinatown residents engaged in a passionate game of cards, surrounded by throngs of people so dense you can hardly see the table during sunny days and dusky evenings. The three long tables and benches along the side are usually spotted with small groups of women chattering, perhaps waiting for their husbands or friends to finish their games, or even watching from a distance, and lone men enjoying the smoky taste of a cigarette. The strung, twinkling lights provide a hazy glow allowing for games to carry on deep into the evenings, and a tall building tucks the park away, protecting it from most neighboring traffic noises.

That first Saturday evening, I merely observed the crowds, fiercely enraptured by the quick shuffling of playing cards. As my visits increased, I found myself edging closer and closer to the red gates of the park that sent what I originally perceived as a strong message to outsiders – keep out. Across my many trips to Chinatown, I had only observed two visitors besides myself venture into this seemingly forbidden realm. Nonetheless, one evening I was pulled towards the heat of the games like the overwhelming abundance of spectators, and soon found myself sitting

along the benches not far from a pair of men. My phone had long since died, per usual, and I asked one of the gentlemen for the time. He expressed a quick confusion, but after pointing at the invisible watch on my wrist, he smiled and handed over his phone. The man's soft kindness transversed our shared language barriers, and I began to look at Mary Soo Hoo Park differently.

My initial intimidation quickly turned to an amazement at the park's sense of community. Among the metal tables and benches, Mary Soo Hoo Park exemplifies the power of Chinatown's community that embraces a versatility seen in the functions of the heart's two pulmonary arteries. Just as the [pulmonary trunk](#) splits into two, the actions that take place in the park are widely dispersed. It is a place of togetherness, sprinkled with easy conversation, a place of commerce, where Chinatown's residents can harmlessly bicker over the prices of liquor bottles, and a place of significant competition. Its community sees sunshine, Boston's bitter cold wind, and even the steady sprinkle of rain, during which players move tables under Chinatown's Gate in order to continue their game. Mary Soo Hoo Park brings breath to the lungs of Chinatown.

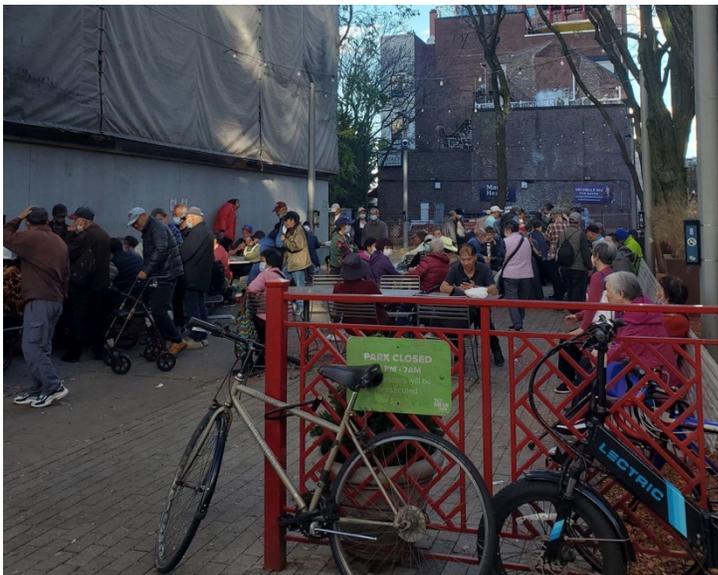


Figure 1: Mary Soo Hoo Park on a sunny Saturday afternoon.



Figure 2: Players move the table on a cold, drizzly Wednesday in December to continue their game.

CHINATOWN'S PLAYGROUNDS: where new blood enters the neighborhood.

Across from Mary Soo Hoo Park lies the Auntie Kay and Uncle Frank Chin Park, nestled along the Rose Kennedy Greenway and below ornate paper lanterns. The park is littered with childish banter, liberated laughter, and the patter of feet on a padded playground surface. The differences in the neighboring parks are immediately distinguishable – while Mary Soo Hoo is occupied with an older population, here, young children interweave themselves through the orange and green geometric patterns of the unique jungle gym. A mix of parents and grandparents watch their children play while seated on a perfectly shaded curved ledge alongside the park, presenting a strong [multigenerational](#) dynamic common for Asian families. Similar to the [right atrium](#) being a central location for blood to first enter the heart, I felt as if

the Auntie Kay and Uncle Frank Chin Park fostered a safe place for Chinatown's youth to slowly grow into their community.



Figure 3: Children play along the Auntie Kay & Uncle Frank Chin Park jungle gym.



Figure 4: Paper lanterns aglow over Auntie Kay & Uncle Frank Chin Park on a Saturday evening.

PHILIPS SQUARE: unique within Chinatown in its ability to carry oxygenated blood back to the heart of the neighborhood.

On sunny days, the colorful plaza at the corner of Harrison Avenue and Essex Street sees the collection of young boys meeting before going to stir up some fun and plenty of pedestrians stopping to enjoy their fresh boba or newly purchased fruits from the street vendors. Yet the vibrant patterns of green, blue, and white on the pavement mask a deeper truth reflective of Chinatown's tumultuous history. In the 1890s, Harrison Avenue was intentionally widened from one to three lanes with the goal of displacing Chinese businesses and homes, one of many attempts to [eradicate](#) Boston's Chinatown. Philips Square consists of a recently reclaimed lane, and the two proud guardian lion statues looking out onto Essex Street, originally Taiwanese gifts, were returned after being taken by a private contractor during the [Big Dig](#). The plaza is a strong indication of Chinatown's incredible resilience, and it takes after the unique nature of the heart's [pulmonary veins](#). Philips Square is one-of-a-kind in that it is Chinatown's strongest act of reclamation, and pulmonary veins are one-of-a-kind in that they are the only veins to carry oxygenated blood. Bringing blood back into the heart, Philips Square brings a reclaimed sense of community back to Chinatown.



Figure 5: Taiwanese guardian lion statues look out from Philips Square.

JIA HO SUPERMARKET: the local supplier of necessities to the heart of Chinatown.

When you first enter Chinatown from the intersection of Washington and Beach Street, it's easy to pass over the dim shadows of Knapp Street. But amidst its darkened corners lies a shining beacon – a large Jia Ho Supermarket sign that illuminates the early crawl of night. As I wandered up and down the aisles, my nose tickling with Asian spices and eyes weary under the sterile store lights, I overheard conversations only in Chinese – a customer laughed with a worker behind the butcher counter, a young woman quietly chatted with the cashier as her items were rung up. Just as the [aorta](#) is responsible for bringing oxygenated blood to the rest of the body, the Jia Ho Supermarket provides Chinatown inhabitants with their daily necessities, along with opportunities to chat with neighbors and friends, and exchange comforting words with familiar workers.



Figure 6: Jia Ho SuperMarket.

CHINATOWN’S ARTS INITIATIVE: composed of places where blood enters the neighborhood, carrying this sense of community throughout the heart.

Scattered about Chinatown’s intertwining streets and alleyways, building walls are engulfed with vast murals, bringing a powerful sense of community and inspiration to the neighborhood. The Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center, in collaboration with the [Pao Arts Center](#), has recently dedicated itself to bringing Chinatown together, one painting at a time.

Between Tyler Street and Harrison Avenue, an expansive mural looks over an open parking lot on the side of Gaga Seafood. [“Tale of an Ancient Vase,”](#) painted by Chinese-Cambodian artist Bryan Beyunk, refers to a popular Chinese tale about Emperor Shun, encompassing an embellished vase, and streaks of red, green, brown, and gray reminiscent of Chinese towns. On the other side of the neighborhood, hidden along Oxford Street and peeking out along Essex, Thai artist Ponnopa Prakkamakul depicts a bowl of noodles that steadily transforms into a brilliantly red dragon in her mural [“Where We Belong.”](#)

The aforementioned murals are two of many arts initiatives meant to be embraced by the community while empowering and uplifting Chinatown’s residents. As the superior vena cava vein and left atrium are vital to the inner workings of the heart, these integral pieces of art are vital to the dynamic of Chinatown’s community as they serve to celebrate Chinese culture and the neighborhood’s resilience. The [superior vena cava](#) carries blood within the heart, spreading a sense of pride in the shape of a beautifully painted blue and white vase. The [left atrium](#) is where blood first enters the heart, displayed in Prakkamakul’s mural that slowly works its way closer to the center of Chinatown.



Figure 7: “Where We Belong” by Ponnopa Prakkamakul.



Figure 8: Tale of an Ancient Vase” by Bryan Beyunk.

After a multitude of hours wandering the streets of Chinatown, peeking into different restaurants, stopping for some dim sum, sitting, observing, and shivering in the parks as winter crept in, I felt I was coming upon an answer to my question – *what made Chinatown so alive?* The steady beat of a heart that I was reminded so deeply of during my first visit was making sense – the incredibly unique places, art pieces, and parks I had stumbled upon collaborate in the same way that the anatomy of the heart functions, both coming together to create an extraordinary sense of power and energy. This seemed adequate to fulfill my curiosity at first...

yet I had a feeling my conclusions were off, like I was missing a vital piece to the puzzle. Antsy to find my answer, I caught the next T and headed to Mary Soo Hoo Park, taking a seat on the outer benches. I gazed ahead at the shimmering lights as dusk set in, at the players, the spectators, the serious yet comfortable silence that enfolded them in their game – and I found my answer.

Chinatown is not defined simply by its parks and stores and murals as most [maps](#) often imply. It's so much more than that. It's about the exchanged greetings from neighbors across the street, the familiar street vendors that Chinatown's inhabitants recognize as a familiar face, the easy conversations amongst cigarette smoke in the parks, on the corners, under lamp lights. In my time exploring the neighborhood and the inner workings of its beating heart, I had found the areas of Chinatown that displayed its incredible resilience, history, and community that is like no other in Boston. And *that* is what invigorates Chinatown, *that* is what fuels the steady pulse of the neighborhood. In my map of Chinatown and its markers, I aimed to encapsulate this theme. Amidst the brilliantly powerful red, gold, and blue colors symbolizing Chinese power, cardiac blood flow, and blue veins, I hope you can sense the unmatched power of Chinatown and are enticed to explore the marker locations on your own. I promise you will find them just as beautiful as I have.

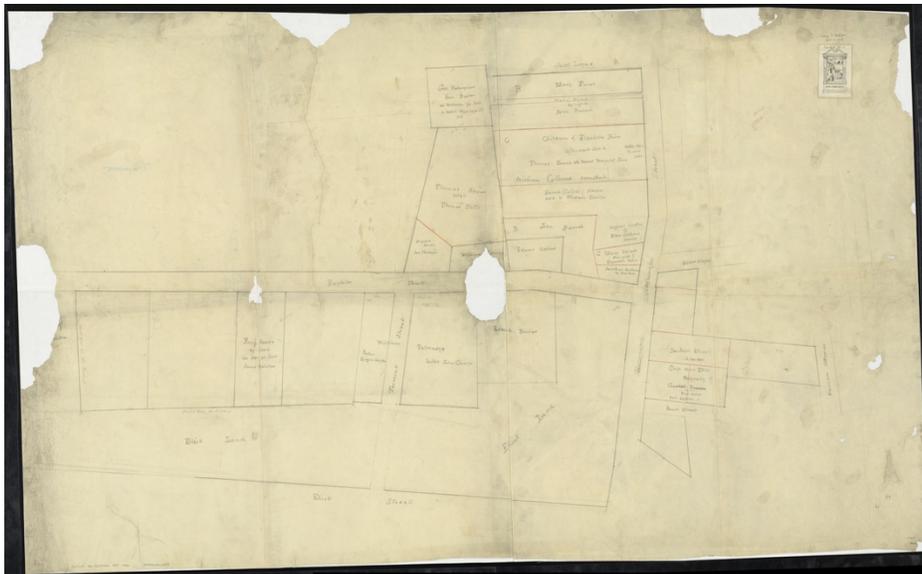


Figure 9: (1890 - 1895) Chinatown Map. From Leventhal Map Center Collection.



Bella Ramirez

COM'25, Journalism; CAS'25, Philosophy & Political Science

Bella Ramirez, proud Latina and media entrepreneur, is a dual degree junior from South Florida. Outside of class, she works on Wicked Smaht Comedy, an intercollegiate comedy show for charity.

SWIMMINGLY:

My Ex-Dance Partner, Water, and Me

I learned to swim pretty late for a South Floridian. I remember for the placement test the lifeguard asked me to freestyle across the pool. *Too easy*. My 10-year-old brain thought that meant I could do whatever I wanted. *Just keep paddling*. I doggy-paddled barely a quarter of the pool when he stopped me. Level 1 swim lessons met on Saturday.

...

Growing up in South Florida meant “Hurricane Days” — days off to accommodate for repairing damage, draining flooding, or just generally getting back to school safely. Depending on the school, you would get more or fewer hurricane days. After I got reassigned schools for a special program, my fancy new elementary school sat in the richer part of town and basked in the resources of a proper drainage system: fewer hurricane days.

The drain system in South Florida gets a lot of attention fiscally and socially. Earlier this year, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis pledged \$16,676,000 to Broward County to “replace the existing non-functional and insufficient stormwater infrastructure” (“Governor Ron DeSantis”). Broward County also pledged in their 2023 fiscal year budget \$109 million to water and wastewater management (“FY23 Recommended Budget-In-Brief”). Keeping these in working order changed whether people could go to school or work after storms.

My high school sat in the older part of town, on a slight decline. In my freshman year, we experienced Hurricane Irma. When it hit my town, the storm was fluctuating between a Category 3 and 4 (US). My brick palace of learning drowned and left us with a week off from school and fish swimming in the football field for even longer (Twitter). The drainage system wasn’t as well-oiled in Plantation, FL than it was in Cooper City, FL: more hurricane days.

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Everyone was screaming except me. The Saturday swim lesson at the community center appeared to have 10 kindergarteners and your favorite grimacing fourth-grader enrolled. *How embarrassing*. They started by dipping our heads underwater. One by one, children aged in single-digits giggled under chlorine-infested waters. *I can’t do this*. I took a lesson from the kindergarteners around me and began to sob when they pushed my head under. I ate my utterance and a large gulp of disgusting pool water. *I can’t breathe. I can’t do this*.

The pool rippled my silhouette as I left the class behind and dotted my towel with saltwater leaking from my eyes. Swimming felt too much like drowning.

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In my hometown of Pembroke Pines, the water quality is a case for concern. Hurricane days meant nothing to the impact hurricanes had on water quality. Following Hurricane Irma, residents in Pembroke Pines and surrounding towns were placed on “boil water advisory” (“Three Reasons Why”). South Floridians get their water from the underground Biscayne Aquifer which is also connected to brackish bay water, river and lake freshwater, and an entire series of canals and other waterways. Essentially, the water system in South Florida is a spider web of connection, no matter the type of water.

Following boil water advisories, local water is perceived as unsafe. This perception can lead to an increase in bottled water consumption (Hu et al.). Florida is in the region of the second highest water bottle consumption in the United States. This creates a cycle of more harm as only 7% of plastic bottles are recycled in South Florida as of 2020 despite it being the third highest creator of plastic trash in the United States (*Costs of Single-Use Plastics Pollution in Florida*). Not only do microplastics from the plastic waste harm natural wildlife and the local water supply, but also damage the economy as tourists tend to spend less money in places with more trash (*Costs of Single-Use Plastics Pollution in Florida*).

Aside from water quality warnings creating a chicken-egg situation of water harm from plastics, hurricanes generally tamper with the quality of water. Storm surges from tropical storms or hurricanes can lead to flooding of salt-water and pollutant-contaminated water into the aquifer through the pores in limestone (Luscombe). This means the water treatment plants need to work overtime to clean the impure water — a near impossibility during power outages that storms may bring (“Three Reasons Why You Need to Boil Water after a Storm”). Further, the pipes that bring out the water are beginning to weaken in their pressure as they age, a tool that helps hold back pollutants. The average age of Miami-Dade county pipes is 50 years (“Three Reasons Why You Need to Boil Water after a Storm”). A half-century-old pipe is not up to speed when trying to clean out the water.

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My mom enrolled me in swim lessons after I almost drowned three times at the beach in one day. She was certain I had a death wish. First, the tides dragged me away. The field trip to heaven was cut short when my dad whisked me up. *I'm invincible*. It was a game of catch and release. The wave would begin to tango with me and critique my footing. *No, Mr. Wave, I'm certain I should be dancing like so*. Hallandale Beach's water made for an unruly dance partner. He'd throw me up and spit me out until I was lying on my belly at the edge of the water coughing up seaweed. *But I'm invincible*.

I always loved to dance. *Just one more dance*. The Atlantic Ocean tried a new move and dipped me back, back, back, under. *Hmph? Hello?* People like to imagine what's under water. I stared out into fading nothing. The overhead sunlight flashed and my brittle bones shook. My

ears cut out — is that why the dance stopped? No more music? Maybe I messed up the move, we weren't in the sand bar anymore. Blue-gray, then just black. I don't think life ends with a fade, just a flash. *Whoosh*. My dance partner flooded out of me. Ocean leaked out of my ears and nose and mouth and eyes. When my ears switched back on there was no music, just my name over and over like an alarm bell. Sand tattooed my back. I wasn't sure if the salt in my mouth was from tears or the Atlantic. I could not domesticate the wild beast of water in my backyard.

So, I went back to the community center the weekend after they put me under. *Long strokes with your arms*. Turns out freestyle is not just doing whatever you want across the length of the pool. *Don't forget to kick. Over and under. Left and right*. I grew gills and took in oxygen with each stroke. Level 2 met on Sundays.

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Hurricane Irma was the highest intensity storm South Florida had faced since the 2000s. Storm intensity has only increased each year. Just a year later, in 2018, Hurricane Michael hit Florida — the first category 5 since 1992 (Luscombe).

The New York Times reported that warming water temperature from climate change steadily increases intensity of storms (“How Hurricane Ian Became so Powerful”). Not only are these storms growing in strength, but they are also becoming more intense more quickly, leaving slimmer times to evacuate or properly prepare for their hit (“How Hurricane Ian Became so Powerful”). Climate change has caused an 8% increase each decade in the likelihood of a hurricane becoming a category 3 or higher (“Climate Change Is Making Hurricanes Stronger, Researchers Find (Published 2020)”). Florida is perfectly positioned to be hit with the worst of these storms the most frequently, as a mermaid-like land body surrounded by ocean.

Aside from acting as monsters of oceanic fury, a side effect of committing treason against Mother Nature, hurricanes act as greedy sugar babies in our economy. The trifecta of hurricanes in 2017 led to over \$200 billion in costs for recovery (Drye). These storms prey upon everything, even wallets.

...

Most kids stopped after Level 1. The goal of the lessons was basically to just not drown, so once you learned the basics of floating and freestyling, the posse of suburban moms nodded their approval and moved the kids to a different activity, usually less in the theme of saving lives. My mom was still paranoid. Level 2 meant an instructor and me alone in the pool unless someone else from the group decided to join. We started with the butterfly stroke. *This feels like leapfrog*. Water rippled around me in a far greater intensity than I ever was used to. *I'm invincible*. A few weeks of the butterfly stroke meant I needed to face the final boss: the backstroke.

I just needed to keep my head above water. *Nose up and out. Breathe in, breathe out*. My fingertips grazed cement. The sandpaper texture signaled me to push off and turn back. *Breathe in, breathe out*. A lonesome clap echoed from one side of the pool. I looked down at a soggy

piece of paper in my hands that read “Graduated Level 2.” The comic sans print meant I tamed the beast. I thought certainly water could be domesticated, as I climbed out of the man-made pool, with the man-regulated water filled with man-made chemicals.

...

During low grade tropical storms, locals sometimes continued life as usual. Kids could play outside a little. Sometimes work and school did not even get canceled. As manageable tropical storms began to get swapped for intense hurricanes, I called upon my swimming lessons.

During the most recent tropical storm I experienced, I sat upon a landfill that the city turned into a park for a picnic with a friend. It was the only hill in town. *Oh, it's raining?* Wind whisked away pieces of our charcuterie board as we barreled into our car. We mixed up the days the tropical storm was supposed to hit. *It's just a tropical storm, not a hurricane.* A few trees fell in the abandoned park. *No wonder no one was here.* My friend strummed a guitar he brought in the seat beside me as the storm raged on. *Breathe in, breathe out.* In the car, I wondered if people who died in hurricanes took Level 2 swim lessons. Would the breaststroke save me, or would I freestyle to safety? In 2020, 475 people died from drowning in South Florida (“Deaths from Unintentional Drowning - Florida Health CHARTS - Florida Department of Health”).

Some studies are finding that parts of South Florida may be devastatingly flooded within three decades due to climate change (Luscombe). Flooding not only removes accessibility to certain places but also threatens the aquifer and sewage systems. *Sh*t, it's still raining.* Hours passed between contemplating various swim styles as mist-swept debris and soft strumming of a guitar in harmony with the whistle of the wind outside floated around me. Once the storm died down, we drove back home. I thought I'd do the backstroke. Just like state officials, not looking around at any impacts of the unruly beast. Just, head above water. *Breathe in, breathe out.*

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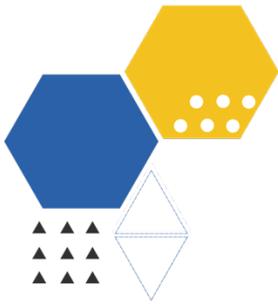
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Kiara Waller

Wheelock'26, Education & Human Development

Kiara Waller is a DMV native and future educator. She enjoys going to concerts, exploring new spaces, and being a mentor to kids as a volunteer in organizations such as Big Brothers Big Sisters.

50 YEARS OF HIP HOP

Artist's Note

I've always considered hip-hop music to be the soundtrack to my life. As a child, I rode around the DMV in my dad's midnight blue Oldsmobile listening to the sickening flow of artists like Slick Rick, LL Cool J, and Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five. In middle school, I discovered artists like Tyler, the Creator, and rediscovered artists like Queen Latifah and Lauryn Hill, which helped me find comfort in my own skin in the most awkward stage of my life and define an image of myself as a young Black Woman that I could be proud of. Now, as a college student, I view hip-hop music as a tool to express my community's lived experiences and a personalized time capsule containing almost 20 years of people, laughs, bonds, and memories.

For my Writing Studio 2 final research paper, I explored a potential generational divide among fans of hip-hop. This generational divide is born out of a difference in opinion over the impact of hip-hop and the change in artists' stylistic choices within their music. Alongside exploring the reasons behind the generational divide in hip-hop, I examined the social impacts of this division. In my paper, I focused on hip-hop's ability to push societal boundaries, navigate the effects of mainstream influence and commercialization, contribute to the progression of social movements such as Black Lives Matter, and have a lasting impact on its wide range of listeners.

For my remediation project, I created an annotated playlist filled with songs my friends and family chose. Transforming my research paper into an annotated playlist was rewarding, insightful, and personal. In addition to my friends and family choosing the songs for the playlist, I wanted to let them share why the songs they selected were important. As a nod to all the intros, outros, and interludes that hip-hop artists use in their music, each piece included in the playlist has a personalized audio message attached to it. I had a 15-page research paper to explain my thoughts; it was only fair to give the hip-hop lovers in my life the same opportunity. Through these audio messages, not only has my perspective on the music I consider to be the soundtrack of my life evolved, but I have also developed a new understanding of the people who have made and contributed to this soundtrack, which has been an indescribable experience.

Through this annotated playlist, I hope you gain (a) multi-generational perspective(s) on hip-hop music and culture, learn something about yourself or someone else, or maybe find a few songs you would like to add to your own music rotation.

Thank you for listening!



Scan (or click) the QR code to view the annotated presentation.



Scan (or click) the QR code to listen to the Spotify playlist.



Susan Shobeiri

CAS'26, Environmental Analysis & Policy and Economics

Susan is a passionate student-athlete on BU's varsity women's soccer team. She is a lover of baking, cats, and learning, as well as the planet and the people on it.

FROM BAD ICE TO LEADERSHIP STEREOTYPES: The Permeation of Gender Inequity Across the NCAA

In March 2021, tensions reached a boiling point, and thousands of student-athletes conveyed their frustrations to the media. In the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) women's basketball tournament, social media posts by University of Oregon's Sedona Prince revealed that the conditions of the women's and men's tournaments differed dramatically. Athletes played both tournaments in a "bubble" due to the coronavirus, but the NCAA instituted conditions for the women that were significantly worse. For example, the men's players received an entire, fully stocked weight room, while the women received a rack of hand weights of no more than thirty pounds. The men's players received plentiful, high-quality food options, and the women received limited, unappetizing options (Macur and Blinder). Such visible disparities sparked public outcry, leading many to articulate that the NCAA prioritizes male collegiate athletes. Yet, these inequities were not created during a single tournament, for a single sport, nor only in the context of the coronavirus pandemic. They have permeated college athletics, and sport at all levels, for generations. Such disparities arose from intricate cultural and organizational factors and have shaped the experiences of millions of women. Gender inequities in NCAA athletics, manifested as a result of complex legal, societal, and economic processes, hinder success opportunities for female student-athletes at the university level and beyond.

MACROHISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS: Victorian Ideals and Cold War Athletic Promotion

In recent history, normative values have significantly restricted female participation in competitive sports. Women have had to combat sexist ideals based on flawed scientific understanding, undermining their ability to compete in athletics. In particular, the Victorian age of the nineteenth century emphasized women as the weaker, frailer sex (McCrone 11). The ideal, beautiful body was pale and slight, and society told females that their participation in physical activity would make them unattractive to men. Additionally, a fundamental lack of understanding of female reproductive anatomy led to the misconception that sports would cause harm to their organs and drain their energy, particularly during menstruation (McCrone 7). During the early twentieth century, in the context of the broader women's suffrage movements, women began pushing for more opportunities to partake in sports. In 1900, female athletes participated in the Olympics for the first time, marking the beginning of a shifting cultural relationship between women and sports (Davenport 58). Female collegiate athletics programs experienced a decline in the 1930s, as physical educators fought to replace competition with so-

called “Play Days” that emphasized participation and the cultivation of social values like cooperation (Wushanley). This anti-competition framework was combatted toward the beginning of World War II, as the war inadvertently propagated the growth of intercollegiate athletics for fitness gains. In particular, changing social and political attitudes toward women during this period fostered a supportive environment for female competitive sports (Wushanley).

To understand the shift in women’s collegiate sports from sex-separatist governing bodies to the NCAA, sports historian Ying Wushanley contends that the Cold War era spurred the NCAA to become interested in female sports, contributing to their growth in the 1960s. Global sporting events, like the Olympics, served as a vehicle for governments to demonstrate their national dominance to the public. The United States fell behind the Soviet Union in the 1956 and 1960 Olympics due to the lackluster performance of American female athletes. As a result, according to Wushanley, “the NCAA came to see women’s athletics as part of the puzzle to produce Olympic medal winners and to wrest control of amateur athletics from the Amateur Athletic Union. If colleges were to produce the best athletes, then the NCAA wanted greater control over who would represent athletes in the Olympics, coach at the international level, and administer the programs” (Wushanley 20). Finally, the passage of Title IX of the Education Act of 1972 greatly facilitated the integration of college sports, which made female participation in intercollegiate athletics a legal issue rather than a philosophical one. Understanding these macrohistorical and sociological factors is critical to explaining the contemporary collegiate athletic landscape.

TITLE IX BEGINS TO BRIDGE THE GAP

Legally, Title IX represents the first legislation that actively sought to protect women in high school and collegiate athletics. As the United States Code dictates, “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” While Title IX impacts a wide array of educational activities at all levels, its role in collegiate athletics is especially paramount. Following the institution of Title IX, female participation in collegiate athletics expanded rapidly. From 1972 to 2012, the number of female athletes rose from 30,000 to 190,000 (Irick 69). More recently, the Department of Education released a Policy Interpretation that clarifies the role of colleges and universities in satisfying the requirements of Title IX. Institutions have obligations in three areas: student interests and abilities, athletic benefits and opportunities, and financial assistance. Of particular interest are factors that institutions must consider to determine equal opportunities, including equipment and supplies, scheduling of games and practice time, the opportunity for coaching and academic tutoring, publicity, and locker rooms and other facilities. Colleges must provide equivalent treatment, services, and benefits with these factors. However, the law does not require identical treatment, so long as the “effect of any differences in the overall athletic program are negligible” (“Requirements under Title IX”). Similarly, athletic scholarships should be awarded proportionately to the participation rate of each sex in intercollegiate athletics; this provides institutions with more flexibility in achieving compliance with Title IX. While these provisions

have fundamentally expanded opportunities for female student-athletes, the NCAA continues to perpetuate disparities across a broad spectrum of arenas.

SYSTEMATIC FACILITATION OF INEQUITY: Culture, Infrastructure, and Revenue

Fundamentally, the NCAA's organizational structure and culture have been designed in a manner that directly contributes to gender inequity. Following the media outrage regarding the 2021 women's basketball tournament, the NCAA retained Kaplan Hecker & Fink LLP (KHF) to conduct a thorough external review of NCAA tournaments and gender inequity issues. Representing the first comprehensive, NCAA-supported review of such issues, KHF's two-phase report reveals the expansive structural barriers and infrastructure failures that contribute directly to gender inequities. In particular, the report concludes that the organizational system of the NCAA and its culture prioritizes revenue-producing sports across institutions. As a governing body, the NCAA depends on revenue from media arrangements and tournament attendance to remain dominant. Stark differences in resources have emerged in sports where the NCAA deems one championship to produce more revenue than the other, which results in inequitable student-athlete experiences. Today, the NCAA only deems a select few male Division I sports revenue-producing: baseball, men's basketball, men's ice hockey, men's lacrosse, and wrestling. To quantify the disparities in economic investment, KHF analyzed data from the 2018-2019 season. They concluded that the NCAA spent an average of \$4,285 for each athlete who competed in a men's Division I tournament but only \$2,588 for women's tournament participants, a difference of \$1,697 (*NCAA External 7*). Although factors such as fan attendance and more participants necessitate broader support and resources, these championships and female sports generally cannot reach "revenue-producing" status without sufficient resources and investment. Furthermore, the NCAA lacks the infrastructure needed to measure and monitor gender equity appropriately. The organization has inadequate resources and data to "ensure transparency and accountability around gender equity" (*NCAA External 9*). This lack of data allows institutions to augment disparities with few direct consequences.

Additionally, the NCAA structures its media agreements to encourage uneven investment, perpetuating gender disparities. In particular, the NCAA engineered its deal with CBS-Turner to fundamentally prioritize the men's national basketball championship or "March Madness." In exchange for an annual average payment to the NCAA of approximately \$1.1 billion by 2032, CBS-Turner has gained broadcasting rights to March Madness and the right to market and sell corporate sponsorships for all 90 championships. As a result, CBS-Turner is "incentivized to focus its efforts on developing sponsorships for men's basketball above all other sports" (*NCAA External 28*). Structurally, corporate sponsorships for other sports become limited by this process. Fewer corporate sponsors diminish the student-athlete experience by significantly impacting the atmosphere of championships, as they often have a less professional feel, fewer gifts, and fewer fan events. According to KHF, "these differences in corporate sponsor activation can and do occur for men and women student-athletes competing in the same sport" (*NCAA External 29*). In cultivating this understanding, the report illuminates that gender inequity is inherently connected to differences in economic investment. These discrepancies are highlighted during large tournaments like March Madness but ultimately permeate all aspects of

intercollegiate athletics: equipment, facilities, publicity, and more. Additionally, the NCAA has contracted with ESPN for \$34 million annually in exchange for the broadcasting rights of 29 other championships, including women's basketball. KHF finds that this contract is severely undervalued, and ESPN has broadcasted men's and women's championships differently. The NCAA estimates that the women's basketball tournament could be worth at least \$85 million in 2025, which contradicts the six million dollar valuation in ESPN's current agreement (Tumin). Ultimately, these disparities and the necessity of corporate sponsorship stem from the larger functioning of the capitalist economic system as a whole. While the problem extends far beyond the NCAA and one or two broadcasting companies, the structuring of such arrangements does fundamentally limit the growth of women's collegiate athletics. Given the contemporary American athletic landscape and its reliance on large corporate sponsorships and broadcasting rights, understanding gender inequities in NCAA athletics is impossible without addressing commercial broadcasting. In creating media agreements with vastly different corporate sponsorships, broadcasting, and branding opportunities, the NCAA has structurally incentivized the continuation of gender inequities across most sports.

Some recent positive developments demonstrate the impact sufficient investment in women's sports can have on viewership and perception. The 2023 NCAA women's basketball championship shattered previous viewership records. The Louisiana State University (LSU) vs. Iowa final in April drew an average of 9.9 million viewers and peaked at 12.6 million, making it the most-watched college sporting event ever on ESPN+ and the most-watched women's game on record (Tumin). For comparison, these viewership numbers are higher than every game of last year's NBA Playoffs except for the NBA Finals, every game of last year's Major League Baseball Postseason except for the World Series, and every NHL game in the past fifty years (Lewis). The tournament itself also had the highest attendance ever, with 357,542 spectators. Several factors have contributed to this dramatic increase in viewership. For one, this women's college basketball era represents renewed vigor and energy. 2023's final was the highest-scoring final to date, with LSU winning 102-85, creating an exciting atmosphere and viewer experience (Adgate). Structural changes in branding and investment, instituted following KHF's report, have further contributed to this transformation. For example, the women's tournament was rebranded to "March Madness" last year. Finally, the players' storyline and social media presence have attracted more viewers. This year's final included famous players like Iowa's Caitlin Clark and LSU's Angel Reese and Flau'jae Johnson. These women's basketball stars are likelier to remain in college longer than the best men's players before becoming professional because they can often make more from Name, Image, and Likeness deals than they would make in the Women's National Basketball Association (Witz). Subsequently, fans can develop a familiarity with players and engage more with them on social media, which dramatically helps marketing. The success of the 2023 tournament solidifies the case for increased investment in women's sports and changes to media agreements. When given adequate resources, women's collegiate sports have the capacity to match or exceed the popularity of men's sports. Although equality of investment alone is insufficient to undo the significant inequities experienced by female collegiate athletes, the 2023 women's basketball tournament reveals the impact such investment can have on viewership, facilities, and the economic growth of female sports. Universities themselves play a critical role in mitigating other disparities, such as those in

coaching, resources, and support services, which considerably change the day-to-day experiences of players.

COACHES, ADMINISTRATORS, AND ATHLETIC DIRECTORS: Inequities Beyond Athletes

Gender inequities in the NCAA extend beyond student-athletes to leadership and administrative roles, further impacting the material student-athlete experience. Since the passage of Title IX in 1972, the percentage of female head coaches in women's college sports has been declining (Buzuvis 281). Across all three divisions, women hold just 41.2% of head coaching positions and just over 50% of assistant coaching positions for women's teams (Lapchick 5). Similarly, women account for only 15% of Division 1 NCAA athletic director roles (Lapchick 12). To explain these disparities in athletic leadership, legal scholar Erin Buzuvis details the role of hegemonic masculinity in sports, barriers to entry, and systemic constraints to women's advancement and retention. She contends that "the stereotypes, role conflicts, and job constraints discussed...all operate to construct the appearance that women are less qualified, and less interested, in positions of athletic leadership, so that the narrow associations between sport, leadership, and masculinity remain unchallenged" (Buzuvis 282). Understanding that gender inequities transcend beyond athletes is critical for cultivating a complete comprehension of the NCAA's structural disparities based on gender. Women in leadership and administration positions tremendously influence budget allocations, institutional priorities, and student-athlete treatment. Coaches, in particular, dramatically impact individual experiences. Female coaches can effectively combat stereotypes regarding female leadership and serve as important role models and advocates for their athletes. Additionally, the dominance of male coaches in female sports evokes potent questions regarding the significant power imbalance in sports, especially in the context of increasingly prevalent emotional and sexual abuse and rape allegations. Acknowledging such factors is necessary, as they critically influence female student-athletes playing and overall life experiences.

DAY-TO-DAY DISPARITIES AND THE INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE

To better understand the experiences of female coaches and their impact on student-athletes, I interviewed Boston University's women's soccer head coach, Casey Brown. A BU soccer alum herself, Brown has tremendous experience in the NCAA system; as a player, assistant coach, and finally head coach at Holy Cross, the University of Pennsylvania, and now BU. When she assumed leadership at Holy Cross, Brown was the youngest head coach at the Division I level. Throughout our interview, she shared the implicit biases she has been forced to navigate as a young female coach. For example, one meeting with the president at a prior university to hire a new Athletic Director stood out in her memory. In this meeting, Brown interjected after another head coach repeatedly used "he," assuming the new director would be a male. Brown's interaction demonstrates the "unconscious bias that exists in rooms where decisions are made that perpetuate women not being in leadership positions because it's somehow engrained in them and presumed that it should also be a male." As experiences like this multiply and compound across institutions, opportunities for female success for both players and coaches are dramatically hindered. Brown also spoke to the impact of female

leadership, emphasizing the importance of representation in her own journey to collegiate and professional sports and eventually coaching. She hopes to model strength, confidence, and authentic leadership for her players, combatting stereotypes and “fostering a culture, environment, and program where players know how extraordinarily valued they are.” It is this very insight and leadership that fundamentally dictates the student-athlete experience. In the male-dominated realm of athletic leadership, Brown demonstrates the extraordinary impact female coaches can have on their teams, by virtue of their experience and connection to what their players are going through.

Boston University’s athletic department provides a stimulating example of how these broad historical, legal, and societal factors contribute to structural disparities in individual experiences. Personally, I am a women’s soccer player for BU’s Division I team. Being entrenched in this system has catalyzed my interest in analyzing disparities across the NCAA. From an administrative perspective, BU is an institution that has proclaimed a vested interest in guaranteeing gender equity. However, the experiences of every athletic team do not reflect this goal. At BU, the primary revenue-producing sport is men’s ice hockey. Without a football team, men’s hockey receives significant investment, resources, and media attention and is the primary avenue for cultivating school spirit. There is a notable difference between men’s and women’s ice hockey treatment. Men’s hockey competes in Agganis Arena, a 290,000-square-foot venue with over 6,300 seats for hockey matches. In contradiction, the women’s team plays in Walter Brown Arena, with a 3,806 person capacity. This juxtaposition in venues represents a very material difference in priorities. To understand the differences between the two programs, I interviewed women’s hockey senior Haylee Blinkhorn. Blinkhorn is a crucial player for the team, playing in over 100 games over four seasons. She described many differences in facilities: the men’s locker room is significantly larger, with a fully-stocked kitchen, dedicated athletic training room, and cold and hot tubs. The men had their own weight room in Agganis until just two years ago, while the women shared a strength coach with other teams in a different facility. Yet, Blinkhorn highlights that disparities in the quality of ice itself are what stand out. While Agganis has a dedicated ice crew, general facilities staff maintain Walter Brown. At one point, BU canceled a women’s game because the Zamboni broke down. In addition, Walter Brown is used by ice skaters, youth teams, club hockey teams, and the men’s team if another event is using Agganis. The ceiling at Walter Brown drips, further contributing to an uneven surface. The result of these factors is a notable difference in ice quality, described as soft, snowy, and cut-up by Blinkhorn. Although the women are permitted to train at Agganis, they have the last priority for scheduling, and the location is inconvenient relative to their locker room. These tangible differences have hindered their ability to train effectively and represent the donor money poured into the BU men’s hockey program.

Multiplied over time, such disparities profoundly affect female student-athletes’ well-being, academic success, and career opportunities (Pascoe et al.). According to Celia Brackenridge, a prominent sportswoman and scholar, gender inequities in college athletics may damage athletes psychologically (Brackenridge). This damage can have long-term implications on performance: in sports, the classroom, and the workplace. Gender-specific psychosocial stressors in particular significantly impact mental health outcomes in female athletes. The British Journal of Sports Medicine dictates that “the organisational and social climate in sport can impact women

athletes' mental health as a result of disparity in wages, sex verification policies, decreased opportunities in leadership positions and media under-representation and lack of provision for caring responsibilities" (Pascoe et al.). The combination of such disparities put female athletes at far greater risk of mental illness, making them twice as likely to experience depressive symptoms than men, have higher rates of anxiety, and higher rates of eating disorders (Pascoe et al). Furthermore, inequities in collegiate athletics contribute to and facilitate inequities beyond university. When gender disparities hinder development, student-athletes are less equipped to compete in professional-level sports. In the professional world, women continue to face stark disparities. According to the European Union, there is an underrepresentation of women in global sports leadership positions, a significant minority of female coaches, a stark gender pay gap across most sports, and harmful gender-related stereotypes in media representation (Katsarova). These issues reflect the broader causes of gender inequities in the NCAA, but lack of investment in young female athletes likely perpetuates and furthers disparities.

CONCLUSION

The comprehensive structural processes contributing to gender inequities in NCAA athletics dramatically impact female student-athletes' experiences. After considering some of the historical, economic, legal, and sociological factors that have caused disparities to persist, it becomes clear that more work must be done to challenge their expansive nature. While gender inequities in American college athletics are entrenched in and exacerbated by broader trends, specific institutional and regulatory elements facilitate such differences. Organizational constraints for players and coaches and the emphasis on revenue maximization have harmed women in the NCAA. Given the historical and economic edifice that gender discrimination is rooted in, no single solution exists to immediately better players' experiences in women's sports. Nevertheless, female collegiate athletes deserve more investment, resources, and accountability regarding gender equity to mitigate current disparities and reduce harm. As with sports beyond college, multilateral stakeholder investment will tremendously expand viewership and opportunities for profit, subsequently increasing the resources available for female student-athletes. Observed at Boston University but applicable to other institutions, cultural shifts in the perception of female sports and access to equal resources are essential for transforming the paradigm. Addressing gender disparities now is imperative to create equitable student-athlete experiences and to promote success for female student-athletes in college and beyond.

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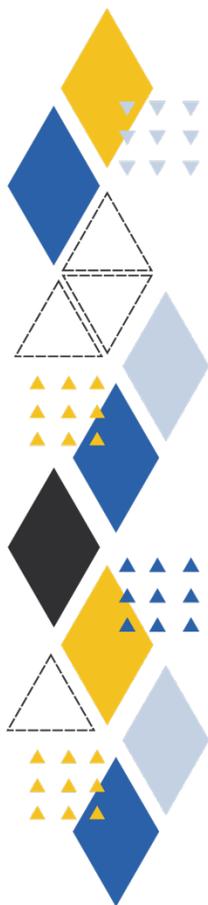
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TEACHING SPECIALIZED ENGLISH TO AFGHAN REFUGEES OUTSIDE URBAN CENTERS

i. ABSTRACT

The United States has had an active role in the exodus of Afghan refugees. Beginning in 2001, the United States' invasion of Afghanistan uprooted communities and pushed more people into the refugee and asylum system. Following the 2021 American withdrawal from Afghanistan, the United States has had increasingly inadequate social infrastructures to support Afghan refugees in the US. Moreover, American bureaucratic measures have limited the socioeconomic mobility of many trained professionals who, through language barriers and legal restrictions, find themselves unable to practice their professions in the United States. These barriers, along with many others, continue to perpetuate the socioeconomic inequalities facing refugee communities. Nonprofits are attempting to rectify these inequalities through various programs, such as English as a second language programs (ESL), career training/development, and legal advisory. Despite the nonprofit sector's contribution, the rural/non-urban-center refugee population still remains isolated from such assistance. This project aims to assist the rural/suburban Afghan refugee community by providing a community-driven professional language program. The program will serve as a space for community development and as a

virtual classroom where professionals with intermediate levels of English can refine their professional English to prepare them for the workforce.

ii. BACKGROUND/NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Academic jargon and industry-specific terminology can confuse native English speakers, but for Afghan refugees with established knowledge and qualifications, continuing their work in the United States requires learning this vocabulary all over again in an unfamiliar language. Depending on the state and certifying organization, Afghan refugees may need to take extensive examinations in English to continue their studies or to transfer certifications from universities in Afghanistan, since the U.S. Department of Education has no centralized process for degree conversion.¹ Professionals may find themselves working jobs they are overqualified for simply because state policies require them to master English in order to continue with their education and careers. Some countries have offered simplified pathways to gain “qualifications” such as the German model of recognizing foreign degrees. However, even those models often depend on certification examinations in the local language; the only exception to the language requirement in Germany occurs under specific, strict circumstances, such as when a “foreign applicant is *incontestably* recognized as refugee,” a definition which invites political bias into the process.² Learning a new language is a time-consuming and mentally taxing process that requires time and resources, a fact local and national organizations do recognize and attempt to assist with by providing programs and classes for ESL students.

The US Department of Education has compiled many resources on their website to aid Afghan refugee families, including both parents and children of all ages, with their language transition journey. Their children’s toolkit includes illustrated stories and children’s workbooks in both Pashto and Dari for children of ages 5-9, reading materials for students in grades 1-3, and flashcards for pronunciation of English words phonetically in Dari/Pashto and vice versa. While there are many beginner-level English language programs (ELPs) available to refugee communities in the United States, there remains a need for intermediate and advanced-level ELPs to further ameliorate refugees’ English language skills. To this end, the Virginia Commonwealth University launched the *English for University Success* program, a free, biweekly online course that teaches communication skills and American culture to asylum seekers and refugees in the United States. While the program remains small, with an enrollment of 11 students, the program saw tremendous growth in the students’ abilities and reported an increase in their confidence in holding academic conversations, maintaining dialogue with peers, and taking initiative to ask questions.³ The United States needs to make sure these programs are widely available, both inside and outside urban centers, so Afghan refugees can benefit from the education and professional experience they developed prior to displacement.

iii. EXPLANATION OF PROBLEM AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

¹ USNEI, “Recognition of Foreign Qualifications.”

² Englmann, “Recognition Procedures.”

³ Heymann, “English Language Program Helps Afghan Refugees.”

There is a need to outline the specific language training needed to facilitate the transition for Afghan refugees in the United States entering communities that lack the infrastructure to provide translators and language classes. Without access to resources and instruction in specialized English, many Afghan refugee professionals are unable to continue their education or careers, being forced to take on positions that do not apply their specialized skill sets.

One of the main problems with existing language training models is that they are often designed for general language proficiency, rather than tailored to the specific needs of professionals in specialized fields. As a result, refugees are often unable to use the language skills they have acquired in their professional lives. Additionally, interpreter services and language classes tend to be available only in urban centers, which can be a significant barrier for those living in rural areas or smaller towns. This lack of access can make it difficult for refugees to take important exams or fill out paperwork without confusion, further hindering their ability to pursue their careers.

Additionally, providing specialized language training to refugees can be expensive and time-consuming. Transporting people to and from cities where language classes are available is costly, and many refugees may not have the financial means to cover the cost of transportation. Additionally, virtual classes may be inaccessible due to a lack of technological literacy or financial obstacles, depending on the demographic being served.

Despite these challenges, it is essential to find solutions that address the specific language training needs of Afghan refugees in the northeastern United States. Providing tailored language instruction can help refugees achieve professional success and become active members of their communities.

iv. DESCRIPTION OF DESIGN/INTERVENTION/POLICY

To make specialized English-language classes accessible to refugee populations living outside of major cities without demanding technological literacy or access, our model brings classes to smaller communities with significant Afghan refugee populations. With the support of a major ESL learning center in Boston, teachers and volunteers from communities across New England would receive professional training and go on to run ten-week specialized English courses in their own communities. This model splits the courses offered by career track, including medicine, law, technology, and communications. By focusing on industry-specific vocabulary and adapting to cultural and structural differences between careers in the United States and Afghanistan, these courses would provide Afghan refugees with the English knowledge required to convert their foreign qualifications and enter higher-level positions.

Each class would consist of 15-20 students of working age⁴ who have at least a basic working knowledge of the English language and require more specialized vocabulary. The goal is for participants to learn vocabulary useful to their specific circumstances, so they can continue with their education and/or career. Grouping the courses by career path also creates a community of

⁴ Defined here as ages 25-60.

people with similar interests, making the course a networking opportunity as well as an academic one.

v. METHODS/TIMELINE

Existing organizations that offer English-language classes can train community members from small cities or peri-urban communities to run classes according to our proposed model. Curriculum development with consultations from native speakers of Pashto and Dari should take a minimum of two to three months, drawing on existing resources available in urban centers. The organization would connect with teachers/community volunteers over Zoom on two separate weekends for training in sensitivity and classroom practices. After teacher training is completed, the teachers and volunteers would have an additional two months to adapt and promote the course in the target communities. The organization would also fund the provision of lesson materials, such as printed handbooks and vocabulary sheets, and access to computers where necessary. All lesson resources would be uniformly distributed, with space built in for adaptation according to the needs of the community. An experienced teacher from the sponsoring organization would perform two check-ins to assess progress and possible need for modifications.

This project includes a handbook for volunteers who work with Afghan refugees in ESL classrooms in Eastern and Central Massachusetts. The attached handbook begins with an introduction to the importance of learning English for Afghan refugees and some of the difficulties that can be expected. The handbook also includes a sample lesson plan of the type that volunteers can use to begin teaching specialized English to Afghan refugees. The lessons are focused on building industry-specific vocabulary and comprehension for Afghani professionals interested in transferring their education or qualifications to the United States. The lessons are designed for students with a beginning to intermediate existing knowledge of the English language and its structure. An attached chart shows the proposed sequence and topics of each lesson for our four tracks: medicine/health, law, technology, and communications.

vi. FEASIBILITY

When approaching this project, it is crucial that our methodology is targeted in order to make it feasible. By having our classes cater specifically to professionals in the medical and legal fields, we believe that our project will have a beneficial effect. Some specific challenges we aim to address are employing qualified instructors and ensuring that the program is self-sustaining and that its materials remain relevant to the participants long after they graduate.

It is important that this project includes check-ins on the quality of group learning; yet it is crucial that these quality checks do not feel like an auditing session or make participants uncomfortable. To mitigate this, we hope to offer anonymous feedback forms in order to avoid intrusion. It is crucial that a project like this has a plan in place to check for potential issues, so we aim to foster an environment that allows for open communication between the participants and those leading the program. Another potential feasibility issue that we hope to address is the recruitment of qualified instructors. This project plans to employ members of the local community to teach these language sessions, but there is of course a risk in this method. By creating and publicizing open applications for community members who know Pashto or Dari,

our project would depend much on word of mouth for recruitment. It may be difficult to find volunteers who match these requirements, but it is important that our instructors are culturally aware and sensitive to the learning methods we hope to employ.

The final challenge that is foreseeable in this project is its use of technology. The program's success could be catalyzed by having these language sessions taught virtually in order to reach a wider audience and avoid the cost of transportation and classroom space. Yet, it is important to recognize that not everyone has access to the digital resources necessary to achieve this. Before launching classes in a specific city, it is important that the program assess local demographics and understand the limitations of technology use and adjust accordingly, perhaps even by employing a hybrid model. We hope to ease the aforementioned challenges by initiating a mentor program which would forge relationships between former and current participants. This would aim to ease any anxieties that may arise for new members while also helping to jumpstart these individuals' professional networks in the United States.

vii. BUDGET

The attached budget covers the per-location cost of teachers' wages (assuming we cannot find volunteers), transportation for check-ins, class materials, and miscellaneous supplies such as pens, pencils, paper, and promotional flyers for one cycle of all four tracks. The figures for teachers' wages comes from assuming the average hourly wage of \$30.40 for 80 total hours of instruction.⁵ Transportation costs include the price of a car rental, as classes may not occur in areas quickly accessible by public transit, and gasoline for a trip of up to 50 miles away and back. The cost of classroom materials, such as handouts, assumes 15 people per class.⁶ For classes requiring computer access, we would hope to partner with the local library or high school to gain free access to their computer labs. Funding for this project would come entirely from grants and donations. As the point of these classes is to improve English-language skills to enter into higher education or higher-paying jobs, the classes should be free, or any cost should not be prohibitive if applied.

viii. CONCLUSIONS

The findings stated above demonstrate the urgency of addressing the critical needs of medical and legal professionals in the Afghan refugee community. Entry into the United States workforce is already complicated due to national, gender, and racial barriers. By providing employment-focused ESL classes that incorporate both professional vocabulary and career development workshops, this program can help Afghan refugees navigate the United States' complex job market. By focusing on the issue of language-learning, this project aims to tackle a systemic issue with a tangible solution. This project's background research and methodology hopes to create a culturally and situationally adapted plan in order to provide Afghan refugees with all the available linguistic resources to empower their transition into the American workforce.

⁵ "Average Per Diem Teacher Salary."

⁶ "Simple Print."

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Appendix

v. TIMELINES AND METHODS

	Medicine/Health	Law	Technology	Communications
Week 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intro to class - US medical structure - Knowledge Assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intro to class - Knowledge Assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intro to class - Knowledge Assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intro to class - Knowledge Assessment (Diagnostic Essay)
Week 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pronunciation review - Physical descriptions - Anatomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pronunciation review - Intro to the US legal system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pronunciation review - Basic computer terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pronunciation review - Basics of writing
Week 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Symptoms - Common illnesses and diseases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intro to the US govt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cybersafety - US laws and restrictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understand arguments - Identify key points
Week 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Treatments - Tests and noninvasive diagnostic methods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People and professions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hardware and computer engineering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building an argument - Tone, voice, style
Week 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hospital vocab 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Litigation, mediation, & settlement - Civil vs criminal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Software and coding terminology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grammar review - Transition words and academic vocabulary

Week 6	- Specialists	- Types of law	- Word processing - Spreadsheets	- Transition words and academic vocabulary cont.
Week 7	- Billing and insurance - Technology intro	- Documenting - Technology intro	- Website building	- Finding sources - Evaluating sources - Technology intro
Week 8	- Cultural differences - Gender and sexuality - Domestic and sexual violence training	- Cultural differences - Courtroom procedure	- Databases - Metadata and tag systems	- Identifying audience - Generic conventions
Week 9	- Degree conversion info - Exam prep	- Bar prep OR - General review	- Ethical use principles	- Cultural differences and communication
Week 10	- Licensing process info - Exam prep	- Bar prep OR - General review	- Job search workshop - Conversation practice	- Job search workshop - Conversation practice

vii. BUDGET PER LOCATION, ONE COURSE CYCLE

REVENUE	CURRENT YEAR BUDGET
Grants and contracts	\$ 3,000.00
Gifts	\$ -
Fundraising	\$ 500.00
TOTAL YEARLY REVENUE	\$ 3,500.00

EXPENSES	CURRENT YEAR BUDGET
Wages	\$ 2,432.00
Transportation	\$ 125.00
Classroom Materials	\$ 250.00
Computer Access	\$ -
Misc.	\$ 250.00
TOTAL YEARLY EXPENSES	\$ 3,057.00



Prerna Shankar

CAS'26, Neuroscience

Prerna is a sophomore from New Jersey on the pre-med track. She is passionate about equity at the intersection of healthcare and disability advocacy. She also loves all things acapella and Marvel!

SPLIT

Artist Statement

It's hard to exist when society already has an ideation of you before you figure out who you are yourself. How is it possible to reconcile your many facets if people have already made that choice for you?

Split depicts the struggle between two assumed and expected identities, portrayed on a singular person. Western ideals of female beauty are superimposed on the left. Shown is sleek, shiny, straight hair; fair, clear skin; flawless, but natural makeup; low-cut, revealing clothes; a slim, fit figure; and more. Orientalist views of Indian women by the Western world are portrayed on the right. Brown, dull, skin; hyperpigmentation; emphasized kajal and lipstick; a large bindi and gold jewelry; traditional Indian garb, etc.

The juxtaposition of these two identities, and the stark contrast between them, represent their irreconcilable nature. Stereotypes, like the words scrawled around the split, are harmful: they affect how we see ourselves in the greater context of society. This piece of art, though self-exploratory, aims to bring light to those differences and their pernicious nature.

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Sydney Steger

Pardee'23, International Relations

Sydney is a recent graduate hailing from New Hampshire. She is thrilled to share an excerpt from her Keystone Project, which made her a passionate fan of archival research.

A TALE OF TWO LOBBIES: Interest Group Influence & the US-Vietnam Rapprochement Process



Published below is a summary of Sydney's Keystone Project. Scan (or click) the QR code to view the full paper.

The contemporary international system is comprised of a web of complicated, overlapping, and ever-changing relationships. These relationships and their histories help define a state's foreign policy as they navigate partnerships, alliances, and enemies in pursuit of national goals. One notable relationship as of late is the American-Vietnamese relationship. 2020 marked the 25th anniversary of diplomatic normalization between the two states, simply meaning that they share a formal, "normal" relationship, and have official diplomatic representation with each other.¹ Since its inception in 1995, diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Vietnam have been increasingly important for the political, economic, and military strategy of both states, and these relations have recently received special attention by the United States government and outside observers.² With the rising influence and power of China, maintaining a relationship with a regional leader in the Indo-Pacific, such as Vietnam, only continues to grow in importance. However, the past of this relationship could not be in higher contrast from its current state, defined by conflict, mistrust, and decades of resentment from both the United States and Vietnam. This is no surprise, considering the modern relationship between the two states began with war, but it nonetheless draws into question how such a transformation occurred.

It is hard to overstate the impact of the Vietnam War on both countries, marking defeat, failure, and doubt from the American public for the United States, and continued imperialism, violent suppression, and economic strife for Vietnam. It was a devastating and controversial conflict, and left Vietnam in particular in a decades-long state of recovery.³ Much of the

¹Mike Pompeo, "25th Anniversary of U.S. – Vietnam Bilateral Relations," *U.S. Embassy & Consulate in Vietnam*, 2020, <https://vn.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/25th-anniversary/>.

²Poling, Natalegawa, Hudes, "The Unlikely, Indispensable U.S.-Vietnam Partnership," *CSIS*, 2021, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/unlikely-indispensable-us-vietnam-partnership>.

³Martini, *Invisible Enemies: The American War on Vietnam, 1975-2000*, pg. 7, and Frederick Z. Brown, "The United States and Vietnam," In *Honey and Vinegar: Incentives, Sanctions, and Foreign Policy* by

understanding of the relationship between these two countries comes from this period of time, one where reconciliation and normalization may have seemed impossible. The relationship included an inability to cooperate outside of war-related issues, no economic relations, and general hesitancy and strife. Major changes in policy had to occur between the end of the war in 1975 and the normalization of relations in 1995 that allowed for this relationship to shift, something not captured by the story of the Vietnam War alone. The transformation of this relationship was the product of decades of concentrated efforts towards normalization by its advocates. This was alongside similarly engaged efforts to stall or block normalization of diplomatic and trade relations by other parties.⁴ Ultimately, these efforts would result in the aforementioned diplomatic normalization, as well as other changes to the U.S.-Vietnam relationship such as the lifting of a trade embargo in 1994 and creation of the Bilateral Trade Agreement in 2000.⁵ With these conflicting forces at play, we can explore how this series of events came to be through understanding the course of normalization under the Clinton administration. Utilizing documents from this administration's office, produced through original research at the Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock, AR, a more nuanced perspective of this shifting relationship is gained.

The inevitability of normalization under the Clinton administration remains contentious in contemporary understandings of the U.S.-Vietnam relationship. While significant geopolitical and economic shifts made a U.S.-Vietnam relationship more appealing, this did not negate the remaining lasting concerns from groups like the POW/MIA lobby relating to the war. Viewing the results of this process through these large-scale events neglects the role of a wide range of actors, particular those outside of the government. One particular group's role has been overshadowed by the governmental parties at work: corporate America. A large and diverse group of corporations, including companies such as Boeing and Motorola, worked to forward the progress of U.S.-Vietnam relations, seeing promise in expanding further into the Indo-Pacific market.⁶ This group's influence is felt through subtle influence, such as letters to the Clinton administration, despite the administration's diminishment of such influence.⁷ One such letter encapsulates the American corporate world's perspective on normalization:

Mr. President, we agree that American families are entitled to the full support of the U.S. Government in getting as complete an accounting as possible of those still listed as prisoners of war or missing in action...We, too, believe that an increased

Haass, Richard N., and O'Sullivan, Meghan L., eds. (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), p. 138.

⁴Michael J. Allen, *Until the Last Man Comes Home* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pg. 5.

⁵"Chronology of U.S. – Vietnam Relations," *U.S. Embassy & Consulate in Vietnam*, <https://vn.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/chronology-of-us-vietnam-relations/>.

⁶Nathan R. Clason, "Two Sides On "Normal:" A Comparison Of Eight Views On U.S. Rapprochement With Vietnam, 1989-1995," PhD. Dissertation (Michigan State University, 2017), pg. 52.

⁷Martini, *Invisible Enemies: The American War on Vietnam, 1975-2000*, p. 195. and Letter from Business Leaders to President Clinton on Normalization with Vietnam, 24 September 1993, 2015.0530.S, Box 1, Folder 20, Clinton Presidential Library.

American presence in Vietnam will help to promote that country's program of liberalization, thereby advancing important U.S. policy objectives.⁸

In contrast to corporate America, we have the POW/MIA lobby, a powerful group that rose out of the end of the war, and one which sought to pause normalization until the fullest possible accounting of POW/MIA soldiers in Vietnam was complete. It is likely that the efforts of this group and its supporters in the political sphere slowed the normalization process down significantly, with various documents showing coordinated efforts by and on behalf of this group to delay normalization.⁹ For example, supporters of the lobby in Congress would work to slow or qualify expansion of U.S.-Vietnam relations in letters to the President's office.

In view of the above, I believe it would be irresponsible for your Administration to normalize relations with Vietnam before the Congress and the American people have had an opportunity to further review Vietnam's cooperation on live-sighting investigations and the extent of Vietnamese disclosure concerning POW/MIA records and remains.¹⁰

Despite these efforts, U.S.-Vietnam normalization still came to fruition under the Clinton administration. The POW/MIA lobby saw diminishing influence amongst strong accounting efforts, misinformation and conspiracy, and even scandal. In contrast, the corporate lobby benefited from its alignment of goals with the Clinton administration. While this outcome may have favored the wishes of the corporate lobby, with the archives capturing this relationship, it does not negate two decades of delayed progress, additional accounting missions, and widespread understanding of Vietnam that can be largely attributed to the POW/MIA lobby.¹¹ The archives reveal the complicated, often subtle, but nonetheless present influence of these two groups through the normalization process.

Through the documents available in the Clinton Presidential Archives, contextualized in the normalization process, we can see that individuals played a significant part in a process often attributed fully to larger geopolitical trends. These individuals shaped the rapprochement process and the rhetoric around Vietnam, especially as different government parties attempted to address their concerns. This back-and-forth dialogue is reflected in the archives, and by placing this dialogue in the timeline of rapprochement and the context of the U.S.-Vietnam

⁸Letter from Business Leaders to President Clinton on Normalization with Vietnam, 24 September 1993, 2015.0530.S, Box 1, Folder 20, Clinton Presidential Library.

⁹See Letter from Representative Benjamin Gilman to President Clinton on IMF Decision, 30 June 1993, 2015.0530.S, Box 1, Folder 6, Clinton Presidential Library and Letter from Representative Solomon to President Clinton on IMF Decision, 1 July 1993, 2015.0530.S, Box 1, Folder 6, Clinton Presidential Library, and Letter from Representative Peter King to President Clinton on IMF Decision, 1 July 1993, 2015.0530.S, Box 1, Folder 6, Clinton Presidential Library, and Letter from Representative Rohrabacher to President Clinton on IMF Decision, 29 June 1993, 2015.0530.S, Box 1, Folder 6, Clinton Presidential Library.

¹⁰Letter from Senator Smith to President Clinton on Normalization with Vietnam, 5 July 1995, 2015.0530.S, Box 2, Folder 26, Clinton Presidential Library.

¹¹Clason, "Two Sides On "Normal:" A Comparison Of Eight Views On U.S. Rapprochement With Vietnam, 1989-1995," pg. 6.

relationship at larger, we gain a micro-scale understanding of the normalization process. These interactions affected the process through changed rhetoric, particular attention and influence attributed to private actors, and tangible results, and this is valuable insight not only for understanding the increasingly important U.S.-Vietnam relationship, but for gaining a more nuanced understanding of the influence of American interest groups in contemporary foreign policy lobbying at-large.

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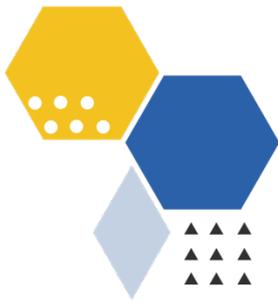
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Liam (he/him) grew up in a single-parent household on the NY/NJ border. He hopes to one day research the impacts of environmental and community degradation on childhood grief.

No. 21-468

In The Supreme Court of the United States

NATIONAL PORK PRODUCERS COUNCIL, ET AL. *PETITIONER*,

v.

ROSS, ET AL. *RESPONDENT*.

**On Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals
for the Ninth Circuit**

**BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE FOR LIAM FITZPATRICK
IN SUPPORT OF RESPONDENTS**

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BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE FOR LIAM FITZPATRICK IN SUPPORT OF RESPONDENTS

STATEMENT OF INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE

Liam Fitzpatrick is a student in Boston University’s College of Arts and Sciences, studying Economics and Political Science with a minor in Business Administration.¹ He is a Boston University full-tuition Trustee Scholar and an intern with the Center for Policing Equity, a nonprofit dedicated to finding interdisciplinary, data-driven solutions to police violence and racial injustice.

He has published research articles on topics including environmental justice, ecomasculinity, and sustainable business development. He is the author of “Extremism on /pol/ and the Online Radicalization Network: How 4chan’s Structure and Culture Encourage Alt-Right Terrorism and Political Violence” (2022), an analysis of far-right political violence in the United States as it relates to conspiracy theories, the January 6th insurrection, and electoral politics, which was published in *Kaleidoscope* magazine. Accordingly, he has an interest in this case and its implications for sustainable business development, interstate politics, and legal ethics.

This brief is filed with the written consent of all parties pursuant to this Court’s Rule 37.2(a). Copies of the requisite consent letters have been filed with the Clerk.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

Climate change is the most severe natural threat to Americans’ way of life faced in the history of this country. Though scientists, politicians, and reporters have sought to communicate the dire nature of this crisis,² American industries continue to lead emissions production globally. One of

¹ All parties have consented to the filing of this brief. In accordance with Rule 37.6, I note that no part of this brief was authored by counsel for any party, and no person or entity other than amicus, its members, and its counsel made any monetary contribution to the brief’s preparation or submission.

² Peter James Spielmann (June 30, 1989), Associated Press: “A senior U.N. environmental official says entire nations could be wiped off the face of the Earth if the global warming trend is not reversed by the year 2000.” / Sophie Schroder (October 8, 2018), Greenpeace: “IPCC climate report gives us 10 years to save the world.” / John Bowden (January 22, 2019), The Hill: “Ocasio-Cortez: ‘World will end in 12 years’ if climate change not addressed.”

these industries, the livestock industry, has tangible adverse effects on the environment, yet its omnipresence in world diets is undeniable. Pork is the most consumed animal in the world, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.³ Throughout American history, large corporate entities have sought to streamline the livestock raising process, increasing efficiency to detrimental health and ethical consequences.

In 1905, Upton Sinclair published one of the most famous pieces of consumer advocacy ever written, titled *The Jungle*. In it, he calls out the meat industry of America's Gilded Age, providing visceral and horrific journalistic accounts of the mechanization of meat production:

“They had chains which they fastened about the leg of the nearest hog, and the other end of the chain they hooked into one of the rings upon the wheel. So, as the wheel turned, a hog was suddenly jerked off his feet and borne aloft... There was a long line of hogs, with squeals and life-blood ebbing away together; until at last each started again, and vanished with a splash into a huge vat of boiling water. It was all so very businesslike that one watched it fascinated. It was pork-making by machinery, pork-making by applied mathematics. And yet somehow the most matter-of-fact person could not help thinking of the hogs; they were so innocent, they came so very trustingly; and they were so very human in their protests--and so perfectly within their rights! ... It was like some horrible crime committed in a dungeon, all unseen and unheeded, buried out of sight and of memory.”

After this book's release, the federal government took actions to protect consumer health and safety (while also protecting animal welfare as a secondary consequence of its efforts), creating an organization called the FDA to root out unsanitary and unethical practices in the food and drug production process. The government also passed the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (1938), and the Public Health Service Act of 1944 which ensured the safety and potency of products like vaccines, milk, and some food on vehicles that traveled across interstate borders.

Yet animal cruelty persists, and state governments bear the brunt of financial costs associated with foodborne illness and other health concerns. As such, California posed a proposition to its voters that sought to root animal cruelty out of meat sold in the state. Proposition 12, titled “The Prevention of Cruelty to Farm Animals Act,” is designed to “prevent animal cruelty by phasing out extreme methods of farm animal confinement, which also threatens the health and safety of California consumers, and increase the risk of foodborne illness and associated negative fiscal impacts on the State of California.”⁴ Cal. Health & Safety Code § 25990. It was overwhelmingly passed by California voters in 2018. Aside from pork, the proposition seeks to eliminate the sale of veal, pork, and shelled and liquid eggs raised in a high-cruelty environment, or one that prevents the animal from lying, standing, fully extending its limbs, or turning freely. In the case of pork, the proposition requires pigs to be kept in an environment with more than 24 square feet of usable floor. Pigs enclosed by large pork producers can live in as little as 8 feet, with the University of Pennsylvania School of Veterinary Medicine recommending at least 9 square feet. When domestic

³ The Food and Agriculture Organization is an intergovernmental body within the United Nations committed to leading international efforts to defeat global hunger.

⁴ Bursey, Kevin W. and Thomas, Anna Lisa (2018) "Proposition 12: Standards for Confinement of Specified Farm Animals; Bans Sale of Noncomplying Products," California Initiative Review (CIR): Vol. 2018, Article 12. Available at: <https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/california-initiative-review/vol2018/iss1/12>.

pigs can be as large as 6 feet in length, existing recommendations leave pigs slightly more than 1.5 times their body length to move about their enclosure.

Petitioner challenged this law as a violation of the Commerce Clause, which dictates that the federal government alone has the power to regulate interstate commerce. Art. I, § 8, cl. 3. They argue that this case violates the dormant Commerce Clause, an implied power of the Commerce Clause that would prevent states from passing legislation that unfairly or excessively burdens an interstate industry. *West Lynn Creamery, Inc. v. Healy*, 512 U.S. 186 (1994). Through this clause, Respondent is accused of adopting a state law that would have wide-reaching economic implications that cross interstate borders and would unduly limit an industry's ability to maximize profit. *United Haulers Association, Inc. v. Oneida-Herkimer Solid Waste Management Auth.*, 550 U.S. 330 (2007). Petitioner seeks to prove that, were California to adopt this legislation, the new policy would have ripple effects throughout the pig production sector that unduly burdens the industry, would impact the cost of pork in states outside California, and could "control commerce occurring wholly outside the boundaries" of California. *Healy v. Beer Institute, Inc.*, 491 U.S. 324 (1989).

After a district court dismissed the complaint, the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals found that Proposition 12 did not violate the dormant commerce clause. Now, the case lies with the Supreme Court.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

I. Proposition 12 does not violate the dormant Commerce Clause. Though Petitioner argues that this proposition could unfairly burden the livestock industry, California has an express interest in providing for the good of its citizens that outweighs the concerns of livestock producers. Any potential implications of the legislation do not qualify as excessive compared to the immense local benefits Californians would enjoy if Proposition 12 remains. Existing laws that seek to protect public good against the interest of interstate commerce profitability already exist in California, such as stricter requirements on infant cribs and lower bacterial counts in milk. The public interest in preventing health complications, decreasing costs associated with those complications, and limiting animal abuse in California are more compelling reasons to adopt Proposition 12 than the potential increased costs and decreased efficiency of pig farming. Though Petitioner seeks to claim that Proposition 12 violates the extraterritoriality principle of the dormant Commerce Clause, the combined lack of use of this doctrine and the fact that California does not seek to control commerce occurring entirely outside the boundaries of its state invalidate Petitioner's argument.

II. A. Striking down Proposition 12 would lead to health complications for Californians that are more severe than the costs incurred by the pork industry. Current recommendations for pig confinement leads to rapid disease spread and antibiotic overuse, creating drug-resistant bacteria and mortgaging the future health of Californians for immediate profit in the short term. Though Petitioner seeks to claim that adopting Proposition 12 would decrease revenue, the policies outlined in Proposition 12 would dramatically decrease the rate of *Trichinella* infection and the costs incurred due to antibiotic purchases and superbug epidemics. The pork industry has already adapted to these sweeping changes and industry leaders have affirmed them, so the financial concerns do not merit consideration.

B. Proposition 12 is an expression of morality by Californians, a constitutionally protected expression validated by Supreme Court caselaw and legal philosophy. Californians should have the right to pass legislation that aligns with their morality, especially if that law does not have the far-reaching, *Pike* test-breaking implications Petitioner claims. Since marketing for the livestock

industry is filled with buzzwords designed to hoodwink consumers into believing their meat is more humanely raised than it really is, California's Proposition 12 cuts through the noise and presents consumers with vetted, humanely raised pork products. Since pigs are uniquely smart livestock, there is an even greater imperative to raise them humanely. Sows raised in gestation crates express physical and psychological consequences of confinement, including overgrown hooves, back sores, and bloody mouths caused by chewing on their crates.

ARGUMENT

I. PROPOSITION 12 DOES NOT VIOLATE THE DORMANT COMMERCE CLAUSE OR THE EXTRATERRITORIALITY PRINCIPLE.

The power of the Commerce Clause to regulate interstate trade has been well-substantiated by Supreme Court precedent. *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 22 U.S. 9 Wheat. 1 1 (1824); see also *Swift and Company v. United States*, 196 U.S. 375 (1905). However, the Commerce Clause has often been interpreted to also include a dormant commerce clause, or an implied power that limits states' abilities to benefit in-state interests at the expense of other states' interests and engage in "economic protectionism." *New Energy Co. v. Limbach*, 486 U.S. 269 (1988). Even so, the Court has expressed interest in maintaining the rights of states to enact legislation for the "public good," especially if that public good is designed to promote public health, morals, or safety. *Bond v. United States*, 572 U.S. 844 (2014); see also *Bacon v. Walker*, 204 U.S. 311 (1907). Though states cede authority to Congress when Congress enacts legislation, no such legislation exists to outweigh Proposition 12, especially because the "historic powers of the States" to make decisions regarding their constituents has been specifically enshrined in Supreme Court doctrine. *Wyeth v. Levine*, 555 U.S. 555 (2009).

Petitioner argues that California's regulation on pork production would have adverse impacts on other states. However, the Supreme Court does not prevent states from enacting legislation just because it may impact the production of goods in other states. *Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America v. Walsh*, 538 U.S. 644 (2003). As such, "ripple effects" alone are not enough to make a state law unconstitutional under the dormant commerce clause. *Energy & Environment Legal v. Epel*, No. 14-1216 (10th Cir. 2015). To understand whether a law violates the dormant Commerce Clause, the Supreme Court developed a balancing test to weigh the benefits of state regulations that seek to "effectuate a legitimate local public interest" against drawbacks of enacting legislation that is "clearly excessive in relation to the putative local benefits." *Pike v. Bruce Church, Inc.*, 397 U.S. 137 (1970).

California has already enacted legislation that would pass the *Pike* test for public interest. California law prohibits the sale of "unsafe" infant cribs that would pass safety standards in different states. California Health & Safety Code § 24502 (2021).⁵ Additionally, according to the California Department of Food and Agriculture, California requires milk produced, processed, and sold in the state to adhere to different standards of purity than milk sold in other states.⁶ California Food and Agricultural Code § 35781-35788 (2007). Though this regulation impacts milk producers and changes the purification process dramatically, the FDA authorized California's purity differences as a valid expression of public interest. Though California's laws have had impacts on

⁵ Found at <https://law.justia.com/codes/california/2021/code-hsc/division-20/chapter-4-7/article-1/section-24502/>.

⁶ Found at <https://law.justia.com/codes/california/2007/fac/35781-35788.html>.

interstate commerce in other states, these have been justified by a legitimate public interest. If these guidelines stand, the position maintained by Proposition 12 should also stand.

Through the *Pike* balancing test, the Court should find that the public interest of preventing foodborne illness, climate-related health concerns, animal abuse, and unnecessary financial costs outweigh the drawbacks of increased regulation. According to *Pike*, the Court should also find that it would be impossible to “promot[e public interest] with a lesser impact on state activities,” since the existing confinement is incompatible with the public interest of California’s residents. The Court has already found that addressing health and safety concerns is standard practice for states seeking to provide for their citizens, and as such Proposition 12 should pass the *Pike* test. *Hill v. Colorado*, 530 U.S. 703 (2000). While it is true that Proposition 12 could increase costs for the pork industry as a result of non-uniform production strategies, these costs are not “clearly excessive” according to the *Pike* test and do not qualify as a substantial burden. *Exxon Corp. v. Governor of Maryland*, 437 U.S. 117 (1978).

Additionally, Proposition 12 does not violate the extraterritoriality principle of the dormant Commerce Clause. Though Petitioner argues that the effects of California’s regulations may impact states other than California, these effects do not render a law “necessarily extraterritorial” in and of itself. *Minnesota v. Clover Leaf Creamery Co.*, 449 U.S. 456, 472 (1981). In order for a law to violate the extraterritoriality clause of the Commerce Clause, it would need to be “a statute that directly controls commerce occurring wholly outside the boundaries of a State [and] exceeds the inherent limits of the enacting State’s authority.” *Baldwin v. G.A.F. Seelig, Inc.*, 294 U.S. 511 (1935). In fact, in *Energy & Environment Legal v. Epel*, the Supreme Court noted that it has only used the extraterritoriality principle three times to strike down legislation accused of violating the dormant Commerce Clause.

II. PREVENTING PROPOSITION 12 FROM BEING IMPLEMENTED IN CALIFORNIA WILL HAVE NEGATIVE HEALTH IMPLICATIONS FOR CALIFORNIANS AND NEGATIVE QUALITY OF LIFE IMPLICATIONS FOR PIGS.

Not only will Proposition 12 prioritize the public good requirement established in *Bond*, but its consequences toward environmental sustainability will also have beneficial environmental implications outside of California. In terms of public good to the residents of California, the risk of foodborne illness, the costs associated with bankrolling those illnesses, and the moral and philosophical position against animal abuse are compelling reasons to allow the passage of Proposition 12. The environment will also benefit, which will positively impact California, states with extensive pig farming, and the rest of the United States and the world by extension.

A. The Human Health Benefits to California if Proposition 12 is Passed are Drastic, and the Consequences for Striking Down Proposition 12 are Severe.

Under current recommendations, pigs live in as little as 8 square feet for their entire lives, only separated by small metal fences or cheap wood pallets. This close confinement means diseases spread much more rapidly than they would if farmers adopted Proposition 12’s stipulations. By confining livestock in cages less than one-and-a-half times the animal’s square footage if that, pork producers maintain their over-reliance on prophylactic antibiotics, inevitably transferring drug-resistant bacteria from the pig to the dinner table. Melinda Wenner Moyer, *How Drug-Resistant Bacteria Travel from the Farm to Your Table*, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN (Dec. 1, 2016). The over-reliance on antibiotics for pork has increased over the last decade, with the FDA reporting that of the 6.1 million kg of farm-intended antibiotics sold in 2019, 42% went to pig farmers. Chris

Dall, *FDA Reports Another Rise in Antibiotic Sales for Livestock*, University of Minnesota Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy (Dec. 16, 2020).⁷

Sow and nursery farms, the types of farms most likely to use antibiotics due to the animals' poor health, high stress levels, weakened immune systems, and unsanitary environment consistently produce more antibiotic-resistant bacteria than comparable farms with less antibiotic use. John P. Brooks et al., *Microbial Ecology, Bacterial Pathogens, and Antibiotic Resistant Genes in Swine Manure Wastewater as Influenced by Three Swine Management Systems*, WATER RESEARCH (2014). In these types of farms, the cycle of unsanitary conditions is evident: poor birth conditions lead to health problems for the sow and her offspring, who themselves develop to maturity and give birth, continuing the cycle and creating an ideal environment for bacterial spread to necessitate ever-increasing antibiotic abuse. Eventually, that feedback loop leaks into later stages of the production process and eventually culminates in unsanitary pork in Californians' stomachs.

Pork-infested diseases are on the rise in the United States, with one such disease, human trichinellosis, qualifying as a "public health hazard" and an ongoing "economic problem" in the pork production process. Bruno Gottstein et al., *Epidemiology, Diagnosis, Treatment, and Control of Trichinellosis*, CLINICAL MICROBIOLOGY REVIEW (2009). By revamping "architectural and environmental barriers, feed and feed storage, rodent control, [and] farm hygiene including proper disposal of dead animals," all policies that are required under Proposition 12, pork producers can control the spread of trichinellosis on their farms. *Id.*

Though Petitioner seeks to argue that this law would drastically increase costs and impose an undue burden on pork producers' ability to conduct interstate commerce, aspects of Proposition 12 could actually increase financial viability of pork production by revamping safety standards. In 1998, the cost incurred by producers to check pigs for a *Trichinella* infection was around \$3.00. *Id.* The gross revenue of the pork industry exceeds \$23 billion per year (not including the \$1.2 billion in direct payments, bailouts, and subsidies from the USDA in 2020),⁸ and a decrease in costs associated with antibiotic use, disease prevention and screening, and recalls due to disease may even increase revenue generated by pork producers.

Petitioner also argues that this proposition would impose an unexpected, wide-sweeping requirement on pork farmers to update their organizational systems, but existing manufacturers and vendors already acknowledge the benefits of cage and crate-free housing. As a neutral brief explained, this argument is not just "fundamentally flawed" but "factually implausible." Agricultural and Resource Economics Professors' Br 24. As another brief notes, many of the largest pork providers in the country have already affirmed their intent to use crate-free pork,

⁷ Found at <https://www.cidrap.umn.edu/antimicrobial-stewardship/fda-reports-another-rise-antibiotic-sales-livestock>.

⁸ Found at <https://agriculturefairnessalliance.org/news/pork/>.

including McDonalds,⁹ Walmart,¹⁰ Hormel Foods,¹¹ Burger King,¹² Safeway,¹³ Wendy's,¹⁴ Kroger,¹⁵ Stop & Shop,¹⁶ Target,¹⁷ and ConAgra,¹⁸ among others. Center for a Humane Economy Br 26-27.

B. The Conditions in Which Pigs are Kept are Inhumane, and Californians Should Both Know About These Confinement Cells and Choose to Divest from the Cells.

Proposition 12 is an explicitly moralistic law with the stated goal of increasing animal welfare and reducing unnecessary abuse. Though Petitioner seeks to argue that Proposition 12 is merely moral grandstanding with no basis in reality, Petitioner fails to understand the core philosophy behind the American legal system. Laws in and of themselves are an expression of the moral values a particular society ascribes to itself. Matthew H Kramer, *Where Law and Morality Meet*, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS (2008). For example, American society has harsh penalties for theft and property damage (reflecting American culture's emphasis on property rights), immigration violations (reflecting a culture of nationalism), and insolvency (reflecting America's capitalist financial structure). As in *Wyeth*, these laws can and should vary by state, which is exactly why California is well within its legal rights to enact legislation to prevent animal cruelty. To almost two-thirds of the state's residents, the moral imperative of preventing animal abuse was more important than the likely consequence of purchasing pork and other livestock products at a slightly higher price, and the state's residents passed a law accordingly to express their will.

As a law designed to root out animal cruelty from the livestock production industry, Proposition 12 serves the dual purpose of regulating pork within California's borders and educating California's citizens about the cruelty industry pigs face. The livestock industry has different definitions for "pasture-raised," "grass-fed," "raised indoor with enrichments," "raised without antibiotics," and "processed (slaughtered) humanely," all of which could or could not qualify as

⁹ Stephanie Strom, *McDonald's Set to Phase Out Suppliers' Use of Sow Crates*, NEW YORK TIMES (Feb. 13, 2012).

¹⁰ *Animal Welfare*, Walmart (April 21, 2022), <https://corporate.walmart.com/esgreport/esg-issues/animal-welfare>.

¹¹ *Hormel Foods Company Information About California Proposition 12*, Hormel Foods, <https://www.hormelfoods.com/newsroom/news/hormel-foods-company-information-about-california-proposition12/> (last visited Aug. 4, 2022).

¹² Tim Carman, *Pork Industry Gives Sows Room to Move*, THE WASHINGTON POST (May 29, 2012).

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ *Animal Welfare Policy*, Kroger Co. (Aug. 2021), https://www.thekrogerco.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/The-Kroger-Co_AnimalWelfarePolicy_2018-July.pdf.

¹⁶ *Farm Animal Welfare Policy*, Stop & Shop, <https://stopandshop.com/pages/farm-animal-welfare-policy/> (last visited Aug. 4, 2022).

¹⁷ *Food Animal Welfare Commitments*, Target, <https://corporate.target.com/sustainability-ESG/environment/animal-welfare/foodanimal-welfare> (last visited Aug. 4, 2022).

¹⁸ *Conagra Brands: FAQ*, ConAgra, <https://www.conagrabrands.com/frequently-asked-questions> (last visited Aug. 4, 2022).

humanely raised pigs.¹⁹ Proposition 12 decreases marketing clutter and helps Californians pick the meat they want to eat. In some cases, the misrepresentation of food products as more sustainable, healthy, or humanely produced than they actually are border on defrauding the public, which this Supreme Court has already afforded Californians the right to reject. *Florida Lime & Avocado Growers, Inc. v. Paul*, 373 U.S. 132, 144 (1963).

Proposition 12 will decrease the physical and psychological implications of confining sows, innately social creatures with high intelligence, emotional perception, and cognitive abilities. Lori Marino & Christina M. Colvin, *Thinking Pigs: A Comparative Review of Cognition, Emotion, and Personality in Sus domesticus*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE PSYCHOLOGY (2015). In fact, pigs play with one another, communicate through meaning-specific cries, and understand the voice of their mother compared to sows of similar age. Gudrun Illmann et al., *Acoustical Mother-Offspring Recognition in Pigs (Sus scrofa domesticus)*, BEHAVIOR (2002); see also Elodie F. Briefer et al., *Classification of Pig Calls Produced From Birth to Slaughter According to Their Emotional Valence and Context of Product*, SCIENTIFIC REPORTS (2022) and Kristina Horback, *Nosing Around: Play in Pigs*, ANIMAL BEHAVIOR AND COGNITION (2014). What many consider to be deeply human characteristics (communication, enjoyment, emotional intelligence, and family structures) also exist in pigs.

Pigs in confinement are not given the chance to express any of these desires in captivity. Housed in cells that prevent the pigs from lying down, let alone walking around, these animals have no quality of life. Confinement in these gestation crates leads to overgrown hooves, which make walking painful and difficult. The Humane Society of the U.S., *An HSUS Report: Welfare Issues with Gestation Crates for Pregnant Sows* (2013). Without walking, sows cannot exercise, exposing them to even more health conditions later. Then, as sows become larger, they experience even greater discomfort, leading to lowered immune systems and frustration. Leena Anil et al., *Evaluation of The Relationship Between Injuries and Size of Gestation Stalls Relative to Size of Sows*, JOURNAL OF AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (2002).

The physical symptoms of confinement pale in comparison to the psychological consequences of their cells. With confinement comes the “alteration or prevention of many of the sow’s normal behaviours, increases in abnormal behaviour and...various other indicators of poor welfare.” Jeremy N. Marchant and Donald M. Broom, *Effect of Dry Sow Housing Conditions on Muscle Weight and Bone Strength*, ANIMAL SCIENCE (1996). The stress and panic of mistreatment causes sows to bite into the air in a phenomenon called “vacuum chewing,” where the pig grinds their teeth and develops other physical complications. Liu et al., *A Comparison of the Behavior, Physiology, and Offspring Resilience of Gestating Sows When Raised in a Group Housing System and Individual Stalls*, ANIMALS (2021). In some cases, these sows start chewing the metal bars of their crate for stimulation until their mouths bleed. The Humane Society of the U.S., *The Humane Society of the United States Sues World’s Largest Pork Producer for Misleading Consumers* (Oct. 18, 2021).

¹⁹ Found at <https://humaneitarian.org/what-is-humanely-raised-meat/#.Y5T04HbMK3A>.

A sow chewing on the bloody bars of her gestation crate. Photo: The Humane Society of the United States.



* * *

In sum, California's Proposition 12 does not violate the dormant Commerce Clause. According to the *Pike* test, California's legitimate public interest in preventing foodborne illness and animal cruelty outweighs the pork production industry's concerns about economic consequences and interstate protectionism. The extraterritoriality principle does not apply since the change in commerce does not occur wholly outside the state of California. If Proposition 12 is struck down, Californians will face preventable foodborne illnesses in the short term and antibiotic-resistant superbugs in the long term. The unsavory marketing tactics of the pork production industry, combined with the intelligence and emotional capabilities of pigs, makes them uniquely vulnerable to physical and psychological consequences of confinement.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, the Court should affirm the judgment of the Ninth Circuit Court.

Respectfully submitted,

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Sydney is originally from Nashville, TN and spent a gap year after high school working in local politics. She's thrilled to be publishing this story about her hometown!

BUILDING THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN NASHVILLE: Policies of Refugee Resettlement in a "Non-Traditional" City

Nashville has grown both in population and diversity in recent decades. Although Nashville's city government seeks to embrace the growing multiethnic population through government and community organizations, we are falling frustratingly short. Why? Because our well-intentioned policymakers are creating uniform policy for one homogenous "international community" instead of recognizing individual groups and needs. In so doing, Nashville's policies inaccurately represent the diverse needs of our immigrant and refugee communities. If we want to become a truly equitable city, Nashville needs to enact policies that support a much-needed diversifying of communities, viewpoints, and cultures.

WHAT STRATEGIES ARE NOT INCLUSIVE OF INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY NEEDS AND WHY

You can't expect sprinters and long-distance runners to train the same way just because they're both runners, and you can't expect the same policies to encompass the needs of refugees who have fled persecution to reach the U.S. and immigrants who may have been planning this move for years. Dr. Jamie Winders reports how Davidson County once hosted several listening sessions on racial justice. These sessions intentionally sought out interactions with a wide array of immigrant and refugee populations on the issues of public schools, the "international community," the business community, and the inner city. However, the county's findings misguidedly decided that immigrants and refugees could form one political constituency and that their needs could be addressed through the same measures.

As Winders argues, this glossing over of the unique needs of immigrants and refugees is especially clear in how the "international community" is represented by non-profit organizations. For example, the Task Force on Refugees and Immigrants (TFRI), an offshoot of a mayoral advisory committee, pulls refugee and immigrant community leaders together to advocate for their position on topics, such as racial and ethnic profiling and social service provisions. However, TFRI represents far more refugees than immigrants, limiting the amount immigrants' perspectives are heard. In some cases, this makes TFRI's advocated positions, such as guaranteed access for refugees to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP),

inapplicable for parts of the immigrant population who may not have access to social service benefits based on documentation status.

Although recognizing the differences between immigrants and refugees is integral to representing their distinct communities, this simple distinction of either immigrant or refugee is in itself the broadest level of clumping. It's also important to be representative of the many specific needs of each resettled community. For example, there have been large numbers of Latine residents in Nashville since 1990 and the needs of second- or third-generation residents are incredibly different from the needs of recent immigrants. Also, Nashville's immigrant and refugee communities are much more nationally diverse than the examples I've been using in this paper, and each individual community has its own unique culture and beliefs that need to be accounted for. One example is that in addition to the Somali community, Nashville's refugee population contains established communities from Sudan, Bosnia, and Kurdistan. In order to accurately represent the changing racial makeup of the region, policymakers must ensure that diverse communities' needs are heard and addressed.

ONE STRATEGY IN PLACE NOW THAT RESPECTS INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY NEEDS

I want to highlight one example where Nashville, with the help of voluntary agencies, is doing better—and where even this improved effort still misses the mark. Dr. James Chaney notes that Somali refugees began arriving in Nashville in 1995 and have consistently resettled in the region over the last twenty years. In contrast to immigrant groups in Nashville, such as the Latine and Indian communities, who are not provided with the same government support as refugees, Somali refugee groups are officially aided in their resettlement by voluntary agencies (VOLAGs). VOLAGs work with the federal government to specifically aid and advocate for refugees, providing housing, social services, and employment. However, although VOLAGs provide individualized support and attention, their policies can fall short if there are different religious or cultural beliefs that need to be addressed. Among other things, VOLAGs assist refugees in attaining housing either through obtaining a loan on a house or renting an apartment. As Chaney states, many Somalis' interpretation of Islam forbids them from accepting loans with interest. Although more liberal Somali refugees may decide fixed loans are not haram, most are not comfortable accepting loans, opting instead to save up cash or remain in an apartment. As homeownership is an indication of socioeconomic class, this practice also shows the disturbing pattern of nearly a generation of Somali refugees living in low-income areas and staying long-term renters. VOLAGs advocate for refugee communities' needs every day, but they need more financial support to offer the inclusive resources that will aid more Somali refugees in becoming homeowners.

MOVING FORWARD

The good news is that there are steps we can take to do better by our fellow Nashvillians. First off, local immigrant communities need individualized support to make sure their policy needs are met. The Nashville Mayor's Office has a program for New Americans, but it needs to form separate divisions for immigrants and refugees, ideally giving individualized attention to the diverse needs of multi-generational immigrant families. Also, the resources provided to

refugees need to be responsive to the cultural and religious beliefs of each community. One way this could be done is for grassroots organizations to give housing grants so that VOLAGs can offer restructured home ownership loans without interest. Finally, policymakers need to use language that acknowledges the key distinctions between Nashville's rich immigrant and refugee communities and that recognizes their differences. As Nashvillians, our time, money, and support can make the difference for immigrants and refugees who are resettling in Nashville. You can find more information about the Tennessee Immigrant and Human Rights Coalition (TIRRC), a grassroots organization making a difference in our community, by going to tnimmigrant.org.

Racial and ethnic diversity, such as what these immigrant and refugee communities provide to Nashville, is greatly beneficial to the overall well-being of Nashville. These community members bring new perspectives, improve Nashville's education by helping children learn from a variety of viewpoints, and discourage discrimination. In order to become a truly equitable and prosperous city, Nashville needs to enact the policies and resources necessary to embrace a much-needed diversifying of communities, viewpoints, and cultures.

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SHAPED BY HISTORY, CHANGED WITH TIME

I first visited Boston ten years ago on a trip with my summer camp; the only thing I remember is experiencing Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market. It amazed me that a giant market with modern shops could sit within an historic building. The sheer size of the plaza surrounding Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market, and all of the activity occurring within it, blew my mind. It was filled to the brim with pedestrians, tourists, musicians, dancers, crowds, and anyone else that just wanted to experience Boston. I vividly recall trying to push my way through the narrow hallway of Quincy Market. By the time I reached the open central space, my tiny ten-year-old body had put in so much effort I had thought that I had reached the other side of the market, only to realize I had made it halfway through. I remember this experience so fondly that I have made it my personal mission to go to this part of Boston every time I come to the city. Each time I visit, though, I have decided to do a little exploring around this area to see if I can capture more of the magic that the younger version of myself felt entering this space. As I explored, I began to arrive at some realizations about what makes this neighborhood so special, but I needed to do some research to confirm my suspicions.

When you walk through this neighborhood, you are instantly struck by the mix of history and modernity present within it. It is one of the few areas in the country where you can find a building from the seventeenth century right next to a building from the twenty-first century. The architectural styles conflict with each other, yet overall, everything is cohesively incohesive. The variety of building shape, size, and style provides for some of the most interesting and spectacular views of the city, making for an experience that is uniquely Boston. On paper, none of the styles go together, but these contradictions, to my surprise, become the style for this neighborhood. Even within some of the buildings in the neighborhood this clash is present as modern stores and vendors operate from within these historic looking and feeling buildings. And yet, some of the vendors using these buildings have been there for hundreds of years, such as The Bell in Hand Tavern, the oldest continuously operating bar in the US, which has operated since 1795. The feeling of the past colliding with the present is palpable and hard to miss as you move through the neighborhood. Even newcomers to this neighborhood will immediately notice this evolution of space in the way this part of the city has been impacted by and is a reminder of history, yet serves us in the modern age.

In order to better understand this clash between the past and present in my neighborhood, I followed a hunch and mapped out when every building in my neighborhood was built. The result was shocking. Some interesting patterns began to emerge, making the map almost like a window into how the events and people of the past shaped the way our buildings and spaces function for the people of today. Fascinated with finding out the causes of these patterns, I did some research

in order to fully understand why these patterns existed and how their presence can be felt in the modern day.

The first thing I noticed was that the blocks north of Quincy Market contained much older buildings than the blocks south of Quincy Market. Little did I realize that this map held within it a secret map showing the expansion of the land Boston sits on. When Boston was settled, most of the land this neighborhood sat on was underwater, except for the blocks north and west of Quincy Market. This allowed many historic events to occur and buildings to be built on this land, yet because it was so close to what was the shore, the newer land developed here allowed for the neighborhood to grow into what it is today.



Figure 1: Map of Boston land over time with my neighborhood outlined.

Chan Krieger & Associates. "Boston Over Time." Map. 2008. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524n559t (accessed December 07, 2022).

When making the map, I also started noticing this overwhelming blob of buildings south of Quincy Market that were all constructed at the same time on land that was likely already built on before these new buildings were built in the 1880s. At first this puzzled me. After doing some research, though, the reason started to become clearer; this was likely the direct result of the Great Boston Fire of 1872. When I searched for the area that the fire had affected, much to my suspicions, I found that the Great Boston Fire had started only a few blocks southwest of this neighborhood, but it burned through this corner of it, leading to new buildings being built in this area after the fire burned down the old ones. These new buildings were constructed to be factories and places of business as that is what the financial district of Boston needed at the time, but now, they have been transformed into modern shops and restaurants. In a sense, these buildings were built to serve the needs of Bostonians in the past, but now operate as the

businesses of the present. Just looking at my map reveals the extent to which this historic fire impacted my neighborhood and shaped its function, even to today.

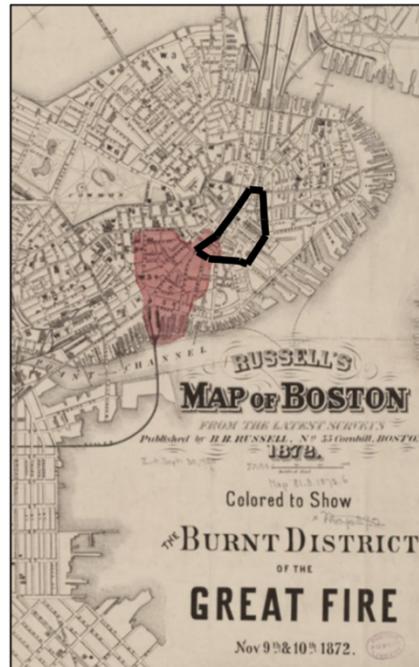


Figure 2: Map of areas affected by the Great Boston Fire of 1872 with my neighborhood outlined.

Russell, B. B. (Benjamin B.). "Russell's map of Boston from the latest surveys." Map. Boston: B.B. Russell, 1872. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:9s161h58h (accessed December 07, 2022).

The last glaring feature that my map highlighted was that no buildings that were built between 1926 and 1977 exist today in my neighborhood, meaning that either no new buildings were built during this period, or the ones that were built were torn down in favor of the buildings that exist today. The former is the most likely case as it is the most consistent with the history of Boston throughout this time period. During these years, not much construction happened due to many factors including economic downturn within the city. Eventually, towards the end of World War II, the economy started improving again, leading to construction projects that focused on transportation like the Sumner Tunnel in 1934, the Callahan Tunnel in 1961, and the construction of the highways through the city in the 1950s and 1960s. These projects would have overshadowed most other projects, likely taking the funding and resources that would have been needed to build in this neighborhood during this time.

This map is interesting because of its ability to reveal the events of the past and show how they have shaped this neighborhood. Observing my neighborhood and making my map helped me realize how spaces that have existed throughout different eras evolve to function for the people who use them in the present while retaining their identities and influences from the past. To comprehend this, we look to a few case studies of changing spaces in this section of the city.



Figure 3: Image of Quincy Market facing west from 1905.

Keystone View Company. Quincy Market and Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass. Oct 13. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2002706382/.

was used for horse drawn carriages to take people to the market so they could buy fresh food from local vendors. This open space would have sat on the shore of the ocean, providing pleasant views of Boston harbor. This was a model marketplace for its time, designed for ease of use for a person in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, serving the citizens of the city, and providing them with food and spaces to gather.

Eventually though, times changed, so these spaces had to evolve to keep up with the events of the time. With the aging infrastructure of the buildings, the invention of the car, the expansion of the shoreline, and the decrease in shipping done in Boston, these buildings became dysfunctional for the people of the present and their needs. By the mid-twentieth century, there were plans to destroy Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market altogether as they no longer worked for the society of the time. These plans, however, were interrupted by people seeking to preserve the historical significance of these spaces while also making them more useful to the people of the present. To do this, they decided to rework the space and transform it into a giant tourist attraction filled with



Figure 4: Image of Quincy Market facing east from 2022.

anything the modern shopper could ever want. It would still be a market, but now, it would be a market in the modern sense of the word.

The revitalization effort finished in 1976, transforming this space that was once meant for the people of the city into a space for foreigners to come and enjoy the city. Surely enough, the effects that this redevelopment had on the neighborhood can be seen on my map as, only a year later, new buildings were built in this neighborhood for the first time in decades. Now, Quincy Market and Faneuil Hall are spaces that celebrate history with the original designs of the buildings saved, but their functions and contents are much more modern, creating the unique dynamic between history and modernity only seen in spaces like this. And all of this information is subconsciously hidden within my map as it shows how spaces evolve in function and appearance in response to historical events.

Another such instance of this is Liberty Square. This space was once where Bostonians came together to destroy the British Stamp Tax Office. It then became an open space to celebrate this accomplishment, an event Bostonians would remember for the next few decades. Later, it would commemorate the French Revolution by hosting a banquet in the space and being named in honor of one of the tenets of the revolution, liberty. It was made for people to gather and celebrate as many of that time would do. Eventually, though, in the mid twentieth century, it was transformed into a quiet meeting place in the middle of a large intersection with a statue meant to commemorate an entirely different and more recent event, the Hungarian Revolution. With these events now far off in the past, the main purpose of this space has changed from commemorating history to providing a space for people to gather. When there, the average person will see the plaques and statues containing reminders of the past, but functionally, it is meant for the modern citizen to meet up with others and enjoy the ambience of the city surrounding them.

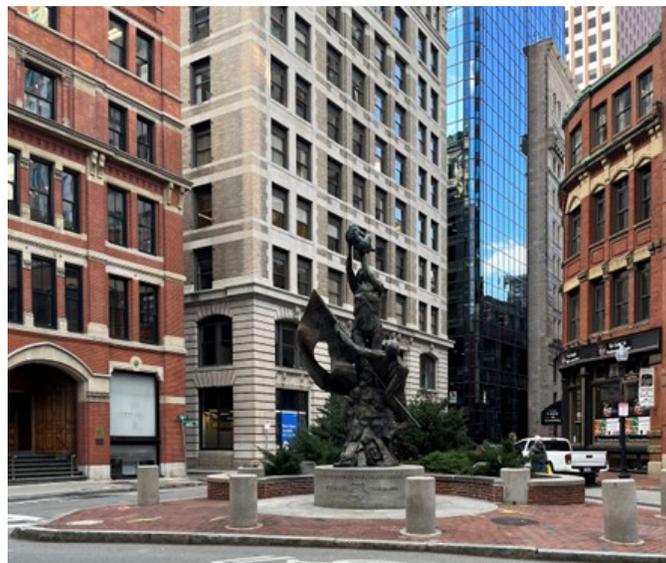


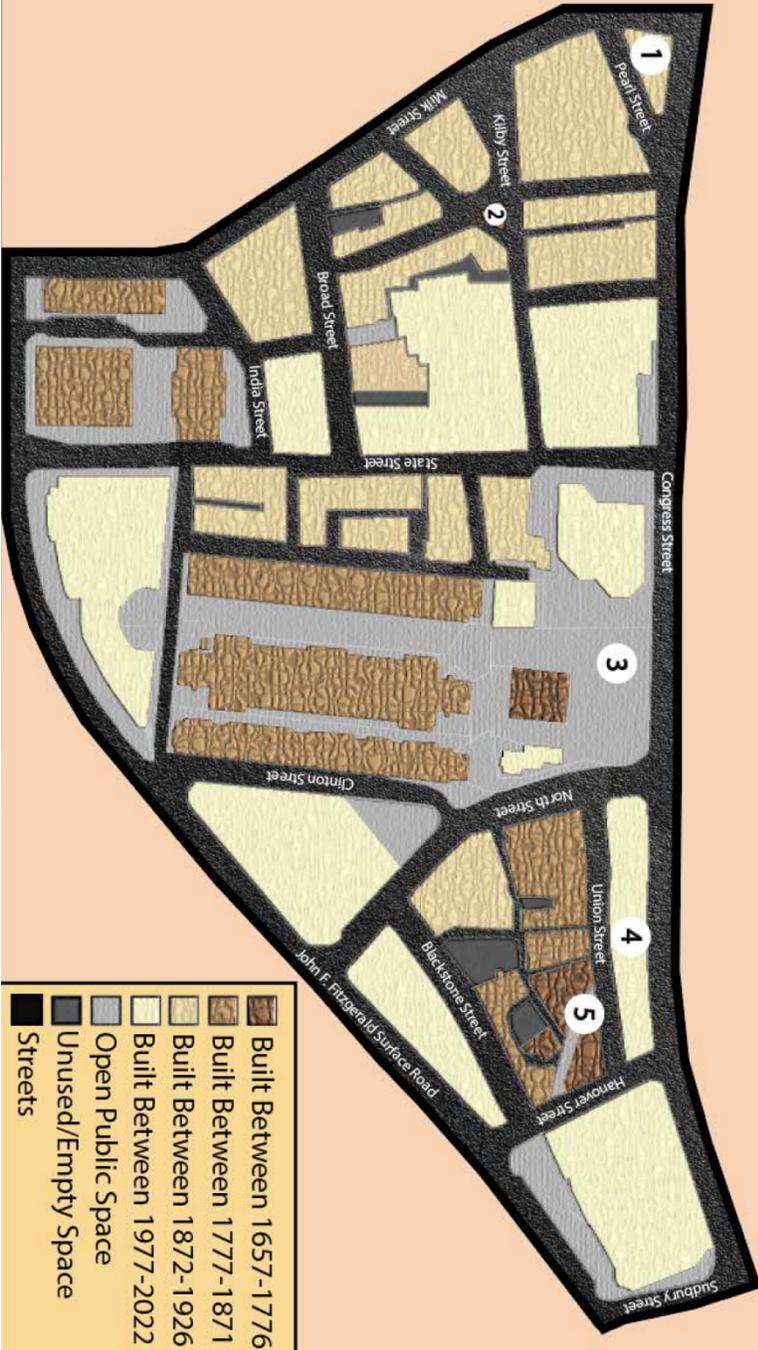
Figure 5: Image of Liberty Square facing north from 2022.

With all this it is clearer how historical events have shaped this neighborhood and how it functions. This evolution of this neighborhood throughout history creates this temporal diversity, allowing the modern visitor to experience the past and present as they move throughout the neighborhood. It has become a place reminiscent of history meant to serve people in the modern age. As you walk through this section of the city, you can see many examples of this. There are many different styles of architecture; the newer buildings are sleek with curves while the older ones are reminiscent of a more classical era with their brick exteriors and simple, sharp-angled corners. There is something highly amusing about seeing modern people dress up like colonists in the eighteenth century and lead a tour through a place they would find both familiar (with all of the buildings that remain from their time) and foreign (from the changes within these buildings and the much newer buildings). On some days, horse drawn carriages roam the streets south of Quincy Market in the middle of the modern financial district just like they would have before cars existed. Ironically enough, what once was a custom house meant to process goods entering the country is now a Marriott hotel with the 496-foot-tall clock tower becoming the rooms people stay in. Because this is a neighborhood that has changed with time, its appearance and ambience is influenced by the different eras it has existed during. Overall, through combining my map with historical knowledge, a larger understanding of how spaces evolve over time is revealed, showing how events and people shape the spaces they use.



Figure 6: A horse drawn carriage walking through the streets of downtown Boston.

Boston and the Evolution of Space



1
Angel Memorial Square
 29-31 Post Office Square
 Gaze in wonder at the classical architecture surrounding you. From the classical aesthetic of the courthouse on one side, to the Victorian era brick buildings on another, and modern high rises on the last, this park offers a unique perspective on how architecture in the city has changed over time. Enjoy the green space and the view of the city. This is also the memorial dedicated to George Thendike Angel a famous animal rights activist. For the best views, sit in the center of the park where the space opens up around you.



2
Liberty Square
 Once the site of the British Stamp Tax office Bostonians came together to destroy, and later a site dedicated to the French Revolution, this quiet square in the middle of the city has been transformed throughout history. Walk around the square for a few minutes to fully take in the monument in the center, which commemorates the Hungarian Revolution, and observe the hustle and bustle of the city surrounding you. While this ambience of history is present in the square that exists today, it is a nice spot to relax in the center of the city. Sit on the edges of the arched ledges for the best views of the historic city blocks surrounding you.



3
Faneuil Hall Marketplace
 1 Faneuil Hall Square
 For experiences that span centuries, this is the place to go. When this square was built, people could drive their horses and enjoy the fresh food at Quincy Market. Now, it is a public plaza filled with crowds watching musicians and dancers perform and tourists led by tour guides dressed as colonists. It is truly a place built for the people of the past, but transformed to serve those of the present. To the other the brilliant style of Boston's new City Hall. Take a minute to rest on the north side of the square with flowers, trees, and statues to take in all that this historic square has to offer. Avoid at all costs if afraid of tourists or large crowds!



4
James Michael Curley Park
 98 Union Street
 Take pictures with statues of the beloved former Mayor Curley and his statue of the governor James Michael Curley. Walk through the park and enjoy the memorializing all who died in this tragic event. This modern park was built to serve the modern Bostonian while commemorating the people and events of the past. Go on a nice, sunny day to experience the park and enjoy the view of the city. Relax on the nice shaded benches lining this greenspace for great views of nearby Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market.



5
Historic Alleyway in North
 45-55 Union Street
 Walk through this historic alleyway lined with shops and restaurants and get a glimpse of what Boston might have been like in the past. Eat at historic pubs that have served the people of Boston for centuries, or stop at the gift store that commemorates the city's history. Follow the cobblestone road and follow the red brick of the Freedom Trail which runs right through this walkway. This alley reminds those who walk through it of the past while drawing in the tourists of the twenty-first century.



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Aaron is a proud Filipino American who was born and raised in the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas. Through his essay, he hopes to honor his mother's immigration story.

THE UNTOLD HISTORY BEHIND THE IMMIGRATION OF FILIPINO NURSES TO THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

My mother, Julieta Dela Cruz Piando, proudly claims the title of “lifelong nurse.” In 1989, she graduated from nursing school and immediately began working at a local hospital in her hometown of Baguio City, Philippines. In 1992, she was recruited by a nurse placement agency to move to the United States and work in a hospital in the Bronx, New York. She continues to work in a hospital today as the Continuing Nursing Education Coordinator at South Texas Health System in Edinburg, Texas.

Her immigration story is by no means unique. In fact, she is one of over 150,000 Filipino nurses who have migrated to the US since 1960 (Chan 75). To develop a better understanding of the history of this migration trend, I interviewed my mother to document details regarding her decision to become a nurse, her experiences attending nursing school in the Philippines, and the obstacles she faced as she built a new life for herself in the US. Following this interview, I searched for books and articles containing information which complemented the details of these three aspects of my mother's immigration story. This search led me to learn more about the deep, rich history of the American colonization of the Philippines, the profit-oriented practices of Philippine nursing schools, and the experiences of other Filipino nurses adjusting to their new lives in the US. Ultimately, the knowledge gained from this research has allowed me to reimagine my mother's immigration story to tell the broader history of Filipino nurses immigrating to the US in three parts: the pressures to pursue nursing, the commercialization of the Philippine nursing school, and the confrontation of the reality of immigrant life in the US.

THE PRESSURES TO PURSUE NURSING

Fulfilling Filial Duties

“You know very well that I didn't want to be a nurse,” my mother stated plainly. “That wasn't the plan.”

While interviewing my mother, I was reminded of one of the most striking discoveries I had made while listening to my mother's immigration story throughout my childhood: nursing was never one of her career aspirations growing up. She had actually dreamed of becoming an elementary school teacher after graduating high school. However, she would often feel pressured by her family to abandon this dream and pursue nursing instead. In particular, her

aunt, who was her legal guardian throughout her childhood, pushed my mother extra hard once she completed secondary school and began preparing to attend college.

“One of the tenants of the house that my aunt was renting out ... was a nurse here in the States. That kind of gave [my aunt] the idea, ‘Okay, maybe it is a stepping stone for you to also go to the States,’” my mother explained. “So she would prod me to take up nursing. [She] would tell me, ‘Oh, this is how much [my tenant] is earning, and this is how much money she is sending back home [to her family].’”

My mom wasn’t the only Filipino teenager being pressured by their family to become a nurse. Throughout the mid- and late-20th century, many Filipino parents pressured their children to enroll in nursing programs in hopes that their children would secure “lucrative overseas jobs” which would offer higher pay than the same jobs in the Philippines (Ortiga 66). For example, in the 1960s, the average Filipino nurse would earn a monthly paycheck between ₱200 and ₱300 PHP per month, which is about \$500 to \$700 USD after adjusting for inflation (Choy 68). On the other hand, during the same time period, the average nurse in the United States would earn between \$400 and \$500 a month, or \$4,000 to \$5,000 after inflation (Choy 68). Thus, in theory, a Filipino nurse could increase their earnings nearly tenfold by working overseas, and this hypothetical increased salary would be more than enough to cover their cost of living in the US, leaving them a reasonably large sum of money to send back home to their families in the Philippines. Many Filipino parents recognized the potential to achieve upward mobility using remittances from their children working abroad and subsequently pushed the idea of enrolling in nursing school on their children.

Furthermore, the practice of filial piety in many Filipino households made it customary for young adults in the Philippines to appease the demands of their parents, even if it meant surrendering their own ambitions. Filial piety is centered around the idea that one’s elders should be “honored for their wisdom and experience,” primarily in the form of “unconditional obedience to seniors,” to create “harmony among family members” and to avoid bringing *hiya*, which roughly translates to “shame” or “embarrassment,” upon the family (Scroope). Given this characteristic of the Filipino family dynamic, the wish of my mother’s aunt became my mother’s command; as much as my mother wanted to become a teacher, she practically had no choice but to become a nurse instead. Additionally, because the obligations associated with filial piety apply to all members of the family, my mother’s sister also got involved in helping my mother turn their aunt’s wish into a reality.

“Even though my aunt wanted me to take up nursing,” my mother continued, “there was still the question of, ‘How can we make [going to nursing school] financially feasible?’ It was a good thing that my sister ... had just finished college and landed herself a good job, so she took it upon herself to pay for my school.”

This part of my mother’s story highlights the common experience of Filipino teenagers during the mid- to late-twentieth century succumbing to pressure from their parents to enroll in nursing school due to the potential for their family to improve their socioeconomic status using the comparatively higher wages their child would earn working as a nurse in the US.

Lasting Effects of American Colonization

Throughout my mother's interview, she made several references to the Philippines' history as an American colony. Understanding this history is crucial to fully grasping the mass movement of Filipino nurses to the US, as the Americanization of Philippine institutions during this colonial period would eventually prove to be a major contributing factor to this migration trend.

The Philippines' colonial history began in 1565, when the arrival of a Spanish expedition headed by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi initiated the occupation of the Philippine islands by Spain (Constantino 14). Between the 16th and 19th centuries, the Filipino people made numerous attempts to claim their independence from Spain, but none of these efforts at winning independence from Spain would be as consequential as those organized in 1894 by the Katipunan, a revolutionary society which recruited as many as 400,000 members and launched an organized effort across the major Philippine islands to revolt against their colonizers in hopes of finally declaring independence (Constantino 98, 167-169).

These revolts in the Philippines caught the attention of the US, which was already engaged in war against the Spanish in Cuba. In 1898, a fleet of American ships led by Commodore George Dewey arrived in Manila, the colonial capital of the Philippines (Alger 318). The Americans promised to fight alongside the Filipinos to help liberate them from their Spanish oppressors, but in reality, the US had several ulterior motives. This was made evident in 1898 after the US "defeated" Spain in a mock battle that was secretly prearranged between the Americans and the Spanish so that the capital city and thus control over the Philippines would officially be surrendered to the US rather than directly to the Filipinos (Constantino 208). Consequently, the Filipinos never truly gained their independence from the Spanish; instead, they were passed from one colonizer to another.

Under this new colonial rule, the Filipino people were forcibly Americanized. The US reformed the Philippines' preexisting public institutions to "mirror aspects of American society" (Vang 124). For example, American health professionals were brought into Philippine hospitals to ensure that their staff were "trained with US standards" (Vang 124). Furthermore, American teachers were hired to work in local schools where they would teach English with the eventual goal of making the language a nationwide norm (Constantino 343). The combined effect of these two particular changes to the Philippines would ultimately contribute to the mass migration of Filipino nurses to the US throughout the 20th century.

"Aside from the Philippine [nursing] board exam, to get to the States, you had to take another exam [administered] by CGFNS, which is the Commission of Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools," my mother explained. "It had two parts: a nursing test and the TOEFL, or the Test of English as a Foreign Language. The English test wasn't very difficult since ... English is already the primary medium of instruction in the Philippines." As for the nursing part of the exam, at a later point in the interview, my mother also added, "The nursing concepts in the Philippines are the same ... concepts being taught here in the States," suggesting that the implementation of US standards in Philippine hospitals helped her become familiar with the content of the nursing test.

As illustrated by my mother's experiences, the Americanization of Philippine schools and hospitals effectively trained masses of Filipino nurses to work in US hospitals. This development came to the benefit of the US during World War II, as a severe shortage of nurses forced hospitals nationwide to recruit healthcare workers from outside the country. Given that Filipino nurses were already working in hospitals held to US standards and were also generally willing to work for wages lower than those of American nurses, hospital employers showed a strong preference for nurses from the Philippines, allowing "nurses, physicians, and medical technicians ... to emigrate in sizable numbers" with jobs waiting for them in the US (Vang 124; Choy 69).

Even after the Philippines was officially granted its independence following the conclusion of World War II in 1946, the mass migration of Filipino nurses to the US was further supplemented by the passage of the US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, which aimed to "disseminate abroad information about the United States" through the "interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills" primarily through the launch of the Exchange Visitor Program ("United States" 1-2). From 1956 to 1989, over eleven thousand Filipino nurses took advantage of the opportunity by presented the Exchange Visitor Program and migrated to the United States to receive training in hospitals with the intent of eventually moving back to the Philippines, but "upon completion of their training, many nurses remained in the United States" and settled into a new life (Choy 65; Vang 124). Additionally, the passage of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1976 further enabled the migration of Filipino nurses by "substantially increasing" federal funding for the National Health Service Corps, an organization which provided financial aid for prospective nurses, effectively making nursing school more financially feasible for people from less economically developed countries, including the Philippines (Greene 291).

Thus, the Philippines' colonial history opened doors to opportunities for Filipinos to immigrate to the US in 1946, and because the previously mentioned US legislation limited these opportunities to foreigners working in the healthcare profession, young adults in the Philippines felt even more pressure to lean toward nursing when choosing a career to pursue.

Ferdinand Marcos and Philippine Government Policy

Ferdinand Marcos was elected the 10th president of the Philippines in 1965, and he was a major supporter of the emigration of nurses from the Philippines to the US for both its potential for economic development and functionality as a tool for maintaining ties with the US. He declared his administration's stance regarding the emigration of nurses in a speech he delivered to the Philippine Nurses Association in 1973. In this speech, he asserted that, "It is our policy to promote the migration of nurses. ... If [the US] wants one thousand nurses, we produce a thousand more" (Choy 116).

"After I finished taking the CGFNS exams, even before I found out [I had passed], someone from a [nurse] recruitment agency came knocking on our door to tell me I passed and to recruit me," my mother laughed. "Surely enough, the next day, I found out through the mail that I had passed. So I didn't even have to look for a recruitment agency. The recruiters looked for me."

My mother's experience reflects the eagerness with which the Philippine government encouraged Filipino nurses to consider working in the US. This policy was formally implemented in 1982 when Marcos signed Executive Order 797, which created the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency, or POEA. This federal agency primarily served to "establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families, and overseas Filipinos in Distress" (Ruiz 166). At the time, there were recurring stories of Filipino nurses working abroad who were being exploited by nursing placement agencies and by their employers in the US (Ruiz 166). The POEA addressed these issues by enforcing regulations on nursing recruitment agencies to keep their profit-oriented practices in check, and it also helped overseas Filipino nurses with "negotiating better terms from employers" and "settling disputes between them" (Ruiz 136). Consequently, Filipino nurses could be assured that they had the backing of the home country's government if they were to go abroad, making the idea of leaving the country less frightening and more accessible.

On the surface, Marcos' support for Filipino nurses working in the US appears to be rooted in its positive implications for the Philippine economy. In the same speech he delivered to the aforementioned Philippine Nursing Association, Marcos also stressed how nurses working abroad could both earn for themselves and "earn for the country at the same time" by sending money back home and having their family deposit that money in a Philippine bank (Choy 116). This way, not only would the nurses' families be able to afford a better lifestyle, but the country as a whole would theoretically be able to boost its standard of living by investing its banking institutions' dollar reserves into its industrialization program, infrastructure projects, and other economic development efforts (Choy 116; Overholt 1141). This portrayal of working overseas as an act of patriotism contributed to the increasing pressures on fresh high school graduates to become nurses and emigrate to the US to earn money for themselves and their country.

Furthermore, given the increasing number of Filipino nurses leaving the country to work in the US, the Philippine economy began to create an entirely new market of emigration-centered businesses such as recruitment agencies, travel agencies, remittance services, and insurance services which specifically cater to and profit off of Filipinos who work abroad (Yeates 179). These businesses proved to be a force to be reckoned with in the Philippine economy, with nursing recruitment agencies alone producing an annual revenue of over \$400 million in 2004 (Yeates 179). Overall, the combined economic benefit of remittances from Filipino nurses working in the US and highly profitable emigration-centered businesses seems to be enough of a reason for the Marcos administration to support nurses going overseas to work.

However, by digging beneath the surface, one may also observe how Marcos used his policy on the emigration of nurses as a political tool to maintain positive relations with the US. As Marcos entered his second presidential term in 1969, he had to confront a constitutional provision which prohibited him from running for a third term (Overholt 1139). In light of this, Marcos considered the possibility of declaring martial law in the Philippines as it would allow him to occupy his office for longer than the constitutionally allotted two terms and use "authoritarian methods to impose reforms" with little resistance from his political opponents (Overholt 1139). To gain public support for martial law, Marcos began portraying a timely surge in Vietnam-era student demonstrations and protests in support of securing US statehood for the

Philippines as evidence that there was a “gigantic communist conspiracy” plotting to take down the Philippine government (Overholt 1139-1140). Then, in 1972, Marcos staged a fake assassination attempt on the Philippine Minister of Defense, ordering government soldiers to shoot the minister’s empty car until it was full of holes and subsequently deeming the event an attack on a government official by communist guerrillas (Overholt 1140). The resulting fear of a communist uprising among the Filipino people gave Marcos the public approval he needed to officially declare martial law.

The US government reluctantly accepted Marcos’ declaration of martial law. Although Marcos was deviating from American-style democracy, the US acknowledged that he was using his expanded powers to implement “a series of wide-ranging reforms” intended to “enhance economic development and social equality” while also suppressing a supposedly rapidly growing communist movement within the Philippines (Overholt 1140-1141). Thus, the US provided funding and weapons for the Marcos administration, providing over \$300 million in military aid between 1979 and 1984 (Fineman and Drogin). However, US support for Marcos began to wane after news broke out of his administration’s violent acts against communists, Muslim separatists, and political dissenters in the Philippines, with human rights advocates claiming that the Marcos administration had been responsible for over 3,000 extrajudicial killings (Reyes).

Because Marcos needed the financial support of the US to uphold his military authority, he recognized the need to maintain the Philippines’ close relationship to the US, something his support for the emigration of Filipino nurses to the US could help achieve. As mentioned previously, the US experienced a severe nursing shortage after World War II, and this need for more nurses remained present during Marcos’ time in office. Therefore, one can see Marcos’ policy on Filipino nurses working in the US as part of a larger political transaction: if the US continued to fund the Philippine military, the Philippines would continue to help the US alleviate its nursing shortages by producing and recruiting more nurses to work overseas.

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINE NURSING SCHOOL

Producing the “Global” Nurse

As an increasing number of Filipino nurses began to consider moving overseas to find work, the Philippine nursing school system was being put to the test: could it produce a “global” nurse who was capable of performing beyond the standards of Filipino hospitals and meeting the criteria of any hospital across the globe? The system responded by adopting one of the most rigorous and competition-driven nursing curriculums in the world.

“There were ... 400 of us during freshman year [of nursing school], and we had to be narrowed down to just 150 after one year,” my mother shared. “Whether or not you made the cut was determined by a combination of your grades ... and a series of tests, [including] an aptitude test and a psychological test, so it was very competitive.”

In addition, in the 1960s, nursing was considered “one of the heaviest majors for Filipino college students” (Ortiga 67). However, the rising demand for quality nurses in the United States

over the following decades only made the course load of Philippine nursing programs even heavier, with many colleges introducing new required courses focusing on the development of specialized skills such as nursing informatics and nursing transcription (Ortiga 67). According to my mother, these lengthy course requirements were often accompanied by equally demanding practical requirements.

“On the surface, it ... [was] a normal four year course, but it is a very, very tough and very, very difficult course,” she asserted. “Aside from ... learning in the classroom, ... [we] would also have to do [our] clinicals, which involved going to ... hospitals throughout the community. Before you graduate, ... [you are] supposed to complete X number of hours ... in clinicals and X amount of hours being in the community, and you're supposed to finish X amount of major cases and X amount of minor cases.”

My mother earned her Doctorate of Nursing Practice in the United States and has also been an instructor for several nursing programs at American colleges, so her experiences have allowed her the unique opportunity to compare the rigor of Philippine nursing programs in the late 20th century to that of American programs today.

“It's just a matter of how [nursing concepts are] delivered to the students,” my mother explained. “Generally, ... the nursing education that I received in the Philippines ... is more robust than the education that [nursing] students are receiving here. [In the Philippines,] there was an emphasis on instilling the characteristics of compassion and empathy to every nurse so they will be able to take care of a patient in any part of the globe. That's a ‘global’ nurse.”

While the Philippines' history as an American colony helped produce a massive number of nurses who were conveniently educated in an Americanized school system and fluent in English, the appeal of Filipino nurses to recruiters in American hospitals extended beyond convenience. These nurses were put through a rigorous nursing program that equipped them with the ability to meet the technical requirements for nurses in the US while maintaining the values of humanity that are quintessential to the nursing profession.

Driven by Profit

Over time, the primary focus of the Philippine nursing school began to shift from quality to quantity as more colleges and universities across the country recognized the potential to profit off the rising popularity of the nursing profession.

“When I was in college, there were only two [nursing] programs near me. After that, a lot of nearby universities, even universities that didn't have hospitals, started their own nursing programs,” my mother joked. “Even a computer [science] school started a nursing program.”

Indeed, there was a rapid rise in the number of nursing programs in the Philippines. As of 1980, there were around 40 nursing programs in the Philippines, many of which were operated by small, religious non-profit schools (Dahl et al. 2). By 2006, the number of programs had soared to 470, but only a select few of these hundreds of programs continued to practice the quality-oriented admissions policies from the past (Dahl et al. 2). Instead, many other schools adopted “profit-oriented strategies like open admissions” which aimed to produce as many

nursing graduates as possible (Ortiga 68). With these strategies in action, student-to-teacher ratios in nursing programs all over the Philippines began to inflate out of proportion, with many instructors admitting that they were often “too overwhelmed” to work closely with so many students to such an extent that “they didn’t even bother trying to remember all of their students’ names,” demonstrating the decline in quality in today’s Philippine nursing schools (Ortiga 66-68).

“There's a reason why [the university] only graduated 150 [nursing students] in my class,” my mother began to explain. “The student-to-teacher ratio needed to be small enough for the students to learn well. If you put [too] many students with just one [instructor], not much learning will happen there. So ... they set a cap at 150, because the number of faculty they had would only be able to provide a good learning experience to 150 students.”

Nowadays, there is competition among nursing programs across the country for which school can graduate the most nurses, have the highest passing rate on the national board exam, and send the most graduates overseas to work. In fact, this competition is so stiff that many nursing programs turn away “researchers” who claim to be interested in documenting the inner workings of their programs, fearing that these “researchers” are actually “spies” sent by rival programs searching for ways to get a leg up on their competitors (Ortiga 66). Amongst this chaos of this numbers contest, the ultimate losers are the nursing students these schools disservice by prioritizing their profits over the quality of the education they provide.

CONFRONTING THE REALITIES OF IMMIGRANT LIFE

Looking for “Nice Things”

While young adults in the Philippines were being pressured by their government and their families to pursue nursing and emigrate to the United States, Filipino nurses who had already moved to the US were discovering firsthand that American life wasn’t exactly what it was promised to be.

During the American colonization of the Philippines, the US government established several military bases across the country. Over time, as the US decreased its military presence in the Philippines, some of these bases were redeveloped and became recreational hotspots for local Filipinos. One such base was located in my mother’s hometown.

“We had a US [military] base in Baguio [named] Camp John Hay,” my mother shared, “and if you went inside camp, ... you could spend US dollars, ... eat American food, [and] even play mini golf or go roller skating. ... I saw all these nice things and thought, ‘If they’re in camp, they must be everywhere in the US too!’”

Having access to these military bases allowed many Filipino nurses the opportunity to begin envisioning what American life might look like. As a result, the usual uncertainty and anxiety associated with moving to a new country was often replaced with excitement and determination to pass the CGFNS exams, find a recruitment agency, and start a new life in the US. In my mother’s case, these sentiments remained strong even during the first few moments after her plane landed at JFK International Airport in New York City.

“It was a huge culture shock,” she shared. “When my batch of 40 other Filipino nurses and I arrived at the airport, the hospital sent a bus to pick us up. ... Driving through the Bronx, [we] could ... see a lot of graffiti on the buildings, and I was like, ‘Oh my gosh. I thought I would only see those in movies and TV shows.’”

However, her enthusiasm wore off as soon as the hospital bus dropped off all the nurses at their temporary housing. Very quickly, my mother learned that the “nice things” she had experienced in Camp John Hay wouldn’t be a part of her everyday life. Instead, she would face an entirely different reality, starting with a less than ideal living situation.

“Seven of us were placed into a three-bedroom apartment, and we shared one bathroom,” my mother sighed. “We were so cramped. We had to put like three beds in [the living room] just to get ... all seven of us to fit. We also [had] to schedule our restroom time so each of us could take a shower before our shifts.”

And before she could get too comfortable in that apartment, she and her new friends from work were already being forced by the hospital to find a new place to live.

“That was free housing that the hospital provided for only six weeks,” she added. “So we were in a stressful situation because we needed to start our apartment search as soon as we got settled into the temporary housing, ... [but] we didn’t know anyone yet or have many connections. We were fortunate that one of our phlebotomists ... told us she lived in an apartment complex that had another three-bedroom apartment available, so four of the seven of us moved in there.”

Once all the nurses had moved out of the hospital-provided housing, the apartments were cleaned and prepared in anticipation for the arrival of another batch of bright-eyed Filipino nurses, ready to introduce them to their new lives in the US.

Facing Discrimination and Exploitation

With housing being the first major hurdle she’d overcome, my mother had a whole new set of obstacles in store for her in the hospital, especially in the form of being stereotyped by both hospital faculty and patients.

“We started working right away,” she continued. “[The manager] asked me, ‘What is your experience working in the Philippines?’ I said right away, ‘I have experience in medical, surgical, pediatrics, and the emergency room.’ I guess ER is ... the area that needed the most nurses, so I was placed in there, but silly me, I did not ask exactly how the emergency room [in the US] compared to the emergency room in the Philippines. We were expected to do a lot of things like start IVs, do EKGs, and draw blood, ... [but] we didn’t actually get to practice those things in the Philippines.”

Hospitals often provided batches of newly hired Filipino nurses with trainings led by experienced nurses to make the transition to working in the United States easier. However, more often than not, these experienced nurses would be white, creating a backward workplace culture where Filipino nurses could only become “professional equals” through their supervision

and training by their white counterparts (Choy 31). Although Filipino nurses did benefit from the guidance they received from their white coworkers, the unfortunate reality is that this racial dynamic perpetuated existing stereotypes that nurses educated outside the country provided an inferior quality of care (Walani 69). In fact, this stereotype became so deeply embedded in the workplace culture that once the time came for experienced Filipino nurses to give the same supervision they had once received to freshly hired white nurses, the trainees described the experience as “naturally humiliating” (Choy 31). Even today, many Filipino nurses continue to feel stereotyped, as they feel they have to “prove themselves repeatedly” to gain the same respect as their white colleagues and win over the trust of patients who perceive them as “less intelligent” because they are from another country (Walani 69).

Furthermore, for Filipino nurses who came to the US through the Exchange Visitor Program, hospital administrators would often “take advantage of the exchange status” of these nurses by paying them “stipends” instead of full salaries, “assigning them to work in the least desirable areas of the hospital,” and giving them the “least desirable of work shifts” (Choy 78-80). Although the Philippine government established the POEA to address such instances of exploitation, Filipino nurses would often be afraid to speak up and reach out to the POEA for assistance since their visa status depended on sponsorship from their employers (Choy 79). As a result, some Filipino nursing students in the US would find themselves helpless with no choice but to endure the poor working conditions until they completed the terms of their exchange program and could return to the Philippines.

Overall, American hospitals fostered a workplace environment which left Filipino nurses vulnerable to racist stereotypes and the exploitation of their immigration statuses. Ultimately, this perceived inferiority of Filipino nurses by both hospital faculty and patients proved to be another challenge which Filipino nurses were forced to overcome on top of the already challenging tasks of funding their families back home in the Philippines and helping the US mitigate its nursing shortage.

CONCLUSION

Filipino nurses have played a pivotal role in the US healthcare system for several decades, and their key contributions were made especially evident during the Covid-19 pandemic. Despite the fact that 4% of registered nurses working in the United States are Filipino, Filipino nurses make up around 26.4% of nurses who died of Covid-19 or related complications (“Sins of Omission” 13). To properly honor the lives of these frontline workers who sacrificed their lives to care for their communities when they were needed most, it is necessary to both learn and teach the history behind how they and their ancestors came to the United States in the first place. While every Filipino nurse who has come to the US has their own unique story, learning more about the rise in popularity of the nursing profession in the Philippines, the beginnings and evolution of the Philippine nursing school, and the experiences of these nurses upon their arrival in the US provides a solid foundation upon which one could continue building an understanding of the phenomenon of the Filipino nurse in the United States.

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Ophelia (they/she) is interested in reading classic English literature. Some of her favorite authors are Jane Austen, Oscar Wilde, and George Orwell.

HOMOEROTICISM AS AESTHETIC IN *THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY*

Irish writer Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) was unfairly convicted and sent to prison for gross indecency based on his homosexuality. Ironically, the trial inspired later generations to perceive his only novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, initially published in 1880, as one of the most celebrated examples of western homoerotic literature, inciting people of the modern era to explore contemporary gay ideals. However, in Wilde's 1895 libel trial, he expounded on the last line of his lover Lord Alfred Douglas' poem, "Two Loves," to express his views about homosexual love:

"The love that dare not speak its name"...is that deep, spiritual affection that is as pure as it is perfect. It dictates and pervades great works of art like those of Shakespeare and Michelangelo... It is beautiful, it is fine, it is the noblest form of affection. There is nothing unnatural about it. It is intellectual, and it repeatedly exists between an elder and a younger man, when the elder man has intellect, and the younger man has all the joy, hope and glamour of life before him.
(Testimony of Oscar Wilde)

Through the mention of famous artists alleged to have committed homosexual acts, Wilde justifies his own homosexual acts of which he was convicted in the trial. Moreover, as Henry Alley has noted, these references to great artists elevate homosexual love to the level of aesthetic beauty (4).

The homosexual love that Wilde describes reveals a spiritual love ideal that intellectually rests on the beauty of Aestheticism. The Aesthetic Movement that evolved during the late nineteenth century in Britain was aimed at the pursuit of the aesthetics of beauty and art ("Aestheticism"). This movement debunked the traditional Victorian maxim that art and literature played an ethical role in society, rather promoting the more progressive French concept of art for art's sake: *l'art pour l'art* (Burdett). Therefore, "Aestheticism" refers to the movement that emphasized the importance of viewing art for its own sake; on the other hand, the adjective "aesthetic" relates to the overall topic of beauty and art while the noun "aesthetic" pertains to a discussion of the philosophy or structure of beauty or art, by which the noun usage strongly emphasizes an appreciation of beauty in art. The premise of Aestheticism is when "the subjective view of beauty becomes the primary means of judging value; when considering whether a poem or a painting is good, Aestheticism merely asks if it is beautiful or meaningful as a work of art" (Livesey 262). Thus, the novel's various elegantly described scenes create an

Aestheticist framework that discloses feminine aspects of Wilde's male characters. Similarly, in the novel's Preface, Wilde emphasizes that "all art is at once surface and symbol... It is the spectator, and not life, that art really mirrors" (4). Since the receivers determine the form that art takes, art communicates the emotions that they feel. This being the case, if Wilde argues that art reflects the spectator, then his readers' interpretation of his novel's aesthetic as homoerotic is valid, regardless of what Wilde himself claims or intends. Therefore, even though homosexuality does not appear evident in the interactions between the characters, the novel's Aesthetic framework can be viewed as a facade, implying that the spectator or audience feels the presence of homoeroticism.

Although Wilde does not explicitly show homoerotic love between his characters, he uses Aestheticism as a tool to infer the presence of homosexual love. The author's creation of the character Basil Hallward, a genius painter who falls in love with Dorian, shows that artistic geniuses are inclined towards an appreciation of homosexual beauty. Ironically, however, as Basil worships aesthetic beauty, he develops a homophobic loathing for his adoration for Dorian, falling into an inner conflict between following his heartfelt homosexual inclinations and upholding Victorian societal values through the guise of Aestheticism. Thus, Wilde uses the accepted concept of Aestheticism to convey the disproved homosexual love in the novel. Critic Henry Alley solely examines Basil's character in his pursuit of unrequited homosexual love to posit the argument that within the Victorian context there exists a harmony between moral virtue and Aestheticism to which Basil adheres in his refusal to confirm his homoerotic feelings for Dorian. That Alley discusses on page five Basil's self-contradiction between his desire for a homosexual relationship and his need to conceal his true feelings of homosexual love under the virtues of Aestheticism and male artistic admiration supports my central argument that Wilde uses the canon of Aestheticism to hide Basil's homoerotic love for Dorian. Moreover, Alley argues Wilde's presentation of homosexual relationships between Basil and Dorian as well as Dorian and Lord Henry reflect versions of this same perfect love based on Aestheticism and male artistic admiration that Wilde spoke about in his trial. Joseph Carroll corroborates the link that Alley makes between Aestheticism and homoeroticism through a discussion of the novel in terms of Christian pathos and Darwin's conception of species that typifies the evolution of gender differences. Carroll employs this particular epistemological combination to examine the philosophy of Aestheticism in Wilde's time as well as Wilde's own conflicted homosexual feelings portrayed through his characters. Carroll's argument supports my own hypothesis that Wilde's protagonist, Basil, portrays a spiritual homosexual love as opposed to the kind of superficial male sexual attraction of which Wilde was being accused by his contemporaries. By merging Alley and Carroll's ideas, I posit that the novel is more than merely a message against overindulgence that leads to self-destruction, but is rather a contradictory concealment of homosexual love. While Wilde's contemporaries pointed to the novel's homosexual content as being morally wrong, Wilde denied this charge in his trial under the claim that his novel was rather an aesthetic illustration of natural male interaction. By weaving his novel into the mainstream aesthetic of beauty presented in literature and art, Wilde legitimizes homoerotic love as represented by Basil by elevating its perceived vulgarity through a process of aesthetic de-sexualization to the level of purity, beauty and unattainability.

The novel centers around the life of Dorian Gray, a young aristocrat with mesmerizing

beauty and good fortune. Under the influence of his older intellectual friend Lord Henry Wotton, Dorian wishes to exchange his soul for the eternal beauty intrinsic to the portrait of himself painted by his artist friend Basil Hallward. Dorian realizes that his wish has been granted when he discovers that the canvas reflects his sins. As Dorian continues with his decadent, corrupt lifestyle, culminating in his murder of Basil, the painting becomes more hideous and grotesque, reflecting the gradual deterioration of Dorian's soul. In the end, unable to bear the repulsion and disgust emitted by the painting, he stabs it in the heart, which becomes Dorian's heart in an act of suicide. Hence, the painting itself constitutes the novel's framework through which Wilde conveys his theme of how in contrast to the traditional ethical and moral values of the Victorian era, blindly following Aestheticism inevitably leads to a pursuit of overindulgence in beauty and pleasure that can only end in decadence and self-destruction. While overindulgence in Aestheticism can lead to destruction, a reasonable pursuit of beauty and aesthetic can eliminate both Dorian's and Basil's tragic ends.

Wilde presents the extended metaphor of the portrait of Dorian to elevate any reader-spectator perceptions of homoeroticism to a matter of aesthetics in a similar fashion. This rhetorical strategy thus situates the novel within the socially and intellectually acceptable framework of the Aesthetic. Basil's obsession with Dorian belies the painter's secret adoration of the sitter, an attitude that Basil attempts to conceal. His fascination with Dorian's beauty "would absorb [his] whole nature, [his] whole soul, [his] very art itself" (Wilde 10), idolizing Dorian as a personification of "the visible incarnation of that unseen ideal" (110). Dorian's beauty so enchants Basil that he puts his heart and soul into the process of creating the painting to the degree that he discovers a new inspiration in his art. To completely possess Dorian and camouflage his own love, he tries to drive Lord Henry away, superficially stating that to him Dorian is "simply a motive in art... He is a suggestion, as I have said, of a new manner. I find him in the curves of certain lines, in the loveliness and subtleties of certain colours" (13-14). Basil's reluctance to reveal his homosexuality in front of Lord Henry by using art as a cover suggests that Basil avoids his own homophobic self-loathing. According to Alley on page five, Basil resorts to disguising his adoration for Dorian through his reclusive lifestyle as an artist. Basil eventually rejects the physical Dorian who loses his soul, while making the artistic choice to "stay with the real Dorian" who exists within the painting (Wilde 31). Even though Basil desires to drink tea with the physical Dorian, he rather chooses to remain loyal to the painting, which for him becomes an emblem of Dorian's soul, suggesting that above everything Basil has decided to hold onto his selfless devotion to art and beauty. This same noble love for art and Dorian eventually goes mad and wild, causing Basil to step over the friend boundary between him and Dorian. Likewise, Wilde generifies beauty as a common phenomenon that people worship and place on a pedestal. In the words of Lord Henry, "Beauty is a form of Genius—is higher, indeed, than Genius, as it needs no explanation. It is one of the great facts of the world... It cannot be questioned. It has [the] divine right of sovereignty" (24), expressing that Wilde agrees with Lord Henry and reveres the celestial characteristics of beauty above sensual pleasure, which is the associated by-product of divine beauty. Wilde describes aesthetically pleasing settings that stand in contrast to the grotesqueness of his unfolding story. Scholar Fang Yang discusses Wilde's language style in the novel, pointing out the contrasting word choice within Wilde's unfolding plot and his elegant scenes. She states, "To Wilde, art is pure and perfect, and beauty is holy and away from the sordid reality" (4). However, as Yang points out, Wilde's use of words, such as in

comparing “the moon” to “a yellow skull” depicts “the darkness at the bottom of Dorian’s heart but also embodies the implication of Dorian’s degenerating behavior” (4). This shows that Dorian’s soul is no longer pure, and his beauty is being contaminated by overindulging pleasure. Wilde transfers his aesthetic ideal onto Basil, who reveres Dorian’s holiness by apotheosizing him within this artistic world that prioritizes beauty. Interestingly, while Wilde acknowledges that the pursuit of beauty can overcome the traditional societal gender role, he chooses to tragically end the life of Basil, who is homosexual, and Dorian, who lost his true self in chasing for eternal beauty—the two main points he is advocating for. Therefore, by using the painting as a medium of Dorian’s soul, Wilde camouflages Basil’s homoerotic physical attraction to Dorian as Aesthetic adoration for the painting.

Through art and literature, Wilde aims to beautify homoeroticism towards a justifiable aesthetic. Through likening Dorian to art, to hide his romantic feelings Basil declares that his admiration for Dorian is pure artistic inspiration. In referencing this homoerotic love that Basil feels for Dorian “as Michelangelo had known, and Montaigne, and Winckelmann, and Shakespeare himself,” Wilde justifies that “the love that [Basil] bore [for Dorian]—for it was really love—had nothing in it that was not noble and intellectual. It was not that mere physical admiration of beauty that is born of the senses and that dies when the senses tire” (115). As previously noted, Alley argues that by alluding to Shakespeare and Plato, Wilde portrays “a contemporary, healthy gay love” that was viewed as taboo among Wilde’s contemporaries. Thus, in his response to an increasing need for secrecy, Wilde disguises Basil’s homoerotic love for Dorian as Aestheticism. Scholars have noted Wilde’s awareness of Shakespeare’s reputation for homosexual activity and “homoerotic inspiration” (Cohen 812). Similarly, in the case of Michelangelo, who “had his massive male bodies reproduced in stone and on frescoes” (Alley 4), Wilde suggested at his trial that Michelangelo had same-sex desires. Additionally, in the novel, Wilde alludes to the recurrence of homoerotic love throughout history from the ancient Greeks up to the Victorian period. Hence, by implying that homoeroticism has always been present at the level of great art, Wilde weaves homosexuality into the movement of Aestheticism, elevating his novel to the status of an art form.

Ironically, even though Wilde makes the portrait of Dorian central, he never actually describes it, indicating that the novel itself should be viewed as the portrait, which is supported by the title. In the title, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, his use of the word, “picture,” with its modern, spontaneous associations, instead of “portrait,” which harkens back to a more classical understanding of an artist painting a portrait of somebody, guides readers to adhere to a more contemporary reading of the entire novel as a “picture,” as opposed to the traditional “portrait.” When Dorian complains to Lord Henry about how annoying Basil is, Dorian says, “It is rather horrid of me, as he has sent me my portrait in the most wonderful frame, specially designed by himself, though I am a little jealous of the picture for being a whole month younger than I am” (55). Wilde mostly uses the term “portrait” when describing the artistic aspects of the painting while switching to “picture” when the painting is personified as a living person. Moreover, through Wilde’s use of indirect descriptions of the portrait coming from Basil, Lord Henry, and Dorian, Wilde conveys its magnificence beyond these spectators of art to the readers of the novel itself, intending his novel to stand as an even more comprehensive Aesthetic, literary work. After examining the finished picture, Lord Henry exclaims that “it was certainly a wonderful work of

art, and a wonderful likeness as well” (26). Instead of conveying the actual details of the portrait, Wilde makes use of character dialogue to establish the picture’s outstanding beauty. He encourages this interpretation through his lack of description surrounding the “yellow book” sent to Dorian by Lord Henry. Symbolically described as a strange book without a plot that tells the story of the life of a young Parisian (123), the book points to Wilde’s own novel also being an account of Dorian’s life. This further emphasizes his intention to draw the reader’s attention to the novel as a whole, rather than to the smaller portrait, which then comes to operate as an extended metaphor within the overall context of the larger literary work. Peter Raby investigates the origin of the yellow book and the impact of the dominant influence of French literature and the French degenerative lifestyle on Wilde. In particular, Wilde felt more comfortable with the more open attitude of the French towards homosexuality, becoming strongly interested in the French people and culture. However, with wide openness and acceptance, people can become easily addicted to various stimulus, be it good or bad. In the novel, the yellow book epitomizes French decadence that becomes rooted in Dorian (Raby). As Wilde writes, “Dorian Gray could not free himself from the influence of this [yellow] book. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he never sought to free himself from it... And, indeed, the whole book seemed to him to contain the story of his own life, written before he had lived it” (123). The “yellow book” operates within the larger novel to further aggravate Dorian’s degenerative, decadent lifestyle of sensual and sexual – including homoerotic – pleasures. Moreover, Wilde’s technique of concealing the portrait within the connotative level of the novel connects to other inferences to homoeroticism such as Wilde’s likening of Dorian to the mythical Greek Narcissus.

Wilde depicts Dorian’s being in love with his own beauty by alluding to Narcissus from Greek mythology. According to the myth, Narcissus was a young man with extraordinary beauty who fell in love with his own reflection, which ultimately caused his death (“The Myth of Narcissus”). Narcissus’ aesthetic attraction to his own beauty transcends sexuality and gender, just as Dorian’s love of his own portrait presents as being purely aesthetic. When seeing the portrait of himself, he exclaims that “I am in love with it, Basil. It is part of myself. I feel that” (Wilde 29). Dorian falls into a narcissistic appreciation of his own beauty, whereas on the other side of the relationship, Basil’s love for Dorian remains homoerotic. Furthermore, Dorian’s love for his beauty and youth grows out of control to the point that he wishes to exchange everything for it, even his soul. Dorian cries for “the picture [to] change, [so that he] could be always what [he is] now” (28). In the Greek myth, Narcissus’ obsession with his own beauty eventually causes his death; similarly, Dorian gives away his own soul in exchange for an idealized self. Therefore, Wilde’s allusion to Narcissus links Dorian’s narcissistic nature to the Greek aesthetic of beauty. In this way, the novel’s portrait serves as “the most magical” mirror (103), which upon viewing, presents him with a “sense of his own beauty [that comes] on him like a revelation” (27). Dorian’s frenzied pursuit of beauty pushes him to explore everything that heightens his senses, causing his own soul to become corrupted, and correspondingly, the painting to become deformed. Ironically, while beauty gives life to Dorian, it also brings about Dorian’s self-destruction in another allusion to Narcissus’s death. Eventually coming to loathe his own beauty, Dorian finally realizes that “[it] was his beauty that had ruined him, his beauty and the youth that he had prayed for... His beauty had been to him but a mask, his youth but a mockery... Youth had spoiled him” (210). Through experiencing different senses, Dorian ultimately understands that his youth is an illusion, a tool that he uses for corrupting others and

himself. Therefore, arriving at the horrible truth of his blind devotion to his appearance, like Narcissus, Dorian meets a tragic end. Nevertheless, despite Dorian's aesthetic love for himself, homoeroticism remains present in Dorian and Basil's relationship.

Under the theory of Aestheticism, which goes against Victorian traditional morality, Wilde connotes the presence of homoeroticism in the relationship between Basil and Dorian. Basil worships Dorian as an artist to his muse. Just as "the invention of oil-painting was to the Venetians, [and] the face of Antinous was to late Greek sculpture," Basil believes that "the face of Dorian Gray will some day be" an art inspiration to him (13). Multiple allusions to artists of the past occurring throughout the novel rhetorically lead the way to Basil's worship of Dorian. Just as in the contemporary world members of the homosexual community hide their sexual orientation from society to avoid discrimination, Basil also wishes for Dorian to stay hidden from Basil's immediate circle of friends for two reasons: first, out of jealousy and worry that others will also fall in love with Dorian; and second, to hide his own homoerotic tendency. As illustrated in Basil's explanation as to the hiding of Dorian's name, "when [he] like[s] people immensely, [he] never tell[s] their names to any one. It is like surrendering a part of them. [Basil has] grown to love secrecy. It seems to be the one thing that can make modern life mysterious or marvelous to [then]. The commonest thing is delightful if one only hides it...It is a silly habit...but somehow it seems to bring a great deal of romance into one's life" (7-8). The fact that Basil wants to conceal Dorian so that he can have him all to himself symbolizes Basil's desire to possess and dominate Dorian. Ironically, however, blinded by love, Basil allows Dorian to dominate him. Furthermore, through Lord Henry's massive influence on Dorian, Lord Henry demonstrates his masculinity by "seek[ing] to dominate [Dorian]—had already, indeed, half done so. [Lord Henry] would make that wonderful spirit his own" (38). In contrast to the fact that Dorian controls Basil, Lord Henry dominates Dorian. To Lord Henry, Dorian's "mad adoration of some one else caused him not the slightest pain of annoyance or jealousy. He was pleased by it" (56); Basil's confession to Dorian has a bitter tone: "I grew jealous of every one to whom you spoke. I wanted to have you all to myself. I was only happy when I was with you" (10). As shown through Lord Henry's words, while jealousy can exist between friends, Basil's extreme possessive jealousy indirectly reveals his homoerotic love for Dorian. Similarly, Basil wants to have Dorian all to himself, so only he can paint Dorian who is the best model to stimulate his artistic potential. Accordingly, Wilde uses the emergent context of aesthetics as a subtle way of condoning homoeroticism as appropriate behavior.

By rejecting traditional Victorian morality, Wilde validates the homoerotic love between Basil and Dorian by concealing this taboo within the code of Aestheticism. However, despite the developing modernist aesthetic trend during Wilde's time, Victorian values continued to prevail in shaping attitudes towards the stigma and discrimination traditionally associated with homosexuality. Wilde's contemporary ideas regarding homosexuality as portrayed in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, such as openly addressing homophobic society and voicing homoerotic love, influenced later generations. Nevertheless, while many scholars have presented informative research on the issue of homosexuality within the novel, more recent and modern research into the novel's relevance to LGBTQ+ needs to be conducted to break the stereotypical view people have towards homosexuals and explore how this novel differs from or falls into stereotypes of homosexual love.

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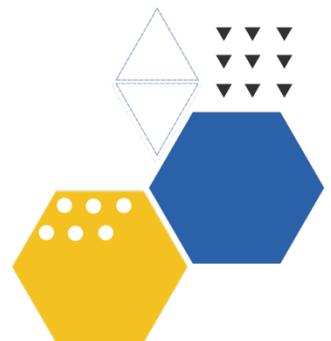
Anjali Byju, a native Floridian, enjoys reading and going to the beach in her free time. As a Journalism major, writing is a passion of hers and she's excited to be included within Kaleidoscope for the first time. On campus, Anjali is an RA within Kilachand and a staff writer for various student-run publications.

DISCOVERY PODCAST



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Jana is a proud recent grad born and raised in Queens, NY. She has fed into her passion for reading and writing ever since early childhood. Her love for thought-provoking literature follows her well into her technical career, continuing to provide her with invaluable & norm-challenging perspectives on the natural world.

THE FACILITY

Preface

The late Ursula K. Le Guin was an American author and novelist, renowned for her contributions to science fiction and fantasy literature across the later half of the 20th century. Le Guin's style is a blend of imagery-rich prose, philosophical exploration, and a keen understanding of the human condition. With a distinct ability to create extraterrestrial and deeply immersive worlds, Le Guin captivates readers with her thought-provoking literary experimentations dealing with anthropology, emotion, environmentalism, sociology, classism, and gender dynamics. Her emphasis on diversified cultures, relationships, and the complexities of human nature are prevalent in her short stories; many such pieces were the influence of my own writing for this capstone assignment for the BU Fall 2022 course KHC HC501: *Lives & Works*. This class was taught in reference to our subject, Ursula Le Guin, under the instruction of Dr. Regina Hansen from the BU CAS Writing Program and CGS Department of Rhetoric.

Le Guin's works inspired me to dive into themes of identity, power structures, and the interconnectedness of all living beings. Through her storytelling, she demonstrates the use of fiction as a vessel and tool with which to challenge conventional norms, plunge depths of the human psyche, and activate a shared social consciousness for readers from as early as the ages of 8-12, as per her works for children and young adults. Le Guin's works have often been described as boldly contemporary, ahead of their time, and setting the standard for a male-dominated genre which she had quietly joined under a pseudonym, and then revolutionized forever. Ultimately, she encouraged me to infuse my own writing with a sense of otherworldliness and hidden dystopia within a setting of seemingly functional—yet steadily unraveling—governance and society. I have read and gathered many of her novel ideas in order to create a mimicry that does them justice. Le Guin has allowed my story, *The Facility*, to approach these themes in full force by unveiling just how much intentional hierarchy lurks beneath what first meets the eye.

The Facility

PLAQUE AFTER PLAQUE LINES THE STEEL WALLS OF THE FACILITY. The linoleum flooring seems out of place in the austere interior of the building, but there are no lines between the paneling to indicate any lack of continuity on the surface. In this, the 6 faces of the hallways are all one slab of encasement; a connective tissue that protects judiciously from contaminants of the outside world.

Many different forms of beings coexist peacefully with one another, but why waste time searching for your perfect other half when you are destined to be with a carbon copy of yourself? reads one plaque. *Your bloodline has produced the immaculate creature you witness each day in your reflection; now, it's time to pass down the lineage. Your flawless complexions will complement one another's; the hue of each follicle of hair, each streak of color in your irises, will match to a tee. Nearly every shade and feature will be a mirrored image of your own. No one will doubt who it is you are matched to. In a few generations, anyone could pick out of a crowd exactly the person it is with whom you share your life, family, and home.*

Whatever variations already exist within the human race may continue to procreate & stay in their own company, reads another. *However, any further diversity is a fluke that must be controlled. With the help of The Facility, the mess of it all can be contained! While some variability still inevitably occurs, here and there, it is not nearly ostentatious enough to mention in research studies. The utility of it all!*

Preod walks past the beckoning sign, footsteps falling heavily. Blatant, glaringly establishmentarianism propaganda turned adornments for the visitors' receiving area; the Facility does not often miss in showcasing its agenda as a pretty feature of this brave, progressive new society. Resignation comes in waves, breaking out from the center of Preod's chest. He stands there today as scion of the Illoca household. Indicative dark skin and deep eyes in the shade of heathery green give him away from half a mile, just as the plaques would have intended. Atop his head lays the nest of almost-blonde, strawberry locks that curl around every ear in his home.

The Illocas have always desired a good match from a good family for every one of their progeny, and trust the Facility unequivocally to operate on a case-by-case basis to evaluate every single Identifier, or hereditary feature, of their bloodline and ascertain perfect matches for each of their children. There is no hope of getting any alternative thought past their primary matriarch, *read*: Preod's blood mother.

Margilda and her Facility-sponsored match - beloved partner and secondary matriarch Margrette - have run out of options with him, as so it seems. Margilda is the one who has scheduled him for a meeting with the Facilitators. As the eldest, Preod has as much a choice in matters of his own future as a plant in choosing the seed from which it sprouts.

The meeting is already in full force when Preod enters through the main door to the Consultation Room, which blends in almost seamlessly into the infinite wall but for a thin,

seam-like fracture outlining the raised button that Preod taps on - pressing lightly as a feather. The door contracts inward into its own thickness, the edges of it becoming apparent with the changes in material depth. The steel splits down the middle; its now thinner halves slide away, the metal deforming like molasses and drawing back into the hollow walls on either side.

The smooth motion is akin to slabs of ice, helplessly liquefying into overwarming water. As Preod steps through the threshold, the cold metal slowly begins to bleed back into place and reform behind him. In mere seconds, the smooth and unbroken wall is once more.

"There is a strong urgency within Preod to seek someone else for himself, sage," Margilda Illoca is saying to a man behind a desk with large wire-rimmed frames. He is the Facilitator selected for their case; his forearms rest on a granite-top desk. He has a counter, ticking off intervals of The Facility's choosing; the specifics still remain unknown to outsiders. Time moves differently within these walls.

There are many benefits to a facilitated Match, transmits the Facilitator from his seat.

Preod flinches at the mental invasion. Not once has it failed to catch him off-guard.

"But he is lost in his own thoughts," Margilda protests with ardor. "Just wandering between possibilities - it's the indecision of youth. He has begun to feel caged in by his lack of options. He does not see that it is for his own betterment, all for his best interests." An affected, parental eye-roll is added to the mix. "They think they know everything at this age! Suddenly having preferences, pretending to know their needs and desires." She spits out the words like dirt in her mouth and turns accusatory, betrayed eyes onto her son, who stands before the entrance.

Margilda is distressed, visibly so. She wants to see her son in good, familiar, properly-toned hands. She wants to finally stop wringing her own.

Preod shrugs, irreverent. He has nothing left to say.

"Who is asking what you want?" Margilda seethingly asks of her eldest child. "You think you know what you want when you barely know yourself. In *what* world?"

In what world, indeed, the Facilitator transmits, without so much as a bat of the eye. They are speechless, soundless, wordless. They rarely move, and not at all when it can be helped.

Given too much thought, the mind begins to meander aimlessly. He is bouncing between right and wrong, acceptable and unacceptable, faithful and disloyal. I recommend... a remedial therapy of sorts.

“We must put a stop to this-”

Peace, Illoca. *There is a solution that could remove his thoughts of this other world... a fantasy realm wherein he lives in harmony with some spawn of another breed.* The Facilitator moves slowly, lifting one hand from the desk.

It is the false world of his own imagining... the imagination itself is defective, for having the capacity for these delusions. Its inception can't be helped... but its continuation can be treated.

The Facilitator reaches down to bring forth a glass bottle from somewhere beneath the desk; there is the barely-present sound of a drawer on a smooth roller track slowly sliding shut. Soft, unassuming, slow as molasses. The glass of the bottle settles against the stone tabletop, tapping down with the lightest of clinks.

Presenting him this tonic, he chirruped into both the Illocas' skulls. *Brew it regularly to soothe his ceaseless, baseless, fruitless machinations. It will provide restfulness to a troubled mind.* He looks directly at the son who remains standing in the now once-more sealed doorway, all hinges or traces of any edge along the egress having disappeared innocuously behind them all.

No entry, no exit. As if there had never been an opening.

The steel is seamless.

Brevity is not Priod's strong suit, but his soul is weary; his heart, not lacking in strength, still feels tarred and dry after all this. He has little fuel remaining to deliver some lengthy, impassioned defense of himself before unyielding judge and jury—as would be his usual style. Still, for the first time, he speaks.

“I don't want to stop dreaming of her.”

Her, her, her. Sweet, sweet Oera; Oera who lives with her mother and father on the west end of town. Oera of a family listing the Illocas would never touch, Oera with the following Identifiers: fair as snow, with small features as sharp as broken porcelain, delicate as bone china. No freckles. Dark-eyed, raven hair. She does not have a registry, nor a lineage tied to the Facility.

“She is all I ever think about.”

“It is a *sickness!*”

But it's not, Preod thinks. It's beautiful. It is the furthest from sickness he has ever been. These people, these mechanical creatures, are the harbingers of plague themselves. They are the unfeeling, unyielding, root cause of turmoil in the city. They are the sickness.

And his mothers, all the powerful heads of houses, akin to sheep. Submitting to The Facility, so willingly and happily, just to preserve this bloodborne illness. *They* are the carriers.

“Do you know anything, Mother, of what I long for?” Preod steps forward into the room, pacing with swift strides. His steps are full and strong; they echo along the tremoring walls. “Do you know what I wait for? Every day, I can't wait to go to sleep and dream of a life I can never have. I wait to then wake up, to yearn for it some more, to daydream in my waking hours. I can't wait to see her face on the street, knowing I can talk to her without repercussions - so long as I make no overt passes to display my favor.” Preod takes a shuddering breath.

“I once considered this type of affection painful and dissatisfying. But lately, Mother? Lately, there has been nothing sweeter to me than tiptoeing around the possibility of becoming something more. I want to be more than these, what, these *meaningless* bodily attributes that make you and me the people that we are. I don't care for them! I don't know what I am not, but I want to learn. I want to be more than... just what I am.”

“What makes you think you know *anything* about the sum of your parts?”

Preod does not flinch. “She is different. New... I didn't know all that I could want until I met someone new. And she makes me better. I don't need you or the government or anyone else to explain to me what I need to be a better human. I know what I am worth. I know I am worth

more with her, and I know that I don't need Facilitation. I don't want to be provided with a Match. I've already found mine."

"She's a *girl*," Margilda hisses. "What would you know of being with a woman? You, the most typical boy I have ever raised. I would not see you with anyone but another boy in your Identifiers cohort."

"It's been known to happen."

"It's unnatural."

"It's fine!"

The Facilitator's glasses flash in the glaring light.

Margilda has not finished. "She is a *light-skin*, if, by some miracle, you have forgotten. Her eyes are *muddy brown*. You think you have no prejudice now, but wait. Wait until you attempt to invite her into your family home, or to be accepted into hers. Do you think any of them will accept you, in the same way you wish our family would accept her? Do you think any mothers or fathers would accommodate these *irregularities* between the two of you, pretending yours is a stable match based on commonality? You are weak, irresponsible. You *have no plan*. Your commitment to this farce is laughable; a display of your mental deficiency. An illness!"

Preod narrows his eyes. Margilda returns the favor; her talons of argumentation sharpen.

"How can she see out of those dull, little eyes? You would be seen beside a *blind hag*. Accompanied everywhere by some muddy-haired wretch. Pale, frail, undesirable. Not a rich tone to offer in the whole of her body."

"I never liked green eyes anyway."

“And what of your children, you selfish scoundrel? Doomed to eternal confusion—just like you!” Margilda’s tone takes on a vicious edge. “Constantly stuck between two worlds. Never to settle. Never to understand themselves, or where they came from. Belonging to *nothing*.”

It is a good point, the otherwise silent Facilitator objects from his meditative perch. He observes them shrewdly. *Their children’s primary characteristics would present themselves as in-between states of Identifiers, rather than full states of any true Identifier values.*

“Would you like a translation, Preod? They would be *ugly*. Hideous. Deformed. Unnaturalistic creations of shamelessness and pride.” Margilda is breathing heavily, as if she’s reaching her wit’s end. As if she’s begging him to let her stop this, because she can’t stop on her own. “For *what*, Preod. All this deviation, just to satisfy some passing obsession of yours. Contrarianism for its own sake.”

“I am not being contrarian! I am telling you what I want!”

“Then go on! Go make life harder for everyone, you brattish, unconcerned boy. Go on, stay absorbed in yourself and your demented desires. Think of nothing but foolhardy fantasies of a life with some *outsider*. Feel every person's stare as you peruse a window from the street; feel every stare each time you stand in line. Whenever you go to the market, the post, the outside.”

“I am not selfish for wanting more for my life. *My* life.”

“Do you know what it means to be loyal to your genealogy? To show it respect?”

“I am perfectly respectful-”

“*You don't know the meaning of the word.*”

OERA WAITS BY THE POST. She wants to formulate her thoughts in order of relevancy. By importance, rankings would be more complex; as such, Oera is not prone to prioritizing task items over others from a personal standpoint.

She knows she cares most directly about the matter of her registry having been redacted from the local Facility. Some part of her soul wants vindication, craves it, demands it—while the rest of her could care less. Half of her would be content to leave it all to fate.

And, perhaps, to forget entirely that she'd ever met the boy with little to no self-control—with no reasons to limit himself to the innumerable worldly pleasures to which he was exposed, permitted to enjoy, and entitled to from an early age, by both custom and birth.

A right to Facilitation, for one. The right to access the Facility. A right which he seems so keen on throwing away, for the sake of a girl he only just met. Oera resents a great many things, but this must be the most blatant show of disrespect she has ever witnessed: a boy with zero care for all the programs that have been instituted and maintained for the benefit of his entire social class and all of his pedigree, by the charming generosity of their government. Oera wonders how Preod's Facilitation process will go. How he might react to his ordained Match. If he would, in another world, have settled for him; if he would habitually get closer to him. If he would have done more than just settled. Maybe, maybe in a world where Oera and Preod had never even met, he would have been happier than anything. Maybe if Oera still had her registry, she could have found the same wealth of happiness. In equal measure, she considers the system for its ease of use and the doing away with heartache. No more unlucky days, or failed attempts—no more loss in love. An eradication of all things that could remind one of their own humanity, mortality, vulnerability... away with it all.

Maybe, a treacherous part of Oera's soul thinks. Just maybe, despite the way her heart beats out of her chest for a boy who could care less for the establishment, she thinks, *maybe it knows something she doesn't*. Happiness can be orchestrated, happy endings cultivated. Curated.

Maybe Facilitation works.

Oera can only dream of the security, of the relief of not having to search for the one. A soulmate to your doorstep, signed, sealed, and delivered; who could ask for more? Guaranteed to be similar in every which way, and perhaps it would be boring, but what of it? Oera wants safety.

She wants love.

It takes 15 seconds, Oera recalls to herself. 15 seconds, and in the time of the system buffering, it will have taken less than that for Preod to decline his match in a fit of pique—which will send Margilda and Margrette into a fitful rage—just the way he's been planning. For her.

Maybe, she thinks. Maybe they have taken a wrong turn. For a system that has excluded and marginalized Oera's bloodline, these people know what they are doing with selectivity for the process. Perhaps it is true that some people do not deserve a perfect Match as their soulmate.

After all, that's how *the most eligible participants get the best results*. A sweet little footnote, at the bottom of one of the infamous plaques. Seldom do any read the fine print.

Maybe this isn't worth the incommmodity after all. What is infatuation, in the face of a lifetime of happiness?

THE PLAQUE'S MESSAGE IS AUTONOMOUSLY DICTATED. *Procreation and reproduction have been externalized, carried out in laboratories. What is left to think about? Why bother to waste your time, your precious, irreversible time, searching without a clue?*

There is no better way to eradicate the need for this. Outsource your search for completion today. Place your faith in hands you can trust; with agents of the Facility.

INSIDE THE WALLS...

"Over your own mothers, you choose some *broad!* With muddy eyes, at that? I doubt she can see out of them, the discolored wench!" Margilda is barely breathing, cheeks ruddy with rage. "She bewitched my son, body and mind. My son, who is as old as a quarter of his lifetime, who knows himself better than this. My precious boy, my firstborn, my only eldest. Your brothers and sisters would be so ashamed. I could never tell them to look to you for guidance. You break your other mother's heart. I have put my own reputation on the line for you. Stuck my neck out to the Facility for your sake. Given you a chance to win back Margrette's favor." Margilda bares her teeth. "What a waste. All of it, such a waste."

Preod lies on the linoleum floor, breath slowing. The Facilitator's eyes are sharp on Margilda's back; his glasses gleam in the fluorescence of the ceiling fixtures. The light is harsh.

"Your heart belongs where it is *safe*," Margilda intones. Her hand lies heavy on the syringe locked in Preod's breast. His eyes flicker briefly, then shut slowly, as though the lids are moving through the molasses of air around them; swirling thick with resistance, with betrayal.

“You belong where it is safe. Here with me, with the Facility,” Preod hears before he feels the call of sleep. “I will take care of you, now. You will wake to your other half and remember nothing. Sleep a milky, dreamless sleep... you’ll come back to me, my sweet boy.” Margilda’s voice has gone smooth, soothing, like a crooning lullaby. Like the lull of an ocean. The white light fades to soft, slow, hazy grey; the metal walls rattle once with finality.

“When you wake, child, you will be whole again.”



Autumn Bachofen

CAS'26

Autumn wrote this memo as a first-year undeclared student in CAS, but writing this piece pushed her to consider a combined major in Political Science and Philosophy.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S COLLABORATIVE REPRODUCTION LAW

Context

This is a memo written from the perspective of an intern working for Senator Ross, a fictional legislator in the hypothetical state of Hamilton. Currently, Hamilton is one of the few states that still prohibits surrogacy contracts and imposes criminal penalties for those who engage in them. Hamilton's nearby neighbor, the District of Columbia, passed the Collaborative Reproduction Law in 2017. The purpose of this memo is to (1) explain the basic elements of the law, (2) recommend the proposition of a similar law to Hamilton's state legislature, (3) provide the strongest arguments to make in favor of the proposed law, (4) anticipate the strongest counterarguments, and (5) recommend a number of witnesses to include in a public hearing.

Policy Memo

To: Senator Ross

From: Autumn Bachofen

Date: May 3, 2023

RE: Recommendation for the Legalization and Regulation of Surrogacy in the State of Hamilton

In 2017, the District of Columbia passed the Collaborative Reproduction Law, legislation which both legalizes and regulates surrogacy in the district, protecting and accounting for all parties involved in collaborative reproduction.¹ This memo recommends the adoption of a similar law in the state of Hamilton, a state which currently prohibits surrogacy contracts and imposes criminal penalties.

The Collaborative Reproduction Law in the District of Columbia is a major shift in collaborative reproduction regulation. It recognizes the intended parent(s) as the legitimate parent(s) of a child in both gestational and traditional surrogacy.² The law considers up to six parties involved in collaborative reproduction: the surrogate, the surrogate's partner (if any), the intended parent or parents, the gamete donor, and the child.

The law has requirements for both the intended parent(s) and surrogate in §16–405. It requires that the surrogate be at least 21 years of age, have given birth to at least one live child, have undergone a medical evaluation in which they were approved to serve as a surrogate, have completed a mental health evaluation, and have completed a joint consultation with the intended parents facilitated by a mental health professional in regards to potential issues that could arise during the pregnancy.³ Additionally, the section sets out requirements for the intended parent(s). They must be at least 21 years of age and have completed the same mental health consultation.⁴

§16–406 assures that all parties involved are informed of the process and able to advocate for themselves while creating the agreement. These agreements must be in writing before the insemination or embryo transfer, include an affirmation by all parties that they have independent legal counsel, have read the agreement and the law, and understand the requirements of both.⁵ The agreement must include an affirmation by the surrogate and the surrogate's partner, if any, that they are aware that they will not be the legal parent(s) of the child, that they agree to surrender the child, and agree that the surrogate will maintain control

¹ Collaborative Reproduction Amendment Act of 2016, D.C. Code §§16-401 to 16-412 (2017).

² *Ibid.*

³ §16–405.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ §16–406.

and decision-making authority over their own body for the duration of the pregnancy up until delivery of the child.⁶ The agreement is not nullified should the delivery be unsuccessful. The agreement must additionally include an affirmation that the surrogate agrees to cooperate in the necessary legal proceedings, and the agreement must affirm that the intended parent or parents will take full financial responsibility for the costs associated with the pregnancy and delivery, as well as for ancillary expenses.⁷

Exiting the contract depends on the conditions agreed upon during its drafting. §16–411 denotes the effect of withdrawal of consent. It states that “either the surrogate or the intended parent or parents may withdraw consent to collaborative reproduction,”⁸ and this withdrawal must be in accordance with the terms agreed upon in the surrogacy agreement. It must be in writing and delivered to all parties involved in the contract as well as the Superior Court of the District of Columbia.⁹ In addition, the section states that if the collaborative reproduction employs traditional surrogacy, in which the surrogate’s own egg is fertilized, the surrogate may withdraw consent within 48 hours after the child’s birth.¹⁰ This means that the surrogate may claim the child as their own within 48 hours, but only if the terms agreed upon in the contract allow.

The District of Columbia’s Collaborative Reproduction Law sets reasonable standards for enacting a surrogacy agreement. Despite the uncertainty inherent in the rearing of any child, this legislation ensures that the parties involved engage in a process intended to support their needs while mitigating potential risks. The law’s allowance for customizability of the agreement means that the parties are able to advocate for themselves and their needs, especially given that both the surrogate (and their partner) and intended parent(s) are legally required to have access to legal counsel during the process. Hamilton would benefit from a similar arrangement.

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

This memo recommends that Hamilton propose and enact collaborative reproduction legislation on the bases of inclusion, human rights, safety, and economic benefits. As of 2023, there are only four states in which surrogacy is illegal: Michigan, Nebraska, Louisiana, and Hamilton.¹¹ These are the states in red on the map below (see Figure 1). The orange states are states in which “surrogacy is practiced and courts issue parentage orders, but surrogacy contracts are void and unenforceable by statute.”¹² Yellow states are states in which “Surrogacy

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ §16–408.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ “U.S. Surrogacy Law Map: Surrogacy Laws by State,” CreativeFamilyConnections, March 23, 2023, <https://www.creativefamilyconnections.com/us-surrogacy-law-map/>.

¹² Ibid.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR

Though there are numerous arguments that support legalizing and regulating collaborative reproduction, this memo provides a brief overview of four main arguments: (1) Collaborative reproduction is a pathway to biological parenthood for those who cannot otherwise conceive, including infertile individuals, LGBTQ couples, and single parents. (2) Legalizing and regulating collaborative reproduction empowers women's rights to choose, protects their bodily autonomy, and reduces the risk of exploitation. (3) It promotes safe and informed surrogacy practices for all parties involved. (4) It will boost Hamilton's economy.

1. An Inclusive Pathway to Biological Parenthood

Collaborative reproduction allows those who would not otherwise be biologically capable of carrying a child to term to have children to whom they are genetically related. Alternatives to coital reproduction include adoption and foster parenting, donor insemination, in-vitro fertilization (IVF), and surrogacy¹⁶. Adoption and foster parenting do not provide the genetic relationship that intended parents may desire, and while IVF is considered one of the most effective forms of assisted reproductive technology, there are various health risks involved.¹⁷ IVF is only available to individuals with female reproductive systems, and it can be "time-consuming, expensive, and evasive,"¹⁸ all factors which would make surrogacy both an attractive and necessary alternative that is also available to infertile individuals and biological males. The legalization and regulation of surrogacy in Hamilton would allow infertile individuals, LGBTQ couples, and single intended parents to have biological children when other options are less accessible.

2. The Right to Choose

Banning surrogacy contradicts international human rights treaties. As noted in chapter 6 of a report from Cornell University Law School, the United States has signed several international human rights treaties, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), unratified, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), unratified.¹⁹ While the latter two conventions remain signed but unratified by the United States, they intend to ensure the enjoyment of economic, social, and cultural rights when ratified. Hamilton's adoption of a law like the Collaborative Reproduction

¹⁶ "Pathways to Parenthood for LGBT People." 2016. *National LGBTQIA+ Health Education Center*. May 20. <https://www.lgbtqihealtheducation.org/publication/pathways-parenthood-lgbt-people/>.

¹⁷ "In Vitro Fertilization (IVF)." 2021. *Mayo Clinic*. Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research. September 10. <https://www.mayoclinic.org/tests-procedures/in-vitro-fertilization/about/pac-20384716>.

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁹ Cornell Law School. International Human Rights Policy Advocacy Clinic and National Law University, Delhi, "Should Compensated Surrogacy Be Permitted or Prohibited?" (2017): 31. Cornell Law Faculty Publications. 1551.

Law would integrate these important standards, protect Hamiltonian citizens, and hold the state to higher human rights standards than currently prescribed by the federal government.

Article 17 of the ICCPR describes the right to privacy, the interpretations of which include facets of reproductive autonomy.²⁰ Article 12 of the ICESCR provides that countries which have signed the treaty shall provide the right to health.²¹ This includes the right to decide which medical treatments to use, as well as the right to sexual and reproductive freedom.²² Articles 6 and 7 of this treaty account for the right to freely decide to accept or choose work. In addition, “women who wish to become surrogates should have the right to do so under their freedom to contract,” a right that the United States supposedly guarantees independent of international treaties.²³ Finally, “Article 16 of CEDAW states that women have the right to decide freely the number and temporal spacing of their children.”²⁴ The combination of these treaties and their implications asserts that women must retain the right to control their own reproductive capacities. Hamilton’s current ban on surrogacy can be considered an infringement on the rights asserted by these treaties signed by the United States.

3. Promotion of Safe and Informed Surrogacy Practices

i. Hamiltonian Citizen Safety

If legislation, especially in the form of a ban, does not effectively deter citizens from engaging in an illicit activity, then what role should legislation play? Legal scholar Martha Ertman argues that “willing buyers and sellers create markets regardless of legal prohibitions, ... If the law cannot abolish markets, it can create incentives and protect some vulnerable parties from some dangers they would face in a black market.”²⁵ In legalizing and regulating surrogacy, legislation’s role would be to protect and support families and the parties involved in family-building, rather than to force them to make their choices elsewhere.

Many worries about potential unintended consequences to legalizing surrogacy are remedied by regulating surrogacy agreements. Criminalizing or banning an act does not always have the intended effect, and instead of deterring individuals from carrying the act out altogether, can often create a detour instead. The current ban on collaborative reproduction in Hamilton is no exception. Just as abortion bans often cause those in need of one to travel outside their home

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Lisa L. Behm, "Legal, Moral & International Perspectives on Surrogate Motherhood: The Call for a Uniform Regulatory Scheme in the United States," *DePaul Journal of Health Care Law* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 557-604.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Goodwin, Michele Bratcher, and Martha Ertman. 2010. “The Upside of Baby Markets.” Essay. In *Baby Markets: Money and the New Politics of Creating Families*, 26. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

states to receive proper medical care²⁶ or have one unsafely in-state, the current ban on collaborative reproduction causes intended parents to make similar difficult decisions: go out-of-state to have a child through surrogacy or illegally engage in a surrogacy agreement in-state. Legalizing and regulating collaborative reproduction would prevent these unintended consequences in a controlled way instead of allowing them to develop unchecked and unseen.

Softer regulations can lead to safer states, and this would likely be the case for collaborative reproduction. In Portugal, personal use and possession of any illicit drug is decriminalized, and studies show that in this case, “softening drug laws does not increase illicit drug use or the consequences of drug use.”²⁷ In the United States, softening drug regulations by legalizing marijuana did not cause unwanted behaviors and instead had the reverse effect. One study even found that “higher medical and recreational storefront dispensary counts [in the United States] are associated with reduced opioid related death rates.”²⁸ Softer regulations led to a safer state, and applying this same logic to collaborative reproduction would likely yield a similar result and ensure the safety of the parties involved in collaborative reproduction.

ii. Surrogate and Intended Parent Safety

The regulation of surrogacy benefits all parties involved, namely the surrogate, intended parent(s), and the child. Under these regulations, the surrogate is assured that their well-being and rights are considered and protected. Unlike states in which the outcome of a surrogacy contract produces varied results, intended parents have predictability when planning to have children. This predictability reduces financial and emotional burdens to both the surrogate and intended parent(s), and, in providing legislative guidance to courts, reduces the “difficulty encountered by the judiciary in adjudicating surrogacy-related disputes,”²⁹ especially the kind seen in the landmark cases *Matter of Baby M* (1988)³⁰ and *Johnson v. Calvert* (1993).³¹

²⁶ Diamant, Jeff. “What the Data Says about Abortion in the U.S.” Pew Research Center, January 11, 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/01/11/what-the-data-says-about-abortion-in-the-u-s-2/>.

²⁷ “Drug Decriminalization in Portugal: Challenges and Limitations.” 2010. National Archives and Records Administration. National Archives and Records Administration. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/ondcp/ondcp-fact-sheets/drug-decriminalization-in-portugal-challenges-and-limitations>.

²⁸ Hsu, Greta, and Balázs Kovács. “Association between County Level Cannabis Dispensary Counts and Opioid Related Mortality Rates in the United States: Panel Data Study.” *BMJ*, January 27, 2021, m4957. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.m4957>.

²⁹ Behm, “Legal, Moral & International Perspectives,” 559.

³⁰ *Matter of Baby M*. 1988 Justia US Law. The Supreme Court of New Jersey.

In *Matter of Baby M*, the intended parents opted for traditional surrogacy. The state did not recognize the surrogacy contract, but held that the intended parents should be awarded custody based upon the best interest of the child.

³¹ *Johnson v. Calvert*. 1993 Justia US Law. Superior Court of Orange County.

iii. Children of Surrogacy Safety

The child's rights are also considered in this legislation, and while there are arguments that debate the actual consideration of the child's rights in regards to surrogacy, unregulated legalization of surrogacy or an outright ban are both harmful to children. In order to prioritize children's rights and welfare, surrogacy must be both legalized and regulated. The role of legislation in this case would account for the welfare of children born through surrogacy, since much of current legislation regarding child welfare is concerned with parents who are absent from the child's life. Parents are almost sure to be present in the child's life, since surrogacy cannot happen by accident, and children born through it are always wanted.

4. Economic Benefits

The current ban on surrogacy in Hamilton causes Hamiltonians who cannot otherwise have children to engage in surrogacy contracts in foreign states. This movement “[disrupts] the continuity of care and the relationships that they have formed with their medical providers,”³² and moves money out-of-state. Taking the legalization of marijuana as a case study reveals that previously banned enterprises can be incredibly lucrative. According to an article published by the University of Colorado Boulder, “the once-underground endeavor is a \$2 billion per year industry in Colorado, and research on its chemical makeup, health benefits and risks is flourishing at institutions around the country.”³³ Cannabis production and sale are undoubtedly different from surrogacy, however the economic and social benefits of legalization are common to both. Legalizing and regulating surrogacy in Hamilton would generate jobs and income for the agencies, fertility clinics, and other associated industries in-state instead of directing this potential income to states with better surrogacy resources. Once this income is directed in-state, it can be taxed, and these tax revenues can be allocated towards Hamiltonian programs and social services.

ARGUMENTS IN OPPOSITION & REBUTTALS

This section provides a brief overview of the most common arguments, as well as potential rebuttal arguments for each. There are four counterarguments considered: (1) Surrogacy unethically commodifies women's bodies and children. (2) Intended parents should adopt instead of employing a surrogate. (3) Surrogacy exploits low-income women. (4) Surrogacy adversely affects children.

1. Surrogacy Commodifies Women's Bodies and Children

In *Johnson v. Calvert*, the intended parents and surrogate used gestational surrogacy, causing a conflict in awarding custody of the child since a biological relationship and birthing a child are both valid claims to motherhood.

³² Cornell Law School, “Should Compensated Surrogacy,” 15.

³³ Marshall, Lisa. “A Decade after Legalizing Cannabis in Colorado, Here's What We've Learned.” CU Boulder Today, March 10, 2023. <https://www.colorado.edu/today/2022/11/04/decade-after-legalizing-cannabis-colorado-heres-what-weve-learned>.

It is often argued that the existence of a “baby market” indicates a commodification of children and the women who birth them. From this stance, the child is a product for sale, and since surrogacy involves financial transactions, the surrogate’s reproductive capacities are also a commodity. Some, like Jennifer Lahl, founder and president of the Center for Bioethics & Culture Network (CBC), believe that surrogacy should be outright banned for this reason and the others outlined in this section.³⁴ Others who consider surrogacy to be a dangerous commodification argue that surrogacy should be regulated in a similar manner to organ donation, meaning that it can and should only be performed altruistically.³⁵

This stance fails to consider that women have the right to choose and accept work, and if this is the work they have chosen, then refusing payment is exploitative. More importantly, surrogacy should not be framed as the sale of a product, but rather the provision of a service. In the District of Columbia under the Collaborative Reproduction Law, surrogates are paid in installments throughout the pregnancy, and are compensated even in the event of a miscarriage. Considering the child to be the product for sale is a misconception since the surrogate is still compensated if the child is not successfully delivered. The intended parents are compensating the surrogate for their services. To further rebuke the commodification claim, Richard Posner, American legal scholar and former federal appellate judge, considers that “the surrogate mother no more “owns” the baby than the father does.”³⁶ The mere existence of market language in reference to a service does not necessarily indicate that a commodification or infringement on the rights of a person are taking place. Proper regulations are necessary to protect these rights, and the current ban fails to do so.

2. Intended Parents Should Adopt

Opponents of collaborative reproduction argue that with a whopping 113,000 children eligible for adoption as of 2021,³⁷ intended parents should choose to adopt a child instead of rearing one through surrogacy. Despite the overwhelming number of children eligible for adoption, people will still desire genetic continuity, and surrogacy allows intended parents to satisfy this desire. Richard Posner, posits that some babies are considered more desirable than others, which results in an “acute shortage of desirable babies”³⁸ since healthy, white babies are more often adopted than any other demographic.³⁹ Adoption is a lengthy, expensive, and

³⁴ “Stop Surrogacy Now.” 2023. The Center for Bioethics and Culture Network. <https://cbc-network.org/stop-surrogacy-now/>.

³⁵ Lewin, Tamar. 2014. “Surrogates and Couples Face a Maze of Laws, State by State.” The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/18/us/surrogates-and-couples-face-a-maze-of-laws-state-by-state.html?_r=0.

³⁶ Posner, “The Ethics and Economics,” 28.

³⁷ U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, Children’s Bureau, *AFCARS Report #29*, June 28, 2022, <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/cb/report/afcars-report-29>.

³⁸ Posner, “The Ethics and Economics,” 22.

³⁹ U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, Children’s Bureau, *Race\Ethnicity Distribution Of*

sometimes discriminatory process that does not provide the genetic continuity that intended parents may desire, making it an unfeasible and unattractive option for some intended parents.⁴⁰ Legalizing and regulating collaborative reproduction could remedy these difficulties.

3. Surrogacy Exploits Low-Income Women

It is also argued that surrogacy, as an expensive technology, is exploitative of low-income women since they are more likely to need the money they could earn by becoming surrogates. Surrogacy, in this sense, is argued to be “akin to prostitution in that it also involves the sale of female sexuality,” and since these women are in greater need of the money, they are more likely to “[sell their] sexuality.”⁴¹

Richard Posner argues that there is a misconception that all surrogates desperately need the money, writing that “interviews with surrogate mothers indicate not only that they are not poor, but that they have made a careful tradeoff between the use they can make of \$10,000 (or whatever the contract price is) and the costs (including regret) of bearing a child for another couple.”⁴² In fact, some surrogacy agencies will even disqualify applicants who, despite passing the health and psychological screenings, are “deemed overly dependent on the compensation provided, including those who receive government assistance, ... if a candidate receives food stamps or Medicaid, the payment provided for surrogacy would in many cases cause them to lose eligibility for those benefits.”⁴³ Assuming that all surrogates are poor is incorrect.

Despite this misconception, Posner further argues that “society does not forbid contracts for luxury goods on contracts that involve the purchase of services from persons lower on the income ladder.”⁴⁴ Wealthy people, by definition, have access to more resources and services than others. Punishing violations of a ban with a fine does not ban the act for everyone, but only for those who cannot afford to pay the fine, the same way that millionaires may interpret the threat of a parking ticket as indicative of exclusive parking.⁴⁵ Banning surrogacy with a fine would render collaborative reproduction services out of reach to Hamiltonians who cannot afford to venture out-of-state to engage in a lawful surrogacy contract.

Children Adopted During FY 2016, April 2018,
<https://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/documents/cb/race2016.pdf>.

⁴⁰ Goldberg, Abbie, Samantha Tornello, Rachel Farr, JuliAnna Smith, and Liam Miranda. 2020. “Barriers to Adoption and Foster Care and Openness to Child Characteristics among Transgender Adults.” *Children and Youth Services Review* 109 (February). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2019.104699>.

⁴¹ Posner, “The Ethics and Economics,” 27.

⁴² Posner, “The Ethics and Economics,” 25.

⁴³ Dodge, David. 2021. “Meet the Women Who Become Surrogates.” *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/15/parenting/fertility/surrogates-new-york.html>.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Carman, Ashley. 2020. “Jeff Bezos Paid More than \$16,000 in Parking Tickets While Renovating His DC Mansion.” *The Verge*. <https://www.theverge.com/2020/2/3/21120476/jeff-bezos-washington-dc-renovate-apartment-home-parking-tickets>.

Surrogacy should be viewed as a legitimate form of employment, rather than a desperate choice made by poorer women or a form of exploitation as some argue. The fact that surrogates provide their services using their bodies makes them distinct from other workers, but this should not invalidate the work that they do and should instead signal that this work needs legal protection. The regulation of surrogacy contracts would ensure that all parties are protected from exploitation, rather than victims of it.

4. Adverse Effects on Children of Surrogacy

Opponents of surrogacy argue that it has adverse effects on children born through surrogacy and does not prioritize the best interests of the child. They often reference the study, “Children Born Through Reproductive Donation: A Longitudinal Study of Psychological Adjustment”⁴⁶. This study concludes that “the absence of a gestational connection to the mother may be more problematic for children than the absence of a genetic link.”⁴⁷ The study is often cited by opponents as evidence that it is in the best interest of the child to be raised by the person who birthed them, since “the lack of a gestational connection may place children at increased psychological risk.”⁴⁸

Those citing this study as evidence of surrogacy having adverse effects on children are cherry picking their evidence. These scientists published results of the longitudinal study at different stages, years apart, and the aforementioned results are of the group of children at age 7. However, at age 14, the study yields a different conclusion: “Despite the concern that children born through reproductive donation would be at risk for psychological difficulties at adolescence, the findings of the present phase of this longitudinal study of families formed through egg donation, donor insemination, and surrogacy showed that these families did not differ from natural conception families when the children reached age 14.”⁴⁹ Based on this longitudinal study, the conclusion that children born through surrogacy experience psychological difficulties due to a lack of gestational relationship is based on an incomplete understanding of the study.

Some opponents also turn to studies on adoption, claiming that adopted children are occasionally maladjusted. However, “the best evidence seems to be that, on average, adopted children are no more unhappy or unstable than natural children. And the child of a [traditional] surrogate mother is only half-adopted.”⁵⁰ Some argue that acceptance of surrogacy and the

⁴⁶ Golombok, Susan, Lucy Blake, Polly Casey, Gabriela Roman, and Vasanti Jadva. 2012. “Children Born through Reproductive Donation: A Longitudinal Study of Psychological Adjustment.” *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 54 (6): 653–60. doi:10.1111/jcpp.12015.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Golombok, Susan, Elena Ilioi, Lucy Blake, Gabriela Roman, and Vasanti Jadva. 2017. “A Longitudinal Study of Families Formed Through Reproductive Donation: Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Adjustment at Age 14.” *Developmental Psychology* 53 (10): 1966–77. doi:10.1037/dev0000372.

⁵⁰ Posner, “The Ethics and Economics,” 23-24.

current gamete donor process would create a slippery slope towards designer children and eventually eugenics, since parents may choose to seek out specific characteristics in the sperm donor, egg donor, or surrogate, and that a child's best interest is compromised when the parents are able to "point children toward particular life choices."⁵¹ Rather than encouraging this acceptance, regulation would instead standardize the qualities intended parents are able to seek out in their search for a donor, ensuring that intended parent(s) and surrogates communicate qualities such as health history and ethnicity, while potentially restricting a survey of qualities such as "personal philosophy, personality, childhood memories, degree of religious fervor, and musical and athletic abilities," standardized test scores, and/or attractiveness in order to avoid a "slippery slope towards the acceptance of cloning."⁵²

RECOMMENDED WITNESSES

Arguments on both sides of this debate are highly charged. It is therefore the recommendation of this memo to invite scholars as witnesses while simultaneously practicing standpoint epistemology to more forcefully advocate for the legalization and regulation of collaborative reproduction.

Michael Sandel, Helen Alvaré, and Martha Ertman are legal scholars cited in this memo. Michael Sandel, professor of political philosophy at Harvard University, grapples with questions of bioethics and genetic engineering.⁵³ Helen Alvaré teaches Family Law, Law and Religion, and Property Law at George Mason University, and considers a children's rights perspective in the debate on surrogacy.⁵⁴ Martha Ertman teaches Contracts, Commercial Law and Foundational Transaction Skills courses at the University of Maryland's Law School, taking on an economic perspective.⁵⁵ Inviting multiple legal scholars with a diversity of opinions and backgrounds would ensure a well-rounded, informed debate.

Scientific experts should also be included in this debate. Susan Golombok, Lucy Blake, Gabriela Roman, and Vasanti Jadva authored the often-cited longitudinal study of psychological adjustment of children born through reproductive donation that yielded different results at different stages. Giving these scientists a chance to speak would allow the people to understand what these studies indicate, instead of relying on potentially biased or skewed interpretations. Any of these authors, or authors of another rigorous study regarding children's psychology in the context of surrogacy, would serve as valuable witnesses.

⁵¹ Sandel, Michael. 2009. *The Case Against Perfection*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

⁵² Alvaré, Helen. 2003. "The Case for Regulating Collaborative Reproduction: a Children's Rights Perspective." *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 40 (1): 1–63.

⁵³ "Bio | Michael J. Sandel." 2023. *Harvard University*. <https://scholar.harvard.edu/sandel/bio>.

⁵⁴ "Antonin Scalia Law School." 2023. *Alvaré, Helen | Antonin Scalia Law School*. https://www.law.gmu.edu/faculty/directory/fulltime/alvare_helen.

⁵⁵ "Martha Ertman." 2023. *University of Maryland Francis King Casey School of Law*. <https://www.law.umaryland.edu/faculty--research/directory/profile/index.php?id=543>.

The voices of the surrogates themselves are imperative to this debate. One surrogate could be Lisa Wippler, a retired Marine, surrogate, and Director of the Surrogate Admissions Team at Growing Generations.⁵⁶ As of 2021, Ms. Wippler had served as a surrogate three times. During New York’s debate over the legalization of surrogacy, Ms. Wippler had the opportunity to share her story with lawmakers involved in the debate. Her voice, and the voices of other surrogates, must be heard.

Another key stakeholder in this debate are the children born through surrogacy. The identities of many children born through surrogacy are understandably protected, but their perspectives are invaluable. What do they think about the way they were born? Perhaps Melissa Stern, more famously known as Baby M, could answer this question and provide some personal insight.

The intended parent of the child is another key stakeholder in the debate. LGBTQ couples who cannot otherwise have biological children should have their voices heard. Julius Ybañez Towers, a self-declared “single gay dad from surrogacy,” is a father to two twin sons born through gestational surrogacy.⁵⁷ He is a New Yorker, and for his parentage to be recognized, he had to take his journey out-of-state to Oregon. His journey to parenthood is typical of LGBTQ persons in states banning surrogacy like Hamilton, and stories like his must be included.

CONCLUSION

This memo recommends the legalization and regulation of surrogacy agreements based on the District of Columbia’s Collaborative Reproduction Law. Doing so would create a pathway to parenthood for infertile individuals, LGBTQ couples, and single parents. It would affirm women’s rights to choose, protect surrogates’ bodily autonomy, and reduce their risk of exploitation while promoting safe and informed surrogacy practices for all parties involved. Furthermore, this legislation would benefit the economy by creating jobs and revenue at surrogate agencies, fertility clinics, and in other related industries. Opponents argue that surrogacy is a commodification of women’s bodies and of children, but in reframing the act as the provision of a service rather than the sale of a child or womb, the emphasis is on the woman’s right to choose to work in this industry. Some also argue that surrogacy exploits lower-class women since they have a greater need for the money, but other sources find that this is a misconception. Opponents claim, citing a study purporting to prove the adverse effects of surrogacy on children, that the best interest of the child is not considered. This memo recommends including legal scholars, scientific experts on child psychology, surrogates, children born through surrogacy, and intended parents in the public hearing on the proposed law.

⁵⁶ “About Our Team.” 2023. Growing Generations. <https://www.growinggenerations.com/about/our-team/>.

⁵⁷ Scher, Avichai. 2018. “Gay Fathers, Going It Alone.” The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/25/nyregion/single-gay-fathers-through-surrogacy.html>.



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Belen has loved Formula One for a few years now and being able to write this piece and showcase the place women deserve in the sport was extremely meaningful for her.

THE BARRIERS THAT PREVENT THE EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN FORMULA ONE

It has been 40 years since the one and only occasion when a woman finished in the points at a Formula One race. That is, 40 years since a woman finished in the top 10 of any Formula One race. Why is that? The participation of women in sports has consistently been poor over the years. This, as is commonly known, is due to various attitudes worldwide claiming that women are inferior mentally and physically compared to men in all sports. Many sports include regulations that keep men and women in separate leagues. Motorsport is slightly different in the sense that the sport is considered unisex and open to individuals of all genders. Then why is it that women do not break into the world of motorsport, or more specifically Formula One, as easily as men do? This paper aims to analyze and expand the barriers produced by misogyny, lack of sponsorships, and the women's racing series which prevents women from succeeding at a similar rate as men.

Formula One is a league of Grands Prix, and each team has two drivers. The main league of this sport is Formula One, but there are F2 and F3 championships that drivers must work their way through to get to the absolute highest level. No team is given the same machine; they each have different designs and money to invest in the type of car that they will use to compete. From the start, Formula One (F1) is not a sport with an equal playing field, even for the current drivers of the sport. Misogyny is international, like F1, and transhistorical. The way that this manifests itself in F1 is a consistent lack of participation and opportunities for women. Misogynistic attitudes have made it difficult for women to participate in many male-dominated fields. In Formula One, though, there are specific aspects that contribute to this attitude.

Within Formula One there is a Formula Women series, commonly referred to as the W series which, while well-intentioned, might make it more difficult for women to break into the highest level of racing. This was a series created back in 2019 for women only to compete. This series aimed to provide them the support to eventually make it into Formula One, Two, or Three. In retrospect, given everything that will be discussed in this paper, this would seem like a wonderful solution. Despite this, there are some drawbacks to this series itself. The W series almost seems to have potential structural failures, seemingly designed to fail. Theoretically, Formula One is unisex, and women are allowed to participate. Various obstacles make this difficult in the reality of the sport. To start, the W series is made up of only six races while Formula One has 22 Grands Prix, less than even the number of races in Formula Three. The importance of this is that it gives the drivers of the W series less opportunity to truly fight for a championship, gain practice, and prove themselves to future recruiters and sponsors. The W

series also placed women as “Others.” Olivia Howe, faculty of Physical Education and Sport at Charles University, writes very eloquently that in “the Beauvoirian theory of Subject/Absolute, women experience ‘Otherness’ when their being is considered a subordinate of man” (463). Women should be given the opportunity to compete at the highest level. The W series also has a lesser prize than the main championship, making the competition less competitive from the start. On top of the many grievances expressed above, in 2022 the W series was in part canceled. The final 3 races of the season were canceled due to lack of funding. So not only do women lack the funding in the regular F1 series but in the championship created to support and uplift them. Motorsports journalist Elizabeth Blackstock said herself that “It feels like it was haphazardly introduced as a way to smooth over valid criticisms about the way F1 and motorsport, in general, approaches the entire concept of women in racing.” Now this is only one of many cases that create an environment incredibly difficult for women to thrive in.

The main part of these attitudes that inhibit women is that they are seen as peripheral participants in the world of Formula One. As author Karen Lumsden says in her paper “Gendered Performances in a Male-Dominated Subculture: ‘Girl Racers’, Car Modification and the Quest for Masculinity,” women are often seen as the passengers and partners of the men who are really participating in the sport. Ehren Pflugfelder put it best when he summarized the “typical position of women” as “that of the wife or girlfriend of the male driver” (414). While women are mostly underrepresented in Formula One or seen as peripheral participants of the sport, when they are represented it is often in a way that is actually counterintuitive to their progress in the sport, like their depiction as grid girls. In Formula One there is a type of role dubbed “grid girls,” who were originally tasked with promoting sponsors and providing support for drivers during opening ceremonies of the weekend. These women were at the front and center of the events of every F1 race weekend, but in a very different way than the 20 male drivers. The first grid girl was introduced in 1960 at the Japanese Grand Prix, less than 20 years after the first Grand Prix ever. Grid girls have always been associated with F1 and a staple of race weekends. The first grid girl Rosa Ogawa was introduced by team owner Eddie Jordan, who said that “motor racing is a very serious business, very commercial, and it needs to have the very respectable return on the investment, but at the same time it also needed to show flair, excitement, all the other razzmatazz that goes along with racing” (Reed).

These women were oversexualized and presented as objects to gain further male and sponsorship attention in the broadcasting of the races, often wearing revealing clothing and dancing provocatively. These girls are viewed as a return of investment for sponsorships because it appeals to male audiences and increases viewership for brands. As Damion Sturm says in his paper “The Formula One Paradox: Macho Male Racers and Ornamental Glamour ‘Girls’,” “grid girls have always filled decorative, ornamental or sexualized function within the sport and in relation to men more broadly” (123). Making this the one prominent example of female participation in the sport sets an example and standard for other women who may have hopes of participating in F1 as a driver. How can women be expected to be interested in the sport when their only representation is of a sexualized and caricatured version of women? Amy Best, the author of *Fast Cars, Cool Rides: The Accelerating World of Youth and Their Cars*, wrote that “young women exist under a spotlight of peering eyes, cast as objects whose bodies are inspected as much as the body of a car would be. American car cultures’ very organization depends on

young women's presence as sexual objects in that they affirm a heterosexual world of masculine competition and bravado” (58). Grid girls have historically prevented women from getting involved in Formula One because of the example they set in the sport. As of 2018, grid girls have been banned from F1 as the FIA (Federation Internationale de l'Automobile) “feel this custom does not resonate with our brand values and clearly is at odds with modern day societal norms” (F1TV). Although this decision from the FIA is a positive one, it is fairly recent. Grid girls have been a part of F1 since the 60s, and many people associate them with the sport, including women. That type of representation and hostile work environment cannot be undone in such a short amount of time. The FIA has not finished its work to make F1 more equal for women. Until a positive example of women’s participation in the sport appears, it is unlikely that the effect that grid girls had on the environment of Formula One will be undone.

In addition, international culture has set expectations for women's role in car culture that discourages their interest in cars and makes it nearly impossible to participate without fear or judgment. Car culture is intertwined with masculinity and has been for many years. In many ways “the symbolic link between men, masculinity, and cars is a cultural phenomenon that is continuously (re-)produced in cultural meaning-making” (Balkmar 16). For men, the interest in cars is oftentimes not only encouraged but expected. Why might that be? Driving and, in consequence, cars are marketed to offer the freedom and mobility that men have always been given in their personal lives as well. Cars and their modification are culturally considered a hobby of men, whereas women are frequently left out and discouraged from participating as it is not seen as particularly feminine. Many racers now participating in Formula One have been involved in the sport since they were very young, and as Balkmer says in his ethnography *Cars and Men*: “Women’s marginalization from crafting cars technically defined domains has made it difficult for them to acquire the practical knowledge necessary to develop both expertise and physical engagement with technological objects such as cars” (139). The theoretical possibility of women joining the sport later in life when they realize their interest is inaccurate because the space itself can be very exclusionary of women not only in adulthood but since childhood.

There is no validity to the inferiority of women in this sport: the performance of women has the capacity to be at the same level as the most competitive male racers, even in terms of biological capabilities thanks to the use of the race car. There are many reasons why this argument does not hold up. Many, even current drivers of the sport, believe that women simply cannot outperform male drivers and just do not have the skills to keep up in the fast-paced sport.

Sergio Perez, one of the current drivers of Redbull Racing, jokingly said in 2014, “Imagine being beaten by a woman. That would be it. It’s better that she goes to the kitchen” (*The Sports Rush*). Although Perez has since apologized for these comments, it is an example of the existing attitudes in the sport coming from prominent figures. This might discourage the acceptance of women or even potential sponsorship deals for women in the sport. The exciting nuance of Formula One is that much of the final execution of the sport is dependent on the car itself. Other sports require strength and agility that women might not biologically be able to compete against. But the body of a driver is the car itself. Further parallels can be drawn between Formula One and equestrianism. Both sports are considered unisex, and the main component is their

“vehicle.” The Formula One car acts as a “neutralizing effect” for the gender differences that might exist, as the horse does in equestrianism (Howe 456). Teams spend millions of dollars on the design and production of their cars every season. In 2022, the cost cap for every team was a whopping \$145.6 million (Jessner). If the cost of creating such a perfect team is so high the car itself plays a crucial role for drivers and teams then it is clearly a factor in winning races and championships. Women, if given the same cars and opportunities, would have no reason not to perform at the same level as men. Howe writes, “The use of a car potentially reduces any sexed differences by introducing a neutralized piece of sports equipment” (459). The use of the car as the mechanism of competing in the sport means that the arguments of women’s biological inferiority do not apply in this sports case.

While the car plays a huge role in performance, the drivers do have to practice particular skills to outmaneuver their opponents. A large part of their training is based on reaction time and good instincts. In this area, women are likely to perform just as well, even at a standard that could be considered competitive to others. Recently, “research conducted at Michigan State University discovered that there were no differences in physiological responses to automobile racing between male and female drivers” (Howe 458). Research like this debunks the idea that women are biologically inferior to men in this sport. Additionally, driving in this type of car exerts significant G force on the driver. The National Library of Medicine has found that there is “no significant difference between the women and men in either relaxed or straining G tolerance” (Gillingham et al.). Ultimately it comes down to the opportunities, or lack thereof, for women to really integrate themselves. Taking into consideration that many women have faced humiliation and rejection when attempting to join sports centered around driving, “it is not an unreasonable assumption that some women drive differently or have less experience because they have been denied opportunities which men may have been granted” (Howe 458). As is obviously based on this evidence, women are just as capable of performing at the level as men when given the opportunity to do so.

Additionally, there is a growing interest in Formula One due to the creation of the Netflix show *Drive to Survive* in 2019, which has increased female viewership and accessibility overall. *Drive to Survive* is a documentary-style series that follows the drama, financial endeavors, and wins of the world of Formula One. Since its start in 2019, the show has gained tremendous popularity; other sports have even followed its lead and created their own shows. The *New Yorker* has said that “Formula 1 viewership has increased nearly fifty percent worldwide since the show debuted” (Battan). Not only has viewership gone up worldwide, but it has also gone up in the USA, where F1 has frequently been less popular than around the world. As of 2023, Netflix has 232.5 million paid subscribers which means a large part of the world is able to see this sport in a documentary format which provides accessibility (Statista). What is the show's effect on women? Many are saying that the show was positively correlated with a rise in female viewership of F1. Australian Grand Prix Corporation CEO Andrew Westacott has said that “ticket purchasing used to be 75 percent male to 25 percent female. Purchasing for this year was 60-40, so there is a huge increase in female purchasing” thanks to the marketing brought on by *Drive to Survive* (Cooper). The show provides a more accessible way for a multitude of people to be involved in Formula One, including women. This shows that women are interested in F1, and with the right support and opportunities maybe even participate directly.

Another aspect of Formula One participation is marketing. A large part of the money that teams have to spend comes from sponsorship deals, cars, and race suits, which are decorated with the insignias of their major sponsors. The sport is built around capital and advertising at its very core. From the start of a driver's career, even in the early days of karting, they need sponsors to finance their travel and cars. The founder of PowerDrive Motorsport Futures, a company that aims to connect sponsors with female drivers, Tami Powers has commented on this, saying that “sponsors are rarely willing to bet on women” and, despite their growing success, “due to a systemic lack of opportunities, they wind up finishing behind male competitors who have more experience, which deters sponsors from renewing their contracts” (Leibert). Sponsorship is a crucial part of the sport, and it’s a tangible barrier to women being successful in the sport. Those women who are lucky enough to get sponsorships often lose them quickly while male drivers and teams often have the same sponsors for years, like Ferrari’s Shell sponsorship, which has become a recognizable partner of the team. In addition to sponsorships, the television coverage of women’s racing is significantly lower than that of male drivers. Many drivers that participated in the Formula Woman championship said that they were “disappointed at the lack of coverage for it may have facilitated more sponsorship and recognition” (Matthews 11). While F1 can do as much as possible to ensure that women are highlighted and provided opportunities, there is only so much that they can do if sponsors do not want to take a role. Furthermore, an interview with the main organizer of Formula Woman said that “all the problems began when we got the television company [British Television channels and MotorTV] involved... the television deal started to take a turn for the worse” (Matthews 11). Changes in scheduling made it so that a number of issues, including conflicts with the sponsors, altered the original plan for the streaming of the Formula Woman Championship. Both factors, coverage, and sponsorship, are heavily intertwined with each other. TV companies are less likely to cover teams or races with little sponsorship and sponsors are less likely to give money to a group where there will be little scope or coverage. Ultimately this ends up holding women back from participating.

Despite sexist attitudes, lack of sponsorships, and a failing W series, there are versions of progress going on in the sport currently. On a more positive note, the W series was slightly replaced for the 2023 season by F1 Academy, a feeder series for women to break out into F2 and F3. The difference between this and the previous W series is that it is more directly involved with Formula One directly, including a race that is “expected to run as part of the support race package for an F1 weekend” (ESPN). Additionally, all three of the Formula One leagues will subsidize part of their budget to support the female drivers and their teams. The hope with this new organization is that it will further the careers of the women interested in climbing their way up to Formula One.

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Hayleigh Tran

CAS'25, Psychology

Hayleigh is from Houston, Texas and came to Boston to escape the heat. She came to BU and found friends that believed in her and helped her find a passion of medicine.

HONORING THE HUMANITY OF DISPLACED ZIMBABWEANS

Growing up, I have heard many stories of the hardships that my grandparents suffered when coming to America after the Vietnam War. They had no place to turn to—their home had become a political playground full of violence and destruction, and the American soil that they had just set foot on was full of people who treated them like dirty trespassers. The helplessness they felt after loss and rejection made them feel like they were fighting a never-ending war, and for many displaced people, this reality rings true to this day.

The displaced people of Zimbabwe are not much different from my grandparents, and as I imagine someone in search of a better life, just as my grandparents were as mere children, my heart fills with grief. Through this feeling of sympathy and understanding, I can spur a strong sense of duty—a desire to make a change and advocate for the human rights of many suffering Zimbabweans. However, this push for human rights becomes a difficult concept that many people fail to agree on because it encompasses refugees being viewed as “human.” Through the lens of nations and borders, displaced people turn into a symbol of politics. Their humanity is stripped from them, and thus grows a lack of sympathy and emotion when trying to understand their situations. I feel emotionally for refugees because I know them in the flesh and blood—they’ve raised me, shared their tears with me, and exposed their still-open wounds to me. I view refugees as humans because I share their blood, but to many others, this is not the case. Then what becomes the bridge that fills this gap so that displaced people, like those of Zimbabwe, are able to find peace?

There are many repercussions displaced people face when people do not view them as humans deserving of rights. They get taken advantage of, face acts of crime and violence, and become subject to the power of others without a platform to speak out and find justice. In an article by News24, an interviewer documents the struggle of nine-year-old Obert Makaza who fled to South Africa to escape a life of abuse. Makaza explains how he ran into trouble and says, “They started questioning me, pushing me against the car, kicking me with those big boots. I know that without the documents that could have defended me, there is nothing that I could use against them. Without documents, you miss so much. It feels like you don't exist at all.” Many people who migrate are stuck with the label of refugee which strips them of their humanity and turns them into either an enemy or a target. Beyond similarities in features and flesh, the one true thing that carries the most weight—the one thing that classifies you as a human with rights—is documentation. Without it, Obert Makaza could not stand up for himself, could not work, and could not get access to healthcare and education. Is this a life then at all?

People often begin to label migrants like Makaza and often wish harm upon them due to something as hazy and volatile as identification. When labels are put onto others, it is easier to grow an us-versus-them ideology that justifies targeting others in order to protect one's own. And with this, people can relieve themselves of guilt when seeing Zimbabweans subjected to harm or even when orchestrating such acts themselves. In another narrative of a Zimbabwean refugee, Tsitsi Makhado explains the absolute terror she endured when crossing the border. Makhado says, "Arriving at night, the truckers pulled over on the Zimbabwe side of the bridge, raped the women one by one, and left them by the side of the road." Bleeding and in unimaginable pain, Tsitsi and the other women staggered around looking for help - but no one would come to their aid. Later, she describes the situation as commonplace. The consequence of yearning for a better education is to have your desires and rights ignored. No one stops to help, and no one persecutes the criminals that harm you, even when their crimes were "commonplace." In the world of politics, being someone's daughter is not enough to prove that you are human. Makhado is left with a child, her own little human in her arms to remind her that justice cannot be served so easily.

Scarily enough, sometimes even documentation is not enough to garner respect and protection from others. Even in Zimbabwean land, where citizens are promised a bright future and care from their government, the lines of the law are constantly being redrawn. Rights are stripped away from citizens that do not act in alignment with the ideas of the government because being human to those in power means filling a mold that helps them keep that power. In "The Political Stakes of Displacement and Migration in / from Zimbabwe" by Joyce Takaindisa, the author says, "This period is commonly known as the 'Gukurahundi' period where ethnic violence was unleashed by the government. The counter-insurgency unit of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) led to an estimated 3,750 civilian deaths, the destruction of about 680 homesteads, 10,000 detentions with about 2,000 civilians tortured." If your own home burns you, where can you run to and who can you trust? These people have no support and no one to protect them.

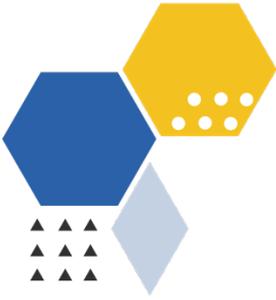
In this limbo where your livelihood is not promised, you can only turn to the sympathy and kindness of others for help. This is why it is important to recognize that displaced people are not just sad outcomes of violence but real, suffering individuals who need help and who need people to speak up for them. First recognizing that they could've very well been your grandparents, your children, or even your own mother can help stir you into movement. Change doesn't have to be big—simple things like raising awareness through donations, sending resources, donating money, or even just further educating yourself and keeping Zimbabwean refugees in your thoughts and prayers is an amazing way to start change. Zimbabwean refugees share our same flesh and blood and deserve the right to protect what makes them human—and from human to human, we must protect our own.

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Adriana Leyba

COM'26, Journalism

Adriana is originally from Caracas, Venezuela, but currently lives in Miami. This project was motivated by her deep interest in understanding what makes cities and urban areas work for individuals.

THE CIRCLE OF LIFE

I first visited Cleveland Circle on a cloudy Friday afternoon. I got off the Green Line on my last stop and, with no plan, decided to just walk around. My first impression of the neighborhood was that it was a mess because of the busy roads and the lack of pedestrian order. No clear footpaths, a bike path in the middle of the street, cars going all kinds of ways in the heart of the neighborhood. “Disastrous,” I thought to myself. Even though the lack of clear differentiation between pedestrian and vehicle traffic bothered me, nobody else seemed to mind. I saw people walking the streets with complete calm and crossing the “busy roads” when they pleased. There was a type of harmony in the Circle, as I like to call it. The coexistence of chaos and peace, of activities and relaxation, of *old* and *young*. Despite all of the bad technicalities within its design, Cleveland Circle is a pleasant place to be. Somehow, people made a harmless street out of a dangerous road. The neighborhood worked so well because the **public** found ways to make it work in such a way. That Friday I left the Circle with an overarching need to answer a question: who is said **public**?

When looking at cities, people tend to put too much emphasis on design and organization. Urbanists, architects, and engineers are all guilty. They overanalyze and pick apart neighborhoods in order to find the right layout that will make people want to go there. Sadly, this has made society’s definition of the perfect city rely heavily on aesthetics (which is normal, we are attracted to things we find pleasing to the eye.) But when searching for the perfect city, we have forgotten to look for the most important component: happy people. The faces and the emotions of a crowd can say a lot about where they are in life. I found a lot of happy people in Cleveland Circle. But what caught my attention the most was that, even though there was an overall feeling of happiness, there was a varied demographic. I realized that it was not a specific public that made this neighborhood a positive place, it was many. The Circle encapsulated all the **stages of life**. From the younger generation going there to play soccer, to the senior crowds walking around their residences, there was something for everyone. This realization shaped the significance of the project and affected my research approach in my subsequent visits. From then on, I went to Cleveland Circle looking for the activities and locations that attracted each age demographic.

CLEVELAND CIRCLE

Before starting my observations, I looked into the neighborhood’s history and location. Beyond its different publics, Cleveland Circle is a neighborhood of different aspects. This can be understood by looking at its location. The Circle is located in Boston's Brighton neighborhood,

but is very close to Brookline and Chestnut Hill. It finds itself at an intersection between all of these different zones, as well as being in close proximity to Commonwealth Ave and Beacon St; it is considered by many to be the true crossroads of the city of Boston. This liminality allows for this zone to have different defining aspects.

Crowds from different neighborhoods that might not have anything in common all interact with each other in this liminal stage. Because of this, Cleveland Circle does not have a defined identity. Instead, it is a mix of clean and unclean, safe and unsafe, etc.

Something important to note is that Cleveland Circle is a streetcar suburb, which means that its development has been directly affected by the use of streetcar lines as a primary means of transportation. The Circle has close access to three different Green Line destinations: the B line, the C line, and the D line, with the C line ending at Cleveland Circle. Early on I realized that one of the things that made this neighborhood so special was its accessibility. Not only through public transit, but the roads were always busy, parking was mostly always available, and it was located from a walkable distance from residences, businesses, and Boston College. The varied means of transportation allowed for more people to come into the Circle and expanded its identity.

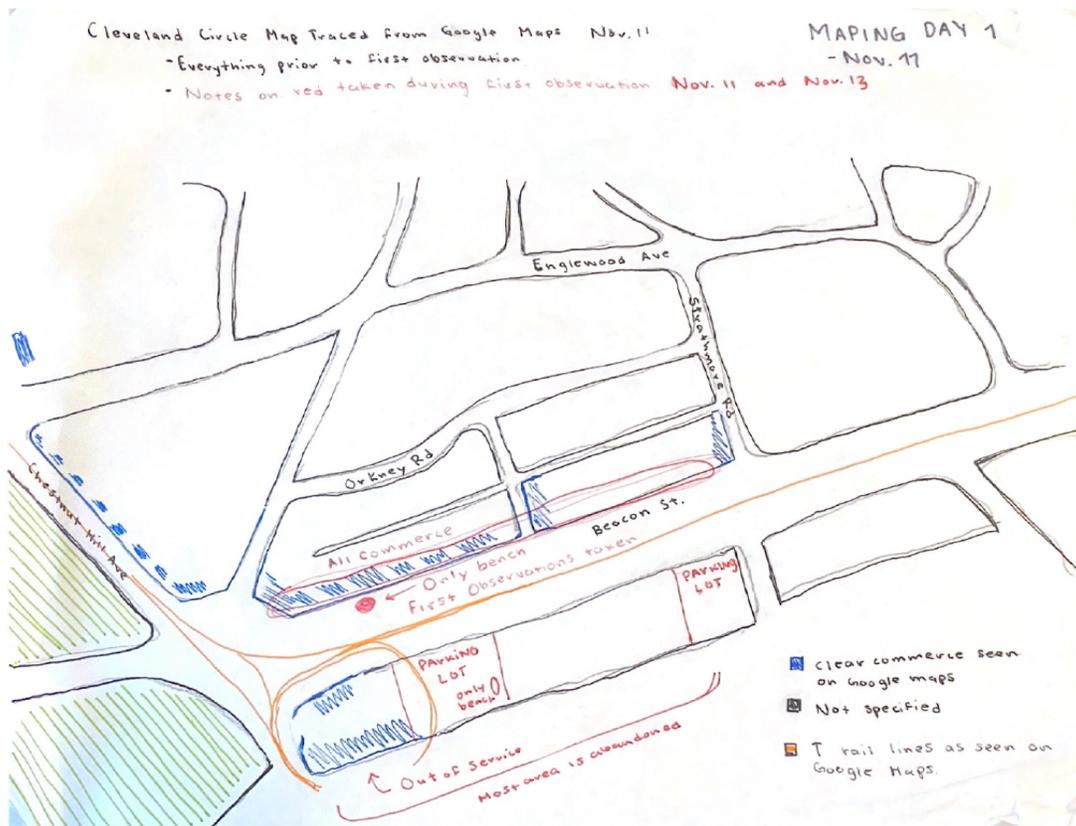


Figure 1: Map of first impressions of Cleveland Circle taken on Nov. 11.

Strived to draw clear distinctions between commerce and residential areas. Was surprised by the lack of benches and the amount of rail lines present within the road and walkable paths.

THE YOUNG

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs talks about the importance of children in neighborhoods, how if kids were able to play in the streets comfortably, we were doing something right. “Children in cities need a variety of places in which to play and to learn. They need, among other things, opportunities for all kinds of sports and exercise and physical skills [...],” Jacobs highlights. This was something I had engraved in my brain even before visiting Cleveland Circle, and I knew that if I had to look for something in particular, it was children. I was not hopeful at first because the location was so close to Boston College; I was under the impression it was going to be the typical college neighborhood. I expected it to be vibrant and youthful but also messy, full of parties, and mainly young adults. And for the most part, I was right (kind of). The commerce was mainly directed to younger crowds. Food options like Pino’s Pizza or Eagle’s Deli were mainly student-focused, while the liquor store also drove a lot of senior and graduate students on the weekends. But there were kids. A lot more than expected. I did not take into consideration the activities regarding sports present in the neighborhood. And if something brought kids anywhere, it was an extracurricular activity.

I started noticing a lot of children on my second visit on a Sunday morning. It was a clear day so I decided to walk around the green space close to the main commercial area. That is when I started seeing a lot of traffic coming into the parking spaces, more than usual. Parents were getting out of their cars with their children all dressed up to go into the ice rink. I suspected there was probably a hockey minor league taking place because of the number of kids wearing specific gear. At this point, the area surrounding me turned very busy. A lot of parents and children were greeting each other and socializing as they walked to the arena. This is when I realized that the variety of activities gave individuals a medium to make connections and talk to people. This was especially true for **the young**. Children schedule their lives and relationships around activities. Cleveland Circle’s ability to offer kids activities they enjoyed like soccer, baseball, and ice hockey, gave them a purpose to go there.

This was not only present in organized sports. At times, parents could be seen at the soccer field training their children individually. The fact that the goals and the green space were open to the public was really important. It established Cleveland Circle as a welcoming environment where anybody could go to play any activity they wanted. Even with skating, teenagers usually skated and hung around that area with complete freedom. This mixture of experiences gave me the opportunity to better understand this neighborhood. Even though many people complained about its uncomfortable layout, it was focused around the people.

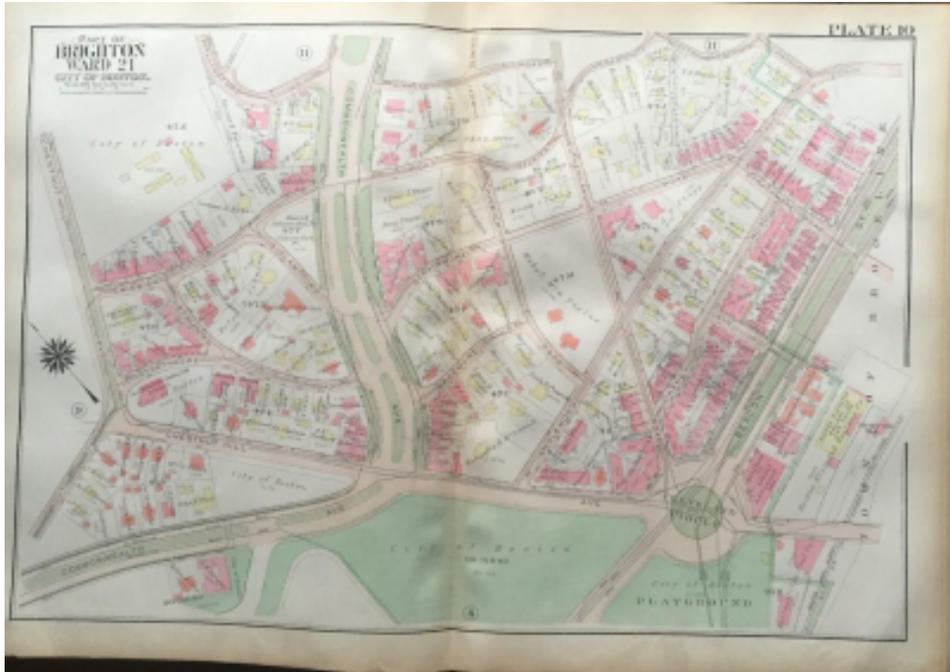


Figure 2: Outline and index map of Brighton, wards 21 and 22, city of Boston, located at Norman B. Leventhal Map Center. Map explains the different materials of each building as well as showing all of the rail lines present in the Circle. The map dates back to 1925, yet the layout looks similar to how it looks today.

THE VIBRANT

Apart from children in the field, a lot of college students also seemed to frequent it to play soccer. On two occasions I saw groups of young people coming to play a match among themselves. There was really no need for there to be any type of organized league for people to play these sports, they usually ended up showing up and organizing it themselves. Even though there are a lot of benefits to this green space, it is also important to mention its limitations. The only negative aspect about this is that the field lighting in Cleveland Circle is a gamble. After the sun goes down, people only seem to turn on the lights if there is a little league baseball game or on special occasions.

Young adults were very present in the neighborhood, just like I had expected. Boston College was a walkable distance away from the Circle and the school also offered a bus that took students there at different times of the day; not to mention the D and C line. But a lot of students also drove there and lived close by. This was an important finding because it gave me the sense that students went to Cleveland Circle not only because of proximity, but because they liked it. If individuals with cars, who could choose to go anywhere, still chose to go to the Circle, the neighborhood was doing something right.

Unlike children, young adults don't really need an organized activity to have a reason to show up. They find excuses to go to the neighborhood, whether it is to eat, make a quick stop at CVS, or grab a coffee. There is always vibrancy in places where there are young people. However, when we think of a student neighborhood, it seems like a place other age groups will probably

want to avoid. Often these neighborhoods come with the expectation that there will be parties, chaos, and alcohol; but the truth is, Cleveland Circle highlights another aspect of college life. Apart from the local liquor store getting busy on Friday nights, students show up to the Circle to group study. The Starbucks was one of the busiest places in the neighborhood, with a constant flow of people coming in and out. Once I went into the coffee shop, there was not a single spot available to sit. It was full of young life, accompanied or alone, doing homework while they sipped on their lattes. Boston College is renowned for its beautiful library and its study spaces, yet a lot of students chose to come here.

THE LATER STAGE

Through its diversity of functions, Cleveland Circle attracted completely different demographics into its borders. And the older crowds were not excluded. Middle-aged adults were present mainly in the Reservoir and in the tennis courts. It is interesting to see how children and adults both shared that aspect; both groups saw themselves most active when doing some type of exercise. Even though the Chestnut Hill reservoir was a place where you could encounter all types of ages, it was definitely ruled by adults going on walks. There was a strong senior presence as well. It was not rare to see older people going on walks around the neighborhood or sitting on a bench just observing. I soon found out this was due to the fact there is a retirement community in the area called *Waterstone at the Circle*. I realized that all age groups were heavily present in the neighborhood. But beyond just being present, they all had something catered to them. Whether it was activities regarding exercise, food, or living, the Circle was able to successfully adapt to all different age groups.

I left this neighborhood with a feeling of contentness for what I had experienced. Cleveland Circle seemed too much to handle at first because of the cars, the large influx of people with little walking space, and all the overwhelming eating options. Now I look at it as an inviting place, where several groups of people can interact and coexist. This leads me to come to the conclusion that more neighborhoods should be built around the idea that every person, regardless of age, should be able to live there. A successful neighborhood is one that can adapt to the individual regardless of the stage of life they are in.





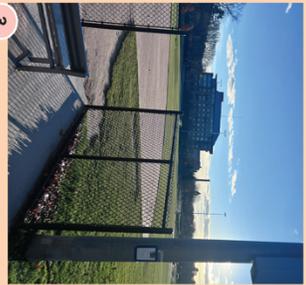
1 Reilly Memorial Rink

What brings so many different types of people into Cleveland Circle is its wide variety of activities. The ice skating rink serves as a place of belonging and playing for **little kids**. Younger crowds are constantly coming in and out of the building wearing hockey gear and carrying their ice skates. Whether it is for private classes or to play for an organized Hockey League, the Reilly Memorial Rink is a hot spot for kids looking to have fun.



2 Walkway of Dreams

The walkway surrounding the green space might seem like a nice place to relax, however, it is not. **Teenagers** can usually be seen skating and hanging out here. The placement of the benches and the flatness of the walkway gives them a perfect spot to try all types of tricks. It might not be the place to read a book, but perfect when looking for a show.



3 Ball-Park

It might not be Fenway Park, but there is just as much passion on game days. The green space in the Circle serves as a spot to play several sports, with baseball and soccer being the most practiced. Even though it is mostly **kids** and **teenagers** getting together to play, young adults also frequent this spot. One of the main reasons as to why it's almost always busy is because it is open to the public.



4 Starbucks

Just from looking at its location, it is obvious that the Circle is vibrant with student life. Forget Boston College's Hogwarts-like library or their different variety of study rooms; BC students frequent the Starbucks to meet up with friends and study. The coffee shop offers a great space to do work while feeling accompanied. From the baristas to the costumers, this is a place full of **young adults**.



5 D line Stop

Cleveland Circle is a streetcar suburb, meaning that its development was shaped by transportation. One of the center points in this neighborhood is the "Riverside" subway. This stop not only brings people from Boston and the suburbs, but it also serves as a Boston College bus stop. For that reason, this stop is always full of transit with the majority of people being **young adults**.



6 Tennis Courts

The different sporting activities do not only attract younger crowds. The tennis courts next to the green space are a popular spot for **adults** looking to get some exercise. Even though there is a fence surrounding both courts, the gate seems to be always opened to the public.



7 Cityside Tavern

This tavern offers a vibrant environment alongside good food and drinks. It is fairly busy on weekends and it has a wide demographic. However, it is mostly **adults** and their families getting together here during the day.



8 Reservoir

All ages are present at the reservoir. However, middle aged **adults** are the most prominent. Whether they live close to the spot or come by car, the workout starts once they set foot on the pathway. College running teams also can be seen practicing there in the mornings.



9 Cleveland Circle Main Bench

One of the only things the Circle lacks is benches. This specific bench is located next to the green space and looks over right into traffic. This is one of the only seatable places available for people to linger. **Older** people tend to sit here- alone or accompanied- to observe the neighborhood.



10 Senior Living

The Circle's residential area has allowed for different demographics to come here. Over Cate Landwer is Waterstone, a retirement community. This has brought an **older** crowd to the neighborhood.



Sofia Corso

CAS'26, English

Sofia's research paper was written for the first-year spring writing studio course.

PREMARITAL PREGNANCY, TEEN MOMS, AND ABORTIONS, OH MY: Pregnancy Taboos in American Film and Television

INTRODUCTION – Showing at the Halftime Show

Despite being proclaimed a “melting pot” of diverse religions, languages, political beliefs, and cultural identities, the United States often, ironically, proves a nation difficult to unite. Nevertheless, every year over 100 million Americans, whether they are sports fanatics, music lovers, nacho eaters, or Geico commercial enthusiasts, band together to share in one nationally sanctified, almost sacred, event: Super Bowl Sunday. The 2023 Super Bowl, a football game in which the Kansas City Chiefs ultimately bested the Philadelphia Eagles, became the third most-watched Super Bowl broadcast of all time, drawing 113 million Americans to their televisions (U.S. News and World Report). Although the following Monday morning, viewers were not discussing Jaden Hurts three rushing touchdowns, Kadarius Toney’s record-breaking 65-yard punt return, the Chief’s controversial win, or even the star-studded commercials—rather, headlines and social media alike buzzed about Rihanna’s shocking halftime performance, the shock of her show being the reveal of her second pregnancy. Rihanna’s televised performance began with a close-up of the singer who, all while dressed in a commanding monochrome red jumper, fiercely locked eyes with the camera. The shot then immediately panned down to reveal Rihanna’s surprising baby bump. The story of this surprising pregnancy reveal and pregnant performance is not only newsworthy and sensational because of Rihanna’s status as a high-profile celebrity, but because the singer’s behavior and pregnancy itself publicly shattered multiple American pregnancy taboos.



Figure 1: Rihanna performs with her baby bump on display at the 2023 Super Bowl (Photo Credits Reuters)

There is an extensive history of American societal norms dictating what constitutes an “acceptable” pregnancy or pregnant body, as well as what aspects of pregnancy can be publicly showcased and discussed. In her book *Too Fat, Too Slutty, Too Loud: The Rise and Reign of Unruly Women*, Anne Helen Petersen, an American writer, journalist, and expert in film and media studies, provides insight into this historical precedent of pregnancy-related censorship in media and American society at large. According to Petersen, while in the 21st-century pregnancy is one of the primary ways female celebrities, like Rihanna, maintain attention, “it is difficult to emphasize just how radical this attitude would seem to women experiencing pregnancy even thirty years ago,” because “the sense of the pregnant body as abject goes back millennia, as the pregnant body is a woman’s body at its most fecund, but also in its most grotesque figuration: the body swells, expands, and oozes, the boundary between inside and outside permeable” (Petersen 121). As Petersen continues to explain, in response to the “grotesque” and “abject” nature of pregnancy, which upsets the body’s contained form and puts female sexuality on display, there have been chronic attempts to suppress, conceal, or control the process and broadcast of pregnancy. Until the late 1950s, the Motion Picture Association of America even blatantly banned the word “pregnancy” from American film and television (Petersen 122).

As Rihanna’s proudly pregnant halftime performance displays, America and, consequently, American film and television, have both come a long way in shattering pregnancy stigma since this ban and have made strides towards dismantling the taboo of pregnancy in general. However, specific pregnancy taboos persist. As Kelly Oliver, an American feminist philosopher writes in her journal article, “Motherhood, Sexuality, and Pregnancy Embodiment: Twenty-Five Years of Gestation,” while “pregnancy is no longer in the shadows... many of the emotions and stigmas attached to it still exist, sometimes in more subterranean forms” (Oliver 764). Women exhibiting their sexuality or continuing to work while pregnant, pregnancies that result in abortion, unplanned pregnancies, and unmarried, younger, or older women experiencing pregnancy are still often met with controversy when publicized and under or negatively represented in filmed prenatal narratives (Oliver 764-766). While Rihanna displaying her

pregnancy on screen may no longer be considered taboo in itself, her unmarried status, unplanned pregnancy, sexual behavior, and display of sexual style and movement while pregnant are all ways in which the singer's Super Bowl pregnancy reveal upset current parturition norms and inspired controversy amongst the American public. The pop star's bold defiance of pregnancy taboos prompted countless news articles to scrutinize, defend, and debate her deviant pregnancy, with headlines such as "Rihanna on being married before having a baby: 'Who the f*** says it has to be that way,'" "Ben Shapiro Says "NFL and Rihanna 'Knew She Was Not Going to Be Good' Pregnant," and "A pregnant Rihanna playing by her own rules."

Rihanna is not the first woman on the screen to disrupt pregnancy norms and enflame discourse surrounding the conduct of women or female characters undergoing the prenatal process. From *I Love Lucy*'s Lucy Ricardo to *Modern Family*'s Haley Dunphy, there is a rich and evolving history of taboo-defying pregnant leading ladies. Since American film and television and American culture remain fixed in a circular cycle of representation and influence, American cultural and social beliefs influence what is represented on the screen while the consumption of American film and television shapes cultural and social beliefs. Due to this, filmed depictions of pregnancy provide a unique window into how pregnancy taboos and American attitudes toward pregnancies have changed over time. In this paper, I will track this evolution of American cultural norms regarding pregnancy through film and television, striving to identify how America's gradual dismantling of pregnancy taboos simultaneously dismantles patriarchal traditions that limit women to being singularly perceived as male-dependent domestic objects or child-rearers. In turn, I will also identify where certain pregnant conditions are underrepresented and how the media's perspective toward pregnancy taboos reinforces the aforementioned patriarchal traditions by failing to affirm the validity or morality of individuals experiencing untraditional pregnancies.

SECTION 1 – Premarital Pregnancies on Screen

While American sitcoms like *I Love Lucy* and *Mary Kay and Johnny* shockingly introduced pregnancy to the screen in the 1950s, pregnant protagonists Lucy and Mary Kay, though occasionally quirky in character, were both normative married housewives that doted upon their husbands and welcomed children into a traditional, middle-class nuclear family. As authors Walter R. Stokes and David R. Mace write in the National Council on Family Relations' journal, in traditional American culture, which is largely Christian-dominated, "there appears to have grown up some tacit acceptance of sex under the ritualistic sanction of marriage, but the cultural and religious taboo against sex before marriage has been profound for a good many centuries past" (Stokes and Mace 235). Despite pregnancy, and the implied sexual implications of pregnancy, still being regarded as a vulgar topic by CBS at the time (Petersen 122), these two sitcoms' representations of pregnancy were considered tolerable, or even praiseworthy, by the American public in the 1950s and 1960s because they did not challenge traditional, religiously-informed taboos regarding premarital pregnancy or premarital sex (Stokes and Mace 236). Even though these first representations of married pregnancy in American film occurred in the 1950s, because of the taboo nature of premarital sex and births it was not until 1991, in the *Murphy Brown* episode "Birth 101," that an unmarried pregnancy graced the screens of American televisions. In *Murphy Brown*, the show's female protagonist, Murphy Brown, a news anchor,

leaves her radical leftist husband who refuses to give up his underground political lifestyle, going on to birth and raise her child alone while continuing her reporting career. Since this episode radically deviates from what was considered appropriate television content during this time period it, naturally, was met with a lot of backlash from the American public and prominent American figures, notably Vice President Dan Quayle. In 1992, addressing the *Murphy Brown* episode and the increasing momentum of the feminist movement, Quayle said “it doesn’t help matters when prime time TV has Murphy Brown—a character who supposedly epitomizes today’s intelligent, highly paid, professional woman—mocking the importance of fathers, by bearing a child alone and calling it just another ‘lifestyle choice’” (Davies and Smith 33-34). Even though the American Vice President openly critiqued the show for validating the experience of a man-less mother, *Murphy Brown*’s pioneering efforts to dismantle this pregnancy taboo in film and television, unsurprisingly, aligned with social trends already displaying the breakdown of this taboo in American society. During this same time period, in May of 1996, data analysts George A. Akerlof, Janet L. Yellen, and Michael L. Katz for the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* found that between 1965 and 1996 the “Black out-of-wedlock birth rate” had doubled “and the white out-of-wedlock birth ratio experienced yet faster growth—albeit from a lower level—more than quintupling” (Akerlof et al. 277). The article goes on to cite a decrease in shotgun weddings as one possible explanation for this pregnancy trend, explaining that “up until the 1970s it was the norm in premarital sexual relations that the partners would marry,” in other words have a spontaneous shotgun wedding, “in the event of a pregnancy” (Akerlof et al. 278). Progressing onward past the 1970s, as single mothers became more accepted, or at least simply more common and less taboo in America, they were increasingly represented throughout television, with adored premaritally-pregnant characters—like *Knocked Up*’s Alison Scott, *Friends*’ Rachel Greene, and *Modern Family*’s Haley Dunphy—gracing American screens throughout the 2000s.

The increased representation of unmarried pregnant women or mothers choosing to embrace raising children alone is a positive step towards dismantling the taboo of premarital pregnancy and child-rearing. Yet, the vast majority of these representations still include a masculine parental presence, failing to unconditionally validate entirely single maternal experiences. Though Murphy Brown was not in a relationship with a man during her pregnancy or after the birth of her child, Jude Davies and Carol R. Smith, authors of an *American Studies International* journal article discussing maternal characters in *I Love Lucy* and *Murphy Brown*, explain that Brown herself adopts an “honorary masculine” presence (52). Davies and Smith write that no matter “however dynamic or open” the show’s representation of motherhood can be made to seem, “without a feminist critique of gender roles it remains bounded by masculinity and therefore closed to maternal femininity” (52). Bound to masculinity, “Murphy demonstrates her manliness by working right through her pregnancy, overcoming the ways in which her ‘natural’ body interferes with the ability to fulfill the role of an autonomous, self-directed, and productive worker” (Davies and Smith 53). Furthermore, Brown’s character even often adopts a more masculine or androgynous style, opting to dress in slacks, button-up shirts, and wide-shouldered blazers (“Birth 101”). Essentially, since Brown’s character does not have a masculine partner to assist with her pregnancy, she fills this role herself by exhibiting traditionally masculine behavior and characteristics.

The unmarried characters of the previously mentioned modern film and television representations of single pregnancies (*Knocked Up*, *Friends*, and *Modern Family*) are less “bounded by masculinity” than Brown, exhibiting traditionally feminine dress and behavior. However, the unmarried characters still adhere to the norm of child-rearing with a masculine paternal figure. Upon finding out she is pregnant after a one-night stand, Alison Scott seeks out and, rather unrealistically, enters into a romantic relationship with the biological father of her child, despite her own lack of interest in him and the two characters’ extreme incompatibility (*Knocked Up*). Similarly, after a one-night stand between *Friends* protagonists Ross Geller and Rachel Greene results in a conception, Rachel decides she will move in with Ross for the sake of her child and, despite not being together during the first few years of child-rearing, the couple ultimately ends up together (*Friends*). Repeating this pattern, *Modern Family*’s Haley Dunphy, though she becomes pregnant out of wedlock, eventually decides to propose to and wed her children’s father (“Can’t Elope”). The pregnancies of film and television characters like Murphy Brown, Alison Scott, Rachel Greene, and Haley Dunphy all challenge the taboo of premarital pregnancies, but simultaneously prove that there are still limitations to what an acceptable single pregnancy looks like and how unmarried pregnancies are represented on screen. Despite not having husbands during their pregnancies, all four of these well-known female characters somehow accommodate for their lack of a male paternal presence or lifelong male partner, either by taking on this masculine role themselves or conforming to establish one such partnership with a man. It is this patriarchal notion that femininity or a single woman is not enough to raise a child successfully that casts unmarried pregnancies as taboo. American film and television will not successfully break this taboo or the patriarchal traditions it upholds until popular movies and shows create space for single mothers who need not embody masculine energy or enter into undesired commitments with men to be portrayed as apt parents.



Figure 2 (Left): Brown centered amidst the Murphy Brown Cast, seen wearing an androgynous beige suit with loafers (Everett Collection).



Figure 3 (Right): Haley Dunphy proposing to her boyfriend during her third trimester (*Modern Family*).

SECTION 2 – Teen Moms: An Abject Spectacle

Falling under the larger umbrella category of premarital pregnancy taboos, teenage pregnancy is another niche pregnancy taboo. Before the 1980s, younger pregnancies were entirely absent from American film and television and, still, it was not until nearly a decade later that a movie exclusively focused on the topic of teenage pregnancy was released. In 1998, Lifetime TV released *Fifteen and Pregnant*, written by Susan Cuscuna and directed by Sam Pillsbury. As the name suggests, *Fifteen and Pregnant* is based on the true story of a fifteen-year-old girl and, though often forgotten and overlooked, as is typically the case in most narratives about young pregnancies, a fifteen-year-old boy who accidentally conceived and decided to keep their baby (IMDb). Highly taboo and uncomfortable to think about, teenage pregnancies can be considered very abject. As shared in *Too Fat, Too Slutty, Too Loud: The Rise and Reign of the Unruly Woman*, the strict definition of the abject is something “horrendously bad, unpleasant, or degrading,” but often that which is labeled abject, according to Anne Helen Petersen is also “all sorts of things that attract our curiosity but which societal norms tell us we should reject” (22). This theory of abjection was first articulated by Julia Kristeva in her book *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Kristeva wrote that the abject is “as much tempting as it is condemned,” and “tirelessly, like a wild boomerang, a pole of attraction and repulsion” (125). Seeing as, according to Kristeva and Petersen’s theories of abjection, the abject is as intriguing as it is repulsing, it is no surprise that audience members wanted a shameless look into this abject and taboo type of pregnancy, which resulted in *Fifteen and Pregnant* finding a lot of success and the 2000s ushering in a fad of teenage-pregnancy centered TV shows, including the series *Teen Mom* and *Sixteen and Pregnant*. However, instead of trying to accurately and objectively portray or inform about the experience of teenage pregnancy in America, *Fifteen and Pregnant* and these preceding television programs sought to make a spectacle of younger pregnancies—a spectacle equally terrifying and glamorous.



Figure 4: The 2014 Cast of *16 and Pregnant*.

Following the release of this teenage pregnancy-centered reality television content, an extensive number of studies have been conducted to investigate how these television programs are impacting their audience's perception of teenage sexuality and pregnancy. One such study's findings are presented in the article "Understanding the Effects of MTV's *16 and Pregnant* on Adolescent Girls' Beliefs, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intentions Toward Teen Pregnancy" written by Jennifer Stevens Aubrey, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz, and Kyungbo Kim. Aubrey, Behm-Morawitz, and Kim share that their findings "suggest that girls who watched *16 and Pregnant*, compared with a control group, reported a lower perception of their own risk for pregnancy and a greater perception that the benefits of teen pregnancy outweigh the risks" (Aubrey et al. 1145). A similar report on a study examining Latina Teens' identification with and social comparison to these reality TV shows, written by Nicky Lewis, Anne E. Norris, and Nicole Martins provides insight into why these reality TV shows leave their audience with an unreasonably favorable perception of teenage pregnancy. Lewis et al. write that "*Teen Mom* and *Teen Mom 2* portrayed an unrealistic view of teen pregnancy, where the mothers were more likely to achieve a high school diploma or GED and have the ability to live alone compared to national averages" (Lewis et al.). As both articles point out, teenage pregnancy is an exceedingly common and serious health issue in the United States (Aubrey et al. 1145) and these highly-dramatized and unrealistic portrayals of teenage pregnancy glamorize and even glorify a dangerous situation that should not be encouraged. That being said, while teenage pregnancies are dangerous circumstances that should be avoided, they are real, so it is important to be able to have comfortable conversations that address this type of pregnancy and educate younger individuals on teenage pregnancy prevention methods. Younger pregnancies being completely absent from all pregnancies depicted in American film and television before the late 1980s and 1990s is outrageously absurd, but in the process of breaking down this taboo these ironically unrealistic "reality" show spectacles of teenage motherhood have overcorrected, swinging the pendulum towards popularizing the idea of teenage pregnancy among younger audiences in more recent years (Aubrey et al. 1145). The 2007 movie *Juno*, which tells the story of a high school student who carries a child for adoptive parents after accidentally becoming pregnant (IMDb), is the first, and still arguably the only, movie to attempt a genuine, non-flashy representation of the highs and agonizing lows of teenage pregnancy. Like all other mothers, expecting teenagers should be portrayed as neither a romanticized spectacle nor an unspeakable horror, and *Juno*, a small stand-alone fraction of filmed pregnancy narratives, beautifully accomplishes this task. Ideally, future film work will follow *Juno*'s lead imagining and adding more truthful representations to America's canon of teenage-pregnancy-related film and television programs, inviting conversations that humanize and respect teenage mothers without turning them into monsters or glorifying them.

SECTION 3 – "Pause That, Abort That"

Currently, especially given the tense political climate of post-Roe America, pregnancies that end in abortion are a strong contender for the most taboo type of pregnancy. While abortions are potentially the most severe taboo in American society, representations of pregnancies that end in abortion have, shockingly, been prevalent throughout the history of American film and television. "The Abortion Chapter: Back Alleys and Back Stories On Screen," a chapter from Lauren Rosewarne's book *American Taboo: The Forbidden Words, Unspoken Rules, and Secret*

Morality of Popular Culture, records and analyzes the history of abortions on the silver screen, stating “References to abortion on-screen trace back to films such as *Where Are My Children?* (1916), *The Road to Ruin* (1928), and *Ann Vickers* (1933). While allusions to abortion may be easily detected on screen, the topic nevertheless remains a taboo” (Rosewarne 153). Rosewarne continues to inform readers that even though several American television shows and films do involve abortion in their plots, this subject matter is still treated as taboo within these works and often casts abortions in a shameful light. A key example of this, Rosewarne notes, is the trope of the “abortion clinic epiphany,” a pattern seen in film and television in which abortion exists at a “faux-option” character seeks out, but never follows through with (Rosewarne 156). Rosewarne writes “in contemporary narratives, pretending that abortion does not exist as a real option would be fraudulent,” so instead characters often entertain this option, but “*change their minds... being in the clinic convinces them that abortion is the wrong path*” (Rosewarne 157). This is one way that screenwriters and producers keep abortion from television and movies and promote anti-choice or anti-abortion messages under the guise of a progressive narrative. *Juno*, is a prime example of a movie that incorporates this trope. Juno flees the abortion clinic after she is unable to forget the words of a pro-life protester outside. Rosewarne also shares “Miranda (Cynthia Nixon) opted against an abortion on *Sex and the City* (1998–2004) at the abortion clinic, as did Joan (Christina Hendricks) on *Mad Men* (2007–) and both Amy (Shailene Woodley) and Adrian (Franca Raisa) in episodes of *The Secret Life of the American Teenager* (2008–)” (Rosewarne 157). Even the cartoon *Family Guy* depicts Lois going to an abortion clinic and then promptly changing her mind (Rosewarne 157). The list of scenes adhering to this trope goes on and on. Though these programs and films bring mention of abortion to the American public, these representations, which comprise the majority of onscreen abortion narratives, reinforce rather than shatter this decision’s taboo nature by casting abortion as an inferior, immoral, or unviable choice.

Another commonly seen abortion-related storyline is the “back alley abortion,” which is an illegal and gritty abortion that transpires “in circumstances where legal and safe abortions are unavailable” (Rosewarne 158). Showcasing the close relationship between America’s current socio-political circumstances and the ideas and situations explored in American film and television, “back alley abortions” were more commonly depicted in shows and films made before the historic *Roe v. Wade* court case. For example, unsanitary back alley abortions are shown in the 1963 film *Love with the Proper Stranger* and the 1966 soap opera *Another World*, which is the first televised abortion-related storyline (Rosewarne 161). Since these storylines fell out of favor following the legalization of safe abortions, it will be interesting to see if this narrative becomes popular again due to the recent overturning of *Roe v. Wade* and a predicted, and already seen, spike in at-home abortions or other forms of illegal abortions. In contrast to the abortion clinic epiphany trope, negative portrayals of “back alley abortions” evidence the emergence of pro-choice sentiment in filmed pregnancy narratives, warning viewers about the physical and emotional harm that can result from a lack of accessible reproductive healthcare.

Similar to reality TV’s unrealistic portrayal of teenage pregnancy, even though abortion is becoming more frequently represented in modern American film projects, TV shows and movies including abortion-related plot points are not realistically or fully representing who is actually seeking abortions and why they are making this decision. A study conducted by Gretchen Sisson

and Katrina Kimport and published by the National Library of Medicine tracked the demographics of American television characters seeking an abortion and found that “compared to statistics on real women, characters who obtained abortions were disproportionately white, young, wealthy, and not parenting.” Sisson and Kimport also discovered that “compared to reports on real reasons for abortion, immaturity or interference with future opportunities was overrepresented” (446). This mismatch between the abortion storylines shown on screen and the true experiences of real American women receiving abortions is problematic because it can lead to misconceptions or misunderstandings about who gets abortions and why they make this choice and make women that do not see themselves represented in these depictions feel isolated.

SECTION 4 – Conclusion

From banning the use of the word “pregnant” on *I Love Lucy*, to now showcasing narratives related to single pregnancy, teenage motherhood, and abortion, the American film and television industry has made significant strides in challenging these cultural taboos. Still, certain social norms prevent realistic portrayals, filtering how pregnancy stories are told on screen: single mothers are only acceptable if performing or relying on masculinity; teenage pregnancies are either an enticing spectacle or a terrifying abomination; and abortions are reserved for indecisive and immature white women. While onscreen representations of pregnancy are growing more thorough and diverse over time, these persistent taboos limit the breadth of pregnancy storylines. This limitation on the range of pregnancies that American television and movies display upholds patriarchal traditions, like the idea that a pregnant woman must be dependent on a man, and draws narrow lines around what constitutes an appropriate pregnancy, often failing to validate nontraditional experiences with carrying a child. Some of these taboo pregnancies—for example, younger pregnancies or pregnancies resulting in abortion—are taboo for a reason: they are undesirable and associated with emotional and physical health risks for pregnant mothers and their unborn children. This being said, these pregnancies are real, and treating them as taboo is not an effective prevention method. Alternatively, breaking down pregnancy stigmas, representing diverse pregnancy experiences, and facilitating open conversations about taboo pregnancies will empower Americans to educate themselves and others about these risks, reach out for resources that support family planning, and feel affirmed throughout their own maternal experiences. Seeing as films and television programs have a unique opportunity to influence the beliefs and opinions of their viewers, the American film and television industry has the power to shatter these taboos on a monumental scale by portraying the very pregnancies one might otherwise cast aside.

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Mikaela Higgs

CAS'26, Earth & Environmental Science

Mikaela has always had a passion for the visual arts. She hopes to leave an impression and move others with her meaningful artwork.

OREJA DE BURRO Y CUERNO VERDE



Scan (or click) the QR code to watch the video (length 4:54).

In Writing Studio 2, I researched the preservation of cultures through written folk literature so that they may persist through periods of colonization and cultural exchange. The Cinderella story was chosen as a literary work of focus due to its history, universality, cross-culturality, and recognizable tropes that would make cultural-specific changes to the story apparent. Upon analyzing and comparing three Cinderella variants, I realized that it is difficult to visualize culturally-specific aspects in each story by simply reading them. The lack of a visual also makes it harder to conceptualize the true uniqueness and beauty of each culture. I have chosen to narrate and create a visual aid for my favorite story out of the three variants: “Oreja de Burro y Cuerno Verde” or “Donkey Ear and Green Horn,” a New Mexican Cinderella story. This creation provides an artistic glimpse into the life and culture of early-20th-century New Mexico. This era was part of a long period of a culturally distinct Hispanic southwest and forced integration following the ceding of Mexican territory to the US. For the visual, there were some opportunities for creative freedom as certain fairytale elements included in the story, such as the existence of royalty and castles, were not part of New Mexican culture. I nonetheless attempted to base all elements of the story on architecture, food, clothing, economy, and other aspects of the period.





Kaitlyn Piotrowski

CAS'23, Psychology and Biology: Behavioral Biology

Kaitlyn works at MGH in neurology clinical research planning to attend medical school. Kaitlyn loves reading and is passionate about bridging the gap between physical and mental dimensions across disciplines.

THEIR EYES WERE WATCHING GOD

When I first read Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* for my HC501 class, I'll admit I was confused by the following quote: "Ships at a distance have every man's wish on board. For some they come in with the tide. For others they sail forever on the horizon, never out of sight, never landing until the Watcher turns his eyes away in resignation, his dreams mocked to death by Time. That is the life of men. Now, women forget all those things they don't want to remember, and remember everything they don't want to forget. The dream is the truth. Then they act and do things accordingly" (Hurston, 1937, p. 7). For my final project, I decided to delve into this quote further and convey my own personal interpretation of it through the use of a collage. Unsure of where to start this journey of mine, I decided to search the book for the word "horizon" and see where it took me. By following the symbol within quotes dispersed throughout the pages, I ended up learning more about the book and life itself than I ever could have imagined.

Through these quotes, I came to the revelation that the horizon symbolized Janie's hopes and dreams for the future and her lifelong search for harmony, love, and happiness. Initially, I felt that the challenges that Janie faced throughout her three marriages were going to be the main focus of the collage. Her journey towards the horizon had sprouted from a longing search for love which she thought could only be found within a harmonious marriage. As I continued my journey along the pages, I was met with the following quote describing Janie's first interactions with her second husband: "Janie pulled back for a long time because he did not represent sun-up and pollen and blooming trees, but he spoke for far horizon. He spoke for change and chance. Still she hung back. The memory of Nanny was still powerful and strong" (Hurston, 1937, p. 32). Her grandmother had instilled within Janie from a young age that marriage would lead to the blossoming of prosperity. As the bottom of the collage represents this sentiment, with the appearance of a pear tree, Janie believed that marriage would eventually sprout and bear the fruit of love along with it. What it actually brought to shore, was a myriad of challenges that stifled the growth that she longed for.

I portrayed these struggling times where Janie tried to stay afloat through an ocean filled with images, depicting the dreams of her husbands that Janie chose to live according to, rather than to her own personal aspirations. The prosperity that her grandmother had promised her as a housewife was in actuality shackles and chains disguised as expensive gifts and high status. Once old enough to realize the naivety of her ways, Janie lifted the "cloak of pity" where she hid her hatred for her grandmother from herself after all these years (Hurston, 1937, p. 83). She longed to get ready for "her great journey to the horizons," but felt that her grandmother had

held her back as she “had taken the biggest thing God ever made, the horizon, and pinched it into such a little bit of a thing so that she could tie it about her granddaughter’s neck tight enough to choke her” (Hurston, 1937, p. 83). At this point in the novel, Janie became self-aware of the forces swaying her and aimed to break free and venture out on her own journey. I originally planned to make the “horizon” an empty skyline, representing the broad potential that our dreams have to become whatever we aim for them to be. As I continued to create the collage, this space began to be filled to the brim with what I felt were Janie’s own personal revelation and transformation of her dreams. Janie was done struggling “to bring her own life into harmony with her original version of the pear tree” and she “leaves established social positions for a more adventurous life.” Amidst facing hardships such as being thrown into the underpinnings of a hurricane or being put on trial after her husband Tea Cake’s death, “her soul remains triumphantly hers” (Kubitschek, 1983, p. 109).

A portion of the collage is dedicated to the moment when Janie sets herself free from the constraints placed upon her own choices and identity by lighting fire to her head rags. The final quote from my search stated how Janie had been able to go to the horizon and back, and has “pulled in her horizon like a great fish-net” to now “drape it over her shoulders” (Hurston, 1937, p. 171). Janie exclaimed that “so much of life was in its meshes,” and “she called in her soul to come and see” (Hurston, 1937, p. 171). After her husband’s death, Janie learned to be at peace with herself and reached the horizon that she had been in search of for her entire life. She found acceptance in her independence. I depicted this personal revelation for Janie by showing how the kiss of her Tea Cake’s memory pushed her to shift her focus and begin to prioritize herself and her own dreams. She feels his encouraging spirit, which is emboldened with “the sun for a shawl,” to live on through her (Hurston, 1937, p. 171).

As I connected the word “horizon” within Hurston’s novel, I thread together another connection within the surrounding words on the pages. Janie’s hair was a representation of her identity and freedom of choice. In the beginning of the novel, she was forced to conceal her hair with head rags throughout one of her marriages in an effort to control her. Janie’s grandmother hindered her growth by diminishing her beauty and intellect behind a cloak of pity during her adolescent years. Towards the end of the novel, Janie turns this symbol of fabric from one of constraint into one of defiance. Conveyed in the collage, Janie lets her hair flow freely without regard for the opinions of the gossiping women in her town. She drapes a flowing fish-net around her body and is illuminated by the sun beneath her acting as her shawl. She finally feels the warmth of the love she was always searching for, although she never realized it would be from within. Symbols can tell us their own stories, we just have to want to look close enough.

The journey that I set out on with this project was not what was originally planned, but it has led me to a lesson I will never forget. We need to make that choice to chase our dreams rather than wait for them to come to us. We should live according to our own dreams and take charge of our horizon. Janie acted according to this notion and battled and struggled in the direction of her dreams. She changed the narrative given to her and decided to look God right in the eyes.

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Alexander Voses

Pardee'25, International Relations

Raised in New York, where he learned of his great-grandparents' struggles during the Armenian Genocide, Alexander Voses felt a deep, personal connection to this project from its inception.

THE SMALL LIGHT AT THE BOTTOM OF THE STAIRS: Memorialization, Reimagination, and Intergenerational Trauma in Peter Balakian's Poetry

INTRODUCTION

Breaking a long century of silence, President Joseph Biden acknowledged the Armenian Genocide in 2021, proclaiming “[t]he American people honor all those Armenians who perished in the genocide that began 106 years ago today.”¹ Though this statement certainly constitutes a new beginning for America’s relationship with the Genocide, it equally represents the culmination of activism on the part of Armenian-Americans. Survivors reckoned with the Genocide in unique ways—burying the past, sharing their plight, or pursuing a conflicted mix of both paths. Monuments representing a certain strain of memorialization arose across the world and histories affirming the truth of the injustices emerged on paper, but the Armenian people’s struggle did not end here. Armenian descendants who did not live through the event but still carried the wounds passed down to them by their ancestors would go on to create equally powerful memorials and histories. Out of this context emerged the writer and poet Peter Balakian, an Armenian-American whose grandmother served as his most tangible link to the Genocide.

Through his poetry, Balakian has carved out a distinct space for his perspective on the Armenian Genocide that differentiates itself from prior memorials and histories through his reassessment of past memorialization and his incorporation of an element absent from past efforts, namely his perspective as an inheritor of tragic history. Through a series of three poems published throughout his literary career, this paper aims to explore Balakian’s interpretation of the Armenian Genocide and to assert his unique position as memorializer, chronicler, and inheritor of the Armenian past. Each of these poems has something valuable to teach the modern reader. “After the Survivors are Gone” (1996) confronts the impact of hate on humanity as a whole—working through memorialization to show the reader that injustice does not exist in a vacuum and must be fought against at every turn. “Road to Aleppo, 1915” (1983) reimagines a distant past to link it to the present moment—using history to explain themes that reach across generations. Finally, “Zucchini” (2020) confronts something so much bigger than its simple title

¹ “Statement by President Joe Biden on Armenian Remembrance Day,” The White House, April 24, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/04/24/statement-by-president-joe-biden-on-armenian-remembrance-day/>.

belays in its conversation about intergenerational trauma—ultimately ending with the belief that there are ways to move forward from tragedy to justice through an understanding of the past.

PART 1: HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

During the Armenian Genocide, the Ottoman Empire made a concentrated effort to ethnically exterminate Armenian people. Accounts of the true number of deaths vary to some extent—according to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as few as 664,000 and as many as 1.2 million Armenians were killed; *The New York Times* and other sources frequently cite the 1.5 million figure more commonly mentioned among Armenians.² The current Turkish government continues to deny the Genocide. According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on a website page titled “The Armenian Allegation of Genocide,” the Armenian people, in their totality, had fomented an uprising against the Ottoman Empire; thus the mass slaughter of 1.5 million individuals was not an atrocity affecting mainly civilians but a just extermination of domestic rebels.³ The United States would not officially acknowledge the Genocide for 106 years, the long century ending with President Biden’s statement. In the century of American silence, Peter Balakian wrote the three poems analyzed in this essay, contributing to the growing movement behind this significant moment.

Every family has a story. Inspiring, painful, triumphant, or tragic—these stories shape future generations. But what happens if a large portion of that story is trapped, hidden away in the mind of a survivor unwilling or unable to share the full brunt of a still-aching past? This environment surrounded Peter Balakian during his early formative years in New Jersey, divorced from his Armenian roots by distance and unintentional ignorance. His lack of knowledge resulted from the attitude of his older relatives for whom, upon reaching America, “every door closed on the past, which had turned into a house of mourning. The key was buried and lapsed into oblivion.”⁴ Each of them had lived through the sorrows of the Genocide and each of them decided to begin their life anew. Growing up in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood, adolescent Balakian was aware of his difference from those around him but had no familiarity with the truth of his family’s story. Biographer Huberta Von Voss sees this dual nature, both “all-American” and Armenian, as a crucial element of Balakian’s development.⁵ Moving on from

² “The Armenian Genocide (1915-16): Overview,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed April 18, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-armenian-genocide-1915-16-overview>; John Kifner, “Armenian Genocide of 1915: An Overview,” *The New York Times*, accessed April 18, 2023, https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/ref/timestopics/topics_armeniangenocide.html?onward_journey=584162_v2.

³ “The Armenian Allegation of Genocide: The issue and the facts,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Türkiye, accessed April 18, 2023, <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-armenian-allegation-of-genocide-the-issue-and-the-facts.en.mfa>.

⁴ Huberta von Voss, “A Foundation of Facts and Fiction: The Poet and Writer Peter Balakian (Hamilton, NY),” in *Portraits of Hope: Armenians in the Contemporary World*, ed. Huberta von Voss, trans. Alasdair Lean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bu/detail.action?docID=4519639>, 68.

⁵ Von Voss, 69.

these days of vacillation and uncertainty, Balakian would go on to solidly reconstruct his identity in adulthood: a figure proud of both his American homeland, as evidenced by his professorship in American Studies, and his Armenian heritage, as shown by his poetry and non-fiction writing related to the Genocide. His major non-poetical works include the memoir *Black Dog of Fate* (1997) and the history of the Armenian Genocide *The Burning Tigris* (2003). Balakian has also written poems on the topics of love, flowers, and memories of New York City. But in his poetry related to the Armenian Genocide, Balakian's artistic spirit and authorial voice shine through most brightly: working towards building a culture that acknowledges injustice and hate in all its forms, looks the consequences squarely in the eyes, and vows never again to allow such injurious wrongs to descend upon our world.

PART 2: MEMORIALIZATION IN “AFTER THE SURVIVORS ARE GONE” (1996)

Memorialization has allowed the tragic legacy of the Armenian Genocide to remain poignant and clear to this day. Most past efforts feature a theme of primacy attributed to the event itself, a bloody status as the first of many in the procession of genocides to follow. In Joachim Savelsberg's book-length exploration of Armenian Genocide epistemology, he explores this trend of “primacy” within his analysis of the Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex, Armenia's main genocide memorial—a “structural memory,” as Savelsberg puts it.⁶ The memorial's website describes “the nature of the pain” suffered by Armenian people using the word “first,” which “gives the events of 1915 historical primacy over the sequence of subsequent genocides, the second of which is the Holocaust.”⁷ As Savelsberg notes, this description excludes “the genocide committed by the German military against the Herero and Namaqua in 1904 to 1908 in Namibia.”⁸

A slightly different approach to memorialization can be found in Boston's Armenian Heritage Park. The inscription at this park discusses Boston's nurturing of immigrant communities and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' generosity towards those who sought refuge within its bounds. The message does not address Armenians specifically, harkening towards a more universal understanding of the plight of forced displacement. However, after touching on the Armenian Genocide specifically, the inscription reads that the monument stands “in remembrance to all genocides that have followed.”⁹ This once again enforces the idea that the Armenian Genocide was a dreadful progenitor to events that would follow during and after the Second World War. This idea is not necessarily wrong or harmful—direct links exist between the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust after all—but such a limited focus on the Armenian Genocide as a unique event limits the path forward for reckoning with the totality of human injustice.

⁶ Joachim J. Savelsberg, *Knowing about Genocide: Armenian Suffering and Epistemic Struggles* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 67.

⁷ Savelsberg, 68.

⁸ Savelsberg, 68.

⁹ “Inscription on the Reflecting Pool,” Armenian Heritage Foundation, accessed April 19, 2023, <https://www.armenianheritagepark.org/inscription-on-the-reflecting-pool>.

Peter Balakian offers an alternative, more universal viewpoint in his poem “After the Survivors are Gone.” The first two lines read, “I tried to imagine the Vilna ghetto,/to see a persimmon tree after the flash at Nagasaki.”¹⁰ Despite Balakian’s immediate familial connection to the Armenian Genocide, a central part of this poem, the first two lines are not about Armenia. The first impressions of the poem are spent building a connection in the reader’s mind, lining a thread between these tragic events in order to elucidate the underlying facts. Balakian cedes the primacy of the Armenian Genocide within the poem in order to focus on the unifying factors behind these injustices. Balakian follows with, “Because my own tree had been hacked,/I tried to kiss the lips of Armenia.”¹¹ Through reincorporation of the word “tree,” an important element of the rhyme structure in the second line, Balakian links the seemingly unlinked injustices of the stanza’s first three lines. The shift from the physical tree, standing after the flash of the atomic bomb, to the tree within the mind of Balakian’s persona, representing both his own detachment from his Armenian past and the physical violence enacted against the Armenian people, joins the impersonal and personal in a truly lyrical manner. The endeavor “to kiss the lips of Armenia” does not succeed because the “tree” has been “hacked.” Posterity has no record of all that was lost; only memorials remain. Violence has uprooted the family tree.

After exploring ideas related to the cyclical nature of unjust violence and the failure of humanity to stop the cycle in the two intervening stanzas, Balakian ends the poem by returning to themes of memorialization. The final stanza reads, in its entirety:

“We shall not forget the earth,
the artifact, the particular song,
the dirt of an idiom—
things that stick in the ear.”¹²

This stanza is not unusual amongst Balakian’s poetry for its form or usage of poetic devices—the intense imagery and pithy conclusion are characteristic of his repertoire—but it brings a unique force in what it represents. The act of not forgetting in this stanza inherently coheres with the act of memorialization. A victim does not forget “the earth” upon which past crimes were committed, “the artifacts” resulting from the act itself, “the particular song” of false justice sung by the perpetrators, or the “idiom” used to demean the victims. These historical facts fuel the act of memorialization and Balakian’s parallel syntax, the repeated usage of “the,” represents the solid and tangible quality of memorialization. The most powerful device within this final stanza lies in its first element: the use of the word “we” to refer to those engaged in the act of memorializing. Calling back to the first stanza, Balakian refers not only to Armenian people, but to the broader community of survivors and their descendants, all of those who have suffered historical injustices. Balakian’s memorialization touches upon universal themes for a reason. He makes no shallow attempt at inclusivity within these lines but rather a forceful call to understand that which links these tragedies—the earth, artifacts, songs, and idioms—and to see

¹⁰ Peter Balakian, “After the Survivors are Gone,” in *June-tree: New and Selected Poems, 1974-2000* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 91.

¹¹ Balakian, “After the Survivors are Gone,” 91.

¹² Balakian, “After the Survivors are Gone,” 91.

that the Vilna ghettos, Nagasaki, and the Armenian Genocide are not so far removed, as one may understand by other acts of memorialization. This poem, though unlikely to have been on President Biden's mind when making the decision to acknowledge the Genocide, does essential cultural work in exploring the necessity of universal acknowledgement of injustice.

PART 3: REIMAGINATION IN “ROAD TO ALEPPO, 1915” (1983)

The theme of historical reimagination surfaces nowhere more clearly in Balakian's oeuvre than in “Road to Aleppo, 1915.” In this poem, Balakian reimagines his grandmother's trek to the city of Aleppo, at turns a center for deportation and Armenian refugees alike. In reimagining his grandmother's pain and hardships, Balakian carves out a space for reimagination as a valid form of history in its own right, utilizing the poetic medium to further this implicit argument.

Theories regarding the practice of reimagination have developed relatively recently in the discipline of history but lose no relevance for their novelty. David Temin and Adam Dahl, political theorists by trade, begin their survey of this type of reimagination with a powerful statement: “Memory and justice are intricately linked.”¹³ This pithy turn of phrase helps ground their argument about the value of telling history from the standpoint of reevaluation. Temin and Dahl describe the process of retelling history as two-fold, involving the acknowledgement of “the existence of past injustices as well as their causal connection to the present” and the “narrative practices by which past injustices are given collective meaning.”¹⁴ Balakian in his own writing, and particularly within “Road to Aleppo, 1915,” intensely focuses on past injustices and then uses his family's experience to extrapolate the issues concerned to a wider audience. This in turn allows for a path forward for everyone, oppressor and oppressed, towards a more just world. Reimagination serves as a tool to extract suffering from a particular moment through the liberties of the poetic medium, which in turn allows more fundamental truths to be established outside of historical dynamics.

Balakian's idea of historical reimagining involves not just an incorporation of fact but an ethereal sense of time and place; “Road to Aleppo, 1915” opens with a flame and ends with a gust of air. The natural elements surrounding his grandmother's journey take on a similar significance to the voyage itself. She is alternatively pursued by a “flame,” witness to a view of “screaming trees,” and victim of a ground that “was heat and bayonets.”¹⁵ By painting a portrait of his grandmother through the external factors as much as the internal, personal factors of her journey, Balakian takes ownership of a fundamentally unknowable history. The “flame” stands in for ideological hate expressed by so many Ottoman officials. The “screaming trees” evoke a homeland that is no longer one's home. The “heat and bayonets” of the physical environment tell a tale of true hardship, though the specifics of the journey remain shrouded in a certain hazy

¹³ David Temin and Adam Dahl, “Narrating Historical Injustice: Political Responsibility and the Politics of Memory,” *Political Research Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (2017): 905, accessed April 18, 2023, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26384825>.

¹⁴ Temin and Dahl, 905.

¹⁵ Peter Balakian, “Road to Aleppo, 1915,” in *June-tree: New and Selected Poems, 1974-2000*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 128.

symbolism. This story focuses on the psychological road tread by Balakian’s grandmother, a tale of metaphysical surroundings and fundamental truths.

The poem focuses on three major themes: unjust suffering, attitudes of the oppressors, and parenting in times of crisis. These throughlines between past and present allow Balakian to paint a picture of a distant era in strokes broadly relatable to the modern reader. Balakian describes a “flame” representing suffering as something that “followed” his grandmother, an injustice pursuing her on the principles of hatred and bigotry.¹⁶ In describing the attitudes of those enacting the genocide, he laments, “the throats of the boys/kept ringing in your ears,” a probable reference to the Young Turks political group who entered Ottoman politics with a desire for reform but ultimately carried out the dying empire’s most deplorable injustice.¹⁷ The oppressors pursue their victims relentlessly, having invaded the minds of those they wish to destroy—a consequence that would last for Balakian’s grandmother until her death. Turning to the theme of parenting, a perennial facet of Balakian’s work, he eulogizes, “You stuttered every mile/to your daughters’/shorter steps.”¹⁸ This celebrates an attitude of perseverance, a will to survive and carry on: an attitude essential to moving forward into the future. These themes in combination provide a roadmap, unlocking a reimagined past that can inform the present. Balakian presents the cycle of violence and oppression as one that is omnipresent in human history, with reimagination in this poem also becoming an act of memorialization. The past here leads into the future, which needs healing while still representing humanity’s greatest hope.

PART 4: INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA IN “ZUCCHINI” (2020)

Intergenerational trauma embodies, by its nature, both a link and a break. It represents a lineage of pain passed down through the generations but also an inherent separation between those who suffered and those who inherit suffering. In “Zucchini,” Balakian tackles this delicate topic head-on and, through his own experience, offers a way forward for those living with intergenerational trauma. A journey back in time to the memories of his grandmother and a meditation on what she left him, this poem shows just how effective poetry can be at unraveling trauma.

The deep pain of the Armenian Genocide has slithered down the generations, from those who lived through it to their descendants. Much research has focused on the ultimate effects of this event on the psyche of those who inherited trauma related to the Genocide. Karenian and fellow researchers offer two findings pertinent to this topic in their research study: that those who report being more intimately tied to the Armenian community show greater signs of intergenerational trauma related to the Genocide and that some believe the Genocide had the effect of uniting the Armenian diaspora in shared tragedy.¹⁹ Balakian’s poetry, in combination

¹⁶ Balakian, “Road to Aleppo, 1915,” 128.

¹⁷ Balakian, “Road to Aleppo, 1915,” 128.

¹⁸ Balakian, “Road to Aleppo, 1915,” 128.

¹⁹ Hatsantour Karenian et al., “Collective Trauma Transmission and Traumatic Reactions Among Descendants of Armenian Refugees,” *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 57, no. 4 (2011): 334, accessed March 19, 2023, <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/20223778/>.

with key biographical details, displays the first trend and may indeed play a role in enacting the second.

In “Zucchini,” Balakian’s biography informs the poem, exhibiting the trends found in Karenian et al.’s study. The poem begins with a memory:

“My grandmother cored them
with a serrated knife
with her hands that had come
through the slaughter—”²⁰

Balakian did not know for a significant amount of his childhood the pain and suffering that his family had come through. His grandmother passed down her trauma cryptically; Balakian once remarked that “these stories...hibernated in me until I was ready to understand them.”²¹ This same tone of significance lying in wait is maintained throughout the opening. Violent imagery permeates the stanza through the connotations of the word “knife” and the denotation of the word “slaughter,” but the knife and hands ultimately contain the violence—hidden away within the extended self of his grandmother. Although Balakian’s grandmother hesitated to share her trauma with her grandson, violence and pain informs her first presentation to the reader within this poem. Compared with his youth and prior ignorance of the Genocide, Balakian strongly acknowledges the pain and suffering passed down through generations. His knowledge informs his advocacy, in line with Karenian et al.’s findings.

After beginning with the root of his trauma, Balakian moves on to paint a deeper picture of the cycle of trauma while providing a way out of the cycle through his processing of inherited pain and vision towards the future. Through several key lines, Balakian signposts the steps along the cycle, beginning with contemplating a memory of his grandmother. After exploring the particulars of his grandmother’s zucchini recipe, Balakian inquires of no one, “Can holding on to this image/help me make sense of time?”²² Intergenerational trauma is generated by past actions; Balakian’s literary persona in this poem is, to an extent, obsessed with the past. This obsession traps him in a cycle of attempts to find meaning where there is none, the realm of incredulity and shock—how could this pain have occurred? Instead of languishing in this realm, however, Balakian’s persona experiences substantial growth over the course of the poem and the key line revealing a shift in perspective comes as Balakian considers “the happy and sad steps we walked.”²³ By acknowledging the reality of his relationship with his grandmother, that he loved her despite the pain she left him with, Balakian’s persona begins to experience the beginnings of growth. The journey proceeds to its next important step when he takes a moment to consider the

²⁰ Peter Balakian, “Zucchini,” in *No Sign*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2022), 44.

²¹ Wendy Smith, “Peter Balakian: When History and Poetry Collide,” *Publishers Weekly* 250, no. 40 (2003): 54, accessed March 19, 2023, <https://ezproxy.bu.edu/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Ftrade-journals%2Fpeter-balakian-when-history-poetry-collide%2Fdocview%2F197072377%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9676>.

²² Balakian, “Zucchini,” 44.

²³ Balakian, “Zucchini,” 44.

past as something different. He stirs from his reverie: “from which we wake to find the hallway dark/the small light at the bottom of the stairs.”²⁴ Balakian lives in the present, an unilluminated hallway, but finds a light shining from the past, the bottom of the stairs. Though he ascended to a new place shrouded in darkness, the past can shed light upon that darkness and bring new understanding. It does not resemble a static harbor of hardship but a refuge for lessons that must be learned and passed on. With this line, though not the end of the poem, Balakian’s persona experiences complete metamorphosis and gains a new understanding: the past holds not only injustices that descendants are doomed to bear upon their shoulders for untold generations, but stories of perseverance carrying lessons for how to endure hardship in the present and to ensure that such injustices never occur again. Memorialization spurs us to remember, reimagination calls on us to consider the throughlines between past and present, and by grappling with intergenerational trauma, Balakian unleashes the full power of history as a tool for the betterment of our modern world.

CONCLUSION

Balakian, in the *Washington Post* following President Biden’s official recognition of the Genocide, described the efforts of the Turkish government to sweep their nation’s past actions under the rug as a “double killing,” equating the act of burying history to the actual acts of injustice themselves.²⁵ In a way, Balakian has fought against this all along in his poetry. He has fought for a world where the past is remembered through memorialization, understood through reimagination, and ultimately used as the basis for a brighter future based on a sense of responsibility and community inherited from the past. As Balakian extolls, “By naming the Armenian Genocide, Biden is affirming that America stands for moral order and historical truth.” But whatever work this acknowledgement does for a broader American public is only possible due to the efforts of those like Balakian—because of those who use tools like poetry in order to harness that “light at the bottom of the stairs” to bring humanity towards a more just world.

²⁴ Balakian, “Zucchini,” 44.

²⁵ Peter Balakian, “To Armenians, Biden’s recognition of the genocide means the world,” *Washington Post*, April 24th, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/04/24/biden-armenian-genocide-turkey/>.

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THE NIGHT THE STARS FELL

Preface



Scan (or click) the QR code to read the full reflection paper.

Inspiration for my final project came directly from the Kilachand co-curricular lecture delivered by Tiya Miles in the spring of 2023. Tiya Miles, the author of *All That She Carried*, spoke on a variety of topics surrounding the experience of enslaved persons in the Antebellum South, but the most striking was the Leonid Meteor Shower of 1833. This meteor shower was largely an inexplicable experience for all those who observed from across the Southern U.S. As there were an estimated 50,000 to 150,000 meteors per hour, this event was certainly one of a kind. Most interestingly, slave owners were convinced the meteor shower indicated the end of the world and, subsequently, Judgement Day. As a result, many of them were reported to have gone around telling the enslaved where their family members were sold in an effort to right their wrongs and be rewarded in heaven. In the wake of this profound astronomical event, the enslaved people themselves were inspired towards rebellion and uprising upon realizing their enslavers' state of vulnerability.

My intent with *The Night the Stars Fell* was to dissect the cognitive dissonance of a white plantation owner and retell the story of a slave and their arc towards rebellion. In reading *The Spirituals and the Blues* by James H. Cone (1972) for a previous research essay, I learned about the state of Christianity in the Antebellum South, which was vital in re-imagining how the meteor shower was interpreted through the lens of the Christian faith or lack thereof. While the Christian faith was important for many white plantation owners, many (but not all) slaves rejected Christianity because, in the context of the South, the religion had evolved to systematically condone their enslavement (Cone, 1972). The fact that slave owners attempted to atone for their sins of enslavement meant that they understood the contradictions ingrained into their spiritual beliefs. Thus is the theme of *The Night the Stars Fell*: how an oppressed population saw the light at the end of the tunnel against an oppressor conscious of their wrongs.

In the context of "writing as resistance" (the theme of the class in which I wrote this play), I – the writer – chose to resist political, moral, and humanitarian corruption in general. Firstly, I would argue that re-telling and publishing this story is resistance in and of itself, in contrast to remaining silent on the subject matter. But, I would also like to point out that I was driven to shed light on this scarcely documented event because the theme of powerful people who consciously perpetuate their wrongdoing is extremely relevant today. Much like Sam, there is no

shortage of modern politicians and corporate leaders who likely understand that what they are doing is wrong, but they are so blinded by greed and lust for power that the contradiction between their heart and their actions is ineffectual. Take policy makers, for example, who consciously fail to take action against climate change despite overwhelming scientific evidence that suggests the Earth is in danger of experiencing irreversible damage. What will it take to expose their cognitive dissonance and get them to walk back on their previous wrongdoing? For Sam, it was the end of the world (so he thought), and I wouldn't be surprised if the same could be said for some of these modern politicians. This is the discussion that I want to ignite with *The Night the Stars Fell*. What does this revelation of cognitive dissonance mean? It means that by seeing through the facade of those who perpetuate misdeeds despite their better judgment, we are one step closer towards manifesting the promised land which Molly so passionately envisioned.

The Night the Stars Fell, A Short Play



Figure 1: Leonid Meteor Shower of 1833.

CHARACTERS:

Sam: a white plantation owner

Martha: Sam's wife, ~7 months pregnant

Molly: an enslaved mother

Autumn: Molly's enslaved daughter, ~12 years old

Henry: the plantation doctor

Virgil: an enslaved man close with Molly

Chorus/Woman 1/Woman 2: plantation slaves of all ages

SET:

The set is the back of a white plantation mansion. There is a balcony upstage center with a railing, and the balcony is supported by several large white pillars below. There is a double staircase extending in both directions away from the balcony, curling in at the ends towards the audience. The twilight horizon glows in the background.

SCENE 1

Lights up, though dim.

The French doors on the balcony are closed, the house is asleep. Nobody is on stage.

A single bright white light streaks across the sky. Then another. The streaks of light are infrequent.

After the fourth streak of light, Sam enters from the French doors and observes from the balcony.

Sam: Martha, wake up.

Martha: *(offstage)* What?

Sam: Martha wake UP!

Martha enters onto the balcony.

Martha: Sam what's the matter?

Sam: Martha the— the sk— the sky is fallin'. Martha the sky is fallin'.

Martha: Oh, my heavens.

Sam: I've gotta— I— Martha go fetch my Bible!

Martha exits back into the house.

Lord have mercy. Lord have mercy.

Martha returns to the balcony and hands a Bible to Sam.

Martha: Oh Sam the stars.

Sam: Martha I must be dreaming, tell me— oh my god.

Martha: Then our eyes deceive us both.

Sam: Martha fetch the doc. *(fiercely gripping the railing)*

Martha: He'll be sleeping now I'm sure of it—

Sam: CALL FOR THE DOCTOR. The apocalypse don't care if he's asleep or not!

Martha exits again to retrieve Henry.

Our father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingd—

A young female slave enters the large open space below the balcony from stage left.

Woman 1: Massa! Massa tell me this ain't real/

Sam: No, no, no, no, no, no go back—

Woman 1: /we got young'uns scared—

Sam: GET ON BACK!

Over the course of the next several lines, the rate of stars streaming across the sky increases, silently mirroring the increasing intensity of the dialogue on stage.

Henry enters the balcony with Martha through the French doors.

Henry: Sam I really don't—(noticing the sky) oh...

An enslaved man and woman enter from stage right.

Woman 2: Massa the sky it's— it's crashin' down.

Martha: Oh Sam, it's beautiful. And terrifying. I ain't never seen nothin' like it.

Sam: Henry, do I have my wits?

Henry: (puts on glasses as he calmly gazes up) I reckon so. The heavens are falling, Sam.

Martha: Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee— /

Sam: (to Chorus) GET A MOVE ON BACK—you ain't supposed ta' be here now!

The stars are shooting at a rapid rate now, the entire stage is encapsulated in this intimidating yet beautiful spectacle, a sublime experience reminiscent of the end of the world.

The following lines are meant to overlap one another.

Henry: Oh, there's more of 'em now—

Martha: / Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb Jesus. Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners—

Henry: Sam, I really don't—

Chorus: Please God be a trick of the eyes / Massa don't know nothin' / Mama the sky's burnin' up / Oh Lord be with us / where's my brother? / It's beautiful / is this it? / please take me Lord, take me! / There! there was a big one! / It's like fireworks! / **dogs barking** / *ad lib. Disbelief, astonishment, prayer, fear*

Sam: ANSWER ME LORD. By the grace of god and all things and creatures on this Earth, what is the meaning of this?

Sam: (*above the rest*) Will I die tonight?

Chorus freezes, the stars freeze in their place, the entire scene is frozen except for Sam.

Sam: A million stars plucked right out of the sky one by one, dragged through the midnight fabric like thread on a needle, exploding like fireworks then shriveling back into the abyss. Like a lightning strike with no beginning and no end in a cloud forsaken sky, what sorcery is this? Oh god oh god what sorcery is this? Is it time? ANSWER ME LORD is it time? Doc says I'm fine; Lord I'm fine and well, it can't be my time. If not my time, then what tricks are laid upon my eyes? The stars ain't never left the night sky. If the stars are gone then I'm gone. We're all gone. Gone to living in a dream. Oh Lord I've had nightmares but none like this. No sir, none like this. But I'm awake now—I must be awake now. And it's not real I tell you, it's not real. (*turns towards the French doors as if to retreat back inside*) I will retreat back to sleep and wake to the rooster like every other day and a bright blue sky overhead and I'll be damned if the ground is speckled with charred rocks and glass. I'll be damned as hell.

Sam decides not to go back inside, instead turns back to the railing.

To bless me with the creatures to till this land which you created only to burn it up in a starry spectacle is beyond me. Curse you and your tricks on mortal men. The stars, the sun, the only things constant in this world, to strip them from the sky and send them crashing down is vile. Oh wicked is this sick joke you play on your disciples tending to your creation. To cover your land in a white hot shroud of pins and needles is to condemn it to hell. If this be anything but judgment day, damn you. If this be anything but—

Beat.

Reckoning.

Sam takes a single, gentle step down the staircase.

Take me regardless. I will not live knowing my acreage of which I've been proprietor for near a decade was cauterized by a fiery rage above. What did I do? Lord, what did I do to deserve this? I'm an honest man making do in the world in the footsteps of my father god rest his soul. If the world be plunged into hell on this night I beg you to take me. Take me for the unintentional errors and the wrongs I've wrought on this land, on these creatures. Leave Martha. Leave our home. If I'm granted one last wish, then I wish upon every one of these shooting stars that you watch over Martha and our soon-to-be family. Give the doc good health and strength to deliver my child. Take me instead. Take me instead. If it means this wondrous tear in the universe be stitched together and all things be made right and natural again, then take me, Lord. If this really is judgment day, then judge me and only me. Not even these poor creatures (*gestures towards the Chorus*) deserve the wrath of a million white hot lashes from the sky above. I swear on it, TAKE ME LORD, I HAVE WRONGED.

Sam stumbles down several more stairs, gripping the railing for support.

Martha didn't deserve the back of my hand on account of one too many drops of liquor. If I am to atone for my sins here and now, Lord, I would go so far as to say it was no accident that my sister was buried only a week after my father. Blinded by my greed for double inheritance, it crushes my soul every waking moment of my day, TAKE ME LORD. TAKE ME! (*Nearly sobbing*) End the cycle here. I cannot go on and continue to sell these poor negro's sisters and brothers and mothers and fathers to folk no better than I, and then, in secret, wish that the money I earned from their grief (*referencing the chorus*) would dissolve my own. TAKE. ME. Lord.

Sam collapses on the railing at the bottom of the stairs, hands clasped together in prayer; a broken man.

Or with the grace of god, allow me to make right by my sins so that I may wake tomorrow to the rooster crowing under a bright, blue sky.

Silently prays.

Amen.

The scene is suddenly brought to life again, the chorus continues to ad lib., and the stars continue to streak across the night sky.

Chorus: I can't believe my eyes / Massa we didn't mean to make a disturbance / go on back now child / the world is ending!

Martha: / now and at the hour of our death. Glory be—

Sam: LISTEN. (*Now standing level with the Chorus*). It's the Lord's day of reckoning and by my creator I'll be damned if I didn't say that the other day Margaret and Mary were sent just South of here to Hanahan. A group of 5 with Rachel and David being the oldest left with a fellow named William Dempsey headed toward Savannah. Isaiah last week was sold and taken to

Augusta. Winter and Fox, the kids, went up with a Mr. Tommy O'Connor to Charlotte. Beyond that I'm at my wit's end. My time's come. (*Sam is torn apart inside*)

Chorus: *Ad lib. tears, confusion, joy, mixed emotions.*

Crowd disperses slightly to make more room for Sam to kneel down stage center.

Sam: Lord, I reckon a coward like I ain't worthy of such splendor and beauty on their last day. Give my peace and love to my sister and my father. And let this be, the night the stars fell.

Lights out.

SCENE 2

A backdrop curtain is dropped directly downstage of the mansion. The twilight horizon glows faintly in the background. Brought out on stage are two crudely constructed wooden bed frames, each topped with a straw-filled cot. An enslaved woman, Molly, and her young daughter, Autumn, are asleep on the cots.

Lights up, though dim.

The world is once again asleep. Only the woman and her child on stage.

A single bright white light streaks across the sky. Then another. The streaks of light are infrequent.

After the fourth streak of light, Molly stirs, sits on the edge of the bed, and leans over to gaze upwards as if she is peering out from under a roof.

Molly: Oh— (beat) Oh my god.

Autumn: What's out there mama?

Molly: Nothin' baby. Get back to bed now.

Autumn: But I wanna see!

Molly: The sun will be up before you know it and I don't wanna hear you complaining 'bout being tired, you hear?

Autumn: (Rises and crosses to sit on Molly's bed) Ugh, I'll go right back to bed I promise— (looks up and gasps)

Molly: Oh my, oh my—there's more of 'em now.

Autumn: Well go on, mama, make a wish now.

Molly: A wish? I— I don't know that I could, dear. I ain't never seen anything like this before...

Autumn: Well doesn't mean you can't make a wish.

Molly: How about *you* make a wish? Looks like there's plenty of stars to go around.

Autumn: Fine.

Beat.

Molly: And?

Autumn: Well of course I can't tell you what I wished for because then it won't come true.

Molly: Oh quit playin' child. Go on and tell your mother what you wished for. All the stars in the world seem to be shootin' across the sky right now, you can just as easy make another wish.

Autumn: I'll tell you if you tell me yours.

Molly: *(laughs)* okay, go ahead.

Beat.

Autumn: I wanna be up there with them.

Molly: Oh, Autumn. You best believe *I'm* not goin' up there with you now. *(chuckles)*

Autumn: But mama it's so beautiful! You don't want to be a star? Get to fly around in the sky like magic?

Molly: You're not scared of this whole sky crashing down on top of us thing one bit, huh?

Autumn: *(Simply, with a shrug)* I seen worse.

Beat.

The stars are shooting at a rapid rate now, encapsulating the entire scene.

Autumn (continued): Come on, I wanna see it from outside.

Autumn gets up from the bed and runs outside towards stage center.

Molly: Autumn! Wait! You can't just go out and cause a stir— And you've gotta be up by dawn— *(gets up to chase after her)* Autumn!

Lights out on Molly and Autumn. The beds are taken offstage.

The backdrop curtain is lifted to once again reveal the mansion engulfed in shooting stars. Sam is at the top of the balcony, illuminated, while the chorus, including Molly and Autumn, assemble beneath the balcony in the dark.

Sam: ANSWER ME LORD. By the grace of god and all things and creatures on this Earth, what is the meaning of this? Will I die tonight?

Lights up on the rest of the stage.

Instead of being silenced, the chorus ad libs. disbelief, astonishment, prayer, and fear as it did in Scene 1.

Sam repeats the same movements he did during his monologue—deciding against going inside, gripping the railing, and then slowly descending the staircase.

Sam: *(to the Chorus)* LISTEN. *(Now standing level with the chorus)* It's the Lord's day of reckoning and by my creator I'll be damned if I didn't say that the other day Margaret and Mary were sent just south of here to Hanahan. A group of 5 with Rachel and David being the oldest left with a fellow named William Dempsey headed toward Savannah. Isaiah last week was sold and taken to Augusta. Winter and Fox, the kids, went up with a Mr. Tommy O'Connor to Charlotte. Beyond that I'm at my wit's end. My time's come.

Sam collapses to his knees.

Chorus: Oh my Lord they're alive / a miracle. It's a miracle! / Did ya hear? He's saying where they all went / by the sound of it, they all made it together / Dear God, pray for them kids. / We've gotta make it to Savannah / how am I to get to 'em?

Autumn: Mama, Mama, did he say where they took Winter?

Molly: You heard him right—

Autumn: We need to find them!

Molly: No but you can't just bring them back once they've— I— hold on— sorry, baby / Virgil. Virgil!

A man from the chorus, Virgil, strides over from stage right to meet Molly in stage center.

Virgil: Molly, I heard. I heard!

Molly: Think now Virgil, think: what did Massa say when you asked about David's disappearance?

Virgil: Last week?

Molly: Yes last week, when he damn near pulled his gun on you!

Virgil: He said— uhh, said don't ask no more questions, goin' on about how David and the others are as good as dead.

Molly: But they're not! Heard it clear as day, they're not dead! My god it's a miracle. They're off somewhere locked up too but they ain't dead!

Autumn makes her way over to Molly and Virgil.

Autumn: Is Winter watching the star shower too, mama?

Molly: Yes! Child, my wish came true! I don't know how yet, but we're gonna see them again now alright? Don't you worry, by the grace of God, tomorrow will be a new dawn ya hear? If this terrible night rises into daybreak, so too will my brothers and sisters, so help me God! /

Chorus freezes, the stars freeze in their place, all actors are frozen and silent except for Molly.

/ to somehow find David, to find Winter, to find them all. What sorcery compelled Massa to unburden himself I know not, but by the single tear streaming down his face I know his words to be as true as the massacre of stars above my head. They're out there bearing witness to the same spectacle of blaze and light with their own two eyes. Hear me now brothers and sisters! Hear me across the stars! Bound by the fabric of the nebula above, no stretch of land nor river can divide us. May it be the heavens crashing down or the white hot talons of hell puncturing this cursed land, I know not; but no consequence imposed by the Gods above can be worse than the present fate of my people.

It is a sign—YES!—a sign. Just as the tapestry of the night sky falls into shambles, and constellations of mighty figures falter at the joints, Massa descends from his throne, possessed, in a fit of passion. And not just the dotted illustrations above, but singular bold sparks who dared interrupt the order of the void, disappearing just as quick as they emerged, nevertheless disconcerting all those who bear witness. A single lapse in the natural order and the white man is thrust into the greatest calamity he has ever known. As if Satan himself came a'knocking on Massa's door, surely I'd be deemed a liar if I declared that that foul man, by his own accord, confessed and attempted recompense on his knees in the dirt right in front of me. As the midnight chaos melts away into the same old brilliant blue, hear me when I say that tomorrow *will* be a new dawn, a new light, a new era, a new hope for my dear Autumn.

Massa not ONCE showed a shred of contrition, and not ONCE did the stars quiver and tremble from their place in the sky, and not ONCE did we dare disrupt the balance of the universe; but brothers and sisters hear me now, tonight, the stars have aligned threefold! Tonight, the white man has capitulated, the stars have disobeyed their disposition, and tonight, we will ascend and claim the break of day as our own. Let this be, with hope, triumph, and exultation, the night the stars fell.

Lights out.

End of play.



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UNITED UNIONS AND SACRED STARBUCKS

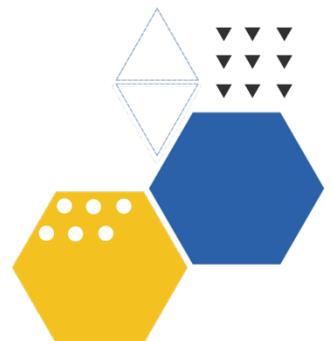
In following the growing American labor union movement, we delve into a group looking to challenge the third biggest fast-food chain in the country: Starbucks Workers United. From senate subpoenas to alleged anti-union action, we look at the volatile environment the SBWU and other unions are forced to endure. Take a listen before getting your next cup of coffee!



Scan (or click) the QR code to listen to the podcast (length 17:55).



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Gabby Church

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Gabby is from Colorado. At BU, she's a Kappa Delta and a sportswriter for the *Daily Free Press*. Her Urban Studies minor led her to this topic. She loves walking.

WHO IS ALLOWED TO BE A PEDESTRIAN?

INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic revealed a lot about urban life and lifestyles, where cities and dense spaces went from bustling to barren and vacant at the height of infection. The things that would typically encourage and allow people to walk, like a break in the workday in a downtown office or a weekend gathering in the park with friends, were no longer feasible under new social and public health norms in response to the pandemic. People were forced to translate these experiences to the home and online in remote environments. In this way, walking was no longer a standardized part of the day, but something that had to be done intentionally and more locally. I remember in the early days of the pandemic in 2020 when my family and many others in our suburban neighborhood would take time out of the remote work and school day to get fresh air and stretch our legs. The wide, paved sidewalk behind our house and the trails throughout the neighborhood allowed us to stay at a safe distance from others while still getting out of the house. This experience was not, however, a given for everyone. Another thing that the pandemic revealed was deep inequality in society, whether that be disparate access to healthcare or worsening unemployment rates and conditions among marginalized groups.¹ Such inequality is entrenched in the built environment, where different communities lack the same quality of developed spaces, and thus, in the pandemic, certain communities were kept limited to their poorer-quality pedestrian experiences. This investigation aims to look deeper into the inequality of walkability and pedestrian-friendly experiences among different socio-economic groups, not just in the pandemic, but constantly and systemically, through trends of segregation, gentrification, and disinvestment.

To understand walkability and its importance, we can look to urban planner and walkability advocate, Jeff Speck, whose book *Walkable City: How Downtown Can Save America, One Step at a Time* celebrated its 10-year anniversary in 2022, a year which saw post-pandemic urban shifts toward outdoor, human-oriented spaces in select neighborhoods. In this book, Speck asserts that “to be favored, a walk has to satisfy four main conditions: it must be useful, safe, comfortable, and interesting.”² This groundwork is important for distinguishing between successful and intentional pedestrian spaces that are allocated to privileged socio-economic

¹ Chia, Elyse, Ellie Hu, and Stacey Yuen. 2022. “How COVID-19 Has Magnified Pre-existing Inequalities in the US | Economics in Context Initiative.” Boston University. <https://www.bu.edu/eci/2022/03/10/how-covid-19-has-magnified-pre-existing-inequalities-in-the-us/>.

² Speck, Jeff. 2013. *Walkable City: How Downtown Can Save America, One Step at a Time*. N.p.: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

groups, and the disregarded walking experiences of others. Beyond the parameters of what makes a walk favored, walkable communities bring further benefit to their communities. A study by Kevin Leyden in the *American Journal of Public Health* finds that “...walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods are better generators of social capital than are modern, car-dependent suburbs,”³ where social capital is defined as “the social networks and interactions that inspire trust and reciprocity among citizens.”⁴ Leyden links an abundance of social capital to political activity, involvement in the community, and interaction with neighbors as well as preventing crime and aiding in economic development, more broadly.⁵ Beyond social connection, walkability is associated with increased housing values, a reduction in the cost of commuting, attraction of tourists, and the attraction of workers in knowledge and scientific industries.⁶ It is clear that walkability and a pedestrian-centered experience has benefits both for the local economy and for the experience and social and physical wellbeing of the individual in the community. Given the overwhelmingly positive effects of pedestrianism, one must critically think about differences in access to such experiences. By looking at who is allowed, encouraged, and entitled to walkable spaces, there is an added layer to urban inequalities. Some of these spaces include suburban shopping malls and town centers, specified pedestrian projects in cities, and, especially after the pandemic, open streets initiatives. While these things are positive for those with access, the same benefit does not spread to everyone.

THE SUBURBAN PEDESTRIAN EXPERIENCE

Mid-Century suburbanization allowed Americans to participate in post-war consumer culture while ditching cramped city life for single-family homes connected to the city by highways. Though they moved away from the amenities and services of the city, suburbanites would not lose access, both having cars to drive them and having commercial and office spaces reinterpreted for a new sprawling form of development. Even though this sprawling trend was car-dependent, white suburbanites would not lose the spaces that were intended for pedestrians, rather, they would have specialized forms of pedestrian activity to fit within the structure, individualism, and privatization of suburbanization. One such development was the suburban shopping mall, heavily associated with architect Victor Gruen and his vision of a pedestrian community center that would have a “full parking lot as a demonstration of the country’s postwar prosperity and industrial prowess.”⁷ Ideally, this would provide residents with a similar pedestrian experience to that of the city, though in this form, it would cater more to the suburban way of life. In being characterized as such, the mall would not be accessible to everyone. In the legacy of Jim Crow, American suburbanization was closely tied to segregation,

³ Leyden, Kevin M. 2003. “Social Capital and the Built Environment: The Importance of Walkable Neighborhoods.” *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 9 (September): 1546-1551.

⁴ Leyden. “Social Capital.”

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ryan, Bill, University of Wisconsin. 2003. “Economic Benefits of A Walkable Community.” *Let's Talk Business*, no. 83 (July).

⁷ Mumford, Eric. 2018. “Designing the Modern City: Urbanism Since 1850.” New Haven: Yale University Press. Accessed March 27, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

where practices of racially-restrictive housing covenants, race-based appraisal practices, block-busting, and red-lining all contributed to the homogeneity of white suburbs and the exclusion of black residents.⁸ In this way, white communities were able to escape the city and the perceived blight of it while selectively including some elements of commercial walkability and intentional placemaking at the human scale. This practice is coupled with the routing of the highways that facilitated suburbanization and automobile culture. Due to their limited economic and political power to resist, poor and minority communities were often the ones labeled as blighted and in need of renewal, or slated for raising for the sake of highway construction. Not only did this practice displace people, but it would bring its own disadvantages to the neighborhood. In a working paper from the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, the data shows how “short trips...between neighborhoods severed by freeways decline by 20% and increase in travel time by 1-3 minutes.”⁹ The suburbanization-supporting construction of freeways impacts the connectivity of neighborhoods—if they even remain after highway construction—and beyond that, neighborhoods can be totally separated from positive amenities that were formerly accessible both quickly and at the pedestrian scale.

CRACKED SIDEWALKS

As time has passed, the American suburbs have become more diverse and varied by race and income levels, a positive shift from concrete segregation. According to the Brookings Institute, the 2020 census showed a continuing trend of minority groups relocating to the suburbs at higher degrees. From 20% of suburban population in 1990 to about 45% in 2020,¹⁰ the proportion of non-white population in suburban areas has clearly increased. This can be viewed as a positive shift away from the concrete, segregation and redlining-related patterns that characterized the earliest suburban developments; however, disparities still exist greatly in the quality, form, and appearances of majority-minority suburbs in contrast to majority-white suburbs.

If we look at pedestrian experiences on a very basic level, one that does not include special projects focused on pedestrianism, but rather focus plainly on sidewalks and basic infrastructure in different communities, we can understand how all-encompassing the issue is, not only relating to segregation and gentrification, but also related to the allocation of resources and maintenance in various communities. A study done in Pontiac Michigan conducted direct observation of sidewalk quality, including the presence of sidewalks, their width, their separation from the roadway, the existence of hazards and obstructions, and availability of shade. In analyzing the data, the researchers found that “Segments with major sidewalk quality

⁸ Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. N.p.: WW Norton.

⁹ Brinkman, Jeffrey, and Jeffrey Lin. 2022. “Freeway Revolts! The Quality of Life Effects of Highways.” Working Papers, (August), 2. <https://doi.org/10.21799/frbp.wp.2022.24>.

¹⁰ Frey, William H. “Today’s Suburbs Are Symbolic of America’s Rising Diversity: A 2020 Census Portrait.” Brookings, June 16, 2022. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/todays-suburbs-are-symbolic-of-americas-rising-diversity-a-2020-census-portrait/#:~:text=Minority%20groups'%20suburban%20shift%20has,over%20the%20past%20three%20decades>.

issues had a higher percent Black race, Latinx/Hispanic Ethnicity, HS Diploma or GED, below the poverty level or with a household income <\$40,000...”¹¹ Furthermore, they found worse street lighting and shade cover in areas of poverty. Some of these findings are attributable to the partial responsibility of property owners for residential sidewalk maintenance, where lower income residents may not have the time or resources to maintain the sidewalk segments and landscaping in front of their own properties, but in the bigger picture, walkways next to arterial roads and public space are not invested in to the same degree in these neighborhoods as they are elsewhere.

Similarly, Kate Lowe of the University of Illinois, Chicago conducted a study on sidewalk disparity in New Orleans, Louisiana. Beyond pure sidewalk quality, she found statistically significant differences between sidewalk continuity in white versus minority areas and a notably meaningful difference in sidewalk continuity based on poverty level.¹² If, perhaps, these communities had access to alternative modes of transportation, the intensity of the problem would be minimized, but minority and low-income communities are forced to walk at higher rates than other groups. The general lack of investment in transportation infrastructure exacerbates the lack of investment for pedestrian transportation infrastructure. Further, Lowe notes how past research on federal funding for bike and pedestrian infrastructure has, at the county level, been less prominent where poverty is greater.¹³

As such, this is not only an issue of visual aesthetics or tripping hazards. American auto-centric culture has led to a general disregard for pedestrian experiences. Where earlier towns and cities operated at the human scale, much of the landscape of the United States today is functioning for the purpose of the automobile, and this is especially true for minority communities who have been disproportionately impacted by the construction of interstate highways and raising for urban renewal. Vibrant communities become strip malls and parking lots, and this is not only problematic for the cultural and social fabric of affected communities but is also a public health threat with racial disparities. The nonprofit advocacy coalition group Smart Growth America found in their “Dangerous by Design 2022” report that minority groups, specifically Native and Black or African American people, are more likely to die while walking, coupled with the fact that low-income communities have worse access to parks and safe walking spaces.¹⁴ Not only do minority and low income communities lack intentional and specific pedestrian infrastructure, but the infrastructure that they do have does little to protect them from the danger of cars. This can be as simple as having marked crosswalks, proper signage, and street design that induces slower driving speeds. Current modes of urban planning put poor

¹¹ Rajae, M., Echeverri, B., Zuchowicz, Z., Wiltfang, K., & Lucarelli, J. F. (2021). Socioeconomic and racial disparities of sidewalk quality in a traditional rust belt city. *SSM - population health*, 16, 100975. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100975>.

¹² Lowe, Kate. 2016. “Environmental justice and pedestrianism: sidewalk continuity, race, and poverty in New Orleans, Louisiana.” *Journal of the Transportation Research Board*, no. 2598, 119-123. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.3141/2598-14>.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Venson, Ebony, Abigail Grimminger, and Stephen Kenny. 2022. “Dangerous By Design 2022.” Smart Growth America. <https://smartgrowthamerica.org/dangerous-by-design/>.

and minority pedestrians in contest with cars for space in their own communities, not only removing character from the neighborhood, but also creating unsafe environments.

PEDESTRIAN-FOCUSED SPACES

Even in urban areas themselves, which are generally more walkable and pedestrian-centered than suburban neighborhoods, the accessibility to and enjoyment of safe, useful, and walkable infrastructure is not a given for all people. In urban Minnesota in the winter, outdoor activity can be undesirable. In order to maintain the prosperity of downtown retail and office spaces, Minneapolis and St. Paul have, as Senator Amy Klobuchar described in a podcast episode entitled “Beneath the Skyway” by *99% Invisible*: “glass-enclosed above-ground tunnels that connect our buildings.”¹⁵ This idea sounds promising, and has grown independently or with new construction since opening in 1962, with the original intent to “reroute pedestrians off the increasingly crowded sidewalks and streets...[and to meet] the desire by building owners to increase property values and rental revenue by creating a second-level, high-traffic pathway catering to retail and other services.”¹⁶ Upon initial reception, the skyways, at least conceptually, brought about positive reaction, especially given that they helped keep retail in the city relevant as enclosed malls developed alongside suburbs, and as has been discussed previously, quality shopping malls and outdoor pedestrian malls tend to be exclusive to higher-income, often less diverse areas. The early days of the skyway system were marked by property holder Leslie Park gaining air rights to the streets in front of a building he owned and connecting it to another one of his buildings with a climate-controlled walkway.¹⁷ The system grew, and an account by resident James Garrett Jr expressed how skyways were a positive setting for him as a child. That was until the 90s, when the skyways changed to be less vibrant in use and diversity, inhabited mostly by white collar workers and security officials in an effort to appeal to the comfort of the people who had left in the suburban exodus, hoping to bring them and their economic activity back to the city center. Garrett Jr expressed that “it was made clear to us by the way that we were policed and by the way that the security followed us around...that we weren’t supposed to be there.”¹⁸ Beyond the impact of policing, the skyways also created an intentionally internally focused environment that, in being not-particularly-easy to access, kept out people who were perhaps undesired by those in offices or stores. In restricting and regulating the use of the second-floor skyways, the system also killed off the prosperity of first-floor retail and activity on the sidewalk level.¹⁹ In this way, a specific demographic’s pedestrian experience was prioritized over others, tying pedestrianism purely to

¹⁵ Roman Mars, Beneath the Skyway in *99% Invisible*. Podcast audio, January 26, 2021, <https://99percentinvisible.org/episode/beneath-the-skyway/>.

¹⁶ “Minneapolis Skyway Guide | Meet Minneapolis.” n.d. Meet Minneapolis. Accessed March 26, 2023. <https://www.minneapolis.org/map-transportation/minneapolis-skyway-guide/>.

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Mars, Beneath the Skyway

¹⁹ Ibid

consumerism as it can be for the upper-middle class, as opposed to an ingrained part of leisure and necessity for a range of social classes like it would be in a truly equitable walkable city.

In other parts of the United States, there have been other, slightly different efforts at enhancing the pedestrian experience, though even in their difference, some issues persist. New York City saw great success in the construction of the pedestrian High Line with 8 million users in 2016,²⁰ and it brought prosperity for the businesses on or near the walkway. The project, at the surface level, was well-warranted and well-intentioned, bringing nature to a formerly abandoned railway line in New York’s Chelsea neighborhood.²¹ After studying the effects of the High Line on the neighborhood, researchers Katie Jo Black and Mallory Richards found that “The High Line is a mark of success for real estate developers and New York’s tourism industry...major corporations, including Facebook, Salesforce, Twitter, and Google, have all opened offices in Chelsea.”²² Property values soar, and with it come new restaurants and retail stores catered to the lifestyle of higher income residents, showing the “...pitfalls for greening projects which fail to preemptively focus on existing residents; instead of prioritizing the economic gains accompanying an inflow of luxury development and high-earning households.”²³ In this case, pedestrian infrastructure, even when placed adjacent to lower income communities, creates an environment both culturally and economically that pushes those very low income residents away from its use.

In both Minneapolis/St. Paul and New York City, places with built forms reflective of their specific histories, a common theme emerges through an overly catered, overly polished approach to the pedestrian experience that removes organic links to community, and in doing so, causes poor and minority communities to not be able to get the same utility from the space that was once familiar and accessible to them. In promoting walkable experiences with certain demographics in mind, it seems all too common that it occurs at the expense of other communities who are either priced out or excluded by other means.

“SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE”

In gauging the negative impact of disparities of pedestrian experiences, we can look at the importance and benefits of having places meant for people, what sociologist Eric Klinenberg calls “social infrastructure” in his book *Palaces for the People*. Social infrastructure is “the physical places and organizations that shape the way people interact.”²⁴ Within social

²⁰ Bliss, Laura. 2017. “The High Line and Equity In Adaptive Reuse.” Bloomberg.com. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-02-07/the-high-line-and-equity-in-adaptive-reuse>.

²¹ NYC Economic Development Corporation. n.d. “The High Line | NYCEDC.” NYC Economic Development Corporation. Accessed March 27, 2023. <https://edc.nyc/project/high-line>.

²² Katie Jo Black, Mallory Richards, Eco-gentrification and who benefits from urban green amenities: NYC’s high Line, Landscape and Urban Planning, Volume 204, 2020, 103900, ISSN 0169-2046, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2020.103900>.

²³ Black and Richards. “Eco-Gentrification.”

²⁴ Klinenberg, Eric. 2018. *Palaces for the People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, and the Decline of Civic Life*. N.p.: Crown.

infrastructure, Klinenberg offers many examples, one of which is sidewalks and “other green spaces that invite people into the public realm,”²⁵ among other physical and institutional examples. He calls on other prominent urbanists like Jane Jacobs and Ray Oldenburg in their emphasis on drawing people into the public realm, onto streets and sidewalks, to “create cultural vitality and contribute to the passive surveillance of shared public space.”²⁶ Such passive surveillance keeps communities safe by their own means, avoiding, depending on racial and class makeup, more tense reliance on and relationships with law enforcement. In the section of his novel where he notes the importance of this practice, Klinenberg also calls on the idea that run-down public spaces and disregard for neighborhood amenities acts as an invitation for crime. This helps point out an unfortunate cycle, where some public space is disregarded, the quality of the space gets worse, and people stop using it, prompting more illicit activity.

When, as in previous sections of this investigation, poor and minority pedestrian spaces are systemically disregarded, it makes it more difficult and perhaps even more dangerous for the communities to participate in the internal monitoring and betterment of their own neighborhoods because of the chain of cause and effect that makes public spaces and, perhaps, the neighborhood as a whole more crime-ridden and therefore less attractive for investment.

CONCLUSION

When using these ideas to frame the inequalities in pedestrian spaces previously mentioned, we can understand that when poor and minority communities are excluded from pristine suburbs, are pushed out of their neighborhoods when well-intentioned projects raise property values and change the cultural landscape and therefore feeling of welcoming, and are left with underfunded, unmanaged, and outright dangerous public spaces, that their communities are subjected to further disarray that has nothing to do with the people in the community, but rather relates to the social infrastructure, or lack thereof, that exists in the community.

Instead of relying on top-down approaches and non-community actors for implementing what they perceive as positive or productive pedestrian spaces, the communities and their members need to be involved in the decision-making process. In the example of the High Line in New York City, were residents to have been prioritized and centralized, the renovated space could have been an extension of the existing culture instead of the implementation of a completely new and ostracizing one.

Policies and prejudices have come together to remove or prevent the existence of productive pedestrian spaces from poor and minority neighborhoods, whether that be the subsidization of the middle class, white suburban experience, the cultural shift toward the automobile, or a general disregard for the experiences of people in certain neighborhoods.

As progressive legislation enhancing the pedestrian experience is passed, policymakers and local officials need to maintain commitment to their communities, ensuring that pedestrianism

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Klinenberg. “Palaces for the People.”

is no longer segregated by race or class and that small things like cracks in a sidewalk are addressed as part of the avoidance of larger problems that plague communities. The history of our built environment is one deeply rooted in systemic injustices, some of which are harder to completely undo the effects of, but the future of our communities can be more optimistic with the right attention and care for the everyday human experience of moving and walking.

Some of this change will require drastic shifts in the way things are done in the United States. Suburbanization ran in tandem with a shift toward single-family zoning, something that limited the degree of mixed-income and mixed-use development. By introducing a diversity of uses and prices in the properties that are allowed to develop in a certain area, the diversity of income and racial background can also increase. Mixed-use development helps give communities access to shops and restaurants without sacrificing space for residential development like multi-acre, traditional shopping malls and strip-malls, while mixed-income development ensures that such amenities are accessible to all.

Further, if such seismic shifts could be made in American culture to promote walking, biking, and transit over the use of cars, more investment could be made to establish and maintain these systems in more communities. This is no easy feat, as the automobile lobby has a firm grip in congress, but grassroots efforts to support alternative transportation methods can give hope for the future. Organizations like the Congress for New Urbanism and America Walks have come together to support efforts to protect communities from the harmful effect of large-scale automobile infrastructure projects while helping others to push for projects to claim space back from existing projects. When looking at the places where this could be most successful, it is likely that wealthy, white communities that resisted highways in the past are the ones which would have the greatest ease in promoting the needs of their community but, if diverse communities and a broad coalition of activist groups and local coalitions banded together, the grassroots impact could at least attempt to compete with the influence of automakers in the lawmaking process.

The Covid-19 pandemic was a watershed for many reasons, and one of the many things we must take away from it is the importance of our built environment in promoting physical and mental health, community connectivity, and economic prosperity. The inequalities of the past still are at play in the present despite some positive shifts in terms of diversification of the suburbs and greater degrees of integration. There are so many different forces to overcome, but there is also promise for the future given that pedestrian-focused developments are becoming more popular, it is just a matter of granting access to those who have been historically and continually left out.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NEWEST POLICY IS A STORY OF SELF-SABOTAGE

For 15 years, Hastings Mpfu has served South African students through exceptional teaching and valuable history lessons in both government and public schools. As he imparted his knowledge to the next generation, Mpfu's renowned role in the community won him numerous awards for his teaching. Now, he teaches at Summerhill College in Midrand, Gauteng, and writes a history book he hopes to publish. But despite Mpfu's awards, accolades, and service to South Africa, at any given moment, the government could rip everything he has built away from him. The reason? He migrated to South Africa from Zimbabwe over a decade earlier (Monama).

In November of [2021](#), the South African government announced the end of the Zimbabwean Exemption Permit (ZEP) (Acton). These permits allowed Zimbabweans fleeing economic and political turmoil in their country to legally live and work in South Africa since 2009. Now, despite the ZEP's longevity and success, by June of 2023, all ZEP holders must apply for mainstream permits or leave the country. In other words, the almost [200,000](#) Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa now have under a year to uproot everything they have built over the past twelve years and return to a country many of them have little recollection of (Brown). Even worse, returning to Zimbabwe means confronting the crippling economic instability — Zimbabwe has the second-worst economic freedom score in Sub-Saharan Africa— that Zimbabwean migrants fled in the first place (“Zimbabwe”).

South Africa must find an alternative to this abrasive policy. However, going back to the origin of the permit system will illuminate why exactly a renewal of the ZEP would benefit both South Africa and Zimbabwean migrants.

Following an economic crisis in Zimbabwe from 1998-1999, the country saw widespread economic distress and political upheavals. Interest rates and inflation rose, causing widespread fuel and food shortages. Soon after, the World Bank and IMF suspended aid to Zimbabwe citing disagreements with the government over policy. President Mugabe's policies also became increasingly inflammatory, seizing land from white-owned commercial farms and holding fraudulent elections while inflation continued to rise and food supplies dwindled (“TIMELINE...”). As a result of this upheaval, from 2000-2010, a mass exodus of Zimbabweans left their home country and settled predominantly in South Africa. Further instability came in [2017](#) when former President Mugabe's 37 year dictatorship ended in a coup, and later, in 2019, when Cyclone Idai affected [270,000](#) Zimbabweans (Kudzai).

Through all these events, Zimbabweans have consistently fled to South Africa through irregular migration routes, often living undocumented on the margins of South African society. In response to the influx of migrants, in 2009, South Africa launched a Dispensation of Zimbabwean Permit (DZP) to give Zimbabweans already working and living in the country legal status. For the next twelve years, the government continually renewed the DZP, eventually renaming it the ZEP.

Currently, Zimbabwe continues to suffer. It closed out [2022](#) with a 280% inflation rate, one of the highest globally. Furthermore, half of the population lives in extreme poverty (Muronzi). Given the dire circumstances Zimbabweans face, continued migration to South Africa will undoubtedly continue, whether they can access legal work through the ZEP or not. Why not then make it easier for South African immigration authorities by legalizing some of this movement and helping Zimbabwean migrants attain documentation, rather than leaving them on the margins?

Of course, not everyone finds the prospect of including Zimbabweans in South Africa attractive. Particularly, some working-class South Africans fear Zimbabwean migrants will take low-level jobs away from them. Anti-immigrant vigilante group Operation Dudula, for example, argues that the “influx of illegal immigrants” places pressure on South Africa’s limited job opportunities and contributes to the country’s unemployment problem (Myeni). In 2021, the South African unemployment rate grew 4% to reach a peak of [33.56%](#). Rampant anti-immigrant sentiment in the region, such as that of Operation Dudula, has led policy makers to target migrants in their economic policy. In fact, the South African government primarily justified terminating the ZEP by saying it would alleviate unemployment (Brown).

However, this policy depends on capitalizing off of xenophobia rather than substantive evidence. South African Professor [Loren Landau](#), a senior researcher at the African Center for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, says the policy is just “an easy way to score points with voters” that aligns with rising anti-immigrant sentiments in the general population (Brown). In reality, ZEP holders only make up around 7% of immigrants in South Africa, who account for less than 5% of the general population in and of themselves, according to official estimates. Thus, targeting ZEP holders as a magical cure for unemployment holds little statistical weight (Brown).

Strengthening the case for renewal, a humanitarian crisis currently threatens to break out if ZEP holders are forced to return to Zimbabwe. Following the November legislation, [50](#) humanitarian groups wrote to the South African Minister of Home Affairs. They estimated almost half a million children would experience “severe psychological damage” as a result of their families having to uproot their lives in South Africa and argued this undermined “the best interests of the child principle enshrined in South Africa’s constitution” (Washinyira). They further emphasized the extreme difficulty Zimbabweans would have in securing citizenship or other direct permits when stripped of their ZEP status (Washinyira).

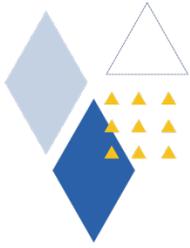
Personal testimonies support this devastating implication. Petunia Sibanda came to South Africa in [2003](#) and found work and housing thanks to a ZEP issued in 2011. Now, she must leave everything and return to Zimbabwe, and her four children that were born in South Africa must

start over in a country they have never known (Brown). Similarly, Barnabas Ticha Muvhuti is a ZEP holder and student at Rhodes University in South Africa. Faced with his precarious permit status, he wrote in a [2022](#) paper, “I deeply regret that I moved to an African country that treats Africans worse than do the former colonial powers. Most of my friends are now permanent residents or citizens of these [European] countries, while I am holding one restrictive permit after another” (Muvhuti 8). These testimonies demonstrate the dehumanizing and unsafe conditions the ZEP termination has caused.

Between the humanitarian consequences of terminating the ZEP and the economic benefits of legalizing Zimbabwean migrants’ work, the ZEP continually proves itself to be a necessary and beneficial resource. Beyond this, the government bases its reasoning for not renewing the ZEP on xenophobia and currying political favor, which hardly justifies uprooting hundreds of thousands of hardworking Zimbabweans. For these reasons, South Africa should renew the ZEP. After all, a piece of legislation shouldn’t have the power to destroy lives.

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ALOHA OPTIMAL TOURISM: Economic Tradeoffs of the Travel and Tourism Industry in Hawaii

Abstract

Tourism is the largest industry in Hawaii, generating \$17.75 billion in visitor spending per year, supporting more than 200,000 jobs, and composing 22.8% of Hawaii's economic output in 2019. Despite this success, there are downsides to an overreliance on tourism including underinvestment in sustainable industries amongst other tradeoffs. These issues were exposed by COVID-19 and its consequent travel restrictions. In 2019, Hawaii received over 10 million visitors to the islands, but that number fell by more than 75% in 2020, allowing us to consider what Hawaii would look like in the absence of tourism. Observing both of these extremes – high tourism or nearly no tourism – suggests the optimal number of visitors to Hawaii lies somewhere in between. Hawaii needs to further invest in Optimal Tourism or Destination Management practices to better navigate the tradeoffs within the tourism industry. This paper utilizes quantitative and qualitative analysis to prove that Hawaii falls victim to the natural resource curse and has become over-reliant on tourism leading to a weak education system and a dependence on unskilled labor. To support more stable economic growth, Hawaii should seek diversification initiatives in the film and agricultural industries.

Keywords: Tourism, Optimal Tourism, Resource Curse, Hawaii

I. INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a critical component of the global economy, providing numerous benefits to host countries, including tourism revenue, employment opportunities, as well as social and cultural development. However, despite offering these significant contributions, tourism can also have negative impacts on the environment and local communities. *This paper is a condensed version of a larger work that examines the optimal level of tourism, tourism management, and the natural resource curse in the context of Hawaii.* Overall, this paper seeks to contribute to the ongoing discussion of tourism management and its impacts on the natural resources of Hawaii. By analyzing the optimal level of tourism and exploring tourism management strategies, I aim to provide insights into how the industry can be sustained and continue to flourish while minimizing its negative impacts.

The COVID-19 pandemic created an opportunity to see how Hawaii would operate with substantially lower tourism. With international travel restrictions and lockdowns in place, the number of visitors to Hawaii significantly decreased in 2020, providing a unique opportunity to study how Hawaii's economy would look in the absence of tourism. The absence of tourism caused serious economic hardship on the islands, including unemployment and business closures. However, the reduction in tourism provided relief from unsustainable overuse of popular attractions like beaches and hiking trails due to the high volume of visitors in previous years.

In this paper, I explore the optimal level and tradeoffs of tourism in Hawaii, taking into consideration the impact on the natural resources of the state and the importance of tourism management. I examine the current state of tourism in Hawaii, including the impacts of COVID-19 on the industry, and I analyze the potential effects of different levels of tourism on the environment and local communities. Furthermore, I investigate tourism management strategies that can help mitigate negative impacts and promote sustainable tourism in Hawaii.

II. ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

This is the perfect problem to try and solve through an economic framework. At its most basic level, economics is the study of tradeoffs. An economic tradeoff refers to the concept of making choices between different options or objectives when allocating limited resources. It recognizes that pursuing one goal or activity often means sacrificing or compromising another. These tradeoffs arise due to scarcity, where resources such as time, money, and labor are limited relative to the unlimited wants and needs of individuals and society. For example, in the context of tourism in Hawaii, focusing heavily on attracting visitors may bring economic benefits but can also lead to negative consequences such as underinvestment in other industries or environmental damage. Balancing these tradeoffs is essential to achieving sustainable economic growth and ensuring the well-being of a community or region.

Many economies are heavily dependent on tourism and the travel industry as the structural backbone of their economy. Historically, governments relied heavily on this industry and took a pure marketing approach to try and maximize the number of visitors to their economy. In recent years, governments are shifting to a more sustainable form of tourism known as Optimal

Tourism, a policy that negotiates the tradeoff between the benefits of tourism and the costs to an economy that come with controlling the number of tourists that enter an economy. The benefits of tourism include tax revenue, employment, and the inflow of money into the local economy. The costs of tourism include environmental impacts, overcrowding, and the lack of economic diversification. The goal of such policies is to help policymakers identify the optimal level of tourism that maximizes economic benefits while minimizing negative impacts.

One consideration in Optimal Tourism is to promote tourism that is environmentally and socially sustainable. High levels of tourism can cause environmental degradation, which over time can lead to lower future earnings by the tourism economy. According to a report by the World Tourism Organization (2020), sustainable tourism development can help to create jobs, generate income, and promote cultural exchange, while also preserving natural and cultural resources for future generations.¹

The creation of jobs is one of the most significant benefits to tourism economies, but it comes with a downside if the economy fails to generate substantial non-tourism activity. Tourism is a labor-intensive industry with a high variety of jobs available in the industry. According to a report by the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), the tourism industry employed 319 million people in 2018, accounting for 10.4% of global employment.² These benefits are often heightened within underdeveloped economies as many tourism dependent jobs do not require specialized education or language fluency and generally present low barriers to employment.³

It is also important to note that this paper will utilize the term *unskilled labor*. While this term may seem derogatory to some readers, this is a well-researched topic within the field of economics. Unskilled labor in this paper merely refers to work that requires minimal or no specialized training or expertise. These jobs typically involve performing manual tasks or routine work that can be easily learned and performed by individuals with little to no prior experience or education. Many jobs created by the tourism industry can be classified as unskilled labor.

III. ABBREVIATED RESULTS

The following sections of this paper consist of my own research founded on personal qualitative interviews, my preliminary quantitative findings from various government databases, and a synthesis of other academic work. Qualitative interviews were conducted in Honolulu, capital of Hawaii, which granted access to government officials. Honolulu's appeal as

¹ World Tourism Organization, "Tourism and Rural Development," World Tourism Organization.

² World Travel & Tourism Council, "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2019," World Travel & Tourism Council.

³ Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, "Tourism and Employment: Perspectives and Issues," in *Tourism and Demography*, ed. Birgit Pikkemaat and Ian Yeoman (Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2006), 71-84.

a tourist destination, hosting over five million annual visitors in Waikiki, underscored its value for interviews.

The benefits of tourism in the context of employment and economic development are well documented. In this paper, I cite these benefits to highlight the importance of tourism for Hawaii's economy while examining the potential consequences of over-tourism. I also explore various strategies for tourism management that can be implemented to ensure the preservation of natural resources and cultural heritage while maximizing the economic benefits of tourism.

Tourism is a significant contributor to employment and development in many economies, including Hawaii. According to the Hawaii Tourism Authority, in 2019, Hawaii generated \$17.8 billion in visitor spending, creating jobs for over 200,000 people. The industry also provided \$2.2 billion in state tax revenue and \$2.1 billion in federal tax revenue.⁴ These numbers highlight the importance of tourism to Hawaii's economy and the importance of sustainable development for long-term economic success.⁵

Tourism provides employment opportunities in various sectors, including accommodation, food services, transportation, and entertainment. These sectors provide entry-level jobs, which can lead to career advancement and skill development. Tourism also creates opportunities for small businesses and entrepreneurs, providing a boost to local economies. The multiplier effect of tourism spending can be significant, with every dollar spent by a tourist circulating through the local economy multiple times.⁶

The economic benefits of tourism are not limited to direct employment and income. Tourism can also contribute to the development of infrastructure such as airports, roads, and public transportation. These developments can have spillover effects on other sectors of the economy, such as construction and real estate. Additionally, tourism can increase the demand for local products and services, providing a boost to the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

Despite being a significant contributor to Hawaii's economy, tourism also has its downsides and tradeoffs. One such downside is the negative impact it has on the state's education system. Hawaii's over-dependence on the tourism industry has led to the prioritization of vocational and service-related education over traditional academic pursuits.⁷ As a result, many students are ill-prepared for careers outside the tourism industry, and the state's workforce lacks diversity in regards to marketable skills. This over-reliance on tourism-related jobs also perpetuates a cycle of low wages and poor working conditions, further exacerbating the challenges faced by the state's poor education system.

⁴ Hawaii Tourism Authority, "2019 Annual Report," Hawaii Tourism Authority.

⁵ United Nations Development Program, "Sustainable Development and Inclusive Economic Growth."

⁶ Tourism Economics, "The Economic Impact of Travel in the United States," U.S. Travel Association.

⁷ K. Higa, "Higher Education and the Tourism Industry in Hawaii," *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Management* 6, no. 3 (2018): 1-8, doi: 10.4172/2167-0269.1000184.

Finding balance between tourism and other industries in Hawaii is crucial for ensuring the long-term sustainability of the tourism industry and the state's economy. It is well documented that an overreliance on unskilled labor can lead to significant fluctuations in economic growth.⁸ The concentration of tourist activity in specific regions of the state has led to the degradation of natural resources and cultural landmarks. This has resulted in a decline in the quality of life for local residents and increased pressure on infrastructure and services. To address these challenges, policymakers must consider the carrying capacity of the state's natural and cultural resources and work to strike a balance between tourism activity and the preservation of these resources.

In conclusion, while the travel and tourism industry is vital to Hawaii's economy, it is important to consider its tradeoffs and potential negative impacts on the environment, infrastructure, and workforce. By optimizing the industry through sustainable practices and strategic planning, Hawaii can maximize the benefits of tourism while minimizing its negative effects.

IV. DISCUSSION

The COVID-19 pandemic showed the risks of relying solely on one industry. In 2020, Hawaii's visitor numbers plummeted by over 70%, causing significant job losses in tourism. This displays the perils of over-dependence on a single sector and the need for economic diversification.

The Hawaiian government aims to diversify its economy, a goal further emphasized by the COVID-19 pandemic. Industries like agriculture, technology, and the emerging film sector are among those identified for support. Hawaii's scenic beauty and cultural heritage make it an appealing destination for film and TV production, positioning the state as the "Hollywood of the Pacific."⁹

The growth of the film industry in Hawaii has the potential to create new jobs, generate revenue, and raise the state's profile on the global stage. The state government has already provided incentives for film production companies to shoot in Hawaii, such as tax credits and fee waivers.

In addition to the film industry, the state government has also focused on bolstering the agriculture sector, with a particular emphasis on coffee, pineapple, and macadamia nuts. Hawaii's climate and soil are ideal for growing these crops, and they have the potential to become major export commodities. Moreover, investing in agriculture can help to diversify the economy and reduce Hawaii's reliance on imported goods.

However, there are trade offs to consider when diversifying the economy. For example, promoting the film industry may have environmental impacts, such as increased energy

⁸ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, "The Role of Skills in Economic Development," Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

⁹ Anonymous Qualitative Interview

consumption and carbon emissions from film production. Moreover, investing in new industries may require the state to divert resources away from existing industries, such as tourism.

These economic tradeoffs expand beyond Hawaii as well. Many economies all around the globe suffer from the national resource curse, many of them in the context of tourism. While the findings of this paper cannot be directly generalized to all cases, as each economy has a unique composition, the discussions and mechanisms within this paper can shed some light on these situations. More information and further discussion of this topic can be found within the full version of this paper. This version is available for open access through the QR code below.

V. COMPREHENSIVE ACADEMIC PAPER



Scan (or click) the QR code to view the full paper.

VI. FIGURES

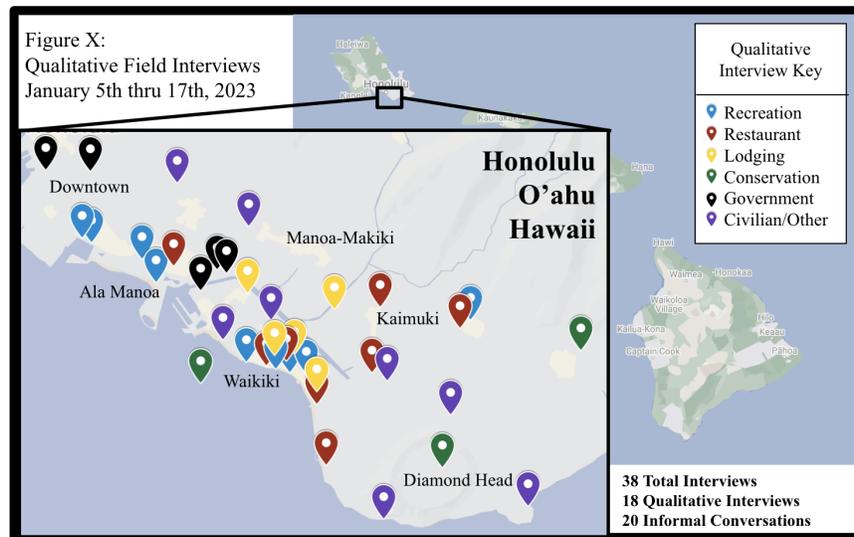


Figure 1: Qualitative Field Interview Map.

Notes: This figure outlines the qualitative field interviews performed within this research. The 38 touchpoints that formed the qualitative analysis were generated via snowball sampling and surveyed a variety of industries such as lodging, restaurants, government, and more. These interviews were centered around the popular tourist destination Waikiki and the surrounding neighborhoods to gain a comprehensive understanding on tourism's impact on Hawaii.

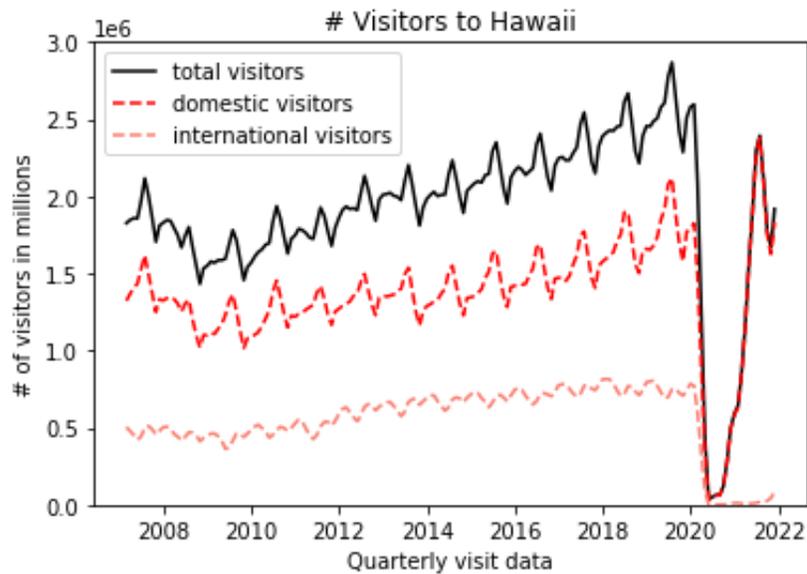


Figure 2: Time Series of Visitors to Hawaii.

Notes: This figure plots the number of visitors to Hawaii by quarter, separated by domestic and international visitors. Data was pulled from the Hawaii Tourism Authority and encompasses both the recessions caused by the financial crisis in 2008 and the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 Pandemic reduced visitors to nearly 0 in Q2 of 2020. Domestic visitors made a quick recovery, driven by permissive US domestic travel rules, while international visitors remained depressed through the end of 2021.



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